
THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY

VOL. II—NUMBER 2

THE COMING PEACE CONFERENCE *Editorial*
THE UKRAINIAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM *William H. Chamberlin*
SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY *Floyd A. Cave*
THE UKRAINIAN POSITION IN 1946 *Clarence A. Manning*
OMINOUS FEATURES OF A DIVIDED WORLD *Lev E. Dobriansky*
THE UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND *Nicholas D. Czubyj*
ON BEHALF OF UKRAINIAN DISPLACED PERSONS *Anthony Hlynka*
BOOK REVIEWS—UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND BRITISH PERIODICALS

Published by UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

Edited by EDITORIAL BOARD
Editor-in-chief, NICHOLAS D. CZUBATYJ
Associate editor, STEPHEN SHUMEYKO
Published by UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA
with the support of contributions of Americans of Ukrainian descent.

CONTENTS

PAGE

The Coming Peace Conference	105
<i>Editorial</i>	
The Ukrainian Struggle for Freedom	111
<i>William Henry Chamberlin</i>	
Soviet Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice	120
<i>Floyd A. Cave, Ph.D.</i>	
The Ukrainian Position in 1946	132
<i>Prof. Clarence A. Manning</i>	
Ominous Features of a Divided World	142
<i>Lev E. Dobriansky</i>	
The Ukrainian Underground	154
<i>Nicholas D. Czubytyj</i>	
On Behalf of Ukrainian Displaced Persons	167
<i>Hon. Anthony Hlynka</i>	
BOOK REVIEWS	
Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad, by Dr. Frederick L. Schuman. — I Choose Freedom, by Victor Kravchenko	182
<i>Roman Olesnicki</i>	
America: Partner in World Rule, by William H. Chamberlin	188
<i>Lev E. Dobriansky</i>	
The Cossacks, The Story of a Warrior People, by M. Hindus	191
<i>Lev E. Dobriansky</i>	
Ucrainica in American and British Periodicals	194

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN, foreign Correspondent in Soviet Union for the Christian Science Monitor 1922-1932, is the author of several work on the Soviet Union—"The Russian Enigma," "Ukraine a Submerged Nation," "America: Partner in the World Rule" and others. Editor of Russian Review and contributor to several America publications.

FLOYD A. CAVE, PH.D., Professor at San Francisco State College.

CLARENCE A. MANNING, PH.D., Professor at Columbia University and Acting Executive Officer, Department of East European Languages. Specialist in Russian and Ukrainian Literatures. Author of "Ukrainian Literature," and others.

LEV E. DOBRIANSKY, Instructor of Economics, New York University.

NICHOLAS D. CZUBATYJ, PH.D., Former Professor of Greek Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv, Western Ukraine until 1939, author of "Western Ukraine and Rome," "The Ukrainian Lands of Lithuanian Federation" and others. Former Vice-Director of the Historical Department of Scientific Shevchenko Society in Lviv until 1939.

HON. ANTHONY HLYNKA, Member of House of Commons of Canada.

THE COMING PEACE CONFERENCE

Editorial

THE Second World War is bound to go down in the history of international morality as an epochal event, because its conduct negated well nigh all the laws of international usage. What is more, its chief sufferers were not so much the soldiers as the civilians. Millions of the latter were murdered in cold blood, while other millions were forcibly evacuated to foreign climes as slave labor. That fact alone has set back the progress of civilization for a thousand years.

One can not help but wonder over the origins of this unprecedented human degradation. It does not require much searching to find them in the Russian Revolution. For it was during this revolution that the Bolsheviks inaugurated all this mass terrorism, all these mass arrests, mass executions, and mass evacuations to forced labor camps that later the Nazis refined and developed into an art. In this respect the Bolsheviks and the Nazis are blood brothers.

This is so true that their approach to community life in general is commonly regarded as the Bolshevization of it. It is a process which has become so matter of fact that people have come to regard it as common in international relations. With it the humanitarian ideas developed in the civilized world on the conduct of warfare from Hugo Grotius up until the Conventions of Geneva fell into the discard. These, at least, are some reflections engendered by the peace conference which is to open in Paris in the future.

Prior to World War I, it is worth recalling, the classical method of concluding a war was by the generally accepted methods of a peace conference, at which the victor and the vanquished sat down for discussion of a general settlement based on the new balance of power brought forth by the war. Naturally, the victor dictated the terms. Still he was a victor with whom the vanquished could at least discuss the terms of his capitulation.

The Versailles Treaty, however, was a radical departure from this traditional way of garnering the fruits of victory. Actually it was not so much an effort to bring about peace as it was an arbitrary imposition of a new rigid international order. The German representatives were

merely summoned to it and given orders as to their national future, instead of being called to the conference beforehand and given an opportunity to state their case, for whatever it was worth. The net result of this arbitrary procedure was the fomentation in the Germans of a feeling of having been nationally disgraced, so that when Hitler appeared and demagogically exhorted them to "wipe out the shame of the Versailles decisions," they readily, nay eagerly, took the bait, hook, line and sinker, regardless of the fact that Hitler's regime was the very synthesis of human enslavement, degradation and evil, on a par with Bolshevism.

Coming down to the peace conference of today, one is dismayed to find the fatal methods of the Versailles dictates still being practiced. It does not even occur to anyone, — at least so it appears, — that the vanquished should have their day in court before the verdict upon them is rendered. The fault here stems from the Bolsheviks. They have simply adopted the same dictatorial methods in international conferences and settlements that they use in their internal affairs, to the extent of excluding from such conferences even those who were their war allies, as in the case of France and China at the London conference last autumn, as well as small nations.

The Soviet aims is very simple. It is to destroy the very foundations of peaceful settlement and in its place impose an order based upon the arbitrary and secret decisions of the Big Three. For them the ideal system in this connection is patterned after the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam conferences, which, as everyone remembers, were conducted behind an impenetrable curtain of secrecy, and guarded by hundreds of police agents.

That system appears now to have become the favorite method of the Big Three in shaping the world to come. Its chief beneficiary, of course, are the Bolsheviks. They know how best to utilize it for their own advantage. Screened from public view they are able at the international conferences to make the most exorbitant demands, behave in the most cynical manner, ignore the very fundamentals of human rights, require that their political opponents be handed over to them as a price for paltry concessions on their part, and in general behave in a manner that would shock public conscience and stir it to zealous action, were it to become aware of what goes on at such conferences. How, for example, would that public conscience react today, were it to become fully aware that during the war the Bolsheviks constantly

threatened to conclude a separate peace with Hitler whenever they did not have their way with their allies?

Now, on the eve of the Paris peace conference, we find ourselves confronted with the spectre of the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam decisions. Simply because of these a number of formerly independent states, members of the now defunct League of Nations, such as Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, will not be represented at the Paris conference. Moreover, for the same reason, nothing will be said at this and coming conferences on behalf of the true interests of the inhabitants of Western Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Bessarabia, Bukovina, the Kurile Islands, Eastern Prussia and eastern Germany. Moreover at Teheran, and elsewhere a most inhuman decision was reached compelling the forcible repatriation of all refugees from the Soviet "paradise," not only those who were Soviet subjects in 1939 but even those who fled as early as 1929. This was contrary to all international law and usage, and a denial of the traditional right of asylum to political refugees. Incidentally, Stalin could demand all this with the full authority of the totalitarian Soviet state behind him, but did the representatives of America and England have the authority to do it? Would Congress or Parliament approve it?

Evidently President Roosevelt must have had grave doubts on this subject, for several times he issued official assurances that all territorial changes would require the sanction of ratification at a peace conference before they became binding. From this alone it is clear that Soviet occupation of non-Soviet lands is still not officially recognized by America. Diplomatic representations of the Baltic states still remain in most countries.

One would think that the Paris peace conference would settle this matter once and for all. But such is not the case. The Paris conference has been summoned only to draw up final peace terms with Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and Finland. Meanwhile the fate of the Baltic states, as well as of the Western Ukrainian and western White Ruthenian lands and peoples, will continue as it is today. They will remain under Soviet domination, victims of Soviets imperialism, bereft of all liberties and rights, and oppressed and mistreated at every step.

Surely these peoples are entitled to at least some consideration by the western democracies. Surely the national and religious martyrdom they are now suffering under Kremlin misrule will awaken some feeling of compassion among those who engaged themselves in the last war in order to rid this world of the forces of evil. Surely they will not look

upon the suffering of the Ukrainian people with equanimity, with a feeling that it is merely a Soviet internal matter, not subject to any international scrutiny and aid. What is more, at a time when so much is being said by the war victors about securing the national rights of colonial peoples, and promising them independence or autonomy, surely the Ukrainian people, with their centuries-old national traditions and rich cultural heritage, merit at least the right to have their plight and true aspirations placed on the agenda of the deliberations of the peace conference.

Aside from all this, it should be constantly borne in mind that the Bolsheviki are a party to the Atlantic Charter as well as to the charter of the United Nations, both of which guarantee certain inalienable rights to the peoples of this world; yet both of these documents are being cynically violated by the Soviets. The fact that the Soviets have succeeded with their policy thus far, does not mean that they should be permitted to continue doing so. They should be called constantly to account for their violations of their obligations. Appeasement may have had justification during the war when allied unity was indispensable to victory over a common enemy. The danger period is over, and appeasement is now neither necessary nor fashionable. Confronted by a firm and united stand by the democracies against their gross failures to fulfill their Charter obligations, it is unlikely that the Soviets would risk war against them to attain their ends.

The failure to present such a firm and united stand against Soviet acts of aggression—for that is what all this grabbing of territory and oppression of human beings actually amounts to—will inevitably lead to the complete Bolshevization of Europe. That in itself will be as great, if not a greater, retardation of the progress of civilization as the victory of Nazism would have been. To avoid this calamity, the appeasement of the Soviets by the democracies, particularly America and England, must now, immediately, become a thing of the past. And the time and place to begin doing this, is at the Paris peace conference.

In practice this should mean the placing of all territories and populations forcibly acquired by the Soviets under the trusteeship of the United Nations Organization. If the Soviets raise the cry that the people whom they today control have submitted themselves voluntarily to the Soviet system, then there should be held there a free and unhindered plebiscite, to determine the true wishes of the populace, in accordance with the Atlantic Charter provision that "They respect the

right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live."

Under the supervision of UNO, it is essential that there be restored to the peoples of these now Soviet-occupied lands the Four Freedoms for which the past war was fought. None of these freedoms are today being respected by the Kremlin regime. Unless they do become respected in the densely populated Eastern and Central European regions, the integrity of the United Nations, particularly of the democracies—for hardly anyone expects anything from the Soviets—will be permanently destroyed there, and with it all chances of lasting peace. After all, a people made desperate by the gross inequities under which they are forced to live, always adopt desperate measures to help themselves.

All this has a special application to the Ukrainian people, particularly to those of Western Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine. From the international point of view, the settlement of their status is still provisional. Except for the communists themselves, all Ukrainians, the world over, fully agree that the Soviet so-called representatives of them actually do not represent them but are only mere mouthpieces of their Moscow rulers. Glad as they are that Ukraine was admitted at the San Francisco conference to the family of the United Nations, the Ukrainian people nonetheless never lose the opportunity of impressing upon the world that those "representatives" whom Moscow delegated to "represent" them speak and act in a manner which is in complete disharmony with the traditional Ukrainian national aspirations. They are merely puppets, and woe be unto them if they dare to overstep the Communist party line. As drawn in Moscow, that line is actually a noose around the neck of the Ukrainian people, and is ever being drawn tighter and tighter.

Finally, much as the Ukrainians have aspired to the unification of their territories, they realize that the present unification under Soviet rule is but an imposition of the rule of a foreign power over all of them, of a power that seeks their national extermination by means of forcible denationalization, subtle though it may be. That is why the people of Western Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine do not in the least relish the Soviet absorption of them within the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. They well know that it is neither Ukrainian nor a republic, but just a cell in that "prison house of nations"—the Soviet Union.

From that cell the Western Ukrainians, naturally, wish to escape, not only for their own sake but also for the sake of their brethren of Eastern Ukraine, to whom they could be of a greater help if free of

Soviet domination. Of course, the Western Ukrainians do not desire at all to return under Polish rule, for they suffered more than plenty under it before the war. What they do desire now is the unification of Western Ukraine, Carpatho-Ukraine, Bukovina, and the Ukrainian part of Bessarabia into one administrative unit under the suzerainty of the United Nations Organization, and with the Four Four Freedoms guaranteed to them. Once that is done, their future fate would be subject to their wishes as expressed in form of a plebiscite. Such a settlement of the problem of Ukraine would be an outstanding proof of the sincerity and strength of the United Nations Organization. It would relieve the fears and anxieties of the small nations and their citizens and it would go far to restore that international morality of which men of good will have always dreamed and which alone can destroy the fear of war and give lasting peace and happiness to men everywhere.



THE UKRAINIAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

WHILE the course of the war in other theatres is fairly well known as a result of official military reports and the eyewitness accounts of war correspondents, a dark cloud of mystery hangs over the military operations and political developments which took place in Eastern Europe. Newspapermen from democratic countries were not welcome guests of the *Reichswehr* or of the Red Army.

In the few short trips to the front which were grudgingly arranged for American newspapermen by the Soviet authorities the correspondents were kept under close supervision and were given little or no opportunity to find out what was going on away from the larger cities and main lines of communication. As a consequence some important and dramatic aspects of the struggle in Eastern Europe have taken place unreported and almost unknown.

Because an iron curtain of concealment and censorship hung over the fronts of Eastern Europe, some serious misapprehensions gained widespread belief in the United States. It was often said, for instance, that there was no fifth column in Russia; and this was sometimes lightly accepted as a justification for the savage purges and numerous executions with and without trial during the thirties. Actually the Germans, despite the stupid brutality of their methods, were able to recruit more soldiers in Russia than in any other country they invaded.

General Omar Bradley, one of America's most distinguished field commanders, asserted last summer that between one hundred and one hundred and fifty thousand Soviet citizens were captured on the Western front alone. Still larger forces, enlisted largely among the discontented minor nationalities of the Soviet Union, Georgians, Turkomans, Cossacks and others, were enrolled in the army of General Vlasov, a Soviet military leader who consented to co-operate with the Germans after being captured. Units of this army have been turning up all over Europe, France and Italy and in the Balkans, after the regular warfare ceased.

It has also been widely assumed that, whatever might be the political shortcomings of the Soviet regime, its policy toward minor

nationalities was wholly admirable. But certain Soviet actions cast a long shadow of doubt on this assumption. Three of the autonomous republics of the Soviet Union, the Crimean, the Calmuck and the Volga German, together with smaller autonomous districts in the Caucasus, have been erased from the Soviet map as a result of widespread disaffection among their inhabitants.

And in the Ukraine, which after Russia is the most populous subdivision of the Soviet Union, large numbers of the people took up arms both against the Soviet tyranny and against the oppression of the invading Nazis. Especially in the territory west of the Dnieper, where Ukrainian national consciousness is especially strong, a political situation arose in many regions similar to that which prevailed in the Ukraine during the Russian civil war of 1918-1920.

At that time the majority of the Ukrainian people, especially in the villages, disliked both the revolutionary tyranny of the Reds and the reactionary tyranny of the Whites. Taking up arms under guerrilla leaders, they fought for a free and selfgoverning Ukraine. This same attitude prevailed during the recent war, and many of the losses sustained by the German and Soviet armies in the fighting in the Ukraine were not inflicted on each other but were sustained at the hands of the guerrilla Ukrainian Insurgent Army, or UIA.

Poland was partitioned between the Soviet Union and Germany in the autumn of 1939. Eastern Galicia, with its large Ukrainian population, was incorporated into the Soviet Ukrainian Republic. Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina were taken from Rumania by the Soviet Union in the summer of 1940. Northern Bukovina and the predominantly Ukrainian parts of Bessarabia were then assigned to the Soviet Ukraine.

Active Ukrainian nationalists fled from this area of Soviet occupation. They worked out plans for the development of a nationalist underground movement in the territory under Soviet control. When the Germans struck at the Soviet Union on June 21, 1941, Ukrainian underground forces took advantage of the confusion and demoralization in the Soviet occupied regions and seized control of many places.

The existence of an Ukrainian state was proclaimed in Lviv, the largest city of Eastern Galicia, on June 30, with Dr. Kost Levitsky, former Premier of the Republic of Western Ukraine, as President of the Ukrainian National Council and Yaroslav Stetzko, editor of the pre-war illegal Ukrainian nationalist "Bulletin" as Prime Minister. This was a clear challenge to the German Government to declare its policy.

Had the Germans been willing to co-operate with the Ukrainian nationalist leadership and to set the Ukraine free from Soviet rule a good deal of popular co-operation might have been anticipated. But the Nazi leadership, drunk with power and success, chose to follow a policy of unilateral conquest, domination and enslavement. The Ukrainian government was liquidated and prominent Ukrainian nationalists were shot or imprisoned.

This was the prelude to an extremely complicated struggle for freedom under Ukrainian nationalist leadership. Ukrainian guerrilla forces fought simultaneously against the German military rule, resisting food requisitions and deportations for labor service in Germany, and against Soviet armed units. According to reports reaching this country from Ukrainian nationalist sources, the popular guerrilla movement in the wooded and swampy and hilly regions of the Ukraine was almost entirely under nationalist leadership. Soviet activity behind the German lines was carried on by regular army groups which had remained behind the line of the front and by picked forces which were dropped by parachute.

The UIA tried to link the cause of the Ukraine with that of other nationalities of the Soviet Union. Amid the confusion of the war considerable numbers of Red Army soldiers from the Caucasus and Central Asia and from other minority regions became separated from their units or deserted. The UIA was able to enlist Georgians, Azerbaijan natives, Tartars, Calmucks, Uzbeks and others in national formations and sent some of them back to form liberation groups in their own countries.

Representatives of thirteen nationalities, incorporated in the Soviet Union held a secret conference on September 23, 1943, and drafted a general plan and tactics to be employed in the struggle against Communist dictatorship. Some of the drastic punitive measures which the Soviet authorities have applied in nationality republics are to be explained by this new resurgence of independent national consciousness.

The decisive German defeat at Stalingrad in the winter of 1942-43 marked the turningpoint in the war on the eastern front. During the last months of 1943 and the first months of 1944 the Soviet war machine, strengthened by the increasing flow of lend-lease *materiel*, rolled steadily westward. The Germans, who had adopted the most ruthless measures in persecuting the Ukrainian nationalist movement during their period of success, now tried to come to some working military arrange-

ment with the UIA. This was rejected, just as the Polish Home Army under General Bor refused to compromise with the Germans even when it became clear that there would be little Polish freedom under Red Army control.

As the Germans were driven from the Ukraine the principal struggle of the Ukrainian nationalists was directed against the restoration of Soviet military and civilian authority. There was an especially determined effort to wipe out units of the NKVD (special political police) and other organizations which were especially associated with oppression. There was also a systematic effort to oppose the restoration of the collective farms and to sabotage Soviet mobilization orders and food collections.

A conspicuous success of the UIA was the ambushing of a Red Army detachment near the town of Kremenets in the winter of 1943-44. One of the leading Soviet military commanders, Marshal Vatutin, was mortally wounded in this battle and subsequently died in a hospital in Kiev. The circumstances of his fatal wounding were never published in the controlled Soviet press.

The Germans tried to blot out the Ukrainian national consciousness altogether. The Western Ukraine was administered as part of the General Government of Poland and Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina and a considerable stretch of Ukrainian territory east of the Dniester, including the city of Odessa, were handed over to Rumania as an inducement to fight in the war on the German side.

The Soviet method of attacking Ukrainian freedom is more subtle. The form of national independence and national unity is given without the substance of genuinely free elections and a regime based on law and personal and civil liberties. The Soviet authorities are anxious to leave no centre outside the Soviet frontier which could be a rallying point for independent Ukrainian nationalism. Besides restoring its 1941 borders, with the inclusion of the Western Ukraine, Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia, the Soviet Union has absorbed Carpatho-Ukraine, the rugged hilly country which was formerly the eastern part of Czechoslovakia. An autonomous Ukrainian regime had been set up there under the presidency of Monsignor Voloshin on October 26, 1938. When the Germans invaded Czechoslovakia in March, 1939 Carpatho-Ukraine proclaimed its independence.

But then, as on other occasions, Nazi Germany showed no sympathy with the ideal of an independent Ukrainian state. Carpatho-Ukraine was assigned to Hungary and the Voloshin regime was quickly

liquidated. The absorption of Carpatho-Ukraine into the Ukrainian Soviet Republic has been accompanied by ruthless persecution of the Uniate Church, of which many of the Western Ukrainians are communicants. Established in 1596, the Uniate Church combines the Eastern ritual with recognition of the spiritual supremacy of the Pope.

Uniate Catholics were subjected to persecution under the rule of the Tsars, who wished to bring them into the Orthodox Church. By an ironical turn of history the Soviet regime, although completely atheistic, so far as the personal convictions of Stalin and its other leaders are concerned, has revived the persecuting methods of the Tsars, without even the excuse of being inspired by religious fanaticism.

The attempts of the Orthodox Church, backed by the Soviet authorities, to force the Uniates to give up their faith is inspired by the Soviet Government's desire to eliminate all ties with the West and all associations with a period when the Western Ukrainians were not under Russian rule. The attempt to destroy the Uniate Church and the political motives behind it were reflected in a Moscow radio broadcast announcement on March 17, 1946, to the effect that the Uniate Church of the Western Ukraine had decided to return to the Orthodox Church.

The broadcast cited a message sent by a so-called Uniate Church Synod in Lviv to Prime Minister Stalin on March 8 which contained the following statement:

"The abolition of the clerical sovereignty of the Vatican has become possible only now that all Ukrainians have been reunited in a single state. Henceforth nothing can separate our unified Ukrainian people."

Behind this declaration of a "Synod" which was of extremely dubious ecclesiastical validity lies a sordid story of exploitation by a godless government of a religious organization in order to promote purely secular ends. Part of this story is summed up in a statement by Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, reported in *The New York Times* of March 1, 1946. Cardinal Tisserant asserted that east of the Curzon Line Soviet policy aimed at the destruction of Catholicism, that Catholics in the Western Ukraine were being deported, imprisoned, put to forced labor and killed if they refused to join the Orthodox Church. More than one fifth of the priests in the Catholic diocese of Ruthenia had already been banished to Soviet Central Asia, according to Cardinal Tisserant.

It is noteworthy that no Ukrainian Bishops associated themselves

with the declaration of the so-called Synod. It was signed by three apostate Uniate priests, Dr. Gavril Kostelnik, Dr. Mikhail Melnik and Dr. Anton Pelvetsky. These three men were recognized by the Soviet authorities as constituting a "Committee of Initiative for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church." This Committee was given an exclusive right of control of Catholic parishes of the Western Ukraine. A document signed by P. Khotchenko, Soviet Ukrainian Government representative for Orthodox Church Affairs, contained the significant clause that the Committee of Initiative should communicate to the state representatives for Orthodox Church Affairs the names of "deans, priests and superiors of religious houses who refuse to submit to the Committee of Initiative."

Under this decree at least seventy Catholic churches were seized, with all their property, and handed over to the Orthodox Church.

When the Red Army entered Galicia during the spring and summer of 1944 the behavior of the Soviet civil authorities toward religious institutions was at first much better than was the case during the previous Soviet occupation in 1939. Churches and seminaries remained open; monasteries were not molested; crosses and ikons were permitted in public hospitals. There was little open propaganda for atheism. This attitude of the occupation forces reflected the changed policy toward religion which went into effect in Russia itself during the war years.

However, the official attitude toward the Catholic Church underwent a sharp change toward the end of 1944. The Soviet Government apparently had reached a decision to wipe out Catholicism in the territories which were annexed to the Soviet Union. At first methods of persuasion were employed. The newly elected Orthodox Patriarch Alexis issued an appeal to the Uniates to join the Orthodox Church. This appeal ended with the following sentences:

"Break, tear the bonds which bind you to the Vatican. By its habitual methods it is leading you into darkness and spiritual ruin. At this time it wishes to make you turn your backs on the whole world, arming you against freedom-loving men. Hasten to return to your Mother's embrace, to the Russian Orthodox Church. We shall soon celebrate the liberation of the world from Fascism, the source of aggressions and evils. It is necessary that at the same time we shall celebrate your return to the faith of your ancestors, to the house of the Father, to union with us, to the Glory of the Triune God, to whom be honor and glory forever and ever."

This appeal, in which political motives are thinly disguised by religious phraseology, met little success. A very small number of priests and laymen forsook the Uniate for the Orthodox Church. Ruthless measures of persecution, exceeding the most extreme methods of the reactionary Tsar Nicholas I, soon followed. All Uniate Catholic Bishops were arrested on April 11, seminaries were closed and the police conducted house-to-house searches and investigations. Many Uniate priests were deported.

According to reliable underground reports, the Metropolitan of Lviv, Monsignor Slipyj and the Bishop of Stanislaviw, Monsignor Chomyshyn, have died in a Soviet prison in Kiev. Monsignor Latiszewskij, Bishop Adjutant of Stanislaviw, Monsignor Lakota, Bishop Adjutant of Peremyshyl and two bishop adjutant of Lviv are still in prison.

The few Ukrainian Uniates who live west of the new Soviet-Polish frontier are being forcibly transferred to the east. It is Stalin's design to "liquidate" the Ukrainian national issue permanently by bringing all Ukrainians under the control of the NKVD within the Soviet frontiers.

It is an ironical fact that the Russian Orthodox Church leadership is becoming an accomplice in the use of the same methods of secular persecution which were employed against this Church in the first years of the Soviet regime. In the early twenties the Patriarch Tikhon was arrested and all the administrative power of the atheistic Soviet state was placed behind a movement to split the Orthodox Church by favoring a few ecclesiastics who were willing to lend themselves to this scheme and set up a so-called Living Church.

For a time the Living Church obtained possession of the Moscow Cathedral, which was later destroyed so that a huge "Palace of Soviets" could be erected on its former site, overlooking the Moscow River. But this maneuver foundered on the stubborn resistance of the majority of the Orthodox believers. The Living Church never won any wide measure of support. It vanished altogether after the Soviet Government in 1943 permitted the reinstatement of the Patriarchate and thereby accorded limited recognition to the Church.

Now the Orthodox Patriarch is lending the weight of his spiritual authority to a campaign of brutal persecution, carried on by the completely irreligious agents of the Soviet political police by exactly the same methods which these agents employed against the unity of the Orthodox Church itself in the early twenties. There could hardly be

more convincing proof that in a totalitarian state there can be no genuine freedom of religion, in the American or West European sense of the term. The totalitarian state recognizes no distinction between the things that are due to God and the things that are due to Caesar. It claims everything for Caesar.

Another aspect of the Soviet policy of blotting out any possibility of expression of a free Ukrainian nationalist viewpoint is the insistence on reclaiming Ukrainian refugees who are outside the Soviet zone of occupation. The principle has been accepted and apparently fairly well observed in practice up to the present time, that Poles and citizens of the Baltic Republics, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, are not to be forcibly repatriated. Large number of these peoples have been kept in refugee camps and supported by the UNRRA.

Ukrainians unfortunately have not enjoyed even this precarious and uncertain right of asylum. Cardinal Tisserant, in the public statement which has already been mentioned, indicates that fearful tragedies have occurred when Ukrainians have been handed over to the Soviet authorities against their will:

"Scenes of great sorrow and despair have occurred in the concentration camps of displaced persons in Germany, Austria, Italy and elsewhere. Some Ruthenians have declared they would rather die than put themselves in the Communist power, and these have asked for a Christian death."

The stifling of the movement for a free Ukraine which was carried on under great handicaps before and since the First World War is one of the many tragedies of warwrecked Europe. The idealistic and humanitarian principles for which the war was supposedly fought are not compatible with the handing back of hundreds of thousands or millions of helpless refugees to the prospect of death or slavery. Ukrainians should be given rights of asylum on the same basis as Poles and citizens of the Baltic countries.

It is neither practicable nor desirable to keep large numbers of people in the pauperized existence of refugee camps. It is high time that some large scale scheme of resettlement be set in motion, that immigration possibilities to all parts of the world be thoroughly explored. Before the Second World War considerable numbers of Poles, Spaniards and Italians came to work in underpopulated France. The French population problem has been aggravated by war, deportations and malnutrition. It might well be possible to settle some refugees permanently

in France as French citizens. Others could find a new home in North and South America.

Finally, it is to be hoped that some enterprising newspaper correspondents will be able to visit the Western Ukraine and report what has occurred and is occurring in that part of Europe. There has been some limited freedom of travel and reporting in Poland and Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. But nowhere, except in the Baltic states, has the iron curtain of silence been so rigidly pulled down as in the Western Ukraine. The outside world should be getting some reliable news from Lviv and Ternopil and Stanislaviw and Chernovitz and other cities and towns and rural areas in this part of Europe.



SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY: THEORY AND PRACTICE

By FLOYD A. CAVE, PH.D.
San Francisco State College

The New Soviet Nationalism

CURRENT attempts at interpretation of the real aims of the U.S.S.R. in foreign policy, as contrasted with the traditional doctrinal assertions of the Soviets, dressed in the verbiage of Marxian dialectics and fitted to contemporary situations by the skillful adumbrations of Stalin and his clique, fluctuate between rhapsodic eulogies of the new Soviet Nationalism by such writers as H. A. F. Eulau who contends that the stigmata of traditional nationalism characterizing recent developments in Russia is chimerical and that the social purpose of this new movement is still in complete harmony with the ultimate ideals of the Communist Revolution; and the bitter iconoclasm of Lev E. Dobriansky who unabashedly asserts that the exploding of the economic doctrines of Marx in the period prior to the Revolution did not destroy Marxism but left a distilled essence described as the spirit of revolutionary terrorism. This spirit, Dobriansky contends, has been the motivating force behind all of the policies of the leaders of Red Russia and explains the conflicting policies which have so mystified the western world. This dangerous and subtle force, Dobriansky argues, can have no final solution except nihilism.¹

Neither of these interpretations seem wholly tenable. Present expansionist policies of the U.S.S.R. are so far removed from the ideals of world brotherhood propounded by Marx, and the policies of regimenting the workers of Russia by the Moscow dictatorship so completely inconsistent with Marx's conceptions of a political state run by and for the working class, that Eulau's ecstatic exhortations on these points appear unacceptable. The same is true as regards his contention that Soviet cultural toleration should remove all objections to absorption by the U.S.S.R. of the nations of Central-Eastern Europe. How the Baltic

¹ Cf. H. H. F. Eulau, "The New Soviet Nationalism," *Annals*, vol. 232 (March, 1944), p. 26, and Lev E. Dobriansky, "Ukraine in Mid-Twentieth Century, A Theoretical Education," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (September, 1945), p. 332 ff.

Nations and the Ukrainian people have reacted to Soviet domination should render absurd Eulau's picture of the Russian Colossus as the "leader of Europe's enslaved peoples" and as having "solved the nationality problem."²

Conversely, while the utmost respect must be rendered Dobriansky's scholarship and brilliant analysis, nevertheless his conclusions that the essence of Sovietism is revolutionary terrorism, the ultimate end of which is self-destruction, must be considered suspect. A distinction must be made between means, aims, and ends. That the end of the dictatorial and oppressive policies of the rulers of the Kremlin may be nihilism is arguable. But that the aim is such seems an untenable position. Basically, the essential purposes of any state (and the U.S.S.R. is no exception) are twofold: (1) the maintenance and augmentation of the national community and its essential interests; and (2) perpetuation of the ruling class and its retainers. Essentially, therefore, revolutionary terrorism must be viewed as only one of the weapons employed by national states in their struggles for power—because only through power can these fundamental purposes be attained and perpetuated.

Ideologies and the Power Struggle

While it is true, as Dobriansky says, that western theorists have exploded Marxian economic doctrines long ago, it is not correct to say that these doctrines have not been powerful weapons of offense in furthering the aims of the Red leaders. On the contrary, Marx's teachings, assiduously spread by various generously subsidized agencies, have become to the unsophisticated and escapist minded masses abroad a hope of better things and awakened vague aspirations of sympathy and cooperation. Behind these delightfully embroidered vistas of Elysian fields, the leaders of the Kremlin drew a dark curtain which masked the crude realities of exploitation and enslavement of conquered peoples. Thus, the world was immobilized by its visions of a utopian future and the U.S.S.R. was permitted to strengthen its hands for the ultimate struggle with the capitalist democracies for world supremacy.

At the end of the second world war, the western democracies were still bemused by Soviet propaganda weapons. If there is anything fundamental enough in Marxist-Leninist theory to demand adherence by the present masters of Soviet Russia, it is the doctrine that the capital-

² Eulau, *op. cit.*, p. 28 ff.

ist-democratic state must be overthrown in order to liberate the working masses from the exploiting master classes, and, in the eyes of the present ruling clique at Moscow, the United States and Great Britain epitomize the picture of capitalist-democracies painted by their prophets. The conclusions are as clearly drawn here as those of Hitler were in *Mein Kampf* against Russia. Yet, public opinion in the great democracies cannot or will not accept them.⁸

Throughout the war, though the United States opened wide her storehouses and poured munitions of war into the fast weakening bastions of Russian power, thus enabling the U.S.S.R. to maintain its resistance to the German attack, Moscow continued its attitude of suspicion and distrust. At no time was the Kremlin willing to remove the veils of censorship and permit allied correspondents access to sources of accurate information as to Russian resources and methods. The same censorship was extended in all of the areas occupied by Red Army forces. By their failure to acquaint their own peoples with the aims and policies of the Kremlin to crush democratic institutions in these countries, and by their weak yielding to Soviet demands, the governments of the western allies bear a partial responsibility for the delivering over to Soviet despotism of the democratic peoples of the Baltic Nations, the destruction and dismemberment of democratic Poland, and the crushing of the liberties of the Ukrainian people. These obvious violations of democratic justice and of solemn pledges made in the Atlantic Charter will forever remain as irremoveable blots upon the honor of the great western powers. Their honor can be redeemed only by restoring to these peoples the liberties which belong to them.

The Realities Behind the Ideologies

The conflict between the Soviet Union and the Western Allies was not engendered by the victory of the Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution and the resulting accession to power of a radical anti-capitalistic clique of revolutionaries. This conflict between rival national states had always existed in latent form. It was brought into more vigorous life by the energetic leadership of the new regime, though during the years preceding World War II the policy of the U.S.S.R. had to be a defensive one because internal weaknesses prevented the use of any

⁸ See Melvin Rader, "Soviet Communism," in J. S. Roucek, ed., *Twentieth Century Political Thought* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1946), pp. 23-27.

other means. Nevertheless, the coming struggle was clearly seen in those early years by Soviet leaders and given overt expression many times.⁴

The presence of Germany between Russia and Western Europe made necessary a death struggle between the two powers in order to pave the way for the emergence of one or the other as a contender for the mastery of the world. Russia's victory enabled her for the first time to extend her system over new areas of Europe and Asia, and gave her visions of world conquest. The elimination of Germany brings the two giant protagonists of different world views into direct conflict.

The bases of conflict between the Soviet Union and the Western Allies derives from two elemental motivations: (1) the nationalistic will-to-power of the great nations involved; and (2) the categorical differences in ways of life between them. The will-to-power of national groups is not unconditional. Small states of the world have given up attempts at military competition in most cases. But this policy compels them to seek protection from larger states and meekly submit their wills to them. In the case of the great powers, however, motives of national pride, self-respect, and the natural desire to expand and dominate, drive their leaders with overwhelming force to implement these national ambitions. As regards the United States, the ample political security provided by her geographic position, and the comfortable economic circumstances in which she finds herself, tend to moderate these drives. The U.S.S.R., on the other hand, because its destinies are in the hands of leaders whose will-to-power is unchecked by an active and informed public opinion and because these leaders live in fear of the capitalistic-democracies whose superiority in productive power is self-evident and which will, they believe, be employed to destroy the Soviet way of life, has no alternative but to expand.

To what ends are these expansionist moves of the Moscow clique aimed? Obviously, Dobriensky's answer will not suffice. Much more to the point would be the reply that Russia's leaders aspire to conquer and dominate the world. With Great Britain and the United States eliminated, no impediments would remain to unfettered control by the Soviet Union of the peoples and resources of the world. The prize now presented to the calculating schemers in the Kremlin is truly stupend-

⁴ Cf. H. C. Wolfe, *The Imperial Soviets* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1940), p. 266 ff.; and D. J. Dallin, "Russia's Aims in Europe," *American Mercury*, Vol. LVII, No. 238 (October, 1943), p. 393.

ous in its proportions and magnificent in its promise of the enjoyments to be realized if the riches of Europe and the Americas were laid at the feet of the Red Dictator. Such a denouncement would truly overshadow the grandiose dreams of Lenin and Trotsky for world revolution and a universal dictatorship of the proletariat.

If world conquest is taken as the underlying purpose, the bewildering contradictions of Soviet foreign and domestic policies become more understandable. While the U.S.S.R. was receiving large contributions of munitions of war under lend-lease, Moscow professed itself as "democratic and peace-loving," although at the same time it had abolished democratic liberties through blood purges, censorship, and regimentation of labor, liquidation of opposing political parties, and severe restrictions, on freedom of association. While posing as the "friend and defender of the small nations," the U.S.S.R. attacked Finland and absorbed part of its territory; seized and incorporated the Baltic States into the Soviet Union; invaded Poland on the ground that it was inhabited by Ukrainians and White Ruthenians and took half of her territory; and annexed Bessarabia and Bukovina for the same reason.⁵

These ruthless offenses against small states were only the beginning. Soon the Red Armies rolled over the small states of Central-Eastern Europe and were followed by political manipulators who speedily and efficiently began to overturn established democratic liberties, destroy moderate and conservative political parties, and create proletarian dictatorships against the wishes of a majority of the inhabitants. In remarkable imitation of the Nazis, Soviet agents began systematically to strip the land in these regions of its capital equipment transporting it bodily into Russia. Huge numbers of young workers were marshalled into labor battalions and marched into Russia as semi-slave labor. The same story is being repeated in Manchuria.⁶

While these activities of expansion, healing of the wounds of war, and augmentation of power in preparation for the ultimate test of strength were going on, Moscow was busy lulling western suspicions by sending observers to international conferences, professing faith in the U.N.O. and assuring the world of its desire for peace and demo-

⁵ Cf. E. Lyons "Appeasement in Yalta," *American Mercury*, Vol. 66, No. 253 (January, 1945), pp. 461-468; and D. J. Dallin, *Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy, 1939-1942* (New Haven: Yale U. P., 1942), pp. 58-67, 89-93 ff.

⁶ "On Soviet Policies in the Occupied Territories," *Information Bulletin, Embassy of U.S.S.R.*, Vol. 5, No. 57 (June 12, 1945), pp. 6-7.

cracy. Yet, at the same time, Stalin announced to the world his intention to re-inaugurate the five-year plans with special emphasis upon the heavy industries, particularly steel, which form the basis for munitions of war. The quotas mentioned indicate that the Kremlin hopes to approximate the steel-making capacity of the United States within about five years. The signs of the approaching struggle are becoming all too clear.⁷

The problem of reconciling the rivalries of power-seeking national states, of modifying them in intensity or diverting them into less dangerous channels, at best an almost insurmountable task, is rendered even more difficult in the case of the United States and the U.S.S.R. the ruling classes of which sponsor ideologies which are radically opposed in essence and rigidly supported by propaganda-fed public opinion. These ruling élites are only too well aware that the victory of one nation over the other would mean the destruction of their vested positions of power and privilege. Under these conditions the power-struggle is intensified and embittered. Even the threat of the atomic bomb with its enormous potentialities for destruction, far from producing the will-to-peace, has only served to evoke even more rigorous competition. This is the core of the struggle now going on, threatening to rend the world into two hostile blocs striving for world mastery and unable to agree upon a settlement. Yet, through it all, the peaceful intentions of the Anglo-Saxon communities have been made abundantly clear by the rapid demobilization of their armies, and the evident desire of their peoples to make a stable peace and settle down to enjoy it.

With these peaceful intentions in mind, the Western Democracies were evidently content to allow the Soviet Union to keep her war gains as the price of peace but the aggressive tendencies of the U.S.S.R. soon gave them a rude awakening. Aroused to a defense of threatened outposts, the Anglo-Americans and their satellites have begun to orient their efforts to block the Russian moves and prepare for eventualities. Russia is striving to circumvent the organization of a bloc of nations in Western Europe associated with Great Britain and the United States and in particular to delay or prevent the formation of a military alliance between the United States and Great Britain while at the same time she consolidates her position of hegemony over Central-Eastern Europe as rapidly as possible.

⁷ Stalin's Pre-Election Radio Speech, Press Release, February 9, 1946.

Not satisfied with the acquisition of Koenigsburg as a port, and thus securing control of the lower Baltic Sea, the Kremlin is demanding control of the Dardanelles, bases in the Mediterranean, and free transit through the Suez Canal into the Indian Ocean. Soviet moves into Asiatic Turkey and Northern Iran indicate her desire to monopolize the great petroleum resources of these regions and gain access to the Persian Gulf. All of these moves are threats to the British lifeline to India and presage a Russian attempt to cut the British Empire into segments.⁸

In the Far East, the fall of the Japanese Empire, thanks to American efforts, has removed a potent check upon Russia's eastern flank and leaves her practically unimpeded in her expansionist moves in that area. The recent agreements at Yalta and the Sino-Russian Treaty have already yielded her the outright acquisition of South Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands, and important concessions in Manchuria and Korea. Using these as a base, the U.S.S.R. is in a position to turn southward and bring all of North China under her control. To these moves, the Western powers can offer little opposition since demobilization and revolts in India and the East Indies have placed them in a defensive position.⁹

The Techniques of the Struggle for World Mastery

The struggle for mastery of the world between the Anglo-American Allies and their satellites and the U.S.S.R. and its supporting states is being carried on essentially on three strategic levels: (1) the level of industrial supremacy where the Western Allies are endeavoring to maintain their industrial and technical supremacy over the U.S.S.R. and the latter is carrying on a prolonged and terrific struggle to "overtake and surpass" the Anglo-Americans; (2) the level of military competition where the armed forces of the rival coalitions are making their calculations and preparations for the final contest and using military forces as pawns in the game of power politics; and (3) the level of the world-wide struggle to extend the influence and prestige of the rival ideologies and ways of life with a view to securing the adhesion and

⁸ Cf. "New Tensions in the 'Big 3': Struggles for Postwar Power," *United States News*, XX:11, (March 8, 1946), pp. 11-13.

⁹ Cf. "New Crises in Troubled China: Struggle to Control Manchuria," *United States News*, XX:10 (March 11, 1946), pp. 23-23; and W. Lippman, "War Chances Outweigh Peace Chances," press release, March 12, 1946.

support of the other peoples of the earth to one or the other of the rival constellations. In this mighty contest so far, Moscow has taken the aggressive, while the Anglo-Saxons are playing a defensive game.

Russia's battle to outdo the industrial giants of the West has not so far been successful but of the magnitude of her prodigious efforts in the last twenty years there can be no doubt. Stalin has already announced the new goals and these frankly are aimed at achieving a parity with the output of the United States in heavy industry within the next five years.¹⁰

If the ruling élite in the U.S.S.R. can continue to secure from the Russian people the discipline and devotion to duty which has so far characterized the regime, it is hardly debateable but that the Slavic Colossus with its immense potential resources and manpower plus its rapid strides in technology and industrial production will sooner or later be able at least to equal if not to outproduce her rivals. When that goal is reached, Russia will be ready to march.

In the field of military potentials, unquestionably America's war effort entitles her to first rank as a military power and had that effort been continued on a comparable peacetime scale, she would have been able to dominate most of the world outside of the U.S.S.R. Rapid demobilization of the armed forces, however, has compelled retreats both in Europe and Asia and left the way open for the advance of the Red Army which Stalin a few days ago boasted was at the height of its strength. Absence of Allied effectiveness and the huge size and efficiency of the armies of the Soviet yields to the Kremlin an enormous advantage in its power moves into the land areas of Manchuria, North China, Iran and Asiatic Turkey, as well as Central-Eastern Europe where the dearth of allied troops makes such progress easy and allied sea-power cannot be employed. In addition, the weakened condition of Great Britain after an exhausting struggle and the attacks upon her outer bastions in India and the East Indies by native forces renders her incapable of adequate defense against such advances.

Thus, the U.S.S.R. is in process now of feeling out the weak points in Britain's defenses and moving into those areas which would tend to enhance her strategic position. The encroachments against Turkey and Iran are cases in point. Yet the influence and power of the Communist state can never become world-wide while Britain and the United States control the sea and the air. Hence, the age-long struggle of Russia to

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

secure outlets to the open seas is being renewed and intensified. The port of Koenigsburg, from Moscow's viewpoint, cannot fully satisfy this aspiration because it does not confer unfettered access to the Atlantic Ocean. Great Britain's control over the outlets to the North Sea and American control over Iceland place effective checks on Russia's freedom of action here. This applies also to the Northern ports of Murmansk and Archangel, the latter of which, in addition, is icebound part of each year.

A similar situation prevails in the Black and Mediterranean Seas where Turkey's control over the Dardanelles and Britain's hold on the Suez Canal put a definite check upon the naval aspirations of the Red dictator. Confident of her new found power, the U.S.S.R. is now, by her drives into Asiatic Turkey and Iran, and her demands for bases in the former Italian Colonies, and free access to the Red Sea through the Suez Canal, trying to break through the British defenses in these areas and reach the Indian Ocean through warm water ports. Russia's inadequate ports in the Arctic Ocean and the Maritime Provinces of Siberia (after her loss of Port Arthur to the Japanese in 1905) explain Stalin's deal with Roosevelt at Yalta whereby the former obtained the Kurile Islands in the Japanese chain and regained Port Arthur and Dalney in Manchuria, as well as access to them by means of the South Manchurian Railway. It is clear from these moves that Russia is laying the basis for competition with the Western Allies as an oceanic power. The Red navy and merchant marine are not large but Stalin has already begun to build up his fleet and these new gains makes it possible for him to harbor and defend it.¹¹

In the struggle for control of the air, the U.S.S.R. already has bases in Germany from which heavy bombers can attack London. Moscow is also eyeing Polar bases with a view to bombing attacks against North American positions over the Arctic Sea. Stalin has made claims to Spitzbergen and organized a North Sea Route Administration. Thus, in event of war, air power might become a decisive factor. In this type of contest, though the Anglo-Saxon Allies could probably outproduce Russia in the number of planes, the invention of the atomic bomb renders this superiority useless since only a few planes are required to carry destruction to an entire nation, or for that matter, rocket projectiles might be used.¹²

¹¹ "U.S.S.R. As An Oceanic Power," *United States News*, XX:17 (February 8, 1946), p. 28.

¹² "The Arctic: Strategic Crossroads of the Air," *United States News*, XIX:28 (December 28, 1945), p. 40.

Conquest of the world through sea and air power, however, must be considered a long time project. Meanwhile, Russia resorts to the alternative of victory through land forces in which she excels. Here, long-run Slavic supremacy seems assured because of the Red army "in being" and because of Russia's existing and potential superiority in manpower. As a result of her rapidly expanding population, experts concede that the U.S.S.R., by 1970, will be able to place upon the battle line thirty percent more young men of military age than Great Britain and the United States combined. Assuming achievement within five years of productive capacity equal or superior to that of the Western Powers, Moscow's problem would be essentially similar to that of Germany in 1939, namely by means of land and air forces to break through the lightly held defenses of Western Europe, overwhelm Great Britain, take possession of strategic bases in Africa, seize essential bases in the Atlantic, cross over to South or Central America, and having established bases in these regions, invade the United States. By the use of atomic bombs and other newly developed weapons of war, the Soviets could achieve initial surprise, paralyze resistance, and knock out power installations and centers. The slowly acting democracies would, perhaps, be overwhelmed before they could organize for resistance. On the other hand, if the democracies yield naval bases to the U.S.S.R. in an effort to appease her, the latter would then be able to build a great fleet and prepare for the final struggle on both land and sea.

The third major technique employed in this titanic struggle for domination of the entire globe is the use of the ideological weapon. The cumulative effect of the propaganda program of the U.S.S.R., supported by ample funds and equipped with every known psychological device of expert newsmen, has been tremendous in its appeal to peoples both of the western world and Asia. In the west where the conditions of life of the masses have been fairly comfortable, communistic dogmas have made slower headway. Yet, recent elections in Great Britain and France have shown the power of the Communist or radical vote. Nevertheless, there are signs in both Western and Eastern Europe that actual experience of the peoples of these areas with Communism and Communists is producing decidedly adverse reactions. In areas occupied by the Red army, the Kremlin is following a set policy of eradicating upper-class propertied elements, seizing the large landed estates and dividing them up among the non-propertied elements, going through the forms of democratic elections in which only Russian-sponsored parties are allowed to name candidates, and endeavoring to shift the

sympathies and support of the people towards the U.S.S.R. Though it is supported by some people, the evidence indicates decided opposition to the Soviet program from all social levels. This, in view of the record in the Ukraine and the Baltic States, might have been expected.

These signs of hostility to and abatement of the Red tide in Europe are encouraging but do not necessarily mean a Soviet retreat. On the contrary, the record of oppression by the U.S.S.R. of minority peoples in the Soviet Union indicates all too clearly the Red dictator's tenacity of purpose and the brutality of its execution. Moreover, in Asia where the standards of living of the depressed masses are far below even Russian standards and where universal resentment against the European colonial powers prevails, the Soviet propaganda of racial as well as economic equality, accompanied by financial and material aid, and (in areas where the Soviet has extended its political control) concrete demonstrations of the willingness of the Russians to practice equality, have secured a much more favorable response. The colonial uprisings in India and the East Indies now going on owe their origins in large part to extensive Soviet propaganda which began in 1917, and to the enormous growth of Russian prestige in the East which the Soviet victory over the Axis has engendered. The rapid spread of Communism in China and the colonial dependencies of the Western Powers is already threatening the foundations of the colonial empires, is placing them on the defensive in these areas, and has rendered them vulnerable to a Soviet attack. Since most of these areas are attached to the great land-mass of Asia, they can easily be reached by Soviet agents over internal land routes. The ultimate result of this shifting of satellites away from the democracies and towards the Soviet constellation might mean the break up the empires of the Western Powers and the extension of Soviet hegemony over most of the globe.

Ineffectiveness of Security Schemes

Against this global propaganda drive of the Russian Colossus, the Western Allies pose their plan for a United Nations Organization. In the spoken hopes expressed for this institution, the aspiration was voiced that it might, through a common concert of the great powers, destroy forever the threat of war and liberate from bondage the oppressed peoples of the world. The fatal fallacy of this reasoning, however, was the implication that once the fascist powers had been destroyed, the principal members of the new organization with their

mutually peace-loving and cooperative intentions would collaborate against any threat of war. It is already clear that the real threat to peace is not from the defeated enemy states but from the aggressive purposes of the Soviet Union. Under the circumstances, therefore, the U.N.O. cannot function effectively for peace as long as Russia can veto any action directed against her. However, as an agency for marshalling world opinion on the side of the Anglo-Saxon powers and of concerting opposition to the U.S.S.R. in event of war, the U.N.O. may prove a valuable asset.

Without doubt the liberation of the Ukrainian, Polish, White Russian, and Baltic peoples from the yoke of Soviet slavery and the lifting of the black curtain of Soviet hegemony over the peoples of Central Europe and the Balkans can only come about through the overthrow of the oppressive tyranny of the rulers of Red Russia. Deprived of all effective means of resistance, these liberty-loving peoples can hope for salvation only by intervention from without. Their expectations for immediate liberation were dashed by the failure of the Western Democracies to honor their pledges in the Atlantic Charter. Now it is too late, unless the Moscow dictatorship is eliminated. Why should the world remain half slave and half free? The Democratic Powers should ask themselves this question as the Soviets, behind a smoke-screen of words, prepare a deadly attack against them.

THE UKRAINIAN POSITION IN 1946

By CLARENCE A. MANNING

THE EARLY months of 1946 have witnessed a decided change in the attitude of the various peoples of the world toward the general political situation that developed after the close of the Second World War. It is still too early to evaluate this transformation of popular thought and to know how far it is going to extend but it is already safe to say that we are entering upon the first period of post-war activity in which the dominating trends for the next years are becoming evident.

For the people of the democratic nations of the United States, Great Britain and France, the First World War ended with the armistice of November 11, 1918 and to them everything that followed seemed an anticlimax. The stilling of the guns on the Western Front meant the coming of peace and they took little interest in the confusion that reigned over half of the continent of Europe. The struggle of Ukraine to declare and maintain its independence, the various efforts to secure self-determination for the many countries that separated themselves from the Russian Empire, the Communist and Bolshevik uprisings in various lands, all seemed unimportant and minor events. The Peace Conference met in Paris and came to certain decisions including the provision for a League of Nations but especially in the United States public opinion veered away sharply from world affairs and the spirit of Woodrow Wilson quickly lost touch with the general mood.

In 1945 the course of events was strikingly different. That year saw the ending of the Second World War with both Germany and Japan. To obviate the difficulties that were so evident in 1918, events were planned differently. The Atlantic Charter and the doctrine of the Four Freedoms had been given to a world weary of totalitarian aggression. To maintain the semblance of continuity, the United Nations had recognized at London various governments in exile, broadly representative of all the parties that had existed in the various states in 1939 and it was hoped that they would return to their countries and hold honest, free and democratic elections to determine the change that had taken place during the long years of enemy occupation. By 1945 it was clear that this hope would not materialize. Prior to June 21, 1941, during the

understanding of the alliance between Hitler and Stalin, there was a clear cut struggle between democracy and totalitarianism. Patriotic elements in the various lands had joined together behind the governments in exile and despite the desperate military situation, all seemed well.

With the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, everything changed. The Slav Congress organized at Moscow went its own sweet way in accordance with the wishes of the Kremlin and neglected or flouted the governments in exile. Yet so strong was the feeling that the Soviet Union was necessary to the successful prosecution of the war that the United States and Great Britain shut their eyes to the situation. One by one they allowed the various Slavonic governments in exile to be crowded from the scene by new Communist-dominated groups whom they gradually recognized instead of the older governments which had been associated with them since the beginning of the struggle. Various excuses were made to conceal this change in policy. It was argued that these new groups which could receive direct Soviet support were necessary to defeat the common enemy, the Nazis and Fascists. It was pleaded that nothing should be done to destroy the harmony that had been worked out among the Big Three. It was claimed that these groups represented economic democracy which was complementary to the political democracy of the West.

It was under this spirit and in the firm conviction that the important thing was the preservation of the unity that seemed to have developed in the heat and strain of war that the various conferences of the Big Three were held at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam and that the meetings at Dumbarton Oaks and at San Francisco produced the outline of the United Nations Organization. All minor questions of boundaries, of human rights, of the very essential ideas of civilization were treated as of no practicable value, for the great task before humanity was visualized as the construction of some sort of an organization that would speak somehow with the voice of humanity and would of course be good. The revelation of the atom bomb and the realization that another war would be infinitely more destructive than the last all added to the urgency of the need. There was the general belief that if the Western Powers would only trust Stalin sufficiently, he would respond and cooperate fully with them and this led them to one concession after another. It sounded plausible that the citizens of the Soviet Union would care to return home exactly as the citizens of France, of Belgium,

of Norway, and the Netherlands, and step by step provisions were made to satisfy the desires of the Soviets.

That was the mood of 1945. It was in accordance with that spirit that San Francisco admitted to the United Nations Ukraine and White Russia without thinking whether or not their Communist governments represented the people of those countries, or whether or not the people of these two nations had a legitimate right to express their own aspirations or desired to do so. It was in accordance with that spirit that the press, even the independent and liberal papers of the United States, deliberately avoided any stories, no matter how well authenticated, that called into question the motives of the Soviet leaders or the propriety of their actions. The careful reader of the newspapers and the student of world affairs could convince themselves that an era of good feeling had indeed started and that it was menaced only by the machinations of men of ill will.

There were indeed a few discordant notes. Reports from the territories occupied by the Red Armies began to filter in to the Western Powers and were printed by the foreign-language press in the United States and circulated by various groups of people who had a special interest in some of the occupied areas. Yet the mood of the day was inclined to treat these as mere propaganda often of a suspicious character.

What a change came in 1946! The failure of the Foreign Secretaries at London late in 1945 gave to the world the first hint that these stories that had been so roundly denounced contained at least a modicum of truth and that there were still wide differences between the point of view of Great Britain and the United States and that of the Soviet Union. Some men of undoubted integrity suggested that it was the duty of the United States to act as an intermediary between the other two powers, for it was inexpedient to present a united front against the Soviets. The old mood died hard.

Then came the meeting of the United Nations Organization in London. Despite the frantic efforts of its well-wishers, it was impossible to bar from the agenda the protests of Iran against the Soviets and the Soviet attacks on Great Britain over Greece and Indonesia, the latter of which was sponsored by the delegates of Ukraine. The meetings ended only after the Soviet Union had definitely invoked its veto as one of the Big Five and had made it clear that Soviet policy would not be swayed by the opinions of the rest of the United Nations. It became clear also that the satellite nations of the Soviets which had been

created to take the place of the governments in exile would follow relentlessly in the path of the Soviet Union.

It would be too long to mention the steadily rising list of places in which the Soviet Union is now facing the world with *faits accomplis*. There is the question of Manchuria and the reemergence of the Russian claims as they existed in 1905. There is the problem of the division of Korea which expected its independence after the Japanese conquerors had been expelled. There is the question of Soviet assertion of ownership over the Kurile Islands. There is the question of the Soviet demand for control of Tripolitania and of at least part of the Dodecanesus. There is the revelation of the Soviet espionage system in Canada.

All this has changed the mood of the day and despite the soft words of diplomacy there is an increasing demand on the part of the Secretary of State of the United States and such delegates to the United Nations Organization as John Foster Dulles and Senator Vandenberg that the United States must take a definite stand against the continued putting forth of new claims by the Soviet Union and this is countered by equally emphatic attacks upon Great Britain and various policies in the United States on the part of the government controlled Soviet press. The speeches of Winston Churchill in the United States calling for joint Anglo-American cooperation only added strength to this movement, although he was attacked by fellow travelers everywhere and by Stalin himself.

Whatever is to be the future of the United Nations Organization, it can be said aloud what has long been whispered in secret—that the world is being divided into a Western and a Communistic bloc. The former can be under the leadership of the United States. The latter is controlled absolutely by the leaders of the Soviet Union. Every one recognizes that the preservation of peace and the avoidance of a destructive war rests upon the mutual understanding of these two groups. Desperate efforts are being made to spread here a knowledge of the Soviet Union but there is no real evidence that similar sympathetic efforts are being made in the Soviet Union to acquire a knowledge of the ideals and realities of the Western world for purposes of peace. On the contrary there is an unparalleled flood of denunciations from Moscow and a renewed attempt to claim that the Western powers are only interested in maintaining Fascism, for everything which is not pleasing to the Communist party is Fascism, and Communism and democracy are identified in every dispatch from the Soviet capital. It is a direct challenge to the meanings of liberty and democracy, of human rights

and decency as they have been developed in the West since the rise of Christianity.

All this puts a heavy burden upon the Government of the United States and still more upon the American people. For over four years they have been encouraged to believe that all was well between the United Nations. They have been taught to believe that Germany and Japan were the sole enemies of the American way of life and they have looked forward to the ending of the war with the firm conviction that the major problems would be settled with the defeat of their enemies. It was in this spirit that they welcomed the United Nations Organization which appeared as the representative of humanity and of human aspirations. Many of its most ardent supporters are men and women of good will who look only to the ideal that it is supposed to embody and care little or nothing for the hard and consistent study which is necessary to glimpse these ideals in practice or for the thankless task of making them work in reality. There are unfortunately too many of these leaders who still shrink from making any contact with the Organization as it is in reality and will continue to talk as if the trends that appeared at London and elsewhere are mere growing pains and are not to be taken seriously and understood in their full significance. There are far too many people who still believe that the goal is so great that no price that Stalin asks can be too great to pay, so long the final goal is held up before the world. There are too many people who look with such horror upon the possibilities of another war that they refuse to understand the attitude of so many millions of the displaced persons that it is better to die than to return to slavery, even if it is labelled economic democracy.

There is also the danger that the clash between ideals and reality may create a new drift toward isolation as there came in 1919. Good and honest people who are conscious of the rectitude of their own motives, who are not desirous of taking land and property and life away from their neighbors, may far too readily decide that the task of holding up the ideals of civilization is too burdensome and that it is their duty to improve conditions at home and to make the United States prosperous without worrying about the danger that threatens Europe and Asia and other parts of the world.

Yet this would be the most fatal policy, because the implications of the claims of the Soviet Union cannot be limited to those points where they are now made manifest. The Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter were statements of world-wide significance and with the in-

creasing speed of communications and the increasing range of scientific invention, it will be impossible to maintain a happy isolation which might have been possible a century and a half ago.

For good or ill, the United States and the Western nations must realize that they must solve the problem that is offered to them. They must continue at whatever cost the great task of maintaining those human liberties, that sense of the dignity of the human personality that has been the key to Western civilization, and they cannot hope to avoid their obligations, either in the name of esoteric idealism or of selfish national prosperity. To do so will only involve worse hardships, worse destruction, and continue that policy of appeasement which led Europe so near to ruin.

In this struggle between freedom and slavery, between the Western ideals of civilization and the totalitarian rule of Communism, there can be no doubt where Ukraine stands. Even from behind the veil that has been thrown over the unfortunate country, enough has leaked out to show the price in death and deportation that the Ukrainian people have paid during the last twenty years. There were the millions who died in the famine of 1921. There were the millions more who perished in the artificial famine of 1932-3. There were the countless intellectuals, writers, and officials who were executed or committed suicide. There were the millions who were deported as dangerous nationalists, in order that their places might be taken by reliable Communists. There were the millions who suffered in the Second World War and there are those men, now labelled bandits, who have fought a heroic fight against both Nazis and Communists for they preferred to die like men in the tradition of the Kozaks rather than submit to certain destruction like a flock of sheep.

Beyond those in the former Ukrainian Soviet Republic, there are the inhabitants of Western Ukraine and of Carpatho-Ukraine. The latter struggled for a moment in 1938 and 1939 to establish even on a small scale a place where a Ukrainian could be free. They were destroyed by the Nazis and the Hungarians and have now been handed over by Prague to the tender mercies of the Soviets to join their fellow-Ukrainians in misery.

Western Ukraine became part of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic by virtue of the agreement between Hitler and Stalin, an action which should bring many high Soviet officials before the Allied Court at Nurnberg as prisoners and not as judges. They received nothing from the Nazis and were then claimed by the Soviet Union under the mood

of 1945. Already news is arriving of the fate that has befallen them in their new "paradise" and "fatherland," and it is not to be envied.

The Pope has spoken in no uncertain terms of the religious persecution of the Uniat Greek Catholic Church. Since the annexation of Western Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine to the Soviet Ukrainian Republic, practically all the bishops of the Church and a large part of the priests have been arrested. Steps are being taken to force the clergy and the congregations to accept the authority of the Soviet-selected Patriarch of Moscow and the Soviets have announced that all the Uniates have returned to Orthodoxy. Organizations and parishes, some of which were in existence under their present administration before the first settlement of the United States, are being ruthlessly closed and confiscated and all this is being done without regard to the wishes of the population or the various international agreements which were to determine the form of the United Nations.

Similarly the Ukrainian Orthodox Church which declared its independence from Moscow at the time of the independence of Ukraine is meeting the same fate, for the "independent" Ukrainian Soviet Republic cannot afford the dangerous heresy of having its own Church staffed by its own citizens, lest dangerous nationalistic tendencies take root in it.

The voice of Ukraine is clear but it cannot be made audible to the rest of the world, until that world is thoroughly awake. In that Ukraine stands with the Baltic Republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. It stands with the new Republic of Poland. It stands with the Yugoslavia of Tito and with all the other countries that are included in that new zone of security and of silence that is spreading for hundreds of miles beyond the Soviet borders of 1939.

The only people that are able to speak for Ukraine are the Ukrainians abroad and the people of Ukrainian descent who are living beyond the veil of silence. Some of them are in Western Europe; many of them are in the United States, Canada and South America. They and they alone have the right of speaking freely, in accordance with civilized laws and customs, and of presenting freely the cause of their people to the civilized world.

To-day they have a twofold problem. The first is the preservation of what has escaped the great holocaust. They have to preserve the remnants of the Ukrainians abroad, especially the intellectuals. When we think of the warm welcome that was granted a few years ago to the Ukrainian professors who were invited to form the Free Ukrainian

University of Prague, the professors in the Shevchenko Society of Lviv and in the Ukrainian Scientific Institute of Warsaw as well as many similar organizations that have been submerged by the rise of the Red flood, we can well understand what this means. Those professors and students who have survived must have an opportunity to renew their activity. There are some too from Eastern Ukraine who have succeeded almost miraculously in making their way to safety. All these must be aided in finding their place in the world and in continuing that Ukrainian scholarship which between the Wars was able to shed so bright a lustre on the name of Ukraine.

No one can overestimate the importance of this task but it is still but a small part of the problem. The major part is to organize the Ukrainians abroad and those Ukrainians who have become citizens of various countries to present the cause of Ukraine in a way that is in harmony with the accepted rules of civilization.

Ukraine needs spokesmen. She needs a united voice to express her desires and her sufferings. Too long petty political divisions have been allowed to stifle the central theme of a true, independent Ukraine. Too long minor political questions have separated friends and brothers. Too long, as in the days of the Kozaks, personal ambitions have served as a tool for her enemies and have blocked agreements for the common good and the general welfare.

To-day there are few Ukrainians in the United States and Canada who are not American and Canadian citizens. Their young men and women have fought in the armies of the United States and Canada in the war against the Nazis and the Fascists. Many of them have received the highest decorations for bravery in the service of their countries. They cannot take part in the formation of another government in exile or another National Committee as in the days of the First World War. Yet they can coordinate their ideas and their feelings in the knowledge that they are speaking for their cousins and relatives, and they can impress upon their governments that they are representing those feelings which they acquired from their parents and grandparents who had left their ancient homelands to be free. They can speak with a real authority about what democracy and liberty have ever meant to Ukraine.

That is the positive side. People of Ukrainian origin and descent must combine to impress upon the Western Powers that Ukraine has always stood for those ideals that have been an integral part of Western civilization. They must be able to prove that the ideals of Volodymyr

Monomakh and of the Kozaks fitted into that great tradition of humanity and civilization that has made the Western world what it was, that made of the peaceloving United States an arsenal of democracy, as the late President Roosevelt declared it, and that furnished the decisive margin for the final defeat of the Axis.

Yet it would be very false to believe that the mood of 1946 means automatically the welfare of Ukraine or an improvement in its condition. The enemies of the country are not so ready to accept defeat. In the past Ukraine has been attacked from many angles. In the future, the representatives of the Ukrainian people will be reproached because the United Nations Organization recognized them at the promptings of the Soviet Union. If the clash between the Western democracies and the Soviet Union grows deeper, we may well expect to hear that Ukraine is only a figment of the Soviet imagination, that it is and can be only a tool of Soviet imperialism, despite the fact that the representatives of the Ukrainians abroad appeared at San Francisco to demand a free Ukraine and thus the delegates of Ukraine at that conference had a very questionable Ukrainian character.

The first blow in this new campaign has already opened. General Denikin, the Russian commander who might have succeeded in overthrowing Bolshevism, had he been willing to make use of the Ukrainian armed forces and the spirit of the Ukrainians, has already appeared in New York and elsewhere in America, to resume the work which he achieved so gloriously in 1921 and 1922 in turning over the control of the country to the Bolsheviks rather than in allowing the population to decide what they wished. It is another facet of the monolithic state and we can be very sure that if tension develops, we will see a renewal of the claims put forth by Peter the Great and Catherine the Great that the future of Europe depends upon the preservation of that system which doomed two thirds of the continent to be the slaves of a central authority.

Other neighbors will produce the same arguments, for the possession of Ukraine guarantees to its owner the mastery of the rich grain fields and the mineral resources of much of Europe. That conflict has been going on, ever since the Tatar invasions, when the Grand Principality of Kiev ceased to hold the control of its own man power and its own resources. Every argument drawn from the contemporary scene has been invoked to stay the progress of Ukraine and yet to-day there are more Ukrainians in and out of the country that are aware of their history and destiny than ever before in history.

What specifically is to be done? Silence is bad, propaganda is worse. The conditions are changing by the hour, by the day and by the week. The Ukrainians who are able to speak must find their voice. They must of themselves determine what are the fundamental claims that they must support. They must determine what limits they wish to set to their actions and no friends, however well disposed, will be able to assist them in this. They must organize under intelligent leadership to support and preserve their writers, scholars, and thinkers who have escaped from the veil of silence to prepare a nucleus for their new life. They must coordinate their activities with those of their neighbors who have suffered from the same yoke and the same fate. They must wait actively, ready for the moment when the democratic world will be ready to listen to them and they must be prepared to act in unison and efficiently when the moment comes.

The mood of 1946 is indefinable and indefinite. All through 1919 and 1920 there was hope that ideals and realities could finally be brought together and that the twentieth century would develop in harmony with them. That did not occur. 1946 will be again a determining period. We can only hope that this time the ideals for which humanity has been striving will so come into effect that mankind can look forward to a new era of prosperity, that the displaced persons will meet with justice and mercy, that Europe and Ukraine can emerge from the veil of silence and suppression and that the entire world will accept a Bill of Rights that will eliminate once and for all the dark shadows of the last years. We can only hope that wiser counsel will prevail and that without further bloodshed and destruction the hour may be near when there will be a Parliament of man, a federation of the world, and that a free Ukraine may raise in that the message of Shevchenko, and of Franko, and that the positive sides of Western civilization may be proclaimed and accepted throughout a warless world.



OMINOUS FEATURES OF A DIVIDED WORLD

By LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

Ukraine's Wounds, Now the World's Pains

THE somber complexion of contemporary international developments, which have developed only a few months after the second world-wide war with all of its futile tragedy, human misery, and cultural sterility, has been succinctly summed up by President Eduard Benes of Czecho-Slovakia in his recent statement that "the period following the first world war was a statesman's dream of tranquillity compared to the present troubled time."¹ In a word, from his vantage point, no solid workable grounds exist for peace in Europe, and in the light of ample historical experience, we may validly infer, or in the world. The logical connection evident here between the dim prospects of peace in Europe and those in the world has, by the sheer force of events, if for no other reason, been generally accepted as axiomatic and self-evident. This experientially-founded generalization can hardly be honestly denied by any clear-minded observer. Yet, curiously enough, perhaps by reason of the blinding grandeur of such a kaleidoscopic perspective or of a fatuously overbearing historical myopia, the elemental existence of a European sub-nexus situation, basically underlying the above organic structural relation and therefore equally, if not more crucial to the development of war or peace, continues to be tactfully disregarded or ignorantly overlooked, not only in the perennially wishful deliberations of our statesmen and others allied in genuine thought and interest, but also in the growing discussions and intellectual output of the political scientists concerning Eastern and Central Europe. What is this situation?

For many decades now, those people who have fully understood European politics, and thus in large measure world politics, have argued strongly that it is unreasonable to separate the issue of Ukrainian national freedom from the total problem of European and therefore world peace. Their arguments have gone unheeded. Instead, as almost always, the cold and bloody experience of history has taught what sound thinkers have tried, but in vain, to teach. As in the first World War, so in this recent struggle the enormous strategic, and indeed

¹ A. P. release, Prague, Feb. 11, 1946.

indispensable, value of Ukrainian soil to any power seeking supreme domination over Europe has been again demonstrated by the bitter clash of Russian and German might over territory that belongs to neither. In obvious truth, then, it can be said that the power that conquers and subjugates Ukraine is *fundamentally prepared*, and enjoys a *potential capacity*, in both resources and area, to control Europe. Here has been the powerful base of Russian (Muscovite) expansionism into Central Europe in the 18th, 19th, and now the 20th century: here is the supply base of operations that German expansionism sought to acquire in the two World Wars of this century. How powerful, one might ask, would Russia be in Europe without conquered Ukraine? How quickly in fact the Germans lost when they relinquished victimized Ukraine!

This all-important fact vitally underlying the European political system the world failed to understand—indeed, still does not know adequately. The tragic aspect of this failure—at Versailles, in the League of Nations, and during this past war—is that it has basically facilitated the projecting of Europe and thus the world into two frightful wars in less than half a century, with all the consequent incalculable loss of human life and property. For this inexcusable failure the innocent Ukrainian people have had to pay the heaviest price. As Mr. Snow, who visited Ukraine over a year ago and so well depicted the situation in an article appearing in the *Saturday Evening Post*, in January, 1945, the unimaginable ravage and destruction brought on by Stalin's insane scorched-earth policy and the fierce imperialist engagements between the German and Red armies were chiefly on Ukrainian soil and not on that of Russia. Evidently on a foreign soil there need not be any limit to untrammelled sub-human destructiveness.

Moreover, this failure to comprehend the crucial importance of the naturally rich Ukraine has brought the world face-to-face again, as in 1815 and in 1914, with traditional Russian imperialist expansionism. There is the one significant difference, that this current brand of Russian imperialism carries within itself universal implications in its fanatical Bolshevik ideology. This opportunistic combination of narrow Russian nationalism, which is conveniently overstressed in moments of Bolshevik political uncertainty, as at the end of the first Five Year Plan and the German invasion of the "Fatherland,"² and universal Marxist preconceptions and shibboleths, fashioned to appeal

² See Timoshoff, N. S., "Russian Nationalism Under the Soviets" in *Thought* mag., Fordham University, v. XX, No. 78.

alike to politically-hungry paranoïacs, the neurotically restless, and the pathetically ignorant in other nations, affords a political weapon which the Kremlin nihilists have become peculiarly adept in employing. The most recent substantiation of this is furnished by Stalin himself in his delineation of the post-war party line. Whereas during the war, under pressures militarily and politically acute, he exclaimed time and time again that permanent peace can be established only through the quick elimination of the "fascist" powers, in his recent declarations he again advances the old warped socialist theory on war to the effect that this war, as the previous one, was the "inevitable result of the development of world economic and political forces on the basis of monopoly capitalism." Then, on the basis of this omniscient assertion as an unquestioned premise, his Bolshevik cohorts chime in with logically-drawn inferences, also not unfamiliar, that Russia is therefore still within a capitalist encirclement, which, as the final conclusion in this contrived syllogism, pragmatically necessitates the maintenance of Bolshevik vigilance supported by abnormally large armaments and armies. Such zigzags in Russian policy are not new, and must be regarded as the inevitable consequences of the power-driven political nihilism into which Marxism objectively degenerates.³

The world cannot now afford to fail in understanding this new challenge in old form. It must begin to comprehend more fully Russian communist objectives, methods, and techniques if safeguards against any eventuality are to be set up. But from whom may it know? Certainly best from those who have been subjected most to these methods, and have suffered most from them. The Ukrainian people scattered throughout Europe, Africa, and Asia today can serve best this requirement. Their mission, which the Kremlin greatly fears, can be to show their wounds to the world so that others may be spared the growing pains of Russian or Russian-sponsored tyranny. When, as reported not so long ago, American and British officers received a shocking surprise in western Germany over the unspeakable methods of the Soviet extradition of Ukrainians who owe no allegiance to Bolshevik tyranny, this was no surprise to the informed. There will be no end to such shocked astonishment among the English and American peoples, while other unfortunate peoples will be equally victimized, unless they are willingly informed by those who have long had first-hand experience with the Russian Soviet yoke. What are these experiences?

³ See author's article on "Ukraine in Mid-Twentieth Century," *Ukrainian Quarterly*, vol. 1, No. 4.

Soviet Subjugation of Ukraine and now of Others

The first of these numerous experiences is the imperialist subjugation of a free nation by Russian communism. Ukrainian history, it can be rightly said, is a democratic history of unyielding struggle for national freedom. Even before the traditionally despotic rise of Muscovy and then of Russia, the Ukrainian people had their own independent state from the 9th to the 12th century. After several centuries of national submergence under successive Tartar, Polish, and then Lithuanian rule, this struggle for freedom was resumed and established Ukrainian statehood again in the form of the Kozak Republic from 1648 to 1709. But once again this valiant people was subjugated—this time by the northern Muscovite Tzar Peter who, by a politically shrewd distortion of the old name Rus which have been applied to Ukrainian soil, named all the aggrandized territory under his yoke in 1721 as Russia and proclaimed himself Emperor. Peter's objective here is obvious—the elimination of the national distinction between his Muscovite people and the conquered Ukrainians. This the succeeding autocrats of this Russian imperialist system attempted to achieve through serfdom, severe oppression, censorship, and Siberian exile. The high point of this imperialist policy was reached in 1863 when Valuyev, the Minister of Interior, tried to convince himself and others operating under strict censorship that "there never was, is not, and never will be a Ukrainian language." But the die was already cast. The Ukrainians in the unconquerable spirit of Shevchenko and Franko were bent upon the truth—and freedom! The momentous opportunity finally came in 1917 when a revived statehood came through the foundation of the Ukrainian National Republic. What greater tribute can be paid to any people in its struggle for freedom than to the invincible, untiring Ukrainian people!

Yet this free state did not last. Its end came in 1922. And why? First, after so many centuries of oppression no one could have expected it to sustain itself without outside democratic aid as was given for example to Poland! It received no such aid from France, England and the United States because these countries failed then, as apparently they have even now, to understand the strategic importance of a free Ukraine. Secondly, Ukraine's traditionally land-hungry enemies—Poland, Russia and Rumania—quickly sent their respective armies into the field against the unaided Ukrainian forces. Finally, the treachery of Russian Bolshevism, capitalizing on the colossal disorder, as indeed it does elsewhere, sounded the death-knell of the free Ukrainian state.

How did Russian Bolshevism succeed in subjugating Ukraine to the will of the new autocrats at the Kremlin? This is the all-important question. Let us investigate first the speeches and writings of the leading Bolshevik leaders, the food for thought offered to many Ukrainian and Russian dupes. Here is one not improperly out of context: ". . . any Russian socialist who refuses to recognize the freedom of Finland and Ukraine is bound to degenerate into a chauvinist. And no sophistries, no references to his 'method' will ever justify him." ⁴ By whom was this spoken so ably? By none other than the self-anointed successor to Karl Marx, Vladimir I. Lenin. Here is a second important statement, also not improperly abstracted from its context, made on the eve of the Bolshevik seizure of power: "The first question is, how are we to arrange the political life of the oppressed nations? In answer to this question it must be said that the oppressed nations forming part of Russia must be allowed the right to decide for themselves whether they wish to remain part of the Russian state or to separate and form an independent state." ⁵ And from what respectable pen did this honored proclamation come? From that of Comrade Stalin. Judging by the events that followed, we can wholly agree with Lenin that Russian chauvinism alone destroyed the independence of Ukraine.

How did this chauvinism succeed? Spreading by now the well-known gospel of national independence and the goodwill distribution of Russian and Polish-owned estates among the Ukrainian peasants, the Red forces strategically seized control of Ukraine as all the gullible factions in Eastern Ukraine, believing this ruse, combined to drive out an imperialist Polish army. Then, on March 18, 1921, Poland and Russia, and the then independent Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic signed at Riga, Latvia, treaties of peace. But this independence was not for long. By February 22, 1922, Soviet Ukraine was forced into an agreement with Soviet Russia, and had to confer upon the latter powers of representation at the international conference then in Genoa. By this act Ukraine was again placed in submission to Russia, and has been so ever since. As Comrade Stalin has so often said, the constituent republics are only "theoretically free" to separate themselves from the Union—a genuine witness to the measure of Bolshevik integrity.

By these tricky actions, the Ukrainian base of operations was again achieved for that Russian expansionism which the world is wit-

⁴ Lenin-Stalin, "Selected Writings and Speeches," pp. 114-115.

⁵ "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question," pp. 62-65.

nessing today. Moreover, significantly enough Ukraine served as the testing-ground for Soviet expansionist strategy. As Stalin teaches, "Tactics change according to the ebb and flow." How was this strategy of Russian bolshevist expansionism first applied to Ukraine and now today to the other Eastern European countries with the sole difference that Soviet policy in the present cases is conveniently arranged to relieve any world-wide apprehensions? The Russian communist apologist, Popov, summarized it well in the case of Ukraine when he wrote in 1927: "As far as we Bolsheviks are concerned, Ukrainization never was and is not an end in itself. It is only a method of establishing a closer contact with the Ukrainian masses. Without such close contact the Party cannot work in Ukraine."⁶ In a word, then, national Ukrainian consciousness was used as the tool of Russian communist imperialism. How does this differ essentially from the tactics employed by the Soviets today in Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, northern Iran, strategic Inner Mongolia and elsewhere? Not a bit. As the usually instructive refugee Russian analyst, Dr. Dallin, states: "Present (Soviet) expansion seems like Tsarist expansionism, yet the program is different—it is one of 'intensive revolution.' Even larger in scope than the program of old Russia, the scheme implies that the lands and nations which fall into the Soviet sphere will be ruled by a government of the same nationality, which is alleged to be sufficient and decisive proof that they will be really independent."⁷

In the light of this Ukrainian experience, when Comrade Stalin, as he has done recently in a speech on the eve of the sham Soviet election, lauds the multi-national state system, presumably that of the Soviet Union, as the solution to the "national problem and the problem of collaboration among nations," the erstwhile chauvinist, according to Lenin's definition, is again speaking. The blatant falsehood of this rests on two solid grounds: (1) Ukraine's experience to the present time, despite the Charlie McCarthy representation of Ukraine in the United Nations in the person of Mr. Manuilsky, and (2) the current exaggeration of chauvinistic Russian nationalism in the USSR which further nominalizes the national identities of the Ukrainians, Georgians, and others,⁸ and therefore permits of such McCarthies as Manuilsky. The great danger of Stalin's false adulation of the Soviet

⁶ The "Communist," 1927, No. 120.

⁷ "The Big Three," p. 82.

⁸ See Dallin, D., "Stalin the Infallible," *The Partisan Review*, Winter, 1946, p. 133.

brand of the multi-national state system, which is in reality a barbaric form predicated on the superiority-inferiority principle of multi-national arrangements, is that it offers a standing invitation to other nations, under the guidance of communist collaborators, to join it. If the world is not to endure the pain of a late recognition of this danger and its possible realization, it would do well to examine Ukraine's wounds—the effects of an early application of "intensive revolution."

Soviet Prostitution of Democracy

The second Ukrainian experience with Soviet tyranny concerns the prostitution by the Soviets of conceptions of freedom and democracy. First, what have been the concrete blessings of this Soviet brand of "freedom" and "democracy" to Ukrainian political and social life. After subordinating Ukraine to the will of Moscow, the Soviet leadership evidently took to heart Lenin's political principle as declared by him in 1920: "We have to use any ruse, dodges, tricks, cunning, unlawful method, concealment, veiling of truth." To soften the sharpness of injured Ukrainian national feelings, a period of "concessions" was instituted in 1922. The Ukrainian language was decreed compulsory in schools and universities, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences at Kiev was manned with competent Ukrainian scholars, and a limited degree of economic freedom was permitted although political controls for obvious reasons still remained with the Kremlin. But this bright period of conciliation came to an end in 1928, the year of the inauguration of the first Five Year Plan, as Russian Bolshevism began to assert itself. In quick succession, all political power was centralized at Moscow, Ukrainian economic autonomy was eliminated, the Ukrainian language was deprived of its former status, and the Ukrainian Academy was stripped of its Ukrainian scholars. In a word, political tyranny was carried to its extreme with the terroristic aid of the then GPU and Mr. Kossier's observation in 1933 that "Ukrainian nationalism is our chief danger." * These were some of the many "blessings" of Soviet "freedom."

The constant use of the term "democracy" by the Soviet fools no intelligent person. For the Ukrainians with their democratic tradition, as for the English, Americans, French and others, the basic test of freedom and the existence of democracy is the opportunity for political opposition and free speech and a free press. It goes without saying that

* *Izvestia*, December 2.

this cannot be found any more in the regimented Soviet Union than was in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. All three are simply different brands of totalitarianism and dictatorship which have been established initially or later by force and unlawful political behavior. Where Russian expansionism spreads, it can be validly held, there dictatorship with its adjectival euphemism, 'proletarian,' will exist. Mr. Bevin, Britain's Foreign Minister, accurately summarized the situation in these words: "The impression we get from recent developments (in Poland and elsewhere) is that one kind of totalitarianism is being replaced by another."¹⁰ The strings of Russian communist imperialism are pulled by the Politbureau in Moscow which determines the policies of the Party, both within and outside the Soviet Union. As in Ukraine, so now in these other countries do we see the methods of the Soviet prostitution of democracy—witness Dr. Subasitch's honorable withdrawal from the Yugoslavian form of this type of democracy, or the Soviet padding of the Rumanian government with controlling communist stooges. As the late President Roosevelt so forthrightly stated on February 11, 1940, during the period when there was no question of a Soviet-Nazi rapprochement should no American military aid be forthcoming to the almost defeated "socialist Fatherland"¹¹ and thus when no diplomatic courtesy was necessary to veil the truth: "The Soviet Union, as everybody knows that has the courage to face the fact, is a dictatorship as absolute as any other dictatorship in the world." It is noteworthy that the Italian, German, and Japanese forms of dictatorship still existed then as genuine standards of comparative measurement. Ukrainians have long had the courage, through suffering and hardship, to face this fact. It is now for the other peoples of the world to share their courage in facing the same thing.

The Philosophy of the Lie in Soviet "Democracy"

The third Ukrainian experience with Soviet tyranny concerns the developed Soviet use of deceit and lying to further their political ambitions. Lenin's apt exhortation—"We have to use any ruse, dodges, tricks, cunning, unlawful method, concealment, veiling of truth"—is the natural Bolshevik counterpart of the Hitlerian "big lie" theory hatched in the common cesspool of totalitarian political manipulation. By this weapon of Bolshevik strategy the Ukrainian state was destroyed.

¹⁰ London, August 26, 1945, New York World-Telegram.

¹¹ Dorothy Thompson, Mass. State Federation of Women's Clubs, Boston, March 4, 1946.

Moreover, during the 30's and down to this day, when Ukrainians and their sympathetic friends everywhere cried out against the brutalities of the Kremlin, they were simply denounced as "fascists" by, if the word to have any meaning is synonymous with "totalitarian states," the genuine scarlet fascists at Moscow.

What do we see about us today, everywhere in the world? Anyone or any group courageous enough to raise his or their voice against the savageries of Soviet dictatorship is conveniently dubbed "fascist" by the Soviet political opium dealers. In Bulgaria, the outstanding democratic leaders Nikolai Mushanoff, Buroff, and Ghitcheff have been so branded and perfunctorily tried as "war criminals": in Rumania, Social Democrats are being arrested on a similar charge: in Yugoslavia, General Rankovitch's Osna—Tito's G.P.U.—continues to arrest any opponent to the Soviet-sponsored Tito dictatorship as a "fascist" to be liquidated, as for example General Mihailovitch whose Chetniks were beyond any doubt instrumental in saving American lives. Even here, in the United States, this trick is being shamelessly used. Mrs. Roosevelt wrote in behalf of all true democrats when she stated in her column on June 16, 1945: "For years in this country they (the communists) taught the philosophy of the lie. They taught that allegiance to the party and acceptance of orders from party heads, whose interests were not just those of the United States, were paramount." Ukrainians experienced this in brutal reality long ago, but as world opinion comes to recognize this more and more, so will it recognize that Ukraine's wounds are now its pains.

The Soviet Corollaries of Despotism and Terrorism

The fourth Ukrainian experience with Soviet tyranny is sadly related to the despotism and terrorism that Soviet dictatorship and the philosophy of the lie necessarily create. What now seems to startle some of the intelligent people of the world, the Ukrainian people have suffered for years under the veil of strict censorship that closes the Soviet Union to the outside world. The artificial famine of 1932-33, sponsored by the Soviet regime to destroy simultaneously Ukrainian national consciousness and the democratic small farmers, obliterated the lives of millions. President Kalinin, in a speech in 1933, referred to this wretched episode as follows: "The collective farmers this year have passed through a good school. For some, this school was quite ruthless." The "some," to whom he callously refers, amounted only to several

millions as the brilliant analyst, William Henry Chamberlin, so well testified. Even Maurice Hindus, who has gained for himself a reputation as a Soviet apologist, has admitted the loss of about 3 million lives in this politically-contrived famine.¹² The forced suicides of Khrylyov and Skripnik, the assassinations of Vlyzko, Falkivsky, and others, the mass exile of separated Ukrainian families to the wastes of Siberia where well nigh seven million face slave labor or death—these are the terroristic results of Soviet dictatorship and the philosophy of the lie.

What do we find elsewhere today as the Soviet octopus extends itself? In Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, thousands of democrats, branded through the lie as "fascists," are summarily executed to erase every vestige of opposition to the communist-sponsored regimes. In Poland, the former German concentration camp at Oswiecim has been reopened for identical purposes and the leader Rjeszow Kojder of the Polish Peasants party, which opposes the present regime, was slain. In Germany, countless German prisoners are herded into slave labor battalions to work in Uncle Stalin's Slavery Row. These are but a few current examples of Soviet Terrorism that have recently compelled the eloquent Mr. Churchill to say: "At present a family might be gathered around the fireside enjoying the fruits of their toil when suddenly there is a knock at the door and heavily armed policemen appear. It may be that the father, son or friend sitting in the cottage is called out, taken away into the dark and no one knows whether he would ever come back again or what is his fate."¹³ How familiar this is to Ukrainians and Americans or Canadians of Ukrainian descent whose kin in Europe or Asia have already experienced the sharp fangs of Soviet terrorism!

The current phase of Soviet terrorism is being experienced by thousands upon thousands of Ukrainians now—and tragically enough with the unwitting cooperation of democratic England and the United States. In agreeing at Yalta to extradite Soviet citizens who either fled or were forced into Germany and to compel them to return to the USSR, the late President Roosevelt was unaware of the motives dominant in Stalin's mind. In any case, however, the forcing of these unfortunate Ukrainians back to the Soviet Union, the blessings of which they prefer to be without, is in absolute violation of the spirit of Anglo-American law, tradition, and principle. Furthermore, to classify these Ukrainians as Russians, and thus expose thousands of Ukrainians from

¹² Lyons, Eugene, "The Red Decade," 1941, pp. 97, 115.

¹³ New York Times, August 17, 1945.

Eastern Galicia, Volhynia, and Bukovina to the NKVD, is to submit gullibly to the well-established Soviet technique of deceit. To sacrifice the age-old and time-honored principle of political asylum for innocents who have been abused until they fled from their very homes would constitute beyond question an ineradicable stain on American moral leadership in the world.

Russia's motive in this tragic matter is obvious, namely to prevent the formation of any informed opposition outside the clamped Union. Toward this end she has already annexed Western Ukraine, Volhynia, Bukovina, and Carpatho-Ukraine which protrudes strategically into the very heart of Europe. Now she must, to complete this diabolical objective, annex those people who inhabit the areas adjacent to the Union and who well know her terroristic methods. Death, by the authority of the Yalta agreement, stares into the eyes of these homeless people who try so desperately and hopefully to read into their fearful hearts the call of human salvation set up on our own Statue of Liberty—"Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me; I lift my lamp beside the golden door." Justice and charity, the very bloodstream of Christian democratic life, must be served if these deep wounds are not to become our everlasting moral pains.

Lines of International Division

The future of the world does look miserably dark, far darker than after the first World War. First, it is evident that with the glaring absence of mutual trust the victorious part of the world has already entered into a period of armed peace. Secondly, if, as it was said not so long ago when Hitlerian Germany existed, that a peaceful world cannot be divided into two camps, how much less true is this with a totalitarian Soviet? For those who have the courage to face the fact, the world today is also sharply divided between the Soviet regime and its satellites founded, not unlike the Nazi system, on (1) absolute dictatorship and a barbaric regime ideologically supported by unreal preconceptions of proletarian sovereignty and imputed historical destiny, (2) terroristic secret police agencies, (3) extensive concentration camp systems (containing about 15 million helpless persons in the USSR), (4) the severest form of censorship fashioned to condition the minds of the populace, and (5) abnormally large military outfits, and the democratic West, marked by the conspicuous absence of such barbaric characteristics and striving fairly to achieve the greatest happiness for

the greatest numbers. To masquerade in a prostitute democratic garb, heavily stained with the innocent blood of millions, has apparently become a major preoccupation with the Soviets, who are peculiarly most over-zealous in their exploitation of "the peace-loving nations," "the freedom-loving countries," and "the democratic peoples of the world," in which they ostentatiously include themselves. Thirdly, Russian imperialist expansionism is again, as in the past, on the march as it strikes central Europe, the Mediterranean, the Near East, and moves toward the Pacific. It rushes into every political vacuum created by the war and subjugates other nations in its course.

The day-by-day fluctuations of wishful sentiments as reflected in the operations of the United Nations and similar agencies reveal dangerous naiveté concerning the condition of the world that becomes increasingly ominous as one approaches reality. This reality of an essentially divided world, which Stalin himself has so often characterized as a "temporary stabilization,"¹⁴ will provide the background for the deliberations of the United Nations and will determine its effectiveness or failure or force in the last analysis. What *can* and *might* be expected is not a fortuitous question in the light of the interconnection of (1) Russia's rich base of operations in Ukraine, without which its power would be substantially reduced, (2) Russia's strategy of combining its traditional imperialist expansionism with its universalist Bolshevik ideology, a phenomenon observed years before the past war, (3) Russia's exploitation of the multi-national political system as a potential means of false attraction of other nations, and (4) Russia's prostitution of democratic forms as a tactical means of inveiglement enforced through the operative philosophy of the lie and based on the compatible corollaries of dictatorial despotism and terrorism. These generalizations seem frightening, inhuman, incredible, unbelievable, almost unreal to culturally-different and unoriented Westerners. So were those concerning the Nazis, whose political apparatus, propaganda ingenuity, technologic assiduity, philosophical and religious depravity, and psychological motivation strangely paralleled the position of the Soviets, until we learned of them—the hard way. The Ukrainian people have well learned the meaning of these statements in the unspeakable school of experiences with absolutist Soviet brutalitarianism. Are others to suffer similar and ever-increasing pains because of sheer neglect and deliberate indifference toward these wounds?

¹⁴ See his "Foundations of Leninism."

THE UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND

By NICHOLAS D. CZUBATYJ

IT may seem strange to the average American to speak of the Ukrainian Underground. About a year ago at San Francisco an "independent" Ukraine was admitted to the family of United Nations. Its chief representative, Dmytro Manuilsky, has taken a prominent part in denouncing the imperialism of the democracies and has vociferously attacked Great Britain for blocking the right of the Indonesians to national independence. He has followed the policies of Stalin and the Soviet Union in every particular and meanwhile Soviet propagandists and their American fellow travelers boast that the nationality problem in the Soviet Union has been solved and that "Soviet ethnic democracy" has brought about a new high in national relations. To all such people the Ukrainian Underground can be merely composed of unrepentant and benighted capitalists and their dupes, people who do not understand the great blessings of being expelled from their homes, forced into collective farms, starved and deported by millions, to enhance the glory of Comrade Stalin and the Communist Party and Moscow.

Yet the record of the purges, the constant allusions to the menace of Ukrainian nationalism by high Soviet leaders, all point out the living vitality of the real Ukrainian spirit, not that Moscow-inspired Communist organization that appears at all international gatherings and bows obsequiously to Moscow at every turn. It is that spirit that burst forth with new vigor during the confusion of World War II and has written a new page in the Ukrainian struggle for liberty and democracy, as the civilized world understands those terms. It is this native Ukrainian movement that formed the Ukrainian Underground which fought for Ukraine against all the invaders of the country. The Soviets, the Germans and the Poles all hated to admit its existence but as we pass into the post-war world and survey the problems of eastern Europe, we are struck by the vitality of this little-known real effort of men and women struggling against great odds to regain their liberty.

It will remain impossible for the western democracies to understand fully the origins and aims of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement against all occupants of Ukraine, i.e. the Soviets, the Germans

and Poles, as long as one sixth of the globe, ruled by the Stalin dictatorship, is shut off by an iron curtain, past which no American journalist can penetrate. That curtain has the definite purpose, of screening from view all the evils and sores of the Soviet system, all the racial discrimination against Soviet dominated peoples, all the religious persecution of the non-Orthodox, and finally all the exploitation within all the Soviet boundaries by the Moscow-dictated regime. It is against this Soviet system, under which the highly publicized "sovereign" Soviet republics are actually treated as mere provinces of Moscow and mercilessly exploited, that the peoples of Soviet Russia are rebelling. It is precisely against this system that the Ukrainian underground came into being.

During the first three years of the war the existence of the Ukrainian underground was deliberately ignored not only by the Reds but by the Nazis and Poles as well. The Nazis remained silent about it even when it was fighting against the Reds, just as the latter kept quiet about it when it was warring against the Nazis. For neither was it convenient to recognize it for what it was, a force representing the centuries-old Ukrainian independence movement. The Poles reacted similarly as otherwise they would have been embarrassed in defending their rights to Western Ukraine. It was far better, in their opinion, for the world to think that the Soviet-Polish dispute over the possession of Western Ukraine was actually over a politically barren terrain, with no politically conscious inhabitants.

Nazi Fight Against 1941 Declaration of Ukrainian Independence

Rumors of the existence of the Ukrainian underground leaked out to the outside world in the early years of the war. These were vague but the first clearcut report was that of Arvid Fredborg, Berlin correspondent of the Swedish daily, the Svenska Dagbladet, in his book "Behind the Steel Wall," published in 1944 by the Viking Press in New York. In it he revealed the existence of a strong independence movement in Ukraine which was so disrupting Nazi plans there, that the Nazi gauleiter of Ukraine, Dr. Erich Koch, conducted a purge of Ukrainian nationalists.

"To the jubilation of Moscow," wrote Fredborg, "Koch cleaned out the Ukrainian nationalists. An informed German explained this to me as follows: 'Since we ourselves plan to take over the entire Ukrainian territory after the war,' he said, 'naturally no Ukrainian nation-

alism can be allowed to grow up.' Under such conditions it is readily understandable why German eastern policy was a fiasco. But that was not enough. The administration succeeded in whipping up among the Ukrainians a real hatred for Germany. Masses of Ukrainian nationalists were shot—after having been betrayed, it is said, by Russians whom the Germans had taken into their service. Among these men were former OGPU agents.

"It is significant that a large partisan force has sprung up in the Ukraine under the leadership of a Ukrainian officer calling himself Taras Bulba, who directs his activities against both Russians and Germans."

Taras Bulba is the pseudonym of the first organizer of the Ukrainian partisans who fought against both the Nazis and the Reds in Volhyn, the northern part of Western Ukraine. He is a former officer of the Ukrainian National Army commanded by General Semen Petlura, which back in 1918-20 fought against both the German occupants and the Bolshevik invaders of Ukraine. Today he is a political refugee.

The purge of Ukrainian nationalists mentioned by Fredborg was a result of the events which occurred during the Nazi advance upon the Soviets. The main event was the proclamation of the Ukrainian Independent State in Lwiv on June 30, 1941.

Behind the proclamation was the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which under the leadership of its Western Ukrainian leader, Stephen Bandera, had been active in this terrain already during the time of Polish rule. The proclamation was made immediately following the Soviet evacuation of Western Ukraine.

The president of the revolutionary parliament of the new Ukrainian state was the venerable Dr. Kost Levitsky, the premier of the Western Ukrainian Republic in 1918. Its premier was Yaroslav Stetzko, one of the leaders of the Western Ukrainian underground during the time of Polish rule.

The proclamation of Ukrainian independence was an utter surprise to the Germans and placed them in an awkward position. For them to approve this "fait accompli" was equivalent to the abandonment of their plans to transform Ukraine into a colony of the German Lebensraum. On the other hand, to oppose it would be to reveal their real plans at the very outset of their military penetration of Eastern Europe and thereby array its peoples against them from the beginning. In the light of their strategy, the latter meant the loss of great sources of assistance, for they realized the significance of the mass desertion of

non-Russian soldiers of the Red Army during the first months of the war.

In the face of this dilemma the Germans at first pretended not to notice the presence of the new Ukrainian state administration. This was not particularly hard since the war with the Soviets was then demanding all their attention. The first break in this pseudo-armistice between the Germans and the Ukrainian nationalists was Hitler's decree of August 1, 1941 making Western Ukraine a part of the Polish Government General.

This act immediately aroused the Ukrainian underground against the Nazis. Organized groups of Ukrainian propagandists, the so-called "Advance Groups," gradually filtered eastward into pre-war Soviet Ukraine, up to the very Soviet-Nazi front, and organized local Ukrainian administrative units wherever they went. In this they were aided by the German preoccupation with their advance so that they left virtually unoccupied, the territory which they had captured, except for their lines of communication.

Soon the advocates of Ukrainian national independence penetrated into the very capital of Ukraine itself, Kiev. There it was planned to proclaim the establishment of an independent Ukraine state. Just about that time, however, the first clash between the Germans and Ukrainian independents took place. A Nazi order directing the transporting of Ukrainians as workers to Germany was countered by the leadership of the Ukrainian underground with an order forbidding it. The Nazi replied by mass arrests of Ukrainian nationalists. In one day alone, September 15, 1941, the Nazis not only arrested all the members of the Ukrainian government but also several thousands of Ukrainian nationalists, especially the regional leaders. Tens of thousands of them were sent to concentration camps, while thousands of others were executed. This was the purge which Fredborg mentions in his book, and which led to the creation of a Ukrainian underground army to fight against the Nazis and later against the Soviets as well.

Reports on Ukrainian Underground From Behind the Iron Curtain

No matter how the Bolsheviks have attempted to conceal the very existence of the Ukrainian underground forces, they have from time to time involuntarily brought out its existence quite strikingly. The first such affirmation was the appeal made publicly in July, 1944, by the Pre-

mier of the Ukrainian SSR, N. S. Khrushchev to members of the Ukrainian underground forces. In it he asked them to quit their partisan activities against the Soviets and promised amnesty to the followers of Taras Bulba if they would lay down their arms. Several weeks later a similar appeal was made by President Hrechukha of the Ukrainian SSR.

The existence of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (in Ukrainian: *Ukrainska Povstancha Armiya—UPA*) was further affirmed by Comrade Manuilsky in April, 1945 in the course of an address given at the University of Lviv and acknowledging the award to him of an honorary degree. Finally, another official acknowledgement by the Soviets of the army's existence was at the Moscow trial in June, 1945 of the Polish underground movement. According to the Moscow radio broadcast of June 22, one of the defendants testified that he had come to Poland upon orders of General Bor-Komarowski, leader of Polish armed forces outside of Poland, ostensibly in order to negotiate with Osobka-Moravski, then head of Polish Committee in Lublin (the present Polish Provisional Government), but actually to convey instructions to the underground Polish forces from their leader to contact immediately the staff of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) for the purpose of collaboration against the common enemy, Soviet Russia.

Following the early fragmentary reports more constant and detailed news about the Ukrainian underground forces fighting against the Reds made its appearance in the foreign press and over the radio. Thus on July 6, 1945 a Polish broadcast from London said: "For several days already the Red Army has been engaged in bloody and very costly fighting with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which has intensified its activities and opposition against the Communist regime."

Similarly, the London Polish daily, "Dziennik Polski," reported under the heading of "Banderivtsi in Eastern Galicia," that since August, 1945 units of the "Ukrainian Insurgent Army, named Banderivtsi after their leader Bandera, have been operating in the forest regions of Rava Ruska-Yavoriw. In the last engagement the Reds lost 233 soldiers and 75 of their police, while the Banderivtsi lost 318 men."

In the course of his interview with American newsmen in January, 1946, the Polish General Rola-Ziemierski revealed that in the fighting around Peremyshl between the Ukrainian underground forces and the Polish Army, 984 Ukrainians were slain while 3,500 were captured.

The pro-Soviet Polish forces have also been involved in this fighting. The New York Daily News reported in three dispatches of January 29, 30 and 31 of this year about the attacks upon the Poles by the

Ukrainians because the former were actively lending themselves to Polish forcible repatriation of Ukrainian displaced persons west of the Curzon Line to the Soviets.

Some very significant reports on UPA was given to American correspondents by Colonel Yanoshek, a Slovak. According to him in the triangle formed by the Polish and the Czechoslovakian frontiers, between the towns of Sanok and Lupkiw, there is armed force of 20,000 Ukrainians fighting against Red Army detachments. This Ukrainian army is supposed to be well clothed, armed with light guns, and its insignia is the trident,* which each soldier wears on his hat. It receives its supplies and arms by planes, dropped by parachute, and gets paid in American money. Yanoshek said that the army is anti-Russian as well as anti-Polish but that it is on peaceful terms with the Czechs and the Slovaks. Its ultimate aim is to create an independent Ukrainian state and to help other enslaved European peoples gain their national freedom. With the coming of spring, he added, its numbers and strength will be increased tenfold.

Other informants say that the size of this army is much greater, and that in it are not only Ukrainians but Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Caucasians and others, including a constantly increasing number of Red Army deserters. In all, it is supposed to number about eighty thousand men. Further information on it is added by Homer Bigart, a New York Herald Tribune reporter, in the April 18 dispatch. He details its activities, and stresses that the insurgents behave well toward the civilian populace, leave unscathed churches even when they have to destroy whole villages, and since they strive for an independent Ukraine they are both anti-Russian and anti-Polish.

Naturally, much more detailed information concerning the UPA is being drawn from Ukrainian sources themselves, including the official publications from the Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation which represents the insurgent forces politically. From them it is clear that these forces constitute the strongest anti-Soviet movement in Europe today.

Rise of the UPA—Ukrainian Insurgent Army

The blow which the Germans dealt the QUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) in September 1941 merely hastened the clash

* The trident was the national emblem of the ancient Ukrainian Kievan State at the close of the 10th century and has been adopted as such by the modern Ukrainians as an emblem of their national independence aspirations.

of the UPA with the Nazi invaders. Forerunners of the UPA appeared in northern Western Ukraine, in Volhynia, during the initial Soviet occupation of that region. Under the leadership of a man who took the name **Taras Bulba** they united themselves in common battle against the Germans, especially against the latter's forcible evacuation of Ukrainians for forced labor in Germany, as well as against the cruelties wreaked upon the populace and destruction of Ukrainian economy.

These Ukrainian partisans became particularly active during the winter of 1942 when the Germans faced a crisis. At that time the partisans operated mainly in the wooded sections of Volhynia, and centered their attention upon the railway line of Berlin-Warsaw, Kovel, Kiev, one of the principal lines of German communication.

During that winter, too, the Red partisans also made their appearance, and were met with marked hostility by the nationalist partisans. To distinguish themselves from the Red partisans the nationalists adopted the name of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and set themselves up along strictly military lines. When spring arrived the UPA extended the scope of its action as far as the Dnieper river. Its ranks steadily grew in number, augmented by soldiers of other nationalities, as well as Red Army deserters.

In 1943 Ukrainian partisan units made their appearance in the southern part of Western Ukraine, and fought against both the Nazis and the Reds. At that time they were mostly engaged in taking vengeance for the excesses committed against the populace by both the Nazis and the Reds. By summer, in Galicia, units of the Ukrainian National Self-Defense (as that it is the way the partisans called themselves) occupied most of the Carpathian and sub-Carpathian terrain. Their punitive expeditions, however, penetrated deeply all over. Already they had established their supply depots and officers schools.

When early in 1944 the Soviet counter-offensive began to roll to the eastern boundaries of Western Ukraine, the Ukrainian nationalists realized that they were about to face a foe who in some respects was even more powerful and merciless than the Germans. As a result the National Self-Defense units merged in the UPA, under one command.

The Conference of Soviet Enslaved Peoples' Representatives

The rise of the UPA and its spirited fight against the Nazis and then the Reds as well, acted as a tonic to the other peoples enslaved

by either or both of these oppressors. As a result of the well planned and directed propaganda of the UPA command, its armed detachments were in many cases treated as neutrals by the forces of the satellites of Nazi Germany. At the same time the political branch of UPA propagandized among those German military units composed of former German war prisoners taken on the Eastern Front. It was quite successful here as these former Red Army soldiers detested German imperialism and oppression as much as they did the Russians. A constantly increasing number of them, of White Ruthenians, Georgians, Armenians, Uzbeks, Tartars and even Russians filtered into the ranks of UPA.

The net result of this process was the convening on November 21 and 22, 1943 of a conference of representatives of Soviet enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia, attended by 39 delegates, and held somewhere between Western Ukraine and the Dnieper. The conference drew up a platform of common aims of the enslaved nationalities and adopted a common slogan: "Freedom of the Individual; Freedom of the Nations." This conference was similar to the one held in Kiev in 1917 of non-Russian peoples. Then as now Ukraine was acknowledged as the strongest bulwark of their freedom.

The Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation

The second occupation of Ukraine by the Soviets raised the apprehension that this occupation would turn out to be of long duration. The general strategy of the Ukrainian independence movement had to therefore be broadened and laid out accordingly. First of all, however, full national unity had to be secured.

All of the various political groupings within the ranks and leadership of the UPA were bound by one common idea, the fight for the independence of their enslaved country. In the early formative years of the UPA they were led by Taras Bulba, subsequently by Stephen Bandera, a nationalist leader. During the Soviet re-occupation of Western Ukraine the latter had figured so prominently as the UPA head that its forces became known as Banderivtsi. Within the ranks of the Galician Self-Defense an important role was played by the organization called "Luh" (Meadow), with its 15,000 members. The "Luh" was already semi-military in character during Polish reign before the war, and anti-Soviet from the very beginning, but at odds with the Nationalists. Its leader, Col. Dashkevich was killed fighting against the Reds in 1944. In Galicia, too, there existed a youth organization,

"Kameniar" (Hewers of Rock), controlled by the Socialist-Radical party, also at odds with the Nationalists.

Faced by the common and very grave danger of Soviet repression, all of these parties were united in spirit, although their party differences remained. This compelled the High Command of the UPA to create a united underground leadership, all-national and non-partisan in nature, namely, the Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation, which came into being on the eve of Soviet re-occupation of Western Ukraine. It included representatives from all parts of Eastern and Western Ukraine. The common aims of the Ukrainian underground find eloquent expression in the Proclamation of the Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation, the text of which is quoted in part below.

Proclamation of the Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation

UKRAINIAN PEOPLE!

Through revolution, with the arms of your finest sons, you rose in 1917-1918 and on the ruins of imperialisms, under which you were enslaved for centuries, you created a Shrine of Freedom—the Ukrainian State.

Angry winds unfurled your victorious banners over all cities of Ukraine. They proudly flew over Kiev, Lviw, Chernihiv and Khust. They led into battle the young Ukrainian Army and swirled on the war vessels of the Black Sea Fleet.

Your centuries-old enemies ruined this holy shrine but you, Ukrainian people, preserved it in your heart as a sacrosanct ancestral heritage. In the subsequent quarter of a century of your struggle for the freedom of the Ukrainian Land, for your own independent state, you made sacrifices running into millions of lives.

It is not in the cause of your freedom that the imperialistic aggrandizers are waging this bloody and cruel war. For you they bring only ruin, enslavement and death. You did not allow yourselves to become enslaved but demonstrated an unyielding determination to live in independent statehood on your native land. On guard over your freedom, you have set up—from the Carpathian peaks beyond the Don to the Caucasus—armed cadres of your sons—the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

UKRAINIAN PEOPLE!

This gigantic task requires unprecedented tenacity, unprecedented devotion to the cause, but primarily the union of all independence revolutionary forces under one political leadership.

Therefore, in order to unite all national-liberation elements of the Ukrainian people, in order to direct their struggle for freedom from one common center, in order to represent their political will before the world, and finally in order to counter the attempts of the enemies of the Ukrainian nation to shatter a united Ukrainian independence front, the Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation has been brought into being. It has now taken over the direction of the struggle for liberation of the Ukrainian people.

Within the Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation are banded together representatives of the Ukrainian revolutionary-liberation forces as well as of various political groupings from throughout all parts of Ukraine, who have adopted the independence platform as the only true one in the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for a Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State.

The Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation is the supreme and sole governing organ of the Ukrainian people during the time of their revolutionary struggle and up to the time of the establishment of a government of a Ukrainian Independent and Sovereign State.

The Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation swears before you, Ukrainian people, that:

It will fight to make you the sole master of your soil,
For a just social order without oppression and exploitation,
For the destruction of serfdom,
For free enterprise of the peasant on his own land,
For free enterprise for the worker,
For wide initiative of the working people in all branches of
the economic order,
For the widest possible development of the Ukrainian national
culture.

The Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation places on the altar of the struggle to attain these ideals its work and its very life.

The Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation greets the struggle of enslaved people for their liberation. The Ukrainian people desire to live with them, particularly with their neighbors, in neighborly friendship and to collaborate with them in the struggle against common enemies.

UKRAINIAN PEOPLE!

We are conscious of the fact that our liberation struggle demands heroism and bloody sacrifices, and above all unshakable faith in our

own truth. We believe in your creative powers, as only they are a guarantee of our victory.

We believe you will not bring shame upon your native land.

The heroic struggle of your ancestors and the memory of their knightly death in the cause of Ukrainian statehood—is a dictate to you.

We therefore call upon you: Rise and fight for your freedom and for your nation. Unite yourselves in your struggle, and strengthen your spirit.

Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation

Headquarters, June, 1944

In addition to issuing the above proclamation, the Council worked out a political program for the entire Ukrainian underground, revealing in it the principal bases upon which an Independent Ukrainian State would be founded. The program envisages a democratic process of installing government authority in a free Ukraine, and reserves for the Ukrainian people the right to choose their form of government. Economic democracy is also envisaged in it, but one based on the right of private ownership and free enterprise. The present communist system, alien to Ukrainian tradition and repugnant to the spirit of the people, is to be replaced by a system of cooperatives, which have proved themselves very popular in Ukraine.

The provisional constitution of the Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation also makes provision for its administrative organs and the method of their election. Its center must always be in Ukraine, it says, with only its delegations permitted to go outside the borders.

The Struggle of the Ukrainian Underground Against Soviet Russia

The German retreat from Ukraine was utilized by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army to gather for its use as many weapons as possible and new methods of warring against Moscow were adopted. Thus the UPA detachments do not fight against the Red Army. Instead their agents circulate among the Red soldiers, assuring them that the action of the UPA is directed not against them but only against the NKVD men and the Communists in general who abuse the Ukrainian people.

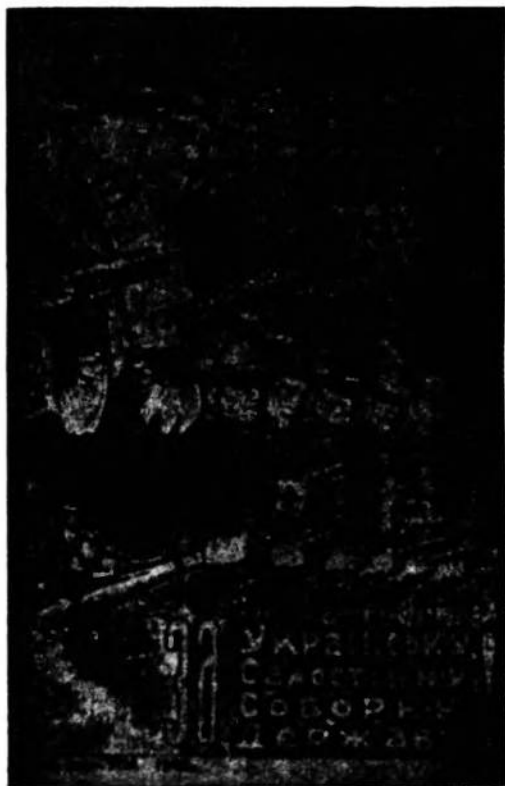
The first aim of UPA action is to defend the Ukrainian people against their mobilization into the Red Army and also against the Soviet seizure and transportation out of Ukraine of its wheat and other

grain. The action is also directed against the political demoralization of the populace by the occupying authorities. This is directed against not only the latter and their NKVD agents but also against any informers or collaborators who may be found among the populace itself.

The Ukrainian underground has by this time developed quite a good press service of its own, and has radio connections with the outside world. Its press organs are the periodicals "Ideya i Chyn" (Idea and Action), "Za Ukrainsku derzhavu" (For the Ukrainian Nation), "Povstanets" (Insurgent), as well as a humorous and satirical paper "Perets" (Pepper). The press organ of the

Supreme Council is the periodical "Vistnyk UHVR," while the organ of the UPA Army is the "Vistnyk Informativny Sluzby UPArmiyi." Copies of these publications have by now arrived in this country.

The most recent important activity of the Supreme Council was the boycotting of the February, 1946 elections to the Supreme Soviet. That this action perturbed the Soviets can be seen from the Soviet press itself and also by the fact that Moscow mobilized Ukrainian scholars and writers to go out among the people and agitate against this boycott.



POSTER OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY, 1943
*"Death to Stalinist and Nazi invaders! Long Live United
Ukrainian National Front! For Independent United Ukraine!"*

The struggle of the Ukrainian insurgent forces continues to the present day as periodical reports of it appear in the American press, as recently as early May of this year. The UPA organ itself gives detailed information on the progress of the fighting, particularly of the raids made by UPA detachments upon NKVD centers and troops, with exact figures given of how many of NKVD men are being killed, a figure which already runs into thousands. Likewise the number of UPA men killed is also given, together with citations of many of them for gallantry in action.

In retaliation the NKVD-ites burn entire villages and transport en masse their whole populations to forced labor camps, wherever they suspect there is any sympathy in the village for the Ukrainian underground movement. In this manner, within recent times the Ukrainian land has known more than one "Lidice."

In reality the struggle of the Ukrainian underground is a continuation of that centuries-old struggle which the Ukrainian people have been waging to win their national freedom, and which they revived with added fury in the quarter of a century following the fall of the Ukrainian National Republic, which rose into being in 1917 and was overthrown by the Bolsheviks and the Poles in 1920. The fight of the Ukrainian underground against the Soviets in reality lasted until the Second World War. At the same time for twenty years it fought against the Polish state. Today the Ukrainian underground is resolute in its determination to keep on fighting for Ukrainian national independence until full victory is won.

To safeguard lasting peace it would be well if the western democracies were to look this reality of the Ukrainian situation under the Soviets squarely in the face. They need to face openly the fact that behind the iron curtain of the Soviet Union there are millions of people who by tradition and spirit are one with them in their belief in the principles of liberty and democracy. They need to face clearly the fact that the Soviet Union is a prison of nations and not a new and better form of life and to bend every effort to pierce the iron curtain and make sure that the ideals of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms are respected everywhere. Then Ukraine will be truly represented by Ukrainians in the United Nations and mankind can have a sincere support in proceeding fearlessly on its great task of building a warless and prosperous world.

ON BEHALF OF UKRAINIAN DISPLACED PERSONS

By HON. ANTHONY HLYNKA, M. P.

Address delivered in the Canadian House of Commons, March 25, 1946

MR. SPEAKER, on September 24 last, six months ago, I introduced into this house a subject relating to one of the gravest problems that have arisen out of world war II, and I had earnestly hoped that there would be no necessity of bringing the matter up again this session. I refer, of course, to the tragic fate of displaced persons and their forced repatriation from western Europe to regions behind "the iron curtain which to-day divides Europe in twain," to use Mr. Churchill's dramatic description. I had hoped, too, sir, that English-speaking countries would eventually take a firm stand against this inhuman repatriation and that all persons who consider themselves stateless would be given asylum and protection in the western world until they could find permanent homes. I firmly believed also that the British and United States governments would take the right course in this matter, not only for humanitarian reasons but also because of the long-established practice of international law under which protection and asylum have always been extended to refugees in the past and because the use of force against defenceless people is incompatible with the principles of freedom and justice to which the western allies have pledged themselves. Unfortunately, my hopes were not realized.

Forced Repatriation Continues

To my great disappointment, and to the disappointment of many Canadian citizens, including thousands of our returned men and women who are deeply concerned about the fate of their relatives now in western Europe, forced repatriation of displaced persons continues despite the assurances by the British and United States governments to the contrary. Alarming but authentic reports continue to reach Canadian citizens to the effect that United States, British and Canadian soldiers not only are permitting Soviet authorities to comb British and American zones for refugees, but are actually aiding the Soviet authorities in this man-hunt of defenceless peoples.

Appeals on Behalf of Ukrainian Displaced Persons

Contrary to the general belief that the displaced persons problem has been partly solved, the grim fact is that the problem has gradually become even more serious. This was recognized by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, that great American lady, and also by the Hon. Hector McNeil, British parliamentary under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, when they considered the displaced person problem of sufficient importance to voice their stand on it at the recent united nations conference held in London, England, and in their stand they were supported by Premier Peter Fraser of New Zealand. A press report on February 9, 1946, said that "the refugee debate was the highlight of the work of the assembly committee apart from the debate on the headquarters site." The London *Times* of February 13 of this year described in the following words the conference proceedings of February 12:

The assembly rose at the end of the afternoon sitting without having reached a vote. The debate was resumed at 9 p.m. with the galleries crowded and the public flowing into the press seats. It was a dramatic sitting . . . Mrs. Roosevelt went to the rostrum. She was given a great ovation, and in the course of a speech in which she pleaded eloquently for the right of the refugees to make their own choice she was repeatedly cheered. She was followed by Mr. Hector McNeil . . . with a speech which also moved the gathering. He recalled the words of the charter pledging the united nations to practice tolerance and to respect the worth of the individual. "These," he said, "are the lamps that light this assembly." If the words "tolerance" and "pity" were to be eliminated then the English tongue would no longer be the English tongue. The right of asylum had to be preserved, he remarked.

Supporting the British and American case, Premier Peter Fraser of New Zealand warned that "we must be careful that in the attending of the birth of the united nations we are not also attending the funeral of liberty and freedom." The references which I have just quoted, are a fair indication of the importance that was attached at the united nations conference to the problem of displaced persons.

On January 19 and February 23 of this year, His Holiness Pope Pius XII issued two protests against forced repatriation of displaced persons and the persecution of the Ukrainian church. Following these protests, Eugene Cardinal Tisserant made two further protests on March 1 and 5, 1946, against allowing Soviet authorities to kidnap displaced persons, and against persecution of the Ukrainian church.

The hon. member for Rosthern (Mr. Tucker), now parliamentary assistant to the Minister of Veterans Affairs, spoke on this subject in this house on September 26 last, and by his impassioned appeal on

behalf of the homeless displaced persons endeared himself to thousands of Canadian citizens across this country. The hon. member for Dauphin (Mr. Zaplitny) made his worthy contribution on this matter on September 27 last.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which is the coordinating body of all non-communist Ukrainian Canadian organizations in Canada, comprising more than eighty per cent of all Canadians of Ukrainian origin, and whose first objective was more effectively to aid Canada in the winning of the war, has also made several presentations to the right hon. the Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie King) and the Canadian government on behalf of relatives of Canadians who find themselves among the displaced persons in Europe. On October 22, 1945, twenty-five members of this parliament sent a telegram to the Prime Minister of Canada while he was in London, appealing to him to make representations to the British and American foreign offices to cease forced repatriation of displaced persons to the east.

Within recent months further appeals were sent to the Prime Minister by Canadian church organizations. On January 28 of this year the chairman of the social service committee of the Baptist church of Canada urged the Prime Minister "to take a firm and Christian stand against forced repatriation of refugees." His appeal reads in part as follows:

There are constant and disquieting reports that, in violation of international law but in alleged conformity with the dictatorial Yalta pact, the military authorities in the British and American zones are forcing such refugees—especially Ukrainians, Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians—into Soviet repatriation camps for compulsory transportation . . . At a time when American, Canadian and British troops abroad are clamoring for speedy repatriation, these millions of displaced persons in western Europe dread repatriation worse than death and are committing suicide or starving in the forests in order to escape the horrors of coming under Soviet rule. These are not war criminals . . .

To hand them over to the red army and the N.K.V.D. is to murder them. He who deliberately surrenders an innocent man to his murderers is himself guilty of the felony. It would be a moral calamity of the first order if our Canadian government should share in the responsibility for these crimes.

Never before, to my knowledge, have Christian nations connived at such an atrocity on such a scale . . .

May I urge, Mr. Prime Minister, that the Canadian government should make itself the voice of the conscience of Canada, and actively try to prevent these crimes against humanity? And may I urge that Canada should bear its share of an offer of asylum to these fugitives from death?

Another appeal, bearing the date of February 22, 1946, and signed by Mr. W. A. Cameron on behalf of the sub-executive of the general

board of missions of the Presbyterian church in Canada, was sent to the Prime Minister. This appeal urged that all orders authorizing forced repatriation of displaced persons be revoked. Finally I should like to mention the speeches and writings of Doctor Watson Kirkconnell of McMaster university. Doctor Kirkconnell's articles on this subject have been authoritative and instructive.

Let me mention what has been done in the United States in an effort to secure justice for the displaced persons. On November 21, 1945, Hon. Clare Booth Luce read into the congressional record important documents and extracts from letters concerning the fate of Ukrainian displaced persons, and urged the revocation of forced repatriation orders. On December 11, 1945, in an effort to prevent the displaced persons in the American zone of occupation from being repatriated by force, Senator Arthur Vandenburg and Mrs. Clare Booth Luce introduced in congress a joint resolution requesting an immediate and a thorough investigation into the whole refugee problem.

Recently, on March 7, 1946, Congressman Michael J. Bradley, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, delivered a strong address in the house of representatives in the United States capitol, against forced repatriation and political persecution of Ukrainian displaced persons.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee in the United States, which is also a coordinating body of all non-communist American Ukrainian organizations, comprising the large majority of American of Ukrainian origin, made similar requests to the President of the United States and the United States government.

Again, the writings on this subject of such outstanding men as Doctor Clarence A. Manning, a professor at Columbia university, and William Henry Chamberlin, one of the foremost journalists of this continent, are in line with the true principles of freedom and will remain a tribute to the men of learning in the United States.

Inhuman Treatment of Ukrainian D.P.'s

But in spite of these numerous appeals, protests, requests and representations, the Soviet authorities are still being extended the privilege of combing the British and American zones of occupation in search of their victims. It is extremely painful and disappointing to learn that United States, British and Canadian soldiers are being used to assist the Soviet authorities in forcing the unfortunate displaced persons to surrender to the Soviets, even though most of them come from territories

which never were a part of Tsarist Russia or the present communist empire. Some of the letters which I receive from Canadian and American soldiers describing the treatment that is meted out to large numbers of displaced persons defy the imagination. After witnessing one of these massacres in one of the displaced persons camps, an American officer said, "It just wasn't human," and "there weren't men in the barracks when I reached it—they were animals. Nothing has ever affected me like that scene."

A Vicious Campaign

In view of the well-organized campaign which is being carried on against these tortured people by persons with the definite purpose of diverting the sympathy of Canadian citizens and confusing the issue, I am compelled to deal with this matter for the second time in this house. On this occasion I should like to document my arguments so as to leave no doubt whatsoever in regard to the whole question. It is obvious that these people cannot speak for themselves. This fact alone, I think, justifies my discussing the problem. And because the subject is so immense I can deal with only a portion of it; I shall leave other aspects of it to other hon. members.

Testimonies of Witnesses

I should now like to call three witnesses to testify in this matter, to describe from their own knowledge the conditions in which displaced persons find themselves and indicate something of the agony which unfortunate refugees experience. I will first call on Emma Birket to give her story to the house. In September 6, 1945, issue of the *Weekly Review*, London, Emma Birkett says:

The period from October, 1939, until June, 1941 . . . (the period when Russia and Germany were on the same side) will forever remain in the memory of western Ukrainians as that of their greatest sufferings.

Executions combined with mass deportations into the depths of the Soviet Union filled the whole population with terror. Many political leaders essentially nationally-minded, were deported into Asia and soon died in exile.

To-day these people, of whom there are millions, are scattered all over Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, Holland, Poland, Roumania and the Balkans.

To-day, all Ukrainians, regardless from which part of their country they come, are in tragic position. By nature individualists and western-minded, imbued with fanatical love of personal freedom, they find themselves geographically squeezed between two totalitarian systems, both of which they feared and hated.

To-day, when the guns are quiet in Europe, the future of Ukrainians scattered across the continent is still very dark.

The problem of all these wretched people is one of the greatest magnitude. Their fate in Europe is one of the terrible consequences of this war. They do not claim any priority in getting help from the outside world. But should not their case, simply for reasons of humanity, receive more attention than until now?

I am certain that Miss Birkett's testimony requires no comment; it is a document which speaks for itself and will remain in the permanent records when the story of the agony of millions of displaced persons is written.

The second witness upon whom I wish to call to testify briefly is a United States army M.P., Harry Polche. This soldier's testimony in part is as follows:

. . . I have been travelling through Europe and have seen many sights, but there is one in particular I want to tell about . . . It was only recently that I was stationed in Ingolstadt, Germany. I happened to take a walk through the park, and suddenly I heard Ukrainian voices. I looked into a grove of trees and there I saw about thirty children, ranging in age from three to seven . . . and a teacher.

They were saying a prayer in Ukrainian . . . I approached the group and introduced myself. The teacher then had the pupils recite for me and sing familiar Ukrainian songs. They sang very well with their child-like voices.

They were all poorly dressed.

It made me very sad to see the Ukrainian children reduced to this. I visited the barracks where they lived, and it was pitiful to see where they slept. Many people slept in a room and on straw mattresses. I do not know how they will be able to spend the cold winter . . .

They are a homeless people . . .

I feel sorry for these people and something should be done to help them. They need food, clothing and most of all encouragement.

The third and last witness whom I wish to call cannot now be named, for obvious reasons, but his testimony can be relied upon. The letter is dated September 11, 1945, and written from Diel, near Coblenz, Germany. He says:

To the camp at Manheim, south of Frankfort, where there are 3,000 Ukrainians from eastern Ukraine and from Galicia, Soviet officials came there recently and demanded the surrender of Ukrainians to them. The American authorities ordered the Ukrainians to prepare themselves to leave. The Ukrainians refused to obey the order. A tug-of-war ensued. Women and children began to cry and threw themselves at the feet of the American officers. But to no avail. The American officers threatened to shoot . . . Finally one American officer ordered them once more to prepare to leave and those who refused were beaten with rubber clubs . . . The Ukrainians did not give in . . . To this the officer said: "If that is the case I will give you four days to think the matter over." What of the future no one knows.

This, Mr. Speaker, gives us some idea of what the displaced persons must go through. I need hardly say how Canadians or Americans must feel when they receive such letters, especially when persons near and dear to them are in one of these camps. Indifference on their part is unthinkable.

I know there are those who will argue that the conditions which I have described may have been true in the past, but that forced repatriation has now ceased and conditions have greatly improved. One such Associated Press dispatch, dated October 4, 1945, announced that General Eisenhower had issued an order to United States officers to stop forced repatriation of persons who did not wish to place themselves in the custody of the Soviet officers.

In the same dispatch the United States officer is quoted as having said:

Possibly for a time some of them were pushed into trains without our asking many questions, but that's all stopped now.

That report was indeed very encouraging and was happily received by Canadian and American citizens. A few days later, however, heart-breaking reports continued to come in, to the effect that there was no marked change in the policy in regard to forced repatriation of displaced persons. In a letter dated November 21, 1945, which I personally received from a Canadian officer stationed in London, England, he said:

With regard to the Associated Press dispatch that General Eisenhower had issued an order to cease forceful repatriation of displaced persons from the American zone, I am afraid that I cannot give you much more information than what we have received from certain territories in Germany, which is to the effect that there is no marked change in the general attitude of the authorities . . . In other words, the initiative and decisions are a matter of local commanding officers, because they, and only they, represent the military authorities and therefore they are the only semblance of law and order in their respective districts.

Ukrainian D.P.'s Refused Food

After receiving a number of distressing telegrams and letters, such as I have just quoted, I asked the Prime Minister a question in this matter on December 18, 1945, which is in part as follows:

Has the government anything to say on the subject of further forceful repatriation of Ukrainians from military occupation zones to the east? They are being refused food unless they agree to go.

The Prime Minister was kind enough to give me this reply:

The subject to which the hon. member has referred is one which relates to Europe. I am not in a position to say whether the representations made are wholly

correct. I would suppose in that respect that my hon. friend is in the same position as I am. I can assure him however that the government has watched this whole Ukrainian situation most carefully, and so far as it is within our power to control matters, we have sought to see that the course taken would be such as would protect their interests.

I am now in possession of a copy of the United States zone order of December 5, 1945, to which I referred when I directed the question to the Prime Minister. In brief the order says:

It is hereby announced that from 08.00 hours December 8, all food, shelter, etc., for those displaced persons who . . . are Soviet citizens are to cease forthwith. (They) are instructed to report to the Soviet camp at Stuttgart . . . Those who do not report will be seized . . . and brought to Stuttgart under armed escort . . . All local burgomasters have been informed that Soviet citizens are not to be employed and the German population must refuse them food.

I have two other copies of similar orders which I will not take time to quote, but one is a United States order dated November 27, 1945, signed by Captain Robert Wallach, and the other is a British 30th corps zone order (No. 219DP) of December 29, 1945, issued in a similar sense.

More High-Sounding Words

I confess, Mr. Speaker, that I cannot reconcile such orders as these with the words of the president of the preparatory commission and temporary president of the general assembly of UNO which he used when addressing the united nations conference at London, England on January 9, 1946. He declared:

The San Francisco charter, which to-morrow we shall start to bring into effect, repeatedly stresses the vital importance of stimulating in the world real respect for fundamental liberties, individual rights, and dignity of man and the dictates of justice as an indispensable basis for the maintenance of peace.

Ukrainian Losses in the War

I quite realize that the western allies are anxious to lighten the load which they are carrying in feeding and clothing several millions of people, but I feel that apart from humanitarian and Christian considerations we should also take into account their sacrifices for us. I should like to quote in this connection two or three sentences from an article which appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* of January 27, 1945, written by Edgar Snow while in Kiev. Mr. Snow said:

. . . it was not till I came here on this sobering journey into the twilight of war that I quite realized the price which Ukrainians have paid for Soviet victory. This whole titanic struggle, which some are so apt to dismiss as "the Russian

Glory," has, in all truth and in many costly ways, been first of all a Ukrainian war. No fewer than 10,000,000 people, I was told . . . by a high official here, have been "lost" to the Ukraine since the beginning of the war. That figure excludes men and women mobilized for the armed forces.

If we take into consideration, therefore, the sacrifices of these people we may perhaps come to the conclusion that we, too, owe them a small debt of gratitude. I hope that Canada does not dismiss this tragedy by merely saying that it is a European problem.

Canada a Foremost Power

I am pleased, however, that Canada has carried its share of the burden by way of contributions to UNRRA and other similar agencies. I am pleased, too, that all parties in this house have in their recent references included Canada among the powers of the world. In the farewell address to Their Excellencies the Governor General and Princess Alice the house unanimously agreed, as reported in *Hansard* of March 15, that Canada is now recognized as a foremost world power. May I read one sentence from the address:

. . . It must be a source of profound gratification to you, on your retirement, as Governor General, to realize that your years in Canada have witnessed victory over the enemies of freedom, and the emergence of Canada as a world power, with a foremost place among the united nations.

I am sure that it is a source of deep satisfaction to all hon. members that Canada has reached this position, for there is hope now that Canada occupying the foremost position among the united nations, will have a stronger voice in the councils of nations concerning international matters.

Desperate World Food Shortage

I am pleased, also, that in the speech from the throne considerable emphasis is placed on the need of supplying of food to the starving peoples of Europe, and indeed to the world. The speech says:

The turmoil which has followed in the wake of war has created new problems for governments in all parts of the globe . . . Hunger, privation and sufferings have become the lot of millions. Other millions are homeless, many of them in exile.

Of world problems demanding immediate action, the most pressing is the provision of food to those people facing acute shortage, and, in some regions, widespread famine. Unless the need is met, grave disorders, endangering peace itself, must be anticipated.

Permanent Solution to D.P. Problem Must Be Found

In view of Canada's recognition of the widespread shortage of food in many countries of the world, I would also urge upon the government not to overlook the needs of displaced persons and to do all in its power to assist these people by all practicable means. We must take into account that in time the work of UNRRA will be terminated. It is definite that UNRRA cannot feed, house and clothe millions of people indefinitely. A permanent solution of this problem must be sought, and without delay. Canadian citizens are not only now worrying about the present lot of their relatives; they are also concerned about their future.

Having outlined the grim conditions under which so many relatives of Canadian citizens find themselves, I should now like to place before the government four specific requests.

Request for Revocation of All Forced Orders

1. That the Canadian government make further representations to British and United States governments requesting the revocation of all forced repatriation orders which are applied to Ukrainian and other refugees; and, further, that in compliance with international law the right of asylum and protection be granted to all persons who consider themselves stateless, regardless of their origin or religious belief. I shall cite but one reference to international law relating to the refugee problem.

Under International Law Political Refugees Entitled to Asylum and Protection

On page 238 of "The Refugee Problem" (A report of a survey), by Sir John Hope Simpson, it is stated:

The political and juridical protection of refugees has been the subject of international agreements—such as the arrangements of 1928 for "Nansen" refugees and of 1936 for refugees coming from Germany—secured by the action of the league of nations, and the binding convention of 1933 and 1938.

U.S.S.R. Constitution on Asylum for Political Refugees

Time does not allow me to quote further references in regard to this matter, but I should like to quote article 129 of the U.S.S.R. constitution of 1936. It clearly states:

The U.S.S.R. grants the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the toilers or for their scientific activities or for their struggle for national liberation.

I submit that in view of the international law which, if unobserved, denies any protection to persecuted peoples and persons whatsoever, and in view of the fact that the U.S.S.R. reserved to itself this right under its own constitution, the English-speaking countries should insist that this law be observed. Surely the U.S.S.R. cannot expect us to deny, to persons who look to us for protection, the protection which they guarantee to their supporters.

Canadian Citizens Ask Permission to Aid Their Relatives

2. (a) In view of the heavy load which UNRRA is carrying in the matter of feeding and clothing the people in displaced persons camps, the government should take immediate steps to making proper arrangements to make it possible for Canadian citizens to send food and clothing parcels to their relatives in the camps until such time as they are permanently resettled and are able to support themselves. In the United States, arrangements for sending mail and parcels were made as far back as November 23, 1945. This was reported in the *New York Times* of November 24, last. And in the *New York Times* of February 28 of this year, Lieutenant General William N. Haskill announced that a cooperative organization will soon have several millions of food parcels available to be sent to relatives of Americans. I should ask, too, that the Postmaster General (Mr. Bertrand) confer with the British postal authorities in the matter of lowering of postal rates for this purpose.

(b) To give serious consideration to allowing Canadian citizens to send to their relatives in large quantities flour and perhaps other imperishable foodstuffs and to allow them also to send clothing.

(c) To make immediate arrangements for personal and direct mail service between Canada and displaced persons camps. Here, again, this has already been done in the United States as from November 23, 1945. The war is over and we owe it to our people at least to allow them to write to their relatives. It is now seven years since most of them have not had a letter from those dear to them. I need hardly emphasize the fact that people, who have gone through war and who have been living in camps for months, are most anxious to locate their relatives and to write to them.

British Military Orders Deny Fundamental Human Rights to Ukrainian Displaced Persons

3. The third request is that the Canadian government make proper representations to British and United States governments to rescind the following order:

HQ 30 Corps District
219/DP

29th December, 1945
British Zone

Subject—Ukrainians

To: Mil. Gov. Detachments—(enumeration follows).

1. H.M.G. do not recognize Ukrainian as a nationality, and persons coming from the Ukraine are classed as citizens of the country in which they had their residence on 1st September, 1939. No recognition can be given to any Ukrainian organization or representation as such.

2. All such persons who lived in Soviet territory are compulsory returned to the U.S.S.R. under the terms of the Yalta agreement as soon as they are proved to be such.

3. Ukrainians of other than Soviet citizenship receive education and welfare facilities in the language appropriate to their citizenship, and for the time being it is impracticable for a variety of reasons to publish books or other literature in Ukrainian.

4. All Ukrainian organizations will be disbanded forthwith, and where they are established outside camps, the representatives will be brought into camps as normal D.P.'s. All stationery pertaining to these organizations will be confiscated.

5. Continuation of such activities is punishable under articles 26 and/or 34 of ordinance 1.

Brigadier,
Chief of Staff
30 Corps District.

Ref:

Another Promise to Guard Human Rights

Ten days after this order was issued, Prime Minister Atlee made the following statement to the united nations conference, as reported in *The Times*, London, of January 11, 1946:

I am glad that the charter of the united nations does not deal only with governments and states or with politics and war but also with the simple elemental needs of human beings whatever be their race, their colour, or their creed. In the charter we reaffirm our faith in fundamental human rights. We see the freedom of the individual in the state as an essential complement to the freedom of the state in the world community of nations. We stress, too, that social justice and the best possible standards of life for all are essential factors in promoting and maintaining the peace of the world.

I want to believe, that either the order to which I referred was issued without the knowledge of British and United States governments or they must have been tragically misled. One cannot imagine British or United States governments denying human beings the most elementary human rights of having their own welfare organizations.

A Plea to Canadian Government to Accept a Generous Number of Ukrainian D.P.'s

4. The fourth and last request which I should like to direct to the Canadian government has to do with immigration. I should like to make an earnest appeal to the government to make provision for admission to Canada of a generous number of close relatives of Canadian citizens.

A British Offer

As hon. members are aware, even the United Kingdom, having suffered devastations on a colossal scale, made provision on November 13, 1945, for admission of close relatives of persons residing in Great Britain and have offered to share their meagre supplies with those who have none.

Australia's Immigration Policy

.... Then let me draw the attention of hon. members to an item in *Time* magazine, New York, of February 19, 1946, concerning Australia's immigration policy:

Australia has plans for the greatest immigration project in history. It's a drive for an eventual threefold increase in the country's population of 7,000,000. An Australian delegation has been in Europe making a survey to determine how many British, Norwegian, Swedish, Dutch, Swiss, and other emigrants can be attracted to the island continent. To deal successfully with the economic problems posed by such a mass migration, Australia has set the number to be admitted at 70,000 a year for the first few years.

United States' Immigration Policy

Let me now turn to the United States immigration policy as announced by President Truman on December 22, 1945:

The war has brought in its wake an appalling dislocation of populations in Europe. Many humanitarian organizations, including the united nations relief and rehabilitation administration, are doing their utmost to solve the multitude of problems arising in connection with this dislocation of hundreds of persons. Every effort is being made to return the displaced persons and refugees in the various

countries of Europe to their former homes. The great difficulty is that so many of these persons have no homes to which they may return. The immensity of the problem of displaced persons and refugees is almost beyond comprehension.

. . . The United States shares the responsibility to relieve the suffering . . . everything possible should be done at once to facilitate the entrance of some of these displaced persons and refugees into the United States.

In this way we may do something to relieve human misery and set an example to the other countries of the world which are able to receive some of these war sufferers. I feel that it is essential that we do this ourselves to show our good faith in requesting other nations to open their doors for this purpose.

. . . . I consider that common decency and the fundamental comradeship of all human beings require us to do what lies within our power to see that our established immigration quotas are used in order to reduce human suffering. I am taking the necessary steps to see that this is done as quickly as possible.

. . . This period of unspeakable human distress is not the time for us to close or to narrow our gates.

Canada's Present Attitude

What is Canada's immigration policy? Here are two paragraphs from a letter from the Department of Immigration in reply to a request to allow three displaced persons to join their relatives in Canada. This letter is dated March 6, 1946.

Literally hundreds of similar applications are being received in the department from residents of Canada who are anxious to assist relatives in distressed circumstances in Europe. Practically all of the proposed immigrants are inadmissible under existing regulations and, after careful review of the whole situation, it has been decided that the entry to Canada at this time of any considerable number of aliens would not be advisable. With the return to civilian life of our servicemen and women, it is considered they are entitled to first priority in the matter of rehabilitation and establishment.

It would be possible to offer any encouragement on behalf of your relatives above named, when we are obliged to refuse so many applications which present at least equal merit from a sympathetic standpoint. I can only express regret, therefore, at being unable to let you have a favourable reply.

I do not wish it to be understood that I am pressing the government to decide now on the general immigration policy for Canada for the next few years. I am merely appealing to the government to admit a generous number of displaced persons to Canada purely on the basis of humanitarian consideration.

An Appeal of a Canadian Officer

I am glad that there are Canadians who take a sympathetic attitude toward the displaced persons. May I read a few sentences from a letter written by a Canadian officer:

I am a Canadian of British parentage . . . In our displaced persons camp here . . . we have two thousand Ukrainians and in the short time I have had the pleasure of associating with these people I have come to like and admire them greatly. I suppose I need not tell you of the many hardships and privations these folks have undergone in the past few years but I would like to tell you a little of what they are doing and are trying to do now. Our camp is composed completely of Ukrainians and we moved into a rather badly bombed German barracks. I have never seen such industry and ambition shown by a group of people, as these put forward in making the camp not only livable but as near to home as a military barracks can be made to be.

There are two things that prompted me to write this letter. It was part of our work to register all people, living in the camp and one of the questions asked on this registration card was the person's choice of a place to settle. Many answered "Canada" and I don't mind admitting I felt very proud that my Canada was so well known among these people . . . A school was opened in the camp and I beg consideration of your sending these people dictionaries. Also considering the great interest shown in Canada any available literature would be more than welcome, especially anything to do with immigration to Canada or plans for it, and also daily papers for very news-starved people.

I would like it understood that I am not writing this as an officer but rather as a Canadian who would like to see a good many of these people come to Canada and help it to become the really great nation it is destined to become and for them to know the peace of mind that comes from living in a free country.

Recommends D.P.'s as Good Immigrants for Canada

I should like to quote, in conclusion, from an article in the *Ottawa Citizen* of March 23, 1946, entitled "Displaced Persons 'Good Citizens'."

That it would be a sound move on Canada's part to put in a bid for some of the "best" of the displaced persons still in Germany, is the opinion of a deputy director of the displaced persons programme in Germany, William Bagnall.

Mr. Bagnall, who arrived in Ottawa yesterday en route to his home in Calgary, after eight months in Munich with UNRRA, told the press that there were still many displaced persons in Germany.

He believed the solution to the problem of what to do with citizens who had no place to go, or couldn't return to their own land with safety, lay in the hands of the united nations.

Mr. Bagnall said it was up to each country to take its share of this displaced population. He was sure many of these people would like to go to other countries outside Europe, particularly to Canada.

Many of the displaced persons were good citizens, he claimed, who were in their present position through no fault of their own.

Would Forever be Grateful

If Canada offers a welcome to a number of these homeless people, if she offers them freedom and homes, I am sure they will be grateful to the people of Canada and to this land.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE AMERICAN CONVERT AND THE SOVIET APOSTATE

SOVIET POLITICS AT HOME AND ABROAD, by Dr. Frederick L. Schuman, 663 pp., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, \$4.00 and **I CHOOSE FREEDOM**. The personal and political life of a soviet official, by Victor Kravchenko, 496 pp. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, \$3.50.

I

It is fortunate for the sake of truth that Dr. Schuman's book of Soviet propaganda appeared in 1946 and not in 1944 or 1945, because a short time ago, until we had the opportunity to observe Soviet imperialism at close range (no further away than a 5 cent subway ride to the U.N. meetings in the Bronx) most of the so-called facts presented by Dr. Schuman would have been accepted in good faith and at face value. Fortunately the war has been won (by the United States for the most part, Dr. Schuman's arguments in favor of Russia notwithstanding) and the American reader seeking information from the pages of "Soviet Politics at home and abroad" and no longer under a moral impulse to applaud the heroism of the defenders of holy mother Russia, will soon come to the conclusion that there is something amiss with the logic on which this book is constructed. The explanation is quite simple and does not have to be looked for beyond the pages of the book: Dr. Schuman right at the outset of the book (p.24) confesses to employing dialectical terms rather than the normal logic to which western civilized man is accustomed. Not only does Dr. Schuman, however, employ Marxian dialectics; he is perhaps the only author not in the employment of the Soviet State who follows the Party line of Leninism-Stalinism without the slightest deviation. Are the interests of historical truth best served by accepting the *Party Line* of a dictatorship in power? Surely Dr. Schuman did not have to go so far, if he intended to present the Soviet State to the American public in an objective light. It seems, however, that Dr. Schuman's intentions reach beyond or rather beside the realm of objectivity: he wants American public opinion to put a stamp of approval on all of

Stalin's words and actions, and to accept Stalinism (pure, without even the Leninism in it any more) as the only political, religious and economic system fit for the Soviet Union, and by inference worthy of a trial by the rest of the world.

This strict adherence to the Party line is called by the author "a progressive quest in problem solving", and his hope of tomorrow lies in "soviet man . . . placing a higher premium on organized public action as a means toward the freedom which goes with social security and integration". The fact that so-called organized public action stems from the Kremlin and is carried out by the NKVD does not bother the author, who considers this state as quite normal and leading to a new and infinitely hopeful destiny.

Some shortcomings of the Soviet system are too obvious for even such an apologist as Dr. Schuman to ignore; thus he acknowledges the fact that the Soviet regime produced "the first of the totalitarian States of the 20th Century whose unique devices of persecution, persuasion and perquisites were later copied, for wholly different purposes by the demagogue-despots of Fascism". Immediately comes an apology for this "invention" as having been "forced upon (Bolshevism) by the decisions of Russian democrats and of the Western Democracies". This of course is again pure Party line: as if to say "you Americans and other nations of the West have forced the Soviet leaders to introduce totalitarian methods with its horrors of NKVD, purges, killings without trial, forced labor etc. upon the people of the Soviet Union".

Every act of treachery, savagery or low cunning performed by Stalin and his henchmen finds complete vindication in the eyes of his historian, Dr. Schuman, who considers purges and murder as part of a necessary and healthgiving surgery, whereas anyone opposing Stalin is immediately villified. Trotsky and other "liquidated" oppositionists are all, in adherence to Party line, classified as need be: either mentally or psychologically deranged, or outright traitors and despicable characters.

When it comes to events and persons, not every statement made by the author in conformity with Stalinist policy can be pinned down as an untruth or distortion, but fortunately Dr. Schuman enthusiastically quotes some figures of Soviet production (p.212) and there his enthusiasm gets the better of his judgement. Thus e.g. Dr. Schuman credits the Stalin regime with achieving between 1924 and 1940 an

increase in steel production "multiplied by 18", unaware that a few lines further on, actual figures (and not unknown units multiplied by 18) are quoted and these state that steel production in Russia rose between 1913 (roughly comparable to the level of 1927) and 1940 from 4 million tons per annum to 18 million tons. If therefore the first figure quoted by Dr. Schuman were correct, Stalin's 1940 steel output should have been 72 million tons and not 18. (It is a well known fact from recent press despatches that Stalin has set a goal of close to 70 million tons of steel per annum to be reached after the next three five-year plans, i.e. around 1962). If the author of "Soviet Politics" permits his admiration for Stalin's achievements to carry him away from the truth in the matter of cold figures, then we can justifiably surmise that in other matters the book is filled more with a wishful than truthful presentation of facts.

Most facts and events pertaining to Ukraine, which after all is the second largest component republic of the Soviet Union (albeit more enslaved by Stalin than any other "republic"), are uniquely slanted or distorted in Dr. Schuman's presentation, which may be intentional (again the Party line) or simply the result of insufficient information.

Some of the more serious misstatements and distortions regarding Ukraine and Ukrainians will be pointed out here. Almost at the outset, in describing the geography and topography of the Soviet Union Dr. Schuman discovers beyond the Carpathian mountains "a small enclave (of) the Russian-speaking people of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia (Carpatho-Ukraine)". This very same author when it suits his purpose quotes (p.362) a speech by Msgr. Augustin Voloshyn, Premier of Carpatho-Ukraine predicting in 1938 an early liberation of all Ukrainians "now so brutally suppressed by Poland and Soviet Russia". As the scientific precepts of Pogodin are now accepted in the Stalinist conception of Russia's history, so therefore Dr. Schuman also adheres to Pogodin and considers Ukrainians to be "Little Russians" or just a slight subdivision of the Great or genuine Russians (p.94). The whole problem of a Ukrainian independent movement during the period 1917-1918 (Treaty of Brest-Litovsk) is casually by-passed by the author, who considers it sufficient to dismiss the independent Ukrainian "Centralna Rada" with one word "anti-Soviet

A few pages further on, however, Dr. Schuman admits (p.163) that in the period between 1917 and 1920 Kiev, the Ukrainian capital,

changed hands nineteen times. This must be sufficient proof that there were enough anti-soviet Ukrainians with enough conviction to be able to throw the Bolsheviks out of the capital of their country so many times. On the subject of the Ukrainian independent government which overthrew pro-German elements in Ukraine in 1918 and under the leadership of Simon-Petlura waged war on all enemies of Ukraine, in particular the Russian Bolsheviks, Dr. Schuman is completely confused. To him Petlura is "Hetman" although the title of Hetman was only assumed by Skoropadsky; then again Petlura appears as "Warsaw's puppet" and finally as an organizer of "bandit-gangs (which) indulged in slaughtering Jews". Such presentation of history is taken verbatim from Stalin's Party line and requires no further refutation here.

How brutal an American can become when he follows the Stalin Party line is shown by the callousness of Dr. Schuman's eyewitness account of the Moscow-engineered famine in Ukraine of 1932-33. The word famine is used in parenthesis, to show of course contempt for any one softhearted enough to take compassion in its victims. It little matters of course to the author that "the peasantry was left to starve by the authorities and the collective farmers as a more or less deliberate policy", but "the battle for collectivization was nevertheless crowned with ultimate victory" and this is what matters to Stalin and Dr. Schuman (p.219).

A final rejoinder is necessary to Dr. Schuman's incessant harping on the theme of a so-called equality among the races and nationalities of the Soviet Union. The rights of races and nationalities are called by the author as "unquestionably the best protected of all rights in the USSR" (p.329). Luckily, we have plenty of proof to the contrary: the new Soviet national anthem, which replaced the Internationale two years ago, calls for all nationalities of the Soviet Union to join behind the leadership of the Great Russian nation; more public trials as well as killings without trials were carried on in the Soviet Union against nationalist deviations than against party deviations, and of course no Russian communist has ever been accused of or hailed to court because of his Russian nationalism; nationalism as a crime is reserved for such second-rate citizens of the Soviet Union as Ukrainians, Armenians, Byeloruthenians, Lithuanians, etc. etc. American public opinion and the Press is fully aware of the existing true situation when it refers to the antics of representatives of Ukraine, Poland and Byeloruthenia in various bodies of the United Nations as "Soviet puppets".

It seems that Soviet puppets have appeared everywhere, even in many chairs of American Universities.

II

There is yet hope for the world to free itself of tyrants and dictatorships, if a man grown, educated and hardened in the communist revolution and later carried to the uppermost strata of Soviet bureaucracy, can find the courage, conviction and decency to forsake all his previous life in order to "Choose freedom" and deliver a message to the world.

"I Chose Freedom" is the most important human and political message to penetrate the iron curtain and reach the civilized world which lives beyond the frontiers of the USSR. This reviewer thanked Mr. W. L. White on the pages of this publication a few issues back for telling the world about ten per cent of the truth about the Soviet Union. Now the remaining ninety per cent has been supplied by Mr. Victor Kravchenko. Between "A Report on the Russians" and "I Choose Freedom" the picture of the true Soviet Union is complete.

This convinced communist covers every inch of his life in the Soviet State, a life which for the most part revolved on a plane ten times higher than the average life of a Soviet citizen, and every phase of Soviet life produces an indictment of the dictatorship. It should be borne in mind, that Mr. Kravchenko does not renounce his communist convictions; on the contrary, he considers Stalin and his Kremlin clique traitors to the true communism, dictators, bloody tyrants and exploiters of the toiling masses to a degree far surpassing any capitalist exploitation. There is no question that he has not proved that point: having worked for years at various levels of factory management and Party control, he exposes the most vulnerable places of Russian state capitalism under Stalin exploiting to the utmost one sixth of the globe, the population of which has been beaten and intimidated beyond all comprehension of the term freedom. If there is any freedom the Soviet citizen (slave) desires, it is the freedom from FEAR. Fear of being pressed into a labor batallion for two years penal servitude for being twenty minutes late for work, fear of having one's family arrested and tortured so as to make you join the ranks of spies of the NKVD, fear of being made to pay with your position, career, perhaps even life for an alleged political mistake made by your father or uncle forty years ago.

Ukraine produces hardy characters, and that is why Stalin directed the famines to decimate this rich land. Yet in spite of all purges, weeding out starving and persecution another Ukrainian will stand up in protest. This time it is Victor Kravchenko. This is not to be construed that Victor Kravchenko will be proclaimed a Ukrainian patriot by any true Ukrainian. Far from it: Kravchenko appears to be a dual personality as far as racial consciousness goes. He is more of a Russian, Panslavic patriot, than Ukrainian, which is the unfortunate (to Ukraine) result of decades of russification of Ukraine by its Russian masters, be they white or red. Kravchenko admits his Ukrainian race only within the family circle: there they all speak and sing Ukrainian. But once outside the home he becomes the socially conscious man, concerned only with social and economic justice. He suffers morally with the Ukrainian peasants driven from their land and starved in 1932, but the thought never enters his mind that perhaps these peasants are persecuted not so much for being Kulaks and potential enemies of the State's social order, as for being conscious Ukrainians and therefore potential enemies of the State's national order.

Through the pages of "I Chose Freedom" there march dozens of Ukrainian characters, because the greatest part of the author's life was spent in Ukraine. It is through these characters, most of whom were "liquidated" that we get a glimpse of the Ukrainian spirit of defiance of Russia being present throughout the period of the purges and Stalin's "Thermidor". The peasants who would rather perish than give in to an alien collectivization, the lecturer on Marxism and Leninism at the Technical Institute (Hrinchenko) who was purged for being "Ukrainian first, a Leninist second".

Mr. Kravchenko puts particular emphasis on one complete about-face stage of Soviet politics, which has been distorted in the eyes of the Western world, and that is Stalin's pact with Hitler and its consequences. Mr. Kravchenko repeatedly points out, proving his contention with facts and figures, that Stalin's pact of 1939 completely reversing Soviet policy toward Nazism, was absolutely bonafide on the part of Stalin, and war with Hitler came as a surprise not only to the people, but even to the rulers of the Kremlin. As proof Mr. Kravchenko cites the fact, that during the period of peace and friendship with Nazi Germany nothing at all was done to strengthen the Soviet western defenses. Industry did not accelerate until the last moment, when it was too late: on the contrary, important industrial projects having a bearing on war production were abandoned in

1939 and 1940 in favor of long term construction, a flagrant example of which is the shelving of the Kemerovo pipe-rolling project of which Mr. Kravchenko was director. His superior when informing him of the decision of the Central Committee and the Sovnarkom to abandon Kemerovo states flatly: "Now that we are friends with Germany, there's no rush about defense enterprises". This attitude and good faith of Stalin in Hitler brought about according to Kravchenko the unnecessary sacrifice of millions of lives when the war finally broke out. It was only after his arrival in the United States that Mr. Kravchenko found out to his great surprise that America had been sold on the idea that the Stalin-Hitler pact had been a stroke of genius on the part of Stalin which gave Stalin twenty one months in which to prepare for the victorious war with Germany.

It is, of course ridiculous to charge Mr. Kravchenko and his book with some hidden motives, as many reviewers of his book have done. The motive is clear and implicit on every page of the book: to acquaint the still free western world with the terrible and bloody regime of the present Soviet dictatorship, giving at the same time proof who are as yet untainted by any connection with the Kremlin dictatorship, that the Soviet system is just about as far from the true Marxism and socialism as was the fascist system of Germany and Italy.

Mr. Kravchenko, who knew well what he was facing when he jumped his official soviet job in Washington, who has been hounded by NKVD agents almost every hour since his break, deserves the sincere admiration of all freedom loving people. It would indeed be a cruel fate to him if he were to succumb to NKVD's bullets as have succumbed Petlura, Krivitsky, Trotsky, and many others who dared tell the truth about Russia.

To all serious students of the problems of Russia, the Soviets, Stalin and Socialism this book is absolutely obligatory. This reviewer ventures a prediction, that if the world manages to stay free, Mr. Kravchenko's book in years to come may prove to be one of the most monumental works dealing with the truth about the Soviet Union.

ROMAN OLESNICKI

AMERICA: PARTNER IN WORLD RULE, by William Henry Chamberlin, New York, The Vanguard Press, 1945, 318 pp.

Beyond question Mr. Chamberlin ranks, by virtue of his wide political and economic knowledge, his extensive experience as a re-

porter, notably in Eastern Europe and Asia, and his remarkable capacity for lucid exposition, along with a self-evident regard for objective truth and accuracy of information, as one of America's best informed and honest analysts of world affairs. It is a sad commentary on America's public opinion agencies that this brilliant analytical work has not received wider consideration and publicity than the numerous recent "klyukva-packed" books abounding with the usual thought-distorting platitudes and teleologized representations of America's spendthrift role in world affairs, the United Nations circus, the "democracy" of the U.S.S.R., the good-fellowship of "Uncle Joe," and similar rot. Name-calling, spurious data, ideological fatuousness, and historical naiveté along with its concomitant analytic superficiality find no place in this work which is simply devoted to a carefully reasoned analysis of international developments based on a clear historical perspective founded on solid facts and an integrity of dispassionate account.

Although written during the last phase of World War II, Chamberlin's work is a well-integrated examination that covers the consequences, as he saw them then, of the war, the growing political and economic difficulties confronting England, the prospects of the British Empire and the Commonwealth, America's evolving relationship to England, the creation of a political vacuum in Europe and Asia and the relations and aims of the Soviet Colossus in both Europe and Asia, and Anglo-American implementation of true means for genuine peace. A sure and practical test is provided of the soundness and correctness of Chamberlin's analysis by the developments since the end of the war; and indeed, this is the best and only means of judging any analyst's ability to interpret events and circumstances accurately. By this test the author's position as a sound and accurate thinker is exceptionally well substantiated.

The saturation of the power vacuums in Europe and Asia by Soviet and British and Soviet and American spheres of influence respectively; the political ineffectiveness of small powers against the might of the "Big Three," themselves armed for peace and mutually distrustful of each other; America's inevitable participation in world power politics which it passively helped to sponsor at the mock conferences of Teheran and Yalta by the sheer logic of events; the accentuation of the economic and political barriers separating the peoples of the world and suppressing interchange of ideas, notably in Eastern

Europe; the economic gravity of England's position; the impending conflicts over India, Palestine, and Hong Kong; the folly of American appeasement of the Soviet Union by agreeing to the latter's rape of Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Eastern Germany and indirectly of Yugoslavia and Iran—all in the name of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter; the sinister distribution of communist cells throughout the world, pulled by the strings of the Politbureau; and the unavoidable fracas of the United Nations Security Council, split between totalitarian and democratic representatives—all these analytic conclusions resulting from careful examination in this work may well be correlated with the events of these past eight months.

The strength of these conclusions, which we have been witnessing in morbid reality of late, rests upon the author's skillful rejection of many false theories and notions that have been propagandistically fed to the American public and upon his positively well-founded historical and contemporary knowledge. Some of the many theories examined are: (1) that because the U.S.S.R. "liberated" Eastern European areas, it has the right to dispose of them as it will; (2) that because Eastern Europe is geographically remote, the United States has no voice there; (3) that the U.S.S.R. is now only regaining territory lost after the last war by Russia; (4) that Soviet annexation of the Baltic states is for "security" reasons; (5) that because the U.S.S.R. is vastly endowed with natural resources and area, it has no need of expansion; (6) that it is only necessary to give the U.S.S.R. a region of influence and it will desire no more; (7) that because Moscow remained passive between the two wars, it will automatically continue to do so again, and (8) that permanent peace can be insured by an overwhelmingly strong alliance of great powers, notwithstanding the "grand alliance" fiasco of the 19th century. Chamberlin's acute treatment of each of these fallacies provides easy judgement on the opium-dealings of our many either ignorant or purposely biased commentators and journalists.

The positive bases underlying his ultimate conclusions are the wide range of his knowledge of world history, especially that of Eastern Europe and Asia which is ordinarily quite wanting among our more popular "analysts," his evident competency in handling economic facts perspectively without the usual shibboleths of the "common man" etc., and his most intimate acquaintance with the opportunism,

may, nihilism, of the Soviet regime. Along with this extensive knowledge, numerous highlights in data material are provided. The notorious composition of the Polish Committee of National Liberation and of the first Soviet-sponsored Bulgarian government, consisting of a well known anti-Semite, adventurers, and even undemocratic leaders of the Bulgarian Zveno, is well described. The secret execution in the Soviet Union of the Polish-Jewish socialists, Ehrlich and Alter, the murderous purges of the old-time communists, the broken promises of the Kremlin in its diplomatic relations with others, the evidence of Soviet deceit in its bloody liquidation of the Polish underground and the circumstantial evidence against the U.S.S.R. in the murder of the ten thousand Polish officers in the Katyn Forest receive a frank consideration in this honest account of the recent past in Soviet dealings.

As a climax to his comprehensive analysis, Chamberlin presents a program for genuine peace which is progressively disappearing today. Some of his recommendations are the abandonment of imperialist interests in Europe and Asia, the conduct of free elections, disarmament, a true equality of all in the councils of nations, and most important, uncensored dissemination of information concerning conditions in all countries. On this last point, the mockery of this recommendation is best seen today in the clamor for an investigation of Franco Spain as a threat to world peace; whereas the legitimate point of departure would be the Soviet Union. Moreover, the author calls upon the United States to further these objectives. The question is just how capable and foresighted is the United States. Unhappily, events seem to continue along the very lines which Chamberlin describes in this work, and which may well point toward a third World War.

LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

THE COSSACKS, The Story of a Warrior People, by Maurice Hindus, Doubleday, Doran and Company, New York, 1945.

Despite the countless, and in large measure justified, fulminations that have been directed against Mr. Hindus' glaring and distorting pro-Soviet inclinations as manifested in his previous works, such as "Mother Russia," "Red Bread" and so forth, this latest work, historically feeble as it is, represents nevertheless an honest attempt to penetrate the fatuous artificialities and make-belief of high-pressure propaganda in

order to arrive at a sociologic understanding of the people inhabiting the Don Cossack and Kuban regions of the Soviet Union. His diary-like excursions into and interesting anecdotes on the day-to-day living of simple people, their rich customs, their general cultural orientation toward family and society, their miraculous survival in the recent conflagration prove to be genuinely entertaining and commendable. Many chapters, such as "The College President and His Sons" and "The Boy with the Fiddle," are literally epitomes of war romance, deeply engaging, absorbing, and moving.

Had Mr. Hindus, a Russian-born journalist, confined himself strictly to his reportorial tasks, directed exclusively toward the aforementioned objective he had in mind, he would have accomplished his end admirably. Failing this, he presents with typical journalistic makeshift adaptation a muddled account of Cossack history, so that it hardly requires more than the slightest acquaintance with this history to recognize casually the fundamental incompetency of the author in such matters. If ever a writer has haphazardly assembled fragments of historical data and employed them in a void, Mr. Hindus does this exceptionally well. Ignorant of the very origin of the Kozak Host in the fifteenth century and the precise conditions of Polish oppression and Tartar and Turkish perils that precipitated its formation, the author ignores throughout the eventual affinity between Cossack warriorship and the Ukrainian aspirations for national independence and freedom from foreign tyranny and serfdom of whatever sort, be it Polish or Muscovite. His main point of departure is Bohdan Khmelnytsky's agreement in the treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654 to a Muscovite protectorate over the disorganized Ukrainian realm, which he unwittingly regards as an unopposed certification of the incorporation of the Ukrainian people in an extended Russian nation. Khmelnytsky's disillusionment over this inexpedient alliance and efforts to destroy it in 1656, hetman Ivan Vyhovsky's severance of relations with Muscovy, the war with Moscovy in 1659, hetman Peter Doroshenko's struggle to attain the independence of Ukraine, and the national significance of Mazepa at Poltava in 1709 apparently have been omitted in the author's streamlined education on this matter. As a consequence, no historically necessary distinction is made between the original Ukrainian Kozaks with their national aspirations of individual liberty, Ukrainian independence, and unviolated Orthodoxy and the imitating Russian or Russianized Cossacks with their blind devotion later to the Czar. It is noteworthy that this confusion irrepressibly reflects itself continually in the

indeterminate classification of the Kozaks as either Russian or Ukrainian on the part of the author himself (p. 29).

Further aberrations in Hindus' historical treatment may be seen in his failure to perceive the significance of Taras Bulba who largely by omission of pertinent facts is portrayed as a Russian Kozak embittered by Polish oppression. Also his statement (p. 255) that the Cossacks "... petitioned the Russian Czar to make the Ukraine a part of the Russian nation because of their irreconcilment with the Roman Catholicism of Poland" is sufficient to indicate the puerility in such matters of this dubiously eminent writer on the Soviet Union. In fact this book abounds with such observations. But then one could hardly expect more from a writer admittedly engaged in a journalistic itinerary (xii).

This striking want of historical information and perspective must not, however, be allowed to obfuscate the reader's appreciation of many incidental but significant remarks made by the author. His ready acceptance of the indisputable facts of the unspeakable brutality sponsored by the Soviet government in the man-made famine of the 30's (xi), of the barbarous exile of families to "faraway places in Central Asia" (p. 107), and of the inhuman liquidation of kulaks (p. 301) is singularly impressive inasmuch as the author's previous apologetic tendencies are well-known. His several references to the melodious character of the Ukrainian language in contrast to the Russian (p. 189) and to the beauty of Ukrainian folk culture (p. 227) in themselves suggest a national distinctiveness that Mr. Hindus could profitably investigate further in his hoped-for comprehension of the history of the Ukrainian people. Moreover, his illuminating disclosure of Soviet attitudes reveals an interesting pattern of Soviet paternalism as existing between a politically submerged mass and its leader and father Stalin (p. 225), a condition contributing least to any development of individual political responsibility such as a democratic state well affords. These and numerous other sidelights to his main subject, covering a range of topics from religion to a virtual idolization of heavy pig iron and steel production, serve to diversify an essentially sociologically-motivated reportorial project that at least makes for entertaining reading if for anything else.

LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND BRITISH PERIODICALS

"No Peace for the Homeless," by Martin Eben. *Free World*, New York, May, 1946.

Scholarly yet emotionally aware of the human equation of the plight of the displaced persons scattered throughout non-Soviet Europe, is the approach of Foreign Association associate Martin Eben to one of the most racking of post-war problems. Though largely overlooked or ignored by other wielders of the pen, it receives sympathetic treatment at his hands. The fact that they are mostly former inmates of the Soviet paradise, and that in their ardent desire to be really free they smother their natural urge to return to their native land, is well brought out by Mr. Eben. Likewise he states that a great many of the Ukrainian DPs are officially designated as Poles or Russians.

Dwelling on the Anglo-Saxon conception that the DPs should not be compelled to return to their foreign-ruled native land and the Soviet demand that it is a case of mother (USSR) reaching out for her sons, the author aptly notes that the democracies are not at all "willing to provide mother with a lasso." The solution to the problem, he concludes, lies in the Americas, and in turn that depends upon the liberalization of their immigration quotas and requirements.

"Europe's Saddest Human Problem," by Harold Gardiner. *America*, New York, April 6, 1946.

Here the author also considers the DPs problem and observes that someday the democracies will be ashamed of their lack of resoluteness in tackling it, especially when they consider the forcible repatriation of the DPs, the resultant suicide on the part of quite a number of them, and the other miseries suffered by them as a consequence. He concludes his article with four general recommendations, namely, 1) a moratorium on forced repatriation, 2) the granting of full rights of a free persons to DPs, even outside camp borders, 3) the assumption by UNO of full jurisdiction over DPs and the grant to them of international passports, 4) the liberalization of immigration policies of all nations.

Incidentally, in its March 23, 1946 number *America* reviews the condemnation of the Yalta agreement re DPs by Pope Pius XII. More detailed treatment of this issue is contained in the February 23, 1946 number of the London *Tablet*.

"Soviet Race and Nationality Policies," by W. H. Chamberlin. *The Russian Review*, New York, Autumn, 1945.

What some "students" of the Soviet policies regard as well-nigh ideal, and others as just ordinary sham and hypocrisy, namely, Soviet race and nationality policies, Mr. Chamberlin makes the subject of his article, noting in the process the great growth of Russian nationalism since 1934, often masquerading under the pan-Slavic cloak, and the repression of other people's nationalities. Nonetheless the author is of the opinion that on the whole Soviet nationality policy carries in its wake certain benefits for the peoples of the USSR.

It may be true that some of these non-Russian peoples did gain such benefits, as in culture and language, but that was before 1932, before the revival of the old Tsarist russification of the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians. Russification of the latter started in the already well russified White Ruthenian University and Academy of Sciences. In Ukraine it began after 1930 with attacks upon Ukrainian national culture and traditions.

Soviet nationality policy, it should be borne in mind, is quite elastic and adaptable, allowing various concessions to small and ill-developed peoples, who sooner or later will because of their own backwardness succumb to Russification, and adopting rigorous measures in opposition to the strong national and cultural movement of a strong and progressive people, especially the Ukrainians.

"Whither the Russian Revolution," by Waldemar Gurian. *America*, New York, March 9, 1946.

Here the author, editor of the *Review of Politics* and an authority on Soviet affairs, poses the question whether the culmination of the Russian Revolution is the present-day Stalinism or whether it is still a matter of future development. The old internationalism, he notes, has been replaced by a Soviet Russian nationalism, intolerant of other nationalities. "Tough Stalin," he writes, "emphasizes lately the particular merits of the Great Russians in winning the war. This national-

ism is a Soviet nationalism: Russia is seen as Eurasian Empire." The Soviets desire to construct their own imperialism but find their efforts blocked by inner forces. "I mention only," the author adds, "the Ukrainian nationalism."

"The Soviet Union and International Agreements," by M. T. Florinsky. *Political Science Quarterly*, Columbia University Press, New York, March, 1946.

A well known Russian historian in exile, Florinsky provides here a valuable work on the international treaties concluded by the Soviets between the last two wars. By 1937 there were 234 of them, he brings out. Leaving aside the question how well the Bolsheviks abide by their pledges, the author considers instead the amoral aspects of Soviet foreign policy.

"The Eastern Churches," by George E. Sokolsky. *The New York Sun*, March 28, 1946.

"The recent reports from Moscow that the Uniates of Ukraine and Ruthenia, at a council at Lwow (Lemberg), had decided to erase their affiliations with the Vatican and return to 'Mother Russia' caused not a little surprise," columnist Sokolsky writes. Recalling the background of the religious union of Western Ukrainians with the Vatican, he concludes with: "In Catholic Churches, Roman, Eastern or Uniate, only the Bishops can decide such a question as affiliation with Rome or with the Soviet successor to the Procurator of the Holy Synod. But most Uniate Bishops in Russian territory have either been killed or are in prison. For instance, Metropolitan Joseph Slipij of Lwow died in prison, it is reported. And so it goes."

"Church and State in Russia." *The Tablet*, London, February 16, 1946.

Following a well grounded review of the Russian Orthodox Church situation, the author here arrives at the conclusion that under Soviet rule it has no freedom and is completely Sovietized. Thus even today it cannot freely propagate Christian ideals, but merely the cult. It has become an instrument of the State to the extent that prayers are offered it in "For the health and well-being of the God-appointed Leader of the Nations of our Christian Commonwealth."

In the light of this recognized fact, it is difficult to understand the optimism of Rev. Braun, the only American priest in Moscow, about the future of the Catholic Church in Soviet ruled territories. Merely on the basis of the Soviet toleration of a single Catholic parish there, he looks toward the future there through rose colored glasses, overlooking the savage persecution of Eastern Rite Catholics in Western and Carpatho Ukraine. He reminds one of the Roman ecclesiastics of former centuries, particularly those who praised Peter I as a friend of the Catholic Church at a time when he was instigating the extermination of millions of Uniate Catholics in Ukraine and White Ruthenia.

"The Catholics of the Western Ukraine." *The Tablet*, London, January 12, February 9, 1946.

This is a detailed account of religious persecution by the Reds of Ukrainian Catholics, as well as of the arrest of the episcopate, and the setting up by the Soviets of the so-called Initiatory Committee charged with the task of "converting" Ukrainian Catholics to the Russian Orthodox Church. A similar account appeared March 30 number of *America* entitled "Ruthenian Apostates."

"International Law and the Plebiscites in Eastern Poland," by Edward Bonatt. *Journal of Central European Affairs*, Boulder, Colorado, January, 1946.

In a scholarly work based on Soviet sources, the author considers from the Polish viewpoint here the realities of the plebiscite of the Reds in the autumn of 1939 on the territories of Western Ukraine and White Ruthenia. Exact statistics buttress his well-founded contention that the plebiscite was actually a farce. Despite all pressure, however, 401,843 votes were against the Sovietization of Western Ukraine. In the newly convened Soviet Western Ukrainian Assembly itself, which met in Lwiw on October 26, 1939, one of the deputies, Vinnichenko, a Ukrainian lawyer, declared himself against Soviet absorption Sovietization of Western Ukraine. As was to be expected, he was quickly arrested and sentenced to 8 years in prison.

In conclusion, Mr. Bonatt says that, 1) "the essential conditions for expressing the free will of the populations were lacking, 2) the voting arranged by the USSR can in no way be considered an international plebiscite."

In retrospect, one may add here that it is too bad that during the Soviet-Polish boundary dispute, the Polish government-in-exile did not propose a just plebiscite for the purpose of determining the true sentiments of the populace involved.

"Dark Places: II Eastern Galicia," by F. A. Voigt. *The Nineteenth Century and After*, London, February, 1946.

"Not only has the late enemy lost the war, Europe has lost the war," Mr. Voigt points out. "The Graeco-Roman and Christian heritage and the Rules of Law—these are Europe." Most of Europe is being inundated by the wave of victorious lawlessness, especially rampant in Eastern Galicia and Ukraine. Attention to the latter has especially been called by the inhuman treatment of the Ukrainian DPs, whose refusal to return to Soviet rule could not help but impress even the most indifferent.

Western Ukraine itself, the Soviets are attempting to destroy as the traditional Ukrainian Piedmont. Thousands of nationally conscious Western Ukrainians, especially their leaders, are being forcibly evacuated into the icy wastes of Siberia, and their soil artificially resettled by non-Ukrainians. National Ukrainian religious traditions are being trampled upon and the Russian Orthodox Church being forced upon them.

On the vital importance of the Ukrainian problem to East Europe, the author observes that: "The old and intractable Ukrainian Problem cannot be solved by being smothered. It will always be kept alive in America. It is, of course, beyond the power of Great Britain and the United States to play a decisive part in Eastern Europe, as they could have done after the First World War. But it is their power to uphold, in their dealings with the fugitive Eastern Europeans . . . those principles that belong to the texture of Western civilization," the author concludes.

"The Ukrainian Agony," by Watson Kirkconnell. *The Evening Telegram*, Toronto, Canada, March, 1946.

As one of the best authorities on the Soviets, Prof. Kirkconnell warns Canada and the western world of the danger Kremlin-directed world communism constitutes for them. By way of example of Soviet methods he cites the great fear the displaced persons have of being

forced to return to Soviet ruled lands. Religious persecution in Ukraine is also cited, and the author makes no bones about the fact that the Kremlin regime is bent on the extermination of the Ukrainians as a nationality.

"Instructions on Conducting the Deportation." A Document of the NKVD. *Lithuanian Bulletin*, New York, January, 1946.

This is one of the most sensational documents revealing the barbaric deportation of Soviet ruled peoples from their native soil to distant and barren regions of the USSR. We see, for instance, a photostatic copy (in Russian with English translations) "of Instructions of Soviet Secret Police (NKVD) regarding the manner of conducting the deportation of anti-Soviet elements from Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia." Undoubtedly the same instructions have been issued for the people of Ukraine as well.



