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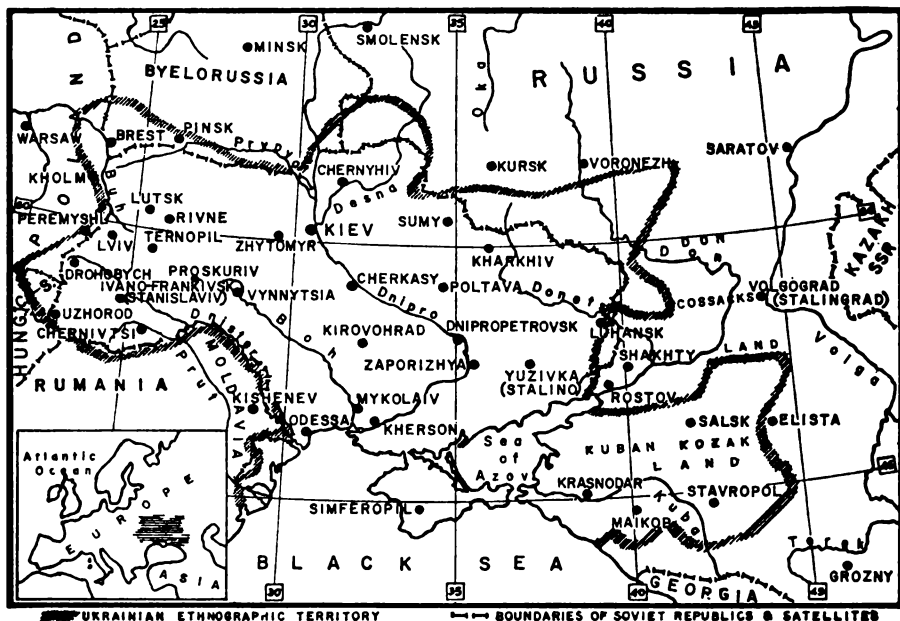
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THE UKRAINIAN EMIGRANTS OF WORLD WAR II: 1945-1954 — THEIR LIFE IN THE CAMP ECONOMY

NICHOLAS G. BOHATIUK

I. Ukrainian Refugees in Germany and Austria

“An emigrant is a person whom the war winds have blown beyond the borders of his homeland. Being thrown out of the land of his ancestors, he has neither a haven nor a gate where he could land. All of his hopes, dreams and wishes are directed toward the quickest and most immediate return to his fatherland. He is a person of an instant, of the present, and he is in no position to think about the future.

His life, the life of a wanderer, passes without any far-reaching goals. He is deprived of all political problematics. *A political emigrant* is fully conscious of the reasons why he has left his country. And it is not for the purpose of saving his life from immediate destruction, but in order to carry into the world the ideals for which he has struggled, and for which he was driven out of his land. It is a protest against the regime that is temporarily dominating the emigrant's country.”¹

The Ukrainian Central Committee which existed in Western Ukraine during the German occupation (1939-1944) and which was recognized by the German authorities, estimated that by the end of 1944 over 3 million Ukrainians resided on the territory of the Third Reich.² This figure included those who were compelled to forced labor in Germany, all of the wartime evacuees from Ukraine, and the Ukrainian refugees. Not included in this figure were the former Ukrainian PoW's of the Soviet armed forces. Due to the war and as a result of the Soviet military advances beyond Vienna and Berlin in early 1945, large numbers of Ukrainians found themselves under Soviet Russian occupation. One third of all Ukrainians in the West were repatriated by the Soviet Russians by force even before the end of World War II.³

The Hitler regime called over 10 million Germans to serve in its armed forces, and an additional million to serve in the various auxiliary military units. This, in effect, caused serious strains on the German labor market. In order to alleviate this problem, the German authorities deported millions of individuals from the occupied East European territories to serve as forced laborers in the

¹ Johann Kindrat, *D.P. Probleme und D.P. Lagerhygiene*, Doctoral dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians Universitat, Munchen, 1949, p.1.

² Vassyl Mudryj, “Ukrajinska emigratsia v Evropi,” *Yuvilejnyj kalendar almanakh* U.N.S. na 1949 rik, Jersey City, N.J., 1949, p. 107.

³ *Ibid*.

German factories, mines, steel plants and farms. From various Ukrainian territories alone, about three million of such workers were brought to Germany. Toward the end of World War II additional hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians arrived in Germany and Austria. They were evacuated by force or fled westward to avoid the repeated "liberation" by the Soviet Russian armies.⁴

Thus, the cross-section of the Ukrainian refugee population in Western Europe at the end of World War II yielded the following categories:

(1) The deportees from all the Ukrainian ethnographic territories compelled to forced labor in Germany and who also had no desire to be repatriated.

(2) The former Ukrainian political activist-revolutionaries who were arrested on Ukrainian territories by the German authorities and jailed in the concentration camps of the Third Reich. About 50% of them perished there.

(3) The compulsory evacuees from the front regions of Ukraine who were taken to Germany to be employed in the German war industries. This group consisted of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, peasants and workers mainly from the Western regions of Ukraine and of the members of the evacuated Ukrainian theatrical and operatic companies.

(4) The former members of the Ukrainian military unit "Halychyna" who were not transferred to Italy after the war, those who served in the Ukrainian Liberation Army (UVV), and in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) who succeeded in getting through Czechoslovakia to the U.S. occupation zones of Germany and Austria.

(5) The refugees who for political, religious or other reasons did not wish to be subjected again to Russian oppression in Ukraine and who decided to flee to the West. This was especially true for Western Ukrainians who had a terrifying experience living under Russian rule during 1939-41.

(6) The World War I Ukrainian political refugees called the Nansenites who lived in the West and carried internationally recognized Nansen passports. And finally,

(7) The Ukrainians who fled to the West from Russian-occupied Western Ukraine during 1939-41 with the help of special German Evacuation Commissions who accepted German citizenship. After the war, they were refused the right to live in the Displaced Persons (DP) refugee camps, the right to receive international aid, as well as the right to emigrate.⁵

In the spring of 1945, the Ukrainian refugees in Germany and Austria began to organize their own committees for the purpose of mutual-aid and self-defense, especially from Russian forced repatriation. Although, at first, the DP camps were supposed to be organized according to the citizenship of the refugees, the Ukrainian group had succeeded in getting permission to set up

⁴ Vassyl Mudryj, "Nova ukrajinska emigratsia," *Ukrajintsi u vilnomu sviti*, Yuvilejna knyha U.N.S. z nahody 60-richcha, Jersey City, N.J., 1954, pp. 115-116.

⁵ Vassyl Mudryj, *Ukrajinska emigratsia...*, 1949, p. 10.

Ukrainian DP camps on the basis of nationality and regardless of the citizenship of their residents. The Soviet Russian Repatriation Commissions strongly protested the setting up of the separate Ukrainian DP camps.⁶ As a result of their actions, the Ukrainian camp committees were at first persecuted and then dissolved.

The social composition of the Ukrainian World War II refugees was very complex and diverse. Among them were peasants, workers, highly skilled artisans, intelligentsia and top-rank research scientists. Leaving behind their homeland — Ukraine, the war events and chaos drove the emigrants into the wide unknown world. Material misery or the desire to search for new places to resettle or to find better job opportunities were not reasons for leaving their homeland now overrun by the Russians. The Ukrainian emigrants left behind their work places, their personal property and their lifetime acquisitions. From national and communal aspects, they possessed high dexterity and quite an experience.

From the perspective of Ukrainian national history, the World War II emigration is considered the most numerous and richest in terms of cultural and spiritual values. This becomes evident when compared to the Mazepa Ukrainian political emigration of 1709, which was also quite numerous and politically very active, but not very strong from a cultural point of view. The World War I Ukrainian political emigration constituted still another important milestone in Ukrainian history. It left behind very strong marks, especially in the cultural sphere. It made great contributions to Ukrainian science, arts and literature. However, the World War II emigration was the greatest and therefore it played the most important role.⁷

II. Russian Repatriation Commissions

At the Yalta Conference of February 11, 1945, Stalin succeeded in obtaining a secret agreement on forced repatriation of refugees which was signed by the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Winston Churchill. This agreement applied to Soviet PoW's in German military uniforms who were captured by the Germans and then 2-3 years later overrun by the Allies. This agreement also applied to former members of the Soviet armed forces as of June 22, 1941, to individuals who were Soviet soldiers after that date but were not discharged in due course, and to the Soviet citizens who collaborated with the German occupational authorities and rendered to them their assistance.⁸

After the German capitulation in May 1945, there were some two million Ukrainians in West Germany and Austria under the American, British and

⁶ Vassyl Mudryj, *Nova ukrajinska...*, 1954, p. 116

⁷ Vassyl Mudryj, *Ukrajinska emigratsia...*, pp. 122-123.

⁸ O. Zelenetskyj (ed.), *Na hromadskii nyvi*, Munchen, 1972, p. 8.

French military occupation. Approximately one million of them were repatriated almost immediately. The methods that the Soviet Russians used are now well known in the West. Forced repatriation by the Soviet Russian authorities with the full consent of the Western Allies netted an additional several hundred thousand Ukrainians from May 1945 to the end of 1946. Russian investigative teams and the military courts operated according to Soviet laws, with immunity and the full consent of the Western Allies in hundreds of the Displaced Persons'(DP) camps. Russian Transit Repatriation camps enjoyed full extra-territorial status.⁹

The Soviet Russians did not subscribe to the principle of voluntary repatriation and their treatment of the Ukrainians and others was totally inhuman. After the German surrender on the territory of Germany and Austria, repatriation commissions of various countries began to operate. The most active among them were the Soviet Russian Repatriation Commissions which attempted to forcefully repatriate all Ukrainians from Galicia, Volhynia and Eastern Ukraine. Although the western Ukrainians from Galicia and Volhynia were not subject to forced repatriation, the Russians did not pay much attention to this fact and frequently extreme violence took place.

The American military authorities frequently helped the Russians, especially when they were falsely informed about Ukrainians as being former Soviet citizens and Hitler collaborators. Ultimately, several hundred thousand Ukrainians from both Western and Eastern Ukraine fell victim to forced repatriation. Only a few of them were repatriated voluntarily. Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians were returned by force to the Soviet Union as former Soviet PoW's.¹⁰ Soviet repatriation commissions operated freely in every city of Germany and Austria; they were staffed by political officers and intelligence agents.¹¹

The Russian repatriation officers did not hesitate to stage various highly cunning provocations. The active anti-communists were made subject to the third paragraph of the Yalta agreement which treated them as Hitlerite collaborators. Only after numerous mass protests, fierce resistance of the Ukrainian refugees, and many suicides did the forced repatriation campaign subside. Partial credit for this goes to the enlightenment campaign of various Ukrainian self-aid committees formed especially for the purpose of explaining to the Allied military authorities their grave failure to understand the true situation. This was happening despite their belief that forced repatriation was contrary to fundamental human rights and was inconsistent with the basic principles of democracy.¹²

⁹ Vassyl Mudryj, *Ukrajinska emigratsia...*, p. 107.

¹⁰ Vassyl Mudryj, *Nova ukrajinska...*, p. 116.

¹¹ O. Zelenetskyj (ed.), *Na hromadskij...*, p. 9.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

The Western Allies did not prevent Russian repatriation officers from visiting the Ukrainian DP camps and to repatriate their residents, by force, back to Soviet Ukraine. This very frequently took place with the full consent and assistance of the Allied military authorities.

The period between June and November 1945 was a period of the most active forced repatriation. Afterwards forced repatriation proceeded at a much slower pace and lasted until the end of 1946. The Soviet Russian repatriation camps enjoyed extraterritorial status which gave Russian secret police a free hand in carrying out the bloody Soviet-Russian version of justice.

After the camps occupied by the Russian repatriation commissions were vacated, on their sites were found many concealed group graves in which innocent people who refused forced repatriation lay victim of the NKVD (now KGB) terror. One such grave was discovered in Zuffenhausen, a suburb of Stuttgart, West Germany. Still another case involved a massacre of Ukrainian refugees during Holy Mass at a church in the Bavarian village of Kempten. Here in the presence of American military police, Russian repatriation officers bloodily settled their differences with the people who had sought refuge in the church building.¹³

When the Russian repatriation camp in Augsburg-Gegingen was liquidated, many bodies were found in the camp canal as obvious victims of Russian cruelty and terror. In Platning a similar tragedy happened when former Ukrainian PoW's were handed over to the Soviet Russians by force, many of whom committed suicide. In July 1945, Ukrainians in Kaufbeuren organized a committee chaired by a certain Fedynyshyn. But soon thereafter, Col. Yevdokimov of the Soviet repatriation commission succeeded in having Fedynyshyn arrested with the help of the American military police. Since then, any trace of Fedynyshyn has disappeared forever.¹⁴

Already during the second half of 1945, representative and self-aid organizations, relief committees, chapters of the Ukrainian Red Cross, and the Ukrainian branches of the YMCA-YWCA were set up in all Ukrainian refugee camps. Great relief work was done by the Ukrainian Red Cross committees, which benefited enormously from the existence of the Ukrainian Red Cross mission of the Ukrainian National Republic in-exile in Switzerland.

They issued ID cards to the Ukrainian refugees, indicating their stateless status and their protection by the International Red Cross. Such certificates saved the lives of many thousands of Ukrainian refugees, especially those from Eastern Ukraine.¹⁵ The Ukrainian camp administrations and community organizations also played a large role in defending the Ukrainian political refugees from Russian-occupied Ukraine.

¹³ Vassyl Mudryj, *Nova ukrajinska...*, p. 116.

¹⁴ D. Zelenetskyj (ed.), *Na hromadskij...*, p. 9.; V. Mudryj, *Ukrajinska emigratsia*, p. 107.

¹⁵ O. Zelenetskyj, *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

Frequently, jeopardizing their own lives, the Ukrainian civic leaders resisted and successfully thwarted the mean actions of the Russian repatriation commissions. They organized protest demonstrations before the German population and the Allied military authorities. They arranged mass meetings, hunger strikes and solidarity marches and sent hundreds of thousands of protest letters to international agencies and organizations, as well as to various European and American governments. Frequently, when the Russian repatriation officers showed up at the gates of the UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) camps, Ukrainian camp police, various youth groups, men, women and older citizens built human walls and stood firm, thus preventing the Russian officers from entering the DP camps.¹⁶ However, man-hunting by the Russians was a frequent occurrence.

For quite some time, Communist Russian authorities even demanded the dissolution of all Ukrainian relief organizations and the Ukrainian DP camps and blamed them for the anti-repatriation agitation and for taking a strong anti-Russian stand. This led to the temporary banning of the Ukrainian self-aid organizations in all three zones of the military occupation of West Germany and Austria during 1945-46.¹⁷ In many instances it was proven that Moscow had its own highly devoted collaborators and agents in the ranks of the UNRRA and the IRO (International Refugee Organization) administrations. These agents used the "screening" process of the DP's to further their anti-human objectives and to persecute the Ukrainian emigrants for not wanting to return under Russian rule.¹⁸

III. Central Representation of Ukrainian Emigration (CRUE)

As soon as the war ended Ukrainian refugees were forming new organizations aimed at the pursuit of cultural and political goals and at mutual aid and economic self-help. Since May 1945 there existed in West Germany and Austria many "community committees," "associations for mutual aid" and "financial aid bureaus." On May 8, 1945, a Ukrainian institution for protection and consultation of Ukrainian refugees was set up in Munich. In October 1945, in Munich, a Ukrainian Red Cross bureau was formed which was transformed in 1946 into the Ukrainian Sanitary-Charitable Service. Former Ukrainian inmates of Nazi concentration camps formed the League of the Ukrainian Political Prisoners.¹⁹ Many other associations sprang up just as fast, a number of them as a continuation of associations which had their origin in Ukraine.

After long negotiations at the Headquarters of the American Armed Forces in Frankfurt, a former Ukrainian deputy to the Polish Parliament, Vassyl

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁷ Vassyl Mudryj, *Ukrajinska emigratsia*, p.182.

¹⁸ O. Zelenetskyj, *ibid.*, p.25.

¹⁹ Dr. M.M., "Ukrajinska emigratsija v Nimechchyni," *Narodnij kalendar*, Paris, 1949, p.182.

Mudryi, succeeded in getting an oral consent to the calling of the first national assembly meeting of Ukrainian refugees for the purpose of organizing the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration (CRUE). A similar permit was granted by the UNRRA authorities for all three occupational zones of Germany — American, British and French.²⁰

The First Convention of the Ukrainian refugees took place October 30 —November 1, 1945 in Aschaffenburg, West Germany, where the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration (CRUE) was set up. The 142 delegates who took part in the meeting were classified as elected representatives for Ukrainians from all three occupational zones with full voting rights, delegates representing various Ukrainian organizations and institutions, and as participants with the observer status. By the end of 1945, the life of the Ukrainian refugees residing mainly in the UNRRA camps began to assume firm and concrete organizational forms. The Ukrainian Relief Committee in Augsburg became the base of the CRUE.²¹

The organizational structure of CRUE was made up of five levels: refugee camp, district, region, province-land, and the central organization. The central level consisted of the Supreme Council, the Main Administration and a number of various departments to be organized in time such as departments concerned with organization, culture and education, employment and business, legal aid, social care, finances, information, youth and women.²²

The Second Convention of CRUE was held in two sessions: in Regensburg (May 8-11, 1947) and in Dillingen (November 14-16, 1947). At these meetings a CRUE charter for Ukrainian community order in Germany was adopted.²³ CRUE's constitution of Ukrainian Law and Order in Germany was designed to show the strong emphasis on the economic aspects of the refugees' life. The stated aims of the Constitution were: 1) to provide the Ukrainian DP's in Germany with all-round aid and assistance; 2) to preserve the achievements of the Ukrainian national culture and to secure the basis for its continuous development; 3) to involve and integrate the productive forces of the Ukrainian emigration into the economic and social life of the Western democracies; and 4) to foster its physical and moral health as well as its law and order.²⁴ One of CRUE's tasks was to gather and keep statistics on the social, cultural, organizational and economic life of the refugees.

Representations of the Ukrainian emigration in Germany existed on the basis of self-government and mutual aid and operated, among others, in the area of social aid, job security, economic self-aid, professional movements and

²⁰ Zelenetskyj, *ibid.*, p. 14.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²³ Dr. M.M. *Narodnij kalendar*, p. 183.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

associations, community finances and the preparation for the overseas emigration. All Ukrainian communal institutions in Germany and Austria, were expected to have their By-Laws confirmed and approved by the CRUE.²⁵

With the IRO reorganization of the DP camps merging small DP camps into big ones, the number of Ukrainian camps declined to 75 in the American zone,²⁶ to 57 in the British zone and to only one Ukrainian DP camp in the French zone. Also reported at the Second Convention of the CRUE was about the state of Ukrainian emigration. During 1946-1947, nearly 25,000 Ukrainians emigrated from West Germany, 15,000 from the American zone and 10,000 from the British. Most of them emigrated to England, some of them to Belgium and France. This was just the beginning of the emigration to the U.S. and Canada.

The refugees going to the U.S. had to be in possession of the so-called "affidavits." Workers under 40 were recruited mostly for the physical work in Brazil, Venezuela, Australia and Canada. These countries needed miners, forest and factory workers, as well as construction workers. Women were recruited for textile mills and for housekeeping work. The Ukrainian community authorities planned group emigrations of the Ukrainian DP's. Beginning in 1948, the emigration outlook brightened substantially.²⁷

The statistical information collected by the CRUE revealed that there were still 177,000 Ukrainians in Germany and Austria in 1947. There were reasons to believe that in reality almost twice as many Ukrainians still lived there. Some of them fled to Germany in an attempt to escape from the Red Army and to avoid again the Russian terror and persecution. Some settled permanently in Germany and Austria after their release from concentration camps and places of forced labor. Still others tried to prevent any future subjection to the intolerable Russian-dominated political enslavement, national and religious persecution, social serfdom, violation of basic human rights, and the economic exploitation of the Ukrainian people and its national resources.²⁸

The statistical department of the CRUE announced at the Third meeting of its Supreme Council (December 16-17, 1950) that on October 1, 1950, there were only 29,000 Ukrainians still residing in West Germany²⁹: 18,500 in the American zone, 8,000 in the British and 2,000 in the French zone. When the Fourth extraordinary session of the Supreme Council of the CRUE was held in Munich (June 2-3, 1951) there were still 15 Ukrainian refugee centers in operation,³⁰ they were predominantly IRO DP camps. In addition, some camps

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.184.

²⁶ Zelenetskyj, *op. cit.*, p.17.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

were already under German administration, since the IRO was in the process of gradual self-liquidation. As soon as they had found jobs, more Ukrainians transferred to private residence life. It is estimated that by mid-1951 there remained nearly 25,000 Ukrainian refugees in Germany.³¹

Therefore, the most urgent matter of the day was to get the remaining Ukrainians integrated into the German economy. In his speech to the Fourth session of the CRUE, Professor B. Plushch, the president of the CRUE, reported: "Our people everywhere, wherever they have gone have integrated into the economies of their new countries. But in Germany no efforts are being made in this direction. Some individuals obtained employment, but the majority is condemned to staying in the camps . . . This problem was raised with the federal government in Bonn and with the IRO . . . We received a positive answer: 'Provide us with concrete data about your people' . . . The CRUE issued a special appeal for the interested parties to report to the CRUE so that this information could be forwarded to the German government authorities. However, only 150 individuals answered the call."³²

Transition to the German economy, the emigration of the most active elements from West Germany, a very serious financial situation for the Ukrainians remaining in Germany, continuous fluctuations of camp population, excessive dispersion of the Ukrainians throughout Germany — all this created serious organizational and financial problems for the CRUE. The CRUE Supreme Council had insufficient funds needed for central administration and for meeting organizational expenses.³³

This precarious situation could be explained, to a great extent, by an extraordinary passivity of the Ukrainian community in Germany, which expected from the CRUE material aid, social and legal care, cultural and educational work, but did not discharge much responsibility towards its own community central organization. For example, during the second half of 1951, when still some 25,000 Ukrainians lived there, the Ukrainian community membership dues, "natsionalnyi datok", amounted to only 1,350 DM. During the first half of 1952, only 357 DM were paid into the Fund. This sum was clearly not enough to cover even the most basic daily CRUE expenditures. This horrendous financial state of the CRUE was caused indirectly by the living conditions in which the Ukrainians in Germany found themselves, resulting in a majority who were sick, disabled, very young or aged.³⁴

The CRUE was desperately trying to get financial aid from the German government. But the Germans categorically refused either to financially support the CRUE or to refund some of the money which it lost in the monetary reform

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

of 1948. Therefore, the CRUE made constant appeals for help to various Ukrainian overseas organizations. The greatest help came from the Ukrainian Catholics in the U.S. and Canada, the Center for Coordination of Ukrainian Civic Institutions (CCUCI), the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (UUARC) and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA).³⁵ The Seventh Session of CRUE took place in Munich (August 14-17, 1953). In the reporting period the CRUE revenues amounted to 72,000 DM, while the distributed monetary aid was 37,000 DM. Social and legal care service of CRUE applied to the transfer from one camp to another, settlement to private residences, provisions for retirement, unemployment benefits, social security, compensation, etc.³⁶

The CRUE finally succeeded in getting the German authorities to agree to the concentration of Ukrainian refugees in such centers as Kleinketz, Neu Ulm, Amberg, Regensburg and Ludwigsfeld near Munich. Also a number of the Ukrainian war invalids and former political prisoners were given pensions and restitutions. A positive turn developed when they became eligible for unemployment compensation, German Social Security, as well as the placing of older Ukrainians in homes for the aged.³⁷

IV. CRUE Finances and Its Supportive Work

The Central Representation of Ukrainian Emigration (CRUE) performed a significant role in the financial support of the cultural and scholarly life of the refugees and in charitable work among them. In 1948, for example, the best year of CRUE's activity, it dispensed for the various causes close to one million Reichsmarks.

The Ukrainian community membership dues formed the financial basis of CRUE. The annual membership dues amounted to 20.00 RM (later DM) and were expected to be paid by every employed Ukrainian adult refugee. All Ukrainian cooperatives as well as Ukrainian independent industrial and commercial business firms were urged to contribute 1 percent of their annual turnover. There was also a minor tax levied on all Ukrainian camp undertakings.³⁸ The collected funds were then allotted for in the following manner: 60% for the work of the Central Representation, 25% for that of the Regional Representations,

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ V. Mudryj, *Nova ukrajinska...*, p. 121.; II General Convention of CRUE in its Constitution adopted on November 16, 1947, emphasized the CRUE responsibility for the material aid and care, the approval of the budget by the CRUE Executive Council, and the significance of the regular voluntary contributions from individual members, institutions and organizations in the CRUE budget. (*The CRUE Constitution and the Elections Rules*, Augsburg, 1948, pp. 6-8, 15-17). How important were the Ukrainian community membership dues can be seen from the fact that the participation in the CRUE elections was limited only to those who regularly paid their CRUE community membership dues, (*Ibid.*, p.23).

and 15% for that of the Local Representations. The financing of cultural needs and activities of the Ukrainian emigration in West Germany was carried out by a special Cultural Fund.³⁹ The Cultural Fund was getting financial support from “caroling”, Easter and other collections assigned to explicit cultural causes. These included collections for the upkeep of the graves of the Ukrainian soldiers who had died in Germany, for organizing art exhibits, collections for the financing of Ukrainian cultural enterprises and also for the support of Ukrainian students, even though the responsibility for the students’ support rested with the Commission for the Aid to Ukrainian Students (CAUS, in Ukrainian KODUS).⁴⁰

Furthermore, the Cultural Fund was supported by the admissions fees from various Ukrainian cultural events taking place in the refugee camps. Gross receipts from various Ukrainian undertakings were subject to a 15% fee, of which 10% were transferred to the Cultural Fund at the Main Office, and the remaining 5% were left for the cultural needs of the individual refugee camps.⁴¹

For example, the CRUE budget for 1948 estimated revenues of 498,000 RM from Ukrainian community membership dues collected in all three occupational zones of West Germany. For the Cultural Fund and Education —250,000 RM were allowed, for the Social assistance 190,000 RM, for a total of 440,000 RM. Thus, all CRUE receipts were estimated at a gross total of 938,000 RM; total expenditures for 1948 were estimated at 930,000 RM.⁴²

Many Ukrainian refugees were unable to meet the Ukrainian community membership dues requirement. Ukrainian students were expected to pay community membership dues of only 5.00 RM. Experience proved that, on the average, only about 50% of all Ukrainian DP’s were fulfilling this duty of paying the community membership dues. Thus, with these extremely meager funds and with no financial support from the outside sources, the CRUE was expected to carry out its vitally important tasks. No outside aid was ever received by CRUE for the financing of its work.⁴³

During the first six months of 1948, the CRUE received in revenues:

National membership dues	310,000 RM
1% from business turnover	160,395 RM
Tax from various Ukrainian undertakings	30,175 RM
Christmas caroling for various causes	131,477 RM
Easter “pysanka” and other collections	258,858 RM
Total	877,485 RM ⁴⁴

³⁹ V. Mudryj, *Ukrajinska emigratsija*, p. 113.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 114.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ V. Mudryj, *Nova ukrajinska...*, p.121.

During the same period of 1948, the CRUE spent its total budget in the following manner:

Culture, education, science, promotion	36.6%
Social aid and assistance	13.7%
International committee and coordination	2.9%
Communal Judiciary of the CRUE	3.0%
Organizational activities	19.3%
Office and business expenses	6.9%
Overhead costs	17.0%
Miscellaneous	0.6%
Total	100.0%⁴⁵

The CRUE extended financial support to a number of Ukrainian scholarly institutions in Germany such as:

- The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UFAS-UVAN) in Augsburg;
- The Shevchenko Scientific Society (SSS-NTSh) in Munich;
- The Ukrainian Free University (UFU-UVU) in Munich;
- The Ukrainian Technical-Economic Institute (UTEI-UTHI) in Regensburg;
- The Ukrainian College of Economics (UCE-UVESh) in Munich;
- The Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic Theological Seminary (UCTS) in Hirschberg; and
- The Ukrainian Orthodox Theological Seminary (UOTS) in Munich.⁴⁶

The German currency reform of June 20 1948⁴⁷ caused losses of savings, resulted in dangerous unemployment, and brought a substantial reduction in the quality of cultural life of the Ukrainian DP's. The effects of the monetary reform were especially painful to the families and individuals who earned their living at Ukrainian institutions and enterprises. Those who found themselves in an extremely hard economic situation included invalids and cripples, senior citizens, the sick, and workers in the field of science, education and culture, who in the years 1945-1948 earned a living from their cultural and intellectual contributions and now were out of work.⁴⁸

Thus, after the monetary reform of June 1948, the financial situation of all Ukrainians in West Germany, as well as that of CRUE, worsened very substantially. The CRUE finances decreased by 92%, even though CRUE was

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Germany's national real wealth had decreased by one third by 1945 and for the first postwar years its capacity to produce was reduced to about 50 percent of the prewar level. A currency reform was considered to be an essential step toward the economic recovery and the achievement of a standard of living equal to the continental European average. The currency reform of June 20, 1948, changed the situation overnight. Before the reform the Reichsmark (RM) was used and thereafter —the Deutsche Mark (DM).

⁴⁸ Dr. M.M., *Ukrajinska emigratsia v Nimechchyni*, pp. 176-177.

allowed to have its money balances exchanged into the new currency at par.⁴⁹

As the Ukrainian refugee population declined considerably, the financial revenues of the CRUE also declined. While in 1949 8,700 DM were received from community membership dues, in 1950 CRUE received only 761 DM. Deductions from wages collected by CRUE amounted to 31,300 DM in 1949; in 1950 they fell to less than 9,000 DM. Due to these drastic changes, CRUE was forced to stop further payments of financial assistance to cultural and educational institutions as well as for all socio-charitable assistance.⁵⁰

V. Vocational Training and Work Groups

The DP camps gradually became temporary transit points for the DP's in connection with their repatriation and later their emigration to other countries. The experience of the post-World War II emigration proved beyond a doubt that in order to have a more successful life abroad, a practical profession was desirable. The military occupational authorities, UNRRA, and later the IRO suggested that the refugees in Germany and Austria should be resettled to the Western countries and that they should use their residence in the DP camps as proper preparation for resettlement.⁵¹

The Ukrainian communal and educational authorities took the matter of vocational education and the retraining of many refugees into their own hands during the long months of their camp residency. With this in mind, the Ukrainian Technical-Economic Institute had resumed its operation in Regensburg, and in August 1945 it called to life a special commission, later a section of mass retraining. Eventually, it was transformed into a division of the middle and lower vocational schools and courses. In places of greater concentration of Ukrainian refugees, UTEI branches were set up. At the end of the 1946-47 school year, there already operated a network of UTEI special vocational schools and courses of either short-term or of one-year duration.⁵²

As of July 1947, there existed 24 UTEI vocational schools with 244 instructors and 876 students; there were also 52 vocational courses with 130 instructors and 1,587 students. In the 1946-1947 school year such UTEI vocational courses were successfully completed by 878 persons. Also, in the DP camps there functioned various UNRRA and later IRO vocational schools, projects and courses for the retraining of the refugees. The most important UNRRA and IRO retraining centers were located in Arolsen and Hanau in the American zone and in Hannover and Braunschweig in the British zone of West Germany. There were also schools and courses set up by the camp administrations and community organizations.

⁴⁹ V. Mudryj, *Nova ukrajinska . . .*, p.121.

⁵⁰ O.Zelenetskyj, *op.cit.*, p.38.

⁵¹ Volodymyr Maruniak, *Ukrajinska emigratsia v Nimechchyni ta Avstriji*, vol. I(1945-1951), Muenchen, 1985, p. 325.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 325.

Frequently, the results of vocational retraining did not always reflect the real needs or resettlement requirements of the emigrants. The most serious deficiency of the retraining process was the uncoordinated character of all the initiatives, UTEI and other. The attempts to create a single Ukrainian Center for the coordination of the vocational education and retraining did not produce any satisfactory results. Even in 1948 when mass resettlement was in full swing, the existence of the Office for Vocational Education and Courses under the CRUE department of Culture and Education did not bring much improvement.⁵³

In 1947, 43 Ukrainian vocational schools with 2,250 students and 239 instructors were registered with this office. Thirty-nine schools with 217 instructors and 2,112 students operated in West Germany, while 4 schools with 22 instructors and 138 students operated in Austria. However, much greater popularity was enjoyed by another form of vocational retraining of the general public, namely, the short and long-run vocational courses. In 1947 there were:

295	courses	with	8,301	students	in	the	U.S.	zone	of	Germany
107	"	"	2,944	British	"	"				
5	"	"	120	French	"	"				
51	"	"	923	Austria.	"	"				

On the average, there were 25 participants per course.⁵⁴ Attendance at these courses was motivated not only by the practical considerations of the students, but also by the resettlement scheme that was popular at the particular time. When emigration to South America became possible, Spanish language and agricultural courses were in high demand. When the Anglo-Saxon World offered the chance for emigration, the demand for technical knowledge and English language rose considerably. Artistic educational courses enjoyed high regard among the admirers of folk art, along with courses in technical drawing, geodesy and others. These courses were intended for individuals who had no previous opportunity to complete their secondary education.⁵⁵

However, when during the course of the resettlement process it was learned that the interested countries were not paying great attention to camp retraining, the interest in vocational courses declined drastically. This can be observed from the state of vocational courses in the American zone of Germany in 1949, when the number of such courses fell sharply from 295 to 51, and the number of students from over 8,000 to 1,500. But, despite the lack of popularity of these courses and of the inadequate structure of the entire retraining process, a substantial percentage of the students who enrolled in the vocational schools found them very useful afterwards in the countries of their new and permanent settlement.⁵⁶

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 325-326.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 326

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

Some enterprises and workshops organized their own vocational training and retraining of the Ukrainian workers at larger DP camps and preparatory courses were sponsored by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and by the International Refugee Organization (IRO) for refugees of various national origins.

Meanwhile, many thousands of Ukrainians who lived privately outside the DP camps were satisfactorily integrated into the German economy. They found employment with various German business firms and also worked within the German agricultural system. Likewise from the DP camp residents, workers' groups were organized for forest, construction and other types of work. Such work detachments were even employed by U.S military companies and workshops. In this way, tens of thousands of Ukrainian workers found promising employment.⁵⁷

With respect to the employment of young Ukrainian DP's, the existence of a most unique engineering-construction work unit should not be ignored; it was called "sotnia" and it operated in Gross Anheim in the American zone. This unit was dissolved in 1949. There also existed two workers' camps organized with the assistance of the UUARC at the beginning of 1948, in Giessen and Hanau, where over 600 Ukrainians found employment at relatively good wages with the U.S Army installations.⁵⁸

The workers at these camps were given better rations than those in the DP camps and were paid the same wages as the German employees. They enjoyed priority with respect to resettlement. Both work camps were closed at the end of 1949 due to the beginning of active DP resettlement and due to the stepped-up hiring of Germans for work at the U.S installations. In the British zone, several hundred of Ukrainian refugees were employed as watchmen and truck drivers in semi-military units at the British military facilities performing various auxiliary services.⁵⁹

Because of the general desire to emigrate, work morale of the labor force declined quite considerably after 1949. Planning production and increasing business productivity became very hard. Fictitious employment, mainly in camp administrative institutions, and black-market activities were considered the worst enemies of the normal employment process. Because of this young people could not see any more much sense in vocational training and retraining. Black-market pricing demoralized the work process, while the UNRRA giveaway to camp inmates had the most adverse effects on the organization of work there.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Vassyl Mudryj, "Ukrajinska emigratsia," 1949, p. 120.

⁵⁸ Volodymyr Maruniak, *op. cit.*, p.320.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

The creation of a business and employment supervisory agency under the regional or central levels of CRUE did not succeed due to a lack of suitable personnel, insufficient financial means and its incompatibility with German laws. The German employment authorities refused to recognize such an agency. Regarding care for Ukrainians employed by German firms, for three years the regional organization of CRUE had Ukrainian representatives working in the German employment agency in Munich who also were paid by it. This arrangement greatly helped to settle cases involving the Ukrainian workers.⁶¹

By 1949, however, the number of Ukrainians employed by German firms was on the decline, especially in agriculture. The Ukrainian employees left their farmer-employers even though they were considered good farm hands. Material and living conditions of the Ukrainian workers were bad and were getting even worse. Wages were too low to cover the rising living expenses. An uncertain future and total hopelessness of the present clearly had its demoralizing effects on the Ukrainian workers.⁶²

What was said before about Munich and the Bavarian province accurately applied to other German provincial industrial centers prior to the 1948 monetary reform. Working conditions of the German workers during 1945-1948 were not easy at all. Work morale was somewhat better in the DP camps due to the absence of the pressure and hostility of the German environment. Also in the British zone, DP workers employed by German firms remained under the care of the British occupational authorities, and, in addition to wages in factories and enterprises, they also received "work supplements" that were twice as high as the rations of the non-working refugees. However, despite these complications and adversities of the German labor market, there were some areas of Ukrainian economic life that were very successful, namely, the workshops.⁶³

VI. Craftsman and Artisan Workshops

During the first two years of emigration, 1945-1946, the economic life of Ukrainian refugees in DP camps in Germany and Austria did not differ much from the chaotic economic situation in both countries. There were widespread black market activities, depreciated currencies, severe shortages of goods and raw materials and a complete lack of work stimuli. In that period, the UNRRA and later IRO as well as the Allied military occupational authorities provided the refugees with free food and lodgings in the camps, but did not show much interest in raising the levels of economic activity of the refugees. In this world of declining work morale, post-war economic hopelessness, black market tyranny, and worthless currencies, wages were equal only to pocket money and work assumed almost insulting characteristics.⁶⁴

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 318-319.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

Only in 1947, with the worsening of living conditions in the DP camps and an especially bad food situation during 1947-1948, the far-reaching German monetary reform of 1948 allowed work to assume its proper and honorable place. The proportion of the working DP camp population increased considerably from 30% in 1946 to 60% in 1947, of what can be estimated as the total labor force as the refugees found employment with camp services, schools, various educational programs, in UNRRA workshops, in cooperative shops of camp administrations, in outside establishments of the US Army, in the UNRRA administration and in the German economy.⁶⁵

Even in these highly unfavorable conditions, the business initiative of the Ukrainian refugees did not perish. When hopes for an imminent emigration faded, the Ukrainian DP community turned to economic activities along the lines of cooperative and private initiative regardless of their occupational background. Soon after, the organization of private workshops through both self-help and vigorous business activities in and outside the camps started. Suddenly, there appeared numerous private vegetable gardens and orchards, a whole network of profitable commercial and manufacturing enterprises, and particularly private and cooperative workshops.⁶⁶

It was not easy for Ukrainian economic institutions and communal supra-camp authorities to meaningfully penetrate the live of individual DP camps. Ukrainian private and cooperative enterprises employed exclusively Ukrainian refugees and the radius of their activities was limited mainly to the DP camps' territories. Only a few of them, those involved in the manufacturing of highly original products such as Ukrainian applied art objects, slowly succeeded in breaking the camp barriers and reaching into the German and even international markets. The availability of productive equipment (machines) and raw materials posed one of the most serious obstacles for the workshops.⁶⁷

The results obtained from the poll conducted by the CRUE Information Department in Frankfurt, West Germany, revealed that in the beginning of 1948 there were 356 Ukrainian workshops in the American zone with 2,329 employees, in the British zone of Germany there were 139 workshops with 942 Ukrainian employees, while in the French zone 18 workshops with 76 employees.⁶⁸

Within the German economy there existed in Bavaria private Ukrainian construction, transportation and trading firms, which together with the Ukrainian cooperatives outside the DP camps totalled 80 in September 1948. To coordinate the activities of all Ukrainian enterprises, a trade association of merchants, industrialists and craftsmen, the Ukrainian Commercial-Industrial Association, was founded in Stuttgart in 1946. Its professed goal was to secure a

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 314-315.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁶⁸ Maruniak, *op. cit.*, p. 315; V. Mudryj, *Ukrajinska . . .*, 1949, p. 121.

proper place for the production of the Ukrainian firms and to help Ukrainian entrepreneurs enter into world trade. However, this goal was too high for the Association and after two issues of its journal "Trade and Industry," it ceased to exist.⁶⁹

Ukrainian refugee camps represented economic units with their own finances, productive enterprises and technical workshops. During 1945-1947 a number of Ukrainian business firms were established despite the general economic crisis, as well as the acute shortage of living space, investment capital, raw materials and technical equipment.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the manufacturers of Ukrainian folk embroidery, artistic carpets and wood carvings, especially the Carpatho-Hutsul style, enjoyed great success and recognition among foreign buyers. For a brief time the demand for their output seemed to be insatiable.⁷¹

The CRUE Department of Employment and Business was responsible for employment and work placing, cooperative activities, professional organizations and job training and retraining throughout the entire Ukrainian DP camp system in Germany and Austria. To search and find a suitable job was a never-ending process. The responsibility of finding jobs for the Ukrainian refugees was given to the CRUE Department of Employment and Business. In 1946-1947 it had under its jurisdiction 307 Ukrainian enterprises and workshops, of which 220 were located in the DP camps and 87 outside of them. These were predominantly small workshops most of them employing not more than 2 to 10 employees. Altogether they employed over 3,000 Ukrainian refugees.⁷² Depending on specialization, these Ukrainian business firms could be grouped into nine different categories:

- (1) Mechanics, locksmiths, turners, tinsmiths, and electrotechnicians — 22
- (2) Shoemakers — 52
- (3) Tailors — 44
- (4) Carpenters — 18
- (5) Construction — 5
- (6) Knitting workshops — 32
- (7) Folk art manufacturing — 116 (Embroidered goods — 36; folk art carvings — 26; folk games — 16; national dolls manufacturing — 15; painting—8; knitting wares— 6; sculpture—4; ceramics— 3; art needle works—2)
- (8) Publishing and printing — 8
- (9) Commercial (kiosks, stores, taverns etc.) — 10.

⁶⁹ Vassyl Mudryj, *Ukrajinska emigratsia*, 1949, pp. 120-121; V. Maruniak, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

⁷⁰ *Hospodarsko-Kooperatyvne Zhyttia*, 1947, Nos. 3-4.

⁷¹ V. Maruniak, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 321.

In 1947-1948 the number of the Ukrainian workshops in Germany apparently increased. One source lists for this period 513 workshops with 3,347 employees.⁷³

An interesting report on the activities and problems of Ukrainian workshops for the period from March to May 1948 was prepared by the Office of Employment and Business of the regional branch of the CRUE in Munich. Its conclusions reflected the situation that existed in other parts of West Germany as well. According to this report in 1948, in the Munich region there lived 17,000 Ukrainians, of which 13,000 were in the DP camps and 4,000 in private dwellings (3,370 of these in Munich alone). Eighty-two percent of them were able-bodied, while 18% were not. Of the able-bodied individuals, 68% were employed and 32% were out of work. Eighteen percent were employed by Ukrainian business firms, 6% by German firms, 25% by the Allied forces, and 51% by camp administrations and the IRO. The employment was provided by twenty-one registered Ukrainian enterprises and 10 institutions. Due to a lack of raw materials and skilled workers, some of the enterprises operated on a part time basis only, and some of them ceased to exist after a short time.⁷⁴

The most important business categories of Ukrainian private firms included: chemicals (soaps, pastes), national art wood carving, construction, installation, printing shops, tailor and shoe repair shops, carpet-making, watch repair, etc. Most of these enterprises went out of business as fast as they sprang into it. The business data on the number of these enterprises covering the period from February 1948 to December 1949 illustrates this fast decline:⁷⁵

	Workshops	Employees
February 1948	356	2,329
December 1948	138	1,081
December 1949	65	299

VII. Ukrainian Refugee Cooperatives

Since many of the workshops discussed above were organized as cooperatives and since cooperatives have been a distinct feature of Ukrainian economic history, their organization and work deserve a special mention.

In the Ukrainian national life, in Ukraine, besides its economic activities the cooperative movement always played a major role promoting Ukrainian culture and learning. Ukrainian cooperative firms always contributed generously a substantial share of their profits to major national causes, particularly the major cultural ones. Under communist Russian rule, the Ukrainian cooperative

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 318-319.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

movement was cruelly suppressed and prohibited, while its leaders were persecuted and jailed. On the other hand, in the emigration, the Ukrainian cooperative movement was able to develop and vigorously profess its old traditions.

The major categories of business activities of Ukrainian DP's were based on cooperative principles. The ideological and organizational leadership of the Ukrainian cooperative movement in post-war West Germany was concentrated in Munich, where the main cooperative associations as well as the centers of the leading professional and academic cooperators were located. Thus, the cooperative form of business activities proved to be quite alive; the "old country" cooperative tradition was carried on in the emigration, although seemingly insurmountable legal and economic difficulties forced the Ukrainian cooperatives to considerably restrict their scope of activities.⁷⁶

The realities of life consisted of the free provision to camp residents with all the basic needs of daily life and servicing the privately living refugees with consumer goods during a period of general food rationing. The impossibility of getting registration in German courts for the cooperative firms located outside the DP camps before 1947 and the existence of camp cooperatives on by-laws temporarily approved or not approved by the UNRRA authorities compelled the Ukrainian cooperators and the Ukrainian central communal institutions to emphasize, first of all, the organization of manufacturing workshops.⁷⁷

September 1945 marks the beginning of the activities of the Ukrainian cooperatives in West Germany. At that time, the Ukrainian cooperators gathered around the Ukrainian Relief Committee in Munich and organized three large cooperative associations: (1) The Cooperative Association of Consumers (COC-KOS) which consisted of a wholesale business unit, a grocery store, a restaurant and a bookstore; (2) "The Women's Toil" (Zhinocha Pratsia) which associated its activities with the traditions of the former Lviv-based Cooperative Of Ukrainian Folk Art; and (3) The cooperative "Llabor", with activities in the fields of construction, transportation, footwear, maintaining a tailor shop, barber shop, watch repair shop, publishing house, the manufacturing of folk art objects, chemicals, cosmetics, and much more.⁷⁸

At the first convention of the Ukrainian cooperatives in Munich, June 9, 1946 (the second convention was held January 27, 1947 and the third — July 26, 1947; all three in Munich), the Central Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives in Exile (CUUCE), Tsentrosoyuz, and the Association of Ukrainian Cooperators

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 314; On cooperative movement in Ukraine see: Illia Vytanovych, *History of Ukrainian Cooperative Movement* (New York:1964); Oleksander Morhun, *Outline of History of Industrial Cooperative Activities in Ukraine* (Munich: 1966); Pavlo Dubrivny (ed.), *Ukrainian Agricultural Association "The Farmer" in Lviv, 1899-1944*, (New York: 1970); S.V. Borodajevskij, *History of Cooperative Movement*, (Prague: 1925); Ivan Martiuk, *Tsentrosoyuz in Lviv in 1924-1944*, (Jersey City, N.J.: 1973).

⁷⁷ V. Maruniak, *op cit.*, pp. 319-320.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

(OUK) were all formed.⁷⁹ The Tsentrosoiuz was initially designed to be a commercial center for the procurement of supplies for the DP camps and other Ukrainian cooperatives and also an intermediary for the distribution of output between the cooperative workshops and the overseas countries. However, later it was compelled to transfer its commercial functions to the COC (KOS) and itself to assume responsibilities of organizational promotion, education and professional supervision of the cooperatives. The Ukrainian cooperative activities in Austria centered around the Landeck DP camp, where since 1945, the Association of Ukrainian Cooperators (AUC) and the Society "The Agriculturist" (Silskyj Hospodar) were in existence.⁸⁰

There were cooperatives operating within and outside of the DP camps . They were, for the most part, members of the Tsentrosoyuz (CUUCE), but there also existed "wild cooperatives" run privately by some camp administrations or private individuals, as well as "monstrosities" which were represented by the UNRRA cooperatives. The cooperative associations organized outside of the camps, and registered in the German courts in 1947, included the following: The Cooperative Association of Consumers (KOS), cooperatives "Llabor" and "The Women's Toil" located in Munich and cooperatives UNITAS in Hannover and "Zahrava" in Blomberg. They had a total of 23 branches, workshops and kiosks where in 1948 they employed 171 people. They were mostly individuals who were ineligible for the UNRRA support in the DP camps and lived in private residences.

Together with the cooperative "Plast" in Bayreuth, these cooperative associations organized a central cooperative super-structure, "Uniiia," which was headed by the reknowned Ukrainian civic leader and cooperative ideologist, Julian Pavlykovskij. "Uniiia" was not only a business association of member-cooperatives, but also a Patronage of the Ukrainian cooperative movement, providing it with general guidelines and direction.⁸¹

From the report on the activities of the CAC (KOS) cooperative in Munich for the period from September 1945 to June 1947 we learn about the financial side of the Ukrainian cooperatives in West Germany. According to this source, during the said period, CAC (KOS) cooperative had a turnover of 2,7 million RM, 922 members and 63 employees.⁸²

The peak year of the Ukrainian cooperative movement in West Germany was 1948 when the total number of cooperatives reached 43. The following table shows the number of cooperatives by year and occupation zone:

⁷⁹ Dr. M.M. *op. cit.*, p. 181.

⁸⁰ V. Mudryj, *Nova Ukrajinška*. . . , p. 123.

⁸¹ V. Mudryj, *Ukrajinška emigratsia*..., 1949, pp. 120-121.

⁸² V. Maruniak, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949
U.S. Zone	7	24	29	30	15
British zone	-	1	6	11	4
French zone	-	-	2	2	-
Total	7	25	37	43	19 ⁸³

Moreover, several Ukrainian non-cooperative shops existed in the DP camps. By the end of 1947 there were 47 such shops, 37 in the US zone and 10 in the British one. These private shops, kiosks and taverns were owned by Ukrainian businessmen living privately and infrequently by political groups or by some DP camp administrations.

In summary, the economic cooperative life of the Ukrainian refugees in West Germany and Austria before 1950 could be characterized as follows:

(1) The deep-rooted Ukrainian cooperative idea flourished, at least for a while, among the Ukrainian refugees; one of the basic traits it was faithful to was the generous donating to Ukrainian national and cultural causes.

(2) The period of the existence of Ukrainian cooperatives as well as of the handicraft and artisan industries abroad could be divided into: (a) the pre-1948 growth period and (b) the post-1948 period of decline.

(3) The Ukrainian community in West Germany was unique and first among all refugee groups in setting up its own system of commercial and manufacturing cooperatives on German soil.

(4) Manufacturing cooperatives did not find suitable ground for their growth during 1949-1951, and just like many other Ukrainian private firms located outside the DP camps, they were forced to terminate their existence due to a lack of the required ability to withstand fierce German competition.

(5) After the transfer of refugees from the DP camps to German jurisdiction and economic administration, camp activities of the DP's became quite limited. In the period of 1949-1951, the cooperative stores were liquidated and the growth of private stores in DP camps was drastically reduced. In 1951 there were no cooperative stores left in the British zone. Instead eight private Ukrainian DP camp stores and three Ukrainian firms were relocated outside the DP camps and continued to operate there.⁸⁴

VIII. Labor Unions and Professional Associations

The economy of the camps provided no basis for the formation of the labor unions. Rather the grouping of the Ukrainian peasants and many less skilled or unskilled workers took place within the framework of the Ukrainian political parties. People with professional background and higher skills grouped themselves in professional unions.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 321

The goals of the Ukrainian labor movement in exile were limited to the internal needs of the Ukrainian community. The traditional labor union goal of expanding its activities was impeded by the limited framework of the economic process in post-war Germany and even more restricted by the business and economic opportunities. Therefore, instead of emphasizing the defense of occupational interests of their members, the labor unions paid special attention to their national and ideological aspirations.

The Ukrainian labor unions emphasized their organizational scope and size of membership, training, raising of occupational qualifications and retraining, and the securing of workplaces for them.

At the outset, the trade union movement of the Ukrainian refugees generally developed quite intensively, especially with respect to the variety of professional unions. Later, when the servicing of their members failed to produce any noticeable results, when the hiring of skilled employees was done over the heads of trade union leaders, when political dispersion started to be reflected within the trade unions themselves, all this considerably weakened their activities and ultimately lead to the termination of most of them.

The Ukrainian professional unions basically embraced people with professional background and higher skills. The entire political spectrum of the Ukrainian refugee community was, in general, very attentive to the labor movement, and therefore the organization of workers in the camp environment was not easy. The occupational grouping of Ukrainian peasants took place within the framework of Ukrainian political parties.⁸⁵

There were the professional associations of physicians and medical personnel, engineers and technicians, silviculturists, private businessmen, teachers, lawyers, cooperators, journalists, musicians, research scholars, scientists, writers organized in MUR, artists and stage performers.⁸⁶ Fourteen professional unions registered with the CRUE. Central Association of Professional Unions (CAPU) was established as an effort to coordinate the activities of all the unions. However, decentralizing tendencies and serious differences proved to be stronger than the need for union work coordination. By mid-1948 this body ceased all its activities.

At the beginning of 1949, when the resettlement process was reaching its highest point, the self-liquidation of the professional unions began and in 1950 all the Ukrainian professional associations virtually ceased to exist with exception of the Association of Ukrainian Journalists (AUJ). Some of the unions, especially those of the artistic type, transferred their activities to the countries of their resettlement, mainly to North America.

In addition to professional associations, there were also other organizations registered with the CRUE such as the associations of invalids, war veterans,

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 322

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 325

former political prisoners and inmates of concentration camps. Of special importance was the Ukrainian Medico-Charitable Service (UMCS) whose main task was to take care of the moral, material and health-related problems of the hardest hit war victims such as the war invalids, families of the war victims, job invalids and the sick people. This task was executed in full cooperation with the CRUE Department of Social Services.⁸⁷

There was, however, little relationship between the occupational background of the refugees and the type of work or employment they were able to find. In terms of the occupational background, the social structure of the Ukrainian emigration in West Germany, as determined on August 1, 1948, appeared as follows:⁸⁸

University professors	259
Elementary, high school and special teachers	1,103
Writers	56
Artists	342
Journalists	136
Lawyers, judges	446
Engineers	887
Physicians	266
Veterinarians	92
Dentists	35
Midwives	11
Nurses	286
Former officials and civil servants	262
Merchants and cooperators	1,043
Craftsmen and skilled workers	8,407
Car and truck drivers	2,912
Unskilled workers	7,038
Farmers and farm laborers	18,957
	Total
	42,538

Out of this total, 27,475 resided in the American zone
 11,792 resided in the British zone
 3,271 resided in the French zone.

Thus, in the second half of 1948, 42,538 professionals and others resided in West Germany. Proportionwise, the situation in Austria was similar. Of the total refugee labor force in West Germany the bulk, 61 percent or 25,995, were either farmers and farm laborers or unskilled workers, 26.5 percent or 11,319 were skilled craftsmen and other skilled workers, 10 percent or 4,181, were professionals, including a small proportion of civil servants, and 2.5 percent or 1,043 persons who back in Ukraine were businessmen of the merchant type.

⁸⁷ V. Mudryj, *Nova ukrajinska...*, p. 123.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

On January 1, 1949, for the most part, the Ukrainian refugee community in Germany consisted of 21,500 peasants (14,000 in the U.S. zone, 6,500 in the British and over 1,000 in the French zone). They were followed by 9,000 of unskilled workers (6,500 in the U.S. zone, 2,200 in the British and 300 in the French zone). Due to training programs, 14,000 skilled workers and car and truck drivers are found in the statistical files of the CRUE Organizational Department (11,000 in the U.S. zone, 2,500 in the British and 500 in the French zone).⁸⁹

IX. Ukrainian Medico-Charitable Service and CRUE

The Ukrainian Medico-Charitable Service (UMCS) was organized in 1946 in Munchen-Karlsfeld. Originally the Ukrainian Red Cross, it was first named the Ukrainian Sanitary-Charitable Service (USCS). It had a membership of 640, including 278 physicians, 40 pharmacists and 205 paramedical personnel.⁹⁰

Valuable information on the number of Ukrainian medical personnel employed by the UNRRA-IRO can be found in the IRO Report for 1950-1951. Among the IRO medical personnel of 3,373, there were 494 Ukrainians recruited from among the Ukrainian refugees, or about 15% of the total. In Austria, the Ukrainian nationality was claimed by 51 physicians, 2 dentists and 1 pharmacist. In the U.S. zone of Germany, the Ukrainians were represented by 287 physicians, 21 dentists and 41 pharmacists; in the British zone — 68 physicians, 15 dentists and 3 pharmacists; and in the French zone — 3 physicians, 1 dentist and 1 pharmacist.⁹¹ The UMCS published its journal "Medico-Sanitary Herald" (Medychno-Sanitarnyj Visnyk).

The UMCS had field offices in three occupational zones of Germany and nearly 200 posts in the DP camps and in large concentrations of the Ukrainian emigration in Germany and Austria. The UMCS had its own dispensaries and took care of the Ukrainian PoW's, former soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the sick, widows, orphans, and former political prisoners. The UMCS organized first-aid courses and published popular medico-scholarly literature. By 1947, its membership consisted already of over 500 Ukrainian physicians and nearly 1,200 pharmacists, dentists, nurses and medical students.⁹²

No less important was CRUE's charitable work undertaken by its Department of Social Services cooperating closely with the UMCS and the Organization of Ukrainian Women (OUW-OUZh), as well as with overseas organization United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (UUARC).⁹³ Aid

⁸⁹ O. Zelenetskyj, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

⁹⁰ V. Maruniak, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-323.

⁹¹ *IRO: Professional Medical Register*, Geneva, 1950-1951.

⁹² O. Zelenetskyj, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁹³ O. Tarnavskyj, *Brother's Helping Hand*, History of UUARC, Philadelphia, 1971, p. 263.

was given to both, directly to individuals and to institutions. Individually, aid was given to the sick and children and especially to the orphans, invalids, students, scientists, artists, community leaders and others. This aid was possible because of money made available by the CRUE Social Services Department and by the donations made by Ukrainian emigrants and donors from abroad. Help came from overseas through the intermediation of the UUARC in the form of money, food, clothing and medicine. Prior to the 1948 German monetary reform, this help was very substantial; thereafter, it encountered serious difficulties.

In 1948-1949, the CRUE Department of Social Services distributed relief funds to the institutions of higher learning in the following amounts:

The Ukrainian Free University (UFU) in Munich	23,000 RM
The Ukrainian Technico-Economic Institute (UTEI) in Augsburg	31,000 RM.

CRUE financial assistance was also received by the regional branches of the CRUE - 50,000 RM, as well as by the research and scientific institutions such as the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences (UFAAS), and the Shevchenko Scientific Society (ShSS). In addition, a whole range of Ukrainian institutions and organizations received financial help from the CRUE Social Services Department. During that period the total distribution of funds amounted to over 100,000 RM plus 2,500 DM.⁹⁴

Over 50,000 RM and 8,000 DM of individual assistance were paid out during the 1948-1949 period, the regional and local branches of the CRUE Social Services Department distributed over 360,000 RM to institutions and individuals: from this amount 95,000 RM and over 14,000 DM went to former soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UIA-UPA). There was also aid in food. During 1948/49, 62,000 kg or about 137,000 lbs. of food, 33,000 packs of cigarettes, and over 130,000 free dinners at restaurants were given away by the CRUE Dept. of Social Services. In cooperation with the UUARC, the UMCS and the OUW, over 10,000 food packages were distributed.

The CRUE Dept. of Social Services was not involved in direct aid in clothing, but only helped to distribute the clothing packages. Four hundred sixty-five bales of new and used clothing as well as footwear were received during 1948/49 from the UUARC, OUW and Catholic Action.⁹⁵

During the period of 1945-48, assistance was arriving from overseas through the Ukrainian relief committees from the U.S., Canada, Great Britain, Argentina, and other places. With the creation of the UUARC in 1947 in the United States, more systematic care for the Ukrainian refugees in Germany and Austria was made possible. Now, Ukrainians with the greatest needs were

⁹⁴ O. Zeleneckyj, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

provided with clothing and food assistance. On July 11, 1948, the UUARC made available \$44,000 for distribution among the needy, together with 5,000 food packages purchased from the American Army in Germany, and an additional 3,160 food packages which were sent directly from the United States.⁹⁶

Many of the Ukrainian refugee organizations in West European countries received aid from the Ukrainian American and Canadian relief organizations during the early stages of their work. Later they relied more on the system of community membership dues.⁹⁷

X. Refugee Resettlement and Those Who Remained

According to the statistical data collected by the CRUE in Munich, by the end of March 1946, there lived approximately 207,000 Ukrainians in three western occupational zones of Germany and Austria. By mid-March 1948, this number fell by almost 50%, due to the emigration of many Ukrainians to other West European and overseas countries. By May 1, 1948, the CRUE reported that there were 101,130 Ukrainian refugees (67,255 in the U.S. zone; 27,745 in the British, 6,130 in the French zone) still living in West Germany; 17,786 lived in Austria. Not more than 1½% of the Ukrainian DP's repatriated to Soviet Ukraine. However, even in the years that followed, new refugees, individually or in small groups, were escaping from Ukraine to Western Europe.

In search for economic betterment, after years of extreme hardships suffered during the period immediately following the termination of World War II, the Ukrainian refugees found home and work in Belgium, the Netherlands, England, France, Canada the United States of America as well as in such South American countries as Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Paraguay and Chile. Over 400 Ukrainians found employment in Tunisia. Some individuals emigrated to the South African Union.⁹⁸

At first, over 8,000 Ukrainians settled in Belgium. They were the physically strongest individuals and were permitted to emigrate for work in Belgium mines. Their families were allowed to join them 2-3 months later, thus tripling the Ukrainian population there. England showed little interest in accepting many families. However, over 20,000 former members of the Ukrainian military unit, "Halychyna," who fought on the German side against Communist Russia and who were all single, were transferred from their temporary place of confinement in Italy to England for permanent settlement. This trend created an unenviable situation; only individuals incapable of working, older people, invalids and the sick were left behind in Germany, where they required special assistance, and care.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Dr.M.M. *op. cit.*, p. 184.

⁹⁷ V. Mudryj, *Ukrajinska emigratsia*, p. 114.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

After 1947, the resettlement became the principal means for solving the DP problem in Germany and Austria and constituted the main basis of activities of IRO as well as other welfare, communal, ethnic, religious and international organizations.¹⁰⁰ Out of 22 organizations that deserve special attention, those who helped to resettle the largest numbers of refugees were: The United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (UUARC) and the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Bureau (UCRB), followed by the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC), helping mainly the Ukrainian Catholics, and the Church World Service (CWS), which provided aid to numerous Ukrainian Orthodox and Evangelical faithful. Some Ukrainians from Eastern Ukraine were resettled through the Russian relief organization — the Tolstoy Foundation.

Both the UUARC and the UCRB set up European offices to further more effective program of relief and resettlement of the Ukrainian refugees.¹⁰¹ However, even before the start of the mass emigration of the Ukrainian refugees from Germany and Austria, UUARC established Main Resettlement Council with its offices in various Ukrainian DP camps. It studied the emigration possibilities and planned group resettlement to other countries.

Mass resettlement of Ukrainian refugees began in mid-1947, when UNRRA was concluding its activities which were being taken over by IRO. During 1946-47, only individual resettlement to relatives in Canada, the U.S. and Argentina was taking place and therefore the number of emigrants was rather small.¹⁰² The first country to open its gates to mass emigration of workers was Great Britain in May 1947. The British initiative and the relatively easy resettlement conditions came right at the time of substantial worsening of the living conditions in the DP camps on the one hand, and the strong wish of the refugees to leave the camps at the first opportunity, on the other. Therefore, a great majority of the young and able-bodied individuals, especially from the British zone of Germany, chose to take their chances.¹⁰³

Earlier, a private but much more limited plan to resettle factory workers to Canada was devised. It was followed in July 1947 by a broader Canadian plan for the emigration of lumbermen. Later, seven additional Canadian plans followed, of which the Ukrainian DP's made very little use because of very demanding health requirements and strict selection terms set up by the Canadian mission. However, individual "permit" resettlement was widely used.

Almost simultaneously with the British action, there began mass resettlement of the workers to Belgium. In May-June 1947, Brazil opened its doors to European refugees thanks to the efforts of private Ukrainian and Brazilian

¹⁰⁰ *Memo to America: The D.P. Story*, The Final Report of the United States Displaced Persons Commission, Washington, 1952.

¹⁰¹ V. Maruniak, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 329

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 329-330.

organizations. In July 1947, the recruitment of workers to Venezuela was initiated. Beginning in March 1948, there emerged great possibilities for mass emigration to Australia. In the same year, France began to recruit refugee workers.¹⁰⁴

From March 1946 to August 1948 the numbers of Ukrainians residing in Western Europe had changed very considerably. The following table shows this change.

	March 1946	April 1948	August 1948
In the U.S. zone	104,024	67,255	60,263
In the British zone	54,580	27,745	23,795
In the French zone	19,026	6,130	4,207
In all zones of Austria	29,242	17,786	n.a.
Total	206,871	118,916	88,265

Thus, in August 1948, according to CRUE records, 33,349 Ukrainians emigrated from West Germany through the network of the CRUE (21,138 from the American zone; 11,696 from the British zone and 515 from the French zone of Germany).¹⁰⁵ In the American zone there were still 49,097 Ukrainians residing in 49 DP camps and 11,165 in private dwellings; in the British zone 23,342 Ukrainians resided in 44 camps and 453 privately and in the French zone 2,556 resided in 7 camps and 1,651 in private homes; a total of 74,995 resided in 100 refugee camps and 13,270 privately. In summary, in August 1948, 88,265 Ukrainians still remained in West Germany; this figure could be broken down into 34,887 males, 27,724 females and 25,654 children under 20 (52% male and 48% female).

With respect to health and the ability to work, on August 1, 1948, the disabled, war invalids, job invalids and incurably sick Ukrainians accounted for 1,828 individuals (1,209 in the American zone; 518 in the British zone and 101 in the French zone). In regard to the aged CRUE records show that at that time, out of the total of 4,909 adults over 55, 3,873 lived in the American zone; 969 in the British zone and 67 in the French zone of Germany. Summing up, 1,828 individuals made up the hard core of those who by the fall of 1948 remained in Germany and required special care and assistance.¹⁰⁶

XI Epilogue

By 1953, there were still some 20,000 Ukrainian refugees in Germany and 5,000 in Austria. In Germany only 1,500 of them had jobs and were fully integrated into the German economy. In Austria, only 500 were working in the country's economy; they earned the same income as their German and Austrian counterparts.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

¹⁰⁵ V. Mudryj, *Nova ukrajinska...*, p. 117.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

Serious efforts were made to integrate the remaining able-bodied Ukrainian refugees into the German economy. However, this was not an easy task; the German labor market was not fully accessible to foreigners due to the high unemployment rate among the Germans.

Ukrainian refugees were thinly spread over the entire territory of West Germany. Many of them lived in German refugee camps, healthy individuals together with the sick, older persons with the young, invalids with the able-bodied ones, and the incurables were placed in the German hospitals and sanatoriums. One hundred eighty-eight TB patients resided in Gauting sanatoriums, 63 persons in the Munich Catholic House for the Aged, 88 in the Dornstadt Orthodox Senior Citizens House, 33 in Regensburg Hospital for the chronically ill, 51 in the Wislock Psychiatric Ward, and 35 in Har and Straubing Psychiatric Hospitals. The total was 458 persons.

In 1953, continuous assistance was still required by 4,937 Ukrainians, mainly older people living in the American and French occupational zones of Germany. If we add 458 individuals bound to live in sanatoriums, houses for the aged, hospitals for the chronically ill and psychiatric wards, we get a total of 5,395 Ukrainians to while away their lives in misery, poverty and supreme need. In the British occupational zone there were 2,250 such persons, while in Austria, 1,620 Ukrainians were in desperate need of assistance. This statistic yields a frightful total of 9,265 individuals who were exposed to sickness, malnutrition, various ills and who desperately needed help in order to save their lives.¹⁰⁷

In addition to the aged and the incurably sick Ukrainians, we find in the German refugee camps and living privately in German cities and towns 236 invalids (431 with families), 228 work-disabled senior citizens (395 with families), 422 chronically ill (787 with families), 573 inflicted with tuberculosis (1,415 with families), 64 widows with children (157 with families), 63 unwed mothers (177 with families), 246 invalid professionals (259 with families), and finally, 296 families with children under 14 years of age (1,228 with families) being plagued by serious economic problems.

This list adds up to 2,128 Ukrainians (4,849 with families), who were totally dependent on outside help. Thus, in 1954, the grand total of Ukrainian refugees in dire need of assistance was 9,265 plus 4,849, or 14,114 individuals.¹⁰⁸ This was the bleak picture of the Ukrainian refugees left behind in Germany and Austria. In the early mid-fifties limited aid was still provided by CRUE and UMCS, but the greatest benefactors were still UUARC and the Canadian Aid Fund. Yet by 1954 only UUARC had its office in Germany and has maintained it up to the present time.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 127 The author's totals differ somewhat. The number of Ukrainians depending on outside help is shown as 2,111 (4,937 with families) instead of 2,128 (4,849 with families).

EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN THE REICH COMMISSARIAT OF UKRAINE, 1941-1944: Koch Versus Rosenberg

BLANKA JERABEK

For millions of people the three-year German occupation of Ukraine during the Second World War is not in any way an enviable period. These three years, while the National Socialists got rid of the Soviet rulers after more than twenty years of their tyranny, only for the former to exercise it, took the people suffering under the occupation out of the frying pan and into the fire.

Hitler's plans in respect to territorial acquisition for the Germans, indeed the goals of his Ostpolitik, Eastern policy, as well as plans for the administration of Ukraine, have been long known and thoroughly studied. In this regard there are countless works published which treat the German occupational policy in Eastern Europe. First of all to be mentioned is Dallin's as yet unsurpassed work, *German Rule in Russia, 1941-1945*. There are also works by Reitlinger, Brautigam, Klett, among others.

In the meanwhile significant works by Ukrainian scholars are also known, such as Ihor Kamenetzkyj's, *Hitler's Occupation of Ukraine*. More recently a whole series of Ukrainian professors and researchers have dealt with this period from differing focal points. Some of these I would at least like to mention are: N. Bohatiuk, I. Hunczak, V.Kosyk, B. Kravchenko, and I. Muzychka.

My study pertains to a problem in the German occupation of Ukraine which has not yet been independently researched: the educational policy in the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine. In this article I would like to discuss the conflicts between the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, Alfred Rosenberg and the Reich Commissar, Erich Koch. These conflicts have had a very strong effect on the area of educational policy making. My work is based above all on unpublished material from documentary holdings of the Federal and Military Archives, as well as from the Archives of the Institute for Contemporary History and of the Institute for Foreign Relations in the Federal Republic of Germany.

For the reader who is uninformed in this field it may at first be necessary to report at least briefly about the real facts of the case in general, especially where they concern the leading personalities as well as their relationship to each other.

Reich Minister Rosenberg and Reich Commissar Koch Enter the Scene

On April 20, 1941, Rosenberg was commissioned by Hitler to take care of the “political reformation of Russia.”¹ At the same time Hitler communicated the fact that he would appoint him as Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories as soon as greater areas in the East were occupied.

At Hitler’s Conference of July 16, 1941, Goering² proceeded to name Erich Koch as Reich Commissar for Ukraine. He was chosen as Reich Commissar for Ukraine in addition to his duties as District Leader of East Prussia and Bialystock.³ Nothing else was left to Rosenberg in spite of his firm protests, but to put up with this. One of the reasons for this repugnance doubtlessly lay in the fact that Koch himself was known as a controversial person in the party circles.

Thus as a matter of fact an uninterrupted struggle between the two leading personalities Reich Minister Rosenberg and Reich Commissar Koch could be observed from the time of Koch’s entry. This struggle intensified so much up to May 1943 that Hitler had to interfere.

After Koch had become Reich Commissar for Ukraine, his desire to show that he had thoroughly given up his pro-Soviet stance led him to an equally decisive favoring of the opposite. Angrily he now planned “romantic” and “naive” projects⁴ for Rosenberg. Koch was said to be given the bad name of the “Brown Czar of Ukraine.”

He was only appointed Reich Commissar for Ukraine in order to extract from Ukraine the greatest possible quantities of wheat and domestic cattle. Koch appeared ideally suited for this task since he was known as completely unsympathetic. He publicly boasted of this “virtue” on many occasions. Even Hitler stated that Koch was the best man for Ukraine, and Koch strove not to

¹ Rosenberg, Alfred, 1893-1946; publicist, 1925 Chief Editor, from 1938 Publisher of the *Volkischer Beobachter (National Observer)*, 1930-1945 Member of the Reichstag; 1933 Reich Fuhrer’s Leader for Total Intellectual and World View Education of the National Socialist German Workers Party; he was sentenced to death and executed in 1946 at Nuremberg War Crimes Trials. Rosenberg’s life: Reitlinger, *A House Built on Sand*, pp. 150 ff. Handrack, *The Reich Commissariat in the East*, pp. 14-22. Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia 1941-45*, p. 36.

² Goering, Hermann, Reich Marshal, Commander of the German Air Force. Reich Commissar of the Four-Year Plan. Dismissed by order of Hitler, April 1945. Committed suicide in Nuremberg before execution on October 15, 1946.

³ Koch, Erich, Provincial Leader of East Prussia, 1928-1945. Reich Commissar for Ukraine, Sept. 1941 till April 1944. In 1950 extradited to Poland. Condemned to death 1959 in Warsaw. Execution was not carried out.

⁴ The political concept of Rosenberg consisted in dismembering the Soviet Union into its constituent parts. The bond which the Soviet Union had placed on its sixteen constituent republics was supposed to be dissolved and the right of self-determination should be conceded to each federal state. Ukraine represented the largest Soviet republic and the providing area for foodstuffs and work forces, by far the most important of the Eastern Territories conquered by the Third Reich. Rosenberg kept his eye on two kinds of provisions. For the duration of the war Ukraine was to supply the Reich with foodstuffs and raw materials. Afterwards the establishment of a free Ukrainian State in closest union with the Greater German Reich would assure the German influence in the East. Rosenberg got his theories into all sorts of conflicts and even Hitler declined such a concept.

disillusion Hitler. According to Reitlinger," (Koch) became a symbol of Goering's extravagant plans of exploitation, a living echo of the despising and of the hate which Hitler had for his subject peoples"⁵

As Reich Commissar for Ukraine Koch exhibited very clearly at every opportunity his political viewpoint as well as his intended tasks. This becomes very clear in his proclamation to the population of Ukraine upon his assumption of his new position, although here indeed, he still had to proceed carefully. Undeniably he had already ignored the Reich Minister and very clearly put repeatedly into words that he was accountable only to the Fuhrer. "The Fuhrer Adolf Hitler has appointed me as Reich Commissar for Ukraine. I carry out on his commission the administration of your province. German soldiers have gained freedom for you by fighting and have annihilated Bolshevism You will show to the German soldiers your gratitude for the liberation through your work and accomplishment. . . . Chatter and empty talking can not help you now but only the readiness of every individual to place all his powers at our disposal. I shall judge everyone by the criterion how far he energetically cooperates in the rebuilding of this country...Only by industry and work, by the highest production and achievement, by the best cultivation of the fields, by exemplary raising of your livestock will you demonstrate your will for the building up of a new fortunate era. I call upon you all to obey my instructions and those of the German General Commissars and those of the District Commissars in every case. Whoever opposes the will of the German leadership, whoever offers resistance to the building up of the country will be subjected to the merciless severity of the law. We shall punish every loafer and mischiefmaker"⁶

A speech of Koch can best demonstrate his denigrating method of looking at the Ukrainians, the unlikely high measure of hate, the fanaticism and the resulting inhuman treatment. Thus at a meeting in Rivne in August 1942 Koch delivered the following account: "There is no free Ukraine. The goal of our work must be that the Ukrainians work for Germany and not that we make the people happy. Ukraine has to provide what Germany lacks. This task must be executed without consideration of the casualties. In all countries of Europe life is better than here. The ration card is the basis for food in and by the Reich. In addition there is a black market only within narrow confines. With other nations the black market is the basis, and in addition ration cards are distributed. The food situation in Germany is serious. Production is already falling off under the influence of the severe food situation. The raising of the "bread ration" is a

⁵ Dallin, Alexander, *German Rule in Russia, 1941-1945*, Athenaum/Droste Pocketbooks-History, 1981, p. 119. (Unchanged Reprint of the 1958 German edition, published in the Droste Publication House. Title of the American original edition: *German Rule in Russia 1941-1945: A Study of Occupation Policies*, St Martin's Press, N.Y., 1957.

⁶ "To the People of Ukraine," a proclamation of Koch upon assumption of his administration. "Official Gazette of the Reich Commissar for Ukraine," Rivne, April 20, 1942, No. 1, Archive of the Institute for Foreign Relations, Stuttgart.

political necessity needed to carry on victoriously the war. The needed quantities of grain must be produced from Ukraine. The Fuhrer has made the District Leader accountable for the fact that these quantities are guaranteed. In view of this assignment the nourishment of the civilian administration is a matter of total indifference. By their black market they really live better than we think. The Fuhrer has demanded 3 million tons of grain from Ukraine for the Reich, and these must be delivered. He does not want to hear discussions about inadequate transportation facilities. The transport problem must be solved by suitable imagination. Equally important as the collection of grain assessments is the delivery of 700,000 tons for vegetable oil. This is decisive for the carbohydrate balance of Germany. The very best of all these must be taken out without consideration of the population. The criterion for the attitude of the Germans in the Reich Commissariat is that we have to deal with one nation which in every respect is inferior. This is why communication with the Ukrainians does not enter into the question. If these people work ten hours a day, they must work eight hours for us. All sentimental objections must be discontinued. These people must be ruled with iron force, in order that they may help us now to win the war. We have not freed them in order to make Ukraine happy, but to guarantee for Germany the necessary living space and its nourishment basis."⁷

This conviction of Koch can at least give us an idea of how real his practical directives were in his administrative territory.

Koch Makes Independent Policy

There were conflicts between Rosenberg and Koch from the start.⁸ Already at a conference with the Fuhrer on December 14, 1941, Koch's conduct was the subject of Rosenberg's chief complaint. Indeed Rosenberg did not have the self-confidence to complain about Koch's actual policy, but only about the independent advancing of it. Among other things concerning this was the fact that by his remarks Koch had given the impression to the officers of the German High Command that he reported directly to the Fuhrer and that he "thought to govern without Berlin." Rosenberg hoped afterwards that Koch would improve, and he was especially pleased that Hitler agreed to receive Koch in the future only in Rosenberg's presence.

However it was soon demonstrated that Rosenberg's faith in Koch's improvement was not justified. The actual crisis did not yet begin at once. In reality Hitler was of the same idea as Koch, and besides, it was all the same if Koch had direct access to Hitler as long as Bormann stood at his side.

After Koch had succeeded on various minor occasions in successfully disregarding the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, he

⁷ "Note About the Meeting in Rivne of August 26-28, 1942." Coblenz Archives, R 6/70.

⁸ Reitlinger, G., *The House Built on Sand: Hitler's Power Politics in Russia, 1941-1944*, Hamburg: Rutten & Loening, 1962, Chapters 4, 5, 6. The original edition was published in 1960 under the title, *The House Built on Sand*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London.

declared anew in February 1942 his independence: "The Reich Commissar is the only representative of the Fuhrer or the Reich government in the region assigned to him. Without prejudice to the supervisory right of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, all administrative departments must be subordinated to the Reich Commissar. Therefore there is no direct official channel for these agencies to the central Reich government."⁹

After this challenge of Koch to the Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories even Hitler had to admit that such a provocation of Koch was "not to be tolerated." Thus, in spite of all the backstairs regulations the formal, official channel remained: Hitler — Rosenberg — Koch. Then on February 28, 1942, Lammers¹⁰ directed a letter to Koch which summarized the indirect result of complaints which Rosenberg had presented to Hitler in the Conference of February 15, 1942, in which Hitler took a position against Koch in various points.

The month of February 1942 then was considered as the start of the power struggle between Rosenberg and Koch. Up till then the conflict between Rosenberg and Koch hardly came to the surface. The cleft between the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories and the Reich Commissariat in Rivne grew wider and wider.

In March Rosenberg directed a brief memorandum to Hitler in which he sharply condemned Koch's policy, indeed, without mentioning him by name. In contrast Koch was active in inciting all his acquaintances against his archenemy Rosenberg. Although his chief ally was Bormann,¹¹ and one could have thought that he needed no further contacts, he took account of everyone, beginning with the SS through the Ministry for Education, Science and National Culture to the Propaganda Ministry. Thus the exchange of blows between both men went back and forth with the intervention of different authorities as needed.¹²

There were various occasions which intensified this conflict between Rosenberg and Koch. Not only Koch's repressive policy in Ukraine, not only his brutality towards the Ukrainians, which he often emphasized in front of the civil administration and then also exhorted them to similar conduct — it was not only the resistance which Koch gave to Rosenberg, whose authority he did not want to recognize. But the problems came to a head also in the area of educational policy in which naturally all the above-mentioned components of the conflict between Rosenberg and Koch came together.

⁹ Dallin, *German Rule*, p. 140.

¹⁰ Lammers, Hans, Chief of Reich Chancery 1933-1945. He was released from Landsberg Prison in 1951.

¹¹ Bormann, Martin. Director of the National Socialist German Workers Party Office after Hess' flight to England (1941). Important advisor to Hitler. Probably killed in the Battle of Berlin on May 2, 1945.

¹² Detailed accounts or consideration of the problem are to be found in Dallin, *German Rule* . . . , pp. 133-55, and *Reitlinger, The House*, pp. 232-56.

Koch's View of Education in Ukraine

Koch identified himself totally with Hitler's idea of what concerned the education of the "subhumans." According to Hitler's words it ran: "Knowledge of reading and writing for Russians, Ukrainians, Kirghiz, etc., could only damage us. For these skills make it possible for brighter heads to acquire a certain knowledge of history, and with this to arrive at a political course of thinking, which somehow or other would always have to be directed against us. In their schools they must not learn any more than, at the very most, the meaning of traffic signs. By and large the content of geographical instruction need only be that the capital of the Reich is named Berlin, and that everyone once in his life ought to have been in Berlin Instruction in mathematics and the like is superfluous . . ." ¹³

Koch also did everything to contribute as much as possible to the complete stoppage of education. To his co-workers he often asserted that in his opinion even a three-year elementary education would result in "too high a level of education." At the same time he complained to Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories Rosenberg about the latter's "promotion of the Ukrainian culture" and about the printing of textbooks which he did not intend to distribute. In the winter of 1942-1943 Koch announced without any special regrets that because of "coal shortages" the four-year schools in several districts of the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine would have to be "temporarily" closed. Thus education came to a complete standstill. ¹⁴

As a matter of principle Koch rejected higher education or vocational education. According to Koch's opinion the Ukrainians were supposed to work for Germany, and therefore higher education could do more damage than good. Indeed general education schools were not permitted, also middle schools and incomplete middle schools, which, in spite of their reopening by military field administrations, had to be either closed or changed into vocational schools. Koch's prime effort was to send sufficient numbers of the Ukrainians into forced labor, and therefore he saw schools which go beyond the four-year public school level as a hindrance to the pupils as well as to the teachers. Rosenberg had to try very hard to make it clear to Hitler that not all vocational education in Ukraine could be given up, since otherwise the required skilled labor would be lacking

¹³ Dallin, *German Rule* . . . , pp. 472 ff.

¹⁴ "Report on Native Education," The General Commissar for Zhytomyr, March 3, 1943. Coblenz Archives, R 6/404.

which was so unconditionally necessary for the greatest yield of mineral resources as well as for agriculture.¹⁵

The total solution of the educational question proceeded rather arbitrarily. The reports of the individual administrators reflected the different views, depending upon whether they gave preference to the Reich Minister or the Reich Commissar. "In the East they talk about a 'Berlin' and a 'Rivne' orientation, by which terms they understand by the former, work of long range, thus building up, by the latter, work of short range, ruinous exploitation. In any case a rupture appears here which cripples the work in the East. It also has its effect on personnel, for each one takes hold of the other with kid gloves until he knows in which direction he leans. Then he joins him or withdraws. Thus there is even here fragmentation."¹⁶

Koch's Resistance Intensifies the Conflict with the Reich Ministry

In essential agreement with the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories the Reich Commissar published only the first regulations — the preliminary Guide-Lines of August 15, 1942.¹⁷

As early as August 31, 1942, Koch then released a further decree without obtaining approval of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories. Here the Reich Commissar had already single-handedly created substantial restrictions.¹⁸

Then Koch's Order of October 24, 1942, made an essential contribution toward intensifying the conflict. By this order all the schools in the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine, except the four-year public schools, were closed. Reich Commissar Koch had dispatched the above order directly to the General Commissars in Lutske, Zhytomyr, Dnipropetrovske and Melitopol without

¹⁵ According to estimates drawn up, 300,000 boys and girls annually left the public schools in the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine after completion of a four-year schooling. It is more than deplorable compared to these that only a very small number of children had gotten the possibility of further education or to prepare for a profession. There were only a few isolated areas or places in which a few such schools were reopened, but thousands of pupils whose fate was caught up in the uncertainty could not pursue their natural curiosity and desire for information. They did not know from day to day, how they were supposed to spend the time, what they were supposed to do, or they were utilized for different types of hard work which were unsuited to the level of their development.

¹⁶ Heinz von Homeyer to the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories Alfred Rosenberg, Melitopol, December 30, 1942. Coblenz Archives, R 6/19.

¹⁷ "Preliminary Guidelines for the Organization of Public School Education of the Native Population in the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine of August 15, 1942." Coblenz Archives, R 6/403.

¹⁸ This Decree is not available in the Archives. Information about it is extracted from "Statement About Measures of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories in the Area of Educational Policy since August 31, 1942." Coblenz Archives, R 6/404.

previously informing the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories of this project.¹⁹

Koch's Order of October 24, 1942, led to a violent showdown. There was a flurry of correspondence and sessions of various authorities with viewpoints pertaining to the educational and social policy in Ukraine, especially at sessions within the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories.

Soon after the release of the above-named Order, on November 12, 1942, a thorough consideration of the Ukrainian problem was prepared under the heading "Comment on the Kinkelin Remark." The fact that in the Reich Commissariat all schools which went beyond the four-year public school level had been closed was here most sharply criticized. This situation in which all future generations were hindered by school closings, "the training in all handicraft and industrial enterprises, in all training workshops, work-occupational and the other vocational and all of trade schools was stopped," appeared next to impossible when seen from a purely economic viewpoint.²⁰

On November 21, Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, Rosenberg, dispatched a letter to the Reich Commissar as an answer to the Order of October 24, 1942. This letter showed clearly the intent of the Reich Minister and his deepest dissatisfaction with Koch's policy. "As has been reported to me you have decreed the closing of all schools and institutions for young people from age fifteen upwards by your Order of October 24, 1942, with disregard for my Order of February 23, 1942, and of September 19, 1942; that is, without first informing me of the intended measures. In the interests of supplying front and home I deem the closing of the educational institutions in question as inadvisable." Rosenberg expresses here a reprimand on account of failure to inform the Reich Ministry as its supervisory agency.

On the one hand Rosenberg expresses himself very carefully and chooses the then desirable argumentation of trades "necessary or important to the war": "Your Order of October 24, 1942, obviously intends to comply with the plans for school instruction as they correspond to the wishes of the Fuhrer. In the execution of these plans the cultivation of native intelligence can not be tolerated under any circumstances. In this manner all the training sites of those vocations which would have no immediate influence upon the outcome of the war would be closed. On the other hand, however, there is provision for the fastest possible training of a generation of those above-mentioned vocations which are unconditionally militarily necessary"

¹⁹ "Schools and Institutes." The Reich Commissar for Ukraine, Rivne on October 24, 1942, to the General Commissars in Lutzke, Zhytomyr, Kiev, Mykolaiv, Dnipropetrovske and Melitopil. Coblenz Archives, R 6/403.

²⁰ "Comment on the Kinkelin Note," Berlin, Nov. 12, 1942. Coblenz Archives, R 6/403. Kinkelin was an SS functionary, Chief of the Ukrainian Department in the Main Section of the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories.

On the contrary Rosenberg here makes quite an open assertion against the unacceptable formulation at the close of Koch's Order." Only the office of a special representative of the Fuhrer or my Ministry can be meant 'by the authority' placed above the General Commissar," mentioned in the last paragraph of your Order, since the passage may not refer to your own authority there."²¹

By the rejection of the reasoning given by the Reich Commissar for his Order, Koch was called upon to take care of the continuation or the expansion of vocational education in certain trades more closely designated as being of military importance, and to rescind the measures begun by his Order of October 24, 1942.²²

In order to have an even more pressing effect against Koch's Order the Reich Minister directed in a telegram of November 23, 1942, the request to the Reich Commissar to retain in good standing to the same extent as before those vocational and trade schools of the civil administration which were militarily important.²³

Nevertheless the Reich Commissar kept his own position intact, a fact which is supported by his report of November 27, 1942, in which he attempts to justify his decisions in longer explanations. Among other items the Reich Commissar for Ukraine points to increases in vocational and trade school education. In this report it is also easy to see his fault because here Koch's harsh policy is clearly expressed, just as is his failure to acknowledge Rosenberg's superior position. Koch attempts continually to emphasize that he knows the situation on the spot, a thing that is not in any way possible for the administrative departments in Berlin.

"Your Order of November 21, 1942, in respect to the continuation of the vocational education of native youth apparently originate from the fact that conditions in the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine are not known to me in satisfactory degree, or that I am unwilling to utilize these entities in the German interest. I beg to be allowed to assure you that neither is the case. It is precisely the exact study of the political situation and the firm decision to utilize best and most rapidly the potential of Ukraine that have caused me to execute the Order of October 24, 1942, along with other measures."

²¹ "Continuation of Vocational Education of Native Teen-Agers in the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine." Reference: Report of the Reich Commissar for Ukraine, March 7, 1943. German Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, Referee, Dr. Tauscher, Berlin, March 15, 1943. Coblenz Archives, R 6/404. "Continuation of Vocational Education of Native Teen-Agers in the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine." The Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, Berlin November 21, 1943, to Reich Commissioner for Ukraine. Coblenz Archives, R 6/403.

²² In addition to this letter two other sketches are extant. The one which practically agrees with the above-mentioned letter; further another very short version, undated, which was complemented with several penned notes, and probably only after the new, longer version was composed.

²³ Telegram of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories to the Reich Commissar, November 23, 1942. Coblenz Archives, R 6/403.

Koch also continued to hold his own point of view in regard to vocations that were “militarily necessary.” At the same time Koch’s requirement of using the Ukrainians, even the teen-agers, in the most completely possible manner to work for Germany was displayed in its full range: “I have without further ado declared my agreement with the fact that apprentice workshops in which contributive work as well as theoretical instruction in free time are offered, will not only remain in operation, but will even be increased considerably in their numbers”

Then Koch continued with further explanations in which it is asserted that school education in Ukraine has increased tremendously, and through this the Reich is being hurt: “Professional schools and scientific institutions which I have closed by my Order of October 24th served less for the immediate vocational education, but gave Ukrainain youth opportunity to elude the man-power control for Germany as well as even the use of labor in Ukraine. The growth by leaps and bounds in the number of schools precisely since the beginning of recruitment for the Reich, proves this assertion. There were in the larger cities of the Reich Commissariat scientific institutes which in each individual case took in several thousands of students. Thus, for example, an institute in Kiev alone numbered over two thousand students. In the district cities there were business schools with several hundred pupils. This broadening of the educational sites already contained in embryo a political danger which I had to exterminate”

Then Koch said further: “I request even that you infer from my explanations that I unconditionally encourage every vocational and young people’s education that has before long a positive effect on German leadership, and that on the other hand I must put a stop to professional instruction, which in individual institutions has striven to substitute for the forbidden university, and which serves to keep away teen-agers from the current man-power control”

Koch concluded unshakeably: “I hope to have proven by my above explanations that:

1. I promote with necessary emphasis the education of the next generation for decisively important war occupations.
2. That my Order of October 24, 1942, was a political necessity. I have formed my political concept in this question during longstanding activity in the Eastern Territories. Besides this corresponds to the unequivocal instructions of the Fuhrer. This political concept and the necessity to fulfill the recruitment imposed upon me by the General Commissar for the Man-power Resources have been the cause of my Order of October 24th, I request your tacit approval that this remain in place.”²⁴

²⁴ “Schools and Institutes.” The Reich Commissar for Ukraine, Rivne, November 27, 1942 to the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories. Coblenz Archives, R 6/403.

With the Order of December 23, 1942, the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories once again goes thoroughly into the position of the Reich Commissar and again stresses that it does not in any way pertain to him to create an educated social strata in Ukraine, but merely to train an adequately schooled younger generation for the war needs of German authorities. The Reich Commissar is called upon to proceed in accordance with the arrangement in the Order of November 21, 1942, and to submit by January 10, 1943, to the General Commissars a new order. In this the instructions of the Order of the Reich Minister should be communicated to them, and the corresponding regulations for changing the Order of October 24, 1942, should be effected."²⁵

The Reich Commissar did not follow the instructions of the letter of November 21 or of December 23, 1942, and exceeded by eighteen days the report deadline set for him in the letter of the Reich Minister of December 23, 1942. He refused to execute the instructions given to him and to cancel his Order of October 24, 1942. His report is dated January 28 and he also attempts in it to justify his position further.²⁶

Rosenberg made an effort to prove anew his position while attempting again to regulate education in Ukraine. He gave validity to his new guidelines by the Order of February 23, 1943.²⁷ Rosenberg directed this order not only to the Reich Commissar but simultaneously to all General Commissars. All local orders opposing these guidelines were declared invalid. To give his order greater credibility, and also to be able to justify his demand for higher school education in Ukraine, he supported his regulation on education by the results of discussions with the Reich Ministry for Arms and Munitions, the Front Workers Corps, the Representatives for the Four-Year Plan and the Reich Transport Ministry.²⁸

In the Report of March 7, 1943, the Reich Commissar informed the Reich Minister that, in reference to the Reich Defense Order, he had instructed the General Commissars not to put in practice the Order of the Reich Minister of February 23, 1943, for the duration of the war. By this the Reich Commissar openly declared his insubordination to the Reich Minister. This answer of Koch to Rosenberg proves anew his stubbornness, imperturbability and his boldness: "The beginning of January had passed when that Order of December 23, 1942, could first be addressed in my communique of January 28, 1943. Thus I request you to infer from this how persistently I strove to examine those matters

²⁶ "Continuation of Vocational Education of Native Teen-Agers in the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine." The Reich Commissar for Ukraine, Rivne, January 28, 1943, to the Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, Berlin. Coblenz Archives, R 6/403.

²⁷ "Guidelines for Native Education in the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine, Berlin, February 23, 1943." Coblenz Archives, R 6/403. "Native Education — Reference: my Order of December 23, 1942 — I bb 4702/42 and my Guidelines for Native Education," Sketch of the Goals of the Guidelines of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories of February 1943, to the Reich Commissar for Ukraine. Coblenz Archives, R 6/403.

²⁸ "Native Education in the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine," Sketch of the letter of March 1943, to the Party Chancery, c/o Command Director Kruger. Coblenz Archives, R 6/404.

transmitted to me from there as well as my own view in the educational question”

Koch further emphasized that his views in the educational question had not changed. Therefore he once again sends his complete Report of January 28, 1943, “and may I once again request a desire for agreement with my view. I am convinced of your correctness both before and after, and I therefore have been fortified anew by the Fuhrer’s command which came to my knowledge in the meanwhile and by the Order from there of February 2, 1943, concerning the assignment of men and women for defense of the Reich.”

Koch writes that from the beginning he advocated the basic principle that, besides the four-year public school in Ukraine, there may only be allowed technical schools which are important for the war. He asserts that in the summer of 1942 teen-agers attempted to withdraw themselves from the work assignment to Germany, whereas they sought out technical schools en masse. He also criticizes the situation in the rear military areas, by speaking of a massive establishment of technical schools and university-like institutions.

In addition to this Koch writes in another place: “I have in the execution of this Reich Defense Order instructed the General Commissars that what were not unconditionally important war tasks were to be immediately stopped and I have, therefore, also instructed them that the School Order of February 23, 1943, transmitted directly from that place to the General Commissars was not therefore currently for the duration of the war to be put into operation.

“In conclusion may I still emphasize that with the execution of the Order of February 23, 1943, the Reich Commissar was as good as fully excluded from the field of education. I cannot accept, Mr. Minister, that that was your intention in such an important field.”²⁹

To the General Commissars Koch expressed himself very skillfully in order not to put in question their own credibility. He begins with an appropriate preparation before he then calls upon the Reich Minister : “As I have already communicated the setting up of a business allocation plan in the Order of February 17, 1943, VI 2492, military necessity in the execution of the Fuhrer’s Order of January 12, 1943 requires an immediate examination of all jobs even those with the General and District Commissars with the objective of stopping at once all work not of absolutely military importance and of fully continuing works with all forces which have an exclusive military importance.

“Moreover the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories expressly demanded the application of the harshest standard. Subject to the facts still coming out of the examination of the business allocation plan there, and to my still applicable ordinances the General Commissars want even today to do everything to account for these exigencies”

²⁹ “Continuation of Vocational Education of Native Teen-Agers in the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine.” Rivne, March 7, 1943, to the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, Berlin, Reich Minister Alfred Rosenberg. Coblenz Archives, R 6/404.

After he then expressed himself for simplification in official business — everything should be directed towards military urgency — Koch mentioned, only incidentally as it were, the real reason for his letter, by trying again to set aside Rosenberg's Order:

“In the field of education only those tasks under the sign of total war can be considered as militarily necessary, if they have been recognized as such in my Educational Order of August 15 and 31, 1942. Accordingly there exist alone the four-year public schools and those vocational and technical schools expressly permitted by me in individual cases. With this is settled simultaneously the Order of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories of February 23, 1943 — I 230/43, which was transmitted there — the order concerning native education. I have accordingly instructed the Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories.”³⁰

In the telegram of March 16, 1943, the Reich Minister took up the instruction of the Reich Commissar and asked about the execution of his Order of February 23rd. The Reich Commissar had become aware of this step by telegrams. From this correspondence it must have then become very clear to the General Commissars what kind of duel was transpiring between the two government bodies. Rosenberg formulated it this time completely clearly and openly to the General Commissars: “As the Reich Commissar for Ukraine reports to me, he has given the instructions not to put into operation for the duration of the war my Educational Order of February 23, 1943, which I sent directly to you. By repealing this instruction I request the execution of my Order of February 23, 1943. It is to begin immediately with the necessary steps.”³¹

Rosenberg reported this to the Reich Commissar in the following manner: “Below I am transmitting a section of a telegram to the General Commissars of the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine, occasioned by our report of March 7, 1943. The regulation provided by me in the Order of March 23, 1943, is militarily important as emphasized in the previous orders. As already communicated, the Order has been cleared with the interested Reich central authorities (Four-Year Plan, Reich Transport Ministry, Reich Ministry for Armament and Munitions, Front Workers Corps). The Order of the Fuhrer of January 13, 1943, (Reich Defense Order) was self-evidently known to me by the signature of the Order of February 23, 1943.”³²

³⁰ “Suspension of Non-War-Related Tasks,” The Commissar for Ukraine, Rivne, March 7, 1943 to the General Commissars in Lutske, Zhytomyr, Mykolaiv, Dnipropetrovske, Melitopil. Coblenz Archives, R 6/404.

³¹ Telegram of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories of March 16, 1943, directed to the General Commissars in Lutske, Zhytomyr, Mykolaiv, Dnipropetrovske, Melitopil. Coblenz Archives, R 6/404.

³² Telegram of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories of March 16, 1943, to Reich Commissar at Rivne, Provinvial Leader Erich Koch. Coblenz Archives, R 6/404.

Rosenberg Seeks Support in Influential Places Against Koch

The following period of about four months was occupied with various negotiations of the Reich Ministry in the matter of the conflict with the Reich Commissar Koch. Reich Minister Rosenberg strove to inform further influential ranks about this conflict-situation. Thus, for example, there is a letter to the Reich Minister and Chief of the Reich Chancery, Dr. Lammers on March 16, 1943. Rosenberg had to describe very thoroughly the condition of the behavior and of the problems which had in the meantime arisen with Koch. At the start Rosenberg still reviews a procedure in which Lammers already had to negotiate with Koch:

“First of all he (Koch) has striven at the very beginning by assertions to third parties to reject the authority of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories. It is already known to you that in the rejection of my proposed agricultural ordinance he was obviously convinced that my proposal would be rejected, and his criticism accepted, and he proposed to the Fuhrer a sketch which was supposed to transfer to him the entire legal arrangement and political leadership in Ukraine. In behalf of the Fuhrer you then wrote to him on February 28, 1942, that which, when seen from long range, has had no effect . . .” After this Rosenberg describes the whole process with his orders and countermands of the Reich Commissar for Ukraine, and concludes his letter with the words: “I shall see myself forced to communicate to you still a number of similar cases which transgress all acceptable boundaries . . .”³³

Just one day later, on March 17, Rosenberg sent an additional letter to Lammers. In it Rosenberg described the further occasions. The critique of Koch is consistently and clearly expressed: “Now Koch has issued to the General Commissars a regulation in which he prohibits for the duration of the war the execution of the order of his superior Reich Minister! After many instances of sabotage, that is a striking, obvious insubordination, and unequivocal non-acknowledgement of the Fuhrer’s Order of July 7, 1941, a snubbing of your letter to him of February 28, 1942 . . . I am convinced that such conduct can never lead to a trustworthy cooperation.”³⁴

On March 22 Rosenberg complained to Lammers about Koch’s personal insults. Rosenberg learned that Koch had spoken of him as though of an emigrant, who understands nothing of the East, or as one who has to be considered aloof from Eastern matters. Rosenberg labelled it as “the worst political insult,” which had been expressed “about a National Socialist who had fought for the Fuhrer and the Reich for twenty-four years.” It is further asserted here that Koch’s tactics which he pursues in the Reich Commissariat are meant

³³ The Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories of March 16, 1943, to Reich Minister and Chief of the Reich Chancery, Dr. Lammers. Coblenz Archives, R 6/491.

³⁴ “Insubordination of the Reich Commissar Koch,” the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, Berlin, of March 17, 1943, to Reich Minister and Chief of the Reich Chancery, Dr. Lammers. Coblenz Archives, R 6/491.

“to damage and smash where he can the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories.”

“He declares always that he can only recognize a relationship which places him immediately below the Fuhrer. He declares further that the executive measures are always too weak; however he does not later want to be the originator of harsh measures. He forbids the police from making any kind of positive reports about the conduct of local people. Reich Commissar Koch does everything according to his view, not because he objectively thinks differently, but only to put himself as often as possible in opposition to the Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories and to wear down the latter’s authority”³⁵

Both reports of Rosenberg to Hitler also come in March. The first one on March 19, 1943, begins with information about Koch’s insubordination, while Rosenberg tries to appeal to Hitler’s feelings by repeatedly emphasizing that he was named Minister of the Occupied Eastern Territories by Hitler: “My Fuhrer! Unfortunately I see myself forced to report to you that the Reich Commissar for Ukraine has been blamed for insubordination to the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, who was appointed by you. Reich Commissar Koch has not acknowledged the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories who was designated by you from the first day of his appointment. But he has uninterruptedly asserted to almost all people with whom he came in contact that he does not intend complying with Berlin, that he reports directly to you, and that a Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories is not necessary. All suggestions and admonitions, even in relation to his snubbing conduct toward me personally have been of no use. This means from now on a case of public insubordination and the frank attempt to undo efforts which were personally and

³⁵ “The Conduct of the Reich Commissar for Ukraine,” The Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories of March 22, 1943, to Reich Minister and Chief of the Reich Chancery, Dr. Lammers. Coblenz Archives, R 6/491.

Still further documents have remained available for these problems, e.g. “Official Note About My Visit to Reich Commissar Koch in Rivne on September 25, 1942,” signed by Eschstruth, Storm Detachment (SA) Standard Leader, the one who transmitted the assertion of Koch to Rosenberg. The whole incident is presented in the Official Note. Coblenz Archives, R 6/491.

Besides, Koch himself expressed his opinion in this case. After he denied in his conference with Rosenberg that he had an opinion about this matter, he sent then the following letter to Rosenberg on March 29: “At our last conference you placed before me a letter of the lawyer Eschstruth. I very much regret that when shown I took no notice of the letter. I would have then answered on the spot the unheard of slanders and suspicions of the lawyer Eschstruth. To your questions directed to me I therefore inform you today, that the letter of Mr. Eschstruth, which refers to a conference between him and myself which took place in the past year in Rivne, is untrue. I have immediately applied for a Party Process against Eschstruth at the Party Chancery. I shall inform you about the outcome of the Process.” “The Reich Commissar for Ukraine, Konigsberg, March 29, 1943.” Registered Mail. Personal. To Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories Alfred Rosenberg, Berlin. Coblenz Archives, R 6/491.

dutifully undertaken from the first day towards carrying out of the form Reich sovereignty established by you.”³⁶

In the second report which was sent to Hitler a very few days later Rosenberg describes his personal conference with Koch, which took place at his invitation at the Ministry for Occupied Eastern Territories.

“In this conference Reich Commissar Koch did not want to carry on a discussion about the concrete and present case, but only raised reproaches by shouting which could be heard in all adjacent rooms, and rose to a point of declaring to me that I had conspired with emigrants. Further he screamed into my face that he did not acknowledge my competence to judge his articles about Eastern Policy, which he intended to publish in the Reich”

This was the second public disobedience of any subordinate command. I further submitted to Koch the file memo of Storm Battalion Regimental Leader Eschtruth, whom I did not know personally, but who had looked up Reich Commissar Koch in an official trip in Ukraine. I have likewise transmitted this file memo to the Reich Minister and Chief of the Reich Chancery. According to this Koch declared at least twice that Rosenberg himself was an emigrant and could not represent Reich policy in the same sense as a German from the Reich. The sense of these statements of testimony corresponds fully to the insult which Koch himself inflicted on me a few days ago before witnesses. It has been totally impossible to be able to exchange another word at all with Reich Commissar Koch. I terminated the conference. The pertinent documents of the case are before the Reich Minister and Chief of the Reich Chancery. Until definite clarification I request permission to furlough Reich Commissar Koch from his official duties until further notice.”³⁷

Then Alfred Meyer, Rosenberg’s permanent representative, sent to Lammers a chronological schedule in the matter of the state of the educational policy in the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine.³⁸

Addressed also to the Reich Minister and Chief of the Reich Chancery, Dr. Lammers, on April 7, 1943, was Rosenberg’s critical judgment of Koch’s memorandum about Ukraine.³⁹ In the introduction it runs: “The reproaches of the Reich Commissar for Ukraine in all details are treated in the following in a supplement to the above-mentioned answer of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories. This treatment dutifully considers perhaps all,

³⁶ “My Fuhrer,” Rosenberg’s Report About Koch’s Insubordination, Berlin, March 19, 1943. Coblenz Archives, R 6/18.

³⁷ “Report to the Fuhrer,” Concerning the Behavior of the Reich Commissar for Ukraine, Erich Koch. Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories of March 16, 1943. Coblenz Archives, R 6/18.

³⁸ “Statement Concerning the Measures of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, in the Area of Educational Policy since August 31, 1942.” Coblenz Archives, R 6/491.

³⁹ “Sketch of the Letter of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories of March 31, 1943, Concerning the Memorandum of the Reich Commissar for Ukraine.” Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, April 7, 1943, to Reich Minister and Chief of the Reich Chancery, Dr. Lammers. Coblenz Archives, R 6/491 and 6/42.

even grounded criticisms, but also has always to treat the conduct of the Reich Commissar for Ukraine, which is unequivocally characterized by his statements. For our problem the treatment of the question, education — textbooks, appears to be especially interesting:

“On p. 16 the Reich Commissar for Ukraine complains about making available economic resources for textbooks. Since there was no substitute for using the available teaching and learning materials from the Bolshevik period in consequence of their politically purposeful content, the composition of new textbooks for the four-year public schools was requested and approved with the orders of April and May 1942. The rear military zones especially pressed repeatedly for the preparation of the required text material (the size of the edition had perhaps been placed too high). The Reich Commissar for Ukraine had prevented the printing of textbooks by every means. After he first of all had declared that printing in Ukraine was not possible, he raised complaints against the printing provided for thereafter at a German press. When he was requested to publish the books in Kiev, it was declared after a rather long time, that no paper was available. Upon later, further questioning there, it was communicated that the provided 40 tons of paper had been unusable. The result of this tactic of the Reich Commissar for Ukraine in his Order of October 24, 1942, makes the continuation of instruction in the four-year public school dependent upon the presence of the textbooks approved by him. This means practically that he orders the closing itself of the elementary schools. For financing the editions of these first edited textbooks advanced credit was required. Nevertheless since the Reich Commissar for Ukraine had previously prevented the publication of the books, this had not been claimed. Since, by the whole procedure of the Reich Commissar for Ukraine, the danger of a vacuum in the future militarily needed rising generation for technology, agriculture, etc., would be conjured up, the Reich Minister had sought from the Reich Commissar for Ukraine the submission of appropriate proposals. The Reich Commissar for Ukraine had not followed these instructions and had then taken the blame for public insubordination.”⁴⁰

Then the following concluding sentence can be found in the accompanying letter: “May I be permitted to point out that, as can be established from the data, a still far-reaching accounting of the Reich Commissar could not be waited for any longer.”⁴¹

⁴⁰ Since the above-mentioned Memorandum of the Reich Commissar can not be found in the Archives, it is very difficult to go into details about the points mentioned. It also can not be done because the answer or the critical consideration has remained only incomplete, fragmentary. In two different copies, here and there, only a few pages have remained intact.

⁴¹ “Insubordination of Reich Commissar Koch,” Permanent Representative of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, March 26, 1943, to the Reich Minister and Chief of the Reich Chancery, Dr. Lammers. Coblenz Archives, R 6/491.

Lammers was not the only one whom Rosenberg sought to intervene in his dispute with Koch. On April 2, 1943, he directed a letter to the Reich Leader and Chief of the German Police Himmler, indeed formulated again from another viewpoint. Here the Tsuman forest area came into the question, a perhaps seventy-thousand-square-hectare-large area which Koch had commandeered for his personal hunting preserve. For this reason it was necessary to evacuate the villages that were there. In this respect Rosenberg sent a report which he had obtained from the General District of Volhynia and Podillia: "On the order of the highest authority the evacuation of the whole Tsuman District was put into operation. Germans and Ukrainians alike relate that this was done because the whole forest area of Tsuman was to become a favorite hunting ground of the Reich Commissar. In December 1942 the evacuation was begun in the already fiercely cold weather. Hundreds of families had to pack up all their possessions overnight and were resettled over sixty kilometers away. Hundreds of people in Tsuman and its environs were shot by a sortie of an entire police company, 'because they were communistically oriented!' No Ukrainian believes the latter, and also the Germans are astonished at this argument. For then, at the same time — and if it was done for the security of the country — communistically infected elements would have had to be executed also in other districts. In the entire country it is far more unequivocally asserted, that these men were shot without any verdict merely because the resettlement was too encompassing, and, in the brevity of the allotted time, was hopeless and that for the rest there was not sufficient space available at the new resettlement place! Today the Tsuman region is most extensively depopulated. The peasants are to a large extent removed from it. Now it turns out suddenly that peasants have to be drawn from thirty to forty kilometers distance for the purpose of removing wood from this very timber-rich district. These are supposed to carry out lumber transportation from the Tsuman forest area, that meanwhile has become a gangster Eldorado.

"I deem it necessary to examine from a police viewpoint this case known to me by rumor, which has produced the most severe agitation in Volhynia and Podillia, and consult officially the proper higher SS and Police Leaders, SS General Prutzmann in this case."⁴²

In May 1943 the Reich Ministry turned anew directly to the General Commissars. They were called upon to prepare immediately a report on education, as it was ordered in the Executive Regulations No. 9 of the Order of February 23, 1943: "for each General District extra special reports in intervals of three months beginning with April 1, 1943." Up to this point no kind of reporting requirement had been proposed. In regard to the Reich Commissar, Rosenberg very definitely asserted himself in order to show his position of power

⁴² "Reich Commissar Koch and the Tsuman Forest Area," Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, Berlin, April 2, 1943, to the Reich Leader of the SS and Chief of German Police, Himmler. Coblenz Archives, R 6/18.

to the General Commissars: "A part of this report provided to me in reference to my regulation must be put forward concerning the Reich Commissar."⁴³

Simultaneously Rosenberg informed the Reich Commissar himself in order to ascertain that he legally and correctly took action.⁴⁴

On May 23, 1943, then Koch reported again. He reported that during the meeting of the educational advisors in the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories a special discussion of the representatives from the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine took place. Koch further cites that the division unit leader from Milwe-Schroeden or Group Leader Kienzlen made known at the beginning of the discussion that the special reports of the General Commissars demanded in the Order of February 23, 1943, for April 1, 1943, had not been entered into. The purpose of the special discussion, therefore, was the oral reporting of the individual unit leaders from the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine, in order then that on the basis of these the Reich Minister can be informed. In so doing Koch takes the General Commissars or the unit leaders somewhat under his protection as he states: "My unit leaders reported that a reporting for April 1, 1943, had not been possible on account of the brevity of the time-limit and the difficulties in the execution of the order, and they reflected about the present condition of the affair. This oral form of reporting was considered by the participants from the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine as a discharging the report demanded for April 1, 1943. Written notes about this special discussion were undertaken by Dr. Tauscher, advisor in the group concerning educational policy."⁴⁵

From further correspondence it is indeed evident that this again was a result of Koch's interpretation, and that afterwards as before the Reich Minister still awaited written reportings.⁴⁶

⁴³ "Native Education," The Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, Writer, Dr. Tauscher /Blum, Berlin, May 1943, Telegram to the General Commissars in Lutske, Zhytomyr, Kiev, Mykolaiv, Dnipropetrovske, Melitopil.

⁴⁴ "Native Education," to the Reich Commissar in Rivne, Provincial leader Erich Koch. Coblenz Archives, R 6/404.

⁴⁵ "Native Education," The Reich Commissar for Ukraine, Rivne. May 23, 1943, Correspondent, Government Director Habig, to the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories. Coblenz Archives, R 6/404.

⁴⁶ "Reporting of Reich Commissar for Ukraine in School Affairs." Reference: Manuscript Note of May 29 of This Year. Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, Berlin, June 15, 1943, to Chief, Section I, to be delivered to Ministerial Director, Dr. Brautigam. Coblenz Archives, R 6/404.

This letter is an answer of the Director of the Section for Educational Policy, von dem Milwe-Schroeden, of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories to the inquiries of Brautigam, whether the Reich Commissar for Ukraine had already started reporting. The answer is negative; Milwe-Schroeden points out the letter of the Reich Commissar for Ukraine of May 23, 1943, where he states that a report is not required because of an oral presentation. In addition then the judgement of the Reich Ministry Group Leader Kienzlen is directed to Government Director Habig in Rivne, concerning the fact that the Reich Minister can not be satisfied with an oral reporting.

Finally — A Change in Koch's Behavior

Indeed a new trend in Koch's conduct can be inferred in spite of his letter of May 23, 1943, as well as also from reports presented subsequently. Indeed Koch yields in some educational affairs — he finally had to yield. "Not even from the viewpoint of his own programs could his position be kept: If the harvest increase was one of his chief tasks, then locally special agricultural skills had to be developed. If one needed skilled workers, then provision had to be made for a younger set of them. But to the extreme Koch defended his claim that this development was to be kept to a low level."⁴⁷

In the already mentioned letter of May 23, 1943, surprisingly enough Koch referred to Rosenberg's order of March 23, 1943. It was the first time since he was in office that he did not contradict Rosenberg: "In the execution of your Order of February 23, 1943, I notice that in two discussions of my advisors in the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories in the beginning of March and on the occasion of the meeting in April complete agreement was reached:

- a. In the field of agricultural vocational and technical schooling
- b. Relating to science and research."

In the field of industrial vocational and trade schooling Koch did allow some inconsistencies although chiefly of a personnel type. At the close of the letter Koch requests Rosenberg "for a quick dispatching of the lacking advisors for the industrial vocational and technical schooling, so that vocational and technical schools for the militarily necessary younger set can be set up and supervised." Thus this is the first time that indeed Koch places the possibility of the existence of vocational and technical schools in connection with the militarily necessary younger set.⁴⁸

After what has been observed to this point, it seems to be even more incredible that Koch drew up principles for the development of native education and sent them to Rosenberg, as well as asking for his agreement. Koch based his action on a thorough examination of the local conditions in the field of native education and on a precise identification of the need for the younger set for higher occupations by his appropriate special departments.

Yet Koch did not yet represent everything as Rosenberg wished it. The differences of opinion in principles had not been removed, as for example, the printing of textbooks, (according to Koch in normal type, according to Rosenberg in Cyrillic type). Koch furthermore also emphasized that the vocational schools during the war should remain confined to the exceptional case, and that no need existed for higher special schools. Also Koch fought furthermore for an unconfined position in which he could work obligingly for the General Commissars. Yet there is a totally new component in the manner in which he now tries to deal with Rosenberg, and in the fact itself that he no longer

⁴⁷ Dallin, *German Rule* . . . , p. 479.

⁴⁸ "Native Education," see above, Note 45.

stands in constant opposition to Rosenberg, and in that he has indeed considered the schools which go beyond the four-year public schools.⁴⁹

In Rosenberg's answer, with which he did not especially hurry, since he did not answer until a month later on July 24, 1943, there was a rather positive reaction to Koch's change. First of all, a discussion was held with Koch's Deputy of the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine, Paul Dargel. Rosenberg begins with the words: "I am fundamentally in agreement with the proposals made in your report." Then he calls attention to three aspects in which Koch as before deviates from Rosenberg's ideas:

— Naming with the concept of middle school the three-year vocationally-oriented development schools,

— Direct more attention to the further types of vocational schools, above all technical schools for farmers and foresters, doctors and veterinarians and technicians,

— Concerning the textbooks Rosenberg presents again as before the concept that they must first be printed in Cyrillic letters, and only gradually can they be begun in Aqua letters.

In closing Rosenberg grants that Koch is competent regarding the General Commissars, nevertheless, his "instructions" should be the criterion for Koch:

"Moreover it is self-evident that the direction of native education and the arrangement of its extent in all fields will be undertaken by you according to my instructions. In doing this these must allow consideration corresponding to local opportunities and circumstances for individual General Commissariats. The direct transmittal of my Order of February 23, 1943, to the General Commissars was not intended to change anything in the central control of the situation by you. The special reports rendered by the General Commissars are self-evidently to be forwarded only through you.⁵⁰

It is impossible to determine whether this accord or period without greater conflicts in the reciprocal official relation between both of these leading authorities of occupied Ukraine had been of very long duration. This was only a short time before the Germans had lost the Ukrainian territories to Soviet Russian reoccupation.

The documents on education which became sparser and sparser prove how the Soviet front had moved.⁵¹ As the last of them these can be named:

— The letter dated September 3, 1943, of the Group Leader Kienzlen to the Representative of the Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, with

⁴⁹ "Native Education," The Reich Commissar for Ukraine, Rivne, June 22, 1943, to Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories. Coblenz Archives, R 6/404.

⁵⁰ "Native Education in the Reich Commissariat of Ukraine," The Reich Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, Cultural Policy Section, Berlin, July 24, 1943, to the Reich Commissar for Ukraine. Coblenz Archives, R 6/404.

⁵¹ Chronological Schedule of the Most Important Events of the German Occupation — see Reitlinger, *The House*, pp. 490 ff.

the High Command of the German Army Group South, Major O.W. Muller and to Ministerial Director Dr. Brautigam.⁵²

— The Report of the General Commissar from Mykolaiv of October 20, 1943.⁵³

— And the Report of the General Commissar for Volhynia and Podillia, written in Lutske on October 31, 1943.⁵⁴

After Koch no longer had the Reich Commissar of Ukraine to administer, he was ordered to the Reich Commissariat of Ostland “in order to replace Lohse.” Slowly but surely the curtain fell on the “tragicomedy” of the Rosenberg-Koch affair.

Koch was treated as the scapegoat for the catastrophe of German policy in Ukraine. This was justified in this respect, since he had given a free hand to all, even the subordinate authorities with the exception of the Ministry in Berlin, to do in the country whatever they wanted: especially Goering’s Economic Staff of the East, Sauckel’s Forced Work Recruiters and Himmler’s Murder Commandos. Koch himself really did little, besides the provision of personnel, and the fact that he signed various orders and also defended them intensely. This fact had its effect in the realm of education in an especially drastic manner. Otherwise Koch seldom visited “his Ukraine.” (as he again and again like to assert) mostly only to hunt.⁵⁵

⁵² “Organization of Native Education,” Berlin, September 3, 1943. Coblenz Archives, R 6/404.

⁵³ “Native Education.” Coblenz Archives, R 6/404.

⁵⁴ “Native Education.” Coblenz Archives, R 6/404.

⁵⁵ Brautigam, “Survey of the Occupied Eastern Territories. During the Second World War,” Study of the Institute for Occupation Questions, Tubingen, 1954, p. 3.

THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH DURING WWII

ANDREW TURCHYN

Before discussing our topic, a short introduction seems to be in order for those who are less acquainted with the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its history.

As far as the Ukrainian territory is concerned, the Ukrainian Catholic Church existed before World War II only in Western Ukraine—in Galicia, Transcarpathia, and Bukovina, the lands which formerly belonged to the Austro-Hungarian empire. On the territory east of the Bug River, which had formerly belonged to the Russian empire, the Uniate Church was partially destroyed by Catherine II and completely liquidated by Tsar Nicholas I in 1839. In the Kholm (Chelm) eparchy, which in the years 1807-1830 was subordinated to the Galician metropolitanate and afterwards directly to Rome, the Greek-Catholic church was liquidated in 1875.

Before WWII, the Galician metropolitanate comprised three eparchies: Lviv, Peremyshl (Przemysl), and Stanyslaviv (now Ivano-Frankivs'k), and the Lemkian apostolic administration, which the Vatican, under Polish pressure, carved out from the Peremyshl eparchy in 1934. The entire metropolitanate had 2,491 parishes, 3,660 churches, and over 3½ million faithful.¹

In Transcarpathia, there were two Greek-Catholic eparchies, Mukachiv and Priashiv (Presov), which together had 431 parishes, 757 churches, and over half a million faithful.² Pope Leo XIII's idea of creating a Ukrainian patriarchate with a temporary seat in Lviv and subordinating the Transcarpathian eparchies to it, was not realized because of strong Hungarian opposition. However, in 1937, when the Mukachiv and the Priashiv eparchies were no longer under Hungarian rule, they were separated from the Hungarian metropolitanate of Esztergom and subordinated directly to the Congregation for Eastern Churches. A project to create the Mukachiv metropolitanate and a new bishopric in Khust, which together with the Priashiv eparchy should be subordinated to the new metropolitanate, was given up because of an unfavorable political situation in Czechoslovakia in the late 1930's.

The Vienna arbitration of 1938 gave the southern part of Transcarpathia, including Uzhhorod and Mukachiv, to Hungary. Since the bishop of Mukachiv, Oleksander Stoika, remained in Uzhhorod, the Vatican named Bishop Dionysii Niaradi as an

¹ *Annuario Pontificio per l'anno 1943*: 168, 216, 250, 463.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 191, 216.

apostolic visitator for the northern part of Carpatho-Ukraine. He performed his duties in Khust until it was occupied by the Hungarians in March 1939.

At the end of 1918, some Ukrainian Catholic parishes of the Galician metropolitanate came under Romanian rule. In 1923 the Vatican created for them an apostolic administration with its seat in Seret. However, in 1930 it was abolished, and the Ukrainian Catholic parishes in Bukovina and the Marmarosh (Maramures) region were subordinated to Father Mykhailo Simovych, the vicar-general of the Marmarosh eparchy in Baia-Mare, who resided in Chernivtsi.

Since the activity of the Ukrainian Catholic Church under Polish rule was limited to Galicia, the so-called "Catholic Church of the Eastern Slavonic Rite," organized chiefly by the Jesuits of the Eastern rite among the Orthodox Ukrainians, could not be considered as a branch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in spite of the fact that a Ukrainian bishop, Mykola Charnets'kyi, became its apostolic visitator in 1931. Perhaps it is worth mentioning that in the theological seminary in Dubno, founded for these neo-Uniates in 1931, a few Ukrainians from Galicia, chiefly from Brody county, finished their theological studies, and one of them, Father Iuliian Habrusevych, has been serving nowadays as a priest in the eparchy of Toronto.

As a result of the German-Soviet agreement of August 23, 1939, the entire Lemkian apostolic administration and some parts of the Peremyshl eparchy were incorporated into the so-called Generalgouvernement, while the bulk of the Galician metropolitanate became part of the Ukrainian SSR. Bishop Isifat Kotsylovs'kyi, who remained in Peremyshl under Soviet rule, sent his auxiliary bishop, Hryhorii Lakota, to Yaroslav (Jaroslaw), and put him in charge of those parts of the Peremyshl eparchy which came under German rule.

In order to diminish the Russophile influences in the Lemkian apostolic administration, Prof. Volodymyr Kubiiovych, chairman of the Ukrainian Central Committee in Krakow, persuaded the ailing Lemkian apostolic administrator, Father Iakiv Medvets'kyi, to nominate Father Oleksander Malynovs'kyi, former vice-rector of the theological seminary in Lviv, as Medvets'kyi's vicar-general. One week after Father Medvets'kyi's death on January 27, 1941, Father Malynovs'kyi became the apostolic administrator.

Among thousands of Ukrainian fugitives who crossed the Molotov-Ribbentrop line in 1939, there were also about one hundred priests. Eventually, they became associate pastors in the existing parishes, served as pastors for the Ukrainian refugees in the Polish towns, or worked as teachers or social workers in the newly created Ukrainian Relief Committees. Some of them went to Germany to serve the Ukrainian Catholics there, whose number was steadily increasing.

Taking this fact under consideration, Pope Pius XII, on November 23, 1940, nominated Father Petro Verhun, pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic parish in Berlin, as the apostolic visitator for the Ukrainian Catholics in Germany.

The situation of the Ukrainian Catholic as well as the Orthodox Churches in the Generalgouvernement was the subject of discussion in the Ukrainian Central Committee

³ Volodymyr Kubiiovych, *Ukrainsi v Heneral'ni Hubernii 1939-1941: Istoriiia Ukrains'koho Tsentral'noho Komitetu* (Chicago: Vyd-vo Mykoly Denysiuka, 1975), pp. 288-93, 572-73.

in Krakow. In his memorials of 1940 to the apostolic nuncio in Berlin and to the governor general in Krakow, Prof. Kubiiovych expressed a need for the creation of a Ukrainian Catholic metropolitanate in the Generalgouvernement, consisting of three eparchies—Sianik (Sanok), Yaroslav, and Belz, and a theological seminary. Although this matter depended primarily on the Vatican's decision, the German authorities were against this proposal. They favored only the elevation of the Lemkian apostolic administration to the rank of a bishopric, with the seat in Sianik.³ In general, the German authorities did not interfere with the internal life of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Thanks to the efforts of the Ukrainian Central Committee, the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox priests were receiving a small salary as teachers of religion, as was the case under the Polish rule. An entirely different situation existed in the territory under the Soviet rule.

Considering religion as “the opium of the people,” the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) tried in Western Ukraine “to free the working people from religious superstitions” by suppressing their religious freedom and organizing an anti-religious propaganda campaign. As could be expected in a totalitarian state, all political parties and all kinds of organizations and societies were required to cease to exist. All Catholic schools were closed. Crosses were removed from the classrooms; religious education and school prayer were forbidden, and anti-religious propaganda played an important role in Soviet education.

Although the churches remained open for services, the Church and monastic properties were nationalized. In order to deprive priests and parishes of the material base of their subsistence, steep taxes were imposed upon them. In many places, priests were driven out from the parish houses, and all parish registers were transferred to the local departments of civil registry, called *Zahsy* (Departments of Registry of Documents of Civil Status). Marriages could be considered legal only if they were officiated in *Zahsy*. Priests were considered as a “non-working element,” and thus became second-class citizens. For utilities, for example, they had to pay five times as much as non-priests.⁴

The Soviet authorities confiscated all presses and publishing houses, and deprived the Church of all facilities for publication. A great number of publications were destroyed, including the current issues of *Bohosloviia* (Theology), *Nyva* (Field), and so forth.

In order to deprive the Church of new candidates for the priesthood, the Soviets closed the theological seminaries in Peremyshl and Stanyslaviv, and the Theological Academy in Lviv.

Before the arrival of the Red Army in Lviv, a German bomb destroyed the seminary's church and the library of the Scientific Theological Society, killing Ivan Tkachuk, a young student of theology from Bukovina. Under the Soviet regime, the entire seminary, including its famous chapel, was used first as a refuge for the Jewish fugitives from Poland and later as a dormitory for the students of the university. The statue of the Virgin Mary in the seminary's yard, as well as the statue of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, were destroyed. The academy's archives, library, and museum were transferred. The west

⁴ Milena Rudnyts'ka, ed., *Zakhidnia Ukraina pid bol'shevykamy ix. 939-vi. 1941*: Zbirnyk (N'iu Iork: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka v Amerytsi, 1958), pp. 113-126.

wing of the seminary building, where formerly the “minor seminary” had been located, was now occupied by the soldiers.⁵

The Soviet secret police started its work immediately after the Red Army occupied Western Ukraine. Some people started to disappear, and quite often members of their families did not know whether they had been arrested, exiled, or executed. Many people were forced to spy on friends and relatives. Insecurity became a prevailing mood of the majority of the population.

In such a situation, the ailing 74-year-old Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was looked upon as a guiding light, although he himself had become the main target of spying and intrigue. His family was among the first victims of the new regime. His brother Lew and sister-in-law were killed in Prylbychi by the Soviets, who destroyed the family archives and library, and violated the family's burial vault, throwing out the bones of the Metropolitan's parents.⁶

Confined to his armchair, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi tried to maintain a steady contact with his clergy and flock by his pastoral letters, which brought them not only instruction, but also hope and encouragement.

As long as the typewriters and a duplicator were available, 200 copies of each number of the *Archeparchial News* were prepared in the chapter and sent to deans and other priests of the archeparchy with the request to copy them, so that every priest could be in possession of every issue sent from the chapter. After a search of the metropolitan's office, the archives were sealed and the typewriters and duplicator were confiscated.⁷ The manuscripts of the Metropolitan's letters, announcements, decrees, and so forth, were then copied by priests during the clergy meetings on Thursdays and distributed through the established channels as previously. All decrees, announcements, and other material were validated by attaching them to the door of the cathedral.

In his first letter to the clergy under the Soviet rule, dated October 9, 1939, the Metropolitan stated his program as follows: “The program of our work will be such: We will be obedient to the authorities and will follow the law as long as it is not against God's law; we shall not be mixed in with political and worldly affairs; we shall not stop our sacrificial work for Christ's cause among our people.”⁸ Looking upon the catechization of children as the first and most important obligation of priests, he advised his clergy to “use better Christians and older boys and girls for catechization in families” and to all of these he granted commission to teach religion. He also recommended every priest to instruct “a few prudent and pious peasants how to baptize children, so that in case of a lack of priests, they themselves would know how to baptize a newborn child with

⁵ Pavlo Senytsia, comp., *Svityl'nyk istyny: Dzherela do istorii Ukrains'koi Katolyts'koi Bohoslovs'koi Akademii u L'vovi 1928-1929-1944*. Materialy zibrav i opratsiuvav d-r Pavlo Senytsia. Do druku pryhotovlyv o. rad. Volodymyr Zholkevych, red. Iulian Beskyd i Iaroslav Chumak, 3 v., *Vydannia Ukrains'koho Katolyts'koho Universytetu im. sv. Klymenta Papy, Pratsi Hreko-Katolyts'koi Bohoslovs'koi Akademii*, v. 34, 44, 53 (Toronto, Chicago: Nakl. Studentiv Bohoslovs'koi Akademii, 1973-83) 2: 64-81.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 3:304

⁷ *Ibid.*, 2:184.

⁸ Andrii Sheptyts'kyi, hraf, Metropolitan, *Fys'ma poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia* (z chasiv bol'shevyts'koi okupatsii) Vidbytka z Lohosu, *Biblioteka Lohosu*, v. 24 (Iorkton, Sask., 1961), pp. 1-2.

water.” The priests were asked to remind their faithful frequently of the Church’s teaching on perfect contrition, which gives back God’s grace, lost by sin, if there is no possibility of formal confession.

In his letter addressed to monks and nuns,⁹ the Metropolitan advised the superiors to keep monks and nuns in communal life as long as possible. At the same time, however, he granted the superiors the right to permit monks and nuns, who had made their vows for life, to leave the monasteries and to wear civilian dress if necessary. He reminded them that “it is not the monastic dress that makes a person a monk or nun, but the spirit of humility, prayer, and sacrificial love for one’s neighbor, and a willingness to help him.” Wherever each of them settled, whatever work they might engage in, it would be their duty to give the faithful a saintly example of Christian life, and to catechize them.

The next letter was addressed to the faithful themselves.¹⁰ The Metropolitan reminded them that “the most important matter for the Church, the nation, and the family, is that the children must be brought up well. When a person learns from childhood to respect God, to keep His holy commandments, to care for God’s grace, to beware of sin, then in one’s later life such a person will be a good, conscientious human being, a true Christian, and will bring comfort and glory to the family, the Church, and the Fatherland, and will work for the benefit of God and neighbor.” The Metropolitan encouraged families to pray aloud together in the mornings and evenings, preferably from a prayer-book. Since a Church commission is needed in order to catechize and preach, he gave such a commission to all Christians of good will, who would be willing to substitute for priests and to help them to fulfill their pastoral duties toward Christian souls. He reminded the faithful of their obligation to provide means for the subsistence of their priests. He also encouraged the faithful to show a neighborly love to the godless people. On several occasions, the Metropolitan stressed that, although atheism must be denounced as a false principle, the atheists as persons could and should be saved by the prayers and sacrifices of the faithful.

The Metropolitan defended the rights of the Church. He strongly protested against the nationalization of the Church and monastic property and the steep taxes. He denounced the coercion of the schoolchildren’s consciences by fanatical atheist propaganda,¹¹ and the denial to sick and dying persons of their right to confession.¹² He asked all priests who lived near the hospitals to visit the sick often, to give them an opportunity for confession. He also gave the priests permission to smuggle Holy Communion into the hospitals for the sick and dying.¹³ It is to be kept in mind that there was a stiff penalty imposed on priests for such a “crime” as bringing Holy Communion to the sick in the hospitals.

In order to paralyze the atheistic propaganda, the Metropolitan stressed the duty of former teachers of religion, as well as pastors, to teach religion to the school children in church.¹⁴ He also stressed the obligation of pastors to preach. Since many working people

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-46.

¹² Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidnia Ukraina*, p. 142.

¹³ Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia*, 1961, p. 17.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.9.

could not attend church in the morning, the Metropolitan allowed priests to serve Mass on Sundays and Holy Days in the evenings. Contrary to Soviet expectation, the Soviet regime made the population not less, but more religious. Church attendance was higher than before the occupation, and the people willingly paid taxes for priests and churches in order to keep priests in their parishes.¹⁵

Interest in religion was also shown by many Ukrainians who had recently arrived in Western Ukraine. The Metropolitan cared much about these people. He allowed priests to administer the Sacraments to them under the condition that it would not make them indifferent as to which Church to belong to.¹⁶

With the annexation of Western Ukraine to the USSR, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi intended to renew his apostolic mission for the entire territory of the Soviet Union. Using the privileges given to him by Pope Pius X and later approved by Pope Benedict XV and Pope Pius XI, the Metropolitan created, on October 9, 1939, four exarchates and nominated exarchs for them: Bishop Mykola Charnets'kyi for Northwestern Ukraine, Father Antonii Nemantsevich, S.J., for Byelorussia, Abbot Klymentii Sheptyts'kyi for Russia, including Siberia, and Rector Iosyf Slipyi for the Ukrainian territory east of the Zbruch River.¹⁷ The next day, he wrote a letter to Pope Pius XII, which was delivered to Rome by Father Iurii Moskva, S.J., in which the Pope was asked to approve the privileges granted the Metropolitan by Pope Pius X and to include in them Galicia as well. He also asked for the nomination of Rector Slipyi as bishop, and gave Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi additional privileges. The consecration of bishop-nominee Slipyi was performed secretly on December 22, 1939, and publicly announced only on January 13, 1942. The Metropolitan called a Synod of the four exarchs, which took place on September 18-19, 1940. This Synod approved the proceedings of the Synod held in Petersburg in 1917, and placed the new exarchs under direct jurisdiction of the Apostolic See.

However, a new letter from Rome of May 30, 1940, which the Metropolitan did not receive until September 26, 1940, explained that the privileges given to him were similar to those which have usually been given to Roman Catholic bishops in similar circumstances. Therefore, the Metropolitan, on October 12, 1940, notified the four exarchs that his privileges, given to him by Pope Pius X, were not valid, and as a result he was no longer empowered even to revoke their nominations. In such a situation the exarchs themselves decided to ask the Pope for permission to perform their duties. Also, the Metropolitan wrote a letter to Rome, asking for the Pope's approval of their nomination. On November 22, 1941, the Pope approved the nomination, and nominated Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi as an apostolic delegate for them.¹⁸

Having, probably, the work of the exarchs in mind, the Metropolitan announced in February 1940 that he was looking for volunteers to work as pastors in Kyiv, Odesa, Vynnytsia, Kharkiv, and Poltava. Required was "the readiness for all sacrifices, day and

¹⁵ Rudnyts'ka *Zakhidnia Ukraina*, pp. 120-26.

¹⁶ Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-polannia*, 1961, pp. 21-24.

¹⁷ Senytsia, *Svityl'nyk istyny*, 2:208.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:209.

night, vital or merely useful, for the cause of uniting our faithful, the non-united Orthodox, as well as the godless people, baptized or not baptized.”¹⁹ On April 17, 1940, the Metropolitan appealed to his clergy to volunteer for pastoral work among the faithful who had been “Transferred outside the eastern border of our land.”²⁰ He indicated that he intended to petition the authorities to permit him and ten priests to perform a pastoral duty there. Perhaps it was in connection with this idea that the Metropolitan asked the Pope “to assign and to send him to a martyr’s death for the faith and unity of the Church.”²¹

Before the outbreak of WWII, the auxiliary bishop and vicar-general of the Metropolitan, Ivan Buchko, left for Latin America to visit the Ukrainian Catholic parishes there. On May 23, 1940, the Metropolitan announced that Bishop Buchko had received other assignments abroad.²² He nominated Bishop Nykyta Budka as his vicar-general.

In order to preserve the monastic churches, the Metropolitan changed them to parish churches and nominated monks as their pastors. He also used monks and former teachers of religion in schools as replacements for pastors in vacant parishes. The number of priests had already decreased. As had already been mentioned, a number of priests had left their parishes in fear of arrest or exile. The Metropolitan admonished those priests who had left their parishes without leave, and declared that they had lost their parishes. They would be allowed new parishes only after serving 3-5 years as administrators.²³ The *Archeparchial News* of December 1940 listed names of seventeen priests who had died, and also the names of eighteen priests arrested in 1940 in the Lviv diocese.²⁴ Although there was no mass persecution of clergy during the initial Soviet rule in Western Ukraine, 32 priests were killed or arrested, and 33 were exiled to Siberia.²⁵ The most dangerous time was immediately after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, when two professors of the Theological Academy—Fathers Mykola Konrad and Andrii Ishchak—were killed. A few days before the Soviet authorities left Lviv, the secret police, making a search in the chapter’s house, took outside all persons living there, including Archbishop Slipyi and Bishop Budka, and placed them against the wall. Yet, strangely enough, they were neither shot, as threatened, nor arrested.²⁶

¹⁹ Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia*, 1961, pp. 12-13.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 61

²¹ Senytsia, *Svityl'nyk istymy*, 2:192-93.

²² Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia*, 1961, p. 66.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 11

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-76.

²⁵ Osyp Zinkevych, ed., *Ukrains'ka Katolyts'ka Tserkva: Dokumenty, materialy, khrystyians'kyi samvyday Ukrainy*, Uporiadkuvaly i zredahuvaly Osyp Zinkevych i Sviashchennyk Taras R. Lonchyna, *Martyrolohiia Ukrains'kykh Tserkov*, v. 2, *Biblioteka "Smoloskypa"*, no. 51 (Toronto, Baltymor: Ukrains'ke vyd-vo "Smoloskyp" im V. Symonenka, 1985) p. 64. See also Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidna Ukraina*, pp. 140-141.

²⁶ Andrii Sheptyts'kyi, hraf, Metropolitan, *Pys'ma-poslannia Mytropolyta Andreia Sheptyts'koho, ChSVV, z chasiv nimets'koi okupatsii*, His (Tvory) v. 2, *Biblioteka Lohosu*, v. 30 (Iorkton, Sask., 1969), p. 263. See also Rudnyts'ka, *Zakhidna Ukraina*, p. 141.

Although the shortage of priests was not yet felt, the Metropolitan, thinking about the future of the Church, announced on February 20, 1940, that he intended to continue theological studies in his palace 3-6 hours weekly after 6 p.m. for former students of the Theological Academy as well as for those who had enough knowledge to study theology. Also allowed to enroll were Studites, after securing a permission from their abbot.²⁷

In order to have future candidates for theological studies, the Metropolitan also announced that young boys over 14 years old who were “prepared for all kinds of nuisances, difficulties, and sacrifices” should visit him and enroll in a preparatory course which was intended to be conducted either orally or by correspondence.²⁸

The Metropolitan saw that, in order to survive, the Ukrainian Catholic Church had to strengthen its internal life. For this purpose, the Metropolitan decided to change the Thursday meetings with priests to a Synod. The first archeparchial Synod started on May 2, 1940. Each priest, secular as well as regular, was invited to participate in the Synod, and each secular priest was obliged to participate in at least one session. The Synod of 1940 lasted two months and prepared 31 decrees and many decisions related to the life of the archeparchy.²⁹ The Synods were also convoked each year in 1941-1944.

The outbreak of the German-Soviet war brought new hope for the Ukrainians, but the German bombardments almost took the life of the Metropolitan. Once a German grenade hit the Metropolitan’s palace a few yards from the Metropolitan, while some persons had intended to take him to the basement. Luckily, only Brother Atanasii slightly wounded. Another time, an incendiary bomb exploded over the buildings on St. George’s Hill and set fire to the chapel, the chapter’s house, the cupola of the cathedral, and the roof of the palace. Fortunately, after three hours the fire was extinguished.³⁰

The war interrupted for several years the Moscow preparations for “the reunion of the Uniates.” Several times, the messengers of the Soviet regime came to Metropolitan Sheptyts’kyi with airplane tickets to press him to send an official delegation to Moscow to greet the patriarchal *locum tenens*—Metropolitan Sergei. At the same time, the secret police tried to use Father Havryil Kostel’nyk against the Metropolitan in its plan to liquidate the Ukrainian Catholic Church. However, Father Kostel’nyk at that time did not break down, in spite of the arrest and eventual murder of one of his sons.³¹

In the meantime, Moscow sent Russian archbishop Nikolai Iarushevich to Lutsk with the title of Metropolitan of Lutsk and Volhynia and exarch of all western provinces of Ukraine recently annexed to the Soviet Union. In January 1941, he visited the only Orthodox church in Lviv and in his sermon there, he thanked God for the union of Galicia with “Russia” and appealed to his listeners to pray and to work for the union of the Greek Catholics with the Orthodox Church. In March of 1941, a Galician

²⁷ Sheptyts’kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia*, 1961, pp. 17-18.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

³⁰ Sheptyts’kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia*, 1969, pp. 263-64.

³¹ Senytsia, *Sviity'nyk istyny*, 3:494.

Russophile, Panteleimon Rudyk, was consecrated in Moscow as the Orthodox bishop of Lviv eparchy, which at that time had only one Orthodox parish.³²

Under the German rule, the status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church improved, but its activity still was restricted not only by severe wartime circumstances, but also by the general German policy towards Ukraine. The attitude of the Germans toward Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was not only cool but hostile. They looked upon him as a symbol of the Ukrainian spirit of resistance. It was no surprise that in 1943 the Gestapo searched all the buildings on St. George's Hill, including the living quarters of the Metropolitan and his chapel.³³

Bishop Kotsylovs'kyi was also harrassed by the Gestapo. Twice, he was called for interrogation late in the evening, and was threatened with incarceration in a concentration camp for his connections with Jews. Indeed, Father Vasyl' Hrynyk, a member of the chapter, was hiding some Jews in the chapter's building.³⁴

Knowing how much the Ukrainians respected their hierarchy, and especially Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, who was also well-known and respected abroad, the Germans did not wish to complicate their situation further by harming the hierarchy. They rather wished to use the Church authority for their purposes, but had no success.

A helping hand to the Ukrainian Catholic Church was given by a German priest, Johann Peters.³⁵ In order to learn more about Eastern Christianity, he came to Lviv in 1933, and after a talk with the Metropolitan and his brother, Abbot Klymentii, he entered the Studite monastery and in 1934 became a priest of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Three days before the outbreak of the German-Polish war, he was sent by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi to Vienna. Eventually, he became a representative of the Ukrainian Catholic Church at the authorities of the Generalgouvernement in Krakow. In 1941, Father Peters came back to Lviv, soon after this city was taken by the Germans. He used his German citizenship to help the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In the first chaotic days of the German invasion, he transferred a printing press, formerly used by the provincial executive committee, to the buildings on St. George's Hill. Later he got a permit for a shoe shop, which was actually run by the Studites. In its basement, Brother Theodosii took care of the sixteen Jews whom the Metropolitan was hiding. However, Father Peters' activity aroused the suspicion of the Gestapo. It was charged that the printing press, which was under his supervision, had been used to print anti-German leaflets. He was arrested, and in July 1943 was sent to the concentration camp at Dachau.

Saving the Jews was a very earnest matter for Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and his brother, Abbot Klymentii. The Metropolitan was, perhaps, the only hierarch in Europe who wrote a letter to Himmler concerning the Jews.³⁶ In 1942, he made an indirect

³² Rudnyts'ka *Zakhidnia Ukraina*, pp. 133-35.

³³ Senytsia, *Svityl'nyk istyny*, 3:445.

³⁴ B. Zahaikevych, ed., *Peremyshl'-zakhidnyi bastion Ukrainy: Zbirnyk materialiv do istorii Peremysshlia i Peremys'koi zemli, zladzhenyi red. kolegiieu pid provodom Prof. B. Zahaikevycha* (Niu Iork, Fyladefiia: Peremys'kyi vydavnychyi komitet, 1961), p. 82.

³⁵ Senytsia, *Svityl'nyk istyny*, 3:463-468.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 3:446.

reference to the wholesale murder of Jews in his pastoral letter "Thou Shalt Not Kill."³⁷ We have testimonies of many Jews, including Col. David Kahana,³⁸ chief chaplain of the Israeli Air Force, and Kurt Levin,³⁹ both saved by the Metropolitan, about the saving of Jews by the Metropolitan and the Ukrainian Catholic clergy. David Kahana himself prepared a list of over 240 Ukrainian priests who were actively involved in saving Jewish lives. And yet, the Israeli committee recently refused to treat the Servant of God Andrei as a "righteous One" in Yad Vashem, because he was the head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church--the same Church which, through both clergy and laity, had saved Jews, sometimes at the cost of their own lives.⁴⁰

Of greatest importance to Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was the Union of Churches, to which he dedicated much time and effort. He knew that it would not be easy to unite the Churches, which had been separated for centuries. As the first step on the way to eventual union, he wanted to establish a mutual understanding between the traditional Ukrainian Churches and to evoke in them a desire to come closer to each other, to learn what they have in common and what separates them. When the Russians left Ukraine in 1941, he thought this to be a good opportunity to have an ecumenical dialog with the Orthodox Ukrainians. On December 30, 1941, he wrote an open letter to the Orthodox hierarchs on the territory of Ukraine,⁴¹ and on March 3, 1942, another letter "to the Ukrainian believing Orthodox intelligensia."⁴² However, he was misunderstood. The answers to his letter were highly disappointing.⁴³ The Ukrainian Orthodox side did not want to talk about reconciliation. The resolution of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Generalgouvernement of May 27, 1942, was: "We sincerely greet the call of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi to the unification of our two Churches in one, and with joy we shall accept all our Greek-Catholic brothers to our Orthodox Church."⁴⁴ The German authorities, too, were against any agreement, not only between the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, but even between the two Orthodox churches in Ukraine.⁴⁵

When the Soviet troops again occupied Western Ukraine in the summer of 1944, the Soviet policy toward the Ukrainian Catholic Church changed for the better.⁴⁶ There was no anti-religious propaganda. The Church taxes became moderate; the people connected

³⁷ Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia*, 1969, pp. 222-31.

³⁸ Leo Heiman, "The Forgotten Epic of Count Sheptytskyi," *America* (Philadelphia), January 8, 1985: 2, January 14, 1985: 2, 4, 7.

³⁹ Kurt I. Levin, "Andreas Count Sheptytsky, Archbishop of Lviv, Metropolitan of Halych, and the Jewish Community in Galicia During the Second World War," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, 7 (1959): 1656-67.

⁴⁰ "Sheptyts'kyi Denied place in Yad Vashem," *America* (Philadelphia), May 6, 1985: 1-2, 4.

⁴¹ Sheptyts'kyi, *Pys'ma-poslannia*, 1969, pp. 339-40.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 340-2.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 342-9.

⁴⁴ Stefan Baran, *Myropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi: Zhyttia i diial'nist'* (Miunkhen: Ukrains'ke vydavnyche tovarystvo "Vernyhora," 1947) p. 132.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁴⁶ Senytsia, *Svityl'nyk istyny*, 3:302-10, 339-40.

with the churches, the cantors, conductors of church choirs, heads of the Church brotherhoods, etc., were free from military service. The theological seminaries and the Theological Academy remained open. This situation lasted approximately until the death of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi on November 1, 1944. The Soviet authorities even allowed a funeral procession in the main streets of Lviv, in which five Ukrainian Catholic hierarchs participated, along with 150 priests, 70 students of the Theological Academy, and thousands of mournful people.

In order to find out how the Ukrainian Catholic Church could continue her work within the framework of the Soviet constitution, Iosyf Slipyi, the new Metropolitan, sent a delegation of four priests to Moscow, with a gift from the Ukrainian Catholic Church for the disabled veterans. However, the delegation was not admitted to see the higher representatives of the government, and the Church was required to head a campaign against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Terror against the population and propaganda against the Ukrainian Catholic Church soon followed. On April 11, 1945, all Ukrainian hierarchs under the Soviet rule were arrested. A search, lasting several days, was conducted in all the buildings on St. George's Hill, and the archives were taken to Moscow. Many priests, and members of the chapters and professors of the theological schools in Western Ukraine, were arrested and deported to the concentration camps in Siberia.⁴⁷ It was the beginning of the realization of the Soviet plan to liquidate the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which supposedly happened officially in March 8-10, 1946.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 3:342.

THE SAINTLY PROFILE OF ANDREY SHEPTYTSKY Scholar, Churchman, Ecumenist

By LUDVIK NEMEC

The Servant of God Andrey Sheptytsky has such a distinct place in the history of Ukraine that he stands out as a history maker before God and man as well. One of the greatest metropolitans of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, 1900-44, he is recognized as a great defender of the Ukrainian nation under Polish rule in 1921-39 and as a defender of the Orthodox Church during the Polish persecution in 1938-39, and as such a staunch defender of the Jews during the Nazi occupation in 1941-44 that Rabbi Kahane said of him: "I do not believe in Saints, but if there were any Saints, I am sure the greatest of them all is the Ukrainian Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky."¹ And he is right because the case for his beatification is in process in Rome.² This in itself capsulizes his saintly profile in the heroic performance of all the roles in his life, namely, those of scholar, statesman, churchman, ecumenist and, above all, of an apostle in and for a modern world. Many of his ideas about a reunion of the Churches and ecumenism and relations with the Orthodox East have been frontrunners of several movements and have been realized by the Vatican II Council. All this calls for our attention to and reflection upon one who speaks meaningfully to our modern times.

Andrey Sheptytsky (1865-1944) was born Roman Maria Alexander Count Sheptytsky on July 29, 1865, in the village of Prylbyc in Eastern Galicia³

¹ *Ukraine - A Christian Nation* (Melbourne, Australia Prosvita, 1973) p. 6.

² *The Voice of the Church* (Chicago. II Procopis) III no. 3 (June, 1959) pp. 3-4.

³ Michael Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine* (Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 1941) pp. 96-122 and *passim*; cf. D. Doroshenko, *History of the Ukraine* (Edmonton, 1939); cf. K. Kononenko, *Ukraine and Russia* (Milwaukee, 1958); B. Krupnyckyj, *Geschichte der Ukraine* (Leipzig, 1939); W. Allen, *The Ukraine: A History* (Cambridge, 1940); cf. *Ukraine. A Concise Encyclopedia*, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1963); cf. *La Chiesa del Silenzio Guarda a Roma* (Rome, 1955); cf. J. Madey, *Kirche zwischen Ost und West* (Munich, 1969); cf. *idem*, *Le Patriarchat Ukrainien* (Rome, 1971); cf. I. Mirchuk, *Ukraine and its People* (Munich, 1949); cf. *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica*. 10 vols. (Rome, 1964-70); cf. I. Nahayewsky, *History of the Modern Ukrainian State, 1917-1923* (Munich, 1966); cf. G. Prokoptschuk, *Der Metropolit* (Munich, 1967); cf. A. Welykyj, *Documenta Romana Historiam ecclesiae in terris Ucrainae et Bielorusssiae spectantia*, 35 vols. (Rome, 1953-1972); cf. *idem*, *From the Annals of Christian Ukraine*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1968); cf. *White Book on the Religious Persecution in Ukraine* (Rome, 1953); cf. Edward Winter, *Byzanz und Rom in Kampf um die Ukraine* (1955-1959) (Prague, 1944); cf. Dennis J. Dunn, "Stalinism and the Catholic Church during the era of World War II." *The Catholic Historical Review* LIX (1973) pp. 404-428.

the son of John Count Sheptytsky and Sophia Fredro. Having been raised in great piety by his mother, he decided, at the age of ten, to become a priest. Because of his remarkable talents he was allowed to attend four years of gymnasium privately, while the other four years were to be spent in study in Cracow. In that city he graduated in June, 1883, with a bachelor's degree with distinction (*exam matupitatis*). After his graduation he requested permission from his parents to enter the Religious Order of St. Basil. When his father expressed reluctance to give him this permission, his confessor advised him to first discharge his one year of military obligation, as was then obligatory of all young adult men in the Austrian Empire. However, at the beginning of 1884 he became very ill for a period of several months and, subsequently, he was excused from military service. Although he recovered rapidly, some traces of this illness remained in his leg.⁴

His early priestly and religious vocation is an indication of the deeply rooted religious atmosphere of his family, especially his mother. His family was devout in religious practices and in the observance of all the traditions of the Greek Catholic Church called the Uniate Church, which, in Galicia, was really a National Church that became not only the foundation of support of national independence,⁶ but also a basis for a unity of the Churches, a coming together which was always under attack by the Orthodox. Likewise, Sheptytsky's desire to become a member of the Order of St. Basil should be seen as rooted in strict religious motivation, the Basilian Fathers were ardent apostles of the Eastern Church and the most forceful promoters of the reunion of the Church and of religious reforms. This must all be taken into consideration if one is to understand the strong determination for a priestly and religious vocation in young Sheptytsky, who was so persistent in pursuing it. Even his strong-minded father was unable to dissuade him from it. How much he valued this vocation may be seen by the many sacrifices he had to make for it.⁸

Sheptytsky as a Scholar

Taking everything in a spiritual view, he was obedient to his father, and at his father's wish he went to study law in the universities of Cracow and Vratislav, graduating on May 19, 1883, with the degree of doctor in both civil and canon law. After graduation he eventually obtained permission from his father to enter

⁴ Josef Drozd "Andreas Sheptytsky, metropolita Leopoliensis, praeses Academiae Velehradensis 1910-1939" *Acta Academiae Velehradensis* XVIII (Olomouc 1947) pp. 92-102.

⁵ Ludvik Nemeč, "The Ruthenian Uniate Church in its Historical Perspective," *Church History* 37, no. 4 (1968) pp. 1-25.

⁶ B. Paneyko, "Galicia and the Polish-Ukrainian Problem," *Slavonic Review* IX (1931) pp. 567-587: cf. John S. Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920. A Study in Nationalism* (Princeton Univ. 1952); cf. *idem*, "Ukrainian Nationalism and the Orthodox Church" *The American Slavic and East European Review*, X (1951) 38-49.

⁷ Eduard Winter, "Der Kampf der ecclesia ruthena gegen den Rituswechsel," *Festschrift Eichman* (Paderborn, 1940), *passim*.

⁸ Cyrille Korolevsky, *Metropolit Andre Sheptytsky, 1865-1944* (Rome, 1964) is a detailed biography.

the monastery. Thus, he was rewarded for his patience and obedience.

During the years in the study of law he traveled throughout Europe, most memorable of which were his trips to Rome, Kiev and Moscow. In Kiev he met with a well-known Ukrainian university professor, Volodymyr Antonowych,⁹ and in Moscow he was fortunate enough to become acquainted with the famous philosopher, Vladimir S. Soloviev.¹⁰ Both these men had a great influence on the young Sheptytsky, the latter in his philosophical outlook including the ecumenical concern for which Soloviev was known, while the former inspired him toward his patriotism and nationalism, which later became his trademark.

Matured and well educated and especially well prepared spiritually, in May, 1888, at the age of 23, he became a novitiate of the order of Basilian Fathers in the city of Dobromyl where he immersed himself in a spiritual and ascetic life with a complete dedication to God.

Although he was heir to the family title and estates, he preferred to accept his religious habit and a change of his name to Andrey. He was so completely consumed by the zeal for a religious life that in a short time he excelled in heroic virtues.

After acceptance of his religious vows in 1889 he studied the rhetorics and, subsequently, was sent for theological studies to the Jesuit College in Cracow, where he received the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology. After this he returned to the monastery in Christinopol where he made his perpetual vows, and shortly after (August 22, 1892), he was ordained a priest in Peremyshl.

After his priestly ordination he was placed in charge of various offices in the religious order. He became a novice master, then an igumen (superior) of the monastery in Lviv and at the same time he became a busy missionary in various parishes in the city. At this time he concentrated all his efforts on restoring the religious congregation of Basilian Sisters and preparing missions among the Bulgarians. After a short stay he was again sent to Christinopol to teach dogmatics and theology.

What is most interesting is the fact that he excelled in everything in which he became involved: in studies, in spiritual life, in work. He achieved his three doctorates in quick order. He matured spiritually so quickly that his older religious confreres gave him many responsibilities and gladly elected him as their superior. He worked so hard that he often discharged the responsibilities of several tasks concurrently, and yet he never complained nor betrayed any sign of fatigue. He was generous in giving of himself to any apostolate required of him, or for any purpose, since he was endowed with such extraordinary talent that there was hardly another worthy of comparison to be found elsewhere.

In view of all this, and yet to his own great surprise, he was appointed a bishop of Stanislaviv on September 19, 1899. Although he felt sad at having to

⁹ He was a well-known national historian. He wrote "Studies in the National Movements in Ukraine," *Ukrainian Historical library* XIV (Lviv, 1897) (in Ukrainian). He was a great Ukrainian patriot and a competent historian and educator.

¹⁰ Joannes Mastylak, *Fuitne Vladimirus Soloviev Catholicus?* (Rome, Sant' Alfonso 1942).

say good-bye to his beloved monastery, in his new position, he became fully involved with his new responsibilities in which he again excelled, so that the bishops soon entrusted him with leadership in many aspects of Church affairs.

As a bishop in Stanislaviv he shone as a skilled builder. He established a great library there and donated \$6,000 for its upkeep. Noticing a need for a new diocesan seminary, he bought a field for \$4,000 so that his successor, Bishop Hryhory Khomyshyn,¹¹ was able to build a major seminary there. He achieved this in the short time of one year, when he was called to another post.

Sheptytsky as a Churchman

At the age of 35, on December 17, 1900, he was appointed the archbishop and metropolitan of Lviv. As the new archbishop he continued to follow the unionistic and pastoral endeavors of his predecessors, Bishop Peles and Cardinal Sylvester Sembratovych. He took good care of his faithful and visited the 752 parishes in his diocese frequently. He personally knew every priest. He himself presided over consistorial curia, wrote much correspondence every day, preached in all the churches in the diocese, was a very patient confessor to many faithful, wrote numerous pastoral letters which were replete with wisdom and counsel,¹² and he also communicated with non-Catholics.

Not only was he a highly educated scholar with three doctorates, he also excelled as a prolific writer. In 1932 in Lviv he published a book, *Divine Wisdom*, and in 1929 the *Liturgiken* or *Sluzhbenyk*, a sort of liturgical manual. Furthermore, he translated the work "Five Ascetic Sermons of St. Basil" from the Greek into the Ukrainian language, and in 1929 he published, in Lviv, the outlines of "Regulations of St. Basil the Monk." He dedicated much effort to educating the diocesan clergy and was active in the promotion of other scientific disciplines. He was particularly interested in seeing that the Theological Faculty in Lviv had competent professors. In 1923 he founded the *Scientific Theological Ukrainian Society*, which published numerous theological works. Under the auspices of this scientific society, learned journals like *Bohoslovia* (Theology) were published.

Owing to these achievements and endeavors as an administrator, builder, organizer, educator, scholar and writer he soon became recognized as an authority on national, ecclesiastical and academic levels and earned respect in all circles of the land.

Thus it is understandable why, when in 1914 the Russian armies occupied part of Western Ukraine, persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Uniate Church flared up immediately. As the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan of Lviv, Sheptytsky was arrested and deported to Russia, and some 200 parishes were

¹¹ Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn of *Stanislaviv* (now Ivano Frankivsk) died in a Russian prison on Jan. 17, 1947. He was very faithful to his Church, and because of his heroic resistance he was detained in various prisons for two decades under the communists.

¹² The collected works of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky are being published by the Redemptorist Fathers in Redeemer's Voice Press in Yorkton Sask., Canada. See *Bibliotheca Logos* vol. XXX 1969 or vol. XV of *Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientificaе Ucrainorum* (Toronto 1965).

forced to join the Russian Orthodox Church. Apostolic zeal and the great successes of Metropolitan Sheptytsky had created resentment among the Orthodox, who were very hostile to any attempts toward achieving a reunion of the Churches with Rome. This animosity of the Orthodox is hard to understand in view of the fact that the Greek Rite dioceses, including Lviv, Peremyshl and Stanislaviv, numbered only about five and one-half million, and the Latin Catholics numbered only about five and one-half million;¹³ thus there was no danger posed for the Orthodox at all. It is to be explained only by the historical resentment between the Greek Catholics and the Orthodox that had existed since the time of the *Union of Brest-Litovsk* of 1596¹⁴ of which Metropolitan Sheptytsky was a zealous adherent.

As metropolitan he also was the founder of the Oriental Order. One of his predecessors, Metropolitan Joseph Benjamin Rutsky,¹⁵ was responsible for the reform of the religious life of the Eastern monks according to the regulations of religious Western orders. Metropolitan Sheptytsky, enthralled with the idea of the purity of Church rites, decided to establish a new religious Order, purely Eastern, according to the example of St. Theodore the Studite. With the establishment of this new purely Oriental religious order, the Metropolitan attempted not only to revive the ancient life of monks according to the doctrine of St. Theodore the Studite, but also to follow the pattern of the Monastery Studion in Constantinople. Furthermore, he envisioned a kind of center where the Divine Worship and Divine Science could flourish in his city. The result was the establishment, near his residence, of a small Church for the Oriental Rite and a little monastery, "Studion," with a library and Archives.

This is an indication of how Sheptytsky was truly dedicated to an Eastern Church, which he wanted to keep, by all means, free of any influence of Latinization¹⁶ by the Western Church. In this way he wanted to neutralize the objection of the Orthodox that the Greek Catholics or the Uniates were losing their oriental identity by their union with Rome. Hence Sheptytsky became an ardent advocate of the ecclesiastical independence of the Eastern Church and of a strict observance of Byzantine traditions and rites.

Sheptytsky was able to preserve a balance between the Latin and the Eastern Catholics mainly through the Basilian Fathers and other Eastern monks

¹³ Pierre Blet and others, (eds) "Le Saint Siege et la situation religieuse en Pologne et dans les Pays Baltes," *Actes et Documents du Saint Siege relatifs a la seconde guerre mondiale* III. (Vatican, 1967) part I.

¹⁴ Oscar Halecki, *From Florence to Brest* (Rome, 1958); cf. J. Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union der Ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1881); cf. E. Likowski, *The Union of Brest* (Posen, 1896) (in Polish).

¹⁵ The Servant of God, Joseph Benjamin Rutsky, Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1614-1637, was an apostle of the Union. In fact, he was the initiator of the idea of the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate, one which never materialized.

¹⁶ Basil Boysak, *The Fate of the Holy Union in Carpatho-Ukraine* (Toronto, New York, 1963) *passim*, has much evidence of a "latinization" of Eastern Church by the Latin hierarchy. The author sees this "latinization" as the main obstacle to a reunion. In Galicia, due to the influence of the Polish Roman Catholic hierarchy, this "latinization" was widespread. Cf. M.A. Hallgren, "The Polish Terror in Galicia," *Nation* 131 (1930) 508 ff.

who persevered in keeping alive oriental traditions, customs and rites. Himself a member of the Basilian Fathers, he understood this very well, and used the monks as guardians of all the traditions of the oriental rite that were in accordance and harmony with the people. He entrusted the monks with various missions not only in church affairs, but in academic and national affairs as well, and thus he was successful in keeping in balance the western and eastern influences. For this purpose he was among the first pioneers of the exchange of students. He was responsible for some Western student-seminarians or young priests being able to study in Eastern institutions, and for Byzantine students studying in Rome or in other Western centers.

The first Studite monks studied their theology first in Lviv and then in Rome in the Pontifical Oriental Institute, and after their return home they dedicated themselves to scientific studies in the Studion monastery.¹⁷ Sheptytsky was also responsible for establishing the National Ukrainian Museum in 1913, where the noted archaeologist Dr. Hilarin Svencickyj was a curator. Here was kept a great treasure of Ukrainian coins, ancient liturgical books, literary works of the Russian sect, "Old Faithful,"¹⁸ vestments and all kinds of artistic artifacts and monuments.

The Metropolitan visited Rome every year for several days to study archives. When he found valuable materials he transferred them to his Studion monastery. This inspired him later to establish a new institute in Rome, namely, the Historical Institute of the Ukrainian Nation, appointing the scholar Father Cyril Korolevsky¹⁹ as its director. It was he, who from 1921 on, discovered and classified 6,000 different documents, valuable to the study of Slavic history. Father Korolevsky thought that he would be able to publish these documents before 1939, but was unable to.

Out of great respect for the Holy Land in Palestine, the Metropolitan made a pious pilgrimage there in 1906. He even attempted to establish a monastery for Studite monks in Jerusalem, but here his efforts were in vain.

He was known everywhere as a generous patron so that truly "his left hand did not know what the right hand was doing" (Matt. 6:3). Among other things, he assisted the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society, for which he built a huge building in 1908. Later he put up the monastery of the Basilian Sisters. In 1912 he established a gymnasium for girls. In 1920 this school was transformed into the Academic House, where about 120 orphans, usually from the families of priests,

¹⁷ D. Doroshenko, "The Uniate Church in Galicia, 1914-1917" *Slavonic Review* XII (1934) pp. 622-627; O.S. Palmieri, "United Ruthenian Church of Galicia under Russian rule," *Catholic World* 103 (1916) pp. 349-359.

¹⁸ H.T. Florinsky, *Russia, A History and an Interpretation* (New York, 1953) cf. F. Dvornik, *The Slavs in European History and Civilization* (Rutgers Univ. Press, 1962) pp. 504-517 and *passim*, cf. also his notes no. 15 p. 513.

¹⁹ Father Cyril Korolevsky was a prolific writer and scholar. He also wrote an important book on his metropolitan Sheptytsky, as indicated elsewhere. These works are being published now. He was one of the most trustworthy advisors on whom Sheptycky relied.

were educated. After this edifice served several purposes and later fell vacant, the Metropolitan made it "the National House for the Sick," which proved to be an eloquent testimony to the great generosity of Sheptytsky. Numerous patients treated there, free of charge, remained always thankful to him.

It is interesting to note how Sheptytsky had multi-dimensional interests—educational, scholarly, social and charitable, from school to hospital.

Although a churchman, he never forgot that he was a monk. He donated a location, for which he paid over 20,000 dollars, to the Basilian Fathers in Lviv to establish a monastery in the suburb of *Stryj*, and also provided a church where the remains of St. Josaphat could be placed. This project never materialized because of the two wars, and the relics of St. Josaphat,²⁰ martyr for the cause of unity, were deposited in a Greek Catholic Church at St. Barbara in Vienna (now in Rome).

In the city of Sknyliv, near Lviv, Sheptytsky bought 28 acres of land for \$4,500 before the first world war and built the monastery for the Studite monks there for \$6,000. Later, their residence was transferred to another location and the place in Sknyliv was sold to the military. In Bosnia, in the village of Kamenica near Banjaluka, Sheptytsky bought a monastery with a vineyard so that the Studite monks could provide good wine for the three dioceses in Galicia. This, of course, was disrupted by the war and brought to an end by the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918.

Furthermore, in the city of Zboyiska, Sheptytsky purchased eight acres of country land and eighteen acres in the city for \$32,000 and donated them to the Redemptorist Fathers to build their Institute for boys there, and for the monastery of the Basilian Sisters in *Slovit*, Sheptytsky restored the roof for \$6,000 and performed other similar good deeds. These few examples attest to his great understanding of all who, in some way, were in the work of the Church, especially the members of religious orders and congregations. The religious, including the nuns, enjoyed his patronage.

The pastoral care and activities of the Metropolitan are clear from the numerous pastoral letters,²¹ sent collectively with other bishops, to priests and the faithful for their instruction or comfort.

At the beginning of the twentieth century many Ukrainians emigrated in groups to the U.S.A., Canada, Argentina, Germany, France and Austria. Especially in Vienna, many of them lived in the parish of St. Barbara, where the relics of St. Josaphat Kuncsevyc resided. In 1907 Pope Pius X established the Eastern hierarchy for the Greek Catholics living in the U.S.A., and in 1912 he

²⁰ A. Quepin, *Un Apôtre de l'union des églises au XVII^e siècle, St. Josaphat*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1897-8); cf. Theodosia Boresky, *Life of St. Josaphat* (Cornet Press Books, 1955); cf. E. Newman, *A Summary of Catholic History* (St. Louis, 1961) II.; cf. O. Halecki, *A History of Poland* (New York, 1943); *idem, Sacrum Poloniae Millennium* (Rome, 1958).

²¹ These are being published in *Collected Works of Andrey Sheptytsky* by Redeemer's Voice Press in Yorkton, Sask, by the Redemptorist Fathers of Byzantine rite. See also Cyrille Korolevsky, *Metropolitte Andrey Szeptycky, 1865-1944* (Rome, 1964) *passim*.

established the same for these in Canada. The very first Apostolic Exarchate for Ukrainian Catholics in the Western world was instituted in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1907. In 1958 it was elevated to the rank of a metropolitan see with three eparchies: Philadelphia, Pa., Stamford, Conn., (1961) and Chicago, Ill. (1961). In Canada the Apostolic Exarchate was instituted in Winnipeg in 1912, and it became a metropolitan see in 1956.²²

Metropolitan Sheptytsky was influential in the establishment of the hierarchy of the Eastern Rite for the Ukrainian emigrants. He took it upon himself as a special responsibility to supervise their care. He personally visited various countries where the Ukrainians emigrated. Thus he visited his faithful in Austria in 1910. He kept sending them letters in which he exhorted them to live an honest Christian life. He also gave them advice on coping with their economic difficulties. He took great care of the emigrants to France and kept writing to the French bishops beseeching them to be kind to his people. Although he was august as a churchman and was widely recognized as a scholar, it was his wholly dedicated and zealous involvement in the work for the reunion of the Churches that characterized him fully as a pioneering ecumenist.

Archbishop Sheptytsky as an Ecumenist

Few could rival him as an ecumenical theologian, as a logical theoretician and as a practical unionist. He was not only a visionary dialectician of ideas but a practical organizer confronting all sorts of circumstances. He was, above all, in the avant-garde of many irenic ideas on the "frontiers²³ for the Church of his times," ideas which in his times seemed to be bold if not rash adventures. It may be said that he was totally ecumenical in mind, in spirit, in his whole makeup, in his actions and orientation. The Church of Christ in all her inclusiveness was his constant concern and the object of his pastoral care.²⁴ Expressing his views clearly and emphatically, he was recognized as a forceful spokesman for the long overdue reunion of the Churches. He was associated with another ardent apostle of unionism, Msgr. Antonin Stojan,²⁵ who was responsible for all the unionistic endeavors and congresses²⁶ at Velehrad, at which Archbishop Sheptytsky played so important a role.²⁷ In fact, in many aspects Msgr. Stojan was inspired by his friend, Metropolitan Sheptytsky who presided over some of these unionistic

²² *The Catholic Standard and Times* 73 No. 12 (December, 1967), 11-12; George Polak "Slovak Greek Catholics in America," *Slovak Studies V.* (Cleveland-Rome: Slovak Institute 1965) pp. 295-365; Michael Bourdeaux, "Eastern Catholics in the Ukraine," *America* 116 no. 10 (March 11, 1967) pp. 344-345.

²³ Robert McAfee Brown, *The Frontiers of the Church Today* (The Oxford Univ. Press, 1973) *passim*.

²⁴ L. Berg, ed. *Ex Oriente* (Mainz, 1927) "Andreas Szeptyckij, Russkij Katoliceskij ekzarchat v Russii." pp. 66-67; cf. Gr. Edlinskii, "Uniiia s Rimom i mitropolit graf Shepitski" *Revolutsiia i tserkov*, nos. 1-3 (1924) 108-109; cf. J. Chemko, "Pokhozhdeniia Metropolita Andreia Grafa Shepitskogo v Americi," *Revolutsiia i tserkov* nos. 1-3 (1922) p. 60.

²⁵ Josef Olsr, *Antonin Cyril Stojan* (Rome, 1966); cf. F. Cinek, *Archiebiskup Dr. Antonin Stojan* (Olomouc, 1933) *passim*.

²⁶ M. Gordillo, "Velehrad ei suoi congressi unionistici," *La Civiltà Cattolica* (1951) pp. 569-583.

²⁷ J. Drozd, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-102.

congresses and became president of Velehrad Academy from 1914 to 1939 and who was responsible for many unionistic successes because of his great personal appeal and renown in the Eastern Churches. Ever looking for ways and means toward the reunion of the Churches, he scrutinized this problem in every aspect. On the basis of theoretical and practical experience he theologially formulated the "irenical" or conciliatory, principles. There was a need that Catholics be as close to separated brothers as possible. Sheptytsky requested, according to irenic principles, that the Eastern Rite be equal to the Latin Rite. Likewise, he hardly tolerated various changes related to the Byzantine-Slavic Rite, and resented the appalling negligence on the part of Western Christians with regard to the Eastern Rite. He himself, with his powers of persuasion, insisted that the Eastern Church have the same spiritual and proper elements so that she could not receive much from the Latin church that she would not already have. On the other hand, the Orthodox Christians, if they united with the Catholics, would not be deprived of anything, but, on the contrary, would be enriched internally. The Orthodox possess a great treasury of mysticism, Patristics, asceticism and Theology, especially Divine Liturgy, replete with beautiful and spiritually rich symbols by which they surpass with impressive form and theological substance all other liturgies employed by the Church. Therefore, it would be false and unjust if the separated brothers, after a reunion, were forced to accept various Latin prayers and other Western ways to practice a devotional life. Finally, he saw those who in the past had tried to impose the Latin Rite in an attempt to effect the unity as unwise.²⁸ The value of reunion lies in a mutual spiritual enrichment of both Churches without incurring any harm to their peculiar characteristics. There should be no talk about conversion of the Eastern church.

Sheptytsky explained this at the *Congress of Velehrad* in 1909 in the following manner: "Since the earliest times, the Catholic Church has never spoken about conversion, but about the reunion of the Eastern Church. Only heretics must be converted, not only according to our principles, but also according to the principles of the Orthodox Church, according to the Church and the seven councils, and these are not heretics. And thus do we speak about the reunion of Churches and about the conversion of sinners and heretics."²⁹

In his office as president of the first and the second congresses at Velehrad³⁰ he did not spare any effort to make sure that all endeavors of good will were also practically implemented. He always kept the words of St. Paul to the Corinthians: "We have been sowing, but God who gave blessing." (I Cor. 3:6).

Present at the first congress, held July 25-29, 1907, were 76 theologians of a variety of nationalities and status, e.g., Grivec, Urban, Snopek, Haluczynsky, Fjodorov, Menim, Reyl, Stoyan, among others. In his short allocution,

²⁸ *Irenikon Year of 1926.*

²⁹ *Acta II Conventus Velehradensis* (Prague Bohemorum 1910) p. 11.

³⁰ Peter Esterka, "Toward Union: The Congresses at Velehrad," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 8 no. 1 (Spring, 1971) pp. 10-51; cf. Alois Kolisek, *Cyrillo-Methodějstvi u Cechu a Slovaku* (Brno 1935) pp. 48 ff.

Sheptytsky singled out the importance of the problems which were to be treated at the congress in general. He explained very clearly what had to be done to achieve unity. He insisted, "If the doctrine of the Eastern Church be considered for what it really is, it is difficult to state how it deviates from the doctrine of the Catholic Church. For there was a time in which schism between the churches came into existence, a time when all dogmas were common for both and, consequently, both parts of the Church were Orthodox. In the course of time, the Catholic Church decreed nothing that the Orthodox Church could not accept or what she stood for, while the Orthodox Church kept only that which had been decreed in the first ecumenical councils. Thus, for instance, the Orthodox who would recognize the primacy of the Roman Pope should not be reprimanded for it, according to the principles of the Eastern Church.

He further pointed out that it is very important to make a distinction between the doctrines of the Eastern Church and those of the Orthodox theologians. The doctrine in the theological books is often different from those heard in the Churches, which in turn are different from those in liturgy. The doctrine that is rooted in the most fundamental principles and that is interpreted in all books is the doctrine of the seven ecumenical councils. It is difficult to single out the differences between the doctrines of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. However, precisely speaking, it is not different dogmatically, as the doctrine of the Catholic Church of the ninth century does not differ from that of the nineteenth century, because the dogmas were in the nuclei of both. Consequently, one can understand that the Catholics are closer to the true Orthodox than some Oriental theologians who are apart from a truly Orthodox doctrine and the discipline of the Early Church. It was mainly his idea that theological disputes be published in journals like *Velehradskij Vestnik* and *Slaverum Litterae Theologicae*³¹ and in order that Western Slavs be attracted to the study of the Russian problems.³²

As president of the Second Congress, Sheptytsky confirmed that the efforts and studies of the First Congress were not in vain. "Among the Orthodox theologians, confidence in us appeared again and those who participated in the Congress collaborated with us (Malcev and Gveken) while others who wanted to take part were hindered by the government."³³

The reunion of the Church is the apostolate of a great love toward Christ. In this sense is Sheptytsky, to be seen, as he quotes the words of St. Paul: "The love of Christ inspires us" (II Cor. 5:14), in addressing participants of the Congress with this welcome: "Having a full love of Christ, we are searching not what separates but what unites us."³⁴

³¹ The latter served scholarly problems and was reserved to scholars, while the former was for popular purposes and readers. Both were publications of the Academy of Velehrad, which was the institution for publications of a unionistic nature.

³² *Acta Conventure Velehradensis* (Prague 1910) p. 14.

³³ *ibidem*, p. 15.

³⁴ *ibid*, p. 15.

Nevertheless, some Orthodox theologians did not understand that long load which Velehrad followed, and wrongly suggested that the Congress was some kind of missionary organization,³⁵ the purpose of which was to organize missionaries and to send them to propagate the Catholic Church in Russia. Sheptytsky rejected this suspicion, saying: "Certainly, we all wish the reunion of the Churches, but our way and the manner to direct the Catholic propaganda was very different from that of the Orthodox. The only one thing we wish would happen, namely, a mutual love, the need and the council would all flourish on both sides, so that, instead of polemical trends which are frequently directed against the illusory enemy, serious discussions, study and scientific and scholarly efforts would take place."³⁶

Likewise, among the Catholics the rumor was spread that Velehrad's congresses were held for the purpose of promoting Pan-Slavism.³⁷ But this slander did not weaken the mission of Sheptycky and all his associates at Velehrad.

In closing his impressive address at the Second Congress, Sheptytsky affirmed: "It is abhorrent to us that we should mix politics with the most sacred work of the Catholic faith, namely, the work of the reunion of Churches. Our purpose is the same as it was with Jesus Christ, namely, that 'all be one.' Our purpose, which we think we can reach through our prayers, works and sacrifices so that the prophecy of Christ may be finally fulfilled, is that 'there will be one shepherd and one sheep.' and it is the love of Christ which motivates us to do this."³⁸

The Third Congress, held on July 27-29, 1911, was chaired by Msgr. Antonin Stoyan because Metropolitan Sheptycky was detained at home because of a flaring up of his ailment. He had been elected again an honorary president of this congress in which the Russian theologian Fjodorov also took part.

The Fourth Congress, held from July 31 to August 5, 1924, at which the apostolic nuncio in Prague, Archbishop Francesco Marmaggi, was also present, the letter of Sheptycky, which was sent to the Archbishop of Olomouc, Leopold Frecan, was read and received with a great upswEEP of joy. It read as follows:

³⁵ This was rather an assumption on the part of the Orthodox because the Jesuits established their private *gymnasium* at Velehrad which later became a pontifical institution with the purpose of educating missionaries to Russia, especially after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. This was a coincidence that both the congress of this institution and the unionistic congress should have been held at Velehrad. But there was no connection between these two endeavors. This misconception may be explained by the hostile propaganda on the part of some Orthodox and some political circles which were unfavorable to Velehrad for the religious rivalry for the former and for the supposed panslavism for the latter.

³⁶ *Acta Conventus Velehradensis* (Prague 1910) II. pp. 15-16.

³⁷ This accusation was of a political nature. Velehrad became a shibboleth between the political interests of Austria and Russia in the restless atmosphere between these two powers; cf. H. Kohn, *Pan-Slavism, its History and Ideology* (Notre Dame, 1953); cf. M.B. Petrovich, *The Emergence of Russian Pan-Slavism 1856-1870* (New York, 1956); N. Riasanowski, *Russia and the West in the Teaching of the Slavophiles: A Study in Romantic Ideology* (Cambridge, Mass. 1953).

³⁸ *Acta Conventus Velehradensis* II (Prague, 1910) pp. 16-17.

In Peace, your Excellency:

From all parts of the world all who arrived are concern about this problem. The very hospitable clergy of the diocese of Olomouc, the very pious people of Moravia, a very fitting place and from ancient times to all Slavs so dear—all this always gave such a freshness to the Velehrad Congress that one had the feeling that one is participating in a gathering or meeting of friends rather than in a congress of scholars.

Furthermore, your Excellency informed me by a letter, given to me while I was in Rome, that with the approval of his Excellency Apostolic Nuncio I have been again appointed an active president of this Congress. This dignity and honor obliged me with a gratitude, your Excellency, to come and show my response to it. However, the condition in which my diocese is will not allow me to make this trip, which I so much desired. I hope that some priests from the diocese of Lviv will come to the congress, who will explain to you the circumstances in which we live, about which I could not dare to write for fear that my letter may be lost on its way. I am very sorry about this, and I do not have any other recourse, than to accept God's will. Nothing else remains for me to do except to say that I wish great success for the congress.

Hoping that the God of peace will defeat the devil very quickly, and with sentiments of great gratitude, respect and fraternal love, I remain to your Excellency

Sincerely in Christ,
The Servant and Brother Andrey³⁹

In a Fifth Congress, held on July 20-24, 1927, Sheptytsky was again present. Here he expressed his views about the nature of the schism and the various attempts of the unionistic theologians, and described the only way leading to unity. He put it this way:

Schism, the break, never results from the inquiry and study of the truth, but rather from human passions. Nothing is better to settle odds, discord, passions than the sacred theology which in itself is the elevation of the mind to God. It is true that this unionistic work cannot always avoid. . . some emotions. People are such by their own nature that they always say something with a certain violence, express something less clearly and in a less understandable way. But the theologians can and must talk, must use peaceful and charitable language and know how to express concord and charity. And mainly such questions, which per se are controversial and disturbing, can be treated by theologians in a

³⁹ This letter was dated July 27, 1924 and sent from Lviv. See Latin text in *Acta Conventus Velehradensis IV* (Olomouc, 1925), pp. 188-190. This letter reveals in part a sad situation in which Galicia was under the rule of the Communist Government in Russia. This is English author's translation.

manner that would offend the mutual charity very little, and yet could be expressed in the best way. Here it is where a field of great importance is open for the sacred theology, namely, in the work to restore the reunion of Churches.⁴⁰

Closing his speech, he tried to convey his great love for Velehrad and brotherly faithfulness to the Holy See. Burdened with sorrow at leaving Velehrad, he said:

The idea of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, which is a vehicle of the unity, was also the idea of St. Josaphat the Martyr. We learn from these Saints how by love of Christ and of our neighbor, we can bring many people to our Mother Church. With tears I say what I feel, tears of gratitude, we intend to learn to be thankful to the Holy Father, the common Father of all Christians, and to all who prepared these beautiful days. We bid good-by. We say, however, with the grace of God we will again return after three years. One who visits Velehrad gladly returns.⁴¹

The Velehrad congresses were only a small part of the astonishing activity of Sheptytsky, who always was very mindful of the Diviņe reminder: "That all may be one!" Even in Russia, in times prior to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, he won many friends for the unionistic idea. Because these unionistic friends were to be found in various cities, so that soon a sizeable movement formed and its importance became felt even by the enemies of the Church. Small wonder, then, that these unionistic endeavors should have provoked so many enemies and have met with so many obstacles. The dauntless Sheptycky, because of his faithfulness to the Greek Catholic Churches, was *non persona grata* in the Russian Empire; in 1914, he was deported to Russia. (Russian General Brusilev ordered his deportation.) He was jailed in Kiev, Nizniy, Nevgoron and Kursk. In Kursk he was detained until 1915, and was allowed only three books: *Molitvoslov*, *Epitome Theologiae Moralis Universae* and *Compendium Theologiae Moralis*, by Lemkuhl.⁴² After that, he was transferred to Suzdal where he was guarded in the monastery of the Most Holy Redeemer. Very sad, indeed, was the Easter in 1916 in Galicia, which had been deprived of its Shepherd. All the faithful lamented with tears their Archbishop jailed in Russia, would say: Christ arose really resurrected!

Upon being freed Easter Day in 1917 Sheptytsky went to Petersburg (now Leningrad). There he stayed for a while with the Roman Catholic Archbishop

⁴⁰ *Acta Conventus Velehradensis* (Olomouc, 1928) pp. 64-65, where the Latin text may be found. Its English translation is by the author.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* pp. 64-66 this is part of a speech made by Sheptytsky.

⁴² This is mentioned by J. Drozd, *ibid.* cf. note no. 4 above.

John Cieplak.⁴³ In October, 1917, Sheptytsky returned home to Lviv and was exuberantly greeted by his faithful, who had collected the sum of 312,491.50 Austrian crowns for the purpose of establishing, in his honor, a Foundation of the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky for Ukrainian Orphans. The archbishop at once established the special society for orphans' care.

At the time of his return home, the free Ukrainian Republic came into existence.⁴⁴ With this political freedom also emerged a new organization of church affairs. Two parties existed at that time among the Ukrainians. The first party recognized their patriarch in Metropolitan Anthony Chrapovicky in Moscow; the other party preferred to have full ecclesiastical autonomy, which it called the *Autocephalous Ukraina*. Because of this, the prefect of the Ukrainian nation, Paul Skoropadskiy, made every effort to ensure that Metropolitan Sheptytsky would become the patriarch of the whole of Ukraine. Sheptytsky displayed pastoral prudence and a true and noble Catholic spirit when he reacted in this way: "I cannot accept this ecclesiastical dignity according to canonical norms. . . Orthodox Christians could be. . . morally forced to accept Church unity. This matter should be resolved only by the head of the visible Church."⁴⁵

Thus the picture of Sheptytsky, always preferring honest means for achieving desirable goals. Although he could have benefited from the situation, he did not want to aggravate the very sensitive situation with the Orthodox. Sheptytsky always emphasized that the reunion of the Churches, to be viable, must be free, voluntary and with a complete doctrinal consensus, and with a free and sincere decision on the part of both the Orthodox and the Catholics without the influence of any cultural, religious or political pressures. In this he was a forerunner of today's ecumenism, where an equality of the partnership of the involved Churches is the only workable basis of their mutual dialogue.

With the political division of Ukraine into Polish and Russian parts, this whole plan lost its relevance. Nevertheless, and in spite of all this, Metropolitan Sheptytsky was recognized as the head of the Ukrainian people, because he had always staunchly defended the rights of his nation against the Poles and the

⁴³ James J. Zatko, *Descent into Darkness. The Destruction of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia, 1917-1923* (Notre Dame Press, 1965) pp. 139-170. Archbishop Cieplak was the administrator of Mohylew and the titular archbishop of Ochrid. Father Zatko describes vividly his trial and of his associates in chapter: The trial: Significance and Aftermath. Cf. Francis Domanski, *The Great Apostle of Russia, Servant of God, Archbishop John Baptist Cieplak* (Montreal: Palmer Publishers, 1964); cf. Francis Rutkowski: *Arcybiskup Jan Cieplak (1857-1926)* (Warsaw, 1934).

⁴⁴ D. Doroshenko, *History of Ukraine from 1917 to 1923*. 2 vols (Uzhorod, 1930-1932); cf. *idem*, "The Uniate Church in Galicia, 1914-17," *Slavonic Review* XII (1934) 622-627; H.A. Gibbons, "Ukraine and the Balance of Power," *Century Magazine* 102 (1921), pp. 463-471; cf. E. Winter, *Byzanz und Rom in Kampfung die Ukraine* (Prague, 1944) *passim*. cf. I. Nahayewsky, *History of the Modern Ukrainian State, 1917-1923* (Munich, 1966).

⁴⁵ J. Drozd, *ibid* cf. note no. 4.

⁴⁶ B. Paneyko, "Galicia and the Polish-Ukrainian Problem," *Slavonic Review* IX (1931) pp. 567-587; cf. R. A. Klostermann, *Probleme der Ostkirche: Untersuchungen zum Wesen und zur Geschichte der Griechisch-Orthodoxen Kirche*. (Goteborg, 1955); cf. Vladimir Gsovski, *Church and State behind the Iron Curtain* (New York: Middle-European Studies Center, 1955) *passim*.

Russians as well. He also disassociated himself from the Polish Catholics,⁴⁶ who tended to use force to introduce the unity. Thus, for example, in 1938 he strongly deplored the destruction of the Orthodox churches in Poland.

From this perspective it is evident that Sheptytsky overshadowed all Eastern bishops as an ardent apostle of Church unity. He would frequently visit the Western Catholics, especially through the association with the Latin religious Orders, and he always kept alive attention to and charity toward the Orient. He held discussions about serious unionistic problems wherever the opportunity occurred, and established councils to promote the reunion of churches. Thus, on February 18, 1921, he gave lectures in Rome on the responsibility of Western Christians to work for unity. Likewise, in 1923, he lectured in the Latin monasteries in Rome about the need and urgency of unionism. For this purpose he also wrote a little book titled, *The Renewal of Monks in Slavic Religions*, where he inspired the monks of St. Benedict and Studites always to nurture a spirit of love and a special concern toward unity.

He also is probably responsible that the monks of St. Benedict should have been asked in 1924 by Pope Pius XI to involve themselves in the unionistic apostolate⁴⁷ so that a reunion of the Churches could be speeded up. At the same time, the Basilian Fathers in the East were prodded, at times even inspired by him, to do their part in this respect in the East. He was influential in that this great vision for unionism also reached Belgium. (Sheptytsky visited Benedictine monasteries frequently in Belgium and elsewhere and held unionistic conferences). It is he, in fact, who became the initiator of the unionistic movement in Belgium with the stalwart help of Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Malines.

The saintly and learned Father Lambert Beaudoin was called to Rome by Pope Pius XI to teach at the College of St. Auseliu. In 1925 Father Beaudoin established the College *D'Amay*, in Chevetoque, which became the center for unionistic congresses for the whole of Belgium. There, from the year 1926 until the present, the important journal entitled, *Irenikon*, has been published.

Sheptytsky also distinguished himself as a protector of the Jews. When Ukraine was occupied by the Germans in 1941-44, he bravely resisted the mass incarceration of the Jews and deplored their inhuman treatment. Before Hitler's time the Jews had enjoyed a friendly cooperation with the Greek Catholics with the encouragement of the latter's archbishop Sheptytsky. The Jews were not living in *ghettos*; they freely mixed with the Greek Catholic and Orthodox faithful. This friendly relationship with the Jews aggrieved the Nazis to such an extent that as soon as the city of Lviv was occupied the Jews began to be deported from the city in great numbers, frequently over one thousand daily. Its

⁴⁷ AAS 15 (1924) cf. Claude G. Victora, *The Apostolate for Reunion at St. Procopius Abbey,* "Proceedings of the First Unionistic Congress, Sept. 18 to Sept. 30, 1956 (Lisle: Ill., St. Procopius Abbey, 1951) pp. 19-26.

famous synagogue was deliberately destroyed by fire.⁴⁸ By the end of 1943, the city of Lviv, which long had flourished as a great center of learning and education for the Jews of Galicia, was devastated, in spite of all the protests of Archbishop Sheptytsky.

The increasing revitalization of Orthodox traditions under Stalin's hand was ominous for Catholicism. But while Hitler had directly threatened the Soviet Union, the Church did not suffer much harm. In 1943 Stalin faced the gravest of the German threats at Stalingrad. The Russians were victorious in the end and the danger of their succumbing to Hitler's forces passed once and for all. Russia now moved to the offensive not only against the Germans, but ruthlessly against the Greek Catholic Church. It must be noted that during the German occupation of Ukraine, only the great popularity of and love of the faithful for their metropolitan prevented the Germans from jailing him. And the honorable "patriarch," as he was called, of the Ukrainian nation also saw with sinking heart how the Russians victoriously took Lviv again. The Greek Catholic Church had every legitimate reason for fearing the incoming Russians, under whom the Catholic Church had experienced very bad times in the years 1939 to 1941. The Uniate rite of the Church had even more reason to dread the Russians since Stalin, particularly after the re-establishment of the Moscow Patriarchate in 1943, was obviously planning to achieve Orthodoxy's old goal of absorbing the Catholic Uniate Church.⁴⁹

The Uniate Church was an institution of Western Ukrainian nationalism which Stalin felt could far better be controlled within the framework of an already servile Orthodox Church.⁵⁰ To achieve this, Stalin even attempted to come to an understanding with the Vatican by relaxing the situation for the Latin Rite Church in the Ukraine,⁵¹ hoping that the Vatican would be lax in its concern for the Uniate Church. The Vatican did not respond positively to Stalin's overture,⁵² however, and rejected the forced assimilation of the Uniate Church into the Orthodox Church.

On November 1, 1944, Metropolitan Sheptytsky died, just as the Orthodox campaign for assimilation was getting under way.⁵³ An old man of eighty years, for forty-five years a Greek Catholic bishop and a metropolitan for forty-four

⁴⁸ Abraham I. Katsh, *The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan* (originally as *Scroll of Agony*), New York, Colliers Books, 1973) pp. 77 and 306.

⁴⁹ Y. Marin, "The Moscow Patriarchate in Soviet Foreign and Domestic Policy," *Bulletin*, III (1961) 33 and *passim*.

⁵⁰ Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, "The Uniate Church in the Soviet Ukraine: A Case Study in Soviet Church Policy," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* VII (1965) 112 and *passim*.

⁵¹ R.E. Lauterbach, *These are the Russians* (New York, 1945) p. 277 and *passim*; cf. Charles Pichon, *The Vatican and its Role in World Affairs* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. 1950)

⁵² Avro Manhattan, *The Vatican in World Politics* (New York, 1949) pp. 355-360.

⁵³ Denis Dirscherl, "The Soviet Destruction of the Greek Catholic Church," *Journal of Church and State* XII (1970) 428 and *passim*; cf. Ivan Hryniach, "The Destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Soviet Union," *Prologue*, IV (1960) 5-10.

years, he died as a pure sacrifice for the reunion of the Churches, in the peace of the Lord and in the profound respect of all the faithful.

It was a moving funeral for the great metropolitan. Bishops of both rites, and many Orthodox bishops in Russia as well, took part. Even the Soviet Government saw fit to send many delegates. With his death Catholic Ukraine lost its beloved father. And with his death the Uniate Church in Ukraine also went to its downfall.

Sheptycky's successor, Archbishop Cardinal Yosyf Slipyj, was unable to relieve the liquidating pressure of the Orthodox Church upon the Ukrainian Uniates despite tactful policies.⁵⁴ For their part, Soviet authorities increased their anti-Catholic campaign. The final blow to the Ukrainian Uniate Church was given in 1945, when the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy in Western Ukraine was arrested, tried under false charges and deported to Siberia. Again, hundreds of priests and hundreds of thousands of faithful were imprisoned and deported to Siberia, or died as martyrs and confessors for their Catholic faith.

This must be said to the everlasting glory of the Ukrainians—they maintained an unshakeable fidelity to the Catholic faith under the most adverse circumstances and demonstrated an unequalled heroism for the sake of the faith. The evidence of their historical witness to the *Word* and *Sacrament* is so telling that their contribution to union and ecumenism must be seen as outstanding pioneer work in ecumenical endeavors. The heroic efforts of Metropolitan Sheptytsky and the suffering of Cardinal Joseph Slipyj, his successor, together with all the martyred bishops of Ukraine,⁵⁵ sets the seal on their authentic response to Christ's prayer, "that all may be one," so compellingly embodied in the saintly Sheptytsky and his Uniate Ukrainian Church.

⁵⁴ Dennis J. Dunn, "Stalinism and the Catholic Church during the era of World War II," *The Catholic Historical Review* LIX No. 3 (1973) pp. 404-428 especially pp. 422-426.

⁵⁵ Leo Mydlowsky, *Bolshevist Persecution of Religion and Church in Ukraine in 1917-1957* (London: Ukrainian Publishers, Inc. 1958); cf. Viktor Sukiennicki "Stalin and Byelo-Russia's Independence." *Polish Review* 10 No. 4 (1965), pp. 84-107.

PAST AND PRESENT DEVELOPMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN PRESS IN THE UNITED STATES

LUBOMYR R. WYNAR

The main objectives of this article are to briefly analyze major developmental stages of the Ukrainian press in the United States, and to present the findings of the recent survey of Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals conducted by the Center for the Study of Ethnic Publications at Kent State University.¹

It should be stated at the outset that statistical data on ethnic newspapers and periodicals are rarely precise. Some reasons for the difficulty in obtaining complete statistical data on the ethnic press are: 1) the fluctuating status of this medium, and 2) partial- or non-response by ethnic editors and ethnic publishers pertaining to their publications. Consequently, when analyzing survey data on Ukrainian ethnic serials, one must always be cognizant of the possibility that the reported numbers may include omissions and that the numerical strength of ethnic newspapers and periodicals, as well as their circulation figures, may, in fact, be greater than reflected in survey reports.

Introduction

Before analyzing the historical background, role, nature, and present status of the Ukrainian press, it is necessary to comment briefly on the Ukrainian community in the United States. Immigration by Ukrainians, which can be classified as being economic or political in nature, occurred during four major periods. The first period lasted from about 1870-1899,² and represented the beginning of mass migration of Ukrainians to the United States. During this period immigrants came primarily from Austro-Hungarian territory and were

¹ This survey was conducted as a part of a major study of the American ethnic Slavic and East European press initiated by the Center at the end of 1982. The study of the Ukrainian Press was completed in March of 1985.

² Prior to 1870 Ukrainian "individual pioneers are mentioned even in the earliest records of the seventeenth century." Wasyl Halich, "The Ukrainian Americans: Early Struggles, Personal and Institutional (1865-1918)," *Ukrainians in American and Canadian Society*, edited by W. Isajiw, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1976, p. 76. On earliest Ukrainians in the United States see also Yaroslav Chyz, *The Ukrainian Immigrants in the United States* (Scranton, Pa.) 1939, pp. 1-3.

listed in American immigration records under the Austro-Hungarian quota. During this time approximately 250,000 arrived in the United States.

The second period after 1899 lasted to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. At this time approximately 260,000 immigrants arrived under the Austrian and Russian quota.

The third period started in the 1920's and lasted through 1939. This phase was characterized by rather limited and restricted arrival of Ukrainians under Polish, Hungarian, and Romanian quotas. During this time approximately 20,000 Ukrainians immigrated to the United States.

Finally, the newest period of Ukrainian immigration started after World War II, in about 1948, and lasted through 1960. Approximately 85,000 immigrants were admitted to this country as displaced persons on the basis of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and its amendments. Since 1955 a rather small number of Ukrainians came to the United States from Western Europe, South America, Poland and Yugoslavia.³ According to the 1980 census, there are approximately 730,000 individuals who reported Ukrainian as at least one specific ancestry group for the United States.⁴

The development of the Ukrainian press corresponds to the major periods of Ukrainian immigration to the United States. On the basis of both retrospective historical and bibliographic research and recent surveys of the ethnic press, it is estimated that during the years 1886 through 1984 there have been approximately 230 Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals published in the United States, not including church bulletins, calendars, and house organs. The Carpatho-Ruthenian or Carpatho-Rusin press is outside the scope of this article.

In order to comprehend the scope and development of the Ukrainian press, a few introductory comments on the nature of the ethnic press in the United States are in order.

The survival of ethnic communities and an ethnic life in the United States is largely a result of the continued existence of ethnic organizations and an ethnic press.⁵ The ethnic press is, in most cases, sponsored by various ethnic organizations or institutions. Only through study of the ethnic press and its immense influence on the ethnic community can the total picture of ethnicity emerge in the context of its historical and social developments. This fact applies to the life and survival of the Ukrainian ethnic community in this country as well as to other ethnic communities.

It is important to stress that the Ukrainian ethnic community in the U.S. has

³ For additional information see V. Markus "Ukrainians in the United States," *Ukraine A Concise Encyclopedia*, edited by V. Kubijovyc. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), vol. 2, pp. 1100-1150.

⁴ *Ancestry of the Population by State: 1980. Supplementary Report*. (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1983), p. 12 (PC80-S1-10.)

⁵ On the role of ethnic organizations see L. Wynar, "The Nature of Ethnic Organizations," in *Encyclopedic Directory of Ethnic Organizations in the United States* (Littleton, Col.: Libraries Unlimited, Wynar, "Ethnic Newspapers and Periodicals in the United States: Present Status and Problems of Bibliographic Control." *Ethnic Forum 2* (Fall 1982), pp. 40-51.

undergone various changes in its historical development. From being primarily an immigrant society made up basically of foreign born members with interests and needs which are typically “immigrant” in nature, it has evolved into an “American ethnic” community composed of American born individuals and foreign born members, the latter which tend to identify, in time, with the changing interests of this Ukrainian-American ethnic society. Just as the community is transformed from its “immigrant” state to an “American ethnic” status with new requirements and needs, so its press is also transformed from an “immigrant” to a Ukrainian-American ethnic press.

The Origin and Historical Development of the Ukrainian Press

The beginning of the Ukrainian press in the U.S. is related to the earliest Ukrainian mass immigration period and to the arrival of the first Ukrainian priest, Ivan Volianskyi (1857-1926), in 1884.⁶ Father Volianskyi was an energetic person and the chief organizer of Ukrainian life in this period. He came to Shenandoah in Pennsylvania at the request of the Ukrainian immigrant community. On August 15, 1886, the first Ukrainian biweekly, *Amyryka* (America) was published by Father Volianskyi in Shenandoah. In his introductory article, Volianskyi wrote:

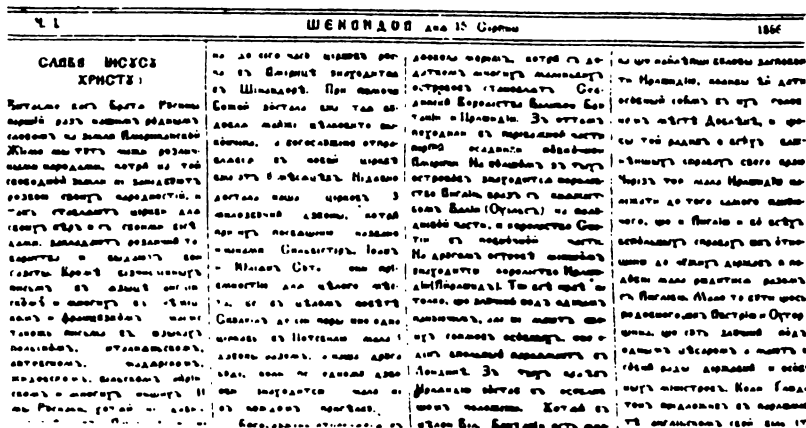
We greet you brother Ruthenians (Ukrainians), for the first time in our native language on the soil of America. We are living here among different peoples who in this free land are not neglecting the development of their nationality and thus build churches of their faith and their languages, organize various societies and issue their own publications in English and many in German and French, we also have publications in Polish, Italian, Lithuanian, Magyar, Jewish, Welsh, Irish and many others. And we Ruthenians, though but recently settled in America and though not very wealthy, do not want to be among the last. We desire that our people should, through reading of this newspaper, also learn something interesting and instructive and in that manner progress in enlightenment; and at the same time so as not to forget among foreign peoples their own holy faith, their church rites, and their language.⁷

⁶ On Volianskyi's activities see John-Paul Himka, “Ivan Volians'kyi: The Formative Years of the Ukrainian Community in America,” *Ukrains'kyi Istoryk*, vol. xii, 1975, pp. 61-72. Chronologically, it is necessary to mention Agapius Honcharenko, a Ukrainian orthodox priest and exile, who was the founder of the first Russian-English language newspaper, *The Alaska Herald* and a supplement *Svoboda*, in San Francisco in 1868. Although this publication was edited by a Ukrainian, it was intended primarily for Russians and, therefore, should not be considered as the first Ukrainian newspaper in the United States. On Honcharenko see Theodor Luciw, *Father Agapius Honcharenko: First Ukrainian Priest in America*. (New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1970).

⁷ Ivan Volianskyi, “Greetings,” *Amyryka*, no. 1, 1886, p. 1.

In later issues of *Ameryka*, Volianskyi commented also on labor problems and other topics related to the American way of life.⁸

АМЕРИКА



THE FIRST UKRAINIAN NEWSPAPER IN AMERICA

The preservation of the religious faith and the Ukrainian language constituted the basic objective of this first newspaper which ceased its publication on February 22, 1890. These features are present in other publications of this time such as *Ruske Slovo* (Ruthenian Word, 1891), *Americansko-Ruski Vestnyk* (American-Ruthenian Messenger, 1891), and others. The publication of *Ameryka* coincided with the beginning of Ukrainian fraternal organizations. Father Volianskyi organized in Shenandoah in 1885 the first fraternal organization, the Brotherhood of St. Nicholas. The newspaper reflected to a certain degree the ideology of this religious fraternal organization.

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, the fraternal characteristics of the Ukrainian press are fully revealed in the first issues of *Svoboda* (Liberty), which was founded and edited by another Ukrainian Catholic priest, Hryhorii Hrushka, in 1893, and was the official organ of the Ruthenian National Union (now Ukrainian National Association). It is, therefore, essential to briefly analyze the ideological features of this Ukrainian newspaper which at the present is considered a major Ukrainian daily in the United States and the western world.

⁸ Ivan Volianskyi published very valuable memoirs pertaining to his work in America. See I. Volianskyi, "Spomyzn z davnykh lit," *Svoboda*, September 5, 1912. On *Ameryka* see J. P. Chase, "First Ukrainian Newspaper and Book in America," *Forum* 13 (Summer 1970).

In its early issues, *Svoboda* strongly advocated the need of Ukrainian fraternal organization:

It is clear then that in unity there is strength and it is not easily defeated. Therefore, let us unite brothers, voluntary exiles from our native land, our fatherland, let us come closer look at our poverty, our want, our shortcomings, our needs.⁹



Front page of the first issue of "Svoboda"

Also, *Svoboda* clearly spelled out the objectives of the Ukrainian fraternal organization which reflected the new spiritual and material needs of the early Ukrainian-American community:

The aims of the Ukrainian National Association would be as follows: To help the ailing and to pay benefits after death. To establish reading rooms and evening schools for adults. To promote enlightenment among our people with the help of inexpensive publications, as it is

⁹ "Nam treba narodnioi orhanizatsii" (We Need a National Organization), *Svoboda*, no. 4 (November 1, 1893). Translation quoted after A. Dragan, *Ukrainian National Association. In Past and Present 1894-1964* Jersey City, N.J.: "Svoboda" Press, 1965), p. 15.

being done in the old country. To insist that Ukrainians become American citizens. To organize political clubs and to take an active part in the elections. . . .¹⁰

Both the content of this statement as well as its date are crucial in understanding the role that the press was beginning to take within the Ukrainian community. Whereas the earlier publications stress retention of the Ukrainian heritage and religion, and may even have encouraged a degree of separateness, *Svoboda*, at this early date (1893), introduced the concept of Ukrainian participation within the American social order. Immigration to the United States was no longer being viewed as a transitory or temporary step, but, rather, as a permanent condition upon which permanent forms of community organizations were to develop. By encouraging Ukrainian unity in the form of “self help” actions, *Svoboda* furthered ethnic group identification and cohesion. On the other hand, *Svoboda*'s pragmatic approach as to how to best face the realities and conditions in the new world added a new dimension to ethnic existence. Thus, by encouraging active participation in the dominant society's political life (e.g., American citizenship, political clubs, voting, etc.), the press became an agent in providing adjustment through participatory action—an initial step in the actual assimilative process.

In the following years a number of Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals were published. Besides religious and fraternal organs, the first political newspapers of socialist orientation appeared on American soil (e.g., *Khops'kyi Paragraf*, 1909; *Proletar*, 1912; *Robitnyk*, 1914-1919; and others). Thus, the element of a political ideology transferred in major part from the native land was already present prior to the First World War.¹¹ However, many of these papers disappeared or merged with other serials due to the lack of financial support or to editorial negligence. Prior to World War I, approximately 50 periodicals and newspapers were published, ranging from religious, fraternal, and educational to political and satirical.¹² Like organizations, they were divided into Ukrainian national and pro-Russian factions and reflected the religious and political views within the Ukrainian community in the United States, as well as in the homeland.¹³

¹⁰ A. Dragan, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹¹ A brief historical overview of the Ukrainian press is presented by Roman S. Holiat, “Istoria ukrains'koi presy v Amerytsi,” (History of Ukrainian Press in the United States), *Al'manakh UNSoiuzu—1978* (New York: Svoboda Press, 1978), pp. 82-101.

¹² An incomplete bibliography of Ukrainian early serials was published by Ia. Chyz, “Piv stolittia ukrains'koi presy v Amerytsi” (A Half Century of the Ukrainian Press in America), *Kalendar Ukrains'koho Robitnychoho Soiuzu na rik 1939* (Scranton, Pa., 1938), pp. 117-123.

¹³ It was pointed out that this article excludes the press of the Carpatho—Rusin (Ruthenian) group. The Carpatho-Ruthenian press usually was published in a special jargon (*iazychie*) based on a mixture of Ukrainian, Russian, and Slovak dialects, and was printed in Cyrillic or Latin characters. Altho Carpatho-Ruthenians linguistically and ethnically are directly related to Ukrainians, in the United States this community asserts itself as constituting a separate ethnic group. Presently, “Carpatian Rus'” constitutes an integral part of the Soviet Ukraine. On Carpatho-Ruthenian press see Paul R. Magocsi, *Our People Carpatho-Rusyns and Their Descendants in North America* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario 1984), pp. 44-55.

The most influential of these various types were fraternal publications, especially *Svoboda*, the official organ of the Ukrainian National Association;¹⁴ *Narodna Volya* (Peoples Will), which was established by the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association;¹⁵ *Ameryka*, the Catholic weekly, and later the daily *Ameryka*, which was established by Bishop Ortynsky in 1912 and became the official publication of the Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics in America;¹⁶ and *Ukrains'ka Narodne Slovo* (Ukrainian National Word), the official organ of the Ukrainian National Aid Association, which started in 1915.¹⁷ These four newspapers all advocated the preservation of the Ukrainian language and culture, and at the same time were instrumental in introducing the Ukrainian community to American values, culture, and politics.

After World War I, one witnesses the growth of political periodicals which reflected the political conditions in Ukraine and its struggle for independence in the years 1917 through 1921. These publications may be divided into four major categories—nationalist, socialist, monarchist, and communist. On the religious front, besides Ukrainian Catholic publications, a number of periodicals were published by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (e.g., *Dnipro*, 1922-1926; *Ukrains'kyi Vistnyk*, 1929; *Ukrains'ka Pravda*, 1934, and others). Another innovation in the Ukrainian American Press was the introduction of English language publications. In the postwar period, fraternal and other organizations were confronted with rapidly increasing ranks of American-born Ukrainians. The most significant English language publication was the weekly supplement, *Ukrainian Weekly*, which started in 1933 and was edited by Stefan Shumeiko, one of the prominent leaders of the Ukrainian community.¹⁸ According to Zenon Znylyk, former editor of this weekly, the mission of *The Ukrainian Weekly* is "to teach about Ukraine and Ukrainianism in an effort to preserve and foster the Ukrainian spiritual heritage, to tell the story of the Ukrainian people to non-

¹⁴ On *Svoboda* see Luka Myshuha, "Iak Tormuvavsia svitohlad ukrains'koho immigranta v Amerytsi" (Development of Ukrainian-American Outlook), *Propamiatna Knyha*, (Jersey City, N.J.: Svoboda Press, 1936), pp. 6-177; I. Svit, " 'Svoboda' za 85 lit" (Svoboda After 85 Years), *Almanakh UNSoiuzu—1978* (Jersey City, N.J.: Svoboda 1978) pp. 57-66.

¹⁵ "Narodna Volya," *Forum* 12 (Spring 1970), pp. 20-21. See also Jerry Pronko, "The Importance of English in Narodna Volya," *Iuvileina Knyha*. (Scranton Pa.: Ukrainian Workingmen's Association, 1960), pp. 201- 203.

¹⁶ "Z pryvodu dvokh iuvileinykh dat" (Two Jubilee Dates), *Kalendar Provydinnia*. Philadelphia, Pa.: The Providence Association, 1962, pp. 45-47. See also Ihnat M. Bilynsky, "Do 60-littia *Ameryka* . . ." (On 60th Year of *America*). Philadelphia, Pa.: "Providence" Association, 1974, pp. 147-163.

¹⁷ Pavlo Kravchuk, "40-littia *Narodnoho Slova*," (40th Anniversary of *Narodne Slovo*), *Kalendar Almanakh Ukrains'koi Narodnoi Pomochi, 1914-1954* Pittsburgh, Pa.: Ukrains'ka Narodna Pomich, 1954), pp. 168-170.

¹⁸ On "Ukrainian Weekly" see Zenon Snylyk, "The Ukrainian Weekly: 45 Years-Young," *Almanakh UNSoiuzu—1978*, (Jersey City, N.J., Ukrainian National Assn., pp. 75-78. See also Myron B. Kuropas, "The Ukrainian Weekly: A Great Idea Whose Time Had Come," *The Ukrainian Weekly*," vol. 51, no. 43 (October 1983), p. 7-11.

Ukrainians, and in this manner to help our roots in Ukraine to blossom into a tree of freedom and independence.”¹⁹

Other English language publications included *The Trident* (1836-1941), *The Rising Star* (1935-1936), *Ukrainian Youth* (1933), *The Ukrainian Trend* (1938), and others. Later, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, a major English language periodical, was founded by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in 1944.²⁰ Most Ukrainian language and English language publications of this time focused their attention on the political situation in the homeland, especially the persecution of Ukrainians by the Russian and Polish governments, as well as on Ukrainian community life in the United States.

Due to World War II and the political situation in the United States, a number of Ukrainian periodicals and newspapers experienced a rather difficult period; some of them even ceased to exist. America's alliance with Stalinist Russia during the war resulted in misunderstanding Ukrainian independence movements, spearheaded by nationalists, with the consequence being that organizations and periodicals dedicated to winning Ukraine's freedom and independence from the Soviet Union were construed as being “fascist.” According to A. Dragan, former editor of *Svoboda*, during this time “slanderous attack on ‘the Ukrainian Nazis’ could be heard from all sides, including press and radio. The Red Fifth Column managed to sway the opinion of a number of responsible American newspapers and radio commentators.”²¹ In reality, Ukrainian Americans took a strong stand against Russian imperialism and German Nazism. On May 24, 1940, Ukrainian-Americans held their first congress in Washington, D.C.,²² during which four major Ukrainian fraternal organizations (Ukrainian National Association, Ukrainian Workingmen's Association, Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics, and Ukrainian National Aid Association) which were publishers of major Ukrainian newspapers, issued a strong declaration in defense of the Ukrainian people with strong condemnation of the Nazi and Soviet regimes:

The victory of democracy in the present European war must actualize the cause of self-determination of subjugated people, including the Ukrainians. The victory of dictatorial ideas of Bolshevism, Fascism and Nazism will bring our people greater subjugation and colonial exploitation. . . Besides the threat that Ukraine could in whole or in part

¹⁹ Z. Snylyk, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

²⁰ The historical background of the *Ukrainian Quarterly* is presented by its founder Nicholas D. Chubaty, “The Story of the Ukrainian Quarterly,” *Ten Years of the Ukrainian Quarterly, 1944-1954*, (New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1954), pp. 3-10. See also Walter Dushnyk, “The Ukrainian Quarterly: Two Decades in its Role of Enlightenment,” *The Ukrainian Quarterly Cumulative Index, 1944-1964* (New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1964), pp. 7-17.

²¹ A. Dragan, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116.

²² This American Ukrainian Congress was attended by 805 delegates representing more than 2,000 local Ukrainian societies in the United States, excluding Ukrainian communists.

become the object of colonial exploitations by Nazi Germany, German Nazism carries with it another danger for the development and progress of the Ukrainian people, namely, the dissemination of fascist ideas of dictatorship, totalitarianism, authoritarianism and monarchy, which are foreign to our people.²³

This document offers prima facie evidence of the political and ideological attitudes of Ukrainian Americans during World War II, which were reflected in the Ukrainian press of this period.

Ukrainian Press After World War II and its Present State

The revival of the Ukrainian press is directly associated with the new Ukrainian immigration following World War II. This immigration phase was characterized by the influx of a large number of intellectuals and educated Ukrainians who upon their arrival joined the existing Ukrainian-American organizations and also initiated the establishment of new organizations and new publications. A new feature of the Ukrainian press in the United States was the appearance of scholarly and professional publications issued by the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States, Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ukrainian Historical Association, Ukrainian Medical Association of North America, and other associations.

Content analysis of postwar and present Ukrainian publications indicates the following classification:

1. Fraternal benefit association newspapers in Ukrainian and particularly in English, aiming at general readership.
2. Religious publications issued by Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant Ukrainian churches, as well as by lay religious organizations.
3. Political newspapers and periodicals published in Ukrainian and English and reflecting a political ideology.
4. Scholarly serials published in Ukrainian and English, usually sponsored by scholarly organizations.
5. Professional and trade publications in Ukrainian and English, usually sponsored by scholarly organizations.
6. Educational periodicals in Ukrainian and English.
7. Women's publications in Ukrainian and English.
8. Youth oriented publications in Ukrainian and English.
9. Children's and juvenile publications in Ukrainian and English.

²³ "Political Platform of the Congress. Declaration by the Four Fraternal Orders," *The American Ukrainian Congress* (Washington, D.C., 1940), p. 2. This important document was published in all major Ukrainian newspapers.

10. Veteran's publications in Ukrainian and English, sponsored by various organizations.

11. Museum and library publications in Ukrainian.

12. Regional publications in Ukrainian, usually sponsored by Ukrainian ethnic regional organizations.

13. Satiric publications in Ukrainian promoting ethnic humor.

14. House organs published by various ethnic organizations and/or Ukrainian churches in Ukrainian and English.

These serials appear in three linguistic patterns:

- 1) Publications published entirely in the Ukrainian language;
- 2) Bilingual publications in Ukrainian and English;
- 3) Ukrainian publications published exclusively in English.

The first two categories are tailored mainly to the requirements of different social strata within the Ukrainian community and a real strong tendency to preserve and promote the Ukrainian language, history and cultural heritage. The Ukrainian press in English serves two major purposes: (1) to reach those members of the Ukrainian ethnic community who have little or no knowledge of their native tongue in order to preserve their ethnic identity and cultural heritage; (2) to inform the English speaking world of the history, culture, religion, and social and political life of Ukrainians in Ukraine, the western world, and the United States. In many instances these English language publications serve as a communication vehicle for the promotion of Ukrainian cultural and political values within the American community. Prof. Clarence A. Manning of Columbia University, in his analysis of the *Ukrainian Quarterly*, a major Ukrainian-language periodical published by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, stated that from the beginning this publication was directed towards the American public. Its chief objective and message is:

to bring home to the minds and hearts of the people of the United States and Europe that the Ukrainians and Russians are not one people, united from the beginning under the rule of Moscow or St. Petersburg-Petrograd-Leningrad, but two distinct cultural entities, held together by despotic rule. Thanks to incessant Soviet propaganda and the efforts of Russia-firsters, the task of bringing this fact home to all Americans still remains a formidable one. But in itself it offers a key to the final solution of the colonialism of the Soviet Union, and ultimately, to ensuring the dignity of man. This is the task of *The Ukrainian Quarterly* during its third decade, and as of many more decades as are needed.²⁴

²⁴ Clarence A. Manning, "Twenty Years of The Ukrainian Quarterly," *The Ukrainian Quarterly: Cumulative Index 1944-1964*, 1964, P. 30; see also "'The Ukrainian Quarterly' and Enslaved Ukraine," [Interview with Dr. W. Dushnyk, editor of the Ukrainian Quarterly], *Ibid.* pp. 31-35.

With respect to content, the present Ukrainian press supports for the most part the independence of Ukraine; features articles on human rights of Ukrainians, Jews, Lithuanians and other nationalities in the Soviet Union; and contains materials on Ukrainian cultural, political, religious and social life in America and in the world. The Ukrainian press, except for communist publications, takes a strong stand on political conditions existing in Ukraine and Eastern Europe. with special emphasis on Soviet-Russian dictatorship and political domination of the Ukrainian homeland. It upholds Ukrainian rights and aspirations for freedom and independence. As compared to other periods of the Ukrainian Press in the United States, 1975 through 1985 could be considered as the most significant period in terms of diversity and content.

Statistical Analysis: Typology, Circulation and Other Data

The statistical data presented here, based on the information gathered during a recent survey (1984-March 1985), reflect the present status of the Ukrainian press in the United States. At the present time the Ukrainian press consists of 107 titles with a circulation of 209,066 copies.

Table 1 presents typology, language patterns and circulation figures for Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals. The entry for each category (type of publication) includes information on the frequency of publication in relation to language and circulation data.

According to Table I the circulation of Ukrainian-language publications is 114,353 for 58 titles (circulation was not indicated for three titles); 28 titles are bilingual with a circulation of 46,268 (circulation was not indicated for four titles); and 21 titles are published in the English language with a circulation of 48,445 (circulation figures for six titles were not available). Altogether, circulation figures were not indicated for a total of 12 titles. In view of this incomplete circulation data, it is assumed that combined circulation for 107 titles would exceed 225,000 copies.

The total circulation for each linguistic category is presented (in terms of percentages) in Table 2.

TABLE 1
ANALYSIS OF CIRCULATION BY TYPE AND LANGUAGE

Type	Ukrainian		Bilingual		English		Total	
	Total No. of Titles	Circulation Figures	Total No. of Titles	Circulation Figures	Total No. of Titles	Circulation Figures	Total No. of Titles	Circulation Figures
Daily	2	25,000	0		0		2	25,000
Weekly	3	21,077	3	9,280	3	30,820	8	61,177
Semi-monthly	1	1,200	1	3,560	0		2	4,760
Monthly	16	35,165	4	5,645	2		20	40,810
Bi-monthly	6	10,700	3	3,950	2	5,800	10	20,450
Quarterly	14	10,425	10	20,983	7	9,675	28	41,083
3 Times a Year	1	1,000	0		0		1	1,000
Semi-annual	4	2,731	3	1,100	0		6	3,831
Others - Irregular	11	7,055	4	1,750	7	2,150	18	10,955
Total	58¹	114,353	28²	46,268	21³	48,445	107⁴	209,066

¹Circulation was not available for three titles.

²Circulation was not available for four titles.

³Circulation was not available for six titles.

⁴Circulation was not available for twelve titles.

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE OF CIRCULATION BY LANGUAGE

Language	No. of Titles	% of Total Titles	Circulation	% of Total Circulation
Ukrainian	58	54.20%	114,353	54.70%
Bilingual	28	26.17%	46,268	22.13%
English	21	19.63%	48,445	23.17%
Total	107	100.00%	209,066	100.00%

The strongest category constitutes serials published in Ukrainian (58 titles, or 54.2%); bilingual titles represent the second strongest category (28 titles, or 26.17%). English language publications consist of 21 titles, which constitutes 19.63% of the Ukrainian press.

The total circulation data presented in Table 2 reflect a somewhat different breakdown. Ukrainian language publications represent 54.7% of the total circulation; bilingual publications comprise 22.13%, and English language publications represent 23.17% of the total circulation of the Ukrainian press.

In order to determine the growth or decline of Ukrainian language, bilingual, and English publications one has to compare the findings of the current survey to that conducted in 1975.

When the data from the 1975 survey²⁵ and the 1985 surveys are compared, one can see evidence of growth in the numbers of publications within each of the language categories. Table 3 indicates this growth in terms of number of publications and circulation figures pertaining to the Ukrainian language press.

TABLE 3
COMPARISON OF UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE TITLES
AND CIRCULATION, 1975 AND 1985

Type	Total No. of Titles		No. of Titles CNI*		Circulation	
	1975	1985	1975	1985	1975	1985
Daily	1	2	0	0	20,500	25,000
Weekly	1	3	0	1	1,670	21,077
Semi-monthly	3	1	0	0	5,000	1,200
Monthly	14	16	2	0	30,400	35,165
Bi-monthly	8	6	0	0	10,365	10,700
Quarterly	14	14	0	1	13,425	10,425
Other**	14	16	2	1	11,185	10,786
Total	55	58	4	3	92,545	114,353

* CNI - Circulation Not Indicated

**Other includes serials published three times a year, semi-annually, and on an irregular basis

²⁵ Lubomyr R. Wynar, *Encyclopedic Directory of Ethnic Newspapers and Periodicals in the United States*, 2nd (Littleton, Colo.: Libraries Unlimited, 1976), pp. 234-235.

In 1975 there were 55 Ukrainian language serials (circulation of 92,545), while in 1985 the number of titles grew to 58 (circulation of 114,353). The percentage increase in this category is 5.45% in the number of titles, and 23.56% in volume of circulation.

In the bilingual category (see Table 4) there were 12 titles in 1975 (circulation of 49,786), while in 1985 the number grew to 28 titles (circulation of 46,268). The percentage increase is 133.33% for the number of titles, and the change in circulation figures represents a percentage decrease of 7.07%

TABLE 4
COMPARISON OF BILINGUAL TITLES AND CIRCULATION,
1975 AND 1985

Type	Total No. of Titles		No. of Titles CNI*		Circulation	
	1975	1985	1975	1985	1975	1985
Daily	1	0	0	0	6,500	
Weekly	3	3	0	0	23,956	9,280
Semi-monthly	1	1	0	0	5,000	3,560
Monthly	2	4	0	1	8,330	5,645
Bi-monthly	0	3	0	0		3,950
Quarterly	2	10	0	1	2,000	20,983
Other**	3	7	0	2	4,000	2,850
Total	12	28	0	4	49,786	46,268

* CNI - Circulation Not Indicated
 **Other includes serials published three times a year, semi-annually, and on an irregular basis

Table 5 compares the English language category of Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals in 1975 and 1985. The number of titles increased from 10 in 1975 (circulation of 37,307), to 21 in 1985 (circulation of 48,445). In this category there was an increase in titles of 117%; in circulation figures of 29.85%.

Since (see Table 1) circulation figures were not received for six titles in this category, it is most likely that the actual circulation figures are higher than those reported here.

The combined categories of Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals (see Table 6) increased from 77 titles (circulation of 179,638) in 1975 to 107 titles (circulation of 209,066) in 1985. It is also interesting to note that during the last 10 years (1974-1984), 26 new titles were started by various Ukrainian organizations.

TABLE 5
COMPARISON OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE TITLES AND
CIRCULATION, 1975 AND 1985

Type	Total No. of Titles		No. of Titles CNI*		Circulation	
	1975	1985	1975	1985	1975	1985
Daily	0	0	0	0		
Weekly	2	3	0	0	27,000	30,820
Monthly	1	2	0	2	2,000	
Bi-monthly	1	2	0	1	200	5,800
Quarterly	2	7	0	1	5,557	9,675
Other**	4	7	1	2	1,950	2,150
Total	10	21	1	6	37,307	48,445

* CNI - Circulation Not Indicated

**Other includes serials published three times a year, semi-annually, and on an irregular basis

TABLE 6
COMPARISON OF ALL LANGUAGE GROUP CATEGORY TITLES
AND CIRCULATION, 1975 AND 1985

Type	Total No. of Titles		No. of Titles CNI*		Circulation	
	1975	1985	1975	1985	1975	1985
Daily	2	2	0	0	27,000	25,000
Weekly	6	9	0	1	52,626	61,177
Semi-monthly	4	2	0	0	10,000	4,760
Monthly	17	22	2	3	40,730	40,810
Bi-monthly	9	11	0	1	11,165	20,450
Quarterly	18	31	0	3	20,982	41,083
Other**	21	30	3	5	22,435	15,786
Total	77	107	5	13	179,638	208,066

* CNI - Circulation Not Indicated

**Other includes serial publications published three times a year, semi-annually, and on an irregular basis

On the basis of this comparative tabulation it is possible to determine trends in regard to the various types of ethnic publications. Monthlies and quarterlies are the most numerous followed by bimonthlies, weeklies, semi-monthlies, dailies and other formats. It should be pointed out that there is no positive correlation between the type and number of serial titles and the circulation figures. For instance, nine Ukrainian weeklies have a total circulation of 61,177 copies, while 31 Ukrainian quarterlies have a much lower circulation of 41,083 copies. At the same time, it is important to emphasize that circulation figures of Ukrainian periodicals fluctuate from year to year.

Many Ukrainian dailies, weeklies and monthlies are published in Jersey City, New Jersey, New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. The daily *Svoboda* (founded in 1893) and sponsored by the Ukrainian National Association, is the oldest and the most popular Ukrainian newspaper in the United States. The same is true with regard to *The Ukrainian Weekly* (founded in 1933) and published in English by the same association. The Ukrainian Catholic daily *Ameryka* (established in 1912), the official organ of the Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics in America, and the Ukrainian weekly *Narodna Volya* (established in 1911), published by the Ukrainian Fraternal Association in Scranton, Pennsylvania, are also widely read by Ukrainian Americans. In general, it may be concluded that three major Ukrainian fraternal organizations (Ukrainian National Association, Ukrainian Fraternal Association, and The Providence Association) are very instrumental in preserving Ukrainian language newspapers in the United States. At the same time these organizations also sponsor Ukrainian serials published in the English language. The typical Ukrainian daily, weekly and semi-monthly are illustrated. Most print editorials and contain news from Ukraine, Ukrainian community life in the United States, Canada and other countries. Special attention is focused on the political situation in the Soviet Ukraine and human rights issues. As a result of Soviet Russification policies in Ukraine, most Ukrainian periodicals are anti-Soviet and anti-Russian. Only one serial *Ukrainski Visti* (Ukrainian News), published in New York, is pro-Soviet in its orientation. Since these publications are intended primarily for Ukrainian-Americans, the coverage of international and national news is rather limited, unless it is directly related to the interest of the Ukrainian ethnic community. It should be pointed out that a number of Ukrainian scholarly and professional serials publish various studies and source materials pertaining to Ukrainian and East European history and other topics, and are indexed by various American abstracting and indexing services.

With heightened consciousness of ethnicity pervading on the American scene, third and fourth generation Ukrainians are beginning to take an interest in their cultural roots. Whether this will lead to initiation and publication of new Ukrainian English language periodicals remains to be seen. At the present time, Ukrainian-language periodicals constitute the major category within the Ukrainian American press.

During this period of ethnic revival, Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals from the past and present serve as one of the most important primary sources for both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian scholars studying the historical development of the Ukrainian-American community in the United States, as well as the contributions made by Ukrainians to American society. It is important that historians, archivists, librarians, and other students of ethnic studies devote more attention to the Ukrainian American press in terms of its historical, bibliographic, and sociological analysis. It is essential to prepare a comprehensive annotated bibliography or union list of Ukrainian serials located in the libraries and archives in the United States, Canada, and other countries. Another major project involves publication of a comprehensive history of the Ukrainian American press, since the study of its historical development and content is essential to understanding and reconstructing the Ukrainian experience in the United States. Finally, preservation of ethnic serials via microfilming should be considered as a major goal of both Ukrainian and American archives and libraries. All of these projects are feasible and very timely.

At this point it is important to direct a few comments pertaining to the survival of the Ukrainian ethnic press. If the press survives into the future, what form will it take? What are the major factors likely to determine its future existence? If the present realities continue, the Ukrainian press is likely to face a crisis on several fronts.

1. The crisis of language

Up to the present the continued use of the Ukrainian language in publications can be attributed to the steady influx of Ukrainian immigrants to the United States from Europe. This growth came to an abrupt end for the most part in the 1950s and early 1960s, as a result of the present political realities. To this, one must add yet another fact—the decline in the number of Ukrainian-Americans able to read or converse in their native tongue. If these conditions and trends persist, one may predict in the next twenty-five years a decline in the number of Ukrainian language publications, and a heavier emphasis on the use of English in the remaining press.

2. A crisis in readership

Unless an unexpected reversal in the above mentioned factors occurs, a decline in circulation figures can be foreseen. The continued loss of Ukrainian Americans to the dominant culture is likely to result in not only a loss in the number of readers, but also in a loss in the number of types of publications.

3. Editorship crisis

Here one may forecast the following problems:

- a) Many of the present day publications are edited by Ukrainian-born editors who have a greater appeal to a Ukrainian-born reader but a lesser appeal to a more assimilated American born reader.

- b) There may exist in the future a rather low replacement role within the editor ranks, especially in respect to Ukrainian language publications.

These two factors are likely to affect the future of Ukrainian language publications.

4. Technical crisis

Reflected here is the fact that there is a low replacement for printers familiar with the Ukrainian language. This will have an impact on those publications printed in Ukrainian.

Taking into consideration the present Russification policies of the Soviet government in Ukraine, a decline in Ukrainian language publications would indeed be a major *loss*, especially since this relates to the preservation of the Ukrainian language in the United States and Soviet Ukraine.

For the present, it seems that the Ukrainian press is here to stay. Its form, content, and objectives are bound to alter as it continues to reflect the internal social changes that are constantly occurring within the Ukrainian ethnic community.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AT THE UNITED NATIONS

SIMON J. KALBA

1. Introduction

The United Nations, as a forum for the development of international cooperation and the preservation of peace, is a product of some 150 years of building up the international community of nations based on international law.

This process started with the Declaration on Freedom of Navigation on International Rivers pronounced at the Congress of Paris in 1814, and was followed by the Declaration of the Conference of Paris in 1856 on Maritime Warfare, the Conventions of Geneva in 1884 and the Hague in 1899 and 1907, the London Conferences establishing Belgium in 1831 and Luxemburg in 1867, and the Congress of Berlin held in 1878.

At the same time, several international institutions have been established with certain administrative functions to serve the international community, such as:

- The International Telegraph Union in 1865,
- The Universal Postal Union in 1874,
- The Copyright Union in 1886,
- The Convention for the Protection of Submarine Cables in 1884,
- The Automobile Convention in 1904, and
- The Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic in 1904.

As a result of the two World Wars, the international community of peoples - the first time in history - created Permanent Bodies for promoting the international cooperation and the preservation of peace: the League of Nations in 1919 and the United Nations in 1945.

However, as J.L. Brierly brought up in his Introduction to the International Law of Peace, this "International System has no central organ for the enforcement of international legal rights as such, and the creation of any such general scheme of sanctions is for the present a very distant prospect."¹

In view of this lack of enforcement, the establishment of the international cooperation and the preservation of peace to a great degree will depend on the pressures of the world public opinion, in which the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) will have to play an ever-growing role and influence.

¹ J.L. Brierly, *The Law of Nations*, Oxford Press 1963, p. 100

2. The Origin of NGO's and Their Role

As a result of the proclamation by the French Revolution of basic human freedoms, including the freedom of association, a widespread emergence of private voluntary associations take place after 1850 in Western countries.

These voluntary organizations, as the representatives of interest groups of the population, exerted a significant influence on national governments, as well as on the inter-governmental organizations, particularly:

- in preparation of diplomatic conferences;
- in the founding of inter-governmental bodies, and
- in affecting the activities and policies of such organizations.

These voluntary associations were instrumental in establishing such inter-governmental bodies as the International Bureau of Education, the Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, the International Relief Union and the International Institute of Agriculture. The Inter-Parliamentary Union and the inter-national law societies greatly contributed in laying foundation for the World Court, and the establishment of the International Labor Organization was achieved by the efforts of the organized labour.

In view of this development, connections between the League of Nations and the NGO's were numerous. The League often invited NGO's to delegate their representatives to League's conferences and committees, while League of Nations was often represented at the international conferences sponsored by the private associations. The Committee on Social Questions of the League had some twenty international voluntary associations functioning as "corresponding members."

The international women's associations succeeded in securing positions on the League's Commission on Traffic in Women and its Committees for child welfare, slavery and the position of women in the Orient. In 1935 the League Assembly requested eight international women's organizations to cooperate in submitting reports on the status of women throughout the world. Similar requests were addressed to other voluntary organizations, as for instance to World Alliance of YMCA in regard to their campaign against narcotic drugs.

The League of Nations subsidized financially the publications of the Union of International Organizations with headquarters in Geneva, and published the annual summaries of the activities of several organizations concerned with the penal law, such as the International Law Association and the International Association of Penal Law.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) serves as a master model of close cooperation between governmental and non-governmental organizations, concerned with labor, social and humanitarian matters. In contrast to other similar inter-governmental organizations, the constitution of ILO includes the representatives of workers and employers on its Governing Body, and at its meetings and conferences. This provision enables such organizations as the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Federation of

Industrial Employers to play an essential part in the ILO activity.

Finally, a close cooperation between the League and the International Red Cross was mutually indispensable.

An official recognition of the NGO's came about in June 1945 when Article 71 of the United Nations charter adopted in San Francisco provided that the Economic and Social Council may make consultation arrangements with the Non-Governmental Organizations.

The purpose of this provision was to secure expert information and advice from the highly specialized private agencies and, on the other hand, to enable organizations representing influential segments of the world public opinion to express their views. This official recognition opened the door for a cooperation between the United Nations and a multitude of international non-governmental organizations, representing the most active elements of the organized international community.

3. The NGO's Accredited with the United Nations

In accordance with Article 71 of the U.N. Charter, on 21st of June 1946 the Economic and Social Council put into effect arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations. At that date, as L.C. White stated:

“The United Nations thus began a great experiment in relations between the governmental and non-governmental aspects of society — an experiment which was intended to bring to the United Nations public opinion as expressed by the organizations set up by the people themselves according to their different professions, vocations and interests, and which was also intended to make available to the Council the expert technical advice and information which many of these organizations had acquired through long years of work on particular economic or social problems. The United Nations thus took a great step forward toward the establishment of a true and full democracy on the international level.”²

Among the principles of eligibility for a “consultative status” with the United Nations the following elements were required: The organization was to be concerned with matters in regard to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related questions, and the questions of human rights. Also, the organization should be of recognized standing, representing a substantial proportion of persons organized within the particular interest field in which it operates, and should be international in structure.

In connection with this, the Non-Governmental Organizations listed with the Economic and Social Council as having the U.N. consultative status are divided in three categories:

Category I: Organizations with interest and competence in most of the fields of the Council's activity;

² L.C. White, *International Non-Governmental Organizations*, Rutgers Univ. Press 1951, pp. 258-259

Category II: Organizations concerned with and competent in only a few fields of its activity, and

Roster: Organizations that may make a specific contribution to the work of the Economic and Social Council, which are consulted by the Council on an ad hoc basis.³

The organizations of the first two categories have the right:

- To designate authorized representatives to serve as observers at the public meetings of the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary bodies;
- To submit written statements, relating to the work of the Council and its subsidiaries, for circulation as United Nations documents, and
- To consult with the U.N. Secretariat about matters of mutual concern.

For practical purposes, we list below a complete set of 26 organizations of the First Category, while Category II is represented only by a cross-section of 20 listings, and only 15 agencies are listed from the 400-names long Roster, taken from the 1978 Guide to U.N. Organizations by P.E. Hajnal.

Category I

- International Alliance of Women — Equal Rights, Equal Responsibilities
- International Association of French-Speaking Parliamentarians
- International Chamber of Commerce
- International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
- International Cooperative Alliance
- International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA)
- International Council of Women
- International Council on Social Welfare
- International Federation of Agricultural Producers
- International Organization for Standardization (ISO)
- International Organization of Consumers Unions (IOCU)
- International Organizations of Employers
- International Planned Parenthood Federation
- International Union of Local Authorities
- International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations
- Inter-Parliamentary Union
- League of Red Cross Societies
- Organization of African Trade Unions (OATU)
- United Towns Organization
- Women's International Democratic Federation
- World Assembly of Youth (WAY)
- World Confederation of Labour

³ P.I. Hajnal, *Guide to U.N. Organizations*, Oceana Publications Inc. 1978, pp. 57-58

- World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY)
- World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)
- World Federation of United Nations Associations
- World Veterans Federation

Category II (Selection of 20 out of over 200 listings)

- Afro-Asian Organization for Economic Cooperation
- All-African Women's Conference
- Amnesty International
- Boy Scouts World Bureau
- Church World Service, Inc.
- Howard League for Penal Reform
- International Air Transport Association
- International College of Surgeons
- International Commission of Jurists
- International Council on Jewish Social & Welfare Services
- International Federation of Social Workers
- International League for Human Rights
- International Statistical Institute
- International Union of Lawyers
- International Union of Railways
- Lutheran World Federation
- Pax Romana - International Movement of Catholic Students
- World Council of Credit Unions, Inc. (WOCCU)
- World Muslim Congress
- World University Service

Roster (Selection of 15 out of over 400 listings)

- American Foreign Insurance Association
- Asian Youth Council
- European Alliance of Press Agencies
- International Board of Cooperation for the Developing Countries (EMCO)
- International Federation of the Blind
- International Police Association
- International Union of Judges
- Minority Rights Group
- World Alliance of Reformed Churches
- American Association for the Advancement of Science
- Population Institute
- Asian Broadcasting Union
- International PEN
- World Federation of Teachers
- World Peace Council

4. Controversy over NGO's Position with the United Nations

One of the basic sources of controversy and discontent among the U.N. member state delegations is a drastic imbalance in geographic distribution of the NGO's having the consultative status with the Economic and Social Council.

The existence of private voluntary associations, basically is a product of Western democracies and therefore the countries with the military regimes and the Soviet bloc countries are not adequately represented in the three categories of the non-governmental organizations, listed with the Economic and Social Council. In 1968, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in a joint statement indicated that 90% of the 166 NGO's under review by the Committee on NGO's, had headquarters in Western countries, while only 2 organizations had their headquarters in socialist countries, seven in Latin America, six in Asian countries, and only one in an African country.

The Soviet Guide published in Moscow in 1980 *Mezhdunarodnye Organizatsii Sotsialisticheskikh Gosudarstv* (International Organizations of Socialist Countries), lists several bi- and multi-lateral international bodies of inter-state cooperation in such fields as: agriculture, communications, finance, transport, technical cooperation, etc. Yet, by the established U.N. standards, they are purely inter-governmental agencies, without any voluntary membership representing the people of these countries.

At the 1968-69 review session, the African representatives questioned the accreditation of the NGO's having their affiliates in South Africa. In 1975 the General Conference of UNESCO urged all NGO's to break off relations with their local subsidiaries in Taiwan. In 1968 and 1978 the Islamic and Soviet delegates advanced an argument that NGO's supporting or sympathizing with Israel should not enjoy a status with the United Nations.

The harshest condemnations by the U.N. state delegations were reserved for Jewish and Human Rights organizations.

The Soviet delegation repeatedly condemned Jewish organizations for their efforts on behalf of Soviet Jews, accusing them of interfering with the internal affairs of the U.N. member states, and of organizing campaigns of slander against the Soviet Union. Any support offered by the United States and Uruguay was countered by the Islamic states, condemning sufferings inflicted by Jews on the Arab population of the Middle East.

The issue of withdrawal of the consultative status to certain Jewish organizations took 4-1/2 sessions of the ECOSO Council plenary meetings in 1969 and two more sessions in 1970, which ended in favour of Jewish NGO's but with a very close proportion of votes.

The Human Rights organizations were subject to the harshest objections and criticism during the 1968-69 review sessions. These attacks were led by the Soviet delegates who insisted that such organizations as the International Commission of Jurists, the International League for the Rights of Man (presently: International League for Human Rights) and the International

Federation for the Rights of Man should not be granted consultative privileges, because they are engaged in systematic campaigns of slander against certain U.N. member states, while they do not find time to “defend the rights of the oppressed peoples” elsewhere.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, the controversy comes from the Soviet interpretation of human rights which contradicts the Western understanding of the basic human freedoms and liberties.

In 1975, at the time of signing of the Helsinki Final Act, the Soviet point of view was expressed in a speech delivered by Yuri Andropov, who at that time was head of the KGB security police and an influential member of the Communist party Politbureau. As reported by *Izvestia* of June 10, 1975, the Andropov address included the following statement:

“Any citizen of the Soviet Union whose interests coincide with the interests of society enjoys the whole range of our democratic freedoms. It is another matter if these interests in certain instances do not coincide. Here we say straight out: priority must be given to the interests of society as a whole of all working people, and we consider this principle fully justified.”

At the 31st Session of the Commission on Human Rights, held in Geneva in 1975, the NGO representatives took a strong position in defense of human rights, citing the following countries for their violations of human rights: Brazil, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines, South Korea, South Vietnam, South Africa, the Soviet Union, Syria, Turkey and Zaire.

This strong position provoked a special resolution adopted without a vote by the 58th Session of the Economic and Social Council held in New York in 1975, which included a threat to sanction the NGO's by suspending their consultative privileges.

Also, the U.N. accreditation of NGO's having the same objectives was subject to sharp criticism. Reiterating the interpretation of the Resolution 1296, the Soviet delegation proposed that organizations with similar objectives, interests, and the same basic views in a given field, be grouped together permanently to conduct consultations with the Council as a group. Supported by Bulgaria, the Soviet delegation formally proposed to establish for this purpose four specific groups: Jewish, Catholic, Social Welfare, and other organizations. The Lybian delegate supported the idea of grouping only the Jewish organizations. The proposal was abandoned after the delegates of the United Kingdom and the United States issued a joint statement rejecting the grouping idea.

In spite of this criticism and campaigns coming from all possible parts of the United Nations spectrum, the NGO's were able to withstand the pressures of the Review sessions by the Committee on NGO's and the Economic and Social Council in 1968-69 and 1978, and came out of the controversy with their accreditation privileges intact, preserving their freedom of action within the limitations of the Article 71 of the United Nations charter.

5. Parallel Conference of NGO's at the United Nations

On criticism of their independent role with the United Nations, the NGO's responded with a series of well organized and highly productive Parallel Conferences, a new form of their activity at the United Nations.

In September 1975 the Non-Governmental Organizations organized in New York an impressive Forum on the World Economic Order, staged concurrently with the first U.N. General Session entirely devoted to economic issues.

Chiang Pei-heng evaluated this NGO project as follows:

“In order to both support and parallel the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly on Development and International Economic Cooperation, some 500 representatives from 165 NGO's — concerned with contributing to the changes in the international order through the U.N. system — attended this NGO Forum, the end result of which provided a major consciousness-raising session on the issues of the Third World by the United Nations NGO community. The wide interest in economic development shown by the large turnout at the Forum surprised even some of the NGO organizers.”⁴

Similar parallel conferences — NGO Forums — were organized with great success to compliment the following U.N. world conferences:

- U.N. Conference on Human Environment, Stockholm — 1972,
- U.N. World Population Conference, Bucharest — 1974,
- U.N. World Food Conference, Rome — 1974,
- U.N. Conference of the International Women's Year, Mexico City — 1975,
- World Conference of the U.N. Decade of Women, Copenhagen — 1980,
- Habitat: U.N. Conference on Human Settlements, Vancouver — 1976.

The Conference on Human Environment was held in Stockholm June 5 -16, 1972 with 113 member states in attendance, and over 100 representatives of NGO's, who took an active role in presenting their submissions addressed to three main working committees and the Working Group drafting the Declaration on the Human Environment. The committees were concerned with: (1) human settlements and non-economic aspects of environmental questions, (2) natural resource management and development, and (3) pollutants and organizational questions.

The World Population Conference held in Bucharest from August 19 to 30, 1974, was attended by 136 state delegations and the representatives of 109 NGO's, who contributed by presenting their submissions pertaining to all 5 areas of the conference agenda:

⁴ Chiang Pei-heng, *Non-Governmental Organizations at the United Nations*, Praeger Publication, p. 6

- Recent population trends and future prospects,
- Population change and economic and social development,
- Population resources and the environment,
- Population and the family, and
- Drafting the World Population Plan of Action.

The World Population Plan of Action was to be used as a policy instrument within the broader context of the International Development Strategy for the Second Decade of the United Nations Development. The reports of this conference were adopted by the ECOSO Council on November 19, 1974 and by a resolution of the General Assembly of December 17, 1974.

The World Food Conference took place in Rome from November 5 to 16, 1974, in the presence of 133 member states and the representatives of 161 international and national NGO's.

In opening this important conference, the Secretary General stressed that the food production would have to more than double by the end of the century in order to meet the anticipated requirements of the world population, which — as he said — would require an unprecedented effort of international cooperation. The main items on the agenda of the conference included:

- Measures for increasing food production and scheduling of consumption patterns in all countries,
- Measures to strengthen world food security, and
- Specific measures in the field of international food-stuff trade and stabilization of food exports.

On November 16, 1974 the Conference adopted the Universal Declaration on Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition, containing 12 principles, of which principle No. 1 stated that:

“Every man, woman and child has the inalienable right to be free from hunger and malnutrition in order to develop fully and maintain his physical and mental faculties.”

Acting on recommendation of the conference, the Assembly established the World Food Council and proposed to call a meeting for creating an International Fund for Agricultural Development.

The World Conference of the International Women's Year of 1975 in Mexico City and the World Conference of the U.N. Decade for Women of 1980 held in Copenhagen, were both greatly assisted by the active participation of 114 and 150 NGO's respectively.

The World Conference of the U.N. Decade for Women reevaluated the World Plan outlined in Mexico City in 1975 and adopted it as a Programme of Action for the Second Half of the U.N. Decade for Women from 1981 to 1985.

The Conference, attended by the delegations of 145 member states, adopted this Plan of Action, together with 48 resolutions aimed at achieving the

goals of the Conference theme: Equality, Development and Peace, with a special emphasis on employment, health and education.

An International Women's Year Tribune was held concurrently with the official conference, to provide a forum for NGO's and the individuals interested in the position of women in the society.

As a result of several working meetings organized by NGO's, two submissions were presented on behalf of all NGO's under heading: (1) "Statement of Non-Governmental Organizations to the World Conference on the U.N. Decade for Women", and (2) "Joint Statement of Non-Governmental Organizations: Employed and Equal in United Nations."

At the same time, 52 individual submissions were made by individual NGO's, including such agencies as: International Federation of Business and Professional Women, Pan-Pacific and South-East Asia Women's Association, Lutheran World Federation, International League for Human Rights, European Union of Women, International Council of Jewish Women, World Federation of United Nations Associations, World Jewish Congress, International Federation of Social Workers, the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization, the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, and others.

6. HABITAT: U.N. Conference on Human Settlements

The greatest impact ever made by the Non-Governmental Organizations at the United Nations, has been achieved at the U.N. Habitat Conference, held in Vancouver from May 31 to June 11, 1976.

Simultaneously with the official conference, a Non-Governmental Forum was staged by the NGO's at Jerich, at which more than 5,000 participants from 90 countries took part in plenary sessions, workshops, committee meetings and film shows. They had a choice of some 700 program items. Among the principal topics of discussion were: self-help and low cost housing, land policy, participation, appropriate technology, nuclear energy and rural development. The subjects were introduced by the most prominent speakers of the world.

During the five long plenary sessions at the Habitat Forum, two important statements were elaborated to be presented to the Habitat Conference. Both statements placed emphasis on the existing human settlements problems, and advocated a global approach towards their solution.

The two statements handled such matters as: (1) participation, (2) education, (3) land and water use, (4) energy, and (5) the need for constructive cooperation between the U.N. Habitat Agency and the NGO's and other voluntary groups. Another statement, signed primarily by representatives of North American non-governmental organizations, called for a strong United Nations structure to coordinate international programmes.

Another group of participants of the Habitat Forum, called the Vancouver Symposium, which represented 24 world experts on population and technology, produced a declaration focusing on water as the prime human need, and

recommended to the Habitat Conference a target date of 1990 for clean water for all humanity.

Relationship between the Forum and the Conference was informal, yet the Forum recommendations had a great influence on final resolutions of the Conference. Interaction between the two meetings was provided and promoted by daily television transmissions in both directions, the publication of a daily newspaper, "Jericho", and the establishment of a Forum lobbying center, the use of which was taken by the representatives of 160 NGO's.

The NGO success achieved at the Habitat Conference was due, in a great measure, to the preparatory work of the Canadian NGO Participation Group for Habitat, the representatives of which were included in the 70-member strong official Delegation of Canada, composed basically of 5 Federal ministers, 10 Provincial ministers, and several provincial and municipal advisers.

The Canadian NGO Participation Group, representing 30 national non-governmental organizations, was formed in agreement with the November 1974 conference called under the auspices of the Ottawa Ministry of State for Urban Affairs. From its establishment in early 1975, the Canadian NGO Group has been part of a Unique Experience with NGO's full involvement in Canadian preparations for Habitat Conference. Among other goals, the Group's objectives were: (a) to influence Canadian policy leading up to Habitat '76, (b) to assist the Canadian National Committee in achieving their objectives, and (c) to coordinate the Canadian input into the agenda preparation for the Habitat Forum.

The Canadian Group's success in getting their Non-Governmental representatives to be included in the official Delegation of Canada, created a new challenging opportunity for NGO's position with the United Nations.

Also, the Canadian Group was instrumental in procuring a major financial contribution to the Habitat Conference and Forum. A grant of \$100,000 was obtained from the Canadian Development Agency to assist in bringing to Vancouver the non-governmental representatives from Third World countries, which enabled 110 persons from 37 countries to participate in the Forum. Another sum of \$10,000 was received from the same agency to assist the International NGO Committee in organizing the Habitat '76.

This great support of the NGO's, both Canadian and International, assured the success of the Habitat Conference in Vancouver, which brought together delegations of 131 countries, the 6 national liberation movements and large representations of the 160 Non-Governmental Organizations.

Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, in his opening address, focused the attention of the delegates to the needs of the people wherever they live and the needs of the generations to come. In welcoming the delegates to Habitat '76, the Prime Minister P.E. Trudeau called for "a conspiracy of love to solve the ills of the world", and the President of the Conference, Minister of Urban Affairs of Canada, Barney Danson, said in his concluding remarks that what governments did after Habitat, would be the "real test of our achievements here."

The Habitat Conference was originated by a recommendation of the 1972 U.N. Conference on Human Environment held in Stockholm, which often was underlined during the Habitat proceedings as the "Spirit of Stockholm."

Guided by this spirit, the Habitat Conference adopted a 55-paragraph long "Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements", composed of a preamble and three sections setting forth "opportunities and solutions", general principles and guidelines for action. It will be interesting to mention that this important declaration was adopted by a roll call vote of 89 in favour to 15 against, with 10 abstentions. The countries voting against stated that their primary objection was against the endorsement of Assembly's resolution 3379 of November 1975 which characterized zionism as a form of racism.

Among other recommendations, the Conference stressed the priority to be placed on rehabilitation of the expelled and homeless people who have been displaced by natural or man-made catastrophes, and especially by the act of foreign aggressions.

The public participation, as the Conference proclaimed, should be an "indispensable element" in planning strategies, formulations, management and implementation of the resolutions.

For the future, the Habitat Conference recommended the following U.N. activity in the field of human settlements:

- The creation of an "Intergovernmental Body for Human Settlements" of not more than 58 states, for the promotion of policy objectives and priorities for United Nations in that field;
- The establishment of a Secretariat "to serve as a focal point for human settlements action and coordination within the United Nations system, and
- Recommended that at both levels, global and regional, "cooperation should be sought with universities, research and scientific institutes, non-governmental organizations, voluntary groups, etc., in order to make full use of their knowledge and experience in the field of human settlements.

In a separate resolution on the establishment of an "audio-visual information center on human settlements", Habitat Conference recommended that the General Assembly authorize the Secretary-General to conclude an agreement with the University of British Columbia in Vancouver for the custody, reproduction, use and augmentation of the audio-visual materials used by the Habitat Conference, consisting of some 200 films and slides presentations, submitted by 120 countries.

On the occasion of the Third Plenary Session of the U.N. Commission on Human Settlements, on May 4th, 1980 in Mexico City, the United Nations Habitat International Council organized a one-day NGO Conference to discuss the co-operation of the non-governmental organizations in implementing the Habitat resolutions.

7. NGO's as International Pressure Groups

In his book "Les Groupes de Pression", Jean Maynaud came to a conclusion that all Interest Groups become Pressure Organizations from the moment when their actions influence the governments in favor of their aspirations and demands:

"Les groupes d'interet ainsi caracterises ne se transforment en organisme de pression qu'a partir du moment ou les responsables utilisent l'action sur l'appareil gouvernemental pour faire triompher leurs aspirations ou revendications."⁵

Article 71 of the United Nations Charter confines the consultative status of the NGO representatives strictly within the Economic and Social Council and its dependent bodies. Yet, the questions dealt with by this Council are subsequently transmitted to the General Assembly, which opens the door for their access to this all-important U.N. forum. According to Lyman C. White:

"As pressure groups the NGO's are often directly responsible for intergovernmental action; they exert pressure simultaneously on national governments and on international agencies. We see them participating directly in the committees and commissions of intergovernmental bodies. We find them demanding new services, and often it is only long after the private groups have pressed for specific action that it comes within the province of intergovernmental activities."⁶

Historically it is an acknowledged fact that the calling of the Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907 was directly influenced by the work of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the first of which would have been a complete failure without the interference and work accomplished by the Institut de Droit International. Also, codification of various aspects of the international law adopted by the Pan-American Conferences of 1928 and 1933 were based on projects of the American Institute of International Law, represented by prominent lawyers of North and South America.

The international legislations are formulated at the Inter-Governmental Conferences which, however, do not have the power to enact them into law. This must be done through ratification by the sovereign states. And this stage of the international legislative process is most often influenced by the NGO's, operating on the territories of the governments concerned.

Also, as L.C. White suggests, the NGO's:

"are frequently responsible for establishing international standards which have as much authority as if they came into being through governmental

⁵ Jean Maynaud, *Les Groupes de Pression*, Presses Universitaires, Paris 1965, p. 10

⁶ L.C. White, *op. cit.* p. 13

action. For example, no athletic association would ever care to violate the rules governing international competition, which have been laid down by some thirty international sporting federations.”⁷

As pressure groups, we find that NGO’s were helpful in creating nations, as the circumstances of the birth of Israel will prove.

Chiang Pei-heng confirms that:

“The U.N. bodies, such as the General Assembly and the Security Council, have called upon the NGO’s for collaboration and assistance in a variety of areas. For example, the Security Council Committee has appealed several times to NGO’s to submit information about violation of sanctions imposed by the Security Council against Southern Rhodesia.”⁸

During the Thirtieth Session of the General Assembly, 24 resolutions called upon the NGO’s for assistance. Subsequently, the Thirty-first Session of the General Assembly also passed resolutions citing the contribution of NGO’s in areas such as apartheid, decolonization and disarmament.

Such actions are considered by the NGO’s as a *de facto* recognition of a new and much larger relationship of NGO’s with all other United Nations bodies which, in their opinion, one day should be formally legalized. In connection with this development, in 1975 the secretary-general recommended that a study be undertaken to determine provisions for the participation of NGO’s in conferences and meetings called by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

At the United Nations Conference for NGO’s held in 1962, Secretary-General U Thant stated that “at each crisis of the United Nations, the Non-Governmental Organizations have demonstrated a unique ability to reach into every corner of public opinion, and were able to illuminate and clarify the issues involved, be they political, economic, social, or — as now — financial.”⁹

These developments clearly indicate that a closer cooperation of the United Nations with the NGO’s will soon be realized in order to make work the far-sighted international projects of the United Nations in the fields of economy and social development. It is only a matter of time to see the NGO delegates sitting together with the delegates of the world governments on the Boards of the U.N. Commissions and other Governing Bodies to share the responsibility for handling the world population growth, the distribution of food, the preservation of environment, the position of women in the society, and the respect of human rights in the world.

⁷ L.C. White, *op. cit.* p. 14

⁸ Chiang Pei-heng, *op. cit.* p. 223

⁹ Chiang Pei-heng, *op. cit.* p. 224

8. Prospect for NGO's to Participate in Political and Security Decisions of the United Nations

Lyman Cromwell White wrote in 1951:

“If the United Nations is to succeed, it needs behind it the wholehearted support of the peoples of the world, for cooperation on the official level alone is not enough to guarantee a dynamic peace. An enlightened world public opinion is an essential factor in the successful functioning of the United Nations. A large measure of that basic understanding and necessary support is to be found in the efforts of the NGO's which, crossing national frontiers, are the channels through which private citizens in different countries unite to promote their common interests.”¹⁰

In assessing the situation of today, we must agree that the U.N. Security Council continues to be paralyzed by the institution of veto reserved for the great powers, and the General Assembly is plagued by the power play of the following inter-governmental blocs:

The Soviet bloc which now includes South Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and several other states, the African bloc, the Arab bloc, the Latin American bloc, the Islamic Conference, the WEOG which stands for Western European and Other States Group including Japan. Depending on the situation, these group interact with the two biggest power blocs, the so-called Group 77 which on occasion expands to 126 and the “Non-Alligned Movement” which last year was presided by Fidel Castro of Cuba.

Under these circumstances, there is no chance for NGO representatives to be officially invited to function at least as observers at the General Assembly and the Security Council sessions.

However, in case of an ultimate necessity, with the U.N. Security Council being unable to divert an imminent world confrontation, the Non-Governmental Organizations would step in to convene a parallel World Emergency Forum, with the most prominent leaders of all nations in attendance.

A call of such a world forum would exert an unprecedented pressure of a moral ultimatum served on behalf of the entire humanity, which no government would dare to reject without running a risk of becoming isolated and universally condemned.

¹⁰ L.C. White, *op. cit.* p. VII

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BOOK REVIEW

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF UKRAINE. Volume I, A-F. Edited by Volodymyr Kubijovyc. Published for the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Canadian Foundation for the Ukrainian Studies. University of Toronto Press, Toronto-Buffalo-London, 1984, pp. 952.

The English-language literature on Ukraine has been greatly enriched with the appearance of the present volume of *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, published by the University of Toronto Press. Its author is Prof. Volodymyr Kubijovyc of Paris, editor-in-chief of the first such English language work on Ukraine, titled *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, also published by the University of Toronto press in two volumes, (1963, 1971).

In his "Preface" Prof. Kubijovyc, states that *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* will be made available in four volumes, this being the first volume of the series. His work is patterned on the *Ukrainian General Encyclopedia* originally published between 1930 and 1935 in Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine then under Polish rule. The original Lviv encyclopedia was the first major source of information about Ukraine and Ukrainians.

The appearance of this first Ukrainian-language encyclopedia in Western Ukraine, created so much reaction and confusion in the pro-Russian Ukrainian Soviet government in Kiev, that the Commissar of Education, Mykola Skrypnyk, ordered work on a Soviet-type Ukrainian encyclopedia. An attempt to produce a projected 20 volume Ukrainian Soviet encyclopedia in the early 1930's proved abortive when its editorial board was dissolved in 1934 before the first volume could appear. A year earlier Skrypnyk committed suicide after being accused of nationalism. A *Ukrainska Radyanska Entsyklopedia* (Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia) appeared only in 1960 and was published through 1969, of which the 17th and final volume is dedicated exclusively to Soviet Ukraine, and was translated into English.

As to be expected, there is a fundamental difference in approach and spirit between the free Ukrainian encyclopedia and its Soviet counterpart. The former is an objective reference work, and provides truthful, comprehensive information about Ukraine and all aspects of Ukrainian life in the past and the present. On the other hand the Soviet Ukrainian encyclopedia is a Russian Communist ploy for propoganda from beginning to end. It distorts true Ukrainain history by falsifying the present and historical relationship between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, by omitting events such as the Stalin-engineered Forced Famine of 1932-33 which cost the lives of 7 million Ukrainians and by depicting Ukrainian historical heroes, such as *Hetmans* I. Vyhovsky, P. Doroshenko, I. Mazeppa and P. Orlyk as "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" and "enemies of the Ukrainian people," and so forth.

Volume I contains entries that begin with the letters A through F and contains 968 pages, 2800 entries, 450 black-and-white- illustrations, five color plates, and 83 maps. A separately bound 32 -page gazeteer includes a large color fold-out map of Ukraine as part of Volume I.

This is a very valuable and professional work.

New York, N.Y.

WALTER DUSHNYCK

De GAULLE. By Bernard Ledwidge. St. Martin's Press. New York (1982), XIII + 418 p. Illustrations.

In this book Bernard Ledwidge provides a fascinating biography of one of the greatest Frenchmen of our century--Charles de Gaulle--student, soldier, writer, statesman, head of the French government in exile during the WW II years and, above all, French patriot with an ambitious vision of his people as a *grande nation* of the European family of nations.

According to the author, his career was marked by a series of failures: "He had missed his chances for distinction in the First World War by being captured; he was graded in the second class at the Senior War School; his campaign for *L'Armee de Metier* did not save France from disaster; as ruler of France he lost the greater part of the overseas patrimony . . . from Syria to Algeria; his ideas of European Europe fell on deaf ears; French youth held him up to mockery in 1968; and public opinion rejected him in 1969" (p. 378). And yet his merits for France, particularly during WW II, were unique contrasted with those of other French leaders of that time, first of all with Petain and his pro-German Vichy government. De Gaulle's activity as French leader in exile during 1940-1944, and later (since 27.III.1944) as head of the provisional Government in exile which officially bore the name *Comite Francais de la liberation nationale* (CFLN) were extraordinary and "gave France an alibi for her fall" (p.379). As one of his noblest gestures in this respect was the rejection of the Soviet request to break relations with the Polish government in exile (housed in London) with which they had broken in 1943. During his visit to Moscow in December 1944 he was pressed by Stalin to recognize the Communist Lublin Polish government against the London exiles, but he decidedly rejected this proposal not only because of traditional Franco-Polish friendship, but mainly because he was fully aware of the puppet character of the Lublin government and had a first hand knowledge of the importance of governments in exile, being head of one of them. His firm stand in this matter persuaded Stalin--on December 10, 1944, the Soviets "dropped their demand for recognition of the Lublin Committee as a government" and de Gaulle finally signed the Treaty of Friendship with the USSR. Except for the Polish government in exile, and naturally the French one, the author does not mention any other exiled authorities of that time, e.g. Ukrainian National Government in Exile.

In all the decades of his career de Gaulle was an able writer-analyst who kept his natural habit of observing himself and recording it with notes and reflections about other people of his time. As a result, his invaluable *Memoirs of War* were written and published successively with other works. The author of the book relies heavily on de Gaulle's memoirs, on his notes, letters, briefs. Along with other source material (interviews, discussions, archival material), they offer a well written monograph on the great Frenchman of our epoch.

A special chapter in the book deals with de Gaulle's visit to Quebec in 1967 ("The Solitary Exercise of Power" pp. 334-341). His trip was well planned in advance: to arrive first at Quebec City and Montreal, not at Ottawa, he arranged for a sea voyage arriving at Quebec on July 23. "His intentions were firm in his own mind but held more secret than usual. There is no proof that even Daniel Johnson knew how far he meant to go. But all was revealed once he was ashore. He made it clear from the outset that his aim was to make an irreversible change in the state of Quebec, to push the movement for independence beyond the point of no return"(p. 335). As is well known, next day, July 24, he shouted on the terrace of the Montreal Hotel de ville his slogan "Vive le Quebec Libre!" which shocked Ottawa and evoked a world-wide sensation. According to Ledwidge, it was a well premeditated, intentionally motivated cry which completed his mission in Canada. He cancelled his visit to Ottawa and returned next day to Paris. In Ledwidge's opinion: "When he cried 'Vive le Quebec Libre!,' he was addressing his words to Washington as well as to Ottawa. By his criterion, Canada was not truly a sovereign state, because it did not perform the essential task of sovereignty, defense of the national territory. Canada was in his eyes a self-governing American protectorate, and this fact explains the way he treated the Ottawa government in 1967"(p. 338).

De Gaulle's mission to Quebec failed. The Canadian Cabinet made a public statement describing his slogan as 'unacceptable' to the Canadian Government. Daniel Johnson, on whom de Gaulle most relied, died of a heart attack one year later. Levesque's referendum of 1980 (re the independence of Quebec in association with the rest of Canada in the economic sphere) failed. De Gaulle did not witness this event as he died on November 9, 1970. In Ledwidge's opinion however de Gaulle's Montreal visit of 1967 was "a great historical event. Whether it is an event that will have a future remains to be seen" (p. 338).

In his lecture at the Senior War School at St. Cyr in 1921 de Gaulle reminded his cadets as follows:

"Remember this lesson. History does not teach fatalism. There are moments when the will of a handful of free men breaks through determinism and opens up new roads. People get the history they deserve."

One could paraphrase the above statement in extending de Gaulle's view: "Also individuals get the history they deserve." Ledwidge's book is one of such personal histories.

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RISE AND FALL. By Milovan Djilas. Translated from the Serbo-Croatian. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1985. pp. 424.

The name of Milovan Djilas is well known outside his native Yugoslavia. He was once an eager and true believer in the Communist ideology, and together with Edvard Kardelj (1910-79) and Alexander-Leka Rankovic (1909-82), was a close and trusted collaborator of the late Josyf Broz Tito between 1937 and January 1954. As time went on, however, Djilas, a pure idealist and a brilliant intellectual endowed with an inquisitive mind, became increasingly disillusioned with the new communist reality both at home and abroad, because in his opinion, it was so distant from the ideal that he had once espoused and defended. Whereas most of his friends showed a remarkable adaptability to the new reality, Djilas began to criticize the new bureaucracy in the Party daily *Borba* (The Struggle) and elsewhere,

and was ousted from power in January 1954. This came at a time when Stalin was dead, and the new Kremlin leadership was indicating willingness to improve its relations with Tito's Yugoslavia, which previously had been expelled from the Cominform. On the other hand, Tito, who had preserved Yugoslavia's independence, thought that things were getting out of hand. Therefore, for both domestic and external reasons Djilas had to be either silenced or ousted. In mid-January 1954, he lost not only power and privileges, but almost all his friends as well, becoming ostracized and "excommunicated" from the community which was his for years. Djilas became embittered by the general outcry against him. He reproached Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo for his behavior by stating: "So you too are one of those who kick a man when he's down!" Out of more than 100 members of the Central Committee, only two came to his defense.

Everything seemed to indicate that Djilas was a finished man. Tito himself believed so when he declared to foreign journalists that Djilas was "politically dead." The Leader did not realize that such a statement would only excite his former collaborator. Djilas wrote later: "When I heard and read about that something strong and instinctive came over me — something which had nothing to do with Communism but welled up from the ancient springs of my Montenegrin blood. 'No, it won't be quite like that!' I said to myself. 'I will never give in; never—as long as I live!'" These were proud words of a rebel conscious of his Montenegrin heritage. But life was not easy for Djilas. He wrote later: "Then I realized I was in an absolute vacuum. People whom I had known for a long time, for whom I had done so many favors, did not know me any more. A policeman was placed in front of my home. Those who entered had to show their identification cards. Communism is a closed world. In a sense I didn't exist any more." In addition, Djilas was still a communist, although in revolt. In order to prove that Tito's verdict about him was wrong, he had to reexamine his beliefs and find some new outlets for his ebullient personality. Djilas successfully met the challenge. He gradually abandoned his Marxist beliefs, became a "democratic revolutionary," and found fulfillment in literary activities.

Incidentally, Djilas had long been torn between two passions: politics and literary activities. When he was ousted from power, the choice was easy. What else could he do? He was too proud to beg the Old Man (Tito) for forgiveness.

Of course, Djilas did much writing while in power, but this was not the kind of writing he was dreaming about. Once his choice was made, however, another difficulty arose. The ruling party had long arms and no one in Yugoslavia would publish anything which came from his pen, regardless of whether it was controversial. Under these circumstances, Djilas was forced to publish abroad. His writings soon brought him not only fame and recognition abroad, but persecution at home as well. Djilas became a brilliant critic of Communism. His former friends could not forgive him this "treason."

Djilas developed some problems with the Yugoslav justice system already in 1955, receiving a suspended sentence. His criticism of Yugoslavia's ambiguous policy with regard to Hungary in 1956, as well as his books, *The New Class* and *Conversations with Stalin*, published respectively in 1957 and 1962, brought him all together three prison terms of fifteen years, nine of which he actually spent behind bars. Djilas had the rare privilege of serving his pre- and postwar prison sentences at Sremska Mitrovica. Nothing could break down this tough Montenegrin, and he has continued to write in and out of prison, using toilet paper for this purpose when regular paper was not available.

The "Montenegrin rebel" had begun to write poetry and prose in his student years. But after his espousal of the Marxist ideology, his pre-war activities and during foreign occupation in the underground and in the postwar reconstruction forced Djilas, as the head of agitprop, to use his literary talents to write propagandistic manifestoes, leaflets, and editorials in *Borba*, and the like. There was little time left for creative writing. Once he broke with the

Communists, however, Djilas soon became a prolific writer, touching upon such topics as political theory, history, literary critique, fiction translation, and autobiography. His book, *The New Class*, was translated into some forty languages and became an international bestseller. Djilas was similarly acclaimed for his *Conversations with Stalin*. He also wrote *Montenegro, 1962*; *The Lepper and Other Stories, 1964*; *Njegos: Poet, Prince, Bishop, 1966*; *The Unperfect Society: Beyond the New Class, 1969*; *The Stone and Violets*, and *Under the Colors, 1971*; *Parts of a Lifetime, 1975*; and *Tito: The Story from Inside, 1980*. He is also the author of numerous articles.

A large part of Djilas's writing has been devoted to introspective autobiography. The author is a remarkable story teller, inheriting much of this talent from his Montenegrin background. In *Land without Justice, 1958*; *Memoir of a Revolutionary, 1973*; and *Wartime, 1977*, personal reminiscences are intermingled with public matters, and both are followed by numerous digressions. *Land without Justice*, turned down for publication in Yugoslavia, deals with the years 1911-28; *Memoir of a Revolutionary*, covering the years 1928-41, describes Djilas's radicalization, his conversion to Marxism, and his rapid advancement in the Yugoslav Communist Party. *Wartime* depicts the Yugoslav domestic scene during the trying years of war, foreign occupation, bloody and cruel civil war, the emergence of the Partisans and their subsequent seizure of power in Yugoslavia. The present volume is supposed to be the last of this autobiographical genre.

Rise and Fall, composed of three parts (power, confrontation, and rebellion), was first published in Serbo-Croatian in 1983 under the title *Vlast* [Power]. It covers the eventful postwar years during which new order was emerging in Yugoslavia, the confrontation between Moscow and Belgrade, Djilas's ousting from power, and it ends on the last day of December 1966, when the unbroken rebel was released from prison. The publisher has provided *Rise and Fall* with biographical notes and an index.

In vivid language, Djilas describes the institutionalization of the new regime in Yugoslavia, the best example of which was Tito himself, a former metal worker who developed a fondness for luxury and power. Many other former revolutionaries followed suit, forgot their former ideals and became greedy for influence had changed so much. His meetings with Stalin, and Soviet Russia's great-power policy toward the people's democracies alienated Djilas from Moscow in the same way as Luther became alienated from papal Rome after visiting that city. Djilas knew that the Soviet regime had degenerated under Stalin. He did not want the same to happen to Yugoslavia. As the Moscow-Belgrade conflict forced Tito to liberalize his regime and turn to the West for help, Djilas wanted the democratization of the regime to continue, and advocated a policy of workers' self-management. According to the late Stephen Clissold, himself the author of a study on Djilas, the "great rebel" wanted to reconcile "the irreconcilable"—to be a free man, while remaining a communist.

Although neither cruel nor vindictive by nature, Tito loved power and Yugoslavia. His perfect sense of timing must have told him that Djilas's utopian dreams were dangerous to both the stability of Yugoslavia and the regime in power. At the same time, he realized that Djilas's usefulness had gone. Idealists are needed to make revolutions, but they must be replaced by diehard realists, once the new regime tries to achieve stability. Lenin had used idealists while he was in opposition, but had then replaced them with realists. Like Madame A. Kollontai under Lenin, Mayakovsky under Stalin, and many other like-minded people, Djilas had to be removed from the leadership of the Party regardless of friendships and years of collaboration. It must be stressed here that the bonds among the Partisans in Yugoslavia were much stronger than those among the Bolsheviks in Soviet Russia. And yet even these strong bonds proved weaker than the reality of power.

As mentioned above, Djilas entitled this volume of his memoirs "Power." He shows what power does to people, how it consumes them, bringing down friendships, and leading to

abuses. Tito, Djilas, Kardelj, Rankovic and others were close friends before coming to power; yet power separated them. Only Kardelj died in office, while both Djilas and Rankovic were ousted, the former for advocating freedom, and the latter for abusing power, as the chief of Yugoslav state security. The power of friendship is such in the Slavic world that Djilas suffered much more because of the loss of so many friends in January 1954 than because of the loss of power per se.

Unlike Trotsky, who tried to denigrate Stalin in his writings while in exile, Djilas tries to be fair and evaluates his erstwhile friends and collaborators in an objective way. He recognizes, for example, Tito's exceptional abilities as a statesman. At the same time, he shows Tito and others as they were, with their positive qualities and their weaknesses. As all political regimes create myths and legends, and Djilas has debunked them, both Tito and his successors have encouraged some writers, particularly Vladimir Dedijer, to vilify the "unbroken rebel." Djilas unmasks their partiality and their lack of concern for historical truth. At the same time, he leaves the job of providing impartial and valid historical judgment to historians.

Djilas tells how much he owes to his loving and supporting second wife, Stefica, a former friend of Jovanka, Tito's fourth wife. But he never puts aside his Puritan morality when discussing matters of human intimacy.

As time passes, people will forget Kardelj, Rankovic, and many other important names, but Tito's and Djilas's will long remain in our memory. Tito proved to be a great statesman, and Djilas a passionate man very much concerned with the human condition. The sincerity of his autobiographical writings makes them a very revealing document. Time will tell whether they will stay with human beings forever, like similar documents of the same kind produced by St. Augustine, J.J. Rousseau, and others.

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WHO ARE THE PEACEMAKERS? Jerram Barrs. Crossway Books, Westchester, Illinois, 1983, 64 pp.

WHO IS FOR PEACE. Francis Schaeffer, Vladimir Bukovsky, and James Hitchcock. Nashville, Tenn.: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1983, 112 pp.

As Dr. Francis Schaeffer, late sage of L'bri, Switzerland, points out in the preface to Barrs' *Who Are the Peacemakers?*, "To understand what it means to love our neighbor as ourselves in our day is deeply needed in many areas, and in the area of defense the need is acute." Pied Pipers, Dr. Schaeffer states, lead to sorrowful calamity, no matter how beguiling the melody and no matter if played by secular, Protestant, or Catholic orchestration. "We must not be like the World Council of Churches, or any others," Schaeffer states, "who minimize the oppression of Christians where the Soviets have power."

Schaeffer evaluates *Nuclear Holocaust and Christian Hope*, by Dr. Ronald J. Sider, and *Freeze! How You Can Help Prevent Nuclear War*, by Senators Kennedy and Hatfield, as especially mistaken pied pipers. Barrs' *Who Are the Peacemakers?* is a thorough and careful examination at the Biblical foundation of arguments for pacifism, justice, and defense. Self-styled "Christian" pacifists, in his view, are mistaken from beginning to end. After examination of such issues as the relationship of God's commandments to mankind, the teaching of the Old and New Testaments on personal vengeance and judicial punishment, the justice of God, the purposes of government, and Christian morality and nuclear deterrence,

Barrs concludes that gestures of unilateral disarmament by Western powers lead to a massive increase in injustice and human misery. In Barrs' view, the way to peace is to stand for justice as well as mercy, to defend the oppressed, and to guard freedom from the threat of tyranny. If the commitment to restrain evil and to deter Soviet aggression means the development of additional armaments, then Christians should encourage their government to do so.

Who Is For Peace?, by Dr. Schaeffer, Dr. James Hitchcock, professor of history at St. Louis University, and Vladimir Bukovsky, warns that an unrealistic view of the Soviet Union, combined with apathy and unconcern for the oppressed and lack of faith in the Biblical view of history, is a greater threat to loss of freedom now exercised in the Western world than is the nuclear threat. Dr. Schaeffer expresses his conviction that "if Bible-believing people go along with the concept of 'peace in our time' under the very plausible fear of nuclear war . . . then our children and grandchildren will quite properly curse us for not doing something at this moment to restrain Soviet expansion in Western Europe and other areas."

Mr. Bukovsky spent twelve years in Soviet prisons, work camps, and psychiatric incarceration pens before he was released to the West in 1976 as a result of public outcry. His essay carefully analyzes the Soviet definition of peace and reveals the extent of Soviet influence on the worldwide "peace" movement. He rightly observes that

. . . peace has never been preserved by a hysterical desire to survive at any price. Nor has it ever been promoted by catchy phrases and cheap slogans. There are 400 million people in the East whose freedom was stolen from them and whose existence is miserable. It so happens that peace is impossible while they remain enslaved, and only with them (not with their executioners) should you (West) work to secure real peace in our world.

Dr. Hitchcock's essay examines the 1983 letter of Catholic bishops of the United States on "The Challenge of Peace." He is of the opinion that the unrealistic assessment set forth in the pastoral letter threatens the cause of world peace. Barrs, Schaeffer, Bukovsky, and Hitchcock each distrust facile and simplistic utopian solutions presented by the so-called "peace" movement, and are able to go to the heart of the matter: Western democracies, under the influence of secular humanistic philosophy and its loss of adequate basis for evaluation have deprived themselves of a coherent belief system which enables them to fight with anything, either with words on the intellectual level or with arms.

Jackson, Ms.

TOMMY W. ROGERS

INSIDE SOVIET MILITARY INTELLIGENCE by Victor Suvorov, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1984), 193 pages, \$15.95

Over the last decade the genre of literature on the KGB, its clandestine activities and *modus operandi* has become increasingly popular. In a number of ways, the latest addition, INSIDE SOVIET MILITARY INTELLIGENCE by Victor Suvorov, is in contrast to earlier works by Myagkov, Barron, and Rositzke.¹ The latter have been concerned with showing the KGB as the most powerful secret intelligence service in the world. Whereas, Suvorov from the outset accepts this point and attempts to confirm that the second most powerful secret organization is the GRU, Soviet Military Intelligence.

His approach is logical, easy to comprehend and sobering. The book is divided into two main discussions, with supporting appendices of much interest. Part One discusses

GRU history, internal relations and rivalries with the KGB; GRU influences on the military establishment and Industry; and, finally, concerns itself heavily with GRU structure, organization and theory of operation. Part Two basically takes the earlier discussions and applies them into an example of how Military Intelligence networks abroad and at home are established (i.e. target identification, agent psyche, operational functions, etc.). The Appendices include brief biographic sketches of past Military Intelligence leaders, a current list of GRU officers and excerpts of recent case histories of GRU activities as reported in the Press.

To understand Suvorov's thesis one must place credence in his concept of Soviet power, which was expressed in his earlier book *INSIDE THE SOVIET ARMY*. He states that the power of the USSR is concentrated in a triumvirate, with the Party, KGB and Army wielding their respective corner of power. Each player, according to him, acts as a countervailing force to insure that those in power have continued domination or, that one part of the triangle does not usurp power from the others. To this end, Suvorov, which is an alias of a Soviet defector who worked for the GRU, states that Lenin and his successors created parallel institutions to insure stability. This included the division of the Intelligence community into rival factions, each poised to protect its interests. The organization and workings of the GRU are less known and understood in the West, which among other things leads Suvorov to believe that it can be more dangerous than the KGB. Simply put, the KGB's function is "not to allow the collapse of the Soviet Union from inside"; whereas, the GRU is to "prevent the collapse...from the outside" (Part One, Chapter 7). Both missions can extend into the USSR as well as abroad, depending upon the perception of danger.

Of interest in Part Two are Suvorov's lengthy discussions on definitions of Intelligence terms and corresponding responsibilities as viewed through the eyes of a Soviet. The author is not reticent about individual expectations and goals in implementing overall strategy, tactics and operations.

All in all, the book gives a rare glimpse into the subject matter and should be required reading. Suvorov hopes the West will be strengthened through the extra knowledge given by him in this publication. He concludes by restating that the USSR "understands and acknowledges strength and nothing else." Coupled to this it respects the sovereignty only of those nations who respect their own sovereignty and defend it." This may be difficult for a "free" society to understand; however, naivete was not Suvorov's goal. To be forewarned is foretold.

Atlanta, Georgia

STEPHEN P. HALLICK, JR.

1 Cf., John Barron, *KGB TODAY: THE HIDDEN HAND* (NY: Readers' Digest Press, 1983) 489 pp. with John Barron, *KGB: THE SECRET WORKS OF SOVIET SECRET AGENTS* (NY: Bantam Books, 1974), 623 pp.; and, *THE KGB: THE EYES OF RUSSIA* by Harry Rositzke (NY: Doubleday & Co., 1981), 295 pp.; or *INSIDE THE KGB* by Aleksei Myagkov (NY: Arlington House Publishers, 1978), 131 pp.

CATASTROPHE IN THE CARIBBEAN: THE FAILURE OF AMERICA'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA, by James R. Whelan and Patricia B. Bozwell, with introduction by Richard Allen. Ottawa, Illinois: Jameson Books, 1984, 134 pp., \$13.95

The authors feel that when Jimmy "The Trilateralist" Carter assumed the U.S. presidency in 1977 the five central American nations of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua were relatively stable, prospering, progressive countries firmly allied with the United States. They maintain the Carter policies had a telling effect in abetting transformation of the promise of 1977 into the agonies of the mid-1980s. The calamitous Carter foreign policy was premised on the desirability of left-wing revolutions as the wondrous and magical cure to ancient and stubborn ills.

The governments of Central America, emerging from their own feudal pasts, and beset by many problems not of their own making (oil prices, Cuban and Soviet subversion, monopoly exploitation, natural disasters) as well as those of their own making, did not re-create the Garden of Eden in the 1970s. At the same time, however, contrary to assertions about ignoring social needs, they made considerable progress in meeting those needs. Nevertheless, the United States "lurched massively, clumsily, onto their small and crowded stage" with an Eleanor Rooseveltian array of voodoo of "revisionism" policies which, according to the authors, caused "Central America to disintegrate so rapidly, so ominously." According to the authors, Carter Administration policies, particularly in Nicaragua and El Salvador, "fanned a flame that is now threatening to consume the surrounding area..."

The authors feel that Carter brought to the presidency an absence of historical perspective, and his administration sought to propel its moral imperialism with a religious zeal and vengeance. Central America was a tempting target for salvation, and the Carter Administration, putting aside "that inordinate fear of communism which once led us to embrace any dictator who joined us in that fear," brought to its task a zeitgeist which Dr. Peter Berger has described as the conviction that almost instinctively gives the benefit of doubt to the enemies rather than the friends of the United States. Quick to urge tolerance and rapprochement with Castro, and quick to distribute the results of the labor of American working-people and tax-payers to the socialist rat holes of the world, they were "unforgiving, relentless [in their] hostility toward the deeply anticommunist regimes of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Uruguay."

"Human rights" was an ideological weapon wielded with a vengeance against countries which were not avowedly communist, i.e., "damning anticommunist Chile for "human rights" offenses while urging close ties with...Castro's Cuba." The authors note the emergence of

...two elements of U.S. foreign policy toward Central America (and much of the rest of the third world) during the Carter administration...loathing of the American political and economic system, and a sense of masochism bordering on neurosis about America's role in the earliest histories of these countries. Those two have been combined with a messianic "morality," which in practice has turned out to be

far more murderous and destructive than any “big stick” the United States ever wielded in the region, and a conviction that the region wanted, needed, “revolutionary change” along socialist lines, in order to emerge, smiling, into the modern world.

Catastrophe in the Caribbean deals some detail with recent events in Nicaragua and El Salvador, which U.S. policy is said to have its most disastrous recent results. In Guatemala, international stigmatization has been orchestrated in true liberal form, that is, not as brutalization of the country by terrorists, but at the methods used by the government to protect itself, e.g.:

...The organs of righteousness blared their horror at the murder of Father Stanley Rother (July 28, 1981) apparently by right-wing gunmen. But the murders of Mennonite John Troyer (September 14, 1981) and Christian Brother James Miller (February 13, 1982), attributed to terrorists, were barely noticed. Nor did the international media pay much attention to the slaughter in the town of Saquilla, when “some fifty terrorists, armed with automatic rifles and clad in fatigues, moved in and ordered members of a paramilitary group to leave their homes. They then killed fourteen women and twenty-six children, aged three months to fourteen years.

Rios Montt’s “beans and rifles” policy in Guatemala was a dramatic success, as the authors recognize. However, Montt was an evangelical Christian rather than a Catholic, and held a realistic view of the unreliability of the United States. Unfortunately, Montt was overthrown by a coup in August, 1983.

The authors feel that the Carter Administration “renounced our heritage in favor of an ‘idealism’ born of superficiality and fanaticism, a pale reflection of the failed and roguish formulas of Marxism and Maoism.” They provide an examination of the careless claims and mythology of the left-wing nostrums which have been followed in Central America.

Jackson, MS

TOMMY W. ROGERS

HOW DEMOCRACIES PERISH. By Jean Francois Revel. Doubleday Co., New York, 1984, pp. 376.

Jean Francois Revel’s *How Democracies Perish* (Doubleday) is being acclaimed on both sides of the Atlantic as the most incisive analysis in recent times of the relationship between democracy and totalitarianism.

For the past forty years, says Revel, the democracies, seeking what they thought should be a durable global balance, have always been ready to make concessions to the Soviet Union to prove their goodwill and oblige it to show its own. “The trouble is that all these treaties, which the West sees as domes of stability, are viewed by the Communists as springboards for destabilization. Communism is not interested in

replacing the race towards domination with a race toward civilization that it knows it would be doomed to lose" (p. 107).

The Soviets, he notes, "thrive on conferences, summit meetings, visits, friendship treaties. The sheer fact of meeting with us gives them a chance to drown their acts of aggression in speeches" (p. 51). It took them several months after they invaded Afghanistan to persuade Western leaders to meet with them again. After their power play in Poland, however, they needed less than two months.

Communism scores points because it thinks of nothing else, whereas the democracies' concentration is negligent, intermittent, changeable. "Communism also advances because there is not an instant when it does not think of the non-Communist world as an enemy to be destroyed, while the democracies imagine they can buy peace by conceding communism a share of the globe" (p. 106). They forget that communism cannot allow itself to stop. It expands or it dies, "since it cannot solve any of the internal problems of the societies it creates (*loc. cit.*). For communism, incapable of engendering a viable society, "cannot tolerate the continued existence of other societies to bear witness against it; each such society would by its very existence be a indictment of socialism, a point of comparison by which to judge its unrelieved failure in terms of human happiness"(p. 92)

Following a discussion of our failure to respond to the bilding of the Berlin Wall in 1961, Revel observes: "as soon as the adversary violently takes something from you, try immediately to find the concessions you can make to convince him that you are not hurt at all by the damage he has inflicted on you and that you harbor no grudges" (p. 237).

The Soviet Union, according to Revel, enjoys the privilege of being entitled not only to defend its empire "but to enlarge it without being judged on the basis of its subject states' standards of living, social justice, political freedoms or respect for human rights." When subjugated peoples rise against communism, however, the West usually refrains from helping them (Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, etc.), thus recognizing the legitimacy of Communist domination in all circumstances. "The Communists, on the other hand, recognize the legitimacy of no government outside their empire, least of all in the democratic countries"(p. 298).

The USSR is gaining ground throught the use of force. Communists know they cannot win free elections. The Soviet Union is a sick society, unable to feed its people: "It will die, that's certain, not as 'we other civilizations' shall, for we are all mortal, as any reader of Paul Valery knows, but because it is in and of itself a society of and for death" (p. 85). But, says Revel, the prime question of our time is which of the two events will take place first: "the destruction of democracly by communism or communism's death of its own sickness? It seems to me that the second process is advancing less rapidly than the first." (*loc. cit.*).

It is disagreeable, observes Revel, for the Nomenklatura to live with the "constant, disquieting feeling that its subjects are only there because they can't get away" (p.91).

Finally, Revel's most majestic formulation: "So long as in all the waters of the earth there is a single rock where socialism does not reign, there will be boat people" (*loc. cit.*).

PERTINENT DOCUMENTS

UCCA ANSWER TO THE SLANDEROUS ATTACKS ON UKRAINIANS

TO THE GREATER GLORY OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE AGAINST GERMANY AND RUSSIA — UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF GEN. ROMAN SHUKHEVYCH-CHUPRYNKA

World War II was a crucial period in the history of mankind. The two greatest criminals of all history — Hitler and Stalin — shamelessly, before the eyes of the entire world joined forces and concluded a most cynical alliance. The purpose of this alliance was conquest and genocide. Had there been no Moscow-Berlin pact, the war against Poland would not have started on September 1, 1939, and the destruction of many nations, the greatest that had ever occurred in history, would not have happened.

In the name of their demented doctrines, the two criminals, as well as the German and Russian imperialisms led by them, planned to divide vast areas of our planet between themselves and to turn subjugated peoples into their slaves or to annihilate them. For both of them the Ukrainian Nation presented a formidable obstacle on the path towards the achievement of their goals. Both of them tried therefore, although by different means sometimes, to decimate the Ukrainian people or even to wipe them out from the face of the Earth.

Together, these two big States — Red Russia and Brown Germany — wielded tremendous power, and it was only the resolute and unbroken resistance to their aims of the peoples conquered by them, and above all, the joint resistance of the Western powers, that was able to stop that destructive steamroller. The Ukrainian Nation gave a very clear answer to that deadly menace: Ukrainians opposed both aggressors by all the available means, including force, knowing fully well what incredibly high sacrifices they would have to bear because of it. The restoration of an independent, united Ukrainian State, and the unwavering demand that all the enslaved nations should achieve similar goals, became the guiding slogan of the entire activity of the organized Ukrainian national political forces of Ukrainian nationalists.

In accordance with this unshakeable demand, on June 30, 1941, the restoration of a Ukrainian independent State was proclaimed in the City of Lviv and a State Government was set up with Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetzko as its head. This was in fact the essence of the Ukrainian answer to the German and Russian occupiers of the Ukrainian soil, and

active Ukrainian liberation forces led by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists never retreated from it even for a moment. They never wavered even for a moment although it was immediately clear that the Ukrainian Nation would have to wage a most difficult struggle on two fronts at the same time. A nation that uncompromisingly strives towards its national independence, towards a free life as a people equal with other nations, has no other alternative. It has to manifest constantly its unchanging desire to be free, to be itself, to be master on its own land.

World War II became the toughest trial of the vitality of principles of national independence and endurance. Five years after World War II had ended, fighters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army still continued to defend, with arms in their hands, the right of the Ukrainian people to a free life in their own State. **On March 5, 1950, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and leader of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian Nation during the second world war, Gen. Shukhevych-Chuprynka, fell on the field of battle and died a heroic death defending to the last bullet his country and his people. His life's path, his loyal service to his nation, has become an undying example for the future generations.**

After his death the struggle took on new forms, but the liberation fight did not cease. It continues even today. Despite the most perfidious and cruel methods employed by the Soviet Russian regime, Moscow has been unable to stamp out the national aspirations of the Ukrainian people, their desire to live as equals with other free nations. This is precisely what disturbs Moscow. It continues to combat any independent manifestations of Ukrainian life both in Ukraine as well as generally behind the Iron Curtain, and also among the two million-strong Ukrainian community in the Free World.

Recently, these attacks by Moscow have acquired particularly virulent forms of the most despicable and repulsive means having the sole purpose to harm the Ukrainians and the Ukrainian cause. Slander, lies, defamation, blackmail, and even threats are the well tested means employed by Moscow.

Unfortunately, some Jewish quarters have now joined in these anti-Ukrainian campaigns, although Jews themselves have experienced a terrible path of persecution in their long history; during World War II they stood at the precipice of an almost total annihilation by Hitler's Germany and lost six million people: shot, murdered, and tortured to death in the most horrible way in Hitlerite prisons and death camps. Now, as if having forgotten these sufferings, some of them are slandering Ukrainians as anti-Semites and German collaborators in the extermination of Jews. For reasons that have not yet been made clear, Jews have concentrated their attacks on Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians - precisely those nations which in their own countries are experiencing the heaviest blows from Moscow, while in the free world they are assaulted by it with incredible lies and slanders. How could it have happened that at the time when these four nations are fighting back the heaviest Soviet Russian assaults on them, Jews in the world are attacking them no less aggressively? History will undoubtedly give an answer to that!

Nevertheless, we cannot contemplate these attacks quietly! We have to answer them!

OUR ANSWER WILL BE A MASS DEMONSTRATION OF UKRAINIANS IN THE STREETS OF NEW YORK AND AT CARNEGIE HALL ON SUNDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1985.

WITH RAISED HEAD AND SERENE FACE WE SHALL SHOW THAT NO LIES OR THREATS, NO SLANDERS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DIMINISH OUR HUMAN DIGNITY OR OUR HUMAN RESPECT, OUR CIVIC COURAGE AND CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE RIGHTNESS OF OUR CAUSE, THE SACRED CAUSE OF THE UKRAINIAN NATION, OF HER HONEST STRUGGLE FOR A SOVEREIGN STATE, FOR THE RIGHT "TO TAKE HER RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THE CIRCLE OF FREE NATIONS."

THE UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

**UCCA LETTER TO MR. EDWIN MEESE, ATTORNEY GENERAL
OF THE UNITED STATES**

August 26, 1985

The Honorable Edwin Meese
Attorney General of the United States
United States Department of Justice
Washington D.C. 20530

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

Recent reports in the media reveal that the Office of Special Investigations has been pursuing a new form of activity contrary to its functional purpose as mandated by Congress and ignominiously embarrassing to the Department of Justice.

We refer to the case of one Bohdan Koziy, a Ukrainian-American accused of alleged collaboration with the Nazis during the war. Due to a strong collaborative effort on the part of the OSI and the Soviet Union (in fact all eyewitness accounts and documentary evidence came from the Soviet Union) Bohdan Koziy was denaturalized by the U.S. Federal District Court in 1982, affirmed by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Certiorari was denied by the U.S. Supreme Court. Upon completion of the denaturalization process, Bohdan Koziy voluntarily left the United States and apparently settled in Costa Rica. Only subsequently, on April 9, 1985, the U.S. Immigration Court in Miami, Florida issued an order of deportation.

Nevertheless, the OSI was not satisfied with Bohdan Koziy's voluntary departure and the Immigration Court's order. The OSI commenced a new investigation beyond its mandate until it located the said Bohdan Koziy in Costa Rica and thereupon demanded his deportation from that foreign country.

Interestingly, the OSI demanded deportation from Costa Rica, but, certainly, not for the purpose of standing trial in the United States since no crime had been committed

in this country and the denaturalization process had been completed. In fact, Bohdan Koziy is no longer welcome in the United States.

Irrespective of Bohdan Koziy's guilt or innocence, we are particularly disturbed by OSI's hot pursuit not to rid these United States of alleged Nazi collaborators but to have them deported to the Soviet Union. In fact, OSI has insisted that Bohdan Koziy be deported to the Soviet Union. In view of Koziy's voluntary departure, OSI's prior protestations that deportation proceedings are brought to rid ourselves of the Nazis among us appear as bogus as its Soviet supplied evidence. Apparently a deal had been made with the Soviet Union, the quid pro quo being fabricated evidence for nationalist souls. (The agreement with the Soviets of 1980 referred to as the "Moscow Agreement" by Allan A. Ryan, former director of the OSI).

Despite our previous correspondence with the Department of Justice asserting an unholy "collaboration" between OSI and the Soviet Union, the OSI has retained a free hand. Under the circumstances, we feel that departmental as well as Congressional constraint of OSI's activity would be morally timely.

Respectfully yours,

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE
OF AMERICA, INC.

By: _____
Ignatius M. Billinsky, *President*

By: _____
Askold S. Lozynskyj, *Vice President*
and Legal Advisor

The Honorable George P. Shultz
The Honorable Strom Thurmond
The Honorable Peter W. Rodino

UCCA LETTER TO CONGRESSMAN DICK ARMEY

August 31, 1985

The Honorable Dick Armeay
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Congressman Armeay:

Your "Dear Colleague" letter of July 12, 1985 regarding the Captive Nations Week Resolution has recently come to our attention.

On behalf of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), I would like to applaud your recognition of the fact that the USSR is not a harmonious nation, but a state which has forced its label upon too many *once independent nations*. In fact, the concepts of nationhood and the submergence of nations by foreign conquerors are the major components necessary in understanding the philosophy behind the Captive Nations Week Resolution.

As you may know, Ambassador Lev Dobriensky, former President of the UCCA, along with then-Congressman Ed Derwinski, collaborated closely with several legislators and scholars in developing the Captive Nations Week Resolution and the philosophy embracing it.

Public Law 86-90 correctly recognizes imperialistic policies of Communist Russia as the external factor which led to the subjugation of various nations beginning in 1918 and the early 1920's. The 1959 law rightfully formulates the clauses stating that,

“Whereas the *imperialistic policies* of Communist Russia have led through *direct and indirect aggression* to the *subjugation* of national independence of Poland, . . .”

While this statement is not in any way an indictment of the Russian people, it does historically recognize the imperialistic policies of the Communist Russian Government which have led to the subjugation of other nations. To delete, change, or deny this clause would be historically revisionistic as well as undermining the fundamental principles and philosophy which guided the passage of the Captive Nations Week Resolution of 1959.

Furthermore, in our anti-Communist efforts we should not overlook the fact that Russian chauvinism guides the policies and activities within the USSR today. One need only refer to the state-sponsored policies of Russification to prove this point.

Although the Russian people may suffer from Communist oppression, one cannot identify this internal political phenomenon in the same context as national subjugation and the conquering of other nations by foreign armies. It was the Russian-Communist army in 1920 that invaded and occupied Ukraine, destroying the newly formed Ukrainian National Republic, and it is the Soviet-Russian government in Moscow that keeps Ukraine and other captive nations in the USSR, *de facto* — Russian empire, in national, cultural and political slavery. Suggesting that Russia is a subjugated nation in the same vein as Ukraine, Byelorussia, Poland, the Baltic States, Hungary, and others, would be historically inaccurate, erroneous, and potentially misleading.

It is imperative to make a distinction between Russians who are endeavouring to rid themselves of the Communist regime, but to preserve intact the Russian empire, and captive nations, subjugated by Russia which are fighting for freedom and national independence.

Based on the reasons outlined, we respectfully ask you to reconsider your position regarding the inclusion of Russia into the Captive Nations Week Resolution. Such modification of the said Resolution would constitute a mockery of the liberation struggle of the captive nations and would only encourage Russians the world over to persist in preserving the Russian empire.

In your "Dear Colleague" letter you emphasize that the authors of this excellent piece of legislation (Captive Nations Week Resolution) forgot to include the Russian people in the list of captive nations. Let me assure you, Sir, that the authors did not forget to include the Russian people in the list of captive nations. On the contrary, in the past the authors firmly resisted any efforts on the part of Russians to have the Resolution modified in such respect.

May I recommend the writings of Lev Dobriansky, Richard Pipes, J. Edgar Hoover, and Ed Derwinski for further reference.

We would be happy to assist you in the future if the need should arise. On behalf of the National Executive Board of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, I am

Sincerely yours,

Ignatius M. Billinsky
President, UCCA

**OBSERVANCE OF UKRAINE'S 67TH ANNIVERSARY
IN THE CANADIAN SENATE**

**A STATEMENT BY THE HON. PAUL YUZYK, CANADIAN
SENATOR**

Tuesday, January 22, 1985.

UKRAINE

**SIXTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROCLAMATION OF
INDEPENDENCE**

Hon. Paul Yuzyk: Honorable senators, today, January 22 marks the sixty-seventh anniversary of the proclamation of the independence and freedom of Ukraine, a beautiful and bountiful country, larger than France, with a population of 50 million, 75 percent of whom are Ukrainian. This great event is celebrated by some 700,000 Canadians of Ukrainian origin across Canada and by approximately 3 million Ukrainians in various parts of the world, who live in democratic countries. A knowledge of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for their freedom would give Canadians a better appreciation of their achievement of freedom and independence.

Canada, which originally was an integral part of the British Empire, did not choose the revolutionary course of the United States to achieve freedom and independence. Instead, she chose the evolutionary course, coming into

being on July, 1867, by means of the British North America Act, passed by the British Parliament in London, which, however, had been voluntarily drawn up by the delegates of several colonies. This act recognized representative and responsible government, based on democratic freedom for the citizens. Subsequently, at the end of World War I, Canada gained complete control over all external relations. It was by the statute of Westminster, passed in London in 1931, that Canada achieved sovereignty, full control over all her affairs. The apron strings still tying it to the British Parliament were finally cut in 1982, when Queen Elizabeth II signed the new Canadian Constitution which was passed by the Canadian Parliament in 1981, providing a Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and an amending formula for the revision of the Constitution.

Thus Canada has evolved constitutionally from colonial status to independence and sovereignty and from an unknown entity to a leader among the middle nations of the world. Today, she is a free state and a voluntary member of the commonwealth, NATO and the United Nations.

Canada was able to gain her freedom, gradual independence and sovereignty because she had been part of an oceanic empire. Britain was far away. Although the mother country exploited her colonies economically, she brought to them the civilization, culture and democratic forms of government as these were developing in the British Isles. When these colonies matured they won control over their own affairs and proclaimed independence, mostly without bloodshed and with the approval of Britain. This was the case with Canada, who even assisted other British colonies to attain their freedom and independence and who often speaks out in world forums for the recognition of human and national rights of the nations of the world.

Ukraine's situation was entirely different. She had the misfortune of becoming part of a land or continental empire. Tsarist Russia, unlike Britain which gradually developed a democratic constitution, was an autocracy with a totalitarian type of political system, employing terror as an instrument of policy to carry out the economic exploitation of subjugated peoples and their national territories. Ukraine, with her higher culture, civilization, a democratic government and vast agricultural and mineral resources, fell victim during the Kozak era in the seventeenth century to a backward, tyrannical and ruthless Muscovite Russia. Under Russian tsarist domination Ukraine's democratic freedom was crushed and she became a mere Russian province, deprived of her rights and even her name. Ukrainians were forcibly subjected to Russification, and the Ukrainian language was forbidden by the decrees (*ukazy*) of 1863 and 1876.

The soul of the Ukrainian nation, however, could not be destroyed. From the exploited mass of peasants there emerged a great spiritual leader, the greatest poet of Ukraine—the immortal Taras Shevchenko. He advocated the dignity of the human being, freedom, truth, equality, justice, the brotherhood of man, the freedom of the Ukrainian people and the restoration of the Ukrainian state. His poetry spread like a prairie fire and was memorized by the Ukrainians. The spirit

of Ukraine was thus revived, and the people responded at the appropriate time.

When the Tsarist empire came crumbling down under its own overburdensome weight of tyranny, despotism, bureaucracy and inefficiency, the Ukrainians were the first to break out of the “prison of nations.” Ukraine, true to her democratic traditions, followed the course of self-determination. At first, the Central *Rada*, the Ukrainian Parliament, in Kiev, the capital, in September 1917 demanded a reconstruction of the empire into a free federation of autonomous republics. The so-called democratic Russian Provisional Government of Kerensky outrightly rejected this demand and upheld an indivisible, monolithic Russia. When the Bolsheviks seized power under Lenin, they reluctantly recognized the Ukrainian National Republic in December 1917 and declared:

“Everything that touches national rights and the national independence of the Ukrainian people, we, the Soviet of the People’s Commissars, accept clearly without limitations and unreservedly.”

This evidently was duplicity, for when the Bolsheviks failed to take control of the Ukrainian Parliament, they set up what they called a “Ukrainian government” in Kharkiv and called upon the Russian Red Army to help conquer Ukraine.

It was under these difficult circumstances that the Ukrainian Parliament, in the name of the people, proclaimed the Fourth Universal Proclamation in Kiev on January 22, 1918. This act established an independent national democratic republic of the Ukrainian nation. A year later on January 22, 1919, the Ukrainian Parliament proclaimed the union of all Ukrainian territories, as some sections had previously been under Austria-Hungary and other countries. Thus was established a united Ukrainian National Republic, which in reality restored the Ukrainian State of the Kozaks and the original state Rus-Ukraine of Prince Volodymyr the Great in medieval times.

The Ukrainian National Republic was a modern state, modelled upon those of the western world. It recognized the highest principles of democracy—freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, association and personal freedom. All minorities, including the Jews, were granted “national-personal” autonomy and representation in the government. The Ukrainian National Republic was the very antithesis of the totalitarianism, despotism, colonialism and imperialism, and therefore, had much in common with Canada.

The National Liberation Revolution, which first began in Ukraine, spread rapidly throughout the Russian empire to the nations imprisoned by the Russian tsarist regime. One after the other, the non-Russian peoples proclaimed their independent states in the following order: Idel Ural (Tatar), November 12, 1917; Finland, December 6, 1917; Ukraine, January 22, 1918; Kuban Kozaks, February 16; Lithuania, February 16; Estonia, February 24; Byelorussia, March 25; Don Kozaks, May 5; North Caucasus, May 11; Georgia, May 26; Azerbaijan, May 29; Armenia, May 30; Poland, November 11; Latvia,

November 18; Far Eastern Democratic Republic of Siberia, April 4, 1920; and Turkestan, April 15, 1922.

This was a democratic, anti-imperio-colonial manifestation. Gradually, however, the Russian communist regime subverted and conquered by force most of these independent states, except the Baltic nations, for two decades, and compelled them to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922. The former Russian Tsarist empire was thus transformed by conquest into a totalitarian Russian communist empire, more despotic and reactionary than the previous one, in spite of paying lip-service to democracy and adopting a constitution that is meaningless in its application. In reality, the Soviet constitution as a guarantor of democracy, is a farce; it is a guarantor of the power of the Russian Communist Party.

The Ukrainian state and the other non-Russian states should normally have received the recognition of the western allies, who unfortunately applied the Wilsonian principle of self-determination of nations only to central Europe, that is, Germany, Austria and Turkey. This principle was not applied to the Russian Empire, except in the case of Poland. The communist regime continued the policy of an indivisible monolithic Russia under the name of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and crushed by force the many independent states that emerged after the fall of tsardom.

By failing to support the new national states, the western powers allowed communism to win in the Russian Empire, and the principles of Russian imperialism, colonialism and totalitarianism to continue on a larger scale. Thus, the USSR emerged as the largest colonial power in the world and the greatest threat to western life, democracy and freedom. Today we are facing the grim consequences: constant warfare of the Cold War and the "peaceful co-existence and detente" of the Helsinki agreement which leaves no illusions regarding Soviet Russian hegemony behind the Iron Curtain, disarmament and the realization of peace on this planet.

The Ukrainians, under the domination of the Soviet Russian regime, have been paying a tragic price in defense of their freedom. On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the concealed black famine of 1933 in Ukraine, Mr. Brian Mulroney, Leader of the Opposition, made the following statements to a large audience of over 10,000 people, who were gathered at the Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto on December 4, 1983, sponsored by the World Congress of Free Ukrainians:

We mourn for the dead; we grieve for the suppression of human dignity and human life; we lament for the insensitive and deliberate acts of cruelty and slow torture and death of 7 to 10 million bodies.... The Famine that swept Ukraine in 1933 was man-made, orchestrated and directed from Moscow, and enforced by a regime dedicated to creating a new Soviet order.

We rejoice that everywhere inside Ukraine and in the hearts of Ukrainians living around the world, the dominance of the human spirit has prevailed, that freedom lives on and that liberty... remains an ongoing ideal for Ukrainians.

In this respect, the Ukrainians have much in common with the Jews. In a joint press release, dated Toronto, July 4, 1983, signed by Mr. Milton Harris, president of the Canadian Committee, and undersigned by Senator David Croll and myself, the following statement is significant:

Canadians of Ukrainian and Jewish origin, whose roots go back to similar areas in Europe, are very much aware of each other's losses in the past generation — the murder of six million Jews, solely because they were Jewish, by the Nazis, the denial of religious, cultural and national rights to both Soviet Jews and Ukrainians and to all other minorities in the Soviet Union, in addition to at least six million victims in Ukraine of the forced famine of the early 1930's, whose 50th anniversary is being commemorated this year.

Acknowledging each other's historical losses, we shall continue to work together towards mutual understanding between Canadians of all origins...

The acts on January 22, 1918 and January 22, 1919 marked the victory of principles now written in the charter of the United Nations, of which Canada is a signatory. Free Ukrainians and the free people of all the subjugated nations of the Soviet Russian empire and its satellites will continue to celebrate their independence days and impress upon the Western world that freedom is indivisible. The Principles of the United Nations must be applied by all the other members of the UN to the Soviet Union, which is a member, that self-determination, human rights, freedom, sovereignty and integrity of national territory must also be granted to the non-Russian captive and satellite nations.

The Canadian government, Parliament, legislators, leaders and people in general must constantly reassert their faith in the principles of democracy, human rights, justice, freedom and independence, without which there can be no lasting peace. At the same time, we should proclaim sympathy and readiness to give feasible aid to all those nations who are still struggling for the realization of those, the highest principles of humanity. The blue-yellow flag of Ukraine is today flying over the City Hall of Ottawa, Canada's capital. Mayor Marian Dewar has issued and read a proclamation with salutations to the Ukrainians. This recognition of the justness of the Ukrainian struggle for freedom and democracy serves to make Ukrainian Canadians proud to be citizens of our great country, Canada.

Hon. Gildas L. Molgat: Honorable senators, I should like to compliment my colleague from Manitoba, Senator Yuzyk, on having brought to our attention this important date for the Ukrainian people. The date, however, is important to all those who believe in freedom and democracy and the outline

given so ably by Senator Yuzyk of the long struggle of the people of Ukraine is a signal to all of us that we must be ever vigilant. Senator Yusyuk is particularly well qualified to give that historical background, namely the development of freedom in the Ukraine, and I would not for one moment attempt to trespass on that territory. I am fortunate, however, as are many of my colleagues, in being aware of the tremendous contribution that the Ukrainian people have made to the development of Canada. Starting with those first two settlers in 1896, the Ukrainian people who came to Canada — mainly seeking, like most of us in western Canada a new opportunity and free land — have made major contributions to every aspect of Canadian life.

While it is true that the largest number of Ukrainian people are in the province of Ontario, it is in western Canada that we have seen the Ukrainian community flourish, and whether it has been in the cultural, economic, professional or political life, those original settlers, starting with that small group, have made an immense contribution. Apart from the English and the French, at the present time the Ukrainian people in Canada represent the third largest ethnic community, and they lead a rich cultural life. My own province of Manitoba is probably a leader in this regard because that province probably contains the largest percentage of Ukrainians in comparison with our total population. We, as Manitobans, are proud that Canada's national Ukrainian festival is held in our province. Next summer will be the twentieth anniversary of the festival, held annually in the town of Dauphin. Last summer her Majesty the Queen distinguished the festival with her presence. I know that I speak for all of my colleagues on this side of the house in commending Senator Yuzyk for bringing this important date to our attention, as a reminder to all of us that we must be ever watchful to maintain our freedom, and we must compliment the Ukrainian people in Canada on their participation in that regard.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, 1985

A PROCLAMATION

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The unique and historic significance of our Nation has always derived from our role as a model of political freedom, social justice, and personal opportunity. While not a perfect Nation, we have offered to the world a vision of liberty. It is a vision that has motivated all our national endeavors and serves us yet as an anchor of conscience. The humanity and justice of our collective political life and the freedom and limitless opportunity in our personal lives are an inspiration for the peoples of the world, both for those who are free to aspire and for those who are not.

The uniqueness of our vision of liberty comes not only from its historical development, but also from the conviction that the benefits of liberty and justice rightfully belong to all humanity. Hostility to this fundamental principle still haunts the

world, but our conviction that political freedom is the just inheritance of all nations and all people is firm. Our dedication to this principle has not been weakened by the sad history of conquest, captivity, and oppression to which so many of the world's nations have been subjected.

We are all aware of those many nations that are the victims of totalitarian ideologies, ruthless regimes, and occupying armies. These are the nations held captive by forces hostile to freedom, independence and national self-determination. Their captivity and struggle against repression require a special courage and sacrifice. Those nations of Eastern Europe that have known conquest and captivity for decades; those struggling to save themselves from communist expansionism in Latin America; and the people of Afghanistan and Kampuchea struggling against invasion and military occupation by their neighbors: all require our special support. For those who seek freedom, security, and peace, we are the custodians of their dream.

Our Nation will continue to speak out for the freedom of those denied the benefits of liberty. We will continue to call for the speedy release of those who are unjustly persecuted and falsely imprisoned. So long as brave men and women suffer persecution because of their national origin, religious beliefs, and desire for liberty, the United States of America will demand that the signatories of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Accords live up to their obligations and respect the principles and spirit of those international agreements and understandings.

Each year we renew our resolve to support the struggle for freedom throughout the world by observing Captive Nations Week. It is a week in which all Americans are asked to remember that the liberties and freedoms which they enjoy as inherent rights are forbidden to many nations. It is a time to affirm publicly our conviction that, as long as the struggle from within these nations continues, and as long as we remain firm in our support, the light of freedom will not be extinguished. Together with the people of these captive nations, we fight against military occupation, political oppression, communist expansion, and totalitarian brutality.

The Congress, by joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), has authorized and requested the President to designate the third week in July as 'Captive Nations Week.'

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning July 21, 1985, as Captive Nations Week. I invite the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities to reaffirm their dedication to the international principles of justice and freedom, which unite us and inspire others.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this nineteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and tenth.

RONALD REAGAN

UKRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

“ZISELS CASE DETAILS REVEALED.” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, January 13, 1985, Jersey City, NJ.

This report is based on the USSR News Brief which details the activities behind the iron curtain. USSR News Brief reports on the October 19, 1984 arrest of Yosyf Zisels, a Jewish activist and member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

Zisels, 37, is an engineer by profession and has been active in the Jewish movement in Chernivtsi, Ukraine, where there is a large Jewish population. USSR News Brief reports that Mr. Zisels' home was searched. Among the confiscated materials were microfilm of a Hebrew textbook along with underground journals and books.

“CLANDESTINE CATHOLIC CHRONICLE IN UKRAINE: AN ANALYSIS.” Ivat Hvat, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, January 20, 1985, Jersey City, NJ.

This analysis reprinted from Radio Liberty Research Bulletin gives the first analysis of the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine*, which first appeared in early 1984 and has now been translated into English for Western consumption and analysis.

The *Chronicle* published by the Action Group for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church, was organized on September 9, 1982 by Catholic activist Yosyp Terelia.

Hvat, a well-published writer for Radio Liberty Research Bulletin writes, “In view of the systematic destruction of the human rights movement in Ukraine over the last twelve years, it might be thought that the appearance of the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine* in Ukrainian samvydav came as something of a surprise, but this is not really so. Of late, the religious and human rights activities of Catholics in Western Ukraine have been stepped up considerably. As early as 1982, spokesmen for this movement made it known that samvydav materials about the situation of the Catholic Church in Ukraine were being prepared for transmission to the West.”

The Hvat analysis is centered on the first several issues of the *Chronicle*. Hvat details several incidents that have been reported in the *Chronicle* which give considerable attention to the socio-political situation in Ukraine.

Attention is given to the resistance of Catholics to persecution imposed by the Kremlin. Hvat states that “on the basis of the contents of the *Chronicle*, it can be stated without exaggeration that the resistance of the Ukrainian Catholics to persecution has stiffened and taken some unusual forms.”

Hvat discusses the burning of hundreds of Ukrainian passports, the arrests of Uniate Repentants (pokutnyky), the death threat placed on Soviet Defense Minister Ustinov, and preparations for the millenium of Ukrainian Christianity which will take place in 1988.

Credence has been given to Ukrainian ties with Polish Solidarity. Hvat describes Soviet paranoia to the Solidarity movement by stating that "the Ukrainian mass media frequently link the events in Poland with the activities of Pope John Paul II and with political circles in the Ukrainian emigration. Criticizing the Pope's 'tactics,' one Soviet author asserts that the Catholic Church leadership is seeking 'to strengthen clerical positions in the countries of socialism' and trying 'to Catholicize the Slav people.' It is also claimed that a certain role was played in events in Poland by 'Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists' in the West, who tried to enlist 'the Ukrainian ethnic group (in Poland), which numbers about 300,000, in counterrevolutionary attacks on socialism in the Polish People's Republic'."

Hvat's analysis ends with the statement testifying to the renaissance of the Ukrainian rights' movement inspired by Ukrainian Catholics.

"FUROR ASSOVIET 'BUTCHER' GETS THE RED CARPET." Niles Lathem, *New York Post*, March 5, 1985, New York, NY.

This front page story is in reference to the U.S. visit of Vladimir Shcherbitsky, first secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine. Mr. Shcherbitsky was in Washington, D.C. at the invitation of several Congressional House leaders.

Lathem describes the "storm of protests" that have erupted over Shcherbitsky's visit. The story charges that Shcherbitsky was the "chief architect of the brutal suppression of the Ukraine's dissident movement . . . his crackdown has been documented as one of the worst violations of human rights ever committed by the Soviet government."

During Shcherbitsky's tenure "thousands of Ukrainian artists and intellectuals (were) arrested and sent to work camps. They were used as 'slave labor' to build Russia's major construction projects."

The article further describes Rep. Jack Kemp's (R-NY) pull-out from the delegation that would meet with Shcherbitsky. But, Rep. Tom Downey (D-NY) still planned to meet with the Communist Leader despite Shcherbitsky's atrocious record on human and national rights.

"VISIT BY AN 'ENEMY' OF UKRAINE STIRS STORM OF OUTRAGE AMONG EXILES."

John Lofton, *The Washington Times*, March 4, 1985, Washington, D.C.

The media coverage of Vladimir Shcherbitsky's U.S. visit portrayed the true nature of Shcherbitsky and his horrendous record of oppression while head of the Communist Party in Ukraine.

Lofton's article describes many Ukrainian-American leaders' outrage regarding the fact that Shcherbitsky will meet with high ranking members of the United States

Congress and ultimately with President Ronald Reagan in the White House.

Lofton further quotes several Congressmen who will meet with Shcherbitsky such as Rep. Thomas Foley (D-WA) and Rep. Dick Cheney (R-WY). Congressman Cheney states that, "dealing on a diplomatic basis 'strikes me as something you can do without endorsing what they stand for.'" Cheney further went on to say that, "I can't say specifically what exchanges like this accomplish, but we'll express our views in no uncertain terms."

"TEN PROTESTORS ARE ARRESTED AT SOVIET EMBASSY." John Ward Anderson, *The Washington Post*, March 30, 1985, Washington, D.C.

Ten persons who were protesting the Soviet Union's "inhumane treatment" of a Ukrainian human and political rights activist were arrested yesterday (March 29, 1985) afternoon outside the Soviet embassy.

The arrests followed a demonstration attended by 350 Ukrainian-American students who gathered to call attention to the plight of Ukrainian human and national rights activist Yuriy Shukhevych.

Shukhevych, 51, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group was imprisoned in 1948 at the age of 14 and has now spent more than two-thirds of his life serving the Soviet state.

"LIGHT REPORTING, MISREPORTING HID THE UKRAINIAN HOLOCAUST." Reed Irvine, *The Washington Times*, June 14, 1985, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Irvine comments on the recent publication of Miron Dolot's book titled "Execution by Hunger: The Hidden Holocaust." Dolot's book is an eyewitness account of what took place in Ukraine during the 1932-33 Great Famine which took the lives of an estimated seven million Ukrainian farmers.

Mr. Irvine writes that while the Ukrainian famine is "matter-of-factly discussed in the Soviet Union, some 'experts on the Soviet Union here in the United States persistently adhere to the Soviet denial of its existence'." Irvine further goes on to state that "these so-called experts are following in the footsteps of such distinguished journalists as Walter Duranty of *The New York Times* and Louis Fletcher of *The Nation* who covered up this and other black deeds of Josef Stalin."

Reed Irvine gives further review of Dolot's book in the text of this *Washington Times* article. He concludes his column by stating that "there are Americans who will sell out their country for cash or for ideological reasons. Journalists like Mr. Duranty sold out humanity by hiding holocausts and protecting their perpetrators."

"UKRAINE: RESTIVE AGAIN." Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta, *The Washington Post*, June 9, 1985, Washington, D.C.

This story based on several CIA wire cables gives credence that there have been "a series of anti-Soviet (and anti-Russian) protests in Ukrainian cities in the past two years, evidently fueled by the Solidarity movement in Poland."

Anderson writes of Shcherbitsky that "Shcherbitsky quickly learned that the local Ukrainian militia could not be depended on to quell the protests unless there were KGB

troops on the scene to “encourage” them. So Shcherbitsky now tends to call in the reliably ruthless KGB troops at first hint of trouble.”

According to a CIA cable, Anderson writes that “a sociological break-down of Ukrainian dissidents reveals, not unexpectedly, a heavy preponderance of writers, linguists, historians, journalists, teachers and lawyers.” However, according to Anderson “it is the scientists and technicians ‘whose opposition is (most) troublesome for Soviet authorities’.”

Answering his own question of “Why should Ukraine be restive again?”, Anderson replies by stating that “more than other minority republics, it (Ukraine) is ‘susceptible to East European influence, due to the historical association of West Ukraine with bordering East European countries, and the polyglot character of the affected populations. If discontent in Ukraine mounted sufficiently to create a ‘revolutionary situation’ a revolt in Eastern Europe could have a catalytic effect.”

Anderson concludes his column by stating that “nationalism in Ukraine appears to be waxing rather than waning.”

“END PAPERS.” Jack Miles, Times Book Editor, *The Los Angeles Times*, June 16, 1985, Los Angeles, CA.

With the appearance of Miron Dolot’s book about the 1932-33 Ukrainian famine titled “Execution by Hunger, the Hidden Holocaust,” there has been a resurgence of articles printed about the little known Ukrainian famine. These articles, taking the form of book reviews, columnists reports or general news stories, are greatly enhancing the reach of individuals who are familiar and knowledgeable about this twentieth century tragedy.

Jack Miles’ book review is a very favorable one for Miron Dolot, but even more so because Mr. Miles clearly demonstrates his understanding of Ukrainian problems and history. One such example is the fact that Mr. Miles purposefully does not use “the” before the proper noun Ukraine, as is now acceptable in journalism.

Mr. Miles’ lengthy article discusses the history behind the 1932-33 Ukrainian famine and the political nature of Soviet-Western relations. Mention is also made of the so-called “first full-dress scholarly treatment of the famine” which will be in the form of a book to be published next year by Robert Conquest and James Mace, under the auspices of the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University.

“UKRAINIANS, STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS DISCUSS PRESIDENT’S REPORT ON RIGHTS.” An article in *The Ukrainian Weekly*, March 31, 1985, Jersey City, NJ.

A delegation of Ukrainian community activists met with representatives of the U.S. State Department on Wednesday, March 20, 1985, in order to discuss the community’s concerns regarding the President’s 17th Semiannual Report to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The report to the CSCE, also known as the Helsinki Commission, provided only cursory reference to the human rights situation in Ukraine.

The meeting was arranged by the Ukrainian National Information Service, the Washington Office of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. In a statement released in December 1984, soon after the report was issued, the UCCA said that the president's report was "clearly unbalanced" and noted that "while Ukraine is the largest of the non-Russian captive nations, its concerns have gone virtually undocumented" in the report.

At the meeting held in the Old Executive Office Building, the Ukrainian delegation was told that the State Department would be more sensitive to Ukrainian concerns in future reports on compliance with the Helsinki Accords.

The State Department representatives said at the meeting that the information contained in the semiannual report to the CSCE had come from the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. It was pointed out that because the U.S. government has no direct contact with Ukraine, it is more difficult to get information regarding oppression of Ukrainian human and national rights activists.

"THE UNFORGOTTEN IN SOVIET PRISONS." An editorial in *The New York Times*, January 30, 1985, New York, NY.

The Soviet Union periodically eases repression after reaching agreement with the West on what may appear as unrelated subjects. Thus, because others care about dissidents and ethnic minorities, the Kremlin has seemed to manipulate their fate for bargaining leverage. To the extent that is true, there's no reason it can't be turned around to urge the Soviet Union to demonstrate a desire for better relations by loosening some locks.

This editorial lists several individuals who are examples of the repressive nature of the Soviet GULAG. Mention is made of Ukrainian Irina Ratushynska, who was sentenced in 1983 to seven years of hard labor for joining human rights demonstrations and attempting to emigrate.

"THE ARREST OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC ACTIVIST VASYL KOBRYN." Bohdan Nahaylo, *Radio Liberty Research Bulletin*, March 21, 1985, New York NY.

The Soviet authorities have arrested Vasyl Kobryn, the chairman of an unofficial group campaigning for the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The forty-seven-year-old activist is reported to have been detained in the Western Ukrainian city of Lviv either at the end of 1984 or at the beginning of 1985. The charges against him are not yet known.

Kobryn is a relatively obscure dissident whose name only recently became known in the West in connection with his role in the Action Group for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church. This body was formed in September, 1982, to defend the rights of Ukrainian Catholics of the Eastern Rite, or Uniates, whose more than four-million-strong Church was suppressed by the Soviet authorities in 1946 with the assistance of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Ukrainian Catholic Church has survived underground for almost four decades as the largest banned denomination in the Soviet Union.

The *Radio Liberty Research Bulletin* further states that "on June 22, 1984, Kobryn was summoned for a 'chat' in (Lviv) with the official for the republican Council for

Religious Affairs responsible for the (Lviv) Oblast, his deputy, and a third person who did not identify himself. The officials used a menacing tone and told Kobryn: 'All those who are with Rome, are against us.' They asked Kobryn to sign a statement acknowledging that his religious activity was 'anti-Soviet,' but he refused. From this moment on, his arrest was only a matter of time."

"UKRAINIAN FAMINE IS RESTORED TO TEXT." Mark Tapscott, *The Washington Times*, June 16, 1985, Washington, D.C.

Protests from thirty New York congressmen, led by Rep. Fred J. Eckert, have forced the state's education officials to reverse a recent decision to remove material about the Ukrainian Holocaust from the teaching guide for a new high school textbook scheduled for use this fall.

Gordon Ambach, New York state commissioner of education, acknowledged that "some very serious misunderstandings" led to a departmental decision in April to remove 15 pages from the teaching guide for the history textbook.

Mr. Ambach said he told the State Board of Regents at last week's meeting "that we are not going to remove that material from the textbook and that we are going to expand the book to three volumes."

Material entitled "The Killing of Cambodia" also will be included in the textbook as a result of the controversy, said Ambach.

"CONSERVATIVES TARGET ANTI-U.S. BIAS IN U.N." Ron Cordray, *The Washington Times*, February 13, 1985, Washington, D.C.

Buoyed by President Reagan's decision to withdraw U.S. support from UNESCO, congressional conservatives plan to introduce a series of resolutions next month aimed at eliminating what they see as anti-American behavior at the United Nations.

One resolution will aim at the Soviet Union's ability to cast three votes in the General Assembly, compared to the one allowed the United States. The Soviet Union casts votes for Byelorussia and Ukraine. Soviets view the two as provinces, but they are recognized as independent nations by the United Nations.

The resolution calls for the United States to reduce its financial support for the United Nations unless the Soviet Union is reduced to one vote, or it withdraws all its troops from Byelorussia and Ukraine and grants those republics independence.

"EAST EUROPEAN EMIGRES ARE ACCUSED OF IMPEDING HUNT FOR NAZIS IN U.S.: RESPONSE CHARGES JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS WITH AIDING SOVIETS." Mary Thornton, *The Washington Post*, April 6, 1985, Washington, D.C.

This is the first of several articles that have appeared across the country regarding East European objection to the methods employed by the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations (OSI), which is charged with locating and bringing to justice those individuals living in the United States who are Nazi war criminals.

The article is a response to allegations made by the World Jewish Congress that

mainstream Baltic and Ukrainian organizations have been “openly anti-Semitic in their native language newspapers and have waged a campaign to set a statute of limitations on war crimes.”

Responding to the allegations, Myron Wasyluk, Director of the Washington Office of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, accused the World Jewish Congress of “a vicious defamation campaign against Ukrainians, Balts, and East Europeans” that has “served to promote the interests of the KGB,” the Soviet secret police.

At issue has been the use of Soviet supplied evidence in American courts which is used in trying to convict the accused of collaborating with the Nazis during World War II.

The article quotes Myron Wasyluk, Anthony Mazeika of the Coalition for Constitutional Justice and Security, and Neal Sher, Director of the OSI.

“THE 44TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ACT OF PROCLAMATION WHICH RESTORED THE INDEPENDENT UKRAINIAN STATE.” The Honorable William S. Broomfield, Member of Congress, *The Congressional Record*, 99th Congress, First Session, June 27, 1985, Washington, D.C.

Broomfield made his remarks in *The Congressional Record*, on the occasion of the Act of Proclamation which restored the independent Ukrainian State for a brief period during World War II. Broomfield writes that “On Sunday, June 30, 1985, the Ukrainian community throughout the United States will commemorate the 44th anniversary of the Act of Proclamation, which restored the independent Ukrainian state for a brief period during World War II.” This proclamation announced the restoration of the Ukrainian state in Lviv, Ukraine, on June 30, 1941.

Broomfield further writes that “upon Soviet withdrawal, the Germans then exterminated an estimated 3.9 million Ukrainians, including 900,000 Jews, and deported millions more to slave labor camps where countless numbers of victims perished.”

Congressmen Broomfield (R-MI) gives a detailed history of the Ukrainian liberation movement during World War II centered around the Act of Proclamation and the activities of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Broomfield concludes his remarks by saying that “Today, the West is threatened as never before. It is in the interests of freedom-loving people everywhere to recognize the struggle of the Ukrainian people to throw off its age-old yoke, to unite with them in their struggle, and to admit them to a new Europe and a union of free and democratic nations.”

“THE 44TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ACT OF PROCLAMATION RESTORING UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE.” The Honorable Frank Annunzio, Member of Congress, *The Congressional Record*, 99th Congress, First Session, June 27, 1985, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Annunzio’s remarks are one of four statements that appeared in *The Congressional Record* commemorating the Act of Proclamation which was issued in

Lviv, Ukraine, on June 30, 1941. Mr. Annunzio reprints for the record a copy of the original Act of Proclamation, which was signed by Yaroslav Stetsko, Head of the National Assembly and Provisional Government.

Mr. Annunzio writes that the "timing of the proclamation forced the Nazis to declare their true intentions to overrun Ukraine and force its annexation as part of Germany. As a consequence of this proclamation, the Nazis were brutal in their attempts to suppress the Ukrainians for their show of independence, and many of their cultural, religious, and political leaders were sent to concentration camps."

Congressman Annunzio (D-IL) refers to the "2,000 young Ukrainian freedom fighters (who) bravely stood up against the barbarism and terrorism of the Nazis." Mr. Annunzio makes mention of the arrests of Stepan Bandera, president of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and Yaroslav Stetsko, prime minister of the provisional government.

Referring to the Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, Annunzio writes that the "spiritual leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, . . . in a pastoral letter of June 30, 1941, hailed the proclaimed Ukrainian state, bestowed his blessings upon it, and called upon the people to give the new Ukrainian Government their loyal support. He stated that 'your faith, solidarity, and conscientious execution of duties, prove that you are worthy of independent national existence.'"

Other representatives that made remarks for the Congressional Record were William Broomfield (R-MI), Thomas Manton (D-NY), and Gerald Solomon (R-NY).

"U.S. CONGRESS IN DEFENSE OF YURIY SHUKHEVYCH." An article in *America, Weekly Edition of the Ukrainian Catholic Daily*, May 6, 1985, Philadelphia, PA.

The U.S. Congress again demonstrated its concerns about the denial of human rights and persecution of Ukrainian human rights activists. In a joint letter dated April 17, 1985, to Soviet Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev, one hundred thirty six members of Congress expressed their concern and frustration about the fate of 52-year-old Yuriy Shukhevych, now in internal exile in the Tomsk region of Siberia.

The initiators of the letter to Soviet Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev were New Jersey Congressman Frank Guarini and Matthew Rinaldo. Assisting in gathering signatures for the letter were members of the New Jersey based Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine and the Ukrainian Student Association of Mykola Michnowsky (TUSM).

The Congressmen appealed to Gorbachev to have Shukhevych released on humanitarian grounds and allow him to come to the United States for medical attention.

"UCCA CALLS FOR CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT HEARINGS INTO OSI." An article in *America, Weekly Edition of the Ukrainian Catholic Daily*, May 6, 1985, Philadelphia, PA.

At its quarterly meeting of the National Executive Board, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America unanimously approved a resolution that would call upon the

House and Senate Committees on the Judiciary to call for immediate oversight hearings into the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations (OSI). The resolution concludes that over a six year period, "the OSI's collaboration with agents of the Soviet Union have led to the violation of individual rights and lack of due process for defendants.

"THE WASHINGTON 11." Editorial in *The Washington Times*, April 3, 1985.

As a result of the Ukrainian Student Association of Michnowsky's (TUSM) demonstration in support of Yuriy Shukhevych, *The Washington Times* featured an editorial regarding the ten Ukrainian students who were arrested at the Soviet Embassy plus one Cambodian woman who was arrested while demonstrating outside the Soviet Embassy earlier in the previous month. At issue is the selective prosecution being employed for those who are arrested at the Soviet Embassy however, those arrested for demonstrating against the apartheid policies of the South African government are not prosecuted and are let go by the Metropolitan Washington police.

Comparison is made between the law which has let no fewer than 1,715 persons free for protesting in front of the South African Embassy while those ten who have been arrested in front of the Soviet Embassy will face prosecution.

"1984: A LOOK BACK." Special Section of *The Ukrainian Weekly*, December 30, 1984, Jersey City, NJ.

This eight page panorama provides insight into the major happenings affecting the Ukrainian-American community in 1984. The first section is devoted to "Repression in Ukraine" and to summarize the year, The Weekly Editors write: "the year was marked by the deaths of six prominent activists, public recantations by at least two others, death sentences for four members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and new charges against several leading figures in the human rights movement. A number of imprisoned activists completed their terms and were released. The year also saw the adoption of several new laws aimed at making life more difficult for dissidents and their families."

The major Ukrainian activists who died in 1984 were Oleska Tykhy, Valeriy Marchenko, Yuriy Lytvyn, Borys Antonenko-Davydovych and Volodymyr Horbovy.

Section two is devoted to "News in Ukrainian Churches" which discusses the September 1984 death of Ukrainian Catholic Cardinal Josyf Slipyj and the death of Ukrainian Orthodox Archbishop Mark. This section also reports on the recent developments within the Ukrainian Catholic Church as well as Pope John Paul II's twelve day visit of Canada and his stopover at Winnipeg's Ss. Volodymyr and Olha's Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, where he was greeted by 4,000 faithful outside the church.

Section three is devoted to the Ukrainian-American community's political activities. Significant attention is given to the creation of the United States' Congressional Commission on the 1932-33 Ukrainian famine and House Concurrent Resolution 111 which urged President Reagan to declare a specific date to commemorate the 1932-33 Ukrainian famine.

The fourth section is a write-up describing “U.S. Ukrainian community life” and primarily focusing on the September 16, 1984 demonstration to protest the Soviet Union’s forced policies of Russification in Ukraine. The demonstration was held in Washington, D.C. and sponsored by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian American Coordinating Council. Dialogue is also given to the status of the organized Ukrainian community life, namely the situation following the thirteenth Congress of Ukrainians in the USA. Although not a balanced portrayal of the community political situation, it does highlight the major event of the Ukrainian-American community, that being the Demonstration against Russification, in which all major Ukrainian organizations worked together.

Sections five through eleven are entitled “The Ukrainian National Association”; “Summer Olympic Games”, “Scholarship and Academia”; “Changing Ukrainian neighborhoods”; “Notable events, people”; “Deaths in the Community”; and “Meanwhile at the Weekly,” respectively.

Some of the notable events of the year were that studies about the 1932-33 Ukrainian famine will be part of the curriculum in Manitoba and Toronto schools; a 15-foot granite and bronze monument to the Great Famine victims was unveiled in Winnipeg; a memorial to the famine victims was also dedicated in Bridgeport, CT; and the Ukrainian Museum in New York City opened a mammoth photographic exhibit “To Preserve a Heritage: The Story of Ukrainian Immigration in the U.S.”

M.W.

CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS

“Ukrainian Quarterly” Praised in Finland. — The *Ukrainian Quarterly* is being sent to some 62 countries around the world, particularly to public and university libraries and government agencies as well as news media bureaus. Not infrequently the editor of the *Ukrainian Quarterly* receives complimentary letters, commenting on its work and printed material. In one such letter from Helsinki, Finland, dated December 29, 1984, a noted Finnish publicist, Paul Berbiukki Vestera, wrote:

“I am busy to write a pamphlet about a way out of the state of violence in our world. A chapter concerns the Captive Nations Week Resolution of the USA Congress 1959. My source is the important book *The Vulnerable Russians* by Prof. L. Dobriansky. I beg you to send me a copy of the proclamation of President Ronald Reagan from July 1984 in this matter . . . I wish that you know: I consider your “*Ukrainian Quarterly*” as the best periodical I have made the acquaintance with.”

Ukrainian Studies Program At Macquarie University. — From the eight-page publication titled *Ukrainian Studies Foundation Newsletter*, No. 3, December 1984, we learn that the recently established Ukrainian program at Macquarie University, Australia, is making excellent progress. In charge of this program is Dr. Natalia Pazuniak from Philadelphia, and the courses offered are Ukrainian Civilization, Introductory Ukrainian, and Ukrainian Literature.

“Ukrainian Studies” Library at Macquarie University is supervised by Mrs. A. Dubyk, and the staff of the program also includes Mrs. H. Koscharkyj as the tutor. This recently inaugurated Ukrainian Studies Program at a major university has found support and recognition from academic authorities, as well as from Ukrainian student and civic organizations. The financial support is being coordinated by the Ukrainian Studies Foundation chaired by Prof. Ihor Gordijew.

The Ukrainian Studies program at Macquarie University is of a permanent nature within the University system and its special objective is to serve the long-term needs of Ukrainian ethnic community in Australia. It furthers the free scholarship which is impossible in present-day Ukraine.

President’s 17th Semi-Annual Report to the CSU Outrages Ukrainian Community — On March 20, 1985, in the White House, a 90 minute meeting was held between the Ukrainian-American delegation and State Department officials. In the meeting the government representatives were informed that The State Department will

be more sensitive to Ukrainian questions in future reports dealing with compliance of the Helsinki Accords.

The meeting was arranged by the Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS) and the Washington Office of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA). In the report released in December 1984 "while Ukraine is the largest of the non-Russian captive nations, its concerns have gone virtually undocumented."

The White House and State Department were bombarded with hundreds of letters from Ukrainians and their friends in Congress and elsewhere protesting the lack of attention to Ukrainians. State Department officials stated that the closing of the US Consulate in Kiev by President Carter was a reason for difficulty in collecting information regarding oppressions against Ukrainian human and national rights advocates.

Eyewitness Account of the Famine in Ukraine — *Execution by Hunger*, an eyewitness account of the Ukrainian famine (1932-1933) by one of the survivors, Miron Dolot (a teacher of Slavic languages and now living in California) was published by W.W. Norton and Co. in April 1985.

The book calls to mind equally moving personal testimonies by Anne Frank, Eugenia Ginzburg, and others. It is the story of the young Miron Dolot's day-to-day confrontation with despair and death — his helplessness as friends and family were arrested, abused and tortured — and his gradual realization, as he matured, of the absolute control of the Soviet Russians over his life and the lives of the Ukrainian people.

It is also the story of personal dignity in the face of insurmountable horror and humiliation. And it is an indictment of the Soviet Russian past that is still not acknowledged by Russian leaders. In 1929 Stalin ordered the collectivization of all Ukrainian farms in an effort to destroy the well-to-do peasant farmers. In the ensuing years, a brutal Soviet campaign of confiscations, terrorizing, and murder spread throughout Ukrainian villages. What food remained after the seizures was insufficient to support the population. In the resulting famine as many as five million Ukrainians (according to some other accounts even more than 7 million) starved to death — a tragedy that rivals the holocaust.

Ukrainians Commemorate Ukrainian Independence Day. — The sixty-seventh anniversary of Ukraine's independence was commemorated on January 22 by three million Ukrainians in the Free World. On this day in 1918 the Ukrainian Central Rada under the leadership of Professor Mykhailo Hrushevsky proclaimed a free and independent Ukraine and established friendly relations with Great Britain, France, Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria who recognized her independence and provided her with military assistance against the Russian Communists to whom Ukraine fell in 1920.

In addition to being remembered by numerous Ukrainian communities in the United States, Canada and elsewhere, the event was commemorated in Washington, D.C. as it is every year, with a panel discussion, news briefing, and reception to which

hundred of members of Congress, senators, journalists leaders of political organizations were invited. Over 150 people attended. The event was sponsored by the Ukrainian National Information Service and the Washington branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and by six U.S. senators and eleven U.S. representatives. They were Senators Rudy Boschwitz, Bill Bradley, Alfonse D'Amato, Dennis DeConcini, Ernest F. Hollings and D. Patrick Moynihan, and Representatives Frank Annunzio, William S. Broomfield, Philip M. Crane, Brian J. Donnelly, Edward F. Feinhan, Henry J. Hyde, Fernand J. St. Germaine, Mary Rose Oaker, Don Ritter, Gerald B. Solomon, and Christopher H. Smith.

Included in the several addresses were those of George Nesterchuk, UCCA Washington Branch President, Sen. D'Amato, Cong. Ritter, Michael Sothiros. President Reagan sent personal greetings and spoke of the Ukrainian spirit of freedom and self-determination which Moscow has not been able to destroy. Also in attendance were Senators Dennis DeConcini, Paul Simon and Paul Sarbanes and Congressman Ben Gilman. A number of ethnic groups were also represented including the Polish American Congress, the Bulgarian National Front, the Czechoslovak National Council and the Joint Baltic American National Committee.

Ukrainians Join Ethiopian Famine Campaign. — The parishioners of St. Demetrius Ukrainian Church in Toronto under the pastorship of Rev. Terry Lozynsky gave over \$5,000 on one Sunday alone to aid the relief fund in Ethiopia, while the children of St. Basil's School in Philadelphia collected \$300 for the starving masses in Ethiopia with hopes of raising more according to the principal of the school, Sr. Benigna, OSBM.

In 1932-33 a Stalin-engineered famine was implemented in Ukraine which cost 7 million lives, a fact which the world only now is beginning to realize. Identical methods by the Communist government are being used today in Ethiopia.

Ukrainian Students' Dachau Committee Set Agenda. — On Feb. 22, 1985 the Ukrainian Student Dachau Committee (USDC) met to discuss its agenda for the immediate future. They vowed to continue efforts to collect documentary evidence, namely the notarized affidavits of Ukrainian political prisoners and other prisoners of Nazi concentration camps during WWII to correct the unjust omission of Ukrainians from museum records and exhibits. Ukrainians incarcerated in Nazi prison camps were not acknowledged as such but were classified as either Russian, Polish or Czech. The Ukrainian Student Dachau Committee also seeks to find Ukrainian students well-versed in the Ukrainian language to serve in their respective cities, states, provinces or countries as interviewers of Nazi concentration camp survivors so that the omission of Ukrainians from museum records and exhibits can be finally amended.

Committee on Millenium of Ukrainian Christianity Elected. — On March 23, 1985 a committee was elected in Philadelphia to prepare the celebration of the Millenium of Christianity in Ukraine. This committee was called into existence by the two hierarchs of the Ukrainian Church in America: Archbishop Metropolitan Sulyk of

the Ukrainian Catholic Church and Metropolitan Mstyslav of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. 172 delegates representing 72 national Ukrainian organizations and institutions in the United States also elected Dr. Jurij Starosolsky as its president. The committee and several commissions will take charge of preparing the celebration of Ukraine's thousand-year history of Christianity.

Ukrainian Catholics Under New Attack by Moscow. — On March 23, 1985 Hubert Huber reported in the New York City Tribune that a new revival of the Ukrainian Catholic Underground Church is irritating the Soviet authorities in Kiev to the extent that they have started a new offensive against the faithful. The first signs of this new wave of repression was seen in January when a well-known Russian-dominated magazine *Nauka i Religia* (Science & Religion) attacked the Austrian branch of Christian Solidarity International (CSI). The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences complained of a letter it received from CSI calling for amnesty for certain imprisoned faithful, the re-opening of closed churches and the right for Lithuanian and Polish minorities to receive a religious and cultural education according to their people's tradition. CSI's letter was headlined 'Christian Birthday Wishes for the Ukraine' obviously referring to the 1000th anniversary in 1988 of the Christianization of Ukraine, an event that will be suppressed in Ukraine and probably misunderstood in the West. The CSI called for the official recognition of this event and of the four million Ukrainian Catholics in Ukraine.

The communist publication *Nauka i Religia* stated that this action could lead to severed trade relations between Austria and the Soviet Union. CSI mentions a secret internal Soviet document that calls for new methods including the introduction of 'special departments for the forced treatment of activists of the prohibited Ukrainian Church.' Also more pressure would be placed on Christians at school and at work as well as other measures.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church was destroyed by Stalin in 1946 and its priests and clergy executed, arrested or deported to forced labor camps. The use of psychiatric hospitals is nothing new and has been prevalent in Soviet Russian society for decades. This official Communist reaction to the Ukrainian Catholic Church shows that this religious revival in Ukraine is much stronger than the Soviets had expected.

Incidentally the Soviet Union is an original signer of the Helsinki Accords which guarantee freedom of speech, religion, press and assembly but commits human right atrocities continuously!

Four Ukrainians Named to Canadian Multicultural Council. — In Winnipeg four Ukrainian Canadians were named to Canada's Multicultural Council. They are Rev. Michael Skrumeda of Brandon, Bill Chorney and Daphne Tkachuk both of Saskatoon and Orest Rudzik of Toronto. They join Dr. Louis Melekosky, a Winnipeg othodontist who is also a past president of the Canadian Association of Orthodontists. The Canadian Multicultural Council advises the prime minister on policy and development of programs relating to multiculturalism.

Canadian Minister and 'Ukrainian premier' spar over Danylo Shumuk. — Canadian External Affairs Minister Joseph Clark was involved in a verbal duel with Alexander Lyashko, a 'puppet' chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR during the last days of Clark's visit to the Soviet Union. When Mr. Clark told Lyashko of his and his government's political prisoner who had been in Russian slave labor camps for over 40 years, Lyashko became so agitated that he repeatedly interrupted Clark so that his interpreter was prevented from translating. Once Lyashko regained his composure, the focus shifted to the question of the reunion of families and Shumuk's fate was never again mentioned. This report was carried in March by two Canadian newspapers.

U.S. Congress in Defense of Yuriy Shukhevych. — In a joint letter dated April 17 to Soviet Secretary General Gorbachev, 136 members of U.S. Congress expressed their concern for the fate of 52 year old Yuriy Shukhevych who has spent 38 years of his life inside of Russian slave labor camps. With the conclusion of each seven year prison term he is again charged with another 'fabricated' crime against the state and this has occurred continuously since he was 14. His only crime: being the son of Roman Shukhevych, the Commander-in Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) who fought during World War II against both the Nazis and the Russians and who fought for five years after the end of World War II against the Russian Communists inside of the Soviet Union until he was killed in 1950.

June 30th Proclamation Remembered by Congress. — Four U.S. Congressmen revealed their solidarity with veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in statements made on the 44th anniversary of the Act of June 30, 1941 during which the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) under the leadership of Stepan Bandera restored Ukrainian statehood in Lviv during World War II, though it was for a short time. Stetsko and Bandera were later arrested by the Nazis and remained in their custody for the duration of the war.

The U.S. Congressmen were Frank Annunzio (D-IL), William Broomfield (R-MI), Thomas Manton (D-NY) and Gerald Solomon (R-NY).

His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky Elevated to Cardinal by John Paul II. — On Wednesday April 24, 1985 Pope John Paul II elevated Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky to the rank of Cardinal of the Catholic Church and he was formally installed in Rome on May 25. He will be the fifth hierarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to be made cardinal. His predecessors were Cardinals Isidore, Michael Levytsky, Sylvester Sembratovych and Josyf Slipyj. The appointment of Archbishop Lubachivsky reflects the continued support of Pope John Paul II for the Ukrainian Catholic Church. It occurs almost exactly 40 years after the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine by the Russian Communists.

Four Well-Known Ukrainian Dissidents Lost Their Lives. — A return to Stalinist methods in dealing with dissent is the reality in today's occupied Ukraine. In recent months four well-known Ukrainian dissidents lost their lives.

Oleksiy Tykhy died in May from a long serious illness acquired while serving his prison term. *Yuriy Lytwyn* while serving a long prison term was driven to despair and committed suicide on September 5, 1984. *Oleksiy Nikitin* died last spring in psychiatric prison where he was held for organizing a coal miners union in the Donbas region of Ukraine. *Valeri Marchenko*, young and talented journalist, deprived of medical care, died in a prison hospital on October 7, 1984.

Other dissidents, *Mykola Horbal* was sentenced to another prison term and *Josyp Zisels*, a Jewish activist from Ukraine, was rearrested and tried again. The physical extermination continues to be Moscow's goal and the message to the rest of the world is clear: the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords are null and void. Helsinki monitors will have a common fate: life imprisonment, torture and death.

Ukrainian Village Opens in Warren, Michigan. — The Ukrainian community of Metropolitan Detroit has completed the ambitious venture which led to the ultimate completion of the Ukrainian Village, a 146-unit senior citizens residency. This multi-million dollar project struggled for existence, funds, and harmony among Ukrainians. Indeed, faith and dedication are superlatives most attributable to corporate members who shared and successfully discharged this grand civic responsibility.

Over 200 enthusiastic members of the Ukrainian community of Detroit and the surrounding area provided the backdrop marking of the Gala Grand Opening held at the Village Activities Center on December 15, 1984. Such phrases as "country club setting," "looks like a Ukrainian Hilton" and "Classy" reflected the atmosphere of incoming guests. With Christmas trees and yuletide adornments tastefully embellishing the spacious lobby, a spirit of oneness, friendship, and brotherhood and joy dominated the scene.

"Radianska Ukraina" Attacks Kirkpatrick and Koch. — The December 30, 1984, issue of *Radianska Ukraina*, the official organ of the Russian-dominated and controlled Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, assails former U.S. Representative at the U.N. Dr. Jean Kirkpatrick and Mayor Edward Koch of New York, for their participation in the XIVth Congress of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America on November 23-25, 1984 in New York.

The author of this attack, writer V. Troyan, alleged that all the participants at the congress were "former policemen who served Hitler" and took part in the killing of Jews and other nationals. He also assailed "all the Ukrainian emigration in the United States as a reactionary emigration hostile to the Soviet system in Ukraine."

