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LOWER LIMIT UKRAINIAN TERRITORY IN 1840S UPPER LIMIT DIMMEMBERMENT OF UKRAINE AFTER THE WORLD WAR

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The picture on the cover: Parlus, clay — Prince Roman the Great

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RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND WORLD PEACE

Editorial

In 1943 at the time of the American-Soviet honeymoon, a top-ranking official in the White House declared:

"Never in all her history has Russia conducted any aggressive wars but, on the contrary, she has been the victim of many foreign aggressions."

Even those who only superficially know the history of Eastern Europe would hardly subscribe to this opinion, one which is belied by the entire 800 year history of the Russian state. Yet then such misrepresentations about peace-loving Russia happened to be the main theme of the official American propaganda. American citizens, especially those who had close connections with Eastern and Central Europe, were deeply perturbed when such declarations were implemented by our State Department's policies which in essence amounted to appeasement of the Soviet Union.

This appeasement toward the Kremlin was readily justified by our policy-makers on the ground that the Soviets had to have a cordon of satellite states on their western borders as a safeguard against aggression by Germany who had attacked Russia twice in our generation. While such a view was not entirely without foundation, it is pertinent to note that Russia can hardly be placed in the same category as other invaded nations. This is attested to by official German documents found in Berlin, now in American hands, to the effect that Russia was not completely a victim of German aggression. On the contrary, these documents prove that Stalin and Molotov were equal partners of Hitler and von Ribbentrop in their aggressive plans to divide Europe into spheres of their respective interests, even before the beginning of World War II in 1939.

The record of Russia as an aggressor state, as every student of Eastern European history knows, is an impressive one. Ever since the Muscovite state was liberated from the domination of the Golden Horde, Russia has constantly engaged in aggression, the victims of which were

her smaller neighbors. After having conquered them, Russia systematically applied a policy of oppression and persecution aimed at their total political assimilation and economic exploitation. Such political methods were used against all non-Russian peoples under its rule regardless of whether Russia was governed by an Orthodox autocratic Tsar or an atheist dictator.

Muscovite Warriors Cherished Heroes of Russian History

Among the outstanding heroes of Russian history are men who by their conquests and subjugation of weaker peoples have contributed to the expansion of the Russian state. Even the Russian Communists, who in the first years of revolutionary fury, had rejected the Tsarist period of Russian history as one of "dark reaction" and had demolished the monuments of all Tsars, subsequently returned to the same glorification of Russian imperialism. All the territorial conquests and political accomplishments of such conquerors as Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great and Catherine the Great have been restored to national honor and glory. These former "representatives of imperialistic tyranny" have become deified in Soviet films, poetry and art as worthy predecessors of the supreme god Stalin.

It is interesting to note that the political views of the present rulers of Russia are shared in full by the White Russian emigres all over the world. Whether they are Monarchists, Socialists, Orthodox or indifferent liberals, all of them are ready to forgive Stalin and his Bolshevik predecessors for the liquidation of the old regime. They forgive him for his restitution of all the territories Russia lost in 1917 and his annexations of the new territories in World War II. While the same emigres are opposed to the present system of government in Russia, they support its policy in Ukraine, and also approve the acquisition of the Baltic States. Likewise they condone the present Soviet penetration in the Balkans, Manchuria and Korea. Furthermore, they approve Soviet efforts to secure control of the strategically important Dardanelles. Even the most progressive Russian liberals, who readily recognize the distinct entity of the Ukrainian people, have not as yet conceded their right for political independence. Imperialism, it would seem, is deeply entrenched in Russian souls. And it seems that only some worldwide catastrophe would eventually cure them of this organic disease.

Are the Russian People Responsible for the Policies of Stalin?

As in the case of Nazi Germany, when there was some doubt as to the degree of responsibility of the German people for Hitler's policies, it is now pertinent to ask: just how responsible are the Russians, as the dominant people in the Soviet Union, for the crimes of Stalin and the outrages of the Politburo? In the American press there seems to be not the least hesitation on the part of American writers and policy-makers to condemn the Germans for condoning and profiting from the fruits of Hitler's conquests. There is, on the other hand, a curious indecisiveness as to the degree of responsibility of the Russian people for the totalitarian and expansionist policy of the present Soviet government.

It is a matter of historical record that the Russians, now forming 49 per cent of the total population of the Soviet Union, provide the most active base upon which the authority and power of the Kremlin rulers rests. At the same time, as the student of Soviet affairs knows, the Ukrainians have vigorously opposed Soviet totalitarian rule of their country for the past thirty years.

It is our contention that without the active support of the Russian people the oppression of the majority of the peoples of the Soviet Union by the Politburo and the MVD, would be impossible. It is a fact, for example, that the conquests of Ukraine, Turkestan and the Caucasus were accomplished by the Bolshevik armies of the north composed of Russian soldiers and commanded by Russian officers. Despite official propaganda along the line that all people and races in the Soviet Union are equal, in reality the Russians hold now, as in the past, a privileged status. They feel they are the master race whose language and culture should have priority over all others and never fail to emphasize the present greatness of the Russian nation.

Economically Russia proper is not one of the rich parts of the Soviet Union. Yet the living standards are higher in Russia proper, a fact which is explained by the steady economic exploitation of non-Russian republics for the benefit of the Russian Republic.

The policies of Stalin and the Politburo, moreover, are actively supported today by a national institution such as the Russian Orthodox Church, headed by the Patriarch of Moscow. This Church, with the aid of the MVD, is engaged in religious aggression against all non-Russian people, especially the Ukrainians, long known for their opposition to-

ward Russian religious supremacy. In Western Ukraine the Patriarch of Moscow is pursuing a policy of religious persecution directed against the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Since 1944 MVD agents have been hunting Ukrainian Catholics and forcing them to submit to the Russian Orthodox Church. All the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy, including Metropolitan Joseph Slipy and six other bishops, have been imprisoned or deported. More than 2,000 Ukrainian Catholic priests have been forcibly ousted from their parishes and deaneries, and subsequently killed or deported to the slave labor camps in the Russian interior.

In Eastern Ukraine, the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalic Church was dealt with in the same brutal manner,—first in 1930 and, after its partial revival, in 1944. Significantly, this religious oppression of the Ukrainian people met with the tacit approval even of Russian Orthodox circles abroad. This religious and political expansion of the Soviet Union was viewed as a manifestation of Russia's moment of greatness. Furthermore, the anti-Soviet Russians disapproved of the present terroristic policy of Moscow regarding individuals, yet they fail to condemn the wholesale massacre by the Soviets in the non-Russian territories, especially in Ukraine and the Baltic States.

Among the non-Soviet Russian leaders abroad hardly one can be found who would readily support the liberation movement of non-Russian peoples. It is more than safe to say that the imperialistic policy of the Kremlin today meets with the more or less implicit approval of all Russians, with the same degree of enthusiasm as the imperialistic policy had with the Germans. There can be little doubt that the majority of the Russian people are morally responsible for the policies and outrages of Stalin and his Politburo in regard to non-Russian peoples.

Ideological Slogans in the Service of Russian Imperialism

The peaceful declarations continually broadcast from Moscow, and the statements of Gromyko, Vishinsky, Manuilsky and others about the honorable intentions of the Soviet Union have only one purpose, namely, to camouflage Russia imperialistic designs upon the world.

It has long been the practice of Russian leaders to use powerful and attractive ideological slogans by which they can more expeditiously integrate new territories and peoples within the Russian Empire. Thus Muscovy, the "protector" of the peoples of all Kievan-Rus, or the "defender" of the Orthodox world against the Catholic and Islamic religions. Or we find

her "Mother Russia" and the protector of all Slavdom against the Germanic and Turkish menaces. Today she is the protector of the workers the world over as well as the bastion of the "new democracy" against "American imperialism".

Even under Tartar domination the Muscovite princes in the 14th century had planned to conquer all the territories that were part of the Kievan state, which weakened by constant wars with the Tartars, was under the partial domination of Poland and Lithuania. Moscow imposed itself as the "protector" of the lands of Ukraine and White Ruthenia, profiting by the injustices and persecution of Ukrainian Byzantine culture by Roman Catholic Poland.

Despite the fact that Muscovy was at that time culturally backward as compared to Ukraine and White Ruthenia, and despite the fact that the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians were racially and culturally distinct from Russia, the "unification" of all the lands of Kievan-Rus-Ukraine only meant the aggrandizement of Muscovy. Immediately following the annexation of Ukrainian or White Ruthenian provinces, intense Russification of these territories was set in motion while its former democratic structure was destroyed and replaced by a despotic regime. So disappeared a great bastion of democracy in Eastern Europe, the Republic of Great Novgorod, when it was conquered by Muscovy in 1478 and integrated within the Muscovite autocracy. All of Ukraine and White Ruthenia finally met the same fate. Yet not only were the lands annexed but the very name of old Ukraine-Rus was appropriated by Peter the Great when he called all his conquered territories by the name of Russia, which is Greek for Rus. Furthermore, for the purpose of confusing world opinion, he circulated the fiction that "the Russian nation" is composed of Moscovites (Great Russians), Ukrainians (Little Russians), and Byelo-Ruthenians (White Russians).

After the subjugation of the former Kievan-Rus State, Muscovy prepared to expand her frontier to the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and the depths of Asia. A new ideological slogan was devised to serve Russian imperialism. By proclaiming herself a "Third Orthodox Rome". Moscow made herself the protector of all Orthodox people who were not united under Catholic Rome. The opportune moment arrived with the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453. Realizing her strategic position, Russia offered her protection to the Orthodox in Poland, the Balkans and the people of the Near East under the domination of

Turkey. The ultimate goal of this religious policy was to find the dissatisfied factions of the population which would cooperate with Russia against their respective governments. Having in mind the eventual conquest of Constantinople, Russia had been using the religious pretext to justify her policy in defending the Orthodox population under the domination of the Islamic Turks. In reality, however, Russia coveted the Dardanelles as a strategic outlet to the Mediterranean.

In the 18th century, with Poland partitioned and Turkey weakened, Austria became the obstacle in the path of Russian expansion. Although a Germanic state, Austria had millions of Slavic people, including Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, Poles, and Ukrainians. A new propaganda weapon was in order. Such a weapon was realized in Pan-Slavism, a movement which originally had been intended as a bulwark against Russian and Hapsburg despotism. Inasmuch as the Russians considered the movement directed against them, they strove at first for the destruction of the adherents. Later on, however, they became avid champions of Pan-Slavism as they wanted to arouse and use the Slavic elements in the Turkish and Austro-Hungarian Empires for the growth of their imperialism. Most of the Slavic peoples were quick to realize for what ends Russia was utilizing the movement and subsequently such numerically important groups as the Ukrainians and Poles refused to take part in any Russian-sponsored Pan-Slavic movement.

World Communism at the Service of Russian Imperialism

The three ideological slogans, "unity of the Great Russian people," Orthodoxy, and Pan-Slavism, so proficiently utilized by the Russians before 1914, were completely compromised and proven unacceptable to other Slavic peoples. This was due to the fact that most of them had learned through bitter experience that these slogans were mere myths.

What Russia needed in 1917 was something of universal appeal, which would attract not only Slavs but the people all over the world to her orbit. World communism was formulated as a result and with it the invention that Russia was to liberate working classes the world over from the "capitalist oppression."

For the last thirty years Soviet Russia has been waging incessant war against the rest of the world, extensively using all the Communist Parties in every country for the destruction of their native governments. The Comintern, ostensibly dissolved during World War II and now reactivated,

has been the chief modern instrument of the Russian imperialistic and totalitarian design. Using the slogans of world revolution and "liberation of all working classes", Russia is reaching far beyond the Slavic or Orthodox boundaries. Her intent is to have the dissatisfied and disgruntled elements in every country become a Fifth Column in a war which they think is inevitable with the capitalist countries. Her imperialism is still on the march.

While communist propoganda cannot convince people like Ukrainians or Poles to accept this new Russian messianic "liberation," except by brutal force, it may still hoodwink millions of politically naive citizens in democratic countries and so have them unwittingly become pawns of the most totalitarian regime the world has ever known.

Soviet Russia, notwithstanding her staggering losses during the recent war, is in a stronger position today than ever before in her history. Although her strength is still relative inasmuch as there is no other country in Europe or Asia today to oppose Russia in her imperialistic aggression, she remains nonetheless a menace to our Christian civilization and to our democratic way of life. As long as Russia is not confronted by a superior international force, there is little hope that she will relax her drive for the conquest of the globe. This grim reality should be realized by the western powers, under the leadership of the United States, and the sooner this is done the better are the chances that the Soviet imperialists will finally be checked in their grandiose, Nazilike undertaking of world domination.

UKRAINE AND THE STRAITS

By Clarence A. Manning

Sit on the heights of Pera and look over toward Scutari across the Straits within the confines of the imperial city of Constantinople and let your mind roam back through the centuries over the splendid pageant of history that has unrolled along this powerful narrow watercourse and you cannot fail to be impressed with the importance of Kiev and Ukraine in the drama of the past. Think of the days when the Kozaks dared in their light and often unseaworthy boats to dash from Liman to rescue their comrades from the Ottoman yoke and you will realize the realistic imagination of Taras Shevchenko in such poems as *Ivan Pidkova* and *Hamaliya*. The Kozak raids on Constantinople are but one of the many episodes that have marked the long struggle to yoke Ukraine and the north shore of the Black Sea with the Western world for the good of both, while Russia and the east have fought as valiantly against it, despite the dreams of Count Tolstoy.

To-day the growing danger of the political situation is throwing as never before new light on this vital problem. We need only refer to the eloquent article of Mr. X urging the American people to make every effort to contain the new Soviet imperialism or else. We read the counter-blast Alexander Fedorovich Kerensky, the former Prime Minister of the Russian Provisional Government and the undying advocate of a monolithic Russia and the foe of an independent Ukraine and the liberty of all nationalities suppressed by the Russian tsars, whether they were white or red. It is surely time for the responsible leaders of the American people to face the situation squarely and honestly and make the United Nations what it was supposed to be, an organ of the free peoples of the world consulting together for the peace of the world and the well-being of all mankind. Once that is done, then the role of Ukraine will become ever more clear and we will be able to see clearly the vital interests of Ukraine and Europe in the establishment of a civilized regime of law.

We only need to glance back through history on the region north of

the Black Sea to understand the role of the rich soil of Ukraine in the development of European civilization. To-day we think of it in terms of the last few centuries but millenia before the time of Volodymyr, Europe was dependent upon these self-same grainfields. Every time in history when the east advanced and separated the Ukrainian lands from Europe, there have followed titanic struggles until they have again been opened and to-day a hungry continent seeking desperately for salvation under the Marshal Plan cannot hope for a full return of its prosperity until the Iron Curtain is destroyed for good and all and human rights are once more restored to the enslaved populations behind it.

It was an unfortunate discovery of the makers of maps that the Ural Mountains formed a convenient north-south line for the separation of Europe and Asia. Running roughly from the eastern end of the Black Sea to the Arctic Ocean, they seemed a welcome solution for the many troubles met in drawing the boundaries between the cultures of liberty and slavery.

Yet history existed before the modern science of cartography and if we had been educated to have a true appreciation of the map of the ancient world, we would be the more ready to gasp the importance of Ukraine in the historical economy of Europe. The ancients realized it better than the moderns.

Herodotus, the Father of History, recognized clearly the essential element of the struggle between Europe and Asia, the European love of liberty and sense of personal responsibility as opposed to the Asiatic tradition of unthinking slaves driven into battle by the lashes of a Barbarian sovereign. He personally visited the area of the present Ukraine and he knew the spirit of the population of his day. He realized that it was faith in man and his abilities that led the Greeks of his time to fight stubbornly against overwhelming odds at Marathon and Thermopylae against the power of the Great King. He knew that it was faith in man and right that had stirred the Greeks at the time of the Trojan Wars and he was well aware of the importance to Greece of the grain that was brought down from the northern lands. His mind was too keen to stand for the modern rubbish about socialist realism and organized tyranny as being the true incarnation and representation of faith in life as the modern apologists so neatly phrase it.

Rome and Cicero knew it too. When Mithridates in the first century

B. C. seized the grainfields of Ukraine and cut off the supply of grain to the west, the Romans could not fail to react and once again they succeeded in opening the straits. They did not resort to the modern subterfuge that it made no difference whether the population was deported to the north or east to please an Asiatic tyrant. They boldly faced the problem of restoring the old connections and once that was done, they went on their way to win more victories for the common man, the average man, woman, and child, who desired to be something more than the tool of an ambitious slave-driver.

It would take too long to trace through the centuries the inter-relations between the products of the Ukrainian soil and the general well-being of Europe. Christianity came. The center of the Christian Empire was located on these same straits, which had already seen so much war and bloodshed as mankind with a steadily widening vision and an improved sense of responsibility sought to realize the value of the individual and achieve his general well-being.

Centuries passed and we come to the age of Saint Volodymyr and his successors. It is not without significance that Kiev, one of the brightest stars among the states christianized from Constantinople, felt itself one of the constituent parts of Europe. It was not without significance that the princesses of Kiev intermarried into all the royal families of Europe and that Kiev at the height of its power was admired and envied by all of its Christian neighbors.

Then came the rise of Moscow and in a short time the appearance of Genghis Khan. Moscow submitted voluntarily to the invaders from the east. Kiev struggled and was ruined. The iron discipline of the Great Khan and his successors interpreted human dignity as rebellion and abject humility as loyalty exactly as Darius and Xerxes had done centuries before. For nearly two and a half centuries Moscow studied the new system. Its princesses married into the Tatar aristocracy. Its rulers and its people turned away from all of their western affiliations and remained indifferent to the new European order that was taking shape behind the human ramparts of a ruined Ukraine.

It was a rough and cruel period that ensued, for even Constantinople was falling into non-Christian hands. It was a time when the old communications, the old threads of culture were being destroyed and when the new had not yet been woven together. It was a period when the

rulers and nobles were assimilating themselves to other cultures and seemed to have lost their former ideals.

Yet against the confusion of these times there arose the Kozaks. Here were men who dared to rate freedom and human dignity higher than life itself. The original Kozaks were men of all social classes. Among them were nobles, there were peasants, there were people of the cities. There were scholars, idealists, adventurers and criminals. There were all those types of human beings who in the same centuries from the west of Europe were crossing the Atlantic Ocean and founding the countries of the New World. Yet the Kozaks were no mere isolationists, individuals wrapped up only in their own cause.

We need only read the accounts of their exploits to see that they were defending Europe against Asia in the old sense that Herodotus had used the terms. They maintained those bonds with the newly formed principalities to the south and west that had been cherished centuries before, when names were different and when communications were relatively easy in the one Christian world.

It is in Hamaliya that Shevchenko best sums up the spirit that moved them. The despairing cries of the Kozaks in a Turkish prison were carried by the Bosphorus and the Black Sea to the Liman and called forth an immediate answer. Under the leadership of Hamaliya, a Kozak expedition made their way into the Bosphorus and liberated their fellows from the Sultan's prison even in his own capital. Then with their booty and their liberated brothers they returned to their homes.

As we read to-day the story of these raids, they seem to us to be isolated and unimportant exploits of wild and tumultuous men but if we take a different point of view and view from the general history of the period, from the general situation in the Black Sea and the Straits, we gather at once that the Kozaks were not only bands of freebooters. They were an important political factor in the Ottoman Empire, in maintaining among all the oppressed populations the promise and the hope of a future liberation when once again it might be possible for them to speak their thoughts aloud and dream of a restoration of a past which, dark as it had been, was far better than the gloomy present. At a moment when it seemed as if the light of Christian ideals were being extinguished in much of the eastern Mediterranean area, these raids seemed a warning of something. They were a constant terror to the Sultans. They rescued thousands of Christians from hopeless slavery.

They were welcomed by large masses of the population and the Kozak movement at its height brought relief to thousands, even if many of the best sons of Ukraine were decimated in the apparently fruitless wars. Only, alas, the petty jealousies and rivalries of the European countries prevented any real gathering of the fruits of their heroism.

What part did Moscow play in all this movement? In the deplorable conflict between the branches of the Christian Church, it had maintained representatives in neither Rome nor Constantinople. Proud of its supreme correctness, it had sought only to secure recognition as the Third Rome and it was trying to unite the ideals of Christianity and of the Golden Horde. It preferred slavish obedience to the cooperation of willing and loyal subjects and during the days when the new world was being formed, Moscow remained aloof. It waited, as it had done for centuries, like a spider spinning its web, and risking nothing until it could secure its prey.

The eyes of the country were turned almost exclusively to the east and the scholars of Kiev were as suspicious and heretical in the ideas of the Muscovites as were any of their western neighbors who were Roman Catholic in religion. The Greeks fared little better. Moscow might give them alms but it was all done to secure recognition as the Third Rome and aid the plans of the Muscovite rulers to attain supremacy over as wide circles as possible. It was interesting that the first Kievan scholars who were invited to the Russian capital arrived in the same year as the Kozak revolt against Poland under Bohdan Khmelnitsky broke out. The movement culminated in the agreement of Pereyaslav, when the Kozak masses were persuaded that they would find their ancient rights protected by Moscow without an oath from the omnipotent tsar and it was only the illness and death of the great Ukrainian leader which prevented a reconsideration of the entire question and the proper re-organization of the Host and of Ukraine in general.

The fall of the Zaporozhian Host which doomed Ukraine to more oppression and hardship gave the opportunity to Moscow. It changed the history of Eastern Europe. It opened a window on the Black Sea to the rulers of Russia. It gave the tsars a new dream of what they might accomplish in the extension of their domains to the east and west and opened to them the possibility of creating a realm similar to that of the empire of Genghis Khan.

The result was the relative stability and peace of the nineteenth

century despite the smoldering flames that lay hidden in the ashes of preceding conflagrations. Europe was living an uneasy peace but with each decade the danger of a major explosion seemed more remote. In one country after another human rights were advanced. The ideals of humanity seemed to be striking deeper and ever deeper roots into the soil and the most optimistic people believed seriously that the gloomy and anxious days of the past were over. Once again it seemed as if the grain and wealth of Ukraine were available to the whole continent of Europe. The continent was becoming one. There were few restrictions on travel and on trade. There was a growing sense of an international community of nations and Europe never seemed superficially more peaceful than in the spring of 1914.

Yet there were disturbing factors but they were usually passed over lightly or completely ignored. Russia was still the chief country that was maintaining a rigid police control of its population. The strength of the tsars was ebbing, as the influence of the West continued to seep in. At the same time it was not being counterbalanced by the growth of a trained and experienced practical group of administrators and by that type of political organization that had developed in the west. Instead there was a revolutionary movement of pure theoreticians and terrorists who could stir the sympathies of the West and plead their cause with ardor in circles that knew little of the past. One and all they dealt with universal slogans and calmly overlooked realities.

Under such circumstances Ukraine could not but be forgotten. Its history was miswritten, its accomplishments denied. Even the existence of its language was explained away by scholars, both conservative and radical alike. Its greatest poet Shevchenko could be exiled with few to speak in his behalf. The same fate was in store for all the peoples that had been forced under the tsarist yoke and few of them found a spokesman abroad. The very men who could have guided public opinion were themselves misled and deceived by the facile mixture of pseudo-history and philosophy that was poured out for their especial benefit.

Yet the remarkable feature of the century was the way in which the nations within the Russian Empire revived and strengthened their national consciousness. The arrest of their intellectual leaders only served as a new spur to the populations. Old literatures were revived and new ones created—and the world noticed it without comprehension.

The First World War broke out in 1914. The Russian armies pushed

on into Western Ukraine and showed at once that the old policy of conquest and absorption was still being followed. The closing of the Straits brought hunger to much of Europe. It was soon evident that more was to follow and in 1917 came the downfall of the Russian dynasty and empire. What was to take its place?

Simultaneously there came the clash of conflicting forces. On the one hand the revolutionists who had seized the power when it fell from the hands of the tsar tried to carry through their own theories of reforms and to maintain unchanged the monolithic theory of the country. Opposed to them were all those groups who believed in the right of people to choose their own governments, in the self-determination of nations and who struggled for national independence.

When the semblance of peace was once more restored, the worst aspects of the old system had been brought back. Russia was now the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics under the totalitarian rule of the Communist Party and its leaders. The patriots who had struggled for independence were in exile and if they heeded any promises of amnesty from the new rulers and returned home, it was to meet with exile or death. The old channels of communication were closed and for Ukraine there came a new period of martyrdom, as the peasants were driven into collective farms, stripped of their cattle and possession or starved, executed or deported to remote areas. The new despotism was more ruthless and efficient than the old.

So the world went on for more than twenty years, as it sought in every way to close its eyes to events. The new totalitarian formulas were adopted by the Nazis and the Fascists and it required no super-human intelligence to foresee that sooner or later the two groups of totalitarians would cooperate. They did in 1939 and World War II was on. Western Ukraine and the Baltic states were the consideration held out to Stalin by the Nazis. When the partners fell out in 1941 and the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union, they merely gave Stalin the opportunity to appeal for the aid of the democratic powers. The latter, hard pressed by the war, were only too willing to forget the experiences of twenty years and enthusiastically aided him. The result was the present situation.

To-day in 1947 not only Ukraine but all of agricultural Europe has been brought within the Iron Curtain. In one country after another the same devices that proved so effective in crushing the Ukrainian Re-

public in 1919 have been put into effect. There have been the same type of controlled elections, the terrorization of the non-Communist population by secret police, the same executions and murders, the same perversion of the meanings of common words to favor the Communist ideals. Stalin has succeeded better than the tsars and his power and realm compare favorably with that of his great prototype, Genghis Khan, the self-styled Emperor of the Universe.

What of the future? A hungry and agonizing world stands helpless, unable to make peace and return to prosperity and order. Communist intrigues and partisan bands are roaming to extend still further the domain where human liberties are no more and where concentration camps are the order of the day. The United Nations in its present form seems to have only the choice of relapsing into futility or submitting to the masters of the Kremlin. Its only other possibility is to organize itself without the Soviet Union and its satellites and strive as best it may to raise again those standards of human liberty that have guided mankind on its upward march.

It is a bleak prospect in the atomic age, but the answer is clear—for the problem has been set clearly by the masters of the Kremlin. It is to follow the path of Kiev and not of Moscow. It is to realize as did the Kozaks and the leaders of every movement for the emancipation and improvement of mankind and to stand for the right. It means the recognition of the right of Ukraine and the other nations drawn within the Soviet orbit to be masters of their own destiny and the determination to support them in every way. In a larger and a broader sense, it means the reopening of the Straits to the trade and commerce of the world, the recognition that Ukraine must be again what it was in the past, what Kiev always maintained, a definite area bound by interest and ideals to the West, the granary of Europe and a source of blessing and happiness to its own hardworking and liberty-loving population.

It may seem idle to dream such dreams in 1947 but in the cold war that is being carried on, it is not enough to draw a line outside the Iron Curtain. Human thought must take one step further. Just as a Soviet Ukraine is the bulwark of the Iron Curtain, so will a free and democratic Ukraine be one of the pillars of a new and better order in the world. It is high time for the public opinion of the United States and the other free countries to recognize this fact and prepare to make it a reality, when the moment comes.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION FOR FREEDOM

Sketch of the History of the Promethean Movement

by Roman Smal Stocky, Ph. D.

The Promethean movement after more than 25 years of activity has entered already into history.

It is for historical purposes and for the history of the development of the political ideology of the subjugated nations of the Soviet Union necessary and useful to look back to the beginnings of this political movement, which played such a prominent and constructive role in Eastern Europe and Western Asiatic politics for more than a quarter of a century, which propagated ideas and ideals destined to become the common property of the public opinion and political aspirations of all subjugated nationalities within the Soviet Union and all their political emigrations outside this prison of nations. It is high time for a summary of the activity of this movement, as many of the old statesmen, who helped to start this movement, have been "liquidated" by the Bolsheviks, or murdered by the Nazis or passed away . . .

Nevertheless to-day the conditions of life require us to be very careful in disclosing the names of leaders and organizations. Only in the case that a person or organization is not in the "sphere of influence" of the Soviet Union and its MVD -the Soviet GESTAPO- or the person has died names will be mentioned. It must be always remembered that the Promethean movement was partly a conspiring underground movement as it had to be if it was to work under the totalitarian communistic regime within the Soviet Union and to defend itself against bolshevistic infiltration and provocation amongst the emigrations outside the U.S.S.R.

The full truth can then be told only after history has closed the bloody chapter of the brutal terror of Soviet Moscow. That time will surely come.

I

The Russian Revolution of 1917-18 opened the doors to freedom for all the subject peoples under Tsarist Russian rule. Finland, Estonia, Latvia,

Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Kubania and the Caucasian countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, the Northcaucasian Mountain-country) became free and independent, while the Don Cossacks, the whole of Turkestan and the various Tatar peoples experienced a great national revival.

All these nationalities enthusiastically responded to the principles of President Wilson and to his new international institution: the League of Nations in Geneva. In throwing off the chains of Russian slavery they were willing to accept the duties and obligations of this new world confederation, and longingly waited for the leadership of the United States. The seeds of a real Eastern democracy, called forth and animated by the great American idealist, burst into full bloom, and were cultivated by the Social-Democrats and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who in all the various Democratic Republics formed the Governments and were backed by the entire and equally enthusiastic youth of their nations. A new era was coming to give at least humanity and the reign of law to the world !

As a first step towards the realization of this ideal, as a visible sign of good will and good faith, all these Socialist governments decided to disarm their nations for they wanted to set an example for the coming universal disarmament. What immense possibilities lay here before the League of Nations and especially before President Wilson, to whom the masses of all the liberated nationalities of the East looked as to a new Moses who was to lead them to the promised land! It is a matter of profound regret that American, public opinion did not realize this enormous capital of faith which the U.S.A. had among the masses of all nationalities of the former Tsarist Russia and what immense spiritual forces were at its disposal, for, alas, these were either not used or (by an isolationist policy), squandered and wasted.

Unfortunately, this blossom of democracy, this freedom of the nationalities was shortlived. The most important reasons for this catastrophic turn of events were, in our opinion: (a) On the ruins of Tsarist Russia after a coup d' etat and the scattering of a lawful elected Parliament, there was installed, within the walls of Moscow, the Communistic Dictatorship with its ideology of the coming proletarian world revolution. To achieve this, Lenin, Trocky and Stalin forcibly mobilized, armed, drilled and fanaticized the (great) Russian working masses, they murdered all opponents or, putting them in concentration camps, they abolished all human rights and put forward against the idea of Democracy—the idea

of the Proletarian Dictatorship; against the idea of the League of Nations in Geneva—they advanced their own method for the organization of the entire world: the Comintern of Moscow.

Thus there was at once created an ideological battle in Eastern Europe between the liberated nationalities with their Democratic Republics, Socialist Governments and their support of the League of Nations in Geneva and the Proletarian Dictatorship of Soviet Moscow with its Comintern, which was intended to use "Red Russia" as the mighty base for the world revolution. The communistic teachers of Goebbels started a furious propaganda and accused all democrats, who had often spent years in Tsarist prisons for their national cause, as traitors, agents and hirelings of capitalism; they ridiculed the League of Nations as a bourgeois deceit and started at once a series of aggressive wars against the neighboring peaceful, disarmed Democratic Republics.

(b) The U.S.A. was not prepared politically for a constructive leadership of the World or an active collaboration in world politics; the people and authorities were completely unaware that Wilson's principle of the self-determination of nationalities was in reality the spiritual atomic bomb which had blown up not only Austria-Hungary but also Tsarist Russia during World War I, and that the Democratic Republics of the former subjected nations of Tsarist Russia were Wilson's children.

(c) The greatest blow which the young Eastern Democracy received was given by President Wilson himself when he openly repudiated the right of "self-determination" for the nations of former Tsarist Russia. There is no need to throw stones at the memory of the tragic figure of President Wilson. It is enough to cite the opinion of Robert Lansing (*The Peace Negotiations, 1921, page 99*).

"But Mr. Wilson even further discredited the phrase (right of self-determination) by adopting a policy toward Russia which ignored his own principle. The peoples of Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Ukraine, Georgia, and Azerbaijan have by blood, language, and racial traits elements of difference which give each of them in a more or lesser degree the character of a distinct nationality. These people all possess aspirations to become independent states, and yet throughout the negotiations at Paris and since that time, the Government of the United States has repeatedly refused to recognize the right of the inhabitants of these territories to determine for themselves the sovereignty under which they shall live. It has, on the contrary, declared in favor of a "Great Russia" comprising

the vast territory of the old Empire except the province which belonged to the dismembered Kingdom of Poland and the lands included within the present boundaries of the Republic of Finland”.

(d) While this blow was felt in the political field, Winston Churchill administered a still heavier blow to Ukrainian and Caucasian Democracy in the realm of greatest importance: in the military-strategical field. Wilhelm II followed in the East the policy of restoring Russian Tsarism and gathered on the Don under the leadership of Generals Krasnow and Denikin the White Russian Tsaristic Army. After the downfall of Germany and the restoration of the Democratic Ukrainian People's Republic in the Ukraine, Churchill granted millions of tons of war material and millions of financial means in full support of Denikin and induced France in the Crimea to do the same to General Wrangel who was then even recognized as the Provisional Government of “Russia”.

Thus the young Ukrainian and Caucasian Democracies with their improvised and badly equipped armies were compelled to fight a war on two fronts: against the communistic aggressors, the communistic dictatorship in the North and against the tsaristic reactionary dictatorship of Denikin and Wrangel on the other fronts, for these men made no haste to march towards Moscow but hurried to liquidate the Ukrainian People's Republic.

Ukraine was faced with an even worse situation. With the blessing of France, General Haller opposed the right of self-determination of Eastern Galicia (which had on January 22, 1919 united itself with Ukraine) and his Polish Army established in the West a bloody frontline.

(e) The last reasons were the inexperience, the credulity, the enthusiastic faith and trust in the League of Nations and the honesty of the statesmen of the political leaders of the young Eastern Democracies who were not acquainted with the jungle methods of European policy, its tricks and treacheries. They worked out their policy with their heart, more than with the brain, and had the same experiences the Poles and the Jugoslavs had after World War II.

These were the reasons which determined the result of the aggressive war of the communistic Moscow dictatorship against the liberated democratic nations and their republics,—a war which decided the fate of Democracy and of the League of Nations of Geneva so far as Eastern Europe was concerned. The lack of understanding of the Eastern problems in Western Europe and the disregard of Wilson's principles led

to the complete breakdown of the ideas of Democracy and of the League of Nations in the East, aided in the victory of the totalitarian Communist Dictatorship and brought about its latter results: the appearance of Mussolini and Hitler in Europe.

The first victim of Soviet Moscow's armed aggression was: Ukraine. In its hard struggle the Ukrainian Democracy met a terrible disappointment: the democratic U.S.A. opposed by a special diplomatic note the admittance of the democratic Ukrainian People's Republic to the League of Nations in the year 1920 (*Societe des Nations, demande d'admission dans le Societe des Nations de la Republique Ukrainienne, Memorandum du Secretaire General, Nr. 88.*). As a result, Ukraine was excluded by the democratic U.S.A. from the League of Nations for the authority of which in the East Ukrainian democracy was fighting. It is the irony of history that the democratic U.S.A. accepted the communistic Quislings of Soviet Ukraine as a member of the United Nations in 1945. After Ukraine the next victims of Soviet aggression were White Ruthenia, Don, Caucasia, Kubania and Turkestan.

The League of Nations was informed of these facts of international robbery, but it kept silent about these evident cases of aggression. The League quietly watched the Moscow Soviet Government (which had proclaimed Lenin's own slogan "self-determination even to separation") annihilate all the Democratic Republics of Eastern Europe one after another, using that technique of aggression which is known now to everybody. Agents of Soviet Moscow's imperialism appointed by the Communist International occupied the countries one after the other by means of the Soviet Red Army, enslaved their peoples, while pretending to liberate them, and forced the legal governments of these peoples, confirmed by democratic parliaments, into exile.

From this pogrom of the democracies in Eastern Europe only Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland were saved partly because of the exhaustion and weariness of the Soviet Army after the fights in Ukraine, Kuban and Caucasia.

Thus the nationalities of former Tsarist Russia lost the war (in defence of Democracy and the League of Nations) against the aggressive communistic dictatorship of Moscow, and in 1920-21 they had to send Government and National Committees into exile along with their armies, their educated classes and the leaders of all democratic parties.

II

In the first years after this defeat the embassies, legations and consulates of the exiled legal governments continued to function in the various States of Europe which had recognized their independence. The Governments continued their political tasks, and were everywhere the directing center of the political and cultural activities of the emigrations. In a short time these nationalities developed a flourishing cultural life in Paris, Warsaw, Prague, Bucharest, Rome, and Berlin, and in spite of the iron curtain this had its influence on the mother-countries, occupied by the Red Army, and stimulated the peoples to new opposition against the Soviet dictatorship and to constant uprising and unrest. This gave the legal Governments the basis for repeated diplomatic appeals to the various Governments, Parliaments and the League of Nations and these were supported by the public opinion of Europe which was becoming more and more awake to the nature of the Soviets.

Quite naturally, in all these centers of political life in Europe all the leaders of the exiled Governments began to form a close family bound together by their common fate and the common struggle. Quite naturally also, there began in all political circles of the emigrations discussions and debates about the reasons for the common defeat. These resulted in the clear knowledge and conviction that not only the reasons given above had caused the common catastrophe in the defensive war against the communist aggression,—but that there had been a fundamental mistake in the political and military outlook of all nationalities. The political and military analysis of the lost war showed convincingly that the chief reason of the defeat of every nation was: the lack of a common front of all nations against Soviet Moscow.

Moscow had the strategical advantage of the interior line and with an unthreatened rear it could always concentrate its military forces on one nation, induce all the others to maintain neutrality by solemn promises of respect for the independence of their States. Thus during the communist aggression against Ukraine—Caucasia, the Baltic States and Finland were neutral; they had no idea that the defence of Ukraine could decide also their fate. When there came the decisive moment after the Alliance of Ukraine and Poland in the year 1920 and the bloody and dramatic common war against communist aggression—the Baltic States with Finland, Romania, Caucasia and Turkestan waited! Then came the turn of Caucasia, especially Georgia and again all the other nationalities

maintained neutrality waiting for some action by the League of Nations! In this way one Democratic Republic after another was butchered by aggressive Communism which systematically broadened and consolidated its base for the future world-revolution and the proletarian world-dictatorship.

This analysis not only cleared up for the leading statesmen of the exiled Governments and National Committees the basic reason of the common defeat but also led them to the very important conclusion: **that the victory of any nation against Communism depends upon one cardinal condition: the realization of this common front of all subjugated nationalities against Soviet Moscow.**

This was the birth of the Promethean Movement.

The conviction as to the urgent need for an immediate realization of this idea was especially deeply felt amongst the collaborators of the President of the Ukrainian People's Republic, Simon Petlura, for it was following along the lines of the Congress of the Nationalities of former Russia in Kiev (1917, at which the late President T. G. Masaryk of Czechoslovakia participated as a guest), of the common front of all these nationalities in the Duma, formerly by the Parliamentarian Club of the Autonomists, by the common front of the revolutionaries in 1905-6, back to the policy of Hetman Mazepa in his alliance with Charles XII of Sweden. More than that, all the other nationalities began to look to the Ukrainians because of their number (they were the second large Slavonic nation) as the natural leader of all the nationalities. Therefore, as the next step the author of this article was charged by general consent with the negotiations for the realization of this common front of all nationalities.

This was a very complicated and difficult task because of the different legal status (from the international point of view) of the various emigre centres of the subjugated nationalities, since these varied from governments recognized by the victorious Entente as de jure to governments recognized only de facto, to the simple emigre National Committees which had not had the time through democratic elections to confirm their status as governments. It was therefore impossible to organize a League of these legal Governments and National Committees, but another way had to be found to form the common front.

Every Government in exile and National Committee delegated a few personalities of long political experience and high authority to represent the public opinion of his own nation in an organization which was to be

a symbol of the common front of the said nationalities and which could publicly speak with authority on behalf of the public opinion of these people. Instead of a common front of the legal traditional centres, a common front of the subjugated nationalities was formed which was unofficially backed and supported by all legal Governments in exile and National Committees. This organization chose the name: Promethean League of the Nations subjugated by Moscow, and this was abbreviated to: Promethean League. In 1925 it began to function underground after long negotiations in Paris, Warsaw, Bucharest, Istanbul, Helsinki and Prague.

The action of the Promethean League was directed by a Council (in which the delegates of all subjugated nations participated with an elected Presidency. The first officers were: President R. Smal Stocky (Ukraine), Vice-presidents: Wekili Mustapha Bey (Azerbaijan), J. Salakaya (Georgia).

The aims of the Promethean League were:

(a) to represent the common front of all nations subjugated by Moscow in their struggle for liberty and independence and in the defense of their rights to self-determination;

(b) to continue this common struggle by systematically planned common action before the League of Nations, the governments of the individual states, international congresses, through speeches and writings, declarations and publications, and through special Promethean Congresses;

(c) to educate the political parties, especially the youth of all subjugated nations in the history of all the subjugated nations and their special problems in order to develop the solidarity of all subjugated nationalities and the conviction of the necessity of a common front in war and peace among all these nationalities and their emigrations;

(d) to introduce this idea of need of a defensive alliance of all subjugated nations into the occupied mother-countries within the Soviet Union;

(e) to prepare for the future a common front of the national revolution for the common liberation of all peoples concerned under the leadership of national armies prepared by the legal Governments and National Committees, after securing corresponding support from the great Powers;

(f) to uphold the ideals of Democracy, the real basis of the modern national idea in Europe, and of the League of Nations;

(g) to settle all questions in dispute, especially all conflicts as to boundaries, by accepting voluntarily the principle of arbitration;

(h) to fight everywhere communistic propaganda, to reveal the true aims of the Soviet Dictatorship and to warn the World against World War II which was being prepared by Soviet Moscow in order to accelerate the world revolution;

(i) and always and everywhere to act on the principle: one nation for all and all nations for one, even the smallest one!

The following subjugated nations formed the Promethean League (beginning from the North):

(1) Karelians, (2) Komi which represented also the interests of the Udmurt (called by the Russians: Votiaks), Mordva and Mari; (3) Ingrians; (4) Ukrainians; (5) Don Cossacks; (6) Kuban Cossacks; (7) Georgians; (8) Mountaineers; (9) Azerbaijanians; (10) Idel-Ural-Tatars; (11) Crimean Tatars; (12) Turkestanians including the Turkmans, Tadjiks, Kasakhs, and Kirghiz; (13) Buriats—this was the last nation which joined the Promethean League and was represented by delegates who escaped to Finland from the Solowki Islands concentration camp. (Any Handbook of the Soviet Union will furnish data about the area and population of each nationality. The total number of the population included in the Promethean League was about 80,000,000).

There were two nations which did not formally join the Promethean movement: the White-Ruthenians and the Armenians. Intimate contact was established with both, the White-Ruthenians even sent their delegate to the Promethean Congress, but they were not really represented because of their complicated inner situation. Nevertheless, the Prometheans always considered the White-Ruthenians as a full member and defended their right of self-determination. More complicated was the question of the Armenians, an ancient and unhappy nation for which so much sympathy had been expressed in the whole world. Their national aspirations were in the first line directed against Turkey,—and this anti-Turkish tendency could not be accepted as a basis for a constructive policy by the other Promethean members.

The idea of the defensive common front against Soviet aggression and of united political action quickly took root in all centres of the political emigration. The aims of the Promethean League began to be realized by the activities of the Council and its sections, (ideological, educational, women-, youth-and press-,) by the monthly review "Promethee" in Paris, (it was started by Georgians and gave the symbolic name to the whole movement), which was later in 1938 replaced by the Quarterly, "Revue de

Promethee" with Prof. Alexander Shulgin as editor. The constant protests, declarations and explanations of every Soviet step (the new Constitution, Soviet intervention, the admittance of U.S.S.R. to the League of Nations, the Bukharin case etc.) forced the Soviet press to react violently and this by its slanders made the principles of the Promethean League well known in the whole Soviet Union. In the course of 1925-1939 the Promethean League protected and represented the right of subjugated peoples to self-determination before world public opinion and currently informed the League of Nations about the horror of the totalitarian Soviet regime, about the tortures in the Soviet concentrations camps, about the mass-shootings, about the organization of hunger (1932-33) for the physical annihilation of the Ukrainian nation. The Promethean League warned the whole world against the Soviet methods of aggression and turned the attention of the League of Nations to the fact that the toleration of the occupation of Ukraine, Caucasus and other countries, and an indifferent attitude towards malicious aggression in international life would represent the first steps on the way to World War II.

The acme of the Promethean activity were its Congresses, two secret and one public, which had the special task of raising the voice of the subjugated nations against the systematic russification of their languages by Soviet Moscow. Poland unofficially permitted the meeting of the Congress in Warsaw, May 31-June 2, 1935. Over 200 delegates, many of them well-known philologists, historians, specialists in nationality questions and ethnologists attended. All the papers read at the Congress furnished indisputable proof that a gigantic campaign of gradual denationalization was already well under way in the whole U.S.S.R. One of the chief gains planned for the near future "in the onward march of the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R." was to be the introduction of the language of Lenin as that of the proletariat and October Revolution" to the exclusion of all other languages. In this connection the Soviet philologists adopted the theories of Prof. Marr which were designed "with the advance of economy to achieve a unity of language and of thought together with the unity of world economy brought about by the struggle and victory of the proletariat".

For philological science Prof. Marr assigned only the one task: the discovery of the best methods to accelerate this process. This russification was supplemented by mass deportation to distant parts of the Soviet Union

in order to change the linguistic and national structure of the territories held under occupation.

The Congress passed a resolution addressed to the whole civilized world, in particular to the League of Nations and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, stating the facts as to the conditions in which the non-Russian languages and cultures existed and appealing to the League of Nations to summon the Soviet Government to restore full rights and freedom of lingual creativeness to the non-Russian nations within the Union.

The underground political Congresses outlined the policies which the Promethean nations would follow after their liberation in reconstructing the East. In the North there was a clear nucleus for a great-Finland-Federation with Carelia, Komi and Ingria. In the South, a liberated Ukraine represented the center of a federation-idea with White-Ruthenia, the Don and Kuban Cossacks and the Crimea. To the East of the Black Sea the idea of a Caucasian Federation was so far developed that a formal treaty was drawn up. Still farther to the East Turkestan was to be the nucleus of a federation not only with Idel-Ural but also with a group of Ugro-finnic tribes in the North.

To solve the problems of Asia the Promethean League sent on a special mission to the Mongol and Tartar emigrations in China and Manchuria its special envoy, Mr. Ayaz Ishaki who was charged with organizing the Promethean common front in Asia.

III

At the start of World War II, the nations subjugated by Soviet Moscow faced mortal danger from two totalitarian regimes: of Hitlerism in the West and Stalinism in the East. Since there can be no real national idea without genuine democracy, the Promethean League declared itself already in 1939 as an ally to England and France and Prof. Alexander Shulgin announced in the Promethean paper "Revue de Promethee" in Paris that this League would struggle against totalitarian Berlin and against totalitarian Soviet Moscow which was then a true ally and indefatigable collaborator of Hitler. The leading Promethean Governments in exile in Paris, the Ukrainian under the leadership of Wiacheslaw Prokopkych (1943) and Alexander Shulgin and the Georgian under the Presidency of Noe Jordania, by fundamental declarations joined the cause of the Allies. This conflict between the dictatorship of Stalin and the Promethean Governments in exile must be stressed: **Stalin was an ally of**

Hitler, but the nationalities subjugated by Stalin at once joined England and France and called all Prometheans to battle.

For more than a decade before the beginning of World War II the whole activity of the Promethean League had been closely watched by the Gestapo and NKVD foreign services.

The Germans saw in the propaganda of the Promethean League for the right of self-determination of the subjugated nationalities, for their common front, for Democracy and the League of Nations, the future paramount obstacle for their DRANG NACH OSTEN and their plans for colonization in the East. Therefore they attacked everywhere directly and indirectly the Promethean Movement as a "polish invention" and to check it, years before the war, they organized the so-called "Anticomintern" (which practically consisted of emigre Germans from all Eastern countries) to propagate the idea of the leadership of the German master-race in the rebuilding of Eastern Europe. This "Anticomintern" was the laboratory for the German expansion toward the East.

The Bolsheviks combatted the Promethean activity as a dangerous idea from the beginning in the first place by provocation and by the systematic shadowing of all leaders. The printed Manual of the Red Army N.K.-V.D. in 1939 (during the occupation of Western Ukraine) for the conduct of arrests contains out of 210 pages, 84 pages dedicated to the Promethean League. In 1930 Soviet Moscow managed to establish its spy, a former, "partisan", W. Nedajkasha, in Warsaw, who was shortly afterwards discovered and escaped to France where he received a farm from the NKVD to continue his shady business.

During the years of World War II the Nazis and the agents of Stalin inflicted heavy losses upon the Promethean rank and file. After the occupation of Warsaw the Gestapo shot the following members: Engineer Tito Berishvili (Georgian National Democratic Party), Engineer Waso Atabeshvili (Georgian Social Democratic Party), Captain Gero Chandaze (picked up by the Gestapo when he was transporting arms for the Polish underground Army and shot on the spot in Wengrow). They murdered in prisons and concentration camps: Father Gregor Peradze (Georgian Church, in K-Z Oswiecim); Mykola Kowalsky (Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, in K-Z Dachau, founder of the Promethean League), Nico Bagration (Georgian, chairman of the Promethean Youth League, in the prison of the Warsaw-Gestapo). They imprisoned or interned the Ukrainians: Maria Kowalska, (K-Z Ravensbrueck), Alexander Shulgin and his son Rostyslaw

(imprisoned by the Gestapo in Paris), General Pawlo Shandruk (imprisoned by the Gestapo at Mokotow-Prison, Warsaw).

Under the constant supervision of the Gestapo were: George Nakashidze (Georgian, Vice-President of the Promethean League), Engineer Balo Bilatti (Mountaineer, Secretary of the League), Engineer Barasbi Bay Tugan (Mountaineer, Member of the Council), Major Konrad Imnadze (Georgian, Member of the Council), Major Warbey Edigari (Azerbaijani, Member of the League).

In spite of all these persecutions the Promethean League remained active and very soon formed a lively common underground opposition to Hitler and his plans for the East. The first to start a partisan movement against Hitler was an officer of the old army of the Ukrainian People's Republic, Borowets, under the pseudo: Taras Bulba. The national partisan movement spread throughout Ukraine, White-Ruthenia, Lithuania—and with the constantly boiling Poland, undermined and demoralized the whole hinterland of the German front. The subjugated nations in the Western part of the Soviet Union which were likewise deprived by Hitler of their right to self-determination established at once a common fighting front against the Nazi-army. These traditions keep on the ABN-organization (Antibolshevik Block of Nations), a revolutionary underground movement which still calls for a common continuous revolution of all subjugated nations against Soviet Moscow.

In the year 1944 the Nazis realized that their policy in the East against the self-determination of the nationalities and their national aspirations had been the reason for the lost war in the East. They decided to change the policy, to mobilize the national forces for a common struggle and were ready to issue fundamental declarations of these peoples' rights to independence. They released the Ukrainian nationalist leaders from prisons, invited for negotiations the delegates of White Ruthenia, Caucasia, Tartary and Turkestan and acknowledged all their national rights in an attempt to persuade them to form a common front under the leadership of the former Soviet General Vlasow. But under the influence of the Promethean underground no one of the nationalities believed the Nazis, but all looked to the West and to the Atlantic Charter, and played for time against having any contact with Vlasow.

The Promethean Underground which succeeded in 1933 in coming into contact with old English friends conducted then a series of actions. With the consent of the Polish Underground Government, Dr. George

Nakashidze accepted the chairmanship of the Caucasian Committee in occupied Poland and saved more than 2,000 Polish and Jewish intelligentsia from the Prushkow camp after the Warsaw uprising by giving them Georgian Identity Cards. Then prepared the Promethean Underground the last act: the transfer of all Promethean leaders and intellectual forces to the West into the prospective British and American Zones.

The advancing Soviet Army and NKVD tried in vain to arrest the President of the Promethean League. They succeeded only in murdering the 80 years old Ukrainian writer, Maksym Slawinsky, (the former editor of the famous Russian monthly "Westnik Europy" which appeared in Petrograd) and an old champion of the Promethean movement; another Promethean friend, the editor Eugen Wyrowy committed suicide as the NKVD-officers came to arrest him, but the losses of the other subjugated nationalities in the Central European and Balkan countries were heavy.

IV.

After the capitulation of Germany the Promethean League resumed its work at once and gathered together its members whom the war scattered to England, Egypt, and the Middle East as volunteers in the Allied Armies. At the end of 1945 the Presidency began again to function and convoked for April 20, 1946 a Congress at the Hague.

We can now state that the Promethean ideas came out of the War strengthened and enforced by the D-Ps of all the nations subjugated by the Soviet Union who had been brought forcibly by the Nazis to Germany or evacuated during their retreat and who refuse unanimously to be repatriated to their mother countries under the Soviet occupation. These include many thousands of eyewitnesses of the real life under the totalitarian Soviet regime, many former political prisoners for many years of Soviet concentration camps, many active fighters of the common Promethan front within the Soviet Union!

The Congress entrusted the old Presidency with the continuation of the Promethean struggle until a new Congress can be convened, and in its resolution it touched all current political problems. We give here some extracts on the most important points which will also show the difference between the popular American view and the Promethean outlook on the course of World War II and on world affairs. **The American public has not yet grasped the fact that all the problems which now confront the United States in world policy, especially in Europe**

and Asia, have their roots in the mistakes made after World War I...

(a) The responsibility for World War II.

"The methods of dictatorship over peoples which were first applied by Tsar Ivan the Terrible and then extended and improved by Lenin and Stalin with police terror, arbitrary shootings, mass exile to concentration camps at hard labor, the annihilation of the freedom of thought, faith, word, press, social organizations and courts—found their imitators in Italy and Germany.

The application of these Soviet Moscow methods—which were tolerated through long years by the League of Nations against the subjugated nationalities—to Ethiopia, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Albania led to World War II.

At the true source of the war was that anarchy and lack of consciousness of law in international relations which was caused by the methods of the totalitarian dictatorship of Soviet Moscow. The creator of this dictatorship is Stalin. He and the totalitarian dictatorship of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union with its immoral, inhuman views and methods are the real causes of World War II, which brought terrible bloodshed and disaster to the whole world."

(b) The accusation of Stalin.

"We, the peoples enslaved by Soviet Moscow, accuse Stalin before world public opinion of these crimes:

(1) In August, 1939, he concluded with Hitler the non-aggression pact and the secret treaty concerning the partition of Poland and the annexation of Western Ukraine. Thus, through his friendship and collaboration he guaranteed for Hitler security in the East and gave him the opportunity to start World War II.

(2) He violated the Briand-Kellog pact of August 27, 1928 signed by the U.S.S.R. in London.

(3) On September 1, 1939 he violated the non-aggression pact previously concluded with Poland and by means of his armed aggression—the invasion of Poland from the East—he helped Hitler to defeat Poland.

(4) Afterwards he violated the right of self-determination of the population of Western Ukraine by annexing it.

(5) After the Red Army occupied Western Ukraine, he forcibly removed hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians and Poles into concentration camps in the North, in Siberia and Turkestan. Then he introduced the regime of the communist dictatorship in Western Ukraine and

his NKVD physically liquidated the democratic Ukrainian parties and deprived every one of all basic human rights.

(6) He violated the right of self-determination of the Ukrainian population of Bukovina by the annexation of their territory and enslaved them by the same methods.

(7) He perpetrated the greatest single mass murder known to the civilized world by exterminating in the forest of KATYN more than 10,000 prisoners of war.

(8) From September, 1939 until June, 1941 he sent to Hitler over one million freight cars of corn, manganese, iron ore and other raw materials which he had stolen from the unhappy population whom he was oppressing. Thus, he is guilty of participation in the criminal aggression on Belgium and the Netherlands by Hitler and the further catastrophic rout of France.

(9) He violated, despite non-aggression pacts, the independence of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and, by armed aggression, occupied Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania and established everywhere the regime of totalitarian communist terror and annihilated the whole intelligentsia of these nations.

(10) By means of armed aggression he violated the independence of Finland with whom he had also a non-aggression pact and tried to occupy it.

(11) Finally, he violated the right of self-determination of Carpatho-Ukraine, annexed its territory, enslaved its population and murdered its legal President, Monsignor Woloshyn.

All willful actions of aggression, brutality and banditry are **war crimes**. Stalin and his collaborators must be prosecuted as **war criminals** before the International Court, taking into account the definition of aggression of Soviet Foreign Commissar M. Litvinov (declared at Geneva, September 21, 1937): "An aggression remains an aggression whatever the formula beneath which it is disguised. No international principle can ever justify aggression, armed intervention, the invasion of other States, and the violation of international treaties which it implies."

(c) The progress of World War II in Eastern Europe and its result after the struggle of the subjugated nations against Hitler and Stalin.

"The course of affairs of World War II in Eastern Europe showed clearly that quest for national liberation of the peoples enslaved by Moscow is the basic problem in this part of the European continent,

There will exist neither order nor quiet there until these problems are solved.

It is historically proven that Hitler's armies continued to advance towards the East as long as he could conceal his aims and his policies concerning these peoples. Having used deceitful propaganda and provocative promises, Hitler succeeded from the first in attracting some of the youth of the oppressed peoples for the common struggle against the Red terroristic Moscow. The moment it became clear that Hitler had no intention of respecting the right of self-determination of the people of Ukraine, the Baltic States, White-Ruthenia, the Don and Kubania, a powerful guerilla movement for national liberation broke out in his rear. Even those young men who formerly had been deceived by Hitler's propaganda embraced then the idea of the armed struggle against Hitler's totalitarianism and the Nazi occupation. Many leaders of the young men and thousands of patriots paid for their struggle against Hitlerism by being tortured and shot by the Gestapo or by imprisonment in concentration camps as enemies of the Third Reich.

The victorious procession of German Armies in Eastern Europe was stopped not by Stalin, but by the fighting of the national partisans of the Ukrainians, White-Ruthenians and Lithuanians who aimed at liberation. Stalin understood this very well when at the critical moments of the battles near Moscow and Stalingrad he tried to save himself by broadcasting proclamations of true national liberation. He also made different tactical concessions in an effort to calm the national and religious feelings of the peoples living in the U.S.S.R.

He accepted even and signed solemnly the Atlantic Charter! The peoples oppressed by Red Moscow did not believe even for a moment that Stalin was sincere in this acceptance, but they believed the United States and Great Britain who acknowledged and understood this signature as an obligation of Stalin regarding all the oppressed peoples.

After sacrificing millions of human victims and suffering enormous losses of their property during this war, the peoples oppressed by Stalin believe that they have an indisputable right to demand that the United States and Great Britain protect their interests and compel the unlimited dictator Stalin really to fulfil his promises as to the application of the principles of the Atlantic Charter in the U.S.S.R.

A year has passed since Hitler's Germany surrendered to the Democratic States but, unfortunately, the United States and Great Britain

have not obtained Stalin's agreement to maintain the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

Thus the results of World War II have given no freedom to the nationalities oppressed by Stalin. Moreover, Red Moscow has used the same technique of aggression that formerly was employed to enslave Ukraine and Caucasus, to deprive of freedom also Poland, the Baltic States, Finland and the Balkans. The turn of Czechoslovakia will come. The war started by a small Munich-compromise with the dictatorship of Hitler and finished with the grandiose total compromise with the dictatorship of Stalin.

World War II ended with the establishment of a new League of Nations: the United Nations. But the same Stalin who unmercifully destroys all peoples whom he oppresses by depriving them of every human right and turning them into slaves of the totalitarian Soviet regime, has been given the opportunity to underwrite the democratic statutes of the United Nations . . . !"

(d) Warning of Stalin's World War III.

"We, the nations oppressed by Red imperialistic Moscow now warn the public opinion of the World! Stalin's provocative and aggressive methods led to World War II. If the United States and Great Britain do not oblige the U.S.S.R. really to carry out the principles of the Statutes of the United Nations regarding the peoples enslaved by Stalin and thus allow the Soviets to apply their methods of provocation and aggression in international relations—we will face World War III.

We must acknowledge that Stalin does not want and cannot live without his methods of aggression, penetration, compulsion and removal because he wants to take advantage of the present moment, when all European peoples are weakened, to realize the Communist Stalin Doctrine demanding the whole of Europe and Asia, including the Middle East and the Suez Canal, to be his sphere of influence—the last step to the Communistic World Revolution.

Instead of the fallen Hitlerism, a still more dreadful totalitarian Stalinism in threatening all the free democratic Nations—Stalinism, the old root and organizational prototype of fascism and nazism! Besides the Promethean nations already oppressed by Soviet Imperialism, there are new victims of the Bolshevik aggression suffering now under Stalin's yoke: the Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Finns and the peoples of Central Europe: Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Austrians, Bul-

garians, Romanians, Albanians, and Yugoslavs. Soviet aggression is openly threatening Korea, Manchuria, China, Turkey and all the peoples of the Near East . . .

In the course of the past 25 years, since the Promethean League was organized, we have warned constantly the free nations of the World of the coming danger of Moscow's Imperialism to all mankind. Now we appeal to all the peoples again, calling them to protect themselves against the mortal danger hanging over the World and to defend the humanitarian foundations of human existence, living in the soul and nature of men and given them by Our Lord, to defend themselves against this terrible danger of conquest by propaganda and aggression of the International Satanists!

The responsibility for the disaster of the new war would fall on the Stalin dictatorship and also, in the same degree, on the unprincipled opportunism of the United States and Great Britain which allows the Soviet Union again to break all the principles of the Atlantic Charter and of the United Nations as regards internal and foreign politics."

(e) Atlantic Charter, United Nations, —Appeal to the public opinion of the U.S.A. and Great Britain.

"Faithful to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, the Promethean League of the peoples subjugated by Soviet Moscow from now on takes the name: "Promethean Atlantic Charter League" and calls upon all American and British citizens to organize corresponding Leagues of the friends of our cause for the moral support of our legal demands and for the security of a just and lasting peace.

Let them, the free citizens of the Western Democracies, help us to explain to the world that the "best democracy of the world," as shown by communist propaganda using all the methods of Goebbel's, is really a disgusting dictatorship of the Bolshevik party with its concentration camps and its NKVD, that the "attained socialism in the U.S.S.R." proclaimed solemnly by the same vociferous propaganda is in reality a state-capitalism of the worst kind, based on the compulsory labor of slave workers; that there is no fundamental difference between Bolshevism, Nazism or Facism; no capitalist class in any country is able to exploit the workers to such a degree as the communist bureaucrats and commissars are exploiting them in the Soviet Union! Let them explain to the world that the "solution of the national question in the Soviet Union" proclaimed by Red Moscow by the creating of the so-

called "independent Republics" is a fiction and deceit by which Moscow systematically annihilates and russifies the individual, separate, subjugated peoples!

Therefore, the peoples oppressed by Moscow will always and everywhere support the principles of the United Nations and of the Atlantic Charter, because only their fulfilment can save the world from World War III which is being prepared by Stalin's new Five Year plan. Our task is hard, because the Soviet Union as a member of the United Nations will constantly and consciously sabotage all efforts towards democracy and peace!"

V.

We have given some extracts from the Resolutions of the last Promethean Congress and we would like to open the new chapter of the Promethean Atlantic Charter League with a few words to the citizens of the United States and especially to those whose parents or grandparents came from one of the Promethean countries or from the newer subjugated countries which now are behind the iron curtain in the sphere of influence of Stalin.

Providence has put the fate of the World in the hands of the United States.

The same hands hold also the fate of all the subjugated nations.

There are millions of American citizens whose parents and grandparents have come from the Promethean countries and the other lands within the iron curtain. Yet with their separate groups they have done but little to awake American public opinion as a whole. Stalin's fifth column in every group serves as a welcome aid to the fifth column working in America at large to blind the eyes of all to the real communist peril that hangs over the head of all American citizens without distinction of origin and over the whole world.

There is needed a great joint political effort to create a widespread movement which must demand that the Soviet Union, the only state which was expelled in 1939 from the League of Nations for its aggression against Finland, be forbidden to take part in the United Nations for so long as elementary human rights and democracy are withheld from its citizens and the right of self-determination of the subjugated nations is not restored under the control of the United Nations.

Has the American youth fought World War II for the enslavement of Europe and the World? This youth must take the initiative to create the

common front for the defense of the Statutes of U.N., of the Atlantic Charter and of the subjugated nations! You, the American youth, defeated Hitler and Mussolini—do you wish to capitulate unconditionally before Stalin?

If not: act! To all his crimes, Stalin has added in the course of the last months: the persecution and annihilation of the Catholic Church in Western Ukraine and Lithuania, mass deportation from all subjugated nations from Europe to Asia. At the same time that England conceded liberty to India, Burma, Egypt,—Stalin by terror creates a Communistic Empire, which penetrates constant armed aggression by communistic gangs against Turkey, Greece and China. Your answer to Stalin's aggression can only be: either fight or capitulate! Fight means: a common front, common defense, common action! Create them—act; it is later than you think . . . !

Create not only the common front against communistic infiltration and penetration in U.S.A. and for the defence of the subjugated nations and the principles of U.N., but use it to build up the new Americanism which fulfills the hopes and aspirations not only of all those who have made America but of the whole world for which America seems the heaven of hope and justice.

The sons and daughters of the Promethean and other oppressed nations have a great task in America! They can know more fully the conditions under which their relatives are living within the iron curtain. Let them speak out as American citizens, veterans of the American Army, Navy and Air Corps in World War II, and their word as to the need for justice and liberty throughout the world will find an answering choir throughout the United States! They can unmask the agents of Stalin and in doing so, they can not only repay their obligations to the lands of their origin, but they can render an invaluable service to the United States, to their fellow citizens and to all who look for a free and warless world in which the great principles of self-determination, the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations can be rendered secure from the machinations of Red Moscow and advance to new heights of human freedom and achievements, and to a new period in human history in which right and peace are safe and open to all peoples of the world!

CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN PAINTING

by **Mikhaylo Osinchuk**

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when in the West — Paris, London, Berlin — the art of painting was seeking new directions, and was turning every few years into a different “ism”, beginning with impressionism, Ukrainian painting began its modern period.

Divided between its conquerors Russia and Austria, Ukraine had lost to the ruling nations its higher stratum of society, while the middle class consisted of only a few individuals who admitted their connection with the people to which they really belonged. There remained as representative of the people only the peasant mass together with its clergy, but even they were being Russianized under the Muscovite domination. For this mass, painting was limited to its religious needs; hence it was only natural that the artists who satisfied that need were not interested in any “ism”.

At the beginning of the twentieth century there was a change for the better in Ukraine. The development of democracy forced, first of all, Austria, and then the absolutist tsarist Russia to alleviate the political situation of the great masses of the population. In both subjugated territories an intellectual class began to appear and grow in numbers, and its artistic needs were far more extensive than were those of the peasantry.

Literature and pictorial art began to spread their wings. The number of poets and artists increased, and simultaneously there came an awakening in Ukraine of interest in the modern need and purposes of art.

The interest and the artistic tendencies of the Ukrainian artists depended upon the artistic surroundings in which they studied. On the Austrian side such centers were Vienna, Cracow and, later, Paris; and on the Russian side — St. Petersburg and, later, Munich.

On the territory under Austria the beginning of the twentieth century made itself important by the appearance of three outstanding impressionists — Ivan Trush, Olena Kulchitska, and Oleksa Novakivsky; and two



A SONG—Tempera
by Mikhaylo Dmytrenko

monumentalists — Modest Sosenko and Mikhaylo Boychuk. In the impressionism of Trush and Novakivsky we can see the distinctive marks of the impression of the Cracow Academy of Art, whose chief representative was Professor Stanislawsky; the impression of Kulchitska bears within itself, in addition to that, the signs of the Vienna secession.

Modest Sosenko, who in his genre creations was likewise an impressionist, based his monumentalist works of polychromic church art on other foundations, namely — on Byzantinized realism, in which a realistic treatment was expressed within the Byzantine form. This union was not organic, because the elements were quite opposed to each other.

Why did the Ukrainian monumentalists turn to Byzantine art and take it as the basis for their work? The reason is that the old Ukrainian art, which had accepted the Byzantine principles of art together with Christianity, had clung to them till the very end of the seventeenth century; and it is here, in the first place, that we have to seek the source of modern Ukrainian polychromy.

A greater organic synthesis in this direction was given by Mikhaylo

Boychuk, who later became professor in the Kiev Academy of Art. Studying in Paris, and finding himself among those outstanding artists who created the modern artistic tendencies amid heated discussions, competition and contests, Boychuk acquired a deeper understanding of the modern needs than had Sosenko. His style is developed from two sources — Ukrainian Byzantinism and Ukrainian folk art.

After the first World War his example was followed by almost all the Ukrainian monumentalists, such as: Petro Kholodny, M. Osinchuk, P. Kowzhun, Y. Muzikova, W. Krizaniwsky, Petro Kholodny, Jr., and W. Dyadiniuk. But the evolution of this style has not yet been completed. It is still in its initial phase, where its primal components, being too strongly emphasized, do not allow its real countenance to reveal itself. All this is an "ism", but not a style.



PORTRAIT—OIL
by Mikola Hlushchenko

On the territory occupied by Russia, the beginning of the twentieth century, as regards Ukrainian painting, was noted, on the one hand, by the academic realism in the works of such artists as S. Vassilkivsky, F. Krasetsky, M. Samokish, and I. Izhakevich; and on the other — by the impressionism in the works of O. Murashko, the two Krichevskys, Vassil and Fedor, H. Dyachenko, M. Zhuk, I Severin, and M. Burachek.

The first World War ended in the defeat of the occupants of Ukraine, and Ukraine formed itself into an independent state amid a revolutionary war for its freedom. On the western territories of Ukraine war being waged with the Poles, and on the eastern territories — with the Russians who, with new social slogans, moved on Ukraine in mass in order



HUTZUL WOMAN—OIL
by Mikhaylo Moroz



MARSHALL VOROSHILOV—Soc-Realism
by M. Rokitzky and E. Mamolat

to prevent her from separating herself from the "one and indivisible Russia", and to block her efforts to achieve self-determination on the basis of the Wilsonian principles.

The position of Ukraine, which, after the loss of her freedom, during two centuries, waged war for her independent existence without adequate military supplies, and without any assistance from foreign countries, was hopeless. After a few years of independence during the revolutionary period, the Ukrainian territories found themselves, in the end, under four occupants: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and the Soviet Union, which last is the new name for the "one and indivisible Russia."

The struggle for independence roused the slumbering artistic forces of Ukraine. There appeared a whole array of artists, especially painters and developers of the graphic arts. In Kiev, an Academy of Art was

**HARVESTING—Tempera
by Mykola Azovsky**



established, with a professorial staff which included the two principal artists — Mikhaylo Boychuk and Yuri Narbut. The former trained a number of artists who, in painting, began to seek new directions while basing themselves on the Byzantine traditions, i.e., on the Ukrainian icon and on folk art. The latter based his Ukrainian graphic art on the Kozak baroque. Both laid a foundation for national self-determination in Ukrainian art.

Work in Ukrainian Art along national lines, the search for its own directions based not only on the Ukrainian artistic accomplishments, but likewise on the art of the West with which the Kozak Ukraine had formed close cultural connections (almost all the prominent Kozak leaders had studied in the West) did not last long. Once the Soviet regime became entrenched in Ukraine the Bolshevik party put forward another watch-word for art. Under the cry—"Art for the masses"—it made Art assume the role of propaganda. The main artistic activity of



OLD BELL-TOVER—OIL
by Petro Kholodny

the painters consisted in mass production, in millions of copies of the members of the Central Executive Committee (painted on percale), especially Lenin and Stalin whose portraits found their way into all the offices, establishments and concerns of the Soviet Union.

In the first years of the Soviet rule there spread among the painters of Ukraine, beside the national tendency, which was smouldering out, all kinds of modern "isms"; in the first place — cubism and constructivism. It was thought that an extreme democratic regime, as the Soviet government considered itself to be, should espouse the most extreme artistic tendencies. Both of these tendencies, the national which was connected with tradition and the extreme modernistic one, did not last very long, although both had their outstanding artists.

In the national category the most prominent painters were Padalka, Pavlenko, Sedlyar; and in the modernistic—Petritsky, the famous theatrical decorator.

Because in all walks of Soviet life the Bolshevik party had the deciding word, it decreed that neither the first nor the second tendency of art was appropriate to the needs of Bolshevik reality. The first it condemned as national separatism, and not only prohibited it, but disgraced the artists themselves; while the second tendency it prohibited on the grounds of its being incomprehensible to the wide laboring masses.

By a special *ukaz* (decree) the Party forced into pictorial art the most ordinary academic realism, and compelled every artist and work of every form to conform to it. The new cry was the slogan: "Art, national in form, but Soviet in content". Soviet art critics defined exactly those two terms; "national in form" means art connected with the territory of that "inseparable" Soviet Republic where it is created, with its landscape, its Soviet architecture, and its Soviet life, while "Soviet in content" means that art does not reflect reality such as it is, but depicts it as it appears in the wild fantasy of a propagandist orientating himself on the well-known expression of his leader: "life is now much better, life has now become much happier."

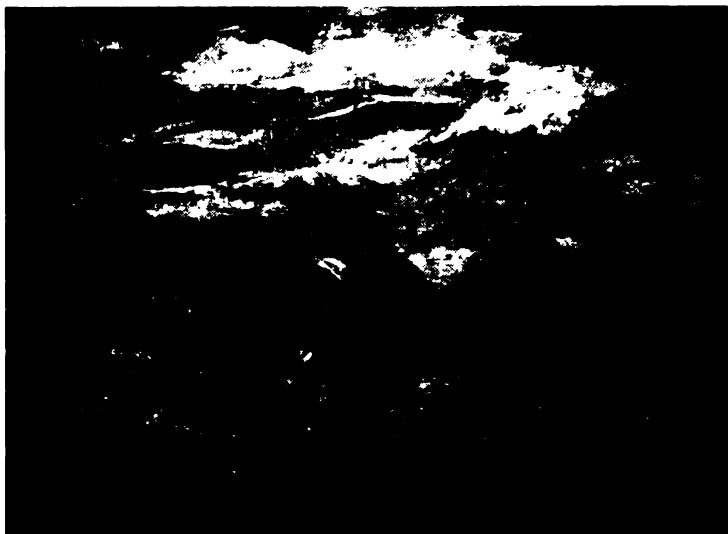
As a consequence of this regime of compulsion in pictorial art, in spite of a considerable number of talented artists, only a few works of genuine art have resulted. We see an endless repetition of the same loud stereotyped scenes, and every man poses with the unchanging Napoleonic hand under the button on the chest. All those requirements are imposed upon the artists by Soviet propaganda.

Such pictures perhaps have done much for Soviet propaganda, but for art itself they have done precious little.

In landscape painting the artists of Soviet Ukraine have shown themselves to a better advantage. Perhaps that is because landscape is, so to say, neutral and gives less opportunity for complaints about any lack of propaganda. As Ukrainian Nature was very beautiful, it was superfluous to add more beauty to it.

The second World War brought thematic changes in the art of painting in Soviet Ukraine. It followed along the line drawn by the Party, without bringing in any changes for the attainment of new forms of art, which remained academically realistic, so-called "Soc-Realism".

On the western territories of Ukraine, these under Polish rule, Ukrainian painting, between the first and the second World Wars, developed in a fashion different from that of Soviet Ukraine. The artists, free from party dictation, freely chose for their creative work that tendency which best pleased or suited them. For that reason Ukrainian art was more diverse



LANDSCAPE—OIL
by Sviatoslav Hordynsky

in that region, although there were fewer talented artists, both in quantity and in quality, than in Soviet Ukraine.

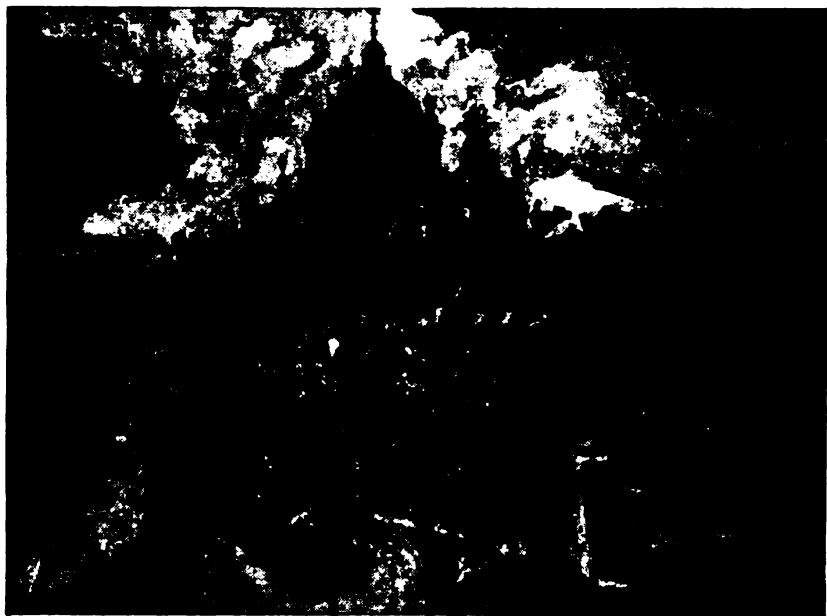
The older artists who grouped themselves in the organization called the "Association of Ukrainian Independent Artists" with their center in L'viv had their periodical *Mistetstvo* ("Art"), and almost every year arranged exhibitions of their works in that city. Ukrainian artists who lived in different art centers of Europe took part in those exhibitions. The Association was a union of artists on the professional rather than on the ideological basis. Works of art were accepted for the exhibitions on their artistic worth and not on their ideological tendency. At these exhibitions were to be found works of Academic Byzantinists, neo-classicists, impressionists, expressionists and surrealists.

Alongside the Byzantinist already mentioned in connection with monumentalists, the most prominent artists were: impressionists—Hrishenko, Hlushchenko, Kulchitska, Hordinsky, Ivanets; neo-classicists—Andrienko, Babi; expressionists—H. Mazepa, O. Novakivsky; surrealists—Selsky, and two outstanding caricaturists—Butovich and Kozak.

The expressionist Novakivsky is noted also for the private school of art which he conducted in L'viv, from which were graduated several good painters, among them such impressionists as Moroz and Lutsik.

Towards the end of 1939 the western territories of Ukraine were occupied by the Bolsheviks, who were followed by many artists from Soviet Ukraine sent there for propaganda purposes. Under their leadership the artists of the western territories united into a single collective group and began a mass production according to the Soviet pattern: first a production of "party watchwords" on reams of percale, together with portraits of the "leaders" likewise painted on that kind of cloth.

In spite of the fact that the Soviet government supported such art financially, by establishing advanced art schools in the chief cities of Ukraine, and by ordering from the artists large numbers of their works, such orders, however, affected the quantity and not the quality of their artistic productions. Since a propagandist character of the work was connected with those orders, we do not notice any creative development besides the increased activity of the artists. On the western territories there prevailed the same "state compulsion" that had been in Soviet Ukraine, although such artists as Azovsky and Dmitrenko went there to continue their work.

**ST. GEORGE CATHEDRAL IN FIRE—OIL****by Oleksa Novakivsky**

At present the condition of Ukrainian art is such that many prominent artists who had fled from their native land now find themselves beyond its borders as displaced persons and emigrants. Living in different camps in Germany, amid continual worry about their daily bread, as well as amid the endless fear of their own enemies who strive by all means to get them in their clutches, it is easily understood that in the past two years their artistic production could not be distinguished by a really outstanding work of art. Horror does not assist creative work. Perhaps in the new lands, to which their destiny will lead them, if fortune will grant them to live more peaceful lives, they will finally find a free moment for valuable artistic production.

THE UPA FIGHTS THE KREMLIN

by Nicholas D. Chubaty

When about a year and a half ago, on the basis of authentic and trustworthy reports, the present writer discussed the Ukrainian Underground, and especially the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukrainska Povstancha Armia, UPA), (1) he felt somewhat uncomfortable in his task. The statements made in that article seemed so sensational at that time that many of the readers of our Quarterly, must have surely refused to believe in the possibility of the existence of such a strong resistance movement directed against the all-powerful U.S.S.R.

Soviet Propaganda and Soviet Reality during the War

To the average American reader such information was the more suspicious because the Communists and their Fellow-Travelers in this country had succeeded, by means of planned propaganda, which they conducted between 1940 and 1945, in so thoroughly besmirching the Ukrainian movement of liberation and in presenting it as a Nazi agency that all struggles to win the freedom of Ukraine from its Moscow conquerors at that time appeared suspicious, to say the least. Thousands of Ukrainians belonging to the movement of national independence, who were good democrats and enemies of all brands of totalitarianism, became victims of that same psychosis and were, immediately after the fall of Germany, handed over to the Soviets by the occupation authorities of the Western democratic countries. That was done on the basis of shamelessly lying reports of the Soviet representatives in all the occupation zones of the Western Allies with regard to the fulfilment of the decisions reached at the Yalta conference of sad memory.

The anti-Ukrainian propaganda, expertly arranged by the Soviets, raged most fiercely at the time when tens of thousands of Ukrainian patriots had already, as early as the fall of 1942, begun their struggle against the Nazi occupation forces in Ukraine, and were being executed

(1) "The Ukrainian Underground," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, V II, No. 2, Winter, 1946, pp. 154-166.

by the German firing squads, or were filling to capacity the German concentration camps. To-day these facts have been corroborated by material one hundred percent certain and authoritative. But one cannot by that means resurrect the Ukrainian victims of Soviet cynicism.

The sympathy which this country had shown towards the Soviets during the past War simply closed the eyes of the people to the horrible reality prevailing in eastern Europe. The heroism of the Red Army was extolled as a matter of course until western Europeans had themselves seen the brutalities, robberies, and violence of these eastern barbarians perpetrated on the defenceless population of Budapest and Vienna.

Those in the Anglo-Saxon world who admired the Soviets continually repeated the empty phrases about the solidarity and patriotism of the "Soviet people", about "Soviet ethnic democracy", about the ideal solution of the national problems under the Soviets—until the time when there began to trickle to Western Europe and to America the news about the mass transportation to forced labor in Siberia of the populations of Ukraine, White Ruthenia and of the Baltic countries. Among the new information the most important concerned the anti-Russian underground movements in almost all those countries. The liquidation of several Soviet republics on account of their disloyalty to the Kremlin became a further proof that not all the population of the Soviet dungeon of peoples was standing solidly behind Moscow, as was depicted by the pro-Soviet propaganda.

Naturally enough, the extent of the insurrection of the nations subjected by Russia would have assumed catastrophic proportions for Moscow, had not the mad Nazi policy of racial superiority immediately set about to destroy in mass the slav population of the Soviet Union, that very element which in the first weeks of the conquest welcomed the Germans as liberators. The masses of the Ukrainians and the other peoples of the U.S.S.R. then refused any reconciliation with the Nazis, not out of any warm feeling for Stalin, but because of their own physical instinct of self-preservation.

It is strange that the Soviet as well as the Sovietophile propaganda beyond the borders of the U.S.S.R. purposely kept silent even about the struggle of these peoples against the Germans. Their aim, of course, was to prevent any information about the existence of national movements in the Soviet from passing the borders of the U.S.S.R. Especially did

the Kremlin remain silent with regard to the struggle of the Ukrainian patriots against the Nazis, in order not to reveal to the world the true political spirit of Ukraine as well as the strength and extent of the Ukrainian movement for independence.

It is true that at Yalta Stalin mentioned to Roosevelt and Churchill something about internal difficulties when he demanded a separate place for Ukraine in the United Nations as well as the union of the dynamically national Western Ukraine with the Soviets, but the world heard nothing more from the lips of the Soviet dictator about those internal difficulties.

The Soviet Information Service passed over in silence even the assassination of the chief of the Nazi S.S., Victor Lutze, who was a depute henchman to Heinrich Himmler, by a detachment of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Army in May of 1943, along the Kovno-Brest line. The assassination by those same detachments of Marshal Vatutin near Kreminets in Volhynia, about a year later, was likewise kept secret.

It was only in 1946, when the Western democratic world had begun to recover from the pro-Soviet intoxication, and when the Red Russian barbarism revealed itself before the world forum in all its ugly nakedness of brutality and cynicism, that the press and the public of the democratic countries began to lend a more friendly ear to the information about those events which began to press themselves through the iron curtain and revealed the desperate struggle being waged against the Soviet tyranny by the national underground movements extending from the shores of the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, the Caucasus, and as far as the steppes of Turkestan.

The ethnic democracy of the Soviets, so glorified by Henry A. Wallace, Curliss Lamont, and other Sovietophiles, revealed itself in the light of new information as an intolerable dungeon of peoples which the members of the national underground movements, composed of ninety-nine percent of the farmers and workers, have taken upon themselves to destroy. Created by the initiative of the Ukrainian underground movement, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Peoples flung down a challenge to the Kremlin Politburo.

And yet, among the movements of liberation prevailing among other nations subjected by the Soviets, the greatest publicity in the past few months has been acquired by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which had been inaccurately called in the Western press after the name of one of the Ukrainian patriots, Stephan Bandera—Banderivtsi. The UPA is a revolu-

tionary army of the Ukrainian people. For three years now since the end of military operations it has been proudly offering stern opposition to the powerful Red Muscovy whose excellently trained detachments of the MVD are not quite capable of coping with it.

This Ukrainian revolutionary army is fighting to-day on the steppes of Ukraine in the Dnieper regions; from time to time it occupies whole strips of the Carpathian mountains, and of the boggy regions of northern Ukraine known as Polisia. For months on end it fought in south-eastern Poland, i.e., on the Ukrainian ethnic territories which Moscow had given to Poland. Detachments of the UPA are fighting to-day in Czechoslovakia hand in hand with the Slovak nationalists. They even cross Hungary into Yugoslavia where they lend a helping hand to the Yugoslavia "krusars" who are struggling with the tyranny of Stalin's stooge, Tito.

The press has recently reported that several detachments of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, numbering over 100 persons, reached the borders of Bavaria and had handed over their arms in the hands of the American military authorities on the territory of the American occupation zone in Germany. To-day it is interned in Deggendorf, Bavaria.

The Battles of UPA in South-Eastern Poland

Almost during the entire 1946 and in the first month of 1947 the Warsaw correspondents of the American press reported fierce battles of the UPA with detachments of Polish police troops on the territory of the present south-eastern Poland. The Polish government had effected a transfer of the Ukrainian population either to the Soviets or to the western Polish territories acquired from Germany. The place of the evacuated Ukrainians was to have been taken by the Poles. But the character of that territory did not change thereby. That was precisely why the UPA had begun its armed action and set about to destroy the Polish police detachment as well as to send up in smoke the buildings and houses of the villages from which the Ukrainians had been evicted. That was done, of course, to prevent the Polish government from resettling these places with Poles. In like manner all along the Polish-Soviet border some eight hundred settlements are said to have been destroyed and what was once a fertile region was changed into a wilderness.

Several court actions against the captured members of the UPA in Warsaw, some of which were even filmed with a ulterior motive, became a living proof to the world of the struggle undertaken by the Ukrainian people against such bartering of their land by the Polish-Soviet alliance.

The climax of the struggle came in the first month of 1945 when the Ukrainian insurgents killed the Polish Communist vice-minister of War, General Swierczewski, well-known as the Communist leader of the Spanish partisans in the battles against Franco in Spain, where he went under the name of General Walter.

The event forced the Soviets, Poland and Czechoslovakia to conclude a tripartite understanding, in May 1947, regarding mutual aid in the destruction of the UPA—West detachments which operated here. This coordinated action of the three neighboring states of the Soviet bloc and the complete removal of the Ukrainian native population of those regions which gave assistance to the Ukrainian insurgents, finally forced the detachments of the UPA to abandon south-eastern Poland and transfer their action to Slovakia where they found a favorable element and sympathies among the Slovak population which was predominately in sympathy with their hanged president, Father Tiso.

The Battle in Slovakia and in Czechia

The battles of the UPA — West developed in Slovakia in the spring and summer of 1947. An eye-witness of Slovak nationality who recently arrived in the United States gave the author of this article the following information about those battles:—In May, the Czechoslovakian government proclaimed a state of war emergency in the entire Slovakia. As in the time of war, people were forbidden to move freely between populated areas. In the evening one was not allowed to leave his house. The military detachments of the Slovaks which had been sent against the UPA went over to the side of the Ukrainians without offering any battle. Young people began to join the ranks of the UPA. And it was this movement that forced Prague to take the struggle against the UPA in its own hands with the aid of the Czech troops, pro-Communist police organized specially by the Russian MVD, and the separately mobilized Communist partisans.

The Prague press throughout the summer published extensive accounts of the battles of the UPA with the Czech detachments. The non-Communist newspapers quite regularly did not conceal their sympathies with the heroic stand of the UPA. The liquidated detachment of the UPA "Burlaka" drew special attention to itself by its heroism, excellent training, as well as the perfect morale of its fighters. This detachment, under the command of Lieut. Wolodimir Shigelsky, surrounded in the Slovakian mountain region of Mala Fatra by a force twenty times its size, defended

itself successfully for a long time until the treachery of a local worker of Ukrainian origin, who was trusted by the command of the detachment, helped the Czech troops to capture the staff. At the same time detachments of the "Burlaka" troops succeeded individually in breaking through the siege.

Among those heroes who were captured was a sharp-shooter, Olha Hanash, a young woman known under the pseudonym of Ophelia, who, according to the Czech newspaper "Lidova Demokracie", commendably defended her own honor and that of her nation.

The detachment of the UPA, pressed out of Slovakia by the Czech armed forces, retreated in separate fragments across Moravia and into Czechia where, on account of their anti-Soviet attitude, they found sympathy even among the Czech population. This forced the Czech government to announce a cash reward and a medal for every Ukrainian partisan captured. The route of the detachments of the UPA which were pressed by the Czech armed forces led obviously towards Bavaria where they expected to surrender their arms to the Americans in the hope that the time would come when they could again one day resume their duty in the defence of their nation.

The battle of the UPA on the territory of Czechoslovakia reverberated several times in the Czech parliament. During the first phase of this warfare the matter was presented to the Chamber by the Czech Vice minister of Military Affairs, General Ferencik. This member of the Czech government gave the names of the detachments of the UPA, such as — the company of Khromenko, Burlaka, Kremin, and others. He also mentioned an officer of the UPA, Kalinovich. The Vice-Minister likewise explained to the members of the Parliament the political background of the UPA. There was nothing to prove, he stated, that the UPA received uniforms, weapons, food and medicaments by air, but that portion of the eastern part of Slovakia (where Ukrainians live) sympathized with them because they were fighting for an independent Ukraine.

During the second phase of the warfare which took place on the territory of Czechia itself, the Minister of Military Affairs, Gen. Ludwig Svoboda, himself addressed the Parliament regarding the battles with the UPA detachments. He gave the exact number of casualties on both the Ukrainian and Czech sides, and described the UPA as an excellently trained and perfectly organized military force. Its armed equipment was good. There was a discussion in parliament on this subject, there were also in-

terpellations, which, however, have not fully reached the press. Evidently, the Czech government did not wish to vex its Soviet protector by popularizing the Ukrainian cause.

The Press of Western Europe on the UPA Action

The operations of the UPA on the territories of a country, which is not separated from the western world by an iron curtain, have found their echoes in the press of western Europe and that of the United States, because it was for the first time that those nations saw appear before them an anti-Soviet power heretofore unknown. This subject was dealt with by the Swiss newspaper "Der Bund" in its number of August 20, 1947. That article states that it is impossible even approximately to compute the numbers of the UPA now operating in Slovakia, because that country is mountainous and for that reason is very appropriate for partisan operations. The friendliness of the population is very helpful to them. The insurgents avoid decisive battles with large detachments of troops. They themselves operate in small detachments which maintain liaison by radio. The secret of the success of the UPA, according to observers, lies in the long battle experience of the officers and in its long practice of the art of war.

The London periodical "East Europe" dealt with the UPA operations even more extensively, and the Holland press agency KARTO gave exact information regarding the manner of fighting, and the military equipment in the operations of the UPA against both the Nazi and Bolshevik forces. Their present-day operations are there illustrated by a detailed little map.

One gathers from that little map that the UPA is divided into groups: East, North, South, and West. The operations in south-eastern Poland and in Czechoslovakia were conducted by the group West. Group East operates along the borders of the wooded and steppe Ukraine, to the north of Kiev and in the Dnieper regions. Separate detachments of that Group crept slowly as far south as the Dnipropetrovsk region, and eastward beyond the Dnieper to Kharkiv itself.

Group North has a lasting and unconquered base in the boggy terrain of Polisia, and maintains contact with the White Ruthenian army which operates in northern Polisia. Cells of the Ukrainian Underground are said to exist likewise in Odesa, Crimea and the Donetz Basin. Some time ago the press reported the transfer of Marshal Zhukov to the command of the Odesa district, where Ukrainian nationalists were said to have caused grave disturbances.

Marshal Zhukov disappeared from both the Ukrainian and Soviet horizon, as is reported, on account of his failure to suppress those Ukrainian disturbances. There is no doubt that the very reason for Zhukov's liquidation lies somewhere else, perhaps in his sympathetic stand towards the western world.

Nevertheless, the Ukrainian insurgent movement in the depths of Ukraine, in the Dnieper region, has not been extinguished. This would seem to be corroborated by a report from Istanbul by the Austrian Press Agency. That report, which appeared towards the end of August, 1947, states that Moscow had ordered the withdrawal of its occupation forces from Bulgaria into deep Ukraine for the purpose of suppressing the insurgent movements.

It is only natural that the iron curtain which separates the Soviet realm from the Western world, prevents us from getting exact information about the extent of the insurgent movements in that part of Ukraine which has now been the rule of red Moscow for some thirty years. Recently there were unconfirmed reports in the American press as to the gigantic proportions of those movements, but in the West no one is in a position either to confirm or deny them.

The Political Effort of the Ukrainian Resistance

The political representative of the UPA is the Ukrainian Chief Council of Liberation (UHVR), a revolutionary organization which is united with it, and which has connections, by means of its representatives, not only among the individual peoples subjected by the Soviets, but likewise beyond the borders of Soviet influence. At the initiative of the Ukrainian Chief Council of Liberation there was formed the above-mentioned Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Peoples whose aim is to coordinate the underground action of the other peoples, which are subjected by the Soviets, with the action of the UPA. And it is precisely here that one finds the reason why the UPA, even when it is pushed out of the Ukrainian territory, finds friends and sympathizers on the territory of the neighboring peoples. The slogan of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Peoples is — "Liberty to the Individual, Liberty to Nations."

The agents of the UHVR have also undertaken an action of disintegration among the Red Army soldiers, especially among those who belong to the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. It is impossible to say to what extent the disintegration among the Red occupation army, as represented by numberless desertions, is the result of the efforts of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc, and to what extent it is a natural reaction in the spirit of the people

who have come to know the life of the people living beyond the Soviet Europe and have seen for themselves how untrue was the Bolshevik propaganda about the hell in the capitalist countries.

It was recently reported in the press that a high personage in the Soviet military hierarchy, the chief of staff of the Soviet occupation army in Germany, General Chaparidze, had deserted. His name betrays his Georgian origin; and Georgia, of course, is one of the nations oppressed by Moscow.

Anti-Soviet Revolutionary Movement and Western Nations

The more detailed information reaching the West about the anti-Soviet revolutionary movement speaks with an ever-increasing intensity of one thing—that the *tsar Stalin* and that of his stooges *Vyshinsky*, *Gromyko*, *Manuilsky*, and others is not so strong as would appear from their cocksure and provoking speeches on the terrain of the United Nations. On the contrary there are many reasons to think that this Eurasian tyranny is resting on a volcano which is as yet too weak to burst out and shatter to pieces the utterly detested *Kremalin* and that forge of a world revolution—the *Politburo*, as well as the entire *Moscow* rule over a sixth part of the world. But the volcano is boiling. It is continually active and hides within itself an inestimable potential power which the western nations should be able to take advantage of for the purpose of taming the quarrelsome Soviet spirit. That potential power the western nations must even now take into account with a view to future world crises. They must even now oppose the demagogic and deceitful cry of the Soviets:—“Liberty and independence to colonial peoples” with their own, which is much broader in scope:—“Liberty and independence to all the peoples of the globe, and destruction of all tyranny”. The great binding power of this cry will be contained in its universality, sincerity and justice.

It would be a catastrophe for western civilization if the western nations did not take advantage of that slumbering force of the revolutionary spirit of the East-European peoples now under the leadership of the present champion of anti-Soviet revolutionary forces—Ukraine. “Ukraine has always tended towards freedom”, said *Voltaire* in the second half of the eighteenth century. By its heroism Ukraine proves to-day that this conviction of *Voltaire* was true not only in the eighteenth century; it is also true in the present atomic epoch of humanity.

WHAT THE RESURRECTED COMINTERN MEANS TO AMERICA

by Walter Dushnyck

With great fanfare and beating of the war-drums the Comintern has once more come out in the open. The last illusions, entertained here and there, that out of the bloodshed and sacrifices of World War II there may arise a new world based on common interest and respect for human rights, have been dealt a crushing blow.

The Comintern of the Communist International, it is recalled, was founded in 1919 by the Russian Communist Party to further a worldwide "proletarian" revolution, with the ultimate goal of establishing a Soviet system of government over the ruins of capitalism and democracy everywhere. The main task of the Comintern at that time was to centralize all communist activities under the guiding hand of Moscow and to overthrow by force all existing institutions. After Lenin's death, Joseph Stalin assumed the role of world champion of communist revolution. His writings on the "ultimate collapse" of capitalist society have been no less emphatic than Lenin's. The Constitution of the Comintern makes it clear in Article I that it "fights for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a world union of Soviet Socialist Republics." By article 3 of the same constitution, every Communist, member of any Communist Party in any country in the world, pledges himself to "abide by all decisions of the Party and of the Communist International," underlining once and for all that a Communist's loyalty always and forever belongs to Moscow.

When the German-Soviet war came and the Wehrmacht rolled back the Soviet armies to the gates of Leningrad, Moscow and Stalingrad, Stalin realized that without the aid of the "rotten democracies," Soviet Russia would not be able to withstand, and still less, to repel the Nazi onslaught. Following the teachings of his master Lenin, the scheming Georgian hit upon a truly masterful idea, the renunciation of the concept of world revolution. Thus the dramatic announcement from Moscow on May 15, 1943, that the Comintern had officially ceased to exist. Subsequently, the Com-

munist Parties of some thirty countries, "unanimously approved the dissolution of the Comintern," pledging all their efforts to the destruction of Nazi Germany. As Stalin foresaw, the move was hailed as a "statesman's gesture" and an additional proof that Soviet Russia's intention to cooperate with the Western allies was sincere and trustworthy. And American guns, tanks, plans and dollars poured into Soviet Russia.

Yet the Comintern was hardly dead. Already in 1944, in the wake of the German armies retreating from the East, communist leaders who had been waiting in Moscow to take up work assigned them by Stalin sprang up in every liberated country. Significantly, of the seventeen leaders who signed the document of "dissolution" of the Comintern in 1943, most have succeeded in effecting a rapid transition from agitators-revolutionaries to "statesmen" and are firmly situated in various European countries today.

Comintern Heroes Rule as Soviet Quislings

In Italy, Stalin's man is Ercoli, alias Palmiro Togliatti, a signer of the document of 1943. He is mustering his communist cohorts and awaits the sign from Moscow to move against the government and the people of his country. In Bulgaria we find Georgi Dimitrov, once a head of the Comintern. He has already succeeded in crushing Bulgarian democracy by sending Nicola Petkov, one of its staunchest defenders, to the gallows. Through him Bulgaria has become politically and economically completely subservient to Soviet Russia's resurgent imperialism. In Ukraine there rules Dmitri Z. Manuilsky, once chief of staff of the Comintern, and, fantastically enough, ex-chairman of the UN Security Commission. He, too, signed the "dissolution" of the Communist International. Stalin's men in Austria are Ernst Fischer and one Kopenik, who were trained in Moscow, took part in the Comintern activities throughout the world and signed its fraudulent document in 1943. Brought by the Soviet armies to Austria, they are now feverishly preparing the ground for a Soviet grab of their native land. In Hungary Matias Rakossi and in Rumania Ana Pauker had been efficient quislings of Stalin for the past two years. Unhappy Finland has its own measure of Soviet domination, personified by Otto Kuusinen and his aide, Leino, both experts in revolutionary activities and devoted servants of the Politburo. Finally there is France with Maurice Thorez, Jacques Duclos and Marty playing the sinister roles of Soviet parrots and quislings.

But most prominent among the signatories of the Comintern document of 1943 is Col. Gen. Andrei A. Zhdanov, an avowed heir to Stalin's com-

munist empire and an outspoken partisan of a quick and decisive show-down policy with the United States.

The New Comintern's Objectives

The Comintern was redesigned at the end of September, 1947 at a secret meeting attended by the communist representatives of nine countries somewhere in Silesia, Poland. The countries represented at the epochal meeting were: Russia — A. A. Zhdanov and G. M. Malenkov; Yugoslavia — E. Kardelj and Milovan Djilas; Bulgaria — Vulko Chervenkov and V. Poptomov; Rumania — Gheorghiu-Dej and Ana Pauker; Hungary — M. Farkash and Josef Revai; Poland—Wladyslaw Gomulka and Hilary Minc; France — Jacques Duclos and Etienne Fajon; Czechoslovakia — R. Slansky and Sa. Bashtovansky and Italy—Luigi Longo and Eugenio Reale. At this meeting Belgrade was selected as the permanent capital of the communist body.

Practically all the men who signed the new Comintern manifesto are well-known communist leaders in their respective countries. Some of them are even premiers and ministers in their governments. No longer are they exiled conspirators, plotting to set up a communist regime in their homelands by remote control in Moscow. The Soviet quislings have come of age.

What is far and away the most important feature of this fresh version of the Comintern is its unique emphasis placed on fighting the United States.

The old Comintern had for its transcendent goal that the proletariat the world over rise and establish a Soviet international state. The new one has significantly reworded and redefined this broad objective.

The world is still divided into two warring camps. But words and names are now changed. Instead of communism vs. capitalism, we read that there is the "imperialist and anti-democratic camp, which has for its essential aim the establishment of the world domination of American imperialism and the crushing of democracy." By this semantic outrage, America is actually identified as an enemy of democracy! Further, this "American camp" is vigorously opposed by an "anti-imperialist camp, whose essential aim consists in undermining imperialism, reinforcing democracy and liquidating the remains of fascism." So would Soviet Russia describe herself, the giant police state that has enslaved and killed millions.

Significance of Objectives

It is undoubtedly the Marshall Plan which has precipitated this decisive move on the part of the Soviets. Faced with the threat that the Plan would

coordinate the economic and political resources of Western and South-eastern Europe and so stem the communist tide, the Russians have been compelled to resort once more to their overt revolutionary tactics in order to create the chaos so necessary for the reception of the communist dogma.

And in taking this step, Stalin has finally abandoned any and all pretense of working with the United States towards a world built upon the basic freedoms. According to his own pronouncements, Stalin has long believed that the incompatibility of his communist system with our way of life would of necessity lead to a clash resulting in the final triumph of the communist cause in the form of Soviet domination over the whole world. But it has been expedient heretofore to keep up the myth of cooperation with the United States down to the farce of the United Nations while the ground for the clash was being prepared. Thus the drawn-out failures of the peace settlements of Germany, Austria, Korea and Japan were not accidental but deliberate. During the time-consuming wrangles in the United Nations, Soviet Russia busily organized and supported an open intervention in Greece by using its satellites, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania. The Russians have reduced Korea and Manchuria to impotency. They have intensified the civil war in China. And at the moment they are building up an undermining fifth column in the whole of the Western Hemisphere.

Now most of these activities can be expected to become less clandestine. In labeling the United States as imperialistic and anti-democratic, the Soviet state obviously has abandoned all intentions both of further duping the American people as to the nature of communism and of using the American government as a tool in its own machinations. Rather, it now becomes forced to attend almost exclusively to the battle-ground as set up by the Marshall Plan: Western Europe. It is x for the ears of the people of this area principally that Soviet Russia has proclaimed itself the champion of democracy and enlightenment. It appears now that at any cost, Soviet Russia is prepared to sabotage the Marshall Plan. For it must have starvation, cold, misery prevail for the communist seed to sprout. Lastly, Stalin knows that if the United States succeeds in rehabilitating Western Europe, not only are those countries lost to Russia, but also will she have lost much face in those already dominated.

Challenge to the United States

There remains but little doubt that the United States is confronted with a peril which in scope and ramification is no less serious than that of 1941.

Not only is the Soviet pattern of anti-American political war similar to that of Hitler, it uses even the same arguments. Hitler proclaimed himself a champion of European nations and their culture, of their independence and of the new order, while in the meantime he was building huge armies soon to be used successfully in a vast, unprecedented conquest. Pursuing the same course, Soviet Russia today resembles a reptile, swollen with conquest of small, defenseless nations of Eastern and Central Europe. As she swallows and digests the unfortunate nations, she yet has time to mouth that she champions the independence of all nations.

The Russians, like the Germans under Hitler, appear to be bad psychologists as well. As did Hitler, they underestimate democracies in general, and the United States in particular. Thus, in destroying all wartime agreements, the Russians have contributed greatly to the consolidation of American political opinion. Where once there was much disagreement as to the major aspects of the foreign policy of the Truman administration, now there is almost none. Russia has demonstrated once and for all that her real intention is not peace and order, but chaos and misery, her indispensable handmaidens.

In recapitulation, Soviet Russia's move is hardly so much an audacious one as a misinformed one. It has respect for American production and wealth, yet believes it alone has covered the market on appeal to the emotions and the spirit. The Russians see the American people as dollar-ridden, and fortunately, indifferent to the other peoples of the world. The Marshall Plan to them is purely and simply a bid for power. And they have countered it by what they imagine to be their strongest weapon: propaganda.

The task before us is to disseminate as widely as possible the meaning of the new Comintern and to carry out the Marshall Plan in its every detail. In this penultimate stage of a new world conflict, there is no other choice.

EVIL IN THE MIRROR OF THE UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN MIND

by Ivan Mirtchuk, Ph. D.

The Ukrainian view of the world is characterised by an optimism founded on metaphysics and ethics. In spite of the overwhelming catastrophes that have constantly shaken the historical existence of the people to its foundations, in spite of the terrible persecutions to which the heart of the nation, its peasantry, has been exposed for centuries, hope of a better future has never died, and indeed it has risen afresh at the very times when, judged by objective standards, there were practically no prospects of improvement. Yet—in defiance of all foes—the Ukrainian people will and must live and fulfil their destined mission; this is the motto to which all her leading spirits have always sworn allegiance. Of course, Ukrainian public opinion, especially in the higher classes, has also displayed depression caused by temporary circumstances; but though the situation has often been extremely critical, Ukrainian history has no proper example of general dissolution, of complete and extensive despair. On the contrary, it is characteristic of the Ukrainian mentality to regard the world and its phenomena from the best side and to trust in a favorable issue of all processes. "We'll get along somehow" is the expression, not only of mental balance, of a determination to keep a stiff upper lip, but is at the same time an unmistakable sign of a feeling of confidence, no matter how circumstances may change.

If we seek the origin of this apparently irrational optimism, we come to the conclusion that its roots lie in pre-historic time and that its motives have been preserved in folk-lore, tales and fables. The study of extensive Ukrainian material proves conclusively that the belief in the victory of good over evil is part and parcel of the people's faith. The world is ruled by the principle of good: evil, and its personification, the devil, are by no means equal to good and do not have an independent existence of their own.

Without going into details, we can make the general assertion that in Ukraine the devil is no powerful god who finds satisfaction in the sea of troubles that overwhelms man: his power does not equal that of the good spirit; he is not an imposing emperor in the realm of demons, he is a petty spirit who, by exploiting the goodness of God and weakness of man, seeks to make unpleasantness for both.

The devil cannot have the mastery over a human being during the latter's life, even if he has promised him his soul. It is fairly easy to summon the devil in order to enter into a contract with him. In drawing up the articles of such a contract, the devil does not display any special intelligence or even intellectual superiority over his human partner. The Evil One not infrequently gets the worst of a bargain with a simple peasant; he puts himself to no end of trouble in order to get money and honor for man before death, but after he is dead, man always finds a loop-hole in the contract through which he can slip and land happily in Paradise.

Thus we see that, for the Ukrainian, far from being an imposing figure, the devil degenerates into something comical and, at times, even pitiable, a being to be exploited or made a fool of by man. In the eternal struggle which it is man's fate to conduct against evil, man is far superior to the devil.

Maksimov assures us that the belief in an unlimited number of evil spirits is firmly rooted in the consciousness of the Great Russian. He believes that there are scarcely any places in the world free from them, that they do not even respect Russian churches. As unsubstantial beings, who can, however, appear in various familiar guises to man, these servants of the Evil One do not only dwell in places forsaken by God, in bottomless moors and the depths of forests; they are as much at home in human habitations and even penetrate into the human organism. We may see proof of this belief in the fact that all containers of drinking-water in Russian peasant houses have some kind of lid, be it ever so primitive. If it is impossible to get a lid, two sticks are laid cross-wise on the vessel so as to prevent the devil from getting into the water. Similarly, we can scarcely find a peasant who, in spite of innate carelessness and dreaminess, will forget to make the sign of the Cross over his mouth when yawning, so as to keep the Evil One from entering into his organism.

On the basis of material at our disposal dealing with the rôle of the

devil among Eastern Slavs, we may safely assert that among Ukrainians as among the peoples of Western Europe, the demonic has lost something of its mystery, originality and power while, in the life of the Great Russian, evil may not be on the same level as good, but it has nevertheless managed to preserve a strong position. Russian dualism, predominant in folk-lore and expressed in the struggle between the Divine power and the Evil One points plainly to an analogy with the dualish beliefs of Oriental religions. Mazdeism in particular, the creed of Aryan Iran, is decidedly dualistic in character, being constructed on the contrasts between light and darkness, good and evil, salvation and destruction as they appear in the physical and moral world. These contrasts can be traced to two gods who are equal in power and who are constantly engaged in strife. Ahriman characterises the cause of the strife and the mutual enmity of these two powers as the ethical devil; for a moral sin, envy of Ormuzd causes Ahriman to conceive the idea of destroying his creations.

It is just here, in the province of ethics, that the difference in the conceptions of good and evil which we have already noticed in the national beliefs of Russians and Ukrainians becomes strikingly apparent. For the Ukrainian evil is, so speak, the result of teleological conditions. It is in the world not because there is any justification for its existence in itself, and not as a power against which we struggle in vain; evil exists because we need it, because without it, good could never be brought into the right light. It is not only the evil in us, but the evil around us, that seems to be the essential complement of good; the power of good grows in the struggle with evil; injustice furthers the feeling for justice, falsehood and cowardice the feeling for truth, while selfishness calls forth magnanimity. Metaphorically speaking, the devil is for the Ukrainian by no means an almost Divine power, inspiring man with inexpressible terror, but a being that draws the sinner's attention to his sins, frightens him a little and so shows him the way to improvement and perfection. This belief has produced a thoroughly optimistic view of the world which has found striking and eminent expressions in literature.

For the Great Russian, evil is a dreadful power, not a necessary attribute of good but a principle of equal value that can attract disciples and inspire them with enthusiasm. One does not commit evil from carelessness, but from conviction, for the sake of evil, because evil has the same foundation and justification in human nature as good.

This idea of evil has naturally found artistic expression in literature and its main representatives in Russian literature are Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy. Tolstoy rejected all positive religion and formed his own view of the world which is characterised by perfect passivity quite opposed to combating evil. His principle of "non-resistance to evil" which he erroneously tries to derive from Christ's original teaching, is really anchored in his thoroughly Russian soul and is certainly the unconscious expression of the general Russian belief in the invincibility and omnipotence of evil.

Tolstoy deliberately twists Christ's teaching and attempts to set it up against the Old Testament idea of vengeance and retribution, though there is no justification for this at all. We know that Christ did not come to destroy the law and prophets but to fulfil them. His Sermon on the Mount was intended to confute the Pharisaical ideas that every wrong done to a man must be repaid at least in equal measure.

Christ contests this law of Moses. He only wished to say that the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is not necessarily the only means of regulating human relationships and that another method would often be better. That Christ did not despise violence when nothing else was possible is proved by His own example when he drove the money-changers out of the temple. The Christian religion must and will carry on a ruthless war against evil. This may be waged with different weapons, but it must on no account be conducted from feelings of vengeance and retribution. This is the deeper and proper sense of Christ's words which were wrongly interpreted by Tolstoy in his teaching (Gusev).

These contrasts are still more glaring when we leave the province of individual ethics for the social sphere. Tolstoy's doctrine leads to an absolute anarchy which destroys all human institutions, the product of a thousand years of development. There is no supreme justice, no supreme legislation, there is neither authority nor governing body nor state; human society is transformed into a horde of apparently free individuals, the few good among whom try to teach and control the evil majority by example only. So if Tolstoy, whom Turgenev calls "the great Russian writer, the most genuine of all Russian prophets, composed of the national elements in the Russian spirit", in contrast to all moral philosophy and deliberately twisting Christ's teaching, tries to spread the theory of non-resistance to evil with all the art of a gifted poet and the authority

of a world-famed personality, his deeper motives do not lie in a clearer comprehension of the Christian ethic, but primarily and exclusively in the intimate connection of his way of thinking with the spirit of the Russian people which is too respectful to dare rebel against the majesty of the demonic and which bears in its soul a feeling of passive subjection to evil.

In addition to Tolstoy's work, Dostoyevsky merits special mention here as these two, according to Ivanov-Rasumnik, form the synthesis of a two century development of Russian literature and the entire spirit of the Russian people.

Dostoyevsky analyses the motive powers of the human soul with mathematical accuracy, not as they appear in a healthy state of balance, but in a condition of suffering, of struggle, of internal dissension, i.e. in a pathological condition in which their closest secrets are distorted and laid bare under the knife of the anatomist, or rather under the microscope. Dostoyevsky, a hopeless pessimist, does not elevate man above the meanness of everyday life, but forces him with relentless thoroughness to experience spiritually all the misery and torture that human life can conceal. Even though the reader admits the unnaturalness of a presentation that is otherwise a work of genius, he can no more tear himself away from these scenes than he can from the sufferings of someone he loves.

With a devotion worthier of a nobler cause, Dostoyevsky delineates in books that are unparalleled creations of literary art only criminals, idiots, pathological beings whose physical and psychical life is exposed to all extreme influences. Let us select only a few examples from his crowded gallery.

Piotr Verkhovensky is, ethically considered, an absolute low, mean criminal, a villain who cynically tramples on man and feelings, cooperates with a contemptible murderer while he himself, with devilish cunning, robs innocent people of life; he is an abortion of the Evil One, a demon, in crass contrast to the debonair, and often naive devil of the West. "The evil in Stavrogin was cold and quiet", says Dostoyevsky, "that was sensible — and therefore the most repulsive and fearful that can exist". Up till 1928 there was an unprinted chapter of "The Demons" with Stavrogin's confession, in which he tells, among other sins, of violating a 12-year old girl, a child. He describes the child's despair and her subsequent suicide with the accuracy and the objectivity of an outsider.

This presentation is one of Dostoyevsky's most powerful creations, palpitating with a dreadful truth of life, so that we understand those who, out of respect for the author, did not wish to have it printed even after his death. Stavrogin, who conceals behind a mask that good and evil are equal in value, is a demon of gigantic stature. Stefan Trofimovich, on the other hand, is a petty demon, an individual in every sense indolent, a caricature of intellectual sterility.

The women in the novel are of the same species. There is the simple-minded sister of Lebvadkin, the captain who is always out at elbows; Stavrogin married her from sheer boredom; Maria Shatoff's wife, who returns to her husband when pregnant by Stavrogin, and young Lisaveta, also completely under Stavrogin's spell, and finally the governor's wife, in whom Russian blood is tragically mingled with social conventions — all these women are passionate creatures, completely at the mercy of the demon hysteria.

Other characters stand out from the background of events. I leave the characterisation of the Karamazov family to Merezhkovsky, the eminent Russian poet and excellent critic, who sums them up as follows in his study on Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky: "When judging Dostoyevsky as a man, we must bear in mind his all consuming artistic need to sound the most dangerous, most inaccessible depths of the human heart, above all the depths of lust in all its manifestations. From the most enthusiastic voluptuousness of the 'angel', Alyosha Karamazov, which almost reaches the heights of religious ecstasy to that of the repulsive spider that devours its own mate, we pass through the entire spectrum of this the lowest of human passions, each shade merging into the next like the colors in the rainbow. It is worth noting that bonds of relationship exist connecting not only the horrible "Smerdyakov", "Ivan, who wrestles with God", the cruel "Dimitry, the voluptuary, mad, as if stung by a gad-fly", but also the virtuous cherub Alyosha with their physical father, the "monster", Fedor Pavlovich Karamazov, as well as Dostoyevsky himself, cribes; he would perhaps cut himself free from them in the eyes of man, their spiritual father. It is indeed mostly his own family that he des- but never before God and his own conscience."

In conclusion I should like to quote the words that Dostoyevsky in "The Demons" puts into the mouth of the dying Stefan Trofimovich, referring to the Gospel of St. Luke: "You see it's the same with our Russia as with those Gadarene swine. The devils who leave the sick and enter

the swine, those are all the microbes and pollutions, all the poisons, all the big and little demons that have gathered in our dear, big invalid of Russia for many, many centuries. "Oui, cette Russie, que j'aimais toujours! . . ."

We are those demons, we and those others, "Petrusha et les autres avec lui," and I'm perhaps their leader; in our madness we shall cast ourselves from the cliff into the sea and shall all drown — and that's where we really belong, because we are good for naught else. . . ."

The boundless pessimism which we emphasised at the beginning of our analysis as the key-note in the psychical harmony of the great Russian thinker is here confirmed beyond all doubt. And we must not forget that all of Dostoyevsky's novels, the "Demons" and the "Brothers Karamazov" are most illuminating as a guide to the Russian soul. They are real confessions, revelation from the first page to the last, and present the Russian soul in all its manifestations.

Involuntarily we ask ourselves why the author, in solving the problem of medium, chose precisely this mode of expression, and what external or inner reason compelled him to center interest on the "demonic" in all its forms. Was it necessary for Dostoyevsky, in order to be able to pursue certain moral intentions, to present in concentrated form with all of a genius's powers of conviction the meanness, the crimes, the abnormalities, the horrors of all times and countries? Apart from the fact that many critics are not convinced of these aims thus emphasised, the question remains whether they could not have been achieved by other means. That the demonic spirit and all its manifestations should be given so much room in Dostoyevsky's creations may well be due to the fact that the demonic, evil, the devil plays a very great part in the psychic life of the Russian people and therefore in the spiritual world of Dostoyevsky, one of its leaders. The devil does not, for instance, appear to Ivan Karamazov in the vagueness of a ghost, but in all the seeming reality of an hallucination. In this hallucination we feel something of the Eternal Demon that was in Ivan's soul and grows out of it. Goethe's Mephistopheles is indeed the music accompanying temptation in Faust's life on earth, is also Faust himself, but he is not really "demonic". We feel that the poet never believed in the possibility of an incarnation of the devil. Dostoyevsky has put more visionary power, more of the demon into Ivan's hallucination than Goethe has lent the whole temptation of Faust by the devil at his side. But Ivan Karamazov,

like his bad, second self, Smerdjakov, their physical father, the "monster" Fedor Pavlovich Karamazov, and finally Mitya, Grushenka, Katya, Lisa and Piotr Verkhovensky, Stavrogin and all the others are, according to Merezhkovsky, Dostoyevsky's own family, flesh of his flesh and blood of his blood, while Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky, in their turn, are according to Ivanov-Rasumnik, the noblest synthesis of the spirit of the Russian people. The psychical point of view of these two great thinkers only proves their close contact with the inmost soul of their people which is indeed under western influence but which is turned towards the East and which regards the demonic from a standpoint that differs entirely from that of the people in Western and Central Europe.

UKRAINE AND MEDIEVAL TRADE

By Prof. Wasyl Halich
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There was an active foreign trade in various European countries even in ancient times, especially in the Mediterranean region. Not only written records but also ancient coins and other metallic articles found in many places in Europe, testify to the trade relationships. Ukraine was one of those countries that carried on an active foreign trade in the period antedating the Slavic migration (1). This was mostly with the Greek settlements on the north shore of the Black Sea, including the Crimea. Ukraine sold furs, honey, wax grain, and salt; she purchased from the Greeks fancy textile goods, fruits, wine, and precious stones. In the old graves in southern Ukraine have been found Roman coins and pieces of furniture (2).

In the Middle Ages the words "foreign trade" or "foreign merchants" referred to goods and people from outside one's own community, though often of the same country. The common usage then for local trade peculiar to a particular community was "native trade". It was in international trade that Ukraine became quite a center in eastern Europe during the eighth to the fourteenth centuries, and the cause of its decline thereafter the subsequent account will explain.

After the disintegration of the Roman Empire in the west in the fifth century A.D., the eastern branch with its capital at Constantinople continued its independence and enjoyed a measure of prosperity for nearly one thousand years. It, too, received numerous shocks from foreign attacks but withstood them all until the Turks captured the country in the middle of the fifteenth century and thus ended its independence. During that period Byzantium, as the eastern branch of the Roman Empire was called, carried on an extensive trade with the world and attained a high degree of civilization and prosperity. Thanks to its favorable loca-

1. Hrushevsky :History of Ukraine, Vol. 1, 84-85.

2. Kostovtzev: "The Origin of the Russian State on the Dnioper," Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1920, 167-8.

tion, its enterprising inhabitants, and its highly civilized neighbors, Constantinople became the center of world trade and was able to maintain that favorable position, though weakened, beyond the period of the Crusades. It was there that Asiatic, Levantine, African, and European goods found a ready market. The merchants from the three continents assembled there to barter their goods or sell for cash. (3)

Goods arrived at Constantinople by water, land, or both, and departed in a similar way (4). Without going into details concerning the Asiatic and African trade routes, we will consider the trade arteries of eastern Europe, especially those of Ukraine. Probably the largest amount of European foreign trade in the eighth and ninth centuries was with Constantinople, but we have no definite data. The old Greek colonies in the Mediterranean were still there and interested in trade. There were also Greek settlements along the coast of the Black Sea that traded with the countries north of them, importing, especially, grain from Ukraine (5).

There were two principal routes from Constantinople through the Ukraine. One, by water up the Dnieper River and its tributaries and lakes, connected the Black Sea with the Baltic. The other was by land north from Constantinople along the shore of the Black Sea to the mouth of the Dniester River and thence by land along the river to the city of L'viv (Lvov, Lemberg), where it connected with the land route: Kiev to Krakow (Cracow), Prague, and Vienna. The Dnieper was the chief thoroughfare for the Scandinavian and north European merchants. But even this route presented many hazards, the chief of them being the attacks by the nomadic tribes east of the lower Dnieper and the rapids or waterfalls in the Dnieper itself, for these necessitated the carrying of goods overland when they were exposed to attack. There was also some inconvenience in making connections between the Dnieper and the northern rivers, the Lopat, Dvina, Volkov, and Lake Ladoga. The Scandinavian tradesmen used this route so much that it was often referred to as the "Varangian route", since the Swedes and Scandinavians were then called Varangians in Ukraine. The city of Kiev became the largest commercial center on this route, for both land and water trade met there. Other cities on this route or at the end of it, not in Ukraine, were Novgorod, Polotsk, Smolensk, and in the later Middle Ages, Moscow, which received

2. Thompson: *History of the Middle Ages*, 77.

4. Henton: *Economic History of Europe*, 81-82.

5. Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, 162.

the trade from the Volga River and the Caspian Sea. Besides the Scandinavian countries, the German cities, Poland, Bohemia, and Austria were also connected by the Dnieper route. One of the foreign merchants wrote about the building of boats during the winter on the upper Dnieper and described their assembling at Kiev in the spring for the voyage to Constantinople (6).

Another trade artery through Ukraine (or Rus, as the country was then known, with Kiev as its capital) went through the southern region along the Black Sea through the Crimean city of Kaffa, along the Sea of Azov to the Don River and thence directly eastward to the city of Itil, in the country of the Khozars at the mouth of the Volga River, and from there by caravan east to India and China. This city of Itil received the bulk of the trade from Persia and the countries of the Caucasus (7). Some trade entered Medieval Ukraine also by the land route from Constantinople through Bulgaria, the future Romania (city of Bistriz), and the Carpathian Mountain passes to the city of Peremyshl (spelled Przemysl by the Poles) on the Sian River. This city was on the main land route: Kiev-Krakow-Prague (8).

Besides Kiev and its immediate suburbs, several other cities developed in medieval Ukraine along the trade routes. At the mouth of the Dnieper and Dniester rivers were Akerman and Kherson; (9) higher up the Dniester grew the city of Halich, the old provincial capital of Galicia (called Halichina by its inhabitants). On the Kiev-Krakow route by land the cities of Lvov (Lviw) and Peremyshl became the chief cities in western Ukraine, especially the former when it became a provincial capital, the position it has held since the thirteenth century. This city became a cultural center in modern times. Peremyshl is one of the oldest cities in Ukraine. Nearly nine hundred years of struggle between the native population and Poland are connected with these cities, with Austria, Germany, and Russia being involved in more recent times.

Because of the hardship and hazards involved in medieval commerce and the rather primitive facilities, only less bulky goods, or goods that could be transported with less difficulty, were used in world trade. Thus

6. Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. IV, 292, 294.

7. The Jews played so important a part in the trade at Itil and were so influential that the ruling family accepted Judaism. Hence some of the Jewish historians assumed that the country of the Khozars was Jewish. Graetz; History of the Jews, Vol III, 216-21.

8. R. Baxter Blair; Map H5 of Medieval Commerce.

9. Kostomarov, op. cit., 167-8.

Asia exported spices, perfumery, jewelry, some dyes, silk, and beautifully designed cotton cloth coming from India. Asia Minor sent to the world market its famous textiles, dyes from Bagdad, glass, fruits, and Damascus swords. The Levantine cities likewise sold precious stones and wine. North Africa exported to Constantinople wax, alum, sugar, dates, and textiles. The interior of Africa supplied slaves, ivory, and gold dust. The European countries of the Middle Ages were progressing rapidly enough to produce numerous items for foreign trade besides what was left to supply domestic needs. Besides being the recipient of many imports, Greece had a few items of her own for sale, wine, olives, raisins, currants, and some manufactured goods. Italy was noted for its art ware, silk, olives, wine, glass, and cotton goods. Spain, thanks to its enterprising Arabic conquerors, had many things for other nations. Her agricultural products included fresh fruits, cork, cotton, silk, and wine; her manufactured goods were paper, silver, iron, mercury, and the famous Toledo swords (10). A special item was slaves. From Germany came wine, salt, silver, iron, and copper products. Hungary and Bohemia supplied iron, silver, and gold products, horses, and food. The Scandinavian states, Netherlands, and England sold dry fish, lead, iron, wool, copper products, furs, and naval stores. Ukraine sold grain, wool, skins, horses, honey, wax, hemp, some pottery, salt, wooden articles, and slaves (11). The city-state of Novgorod (the future Russia) sold naval stores, furs, wax, flax, hemp, and the human cargo, slaves. To this merchandise may be added many smaller items needed for household necessities in every country (12).

The Slav slaves were much in demand in Europe, Africa, and Asia because they were industrious, docile, and of a pleasant disposition. At times slaves must have been the chief commercial cargo, but a very large percentage perished in transit because of inhuman treatment and weather conditions (13). According to Benjamin Tudelsky, the Jews nicknamed the Slavic lands "Canaan" because their people "sold their sons and daughters". The Jews, however, played a very important part in the medieval international slave trade (14).

As previously hinted, the commercial trade routes of the Ukraine presented danger from attack. To protect their foreign commerce and to

10. Henton, *op. cit.*, 85, 145, 261-63.
11. Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, 200-09; 304.
12. Blair, *op. cit.*
13. Cambridge, *op. cit.*, Vol. 11, 429.
14. Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, 258.

increase it, the medieval Ukrainian kings had to wage many wars against Byzantium and the Mongols from the East. The most imminent danger was chiefly from the Asiatic tribes of the Polovtsi and the Pechenehs (Pechenegs) that roamed the territory between the lower Volga and the Dnieper region until they were eventually defeated and kept in check by the Kievan rulers. But during the unsafe period, mercenary troops were kept in Ukraine to protect trade. Several fortresses were built and garrisoned for that purpose until the tenth and eleventh centuries, when the Ukraine was able to subjugate, for a while, the Asiatic nomads (15). The Kievan rulers then extended their domain as far east as the Volga region, and during the war of conquest destroyed the city of Itil. To travel safely, the merchants themselves were often armed, and always traveled in large groups for self-protection. The Scandinavian merchants, in particular, occasionally mixed trade with piracy, and with some bands it was hard to tell at times where one occupation ended and the other began. By the end of the ninth century, the Scandinavians were so numerous in Kiev as merchants and mercenary troops that some of their chiefs gained control of the local government, just as other groups of their race were doing in different European countries at about the same time. Though the original settlers became Ukrainianized, others continued to come for over two hundred years (16). King Yaroslav employed them as mercenary troops in his campaign against Byzantium in 1043 (17).

Not only did Ukraine have many European and Asiatic merchants within her borders, but her own sons went to foreign markets. In the ninth century Khordadbeg reported that he saw them in Bagdad and also that the Byzantine emperor imposed a ten per cent tariff on the Rus merchants and their goods (18). The Jewish traveler Benjamin of the twelfth century saw them in Alexandria (19). In the early part of the thirteenth century they carried on some trade with the Seljuk Turks (20). They were, of course, found in the neighboring European countries, especially the Slavic lands. Of the foreign merchants in Ukraine, the large groups were Jewish, Scandinavian, Arab, Greek, and Armenian; there were smaller groups of Czechs, Bulgarians, Poles, and Germans.

15. Cambridge, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, 202; Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 220-21.

16. Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 220-22.

17. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 21.

18. Maver, *An Economic History of Russia*, Vol. I, 12.

19. Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 226.

20. Cambridge, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 216.

21. Heaton, *op. cit.*, 193-94.

By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Jews became so numerous in Ukraine that they deserve special consideration. Their merchants bought goods in Kiev in wholesale lots and distributed them among retailers of their race. They came to Europe in the early Middle Ages, often labeled as "Syrian" traders in slaves, and peddled wares, wine, and oil (21). They proved to be very enterprising people in business. Trade gave them a measure of prosperity which they further utilized to make money by loaning their profits at a high rate of interest (usury); for this practice they became universally despised. They also worked salt mines, collected taxes for kings and popes, and coined or minted money in Hungary (22). Though they were often expelled from various European countries, they thrived in Hungary and the Slavic countries and increased in numbers rapidly, especially in Poland and Ukraine. Medieval Novgorod and Muscovy, however, just like Russia under the tsars, had no time for them, and considered them a "mischievous race" that was not wanted there (23). The Ukrainian king Sviyatoslav employed Jewish tax collectors (24). Apparently as tax collectors, speculators, and slave-traders the Jews gained the enmity of the local population. This was apparent in connection with a mild uprising in Kiev in 1113, when the masses attacked the royal officials of the late Sviatopolk and the royal favorites, the Jews. This was the first forceful opposition shown the Jews in Ukrainian history (25).

Since the city of Kiev held such a prominent part in history, it may not be out of place to examine its medieval character. It became a city-state and eventually the capital of the entire country. Hrushevsky dates the beginning of this state of Kiev back to the eighth century; some foreign historians doubt this date but admit that he is close to the truth. The fact that in its war against Byzantium in 860 Ukraine is reported to have had 200 ships indicates that the state was not a new creation (26). Another successful attack by King Oleh in 907 brought the Ukraine a favorable commercial treaty (27). Just how rapidly the power of the Kiev princes was growing may be seen from still another war against Byzan-

22. Graetz, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 613.

23. Milman: *History of the Jews*, Vol. III, 398.

24. Rambaud: *History of Russia*, Vol. I, 104.

25. Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 107-8.

26. Cambridge, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, 203; Mirsky: *Russia, A Social History*, 31 ff.

27. Rambaud, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 67.

tium in 944, when Ihor's expedition, according to Greek accounts, had some 10,000 vessels (28).

King Yaroslav tried to make the city of Kiev prosperous and a rival of Constantinople. Living there were settlements of foreign representatives, merchants from most of the countries of Europe and from Asia Minor. It was a commercial and political, as well as a social and cultural center. The rural aristocracy lived there to be close to the military, political, and commercial groups; i.e., to enjoy "glamor" and luxury. Hrushevsky estimates the population of Kiev in 1002 to have been about 100,000 (30). Some of the descriptions by foreign travelers of Kiev sound like gross exaggeration; for example, Thietmar speaks of 400 churches (31). But those who doubt it find still another source, the Suzdal Chronicle, which reported that over 600 churches were destroyed in the Kiev fire of 1124 (32). The Catholic merchants not only had a Roman Catholic church (St. Mary's) there, but also a Dominican monastery. Even if the above accounts were only half true, it still seems as if Kiev was a city of churches, monasteries, and no doubt elementary schools. It is frequently assumed that the Tatar attack of 1240 completely destroyed it; yet five years later the Italian traveler Carpini met there merchants from the north Italian cities, Constantinople, France, Austria, and Poland. The very fact that it was possible to carry on such trade shows that the annihilation by the Tatars was not so complete (33).

After the Tatar conquest of Ukraine and the considerable destruction of the eastern cities, the western provinces, with the city of L'viv as the center, carried on foreign trade with a semblance of prosperity much longer. However, that region likewise suffered some destruction and depopulation as a result of local anarchy and the Tatar attacks, 1259-61. Its enterprising ruler, Prince Danilo (Daniel), and later his son Lev (after whom the city of Lvov was supposed to have been named), tried to encourage foreign trade by inviting Armenians, Greeks, and Germans to settle there (34). Several settlements were made in different cities and they have survived to the present time, into the regime of Stalin. The economic effect on industry and commerce was good. The Jews were there already

28. *Ibid.*, 68.

29. *Ibid.*, 85.

30. Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 272; Vol. II, 274; Allen: *The Ukraine, a History*, 28.

31. Rambaud, *op. cit.*, 85; Firenze: *A History of Europe*, 207-8.

32. Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 272.

33. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, 149.

34. Rambaud, *op. cit.*, 125.

and became, next to the Poles (after Poland conquered the country), the largest foreign element in L'viv and other cities. The Armenian groups were quite large in the following cities of Galicia: L'viv, Berezhany, Kut'y, Sniatyn, and Tysmenytzia; they have not been completely denationalized in nearly 600 years. Lev made L'viv his capital, built stronger fortifications, and added many improvements (35).

By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, some business and craft organizations arose in the Ukrainian cities. The records show that in Kiev and its suburbs the jewelers were organized into guilds; so also were the drivers, carpenters, and casket-makers. The credit system in business was practiced and if a debtor's property had to be sold to satisfy his creditors, the local prince took the first share of such sale and the foreign creditors ranked next. The free skilled workers received wages in Kiev as early as the eleventh century. The national law, the *Ruska Pravda*, had many provisions for the regulation of trade (36).

During the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, the population of Ukraine increased; no doubt it produced more goods for domestic use and the foreign market. At the same time the independence of the country was ended, first, because of local civil wars among the royal princes; and second, because of Tatar and Turkish attacks on the country from the south-east, Polish and Hungarian from the west, and Lithuanian from the north. During such frequent disturbed conditions not only foreign but also domestic trade suffered. After national independence was lost, local freedom was also curtailed and the national economy stagnated. The higher classes became denationalized. Meanwhile the trade routes had been shifting, since the Mediterranean became the chief artery. As a result of the Crusades in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the north Italian cities captured most of the Levantine trade and a goodly share from Constantinople. In addition to this loss, Constantinople itself suffered from various raids during the Crusades. Its economy, however, lingered along until the Turks captured the city in 1453.

35. Arkas: *History of Ukraine*, 139.

36. Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, 344-5.

DOES THE WORLD HEAR?

by Ivan Bahryany

The whole civilized world, painfully preoccupied with the peace problem, surely paid no attention to that laconic item of information, given out by the Associated Press Agency on May 12th. It is very short but its real importance is so great that it deserves the attention of the whole world, and especially of the world's powerful on whom depends the preservation of the rights of those peoples whose fate has not yet been definitely decided.

The United Press Agency gives the following information, dated May the 12th.

"Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia closed a common agreement directed against partisan groups of Ukrainian nationalists which are mainly operating in the South-East Poland.

"The agreement aims at a common struggle against those partisan groups." Seemingly nothing of importance. Except that the three countries closed an agreement, in reality a military coalition against partisan groups wherein one of the partners, maybe, is the world's greatest Great Country.

All this is openly presented to universal opinion as a struggle against "banditism". It means a Great Country will fight the "banditism" which is existing on Polish territory. Like that.

Nevertheless, there was never in history any example where three countries might commonly have closed a formal agreement and mobilized all their military forces for the sake of fighting "banditism". What would be thought if, let us say, the Greatest World Power would close an agreement with two other still greater Powers in order to fight the vagabonds and bandits of Odesa?

Therefore it is clear that this agreement has nothing to do with the fighting of "banditism". It is a fight against Ukrainian partisans. So it is also said. So it is also to be understood. But this is already a notion of some political and ideological importance, for it implies that the

Ukrainian partisans are so powerful numerically and ideologically that the combatting of them requires a coalition of three countries.

Who is the initiator of this agreement, who conceived its text, for whom of the three partners is this agreement of the most importance and why does this coalition not include the Ukrainian state, which has been so broadly proclaimed as a (formally) independent unit of the U.S.S.R.? We do not know.

But it is known that Poland and Czechoslovakia form part of the sphere of influence of a Great Power which is dictating their internal and foreign policy, and not the contrary. It is also known that this Great Power has been struggling against the Ukrainian national partisans, both armed and ideological, for more than 25 years and considers this problem as one of the greatest problems of its internal policy — the unresolved Ukrainian national problem. It is the problem of the national independence and sovereignty of a nation of forty million people. This is the problem which contributes to East-European complications. This is also the problem which called forth the agreement in question, since it is formally based on the struggle against "partisan groups of Ukrainian nationalists". The scene director always knows what he does.

While trying to solve its most complicated internal problem (the Ukrainian problem) for many years, the communist government of the Great Power has adopted the tactics of profaning and stigmatizing all manifestations of the Ukrainian national will, aspirations to freedom and independence, and any anti-Bolshevist and anti-imperialistic resistance by suppressing them with the most serious and extreme measures.

All that has been and is anti-communistic, anti-imperialistic, has been and is considered as "nationalistic" and for 25 years has been branded with epithets like "Fascist", "reactionary capitalism", "Capitalist agency" and so on, and so on—in general—as "bourgeois nationalism". With these phrases they have grouped together even commissars and representatives of numberless political opinions which agree only in one particular—the idea of Ukrainian independence and national sovereignty.

Is this idea only a dream of the discontented? No! Sovereignty and independence are the culmination of the historical process which marks the development of the East European nations. The totalitarian attempts to check this development are only a black reaction.

In the practice of Soviet political definitions there have been and now are only two classes into which everything is officially grouped—

communist (positive) and "bourgeois nationalism" (negative). All that rests on the principles of the official communism—is thrown into the same pit. This is at long last well known to the world.

Even now, perhaps especially now, when this agreement has been conceived by the three countries, it is leading in the Ukraine to the decimation of the population by the "purifications of the party", the "purifications of the administrative personnel", the "purifications of collective farms from nationalistic elements of the whole nation and all its classes", according to the statements of the world press. The Great Power is formally not making any military treaties with other states despite its actual efforts to include them in its communistic machine.

Therefore this agreement must be judged for its concrete essence in the light of the whole former history of struggles against the Ukrainian nationalist and anti-communist movement. It is then clear by whom the agreement was conceived and for whom it has the greatest importance. That is why the world must take an interest in it. Is the situation really such as it is officially announced? But according to the information from other sources (Dena-Reuter Agency), in the rows of these national Ukrainian partisans are representatives of other nationalities and "members" of Yugoslav and Hungarian "organizations."

How are we to understand this? We can interpret it in many ways. But there can be only one unprejudiced interpretation. It certainly has nothing to do with "banditism".

These partisans have of course some great progressive ideal. When Lord Byron died for the freedom of Greece, when the great Stendhal supported the movement of the Italian Carbonari, when the Russian Dekabrist Ryleyeff passed as poet and man to the side of the dishonored and profaned Ukrainian national heroes—they did it in the name of justice and out of a great compassion for the enslaved. They did it in the name of freedom.

Like every progressive human ideal, the ideal of these Ukrainian partisans must have as a matter of fact a great magnetic power when even foreigners are sacrificing their lives for it. It is of course the ideal of a subjugated nation of many millions of people and if foreigners are dying for it, they are maintaining the traditions of the best men of universal history.

At any rate, considering the fact that in this movement, against which the agreement of three countries is directed, headed by a Great Power,

representatives of a series of European nations are involved, this fact must deserve the attention of universal opinion and not only that of the treaty-partners. This treaty is only a detail of the total war which is being carried on against the eternal Ukrainian popular democratic movement in general—and the partisan movement in Poland figures only as a pretext for mobilizing all the powers.

The world must in the name of peace and justice, in the name of the most holy democratic principles, help that coalition of three countries radically to solve this complicated problem, once and for all. In other words—it must solve the Ukrainian problem by giving that whole nation of many millions of people the opportunity to say its word too. The favorable solution of the problem of independence of the Ukrainian people certainly will at once end such an emergency as an armed partisan movement and it will not be necessary to conclude treaties in order to fight it down and disturb the world's peace by the noise of airplanes and tanks called to settle the "domestic" matters of three countries.

No treaty of the three countries will be able to solve this problem for it demands another solution, not that of bleeding behind curtains, not that of machine gunning the discontented, and not by cramming prisons and concentration camps with the relatives and children of Ukrainian partisans and those who share their opinions, but a more human and radical solution, that of making use of those principles which are to-day open to the entire civilized world and of bringing the matter before such an institution as the U.N. Security Council.

For it is clear in the light of this treaty: that the Ukrainian problem is no longer the problem of Poland, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, but that of the larger world and especially of those Great Nations which have laid the foundation for democracy and have taken upon themselves the safeguarding of peace and justice.

SONS

by **Vasyl Stefanyk**

(Translated by *C. H. Andrusyshen*)

With horses which were both good and young old Maksim was harrowing his field sown with spring wheat. The harrow flew on the surface of the earth like a feather. His shirt unbuttoned and slipped down from his shoulders. A cloud of dust from under the harrow covered the thick grey hair on his head and chest. He was shouting and raging, and the people in the neighboring fields said:

"The old dog is always cross, but he still can hold the young horses firmly enough. He is a hardy fellow, well nourished in his youth, but he lost both his sons, and ever since he always shouts no matter where he is, out in the field or in the village."

Maksim reined in his horses.

"The old bones are like old reeds: good to feed the fire, but useless to run after the horses. If the legs are unsteady when one works with the horses, and if they give way in a dance, such legs are just good for nothing. Stick close to the stove, old man, and try to keep warm. Your time has come."

He shook his grey head under the black manes of the horses and continued shouting: "I can still get up on the stove bench, but the stove is cold and chipped. The images on the walls have become black with age, and the saints look down on an empty house like hungry hounds. All her life the old woman used to tuck flowers around them and to gild the doves in front of them so that the saints would be kind, so that the house would be bright, so that the children would grow. But although they are numerous, they are worthless, those holy ones. The sons are gone, and the old woman I raked into the ground, so you, gods, will have to excuse me for the flowers — you should have cared better.. Come now, Starbrow," he called to one of the horses, "let's tackle the earth as long as God has given us time."

And they walked from one end of the field to the other, while the har-

row bit into the earth, growled, and scratched it in order to make a soft bed for the grain.

"You are no horse at all, Bosak; you are a hound. You have worn out my shoulders completely, marked them stripe upon stripe, bitten at them without mercy. Don't tug me so hard, at least you; because life has given me so many hard tugs that I can hardly stand on my feet. I spill oats for you before daybreak, before I myself have eaten; I comb you; I sprinkle you with my old tears, and you bite me. Starbrow is much more human than you: he follows me with his dark eyes; he pities me; with his mane he wipes the old man's tears; while you are ugly and wicked, and have no heart. Only recently you tore a whole tuft of hair off my head and let it fall under your feet in the manure. You shouldn't do it, because even if you are a fine horse, you are wicked all the same. I haven't the heart to sell you to a Jew, but if St. George ever came to me, I swear to God I would give you to him so that he would take you out with him to crush the dragons. You are not fit to work on the land because there is no peace in you."

He wet his fingers with spit, washed with it the wound on his shoulder and powdered it with dust.

"On horses, on with you. . ."

The harrow was making less noise, the earth was giving in and crumbling apart. Maksim's feet felt a softness under them, such a softness as rarely visits the heart of a muzhik. It is the earth that gives him that softness, and for that reason he loves it so much. And as he sprinkled the handfuls of grain, he said: "A soft cradle I have prepared for you, grow up to the sky."

Maksim was becoming calmer. He no longer shouted, and suddenly stopped his horses.

"Why the devil do you ache, you old crutch, why do you crunch in every joint, you crooked rod?"

He looked behind him, and along the harrow he saw a long streak of red blood. He sat down.

"I stepped on a piece of glass, dammit! Now get on with your harrowing, because you'll not leave this field unfinished unless you break apart into bits. And you, wretched field, will have very small profit from this old blood, because old blood is like old manure — it doesn't help anything to grow: it's a loss to me, and no gain to you."

Limping, he unharnessed his horses, led them to a wagon and put some hay on it.

"Listen, sun, don't frown on the old man for making it noon in advance; the old man cannot walk . . ."

Out of his bag he took the bread, bacon and a bottle. He washed the wound with brandy, and then tore off a piece of his sleeve, wrapped up his foot, and tied it with a sack rope.

"Now hurt or stop, or do as you wish, I don't care; but you will have to go on harrowing no matter what happens."

He swallowed some brandy, took the bread, and the more he bit and chewed it, the angrier he became. And he shouted: "Is this bread? It is fit only for combing a Jew's horse, because it would tear the skin off a good one. They come to me in swarms, those filthy ones: — Grandpa, they say, we're going to cook and wash for you; just sign your land over to us— Those ragged sluts think that I've kept on tending this land just for them? When I die, let flowers grow on my field, and let them with their tiny heads say the Lord's prayer for the repose of the old man's soul."

He angrily hurled his bread far out on the ploughed field.

"Even teeth shudder at the touch of this cotton cake. Let's drink, Maksim, let's drink some brandy: it goes down more smoothly. . ."

"Keep quiet there, don't yelp over my head. Who do you think you're singing to, anyway? To this tattered and decrepit old man? Fly away, up to the very heaven, and tell your God not to send me a silly bird with its song, because if He is so powerful, let Him send me my sons for it is by His will that I was left all alone in this wide world. I don't want your God to amuse me with songs, get out of here!"

And he cast a lump of earth after the lark, but the lark began to sing even more loudly over his head and did not want to fly to God.

"Listen, birdie, you don't understand anything, nothing at all. When my little Ivan used to chase you in order to catch you; when he used to search for your nest along the boundaries of the fields, and when he played on his flute as he did so, then you, birdie, were wise to sing. It was proper then. Your song and the sound of Ivan's flute flowed down below, and above you there was the sun, and you all showered the voice of God over me and over the sparkling plows, and over the entire happy world. And through the sun, as through a golden sieve, God showered us with brightness, and the entire earth and all the people sparkled with

gold. So did the sun knead the spring on the earth as in an immense bucket.

"And from that bucket we took our plaited bread, and those loaves stood in front of the musicians, while the young courted, loved amid the flowers and went to get married; while the spring rolled on like the sea, like a flood. It was then, birdie, that your song flowed into my heart like tingling cold water into a new pitcher. . .

"Go away, birdie, go to those lands where the plaited loaves have not been taken away, and where the children have not yet been butchered."

With both his hands he seized his grey head and bowed it to the ground.

"Shame on you, grey head, shame on you for speaking and intoning like a tearful old woman, because nothing on earth will help you now . . .

"Ah, my sons, my sons, where have you laid your heads? Not only my entire land, but my very soul I would sell so that I might with my bloody feet reach the graves in which you are laid. Lord, the golden books in churches lie when they say you had a son. They lie. They say you raise yours from the dead. But I don't say to you: bring them back to life; all I say is:— show me their graves that I may lie beside them. You see the entire world, and over my graves you have become blind . .

"Let this blue cupola of yours crack up like my heart . . .

"Come, come, any of you, come to the old man. Have you not embraced my sons in white beds? Why, they were like burly oaks . . . Come and bring a bastard in your arms, don't be bashful, come. The old man will spread carpets under your feet, and will cut up the finest, the thinnest cloth for the bastard's diapers. Because you are out of wedlock and weep on account of the scorn heaped upon you."

And the old man raised both his hands heavenward and called to the entire world:

"Come, daughter-in-law, come to father, we don't need a priest."

He burst out into loud weeping, lay down on the earth and with it, as with a handkerchief, wiped away his tears. His face was black, and he continued to plead:

"Or come alone, sweetheart, without the child, and let me see his arms on your neck, and on your lips let me see crimsoning his lips, and from your eyes, as from a profound well, I'll seize his eyes and will hide them in my heart as in a case. Like a dog, I'll sniff out his hair on the palms of your hands . . . Sweetheart, come and save the old man.

"You are still alive, but they are not, neither of them. So find your way to me and bring news about them. Spill cold dew on my grey head, because each of its hairs burns me like glowing fire. My head is all aflame from that heat."

And he tore tufts of grey hair off his head and threw it to the ground.

"Grey hair, burn the earth, because you are too heavy for me to carry around."

Completely exhausted, he laid himself on the ground and so remained for a long time, and then began to say in a gentle voice:

"It was Andriy who came to see me the last time: he was the educated one in my family. — Father, says he, now we are going to fight for Ukraine. — What kind of Ukraine are you talking about? — With his sword he raised a lump of earth and said: This is Ukraine, and here — he directed the sword's point to his chest — here is her blood; we are going to take our land away from the enemy. Give me, says he, a white shirt, give me fresh water to wash myself, and farewell.— When that sword of his flashed, it dazzled me.— Son, I say, I still have a younger one than yourself. Take Ivan also for this duty; he is strong. And I shall bury both of you in our native soil, so that the enemy will not be able to tear you away from your roots and transplant them into his earth. — Very well, father, says he, we shall go, both of us. — And when the old woman heard this, I immediately saw that death had wrapped itself around her like a white sheet. I drew back to the threshold, because I heard her eyes drop out of their sockets and roll down on the ground like dead stones. So it seemed to me; but it was most certain that the light on her forehead had flickered out . . .

"And early next morning, when they were leaving the house, the old woman leaned against the gate and did not say anything, but only looked from such a distance it seemed as if it were from heaven. And when I dropped them off by the station, I said: Andriy, Ivan, don't look back, but always remember me, because I am all alone now: your mother has died by the gate . . ."

Until evening Maksim led his horses up and down the field, but he no longer shouted; he was absolutely silent. The children who drove the sheep, the people whose plows clanged as they passed him were so afraid of him that they did not even dare greet him. Smearred all over with mud and filth, tattered and crippled, he seemed to be sinking into the ground.

Late in the evening, after Maksim had attended to the cows and horses and milked the sheep, he entered the cottage.

"You have become completely silent, poor wretch, dead silent, as if someone had stuck a knife into you, and not a single word are you able to say . . . But I'll stir up some fire in you yet."

He boiled his cornmeal, put a white shirt, and had his supper without uttering a word. Then he knelt down on the ground and prayed:

"And you, Mother of God, be my housewife; you with your son in the middle, and Andriy and Ivan on both sides of you . . . You have given only one son, I have given two."

BOOK REVIEWS

"Forced Labor in Soviet Russia," by David J. Dallin and Boris I. Nicolaevsky, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1947, \$31 pp.

Magadan! Solovetski! and countless other unforgettable names of Soviet concentration camps ring adroitly in one's ears as the gruesome, beastly, inhuman and totally incredible conditions prevailing in these horror pits are recalled. The authors of this systematically-prepared volume render the American reading public an invaluable service by presenting cogently and in a highly readable form the fairly representative testimonies of former Soviet camp inmates and the evolution, both in theory and practice, of the Soviet prison system. To be sure, numerous other works on this vital subject have appeared in the past, but none compares in comprehensiveness, intelligibility and objectivity with this particular volume.

Some of the many salient facts disclosed in this work are worth mentioning here to indicate at least several of the indispensable points of information satisfied by the publication of this book. The authors state quite frankly that there are no precise figures on the number of prisoners in the Soviet labor camps in view of the existence of iron curtains within the U.S.S.R. which, characterized in part by the purposeful absence of statistics on the rate of public mortality, preclude even the possibility of sound statistical deduction. Yet despite this and regardless of the actual amount of such prisoners, there is more than sufficient factual evidence to prove the bleak existence of this barbarous network and the "several millions" rotting away within the confines of this hideous, diabolical contrivance. This in itself is a mortal indictment against any government, regardless of its lying pretensions, and should be widely popularized among Americans to advance their understanding of the political gangsters with whom unfortunately they have to deal.

The composition of labor prisoners is made up in the main of what are called "political offenders." According to Professor Ernst Tallgren, himself a former prisoner in one of these camps from 1940-42, this vast

majority is further subdivided into (1) peasants suspected of individualist tendencies, the most numerous of whom are **Ukrainian farmers** and constitute the bulk of the work brigades, (2) those who have been or have families abroad, notably **Jews**, and (3) those condemned for their religious beliefs, particularly Catholics and members of the **Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church**. In the light of this, is it little wonder that, as Professor Tallgren notes, there reigns a deep hatred among the prisoners of other nationalities toward the Russians, for they in part legitimately identify Russianism and the Communist regime.

Cut out especially for many of our so-called American "liberals", such as Mr. Wallace and other dabblers in inveterate naivete, are the experienced testimonies of Drs. Julius Margolin and Altberg, both former Polish inmates of the Soviet camps. The former, Zionist leader and before the war, like many of our untutored "liberals," a believer in the "progressive" character of the Soviet state, "objective" toward its momentous "experiment," has this to say: "The Soviet camps have swallowed more people, have exacted more victims, than all other camps — **Hitler's** and others — . . . An entire generation of Zionists has died in Soviet prisons, camps, and exile." The latter, also a Jew, declares: "We did wrong in ever opposing Hitler. Poland should never have fought. Nothing could have been worse than our plight here." These remarkable testimonies, uttered by persons who experienced the blessings of the communist state, speak for themselves. Yes, Hitler was a fascist: more certainly this Soviet gang is ultra-fascist.

Lenin once proclaimed, "Three-quarters of mankind may die, provided the remaining one-quarter become Communists." The satanic spirit of this fanatical utterance is well demonstrated by the administration of forced labor in Uncle Stalin's Slavery Row. The cynical expression, "Human lives are cheap," sums up the formula guiding this administration. The large state projects are in the main undertaken by the use of forced labor. In many cases, condemnation to forced labor, because of climatic, administrative and other conditions, means condemnation to death. The advantages of cheapness, small required capital and mobility accruing from forced labor are obvious. Not so obvious is the matter of productivity. Will the inmates work under such conditions of slavery? The key to this question the Soviets have found in the introduction of differentials in rations. Shirk work and you will receive rations below the minimum required for subsistence. The ensuing clash between the will to live in

the individual person and the inadequate material requisite for such continued life determines the outcome of behavior, normally in favor of the former. Despite this enforced willingness to work, the productivity of a forced laborer is naturally below that of an average "free" one.

The growth of cities, especially in Siberia, on the basis of this barbaric institution, the economic inanities committed by the wanton sacrifice of countless human lives in gold-mining Magadan and elsewhere, the whole morbid evolution of this monstrous agency of the M. V. D., from its early utopian origin in the 20's to its present horror-filled existence, and the chronic prevarications of a despotic regime are well portrayed by the authors.

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"The Culture of Kiev Rus", by the Academician B. D. Grekov. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1947

This is a brief outline by the Russian scholar, B. D. Grekov, of the cultural history of Kiev Rus.

The book is divided into six chapters which concern themselves mainly with the following topics: The center of that culture, the extent of civilization in the Dnieper region from the sixth to the eighth centuries, the development of the heathen concepts, the Christianization of Rus and its struggle to preserve its national culture, the veneration of the population for its history, the influences which contributed to the growth of Kiev Rus and the death blow dealt to its progress by the Mongols.

On glancing over these topics, it will be readily apparent that the author did not exhaust all the possibilities implied in the title of his book, "The Culture of Kiev Rus". Many valuable portions of that rich heritage are not even mentioned.

However, the author fully covers the topics he has chosen for discussion with a skilled grasp of the new material brought to light by historical, archeological and anthropological research in recent years.

It discloses to the reader the high state of culture already in existence in the Kievan ancient Rus, at the very beginning of Ukrainian history.

We learn that the culture of Kiev is a continuation of the culture of those early settlers who colonized Ukraine in pre-historic times and who

were then called the Antae. We learn also of the great influence which Greek and Roman culture had upon the life of these early peoples.

A high state of culture was manifested there before the official entry of Christianity. The early settlers ruled themselves by a democratic system of government.

Before the advent of formal Christianity they had a written language and possessed skill in erecting stone edifices of high artistic value.

The heathen nature-worshipping religion of the Antae's blended itself with the new Christianity and out of it evolved a new national culture, the culture of Kiev Rus.

The author depicts a zealously patriotic spirit among the populace of the Kievan kingdom. This inference we also find in the masterfully executed "Chronicles of Ancient Years" by the monk, Nestor.

B. D. Grekov concludes his work with an analysis of the elements which contributed to the growth and debacle of the one-time powerful, united Rus nation. It easily fell victim to the onslaughts of the Mongols upon Europe in the first half of the thirteenth century.

B. D. Grekov's book, "Culture of Kiev Rus" is easy, interesting reading and the numerous illustrations help to make the text more understandable. From this point of view the author has fulfilled the purpose which he set out to accomplish.

On the other hand, a stranger, unfamiliar with the subject, who reads this book, would hardly be in a position to determine about what nation the author is writing.

The events mentioned in the book took place in Ukraine, but according to the author, it all happened in Russia. For one hundred forty-four pages of the book, the author discusses Ukrainian culture, yet the word Ukrainian does not appear in it. It is a well-known fact that the name "Rus" is an old term used to designate ancient Ukraine and is therefore synonymous with the name Ukraine, and Ukraine ONLY. Ancient Moscow, or present-day Russia was not called "Rus" in that period as the numerous references prove this in "The Chronicles of Ancient Years". The author himself reiterates that the people of Kiev were called "Rusins" (Pg. 57). That is why it is difficult to comprehend why the author persists in calling the country of Kiev-Rus and present-day Ukraine, Russia. And claiming that its culture was not Ukrainian but Russian.

From this standpoint also the author of the book has achieved a master-piece.

Conveniently employing alternately as synonyms the terms Russia and Russian, both today names of Moscovy and Moscovites, as well as the terms, "Rus" and "Rusin", both the old names of Ukraine and Ukrainian, the author has annexed the whole ancient Rus-Ukrainian culture for the benefit of Moscovy, now known as Russia.

According to the author, Russia proper consists of not only "the estuary of the Dnieper" but includes also the Western Ukrainian provinces of Halich and Wolyn, now the provinces of Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic.

The author has likewise appropriated as Russian all the ^{ancient} Ukrainian literature including the "Tale of Ihor's Campaign" (which occurred and was created in Ukraine). The "Chronicles of Ancient Years", written in the Ukrainian Hermitage monasteries of Kiev by the monk Nestor is, in the opinion of the author, the property of Russian culture. So, too, the cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev with its famous frescos and mosaics has become a sample of Russian architecture. In other words, the whole of Ukraine's ancient history and culture has been incorporated into the history and culture of the Russian nation.

To the author, B. D. Grekov, it seems to be of little importance that all this ancient Ukrainian culture is markedly different in character from the Russian or Moscovite culture.

Where, for instance, in Russian literature can we find such a poet as Mytusa who flaunts his individual independence by refusing to serve king, Danilo, without endangering his freedom? When among the Russians was there ever a democratic form of government? Where among Russians are to be found unique embroideries such as the Ukrainians possess along with Christmas carols and a complete Christmas ritual? Where in Russian culture is there evidence of a Western influence which played such an important role in helping Ukraine to create a distinct culture of her own, from the beginning of its earliest history to this day? Where among the Russians was there a sympathetic reception given to Western Christianity which was fully in evidence in Ukraine in the Hermitage monasteries shortly after the schism with the Byzantine patriarch Michael Kerularios (1054).

If the author would set aside the great Russian cultural imperialistic aspirations and substitute in those places where hundreds of times he repeats, Russia and Russian, the words Ukraine and Ukrainian, then the book would be a brilliant sketch of ancient Rus-Ukrainian culture. Lack-

ing this, it is merely a piece of cleverly written propaganda instead of an impartial presentation of the history of a nation's culture.

N. Chubaty

**"Refugees Are People", by Walter Dushnyck and William Gibbons, S.J.
America Press Publications, New York, 1947**

The plight of a million refugees from Eastern and Central Europe is a living demonstration of the failure of the democratic countries to have achieved even one percent of the ideological aims for which the war was fought.

From the very outset the behavior of the authorities of the occupational forces towards the refugees and particularly the injudicious actions of UNRRA will forever remain a blot on our civilization.

A great deal is said and even more written today concerning the refugee problem. Nonetheless, this has not yet been so protested that it is perfectly understandable to the general public and, therefore, more work is necessary to bring to light all the issues involved.

Because of the complexity of this problem today, it is necessary to secure a suitable guide. The most reliable to be found so far is the book "Refugees Are People" by Walter Dushnyck and Rev. W. J. Gibbons, S.J. It contains all the information necessary to make the American citizen well-informed about the unfortunate plight of a million persons displaced from their homeland by the war.

In its six chapters it touches upon all the most pressing problems of the D. P's. For instance, it lists the number and various nationalities of the D. P's. and includes a discussion of the most important problem of all, that of emigration.

The authors of the book, Walter Dushnyck and Father Gibbons, prove themselves to be well-oriented in their subject and therefore qualified to treat this perplexing problem authoritatively.

This book should be read by everyone who wishes to add to his understanding of the fundamental causes which interfere with the effectuation of a coalition between the Western democracies and Soviet Russia.
