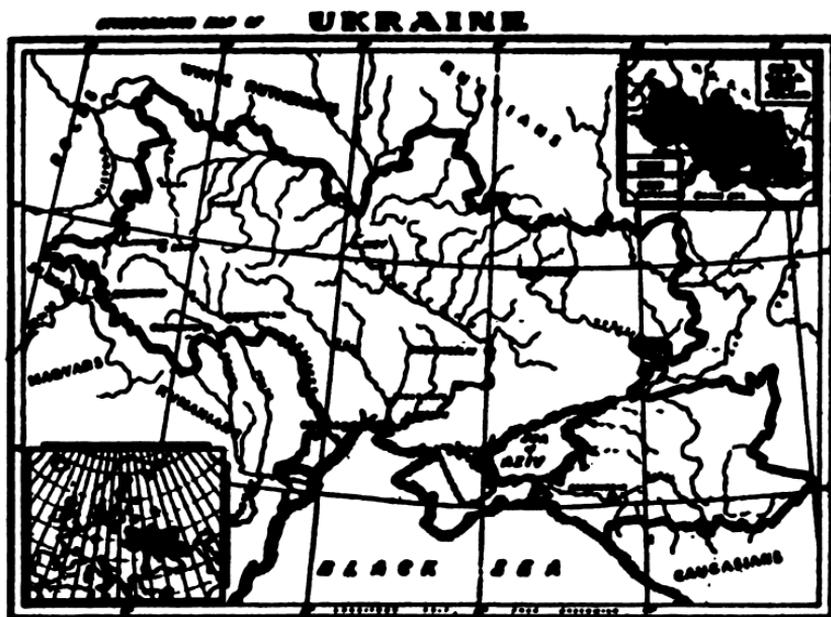


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# THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY

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## CONTENTS

Faith in Eternal Russia, <i>Editorial</i> .....	197-202
The Soviet Interpretation of Ukrainian Literature, <i>C. A. Manning</i> .....	203-210
Is the Kremlin Invincible? <i>Nicholas Prychodko</i> .....	211-215
Genocide, <i>Ulas Samchuk</i> .....	216-218
The Agrarian Policy of the USSR, <i>Gregory Makhiv</i> .....	219-232
A Ukrainian Sculptor Comes West, <i>Sviatoslav Hordynsky</i> .....	233-236
The Republic of Azerbaijan, <i>Emin Rezul-Zade</i> .....	237-241
The Contemporary Ukrainian Farming Community, <i>E. Prirva</i> .....	242-245
Ukrainian Scholarship and Scholars in Exile, <i>Wasył Lew</i> .....	246-251
Ten Days of Ukrainian Art in Moscow, <i>S. H.</i> .....	252-255
A Great Byzantine-Slav Cathedral, <i>V. J. Kaye-Kisilevsky</i> .....	256-258
Tensions Within the Soviet Union, <i>Lev. E. Dobriansky</i> .....	259-266

### DOCUMENTS OF OUR TIME

The Ukrainian Free University and Harvard University Refugee Project .....	267-268
The Scottish League of European Freedom .....	269-273

### BOOK REVIEWS:

Albert Mousset: The World of the Slavs, <i>S. Hordynsky</i> .....	274-275
Michael Alpatow: Russian Impact on Art, <i>S. H.</i> .....	275
Julian Towster: Political Power in the USSR 1917—1947 <i>Wasył Halich</i> .....	275-276
The Journals of the Marquis de Custine, <i>C. A. M.</i> .....	277-278
A. Rossi: The Russo-German Alliance, <i>J. Fedynskyj</i> .....	279-280
Adolf Wilhelm Ziegler: Der Slavenapostel Methodius im Schwabenlande, <i>N. Chubaty</i> .....	280-281
Edmund A. Walsh: Total Empire, the Roots and Progress of World Communism, <i>Lev E. Dobriansky</i> .....	282-283

UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS .....	284-288
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PICTURE ON THE COVER: The Mower,  
by *Mykhaylo Cheresnyovsky*, Marble.

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## FAITH IN ETERNAL RUSSIA

### *Editorial*

A year ago there appeared in Holland a book in Russian with the title in three languages, Russian, English and French: *Moskva Dalekaya—Moscow, the Wide—Moscou, La Lointaine*. Its jacket was adorned with a portrait of President and Mrs. Truman in a jovial mood with the sub-title *Russia—the Golden Book*. The work contains also portraits of Nicholas II and the Tsaritsa, of Lenin and Stalin at various ages, together with illustrations from the times of the glory of the imperial tsarist Russia as the visit of President Poincare of France to Petersburg in 1916 and the coronation of the last Tsar and Tsaritsa.

The book is written in wretched Russian verse and is an extremely venomous satire against the leaders of Russian emigration in New York, especially those, who, since the volume appeared, have united in the "Council of Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" under the protection and with the assistance of the funds of the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia". The author condemns them for the destruction of the old imperialist tsarist government and lays to their indirect activity the murder of the imperial family and the planning of the Western intervention in Russia under the leadership of America.

The author, a certain Al. P. Bourow, especially censures them for losing an understanding of the historical significance of Eternal Russia, for they do not hear that voice with which Moscow speaks to every Muscovite. Its refrain: "Hush! Moscow is speaking..." expresses the ideology of this strange book. What does Moscow say in a quiet whisper to the soul of every Muscovite?

It speaks of the predestination of Moscow to be the leader of the entire World. This mission was first grasped by Tsar Ivan the Terrible; Peter I incorporated it into his program, his Testament for Russia, but the realization of that program will come only to the red Russia of Stalin at the end of this century. In twenty years, according to Bourow, Stalin will die and his son Vassily will begin a new imperial dynasty which will fulfil its historical role of collecting around Moscow the whole Europe and Asia; India, Iran and the Asiatic peoples will become the servants of Moscow.

The Orthodox tsars could have carried out this Testament perhaps more easily but the democratic intelligentsia such as Milyukov, Kerensky, etc., started the revolution; they could not master the storm that they called into being and the imperial family fell victims. Fortunately Russia acquired new autocrats, Lenin and Stalin, who picked up again the Testament of Peter I. They carried through brilliantly industrialization, they made Russia stronger than ever before. They prepared for new Russia "Immortal Stalingrad." The Bolsheviks could do all this, for they understood the quiet voice of Moscow and its historical mission for the whole of humanity. That voice was never hearkened to by the Russian democrats now gathered in New York and Paris and they still do not understand it. They still dream of the introduction of democracy into Russia, a thorough absurdity, for the Russian people are incapable of it. They are a people who are both "bandits" and "God-seeking". Even angels could not rule them without the lash and the Chrezvichayka.

The Russians fettered by the Mongols in 1240 in iron bonds made Moscow. The most highly regarded founders of the Russian Empire as Ivan the Terrible ruled with the aid of the oprichniks. Peter I himself cut off the heads of his riflemen on the Red Square in Moscow. Stalin has made Russia strong only by the same means, the aid of the NKVD. The concentration camps of death are, in the opinion of the author, necessary for without them Moscow would not be as strong as now. He is convinced that the Social Revolutionists could have cemented their power, had they created a Social Revolutionist NKVD. In time the Russian people can grow up to freedom and serve without a lash but it can only be, when Russia carries out the Testament of Peter I.

These fundamental hypotheses of the Russian national historiosophist Bourow are undeniably correct. It is the actual unfalsified voice of Moscow which not all Russians hear or to which they adapt themselves. It is natural that here there is no question of the rights of the peoples of the Russian Empire, and the author expressly rejects every possibility of an independent Ukraine.

As you read this book, you must wonder what the author is. Is he a philosopher of the Eternal imperialistic Russia or a maniac? Is he a monarchist or a Stalinist, an atheist Communist or an Orthodox Muscovite? He is all of these, for he is a Russian imperialist and a fanatical believer in the faith in Eternal Russia and its destiny to take under its protection at least the entire Old World. This faith has never been expressed more clearly than by Bourow, however, in the majority of Russians there lies hidden in the depth of their souls, consciously or un-

consciously, the faith that the Russian Empire apart from the progress of humanity and the dissolution of all other Empires will remain unshattered, for it is the exception amid all the currents of modern history.

The author does have the firm reality that America exists across the seas with its industry stronger than the Russian and with its hydrogen bomb, which can turn Moscow into a heap of rubble. The author fears this and has but one solution—the conclusion of the “peace of Stalin” on the Red Square in Moscow. He visualizes the visit of President Truman, his agreement with the rule of Stalin over the Old World, the kissing of the two men and then the appearance of the eternal Pax Moscovitia. Then for the first time can Stalin proclaim the freedom of Russia.

The faith in Eternal Russia, during the era of the Bolsheviks, when the Testament of Peter I has been carried out at a steadily increasing tempo, has become even more fanatical and more aggressive than ever militant Islam was, for Moscow will be not only the Eternal Third Rome when the First has been destroyed after the Bolshevik conquest of Europe; it is to be the creator of a new civilization, the model and the master of all the peoples of the world.

This faith in Eternal Moscow the red Russians are preaching with fire and sword through a third part of the world; the non-Muscovite churches under the control of the Kremlin can bear testimony to the methods employed. This faith in Eternal Moscow the red Russians are imposing by propaganda and their party discipline on all the Communists in the world and woe to heretics like Tito who do not acknowledge it.

This same faith in Eternal Russia the non-Communist Russians are imposing upon the entire world by their propaganda of the ultimate necessity for the good of humanity that the Russian Empire must be preserved inviolate and unshattered. It must ever remain as a prison of nations numbering more than one hundred millions, even though all other peoples in the world were freed and all other empires definitely crushed. Although it is impossible to imagine a truly free world united by pan-human ideas in one world-wide organization without the shattering of the domination of one people over another, yet the Russian Empire, in spite of its fanaticism, its intolerance, its denial of the dignity of the individual, must be preserved and he who does not realize this, does not hear the voice of Moscow.

Superstitious faith does not require logic for even the most absurd faiths can spread among intelligent people who are seeking in this materialistic world for some element of mysticism, even if it is the voice

of Moscow, the capital of a nation of "bandits and God-seekers", as Bourrow says.

Faith in Eternal Russia has been widely spread among American intellectuals ever since the recognition of red Russia by America. This faith has killed in many young educated Americans a sense of their obligations of loyalty and love to their American fatherland. It has destroyed their sense of honor and made them traitors to free America to aid the Moscow red tyranny.

Faith in Eternal Russia has taken away from many Americans logic and self-criticism. It has made these "progressives and liberals" applaud the bloody political system of red Russia, the shooting of innocent people without a trial, the concentration camps of death, the separation of families, the persecution of religion and finally the annihilation of nations and their cultures.

The most extravagant praises of Eternal Russia as a land of happy people and the model for the entire world have been uttered in America from the lips of thousands of believers at the very time when entire villages were perishing of hunger in Ukraine, a hunger artificially induced by the "progressive" Russian government and cannibalism was spreading in Ukraine (1932-33). More than five million dead Ukrainians will forever remain as an eternal black mark on the consciences of the believers in the faith of Eternal Russia in the world, especially the journalists and diplomats, for they concealed the crimes of the Moscow governmental criminals because of their loyalty to the Moscow government which was in part their own.

The years of World War II and of the alliance between America and the Soviets offered a fertile field for the spreading of faith in Eternal Moscow. Heretics, who had the decent daring to oppose the fabricated ideas of the public as to the historical mission of Eternal Russia were branded as fascist, Nazis, and reactionaries of every kind.

"The American Orthodox Church of Infallibility of Eternal-Moscow" organized a planned campaign against the most freedom-loving and democratic people, the Ukrainian people, the implacable foe of Moscow tyranny and the revealer to the world of the real face of Eternal Moscow. The traitors to America and the willing servants of the tyrannical Kremlin were held up as the finest examples of Americanism, and true American patriots (of Ukrainian origin) were labelled enemies of the American way of life and of America itself. That was in the same year (1943) when in the Carpathians there was being organized the Ukrainian Insurgent Army to take up the struggle against German Nazism

and Russian Communism and to become the advance guard of the free world. It is now clear to Congress, as the anti-Bolshevik trials in Paris and recently in Brussels have shown, that all these American anti-Ukrainian reporters, radio commentators and authors were in the service of the Eternal Russia as Communists or sympathizers with Communism.

The high hopes that the hierarchy of the Church of Eternal Russia will spread throughout the world and the reliance that the Russian Synod-Kremlin, placed on its adherent satellite governments, will enslave all peoples of the world, failed. The Western world rebelled and there came a religious revolution against archpriest-Stalin and his hierarchy of the Politburo. The religious revolution among the believers in the faith in Eternal Russia made them pause but it turned them only against the hierarchy of that Church. The Moscow red gods, Stalin, the Politburo and the Communist party, were rejected but there was still left the respect for Moscow, for Eternal Russia, among the admirers of the Russian world. The whole hate was concentrated on the Synedrion of the Kremlin.

The Russian worshippers turned to a future Russia, which now they call Free Russia, perhaps because the American zealots for the religion wish to give Moscow a free hand in regulating the problems of Eternal Russia and the nations subjected to it. They will be satisfied if it merely talks peaceably with America, breaks up the labor camps and will stop murdering by hunger the non-Russian millions.

Many Americans still believe in Eternal Russia and that faith is still being preached with all the ardor of the first believers. The Kremlin is bad but not Russia; woe to the American people, woe to humanity, if any one dares to raise a hand against Eternal Russia.

Again as in the good old days of the Russian faith, we see American liberals and progressives forming committees for the saving of Eternal Russia and against those peoples whose freedom is incompatible with that Eternal Russia. Again the American people are being told in season and out of season that Russia must remain Eternal, for it is the friend of America and only the Kremlin is hostile.

No one explains why that is so. No one reflects that it is 34 years since the Bolshevik Revolution and that there is no Russian under 44 who remembers the old period. All these, at least three quarters of the Russian people, have been reared in the Stalinist system and are no friends of capitalist America. They forget that the Russian people have been reared by Stalin to be proud of the fact that they are the "elder brothers of the Empire", that they have made all the important discoveries in the progress of humanity, that they are the leading nation which is bringing

new life to humanity. They forget that the old friends of America among the Russian people, from the days of the Russo-Japanese War and the Treaty of Portsmouth, are dead or are old men pushed aside from the path of Russian life.

But these believers in the faith of Eternal Russia falsely preach to Americans of the friendship of Eternal Russia. They do not tell America that irrefutable truth that America can have over one hundred million allies in that prison of nations, Eternal Russia. These are the non-Russian peoples, for whom Eternal Russia means eternal slavery, and among these are the Ukrainians. These have seen with their own eyes the terrors of the Ukrainian famine and the deportation of their dear ones to Siberia where they have disappeared forever. America can have millions of allies among the Western Ukrainians from whom Stalin has taken their own church, the church of their fathers, which they must now confess like the first Christians in the catacombs. America can have allies among those peoples whose fathers and brothers have fought against Moscow and have perished on the parched plains of Turkestan, in the valleys of the Caucasus, in the forests of Byelorussia and the Baltic lands. These are the natural allies of America, the irreconcilable foes of the Eternal imperialistic Russia. They want a new world with the ideas of America.

The only mission of the Russian Empire in the world is to perish and to make a place for a happy life for all those nations, including also the exploited Russian people themselves. It is time to eradicate from America that superstitious belief that Eternal Russia is needed by humanity in general and by America in particular. Eternal non-Communist Russia can do as great harm to America as the present Communist regime, if it secures another government of a dictatorial type as Bourow foresees.

The American people must be on their guard, lest the believers in a reformed faith in Eternal Russia do to our country as much harm as did the old believers in the Faith in Eternal Russia loyal to the Russian Dalai-Lama Stalin.

Russia must be studied realistically. In case of a World crisis American boys will not fight against 14 degenerates in the Kremlin, but against the millions of Russians indoctrinated to the fact that Russia must rule over the entire world. The allies of America can only be those peoples oppressed and humiliated by Moscow, the subordinate "younger brothers" of the Soviet Union who are interested that the Russian Empire come to an end and Moscow shall be merely the capital of a good neighbor, a peaceful Russian people.

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# THE SOVIET INTERPRETATION OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE

by CLARENCE A. MANNING

The Communist Russian indifference to truth is well known. It goes far beyond the type of falsification so common in tsarist days, when the Russian diplomats were famous for their prevarications and their deliberate inaccuracies. Today it is not merely a practice but a principle for truth to the Communist Russian is not a stable thing to be amassed and preserved and revised by an increase of knowledge. It is the interpretation of the past and present as suits the present feeling of Stalin and the Politburo and they have it in their power to decree at any time a new truth about the past, to order a new rewriting of history, even of the external and undisputed sequence of events, if it will prove advantageous to the aims and aspirations of the Communist Party.

In accordance with this right, there can be no permanent history. Scholars have always recognized that a chance discovery may invalidate large masses of generally accepted data but for this purpose they have required clear proof of the errors. To the Communists all this is outmoded. The change is made from the top and it is then the task of scholars, if they can, to present it in as persuasive a way as possible, subject to the provision that even a year later, perhaps before their writings are published, a new truth will be proclaimed and they will be forced to confess themselves in public to be inadequate students of Communist doctrine.

Today since World War II, it is the task of all Soviet students of literary history as well as of all writers to condemn cosmopolitanism, the belief that anything of importance in Russia has been introduced from outside. It carries with it the obligation on the part of the scholars and writers of the subjugated peoples to show that the literature of their country is totally dependent for its greatness on the literature of the Great Russians, the elder brother and guide of all the peoples in the Soviet Union.

This process of reinterpretation has been applied with vigor to the history of Ukrainian literature and especially to the great figures of the

nineteenth century who have become so embedded in the consciousness of the people that they cannot easily be abolished. For men who are living the Communists have the power of exile and of liquidation. They can banish their names from the bookstores and the libraries; they can destroy their works physically and consign them to oblivion as they did the second part of Khvylovy's *Woodsnipes*. That is impossible in the case of Shevchenko, Franko, Lesya Ukrainka, and many of the others. It is therefore necessary to edit their works, to omit so far as possible individual works which disagree with the Russian point of view and to twist the significance of others and to present an artificial picture of their literary development, so as to show their dependence upon those Russian authors who are at the moment in the favor of the Communist regime.

It is undeniably true that Russian literature has exerted a very considerable influence on the writers of Great Ukraine. It was only natural that the various authors, living under the Russian domination and oppression, studying in Russian schools and making their living in Russian offices, could not fail to be familiar with the general progress of Russian literature. They could not fail to adopt some of the Russian mannerisms and to interpret in their own way Russian ideas and conceptions but this is very far from the attitude of the present or the point of view which the Soviets are trying to inspire in the Ukrainian people.

In the case of Shevchenko, this reinterpretation is particularly far-fetched. His early literary inspirations were very definitely derived from the pure Ukrainian folksongs of the Left Bank of the Dnieper and the Ukrainian Church Slavonic writings which he could find among the various clerks from whom he wished to learn to paint. When he left Ukraine, he was sent to study art in Wilno and in Warsaw on the eve of the Polish Revolution of 1831 and he could not fail in that environment to become familiar with the writings of Mickiewicz and Lelewel, the Polish leaders of the day.

When he finally reached St. Petersburg, he could of course become familiar with the writings of the Pushkin circle but at the same time, as we can see from his story, *The Artist*, Bryulov introduced him to the Russian translations of Scott, *Robinson Crusoe*, Byron and Irving. He was familiar with Burns. He knew the dramas of Schiller, especially those of the period of the *Sturm und Drang* period. His references to these authors in *The Artist* are far more frequent than to any of the Russian writers who could not fail to remind him of the gloomy north which he so wholeheartedly detested. All this side of Shevchenko and his works have to be

eliminated and for them there is substituted the influence of Pushkin, whom he bitterly parodied in the *Caucasus*.

Under the new interpretation, there falls away such of his poems as the *Great Grave* which is slurred over, when it is not entirely ignored. Shevchenko is regarded as merely opposed to the tsar but never drawing any unfriendly comparison between the Russian and the Ukrainian people. The hostile criticisms of Belinsky as a typical advocate of an indivisible Russia against Shevchenko's efforts to make Ukrainian a literary language are of course dropped out of sight, while Shevchenko's experiences in the prison battalion are mitigated by the fact that he found there good friends as Butenko, the commander of the expedition to the Sea of Aral and Uskov, who on his own responsibility seems to have relaxed some of the harsh regulations forbidding the poet to write or paint. And all this is cited to show that Shevchenko could not be harsh in his judgment of the Russians because of the large number that were kind to him.

After his return from Central Asia, the same process is extended. He undoubtedly knew most of the leading radical editors of the day and did appeal to the Society for Aid to Russian Writers for help in securing the emancipation of his sisters and brothers but an unbiassed study of his works shows that he did not give up his Ukrainian feelings and that he can least of all be regarded as merely a prominent member of the group of advanced Russian radicals of his day.

To quote but one example: Marietta Shaginyan<sup>1</sup> emphasizes Taras Shevchenko's growing radicalism in the poem *On the Death of Metropolitan Grigory*, where he groups together Grigory, the unprincipled journalist Askochensky and Khomyakov, as the "zealot of Rus, the lover of the fatherland Moscow." When we remember the sharp differentiation between Rus and Russia, between Ukraine and Moscow, we can see that it was another example of Shevchenko's bitterness at the oppressors of his country. But the radicals of the fifties, convinced of the non-existence of the Ukrainian people, could not be expected to get the full force of Shevchenko's meaning. In the last years of his life and with his failing strength, he tended to become more universal in his denunciation of evil and this pleased the radicals who now flattered him for their own purposes.

Kulish was right in his appreciation of the Shevchenko of the last days when he spoke of the evil influences that were being exerted upon the weakening poet. The attempt to controvert him by citing the argu-

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<sup>1</sup> *Taras Shevchenko*, Moscow, 1946, p. 302.

ments of Lenin, explaining why the radicals had it their duty to support the Polish revolt of 1863 by the nobles and why they had to oppose the liberation of Poland in 1917 is to the point only in showing the deep-seated difference between the Russians and the Ukrainians and the similarity of the attitude of both the tsars and the radicals.

The Soviets make much too of Shevchenko's disagreements with Kotlyarevsky and again they ascribe it to the wrong motive. In the *Great Grave* Shevchenko condemned the burning of Mazepa's capital of Baturyn and bewailed the outcome of Poltava. Kostomarov took the conventional Russian point of view and tried to show that Mazepa's act was merely the work of an incomprehensible and selfish egotist but he cannot explain why two of the great men of the day, Peter and Charles XII of Sweden, were deceived by a patently selfish old man. With all of his ability Kostomarov during the previous decade had accepted the Russian point of view. Shevchenko despite his more severe sentence had not. That was enough to explain everything and the Communist writers simply assume that if Shevchenko and Kostomarov disagreed, it had to be because of the radicalism of the one and the conservatism of the other. They cannot admit anything else and with each year they become more strenuous in denying that there can be any reality to Ukrainian life and traditions differing from those of the Great Russians and in trying to force the Ukrainian language into an ever more rigid Russian mold.

It is safe to say that Shevchenko who to the end of his life maintained close relations with Kulish and the Ukrainian leaders and with that portion of the Russian liberal aristocracy who recognized the European culture of the Kievan period as superior to that of the period of Moscow would never recognize himself in the picture of the confirmed atheist, the constant lover of the Russian people, that is presented by the Communist students of Shevchenko. They produce no evidence to prove their point except the statements of Lenin and denunciations of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists who persist in seeing in Shevchenko the poet of Ukraine.

Shevchenko is not alone in meeting this fate and in deriving his whole inspiration only from Pushkin and the other Russian writers. Kulish bears the chief brunt of the attack. He is denounced consistently with the most abusive epithets for his refusal to join the radicals with all of his wavering course. To them he became the very symbol of all that was obnoxious in Ukrainian nationalism, even though he had in his own lifetime hurt and shocked the nationalists by his bitter hatred of the Kozaks and the system which they were struggling to bring into being.

Step by step the Communists have passed through the ranks of the editing here, omitting masterpieces there, scorning such works as those of Ivan Levytsky-Nechuy who stubbornly protested against the actions of those Ukrainians who were assimilated to either the Russian or Polish cultures and who plunged themselves into a Pan-Slavism which provided no place for the Ukrainians as a separate Slavic people.

When they have found an outstanding author as Lesya Ukrainka their rewriting has known no bounds. To them she was inspired to poetry by Pushkin. It was to Pushkin that she was indebted for her *Don Juan* even though almost every detail is different and even the name of Don Juan's servant, yes, her rendering of the name of the hero himself, follow the French and Italian traditions and not that which was employed by Pushkin. They ignore or interpret out of recognition her *Noblewoman* which reveals clearly the difference between Ukraine and Moscow in the seventeenth century and shows the freedom of the one and the coarse servility of the other. They ignore her constant differentiation of a people oppressed by alien masters and those suffering under the rule of their own kind. Again they replace it all with a few wise words of Lenin and maintain that they have solved the problem.

This wilful misinterpretation and this definite assertion of untrue facts has been carried to an unprecedented height with the absorption of Western Ukraine. This section was never under the Russian yoke. It had its own problems but they were concerned in the beginning with the reaction of the Ukrainians to the Poles and to the Hapsburg Empire. Here the educated Ukrainians all knew not Russian but Polish and German. Many of them read Russian literature in Polish and German translations and had only in the latter part of the nineteenth century become fully conscious of their affinity with the people of Eastern Ukraine. Yet again we are shown them entranced by the Russian authors and for the modern period Maxim Gorky is presented as their great inspiration.

Take their treatment of Franko. He had started on his literary career under the influence of Hrebinka, Shevchenko and Marko Vovchok. In his studies and translations in his gymnasium and early university days, we do not find mention of a single Russian author. Their place is taken by such names as Shakespeare, Klopstock, Schiller, Krasicki, Goethe, Krasincki, Mickiewicz and Slowacki, all authors that enjoyed respect in either Vienna or in Krakow and among the Polish population of Lviv. He paid only two visits to Kiev in his entire life; he fought under the influence of Drahomaniv against the Muscophiles who sought to adapt the Galician Ukrainian to the Russian model. The patterns of his greater

works are to be found in Western literature. He was arrested three times and not once was he accused of having Russophile sentiments. He opposed the Russian occupation of Lviv and retired before it. All this does not suffice to overcome the fact that because of some words of Lenin, he was to be regarded as deriving all of his literary knowledge from the sacred Russian radicals and Pushkin.

He lived at the time when that change predicted by Lenin was already becoming effective, when it was time for true radicals to oppose Polish claims. The fact that Franko did so, after writing for ten years and more for Polish papers, was enough to show that he had only the desire to see the Western Ukrainians united with their eastern brothers and subjected to the Russian rule. It was enough to show that Franko's hope in his middle years that Western Ukraine would be freed from the control of the Polish landlords and his hopes for a brief period that the Polish and Ukrainian left could work together placed him directly in the Leninist tradition, even though it was but a short time before he saw that the Polish masses were as chauvinist in their views toward the Ukrainian population as were the Polish nobles and he established the first purely Ukrainian Radical Party in Galicia. He was too important a man in the eyes of all Ukrainians and especially in those from Western Ukraine to be ignored or to be ostracized. So with the typical Communist disregard for the truth and their willing acceptance of Rus as the equivalent of Russia, it was easy for them to place him in the same assumed course of Ukrainian development leading to the rapprochement with the elder brother, Moscow. In his honor they renamed the University of Lviv and after closing all of the journals which he had founded, destroyed the societies in which he had worked as centers of Ukrainian nationalism, they still accepted him with their own dialectic and showed him to Russia as their partisan.

It was the same with Stefanyk, and here they had the great advantage of forcing his son to tell with great fervor stories of how devoted his father was to the great works of Maxim Gorky, from whom he had derived his appreciation of the greatness of the Russian mind and the Russian spirit. It is fantastic and ridiculous to compare Stefanyk's delicately chiseled miniatures and psychological studies of peasants whom life has flung aside like the falling leaves of autumn with the crude and blatant outcasts of Gorky or his boring and long winded political orators and workmen. His return to literature in the glow of the independence of Western Ukraine and its union with the Ukrainian National Republic is another proof of his real feelings. But what of that? The Communist

dialectic can interpret and reinterpret Stefanyk's works. It can show the atheism inherent in the peasant who dares to compare himself to the Mother of God in the loss of his sons. It can show Stefanyk's dissatisfaction with the old order and that is enough.

These men were the widely acclaimed masters but even those who were less famous, if they were to be preserved at all, had to pass through theoretical analysis of the Communists and be fitted into their proper place. A story of Vynnychenko to be published had to have an introduction which would show in clear and definite way the manner in which he reflected the decadence of the bourgeoisie instead of the strong and progressive influence of the Leninist tradition.

If a writer were living in the Soviet area, where he could be gathered in, he would have the chance of incorporating the necessary changes but sooner or later a real error would be found and all of his previous self-scourgings before the Communist public would be of no avail and he would follow his more dignified predecessors into personal oblivion and literary limbo.

A century ago in the preface to his story, *A Hero of Our Time*, Lermontov declared that the Russian people were so badly brought up that they could not understand a fable if the moral were not expressed. The radicals of the next decades maintained that they themselves could and they worked out an Aesopic language which would deceive the censor and yet allow them to understand one another. Each generation has improved upon this method. Now the Communists have gone one step further and they have applied their Aesopic language, their misinterpretation of words, their acceptance of totally new standards to those works of the older literature which were written clearly and honestly. The results have been surprising for they have been able in almost every case to pervert the clear meaning of a text and to twist it in accordance with their own conceptions.

Their goal is the total assimilation of Ukrainian literature of the past and present to the ever-changing ideas of the Politburo and the unwavering conception that Moscow now and forever and in the past has spoken the true word on every topic. It is for them to speak as the representative of the Russian people and the leaders of humanity. The Ukrainian authors of the past, conscious of their native traditions, and drawing upon the masters of world literature, have been examined and re-examined to suit the exigencies of the moment. It has been a lengthy and exhausting process and it has proved much simpler to eradicate the present authors and their works than to interpret them. The masters of

the past, those men who had won the ear of the people could not be treated so casually. Hence it has come about that names almost unknown in the past have been elevated to fame, if they fitted in easily. For others, the ones who really counted, the process has been long and devious. History of literature after history of literature has been tested, tried, found wanting, and recalled. The praise or condemnation of almost no author is the same as it was ten years ago. Yet each revision, each re-interpretation goes further along the road of denying the essential qualities of a writer and of presenting him as a man on the way to or from the ideals of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist Communism. If the former, the editions of his works will steadily dwindle. If the latter, they will for a time increase and he will become more and more unrecognizable.

It is in this new guise that an author is translated for the use of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Yet that guise is often not acceptable to the people themselves. There is still too much of the knowledge of the Ukrainian spirit for the Ukrainian people, even the Ukrainian Communists to accept at face value all of these innovations. The result are new arrests, new liquidations, new deportations, while the new literature becomes more sterile day by day.

Sooner or later truth will prevail, if mankind is not to perish in a slough of slavery and degradation. When the time does come for truth to be heard again, the fantastic efforts of the Communist Russians to pervert the masters of Ukrainian literature will come to an end and in a free Ukraine it will once more be possible to read and enjoy the Ukrainian writers of the past in their original form, to understand them as they wanted to be understood, and to appreciate their efforts for democracy and the brotherhood of mankind and the beginning of a reign of peace, decency and morality throughout the world.

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A Soviet general rushed up to his seat at a symphony concert after it had already begun.

"What are they playing," he asked of his neighbor?

"Bethoven's Ninth Symphony."

"Ah, the devil. Came five minutes late and already missed eight," remarked the irate general.

## IS THE KREMLIN INVINCIBLE?

by NICHOLAS PRYCHODKO

Soviet Russia is strong and dangerous but it is not invincible. A policy of isolationism as proposed by Herbert Hoover recently is founded on an overestimation of Russia's strength. Such a policy could easily lead to defeatism in Europe, as well as on the American continent, and defeatism could be very dangerous in our dealings with Russia. It could give Stalin the chance he is waiting for.

In his plans to conquer the world Stalin depends, first of all on his four-million strong, heavily armored army, on his great reserve of manpower and his vast territory, and also on his Fifth Column abroad. In its propaganda inside and outside the Iron Curtain, Moscow tries to convince the world that the USSR is invincible. Actually, though, this idea has no basis. The USSR with all its military power is in many respects a Colossus with feet of clay. It has shortcomings and contradictions which do not jibe with its propaganda of invincibility any more than with the feeling of defeatism in the Western world which it is trying to stimulate. There are any number of arguments against this "Russian invincibility."

1. German war documents show that Germany, with 8,800 fighter planes, almost wiped out 20,000 Soviet planes; with 7,000 tanks the Germans overpowered 40,000 Soviet tanks. Obviously two factors were involved: the Russian planes were of inferior quality, and the Russian fliers and tankmen crews did not have the technical skill of their enemies. Perhaps the greatest of all Soviet weaknesses in modern warfare is the lack of skilled operators and repairmen.

I heard from escapees from the Red Army that often at the front when parts for tanks or planes were ordered tractor or combine parts would arrive in their stead, or parts would be of the wrong size. This was due to the constant disorder which reigned in Russia though in some instances it could be the result of sabotage.

2. The reserve manpower of the Soviet Union and its satellites is not nearly as great as the reserve manpower of the Western World. The USSR and its European satellites have a total population of 270 millions, while the nations of the Atlantic Pact, plus anti-Communist Turkey, have

384 millions. The reserve manpower in China far removed from the European field of action, cannot play a major role, especially with its low technical skill and the transportation difficulties of the USSR.

The Soviet weaknesses in transport could be a factor of great importance. In proportion to its territory Russia has only one-tenth the railway network of the USA and the USSR production of trucks is barely one-tenth of that of the U. S. Russia's transportation system has always been and still is its weak point and might be further weakened by attacks from the air.

In all her past wars Russia has never shown any regard for the cost of human life. The 7,500,000 killed and the many millions wounded in the Second World War are a good illustration of the utter disregard for human life in the Soviet Union.

Past and recent history tells us that the old Russia as well as the present USSR have been successful at war only when:

- (a) their physical strength was overwhelmingly superior;
- (b) they were at war with an opponent who has disorganized on the home front;
- (c) their opponent was unarmed in political and social ideas and propaganda;

Under any other circumstances Russia has always lost. In 1904, starting a war with Japan, Russia boasted that she would „defeat the Japs with caps”, but ended with an ignominious defeat for herself.

In the First World War Germany actually destroyed Russia's military forces and administered a severe defeat, just as she would have done in the Second World War had not the Allies come to Russia's defence and had not the Germans themselves adopted their stupid policies in the East.

At the beginning of its “defensive” war with Finland the Kremlin repeatedly boasted of the ability of the armies from the Leningrad area to smash the “Finnish fascists” in a few days. But, as we now know, the huge Soviet armies after six months of fierce fighting were still unable to break the resistance of heroic little Finland which had taken an immense number of soviet prisoners.

Before the outbreak of the Second World War the popular slogan of Voroshilov, broadcast throughout the USSR, was: “In the event of an attack we will fight the enemy on his own territory.” On its western frontier the USSR had concentrated 170 divisions, over 10,000 tanks and at least that many combat planes. But from the very first days of the war the Red Army rolled back in panic and in the first seven months

3,900,000 Red soldiers and officers gave themselves up to Germans. These were mostly Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Azerbaijanians, Georgians, and other national groups who had expected the German armies to bring them social and national liberation.

For hundreds of miles behind the front lines a terrible confusion arose in the USSR. I have had occasion to witness this in Ukraine. The factories ceased to function. On the collective farms and state farms the commissars poisoned or burned millions of tons of grain and destroyed farm machinery. Factory equipment, agricultural products and other materials earmarked for removal into the interior lay in piles rusting and rotting because all transportation was paralyzed by the bombings and the disorganization of labor.

Queues outside the shops grew into thousands and the populace eagerly awaited the Germans for they expected their coming to bring safety and national freedom. The Kremlin myth of invincibility vanished into thin air. Russia was saved from certain defeat only by Germany's stupid policies, by the 11 billion dollars of Lend-Lease aid from the U. S. A., and the Allied bombing of Germany.

A Third World War might see this experience substantially repeated. The Russian Empire could be completely disintegrated if the democratic world were prepared for an all-out participation in the war of ideas. These are the slogans the West could use with devastating effect:

1. Liberation for the subjugated peoples of the USSR.
2. Assurance of the principles of the Atlantic Charter.
3. Restoration of the land to the peasants; free retail and wholesale trade but industries to remain nationalized.

These slogans answer the wishes of the majority of the population inside the Iron Curtain. It is for these slogans that the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and the insurgents of other nationalities are continuing their bitter struggle against the Kremlin, amid unbelievable terror. In spite of more than twenty years of violent effort, Moscow has been unable to crush this movement for liberation. This movement undoubtedly played a role in the disintegration of the Russian front at the onset of the Second World War, and it could very well be the decisive factor in bringing defeat to Moscow in a future conflict.

The Kremlin's propaganda about the good national relations within the USSR, and its claims that these nations will unanimously rally to the defence of the "fatherland" are false. There can be no solidarity of nations in a country which has at least 15 million political slaves in concentration camps, when each one of these slaves has, on the average,

four or five relatives or close friends who likewise share his views and convictions. Many Red tanks, planes, and artillery pieces are in unreliable hands. This can be corroborated by the fact that since the conclusion of the war at least 150,000 Soviet soldiers and officers have deserted and taken refuge in Western Germany. One of these deserters is W. Sapochnikov, son of B. Sapochnikov, a Soviet marshal and former Chief of Staff.

The Western powers can also unquestionably find many allies in the armies of the satellite countries. It must be remembered, however, that those forces can display their full activity only when as a result of a military conflict, the Soviet police system is at least partially disorganized. This depends largely on who has the advantage of an offensive and on how underground propaganda is conducted.

Russia's long prepared Fifth Column abroad is not as dependable as it may seem. Here are a few facts: the number of Communist party members in France has dropped essentially; many thousands of Party members have fallen away in the recent split of the Italian Communist Party; in Belgium the number of Communist members of parliament has been reduced from 23 in 1946 to 7 in 1951; in Holland, Denmark and Norway the number of votes cast for Communists has been cut in half since the 1946 elections.

Communists outside the USSR are finally coming to realize the true meaning of Communism—that as it is preached from Moscow, it is nothing more than Red Russian imperialism. Nonetheless we must not lose sight of the fact that Moscow still has a substantial Fifth Column this side of the Iron Curtain which, in case of war in the near future, she will utilize to the utmost for sabotage, for organizing strikes and for bacteriological warfare.

A strenuous liquidation of leaders of nationalist resistance as well as Communist leaders, in the satellite countries confirms the fact that even here the USSR is uncertain of support in her plans for conquest. The extensive purges in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria and the mass executions in China are further proof of this. An overwhelming majority of the people in the satellites, who have experienced Moscow's domination in practice, will rally to the side of the Western powers.

Even Russia's economic potential proves defeatism is without foundation. For illustration let us consider these figures:

**Production for 1950:**

**Steel: U.S.A.: 96,700,000; USSR (maximum estimate) 29,700,000.**

**Coal U.S.A.: 548,000,000 tons; USSR 290,000,000 tons.**

**Oil: U.S.A.: 1,973,000,000 barrels; USSR 217,000,000 barrels.**

Many other analogous figures could be quoted in comparing other branches of the economy of the USSR and the U.S.A.

While there is no valid reason for defeatism or fear of the USSR, its cunning and shrewdness should not be underestimated. It may be wholly expected that while making loud protestations of peace offers, and other trick maneuvers, Stalin could be at that very moment giving orders for a surprise attack on Europe and America, without a formal declaration of war. This attack would be carried out with all the forces at his command on land, in the air and on the sea, with bacteriological weapons included.

On the other hand Stalin may go on organizing new "Korean wars" in Iran, Germany and Yugoslavia, while seemingly preserving neutrality until the time is ripe for a perfect assault.

Neither in Korea nor Indo-China nor Iran is it possible to win peace or to localize the danger of war, for the source of all these conflicts is in the Kremlin. To neutralize this danger hanging over the world today, and to win a true and permanent peace an attack has to be made on Russia's military forces. Those who do not realize this fact today will do so tomorrow. There is only one way to deal with Stalin and that is by force. All peace conferences with Russia are not only futile, but are certain to bring the Western world bitter disappointment.

Just as vital as all-out military preparation is the military and moral support of all subversive forces inside the Iron Curtain. It is this policy and not a policy of isolationism that will win us friends and allies in the forthcoming global conflict for peace and democracy. Hitler's catastrophic defeat in the East and the UN experience in Korea must not be repeated.

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**THE REASON**

"Why is it necessary to guard the USSR border so carefully," asked a Commissar of a Red Army soldier?

"So the people would not all flee," was the reply.

# GENOCIDE

by ULAS SAMCHUK

The word genocide, a creation of our age, made its first appearance after the Second World War. Today what it denotes, has been declared a crime by law and tomorrow all evil-doers will be judged for it. Russia in her present form is the seat of its classical revelation and its ultimate culmination.

None other than the Russian author, Dostoyevsky himself, back in the 1870's, gave an accurate definition of it. It was he who first sensed its existence in his country and he who declared, "Success built on the blood of even one innocent child will sooner or later turn into adversity."

Anyone with a limited capacity for thought might think these were mere words. The designers of intentional genocide thought so. Lenin was the first creator of genocide in its modern form in Europe and Dzierzynsky its practical executor. Its symbol was the Cheka which replaced the old Court. Sentences were given and carried out—the tying of the hands behind the back and then shooting in the back of the head.

Cheka, GPU, NKVD became synonymous. They soon found their followers and imitators in the different Gestapo's and Europe's soil was dotted with mass graves. These grew rapidly from groups to classes to small nations. Today nations with populations numbering into tens of millions are in line: tomorrow it may be whole continents. Among the ill-fated nations destined for genocide was Ukraine.

The genocide of the Ukrainian people commenced before our age. It was started by Peter I and intensified by Catharine the Great. But neither the destruction of Mazepa's capital Baturyn nor the liquidation of the Zaporozhian Sich was anything nearly like the genocide practiced in our time. Then it was committed in a barbaric fashion and inspired by greed. Today it is a coldly calculated, consciously contemplated affair. Genocide is carried out purposively and methodically: of the intellectuals and the common folk; men and women; children and the aged; through the countless Vinnitsya's, the millions of victims of the planned famine and the inhuman slave labor in Siberia to the mass murder in Lviv, where in 1941 over ten thousand corpses were uncovered—the cream of Ukrainian society.

Alexey Stasiuk, a writer now living in the Argentine, can tell of the time he hid under the corpses of his brothers in a prison cell in Dubno, Wolyn. Bombs and flame were thrown into the cells and machine guns were fired into them. The 750 dead were buried on the prison grounds.

Dubno is not an isolated case. The same thing has happened in every city in Ukraine and it continues to this day. We have thousands of "Alexey Stasiuk's" scattered throughout many „Argentines". The episode is macabre but its instigators are convinced that with it they are winning victories. It is their life-saver; their weapon of salvation; measures worthy of savage beasts in human forms.

It would seem that there can be no escape. But a way out can be found; it must be. Every action has an opposite—good and evil, truth and falsehood. It is impossible that this case should be an exception. In the whole history of mankind that has never happened. Every evil of one form or another has always been counterbalanced by a virtue in one way or another. All evil has always been punished.

All the evil-doing of today will find its retribution. The shedding of innocent blood will not go unrevenged. The criminals thought that graves keep silent. But the past decade has proved that the graves can speak. The dead came out of Katyn, Vinnitsya, Dachau, Buchenwald. Their bones, their bullet-pierced skulls spoke. Their language was thunderous and many responsible villains have met their just reward.

The malevolent Ilya Ehrenburg gloated that Mussolini "was hung by the people by his feet." What of the unsurpassed super-criminals in the Kremlin? Justice will not be carried out by the feelings of the mob. It will be meted out in the courts on the charge of genocide. Hangings will be performed, not by the feet, but in a manner decided by the court. A good example can be taken from Nuremberg.

Prof. Lev Dobriansky, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, appearing before the Senate Committee was in effect the first witness before such a court. His testimony was based on truth supported by unrelenting facts. Corresponding testimony can be given by practically every Ukrainian. "The judgment day will come; the Dnieper and the mountains will speak out," so spoke the Ukrainian national prophet Shevchenko.

The Ukrainian poets and writers will also speak out; so will the scientists, the politicians, the clergy. The whole Ukrainian nation will talk. The many millions will one day bring their charges and accusations before the tribunal, for the shedding of innocent blood, for the torture and the suffering.

The Ukrainian people have for ages fought the onslaught of attacks from all sides. Their Kiev and their Lviv and every other corner of the land of their forefathers have been overrun and forced to submit to continual plundering. But no! The Ukrainian people will not always submit. The day will come when they will stand up and defend themselves. They will even penalize the aggressors. The Ukrainian people have never committed any crime on any of their neighbors' territories! And although imperialist moralists may hold this as a fault against the nation the time will come when this fact will be its strongest weapon.

Today over the land of our forefathers rolls the enemy's wave of terror. New mass graves are appearing—new Vinnitsyas and new endless trains are ever winding towards Siberia, carrying there hundreds of thousands of our people. All indications on heaven and earth show this to be the ninth wave of the savage fury to which our people are subjected these apocalyptic years.

Let us pray to God. Let us remember that it is always darkest before dawn. The darker the hour of our enslavement the brighter will shine the sun of our long awaited, dearly paid for freedom.

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#### THE DIPLOMAT DISLIKES CRITICISM

Count Mykhaylo Tyshkevych, the head of the Ukrainian Extraordinary Mission to the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919, was acutely sensitive to criticism. Everything written in the press against him or the nation which he represented, invariably irritated him. In order to have such articles handy and to avoid misplacing them among the other papers on his desk, he usually cut them out and put them under the cushion of his desk-chair.

Once at a press conference a French journalist asked him if he had read the recent article in such and such a paper.

"Yes, yes, yes" answered the diplomat, "and I have it here" — he continued pointing to the cushion on which he was sitting.

## THE AGRARIAN POLICY OF THE USSR

by GREGORY MAKHIV

The agrarian policy of the USSR is absolutely unique and has no parallels in any other countries except the satellites of the USSR. It even meets with overwhelming opposition in countries with a Communist government as Yugoslavia. This policy is not yet in final form and not yet stabilized; it is a permanently revolutionary process as is emphasized by the recent fact of the unification of the comparatively small lands (400-1,000 hectares) of the kolhosps (collective farms) into a system of agricultural giants which have received the paradoxical name of "agro-mist" (field cities). The Kremlin considers this system of the collectivization of peasant agriculture, especially in its final form, as the great achievement of its agrarian policy and demands its immediate introduction also into the satellite states. Another fact that emphasizes the extraordinary importance to the government of this system is that when in 1939 by an agreement with Hitler, the Soviets took over the western provinces of Ukraine which had formerly been in eastern Poland, the government of the USSR attempted to introduce within two years (1939-1941) the general collectivization of these districts. The collectivization was carried out at a hurried tempo without any transitional period (like the NEP) and the decisive overturning of the old system led to a fearful terror among the population, to mass arrests and deportations of the peasants to Siberia, to the destruction by the peasants of a large part of their livestock and the sharp reduction in the harvests.

If we make an economic analysis of the methods and the results of the collectivization of the peasant agriculture of the USSR, we must come to the conclusion that the system has given no positive results for the improvement of the peasant agriculture. On the contrary, in the period between the introduction of general collectivization (1934) and the Second World War and also in the post-war years, the statistical data prove a noticeable drop in production in all branches of peasant agriculture. It is easy to arrive at this conclusion by comparing the general production of peasant agriculture and the number of working days which were spent to secure it.

The harvests remained steady until the World War II, with the exception of a small increase only in special regions and at the same time such expensive and widely introduced methods as the mechanization of peasant agriculture, did not give the results which were expected of them. On the basis of such striking facts, we should be able to come to a conclusion as to the faulty character of the agrarian policy of the USSR and expect certain changes in it. But this policy remains general and the Kremlin considers its results as a great achievement and the Kremlin is not alone in this.

When in 1942 Hitler decided to promulgate an agricultural law for the occupied areas, especially for Ukraine, these questions received serious consideration from his staff; this law was not the mistaken action of some one official, but for its writing there were brought together the finest agrarian experts of Germany. In the beginning the opinions of the German agrarians varied and some called for the immediate division of the land among the villagers and the formation of individual holdings. But in the end it was recognized that the system of the kolkhoz of Ukraine and the other occupied districts was the ideal one, for it gave the maximum possibility for guiding the village agriculture of Ukraine in the interests of Germany, it gave the possibility of the maximum exploitation of the agricultural production of the country and it offered the most effective method of collecting taxes and also of mobilizing the whole peasant agriculture in the interests of the war, in case it should be needed. Thus the system of collectivization of the peasant agriculture was fully approved by the totalitarian government of Germany and in the interests of the latter government it remained without change except in one point; in place of the communist organizer of the kolhosp there was now a German, (the Sonderfuehrer). We must not fail to take into account this important fact that the two totalitarian powers, Stalinist Russia and Hitlerian Germany, have both approved the kolhosp system.

As a proof of the fact that despotic governments are attracted by the collective system of the use of land, we may cite the example of the tsarist government of the old Russia which abolished the serfdom of the peasants in 1861 but then handed over the land not to individual peasants but to "land societies", groups of peasants, which were made responsible by the government in the interests of the treasury.

The peasant who was a member of such a land society, could not adopt more rational methods of agriculture, for he used the land only temporarily and after a certain time, he received a new plot. Along with this, there was in general use the three-field system, which had long

been abandoned in the agriculture of Western Europe. Every harvest took its toll on the land, for no fertilizers were used. The crop amounted regularly to 6-8 centners a hectare, but it showed a tendency toward a gradual diminution.

The reactionary character of the collective forms of the use of land was thoroughly understood even by the members of the tsarist government. Thus Prime Minister Witte wrote in 1904 in his *Notes on Village Problems*:

"The present method in which the peasants use their land is an insurmountable obstacle to the raising of the quality of the peasant agriculture" and also: "The society not only fails to protect the peasants against becoming members of the proletariat, but it causes the impoverishment of every village". Witte concludes his articles with the words: "The use of land by the society is one of the primitive forms, profitable only in the field of extensive agriculture and a benighted social order, which does not secure the individual rights of man."

November 9, 1906, the Tsarist government issued the so-called Stolypin law "On changes and supplements to certain decrees about peasant lands." This law did not totally liquidate the land society but it gave the peasants the possibility of leaving it and creating individual holdings of the farm type. There was established a Peasants Land Bank to assist the peasants in purchasing land and to this the peasants paid only a certain part of the value of the land and for the remainder they received from the bank a loan, which was secured by the purchased land. The possibility of leaving the community had a positive influence on the economic development of peasant agriculture. Cooperation began to develop in the rural agricultural field. As a result on the eve of World War I there were in Ukraine more than 5,000 credit societies which embraced about 40% of the entire village agriculture. In the first decade of this century the so-called Zemstvos began to work vigorously as organs of local self-government. The funds of the Zemstvos were secured by a special tax on the village population and from a governmental grant. The Zemstvos organized schools, medical help for the population, built roads and offered agricultural advice to the population. They also established "banks for small loans for the villagers" and stores for them. With the help of the Zemstvos the peasants bought farm machinery and mineral fertilizers. At this period as in the 19th century the peasants still ploughed their fields with wooden ploughs but in the first decade of the century all peasant holdings secured iron ploughs and these liberated much of the draft cattle and people for the carrying on of other forms of work. From

the statistics of the *Zemstvos*, the harvests of all crops at this period significantly increased, the area of commercial crops increased and in place of the traditional three-field system there was introduced a certain rotation system. Thus even the partial liquidation of the collective use of land benefitted the development of the peasant agriculture. Even the moderate appearance of initiative among the villagers caused a significant rise in the productivity of the holdings.

It is therefore certain that even among the reactionary official circles of the Russian Empire there were individual more progressive officials who characterized the collective forms of the use of land as antiquated and preventing the intensification of village agriculture.

It is very interesting that the most influential political party before the revolution of 1917, that of the Social Revolutionists, considered the collective and equal use of land one of the chief points of its program. Of course this party demanded the confiscation without payment and the distribution to the villagers of all estate, church and government lands. But the maintenance of the reactionary form of land usage would have destroyed the effect of the increase of the sown area for the land communities would have again been a barrier to the improvement of the technique of agriculture, the introduction of correct crop rotation and the application of rational system of fertilizing. The Social Revolutionists based their desire to preserve the collective forms of land use on the fact that the land community, in their opinion, was close to the socialist form of economy. They regarded these antiquated forms of the use of land as playing a great role in the development of socialist views among the peasants. The rapid development of agricultural economy in Western Europe did not in any way convince the party of Social Revolutionists and they did not desire that path for the peasant agriculture of Ukraine and Russia and thought that the preservation of the land community and the equalized securing of the land in accordance with the family position of the village *dvors* (households) prevented the development of capitalism in peasant economy.

It is not surprising that after the February revolution of 1917 when the peasants became aware of their own possible opportunities for the arrangement of the agrarian conditions, the party of the Social Revolutionists lost all their influence on the peasants.

The position of the small number of Marxists was worse, for to tell the truth, they had no agrarian program except to impose themselves upon the villagers by demagogic slogans: "All the land to the peasants" etc. The Bolsheviks seized the power and immediately issued a new land

law, the chief provision of which was "The right of the landowners to the land is extinguished without any payment". The lack of their own agrarian program compelled the Bolsheviks to accept the agrarian program of the Social Revolutionists which they had savagely attacked. Their land law has the title "Law for the socialization of land" and its main point again was the land community and the equalized use of land in accordance with the family status of the peasant household.

In the period of the Revolution the most important thing for the Bolsheviks was to win the support of the peasants of all categories and so they did not take any measures to compel the villagers to adopt at the time the collective forms of the use of land. On the contrary they preserved all forms, among them the farms divided at the time of the Stolypin reform. In Ukraine later than in Russia there was issued only on July 5, 1921 a law "on the land," which expressed the views of the government on the use of land: "all laboring properties, which exist and have belonged to laboring peasants owners, to Kozaks, etc., will remain untouched and continue freely to be used without any changes in the whole land in the same form as they have been hitherto used."

The Bolsheviks won in the revolutionary struggle thanks to the peasant masses, who dreamed of the increase of their plot of land and the possibility of forming individual holdings of the farm type. If the hopes of the peasants had eventualized, the development of the peasant agriculture of the USSR and especially of the Ukraine with its fertile lands would have moved along the same path as the development of agriculture in Western Europe, usually with a significant retardation in all stages of its development.

But in the period from 1920 to 1928 the peasants met with important disappointments. The amount of land which was at the disposal of the peasants increased in Ukraine in proportion to the past only by 15%. However this insignificant increase in the area available for sowing was not an obstacle which would have prevented the peasants from increasing the productivity of their holdings. We know that the small scale of the agriculture in Western Europe was one of the main stimuli for the increase of productivity as a result of the application of new and more rational methods of cultivation. The peasants even before the war years were coming to know how it was possible to increase their harvests by applying a more highly developed technique.

The hopes of the peasants for speedy restoration and eventual improvement in the normal development of agriculture were not fulfilled. For already in 1920-21, the authorities of the USSR introduced a system

of taxation which totally destroyed the right of the peasants to their land and its products. This system was based on the idea that the peasants had to give the state the total production of their land with the exception of an extremely low norm of products, especially grain, for the use of the family. This quantity was usually set at 30 pounds per individual monthly. But the peasants did not keep even this small amount for the collection of this tax was made not by the usual tax organs of the Government but by military detachments under the leadership of Communists and it was more like the requisitioning of products from the population in an occupied country than the collection of a tax by a national government. The collection of these "gifts" was carried out with especial severity in Ukraine by Russian Communists. Under such conditions it was impossible to make any improvements in agriculture and the villagers began even to reduce the amount of land sown.

The agrarian policy of the period of the so-called "war communism" was completely hostile to the interests of the peasantry and completely destroyed their basic rights and interests. The results of this policy became quickly evident; the year 1921 which was unfavorable because of weather conditions became a year of the terrible hunger among the peasants and of armed village uprisings. The government of the USSR was compelled to issue a new law which established a new norm for the products to be delivered to the government and gave the peasants the right to use freely that part of their agricultural products, which was left after the collection.

By the law of March 2, 1921 there were set up norms for the amount of land to be included in one establishment (a village household). Under these in Ukraine in the more thickly settled and more fertile forest steppe regions the norm was set at 15 hectares and in the less settled steppe regions at 45 hectares. Those peasants who had a larger amount of land had to hand it over to the government. Those peasants whose land was about the size of the norm were classified as the so-called "middle peasants". This group was at the time the centre of the interest of the government. Lenin, the leader of the Communist Party, wrote at the time of the necessity of being on good terms with this type of peasants and to take their interests into account. As a result the agrarian policy of the Soviets during the period of the "New Economic Policy" (NEP) which covered the years 1923-27 was favorable to the middle and poor peasants.

The law was then finally established in a decree of the Central Executive Committee of the Rada (Council) of People's Commissars of

Ukraine on July 27, 1927. This law definitely abolished private ownership of land and declared it the property of the state. As to the form of land use, article 9 of this law read: "The right of the use of land which all citizens of USSR have without difference of class, religion and nationality is conditioned by the amount which they wish to work with their own labor." The legal person under this law was not the head of the family but the entire family, which was regarded as a family-labor collective. But the state had no concern with these individual collectives but only with the land societies and land organizations, into which they entered. Acts on the right of the use of land were given by the state only to land societies. Thus the collective use of land was changed by this law. The land society was responsible to the state for the proper use of the land. At the disposal of the societies was also the land of the reserve fund, which they could either use for agriculture or rent out. The society established the cash payments of its members and established obligations and forms of work.

But this period (1923-27) was a period when the peasants had a relatively free choice in the forms of the use of land and they all applied their efforts to their individual holdings of a farm type. In 1925 in Ukraine only 27% of the land was worked by collectives; 62% was in the form of individual household establishments and 11% were in khutor and separate establishments, i. e. they had the land in one unit.

On the other hand in December, 1927, the 15th Congress of the Communist Party issued a decree in which it limited the practical rights of those separate holdings which were not grouped in land societies.

In the period of the NEP, as we can see from the figures, the middle individual holdings predominated and even the richest group of these holdings had already acquired the character of a society. The agrarian policy of this period took into account the interests of the middle peasant holdings and the development of the latest methods toward intensification. The peasants introduced a rational rotation system, increased their commercial crops and above all increased the number of their cattle and introduced into their fields fodder grasses. Characteristic too of this period was the rapid growth of the village agricultural cooperatives, with the aid of which the individual holdings secured credit, disposed of their produce and bought machines and tools.

The agrarian policy of the NEP along with the normalization of the taxes of the peasants created conditions favorable for the increase of production on the peasant's holding and the restoration of lands damaged during World War I and the civil war went on at a rapid tempo. In the

same period the first machine tractor stations were organized on a purely cooperative basis.

The period of the NEP was deliberately interrupted by Stalin who then came into undisputed power; he clearly exploited the contradictions and programs of outlays which appeared in the old leadership of the party.

The decisive moment in this new period that was coming in was the formation of the first five-year plan, which demanded a great industrialization of the country. Stalin regarded the revolutionary war with the capitalistic powers as a prelude to the victory of world Communism and the plan of industrialization was a part of the plan for the military mobilization of the Communist Party.

To carry out this plan of industrialization there were needed huge sums of money and a colossal force of labor and so the population and especially the peasantry were forced to be the first victims. It was very intelligible that the individual peasant husbandry of the farming type, which had a right to the use and sale of its production did not accord with the interests of the new policy. So there arose the idea of a general collectivization of the village to turn the peasants into state workmen, who would deliver the entire production of their work to the state which would compensate them for their labor by granting them a deliberately low scale of living. It was thoroughly intelligible that the agrarian policy of this period should have a new content and aim. To found the new agrarian policy, a certain theoretical preparation was made. At the end of 1929 there was held in Moscow a congress of agrarian-Marxists under the direct leadership of Stalin. The object of this conference was to liquidate an open group of agrarians including many talented scholars as Professors Chayaniv, Chelyntsev, Kondratyev, Makorov, etc., and also to justify a change and a new aim in agrarian policy. The change was made to the accompaniment of a savage terror, mass arrests and exile of prominent agricultural and cooperative workers.

In place of the system of contracts and taxation there was introduced a state plan of grain production. The planning of village agriculture now included an obligatory norm of production, which the agriculturists had to attain each year. Every kolhosp was bound to give a concrete amount and these amounts were then broken down into amounts for the different types of agricultural work. The centre was to notify the members of the kolhosp how and if they were to work their fields and what they were to sow. The possibility for initiative not only of the individual but even of the administration of the kolhosp was brought to

an end. There was set up a gigantic bureaucratic machine which was either belated in its orders in the case of seasonal work or by not taking into account local conditions gave its orders incorrectly.

It was very intelligible that the introduction of this general collectivization of peasant agriculture in the period 1931-33 met a great and heroic resistance from the peasants, especially in regions where the peasants had been more wealthy and educated, as in Ukraine, the Kuban and the Don basin.

After the short period of a more or less free agriculture, in the period of the NEP, the peasants were once more reduced to serfdom. To master this resistance in Ukraine, Stalin appointed a member of the Politburo, Lazar Kaganovich, first secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine and he with dictatorial powers organized there the starvation of many millions of peasants by taking all the grain on their holdings.

This historical crime called forth at the time great protests even in Ukrainian party circles, and finally Stalin was compelled to recall Kaganovich from Ukraine.

The collectivization was carried out in such a savage manner that to protect the new agrarian system a system of savage terror was introduced at the same time. On August 1, 1932, the death sentence was imposed without right of appeal for every theft of kolhosp property and under the character of theft was even included the gathering by a hungry person of those heads of grain that remained in the field after the harvest or on the road during grain transportation. Millions died by starvation. The terror lasted among the peasants until World War II and it was especially severe from 1930 to 1938, when large numbers of the peasants were shot. In 1943 the Germans on the stories of the peasants dug up in the park of the NKVD the "brothers' graves" where thousands of peasant corpses had been placed as logs in a pile and buried in pits 4 metres in depth. The hands of each peasant had been bound with a rope behind the back and in the nape of the neck of each were two bullets from an automatic pistol. Vinnytsya was not alone; in every town in Ukraine there were the same standardized factories of corpses.

One of the most important weapons of the agrarian policy of the Communist policy in the period of the introduction of collectivization and its execution were the so-called machine-tractor stations. These were not the cooperative stations of the period of the NEP for they were now transformed into local centres of agricultural and political control of the kolhosps. With the establishment of the MTC there were established all

the basic forms of the communist agricultural system and all private ownership of machines and tools was completely liquidated.

Great hopes were laid upon the mechanization of peasant agriculture. There was expected the liberation of a significant mass of workmen for industry and the increase of the crops as a result of the better working of the land. These hopes were soon seen to be vain, for the MTS required a large staff of attendants and a significant increase of the crops was possible only through a large complex of factors interworking for a large result. Among other technical methods besides mechanization was the necessity for introducing into agriculture a whole series of carefully selected types of commercial crops.

On the other hand even such an important factor as a rational system of fertilizing is in the USSR reduced to a negligible minimum, which does not allow a proper increase of harvests and even of those commercial crops which need mineral fertilizers. At this period when in Germany, which uses a large quantity of organic and mineral fertilizers, the joint effect of the improvement of the working of soils and the sowing of selected sorts gave in general an increase of 40% in the harvest, the same methods in the USSR resulted in only a 10% increase in the grain crops.

The standard of living in the kolhosps was and is extremely low. The introduction by the law of 1933 on the delivery in kind of a certain amount of grain (wheat) from each hectare of sown ground was on the whole better than the military requisitioning of the entire crop, as in the days of militant communism. But the food needs of the peasants were satisfied by the state in an even less degree after the delivery of all the obligations of the kolhosp. First the kolhosps had to deliver to the MTS for the state 23% of the total; about 21,5% went for the payment of the mechanized labors of the MTS in the kolhosp, 15% of the grain was kept by the kolhosp for sowing and the insurance fund and 18% was assigned for fodder and various forms of accounting. There was left barely 23% of the harvest to be divided among the members as pay for their labor. The method of division of a certain part among the peasants was set by a decree of the Rada of People's Commissars and the Executive Committee of the Communist Party on August 2, 1933:

1. After the delivery by the kolhosps of their yearly obligations for delivery of grain to the state, the delivery of grain which is the actual payment for the work of the MTS and the return of the loans for seed, there are laid away the seeds for the winter and spring sowings, and there is created an insurance fund of seed amounting to 10-15% of the re-

quirements for sowing and a forage fund of an amount sufficient to feed the cattle of the community for a year.

2. All the grain which is left to the kolhosp after the performance of these obligations and the establishment of the funds provided by law is distributed to the members, in proportion to their days of labor.

Under such an arrangement it is clear that any lack of grain or other products is felt in that part of the harvest which may be left for the members of the kolhosp.

In Ukraine on the eve of World War II there were about 15 million members of the kolhosps and they received only 7% of the grain more than was used for feeding 2.8 million horses, 1.5 million large horned cattle and 2 million swine.

The division of the products other than grain gave to each member of a kolhosp for a year not more than 1 liter of oil, 50 kilograms of potatoes, 35 kilograms of fruit and 0.5 kilograms of meat and fat.

It is very clear that the amount of products which was on the average distributed in the kolhosps as pay for days of labor could not satisfy even the minimum needs of a peasant family. So the members of the kolhosps were compelled to try to secure as much production as possible on their own private plot of land assigned for planting, which up to 1939 was about 0.5 hectare. The amount of livestock on a private holding of a member of a kolhosp was strictly limited by the law on kolhosps, i. e.: "every household in a kolhosp can have for its own use one cow, two calves, one sow, up to 10 goats, an undefined number of chickens and up to 20 beehives."

But even the profit from this private minimum by the members of the kolhosp came under greater and greater restrictions.

By the decrees of the government every member of the kolhosp had to deliver a large part of the manure from his cow to the fields of the kolhosp and not to put it on his private allotment. This prevented the members from having a somewhat high yield of commercial crops.

In 1939 a new law was issued to reduce the plot of land which was in the private possession of the members of the kolhosps to 0.25 and each to 0.15 hectare per household. The private production of the members of the kolhosp were subjected to the ordinary taxes. Each member had to give to the state from his cow 500 liters of milk and 1.5 kg. of butter, 80 eggs, the sow's meat and hide and also 400 kg. of potatoes yearly.

Besides the taxes in kind the members of the kolhosp had also to pay a money tax. In addition to the pay in kind for days of labor, each

person who worked in a kolhosp received an insignificant cash payment. In Ukraine the average earning of each kolhosp household on the eve of World War II was 480 karbovantsy a year. On this sum the household had to pay 22.5 karb. in taxes, 20 karb. in rent and 50 karb. as a special tax and also in addition had to take government bonds of not less than 200 karb. yearly. So in paying the kolhosp family 480 karb. yearly, the government took from it 60% of the cash.

The money budget of the kolhosp family was much more strained because the money for labor was paid after great delays and the debt of the state to the members of the kolhosps on January 1940 was in Ukraine more than one billion karbovantsy.

The monthly use of products in the kolhosps of Ukraine has been growing less and less after the years of the NEP until the present. The statistics of distribution show that the local standard of living for one person in the kolhosps on the eve of World War II was much lower than in the period of the NEP and in the last period it did not equal that of pre-revolutionary times. The materials used in these statistical calculations were very striking because the government of the USSR forbade their use and made them secret. According to the data of these limitations on one person of a kolhosp family in 1926, he received monthly 15.5 kg. of grain, 15 kg. of milled grain, 62 kg. of potatoes and 3 kg. of meat, and, in 1935, the amount of grain was 13.5 kg., only 2.5 kg. of milled grain, 17.5 kg. of potatoes and 0.5 kg. of meat or fat.

World War II, when the Germans occupied the territory of Ukraine, Byelorussia, north Caucasus and the Crimea, showed the very slight loyalty of the peasants to the Communist government and also their desire to free themselves from this unendurable agrarian policy. The peasants, who formed the majority of the army, had no conception of the mediaeval character of German Nazism and saw in the occupation a means of liberation from their communistic masters. As a result the resistance of the Soviet armies in the first year of the war was insignificant and there were cases of the surrender of entire armies and especially the surrender of 600,000 of the Ukrainian army near Kiev in 1941.

It was only after numerous examples of the unprecedented stupid cruelty of the Germans and their issuing of the agricultural law to protect the entire Soviet agrarian policy that the peasants lost hope finally of any improvement of their lot and began to defend their lands stubbornly against the Fascist invaders.

The experience of World War II was very disappointing to the Kremlin; the kolhosp system had not justified their hopes; it did not

give to the army a sufficient number of men and did not organize in the rear of the Germans partisan bands, with the exception of places near the front where the Germans were burning all the villages together with the inhabitants, as happened in the Chernyhiv district of Ukraine.

The Kremlin was not satisfied with the kolhosp system in its existing forms for other reasons. A comparison of the yearly peasant agricultural production with the number of working days spent to obtain it clearly showed a greater and greater lowering of the productivity of the agriculture. As a matter of fact this lowering was due not only to the work of the members of the kolhosps who labored directly on the land but also to the excessive increase of the working days spent on the control and political machinery, which grew beyond all bounds and need. Thus the administrative machinery in Ukraine included about 350,000 people and its payment amounted to 30% of the production of the kolhosp.

This compelled the Kremlin to turn to new forms of socialistic agrarian order — the organization of agricultural giants or the union of various separate kolhosps. At this stage of the permanent revolution in peasant agriculture even the last minimum of private ownership by the peasants of land or tools was liquidated. The only means of existence for the peasant laborers on the great state farms is that insufficient pay for days of labor which had compelled the peasants before this last reform to place all their hopes on their small private garden plots.

The organization of the great farms gave the possibility of reducing expenses for the maintenance of the administrative and political machinery. At the same time the concentration of great masses of peasants on one farm facilitated their control and the organization of work and the political education of the workmen.

The new agrarian order is finally destroying all elements of peasant agriculture and the new farm giants will be typical instrument of state capitalism. At the same time the Communist government will have in this system the maximum possibility for the total use of agricultural production and great human reserves, which in case of necessity can be used for the army, for military work or can be evacuated easily in case of the occupation by a hostile army.

The organization of the system of new farm-giants will complete the planned industrialization of the country and along with this is a part of the war mobilization plan of the USSR.

The new agrarian order will undoubtedly strengthen the position of the USSR by its maximum use of production and the human reserves of village agriculture but it is also the Achilles' heel of the Communist

government. The peasants who form the majority of the population of the USSR will now have no interest in the development of peasant agriculture and at the same time their standard of living will sink ever lower. The difference between the work of a new enslaved peasantry and the work of the people confined in concentration camps will vanish completely and by the new reforms the entire peasantry of the USSR will be placed in a condition of slavery.

But no political education will compel the peasants to give up their centuries-old dreams of possessing their own land and the free development of their individual holdings, for this has always been the object of the life and heavy work of each peasant.

If during World War II the peasantry of Ukraine, Byelorussia, north Caucasus and Georgia sought a way out through the German occupation, there can be no doubt that a new war of the USSR with any democratic power will significantly make active these efforts of the peasantry.

The new agrarian policy of the USSR will increase its capacity to operate its material and human reserves and at the same time will deprive this totalitarian state of the possibility of carrying on any war with a democratic state which it cannot overcome in the first days. The war which continues for several months will bring about the mass capitulation of the Soviet armies, for this will be the only way out for the peasantry who have been forced back into an unprecedented slavery in the middle of the twentieth century.

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#### LEDA

One of the expositions of the Ukrainian painter Novakivsky in Lviv was featured by a large composition entitled "Leda". Two elderly gentlemen, concerned about the demoralization the picture might cause were overheard to say:

"If highschool students are supposed to see this exhibit, perhaps it would be advisable to cover the picture with something else..."

"Well, maybe not the entire picture, only Leda."

"What do you mean?"

"Well, the swan might remain, but perhaps one could replace Leda with Lohengrin..."

## A UKRAINIAN SCULPTOR COMES WEST

by SVIATOSLAV HORDYNSKY

In writing about Ukrainian sculptors in exile (*Ukrainian Quarterly*, Spring, 1948), I did not know that these artists would soon be joined by another — Mykhaylo Cheresnyovskyy. He arrived about that time in the American Zone of Germany with one of the groups of Ukrainian underground fighters, who fully armed fought their way through Poland and Czechoslovakia from the Russian occupied Ukraine to this side of the Iron Curtain.

Cheresnyovskyy became known as a sculptor in artistic circles during the early years of World War II. He is a native of the Lemko region, the westernmost part of the Ukrainian ethnographic territory, which in the Carpathian Mountains projects deep'y into Polish Western Galicia.

Ethnographically this is one of the most interesting sections of Ukraine. Its inhabitants still preserve many racial characteristics of the so-called Neolithic type (an analogous type is found in some parts of Denmark). Culturally the Lemkos were one of the last Ukrainian groups to undergo the process of civilization. This gave them the opportunity to preserve some interesting traits of the primitive Ukrainian culture. Their dialect still has many archaic forms, and their folk poetry is of great interest to scholars. The Lemkos have their own special folk art, which particularly shows itself in the wooden church architecture — which more than elsewhere in Ukrainian art reveals the Gothic influence. Their extremely interesting iconography is marked by its unusual blending of the Byzantine and the Gothic styles.

This ethnical and cultural world, however, no longer exists — for after World War II the Russian and Polish Soviet exterminating divisions ruthlessly uprooted the entire Ukrainian population in this part of the Carpathians. The Lemkos are now scattered throughout the Soviet Union and East Prussia (now under Poland). Here it should be mentioned that the majority of the earliest Ukrainian emigrants to the United States were the Lemkos. Extremely faithful to tradition they often cling even now to the ancient name of Ruthenians, a name elsewhere already forgotten.

The artist should be judged by his works, — this is a sound criterion for the artists of the more or less ordered Western world, the majority of whom may let the collected and preserved works of their life speak for them. But how can we evaluate the artist, who in the tragic and troubled circumstances of his native country loses all the works of his lifetime, and time and again is compelled to start from the beginning? Not many Ukrainian artists have been fortunate enough to escape such a fate. The history of Ukrainian art counts far too many artistic works lost or destroyed by many an invader.

Chereshnyovsky commenced with decorative sculpture in wood in the folk style. This has had a long and ancient tradition among the Ukrainian



M. Chereshnyovsky: *General Chuprynka*  
Marble

people and some of its typical features are unique in European folk cultures. The director of a provincial Ukrainian museum noticed the young artist's carvings and helped him enter an art and craft school. Later Chereshnyovsky went to Krakow to study in the Institute of Arts, from which he was graduated in 1939. When in 1940 I saw for the first time in Krakow his works I was struck by the passionate stubbornness with which the young sculptor attacked his hard and unyielding material. He avoided for the most part modelling in clay for he, preferred to carve and hew his material; this enabled him to attain a very individual precision of form. In those works one still felt too much decorativeness, caused by the influence of the wooden sculpture, which then

was a favorite with Chereshnyovsky. Nothing save a few reproductions in art reviews and magazines has remained from the Krakow and later the Lviv periods. With the return of the Russian occupants to Galicia in 1944, the artist was drafted into the Red Army, from which

he quickly found his way into the Ukrainian underground forces, operating in the Carpathians. He took an active part in the campaigns and was an illustrator for their anti-Soviet propaganda publications.

A new period in his art began in West Germany.

All the new works reproduced here were created in a refugee camp in Germany, in a studio (if it may be so termed) which was an ordinary cellar, with no natural light. One may well ask how such an artist remained unnoticed and unaided in the Western artistic world, which had organized relief committees for the purpose of helping just such artists. For instance the UNESCO has already existed for quite a long time, but we have yet to hear that it has shown any interest in a single Ukrainian artist. There still is a good hundred of them in exile, among them talents which would be an asset to any culture. It is plain that the exiled artists of Ukraine and other countries, who found themselves in ruined post-war Europe, were in greater need of help, than the artists, who lived in their own countries where their workrooms, museums and art schools still existed. (I shall never forget how the late UNRRA wishing sincerely to help refugee artists to hold an exhibit of their works in 1946, sent our group of painters several boxes of watercolors, used by children for coloring books...).

The new sculptures of Cheresnyovsky belong undoubtedly to the finest being at present created in Europe. They are purely modern, and at the same time bear the attributes of the artistic achievements of the past centuries. In the elliptical "Head of My Wife" one senses the echo of ancient Egyptian sculpture. There is something of the Far East in the enigmatic smile and the dreamy, somewhat slanting eyes of the "Head of Lida". But who would say that these sculptures are not thoroughly



M. Cheresnyovsky: "Lida". Marble

modern? The bust of the already legendary general Chuprynka, under whose command the artist fought against the Soviet Russians, is a veritable knot of concentrated energy and perseverance; it breathes the spiritual atmosphere of the professional fighter. Reproduced in stone

it becomes not merely a portrait, but a monument for the coming generations.



M. Cheresnyovsky: "My Wife". Marble

In the modern Ukrainian sculpture among the emigres we come across various trends: the impressionism of Lytvynenko, the baroque expressionism of Mukhyn, the statuary monumentalism of Jemets, Kruk and Drahan, the realism of Pavlos, the experimental abstractness of Archipenko's great art and many others. Among all these artistic individualities the art of Cheresnyovsky stands out — personal and fresh, both in the scope of its artistic conception and in its fine execution. He has the power to enliven the cold material with that spirit which transforms stone into that living and unique thing in the sphere of human creation

which we call art. This life is deep in its spiritual profundity and makes Cheresnyovsky's art a convincing artistic document of our epoch.

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## THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

by EMIN REZUL-ZADE

In the Encyclopaedia Britannica, American Edition, there is no special article about the Azerbaijanian Republic at present occupied by Soviet Moscow. Therefore, the Editor of *The Ukrainian Quarterly* thought it fitting to invite the former President of the Azerbaijanian Democratic Republic, Emin Rezul-Zade to prepare this informative article for the American public. The Ukrainians are connected by ties of real friendship with the Azerbaijanians and we are grateful to its distinguished leader for his survey of the Azerbaijanian problem. (*Editor's note*).

Azerbaijan is located in the southern Caucasus on the shore of the Caspian Sea. With its lofty snowcapped mountains and its valleys which at times descend below sea level, it is rich in flora and fauna. Its capital is Baku, a natural port on the Caspian Sea, famous for its oil industry.

The land which in ancient Roman times had the name of Albania was called in the Middle Ages Arran or Shirvan and has remained stable throughout the confused history of the Near East. Its most glorious periods were in the epochs of the Atabek or Tehlevanid dynasty of the twelfth century and of the Shirvanshahs who ruled here for a thousand years. In the eighteenth century, the country fell apart into feudal states and in 1828 after a long and stubborn struggle it passed under the power of tsarist Russia. There it remained until World War I, when the Russian Empire fell apart. Azerbaijan arose from the ruins in 1918 and organized its own national government. Two years later, the new republic was forcibly occupied by the Bolsheviks.

The Republic of Azerbaijan covers an area of 92,160 square kilometers. Its population is three and a half millions. 33% live in towns (the Baku region 43%) and 67% are in villages. The capital Baku, has 809,300 inhabitants. The other leading cities are Gandja (100,000 in population), Sheki and Shusha (50,000 each) and Shemaha, Kuba and Nahichivan (40,000 each). The average density of population is 34 per square kilometer (the Baku region 100).

The Azerbaijanians form the large majority of the population (75%). They speak the Azerbaijan dialect of Turkic and are Islamic in religion. The largest minority is that of the Armenians (13%); then come the Russians (7%) and other lesser ethnic groups. The dialect of Azerbaijan is

spoken also in the other Caucasian Republics (Georgia, Armenia and the Northern Caucasus).

Thirty one per cent of the total population of the Caucasus is composed of the Azerbaijan Turks. As regards religion 60% of the population of the Caucasus are Mohammedans and 60% of these speak Turkic. The civilizing role of the Azerbaijan language in the Caucasus has been noted by the well-known geographer, Elise Reclue.

The valleys of Azerbaijan which are watered by the rivers Kura and Araks are as fertile as the valley of Nile. Out of 8,600,000 hectares, 2,500,000 are suitable for agriculture. Out of 1,800,000 hectares under cultivation, 500,000 are handled intensively. Next to Turkestan, Azerbaijan takes the second place in the Soviet economy; it produces yearly 250,000 tons of cotton on 200,000 hectares. On the Mugansk steppes, the best cotton, the American Island variety is grown. Grain is also an important crop and the yield is 8,000 centners a year. The rice crop amounts to 500,000 centners annually. The 600,000 centners of grapes annually produce millions liters of wine, brandy, grape alcohol and large quantities of unfermented grape juice. More than 20,000 of licorice are produced and this is exported to England and America. The fisheries yield annually about 300,000 centners while the estuary of the Kura produces the world-famous black caviar.

The Republic has about 190,000 horses and mules with the best-known breed of the Karabakh riding horse. It has 1,500,000 cattle, 2,400,000 sheep and goats, 150,000 pigs and about 9,500 camels. Sheep-raising and the growing of silkworms, which are increasing along with the increase in the planting of cotton, secure the future of the textile industry.

The natural wealth of Azerbaijan provides the material for a developing metallurgical industry. The country has great deposits of iron ore of high quality, of copper, zinc and other minerals and metals. These are largely concentrated in the vicinity of Gandja, the second industrial centre of the country. Thus the reserves of iron ore at Dashkeson amount to seven million tons and contain 60% of pure iron. Along with alunite, phosphorus, barite and other important ores, the copper deposits are significant. Thus the Gadabek mines produce yearly about 150 tons of pure copper. Other well-known mines are those at Zakatal (copper), Evlah (zinc) and Nihichevan. In Baku there is a factory producing iodine and bromide. The cement plant is capable of supplying all the needs of the Caucasus. The country is also rich in rock and table salt.

The greatest source of the economic wealth of Azerbaijan is, however, oil. The industry here which is second only to America produces

yearly some 30 million tons and provides 90% of the entire production of the Soviet Union. This centers around Baku and has led to the establishment of factories producing various oil products and derivatives which insure the future of the chemical industry.

It is impossible in a short article to give an exhaustive picture of the economic resources and possibilities of Azerbaijan. It is enough to



*Political Map of Trans-Caucasia.* — South of the Caucasian Mountains are the Georgian (Grubian), Azerbaijanian and Armenian Republics (Nakhichevan region, divided by a strip of the Armenian territory, is a part of Azerbaijan). North of Elbruz and Kazbek mountains is the administrative territory of the Russian S.F.S.R. The light dotted lines show the former autonomous regions which after the Second World War were almost all liquidated, their populace being killed or transferred to unknown regions of Siberia.

say that the country possesses all the materials necessary for the development of full and harmonious economy and is really self-sufficient. Still it would be a mistake to study Azerbaijan only from material side and

the possibilities of its liquid gold — oil. Azerbaijan is far older than the discovery of oil.

The country achieved a cultural unity in the eighth century at the time of the penetration of Islam and it won political unity in the thirteenth century, a period when there were great ethnic changes in the Near East.

The people of Azerbaijan played an important role in the development of eastern Mohammedan culture. Both Behmaner, the pupil of Avicenna a known philosopher in Europe, and Hatir of Tabris, who played an important role in Arabic philology were from Azerbaijan. In the twelfth century under the Shirvanshahs and Atabeks, the country produced a series of famous poets. Among these a special place was occupied by the great humanist Nizami of Gandja, whom Goethe singled out as an outstanding genius of word and thought in his collection, *Der West-Oestlicher Divan*. Late Fuzuli, a poet of the sixteenth century and the great master of Turkic literature, was the outstanding figure of Azerbaijanian classicism. The English orientalist and literary critic Gibb regarded his poetry as the finest lyric works of the Orient.

In all the other fields of culture and art, Azerbaijan possesses monuments fitting its world glory. In Baku there is a group of buildings of the fourteenth century, the period of the Shirvanshahs, which have been called the Acropolis of Baku. The main building in this group is so beautiful that critics have called it congealed music. Other buildings show this same quality, as the Mausoleum of the Atabeks in Nahichevan.

Although Azerbaijan remained under the tsarist yoke for about a century, despite oppression and privation the country did not lose its cultural originality, thanks to the traditions of its great past. With the breakdown of the feudal separatism and the slow beginnings of economic development, a new society developed in Azerbaijan with a progressive intelligentsia at its head. This new intelligentsia under the influence of the enlightenment of the eighteenth century, developed a new realistic literature.

This was founded by Mirza Fetali Ahundov, who was the first dramatic of the Mohammedan world and whom Europeans have called the Moliere of the Orient. His innovations were not confined to literature for he was a reformer who first pointed out the necessity of a reform of the Arab letters. He also, eighty years ago, demanded radical reforms in the spirit of progress and civilization. He demanded freedom for both sexes, believed in the limitation of Eastern despotism by wise institutions and called for literacy for all Mohammedans, whether they were men or women.

The movement founded by Ahundov was continued by his able successors, but despite the brilliant results which it produced, its progress was slow, thanks to Russian censorship. It moved much more rapidly after the Revolution of 1905. After that there were established newspapers, periodicals, societies, national schools and all kinds of cultural institutions. Opera appeared for the first time and the name of the first Mohammedan composer, Madjibeyle Uzeir, became known abroad.

Then political organizations appeared, as the people of Azerbaijan demanded political rights. The Musavat party called for the equality of all peoples inhabiting Russia. This party in 1917 after the Russian Revolution had overthrown the power of the Tsar, convoked its first congress and called for the political autonomy of Azerbaijan. In 1918 the national assembly of Azerbaijan met and on May 28, with the participation of all groups and parties under the leadership of the Musavat majority, Azerbaijan proclaimed itself an independent state.

The national Azerbaijanian government in a short time ended the prevailing anarchy and restored order. It organized an army and a police force. It prepared legislation embodying social reforms and protecting the agrarian classes and labor. It opened schools of all grades and a university. It signed pacts with the neighboring states and took steps to establish solidarity among the Caucasian republics and introduced many more measures of a legal, cultural, and economic character for which there is no space to speak in detail.

As a result, on January 12, 1920 the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers recognized the independence of Azerbaijan. Then the government of Western Europe recognized the new state and concluded treaties of friendship with it, while the United States sent a special mission to Azerbaijan under the chairmanship of General Harbord, which later published a favorable report.

After their victory in the Russian Civil War, the Bolsheviks profited by the confusion prevailing in the Near East and the post-war weariness of Europe, attacked Azerbaijan with superior forces and occupied Baku on April 27, 1920 and then proceeded with a bloody hand to sovietize the country. This open violence against the first Mohammedan republic came at the very moment when a Bolshevik manifesto signed by Lenin and Stalin was proclaiming full freedom and independence to the peoples of the Mohammedan world. The description of the perfidy and duplicity of Soviet policy would be a subject of a special article. The people of Azerbaijan are continuing the struggle against their aggressors and looking forward to the restoration of their national government traditions.

# THE CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN FARMING COMMUNITY

by E. PRIRVA

(This article is reprinted from the journal *Contemporary Ukraine* which is published in Germany by the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation on the basis of material from 1950 mailed to the Representation by Ukrainian Underground leadership in Ukraine behind the Iron Curtain. — *The Editor.*)

## THE STALIN POLICY IN AGRICULTURE

In its policy of "overtaking and surpassing the capitalistic world" the Moscow Bolshevik imperialistic ruling class has appointed as the role for the rural economy the task of rebuilding with the resources of the village the industry of the USSR and of being the almost unpaid producer of food products for the city and the army and the unpaid furnisher of agricultural materials for industry.

The Moscow Bolsheviks never considered the introduction of the kolhosps (collective farms) as a new form of agricultural economy but as the best method for the definite forcing of the largest possible amount of products out of the rural economy. To achieve this object there was devised a definite system of organized agriculture, the removal of the workers from any influence in the leadership of the collective farms or in the division of the products and the absolute concentration of the leadership of the collective farms in the hands of the government.

The Moscow Bolsheviks have developed their industry by such devices as these: 1) the exploitation of the rural economy 2) the exploitation of the labor of the workman 3) the colonial exploitation of the peoples enslaved by Moscow. So the Ukrainian rural population in the plans of the industrial development of the USSR, its preparation for war and the rebuilding of the war destruction, has been under a double exploitation: that of the rural economy as such and also that of a colonial rural economy. When we take into account the rural economy of Ukraine, it becomes clear that the industry of the USSR is built on the want, the hunger and the total impoverishment of the Ukrainian village population.

None of the previous "Stalin five-year plans" have been concerned with the improvement of the standard of living of the rural population but

all subjected it to unprecedented exploitation. This exploitation has been especially stiffened in the new post-war five-year plan in connection with the speedy preparation of the Bolsheviks for a new World War. In the new Stalin five-year plan, widely proclaimed as the "plan for developing and improving the national economy" Voznesensky, the author of this plan, does not say a single word about the improvement of the living conditions of the population on the collective farms. It is only enumerated in the plan how much more grain, sugar, fats and raw agricultural materials for industry are to be squeezed out of the collective farms.

The exploitation of the rural community in Ukraine has reached unprecedented proportions. In the "second Stalin five-year plan" of 1932, the state tax amounted to 74% of the total harvest, that is the Bolsheviks took the entire crop, since about 15% of the crop had to be saved for seed and about 15% for food for the cattle. The village perished of hunger and in Ukraine about 7 million persons died. In the time of peace (1939) when prosperity might be assumed to exist, the state tax amounted to 44% of the crop. If we take into account the seed grain and the fodder for the cattle, there was left about 25% of the harvest for the collective farm. Of this amount more than 30% was absorbed by the state apparatus in the collective farm.

After World War II the percentage of state exactions from the total harvest again increased. With the inclusion of all kinds of "loans," the "purchase of extras," and "voluntary contributions" for various purposes, it amounts to 60-65% of the total harvest. It is clear that with such taxes the population of the collective farms leads a starvation existence. In 1946-47, when there was a drought and a failure of harvests in Ukraine, the Bolsheviks collected the specified amounts, without leaving a particle for the population. That was the cause of the third mass famine in Ukraine.

#### THE NEED OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE COLLECTIVE FARMS

During World War II the Bolshevik agitators in the village and especially in the Red Army, spread far and wide the propaganda that fundamental changes would take place in the rural economy of the USSR to the advantage of the members of the collective farms. They even declared that the collective farms would be abolished.

The villagers and former soldiers of the Red Army were quickly disillusioned.

We have remarked above that the Ukrainian rural population was especially subjected to exploitation. The villages burned and destroyed

in the war are not being rebuilt. We must take into account the fact that the standard of living in the Ukrainian village was low even before the war. The great majority of the members of the collective farms are living in earthen huts or wretched clay shacks which are regarded as possible dwellings. Beside the house is a miserable structure for the cow but that is often lacking and in summer the cow is fastened to a tree and in winter is taken into the house along with the family of the collective farm member. In the village there are noticeable only the buildings of the farm, the houses of the heads of the village soviets, of the collective farm and the other village officials, the school and the club.

The appearance of the collective farm member is frightful. It is impossible for him to buy clothing for he has nothing in appropriate values and he is never furnished the materials. He cannot secure clothing of his own manufacture, for he never has the possibility of growing cotton or flax, since he must use his garden plot to grow food. This plot must be the basis of his existence.

As a result the coat and trousers of the member of the collective farm consist of patches upon patches; his shirt is of pieces of various kinds of linen; it is a general thing to be without a shirt for working days and holidays in this "land flowing with milk and honey." Boots are a great rarity on a collective farm. In summer, the worker goes barefoot, in winter in foot cloths and he is ideally well off if he has over these galoshes or fur boots.

The returns from his labor are much less than before the war. Let us take as an example the Kotovsky collective farm in the region of Kodyvsk. Conditions are the same as on the other collective farms except on those few "Potemkin collective farms" intended for show to foreign "investigators." The appointed norm in this region for men is 210 and for women 150 labor days. The pay per labor day is 200 grams of grain, 300 grams of potatoes and 5 karbovantsy. But the norms are set so high that it is necessary to work four of five days to fulfil one labor day.

In the new "Stalin five-year plan" in the Kotovsky collective farm a family of 3-4 workers earns yearly about 3 centners of grain, 4 centners of potatoes and not more than 1,000 karbovantsy. (Shoes cost 500 karb., rubber working shoes, 250-300 karb., a suit of average quality more than 1,000 karb.). After the delivery of the grain tax, the payment of the Motor Tractor Station, "the sale" of extras to the government and the payment to the officers of the collective farm, there was left for the villagers in 1949 only hand-cleaned grain. In the years of a failure of the

harvest, 1946-47, the members of the collective farm received no grain and they received no substitute. In the words of the Stalin overseers, it was punishment for "the failure to fulfil the labor norm."

The source of livelihood of the members of the collective farms is found in the garden plots for which they are compelled to pay rent, to furnish milk from the cow, even if it serves 3-4 families, to pay a meat contribution and to supply 200 eggs per family, even if it has no hens.

The Bolsheviks whet their appetites to secure the last cow, which several collective farm families have in common. On the Kotovsky collective farm there has been set a high charge for the pasturing of cattle and the owners are not allowed to gather the reeds in the river. Since they have no possibility of feeding the cows in winter from their garden plots, many of the villagers have handed over their cows to the collective farm, so that they may not die of hunger.

This data on the life of the Kotovsky collective farm has been secured from underground reports, which have arrived abroad.

The law of 1937 which forbade the villager to leave his work on a collective farm and go to work in a city or a farm in another region is still in force. For factory work the Bolsheviks choose only the young and send them usually to Asiatic industrial centres. They are bringing Russian workmen into Ukraine. By this means they are preventing a Ukrainian majority in the cities.

Many members of the collective farms in the eastern and central parts of Ukraine saved themselves from hunger, especially in 1946-47, by begging grain in the western districts, where the villagers had not yet been forced into collective farms. Many of these beggars remained there, especially in the cities, where there were no difficulties with the acceptance of a collective farm member into a city. The villagers in the western districts of Ukraine owe it to these collective farm members, that they are not yet themselves in collective farms, for the mass hunger in the East increased the opposition of the villagers to collectivization.

When we speak about the contemporary Ukrainian village, we must not pass over the fact that the Bolsheviks even by unheard of terror have not succeeded in collectivizing the villagers in the western regions of Ukraine. The Bolshevik press has not been slow in announcing that in some districts 90% of the farms have been collectivized, but it has been recently compelled to add that collectivization in Western Ukraine has not been carried out because of the opposition of "kurkuls and Ukrainian nationalists."

## UKRAINIAN SCHOLARSHIP AND SCHOLARS IN EXILE

by WASYL LEW

The time has come to summarize in broad outlines the Ukrainian scholarly and scientific work which has been developed under most difficult material situations by the Ukrainian scholars who were in Western Europe, especially in Germany, during World War II. These men who had come from all parts of Ukraine, from Kiev and Lviv, under the conditions of the German occupation, were joined in the postwar years by other Ukrainians from Berlin, Prague, Podebrady and Vienna. Once they had been liberated by the Western armies and settled in the DP camps, they undertook to revive or establish Ukrainian scientific institutions, to develop a common ideology and to give play to their scientific and scholarly interests despite the hard conditions of their life and their lack of libraries and laboratories.

With the permission of the American authorities and the Bavarian government the *Ukrainian Free University* was revived in the latter part of 1946 in Munich by such eminent professors as T. Mirtschuk and Vadym Scherbakivsky. This institution had been originally established in 1921 in Vienna and had then been transferred to Prague, where it had received the support of the Czechoslovak Government. There were only two faculties reopened, that of Philosophy and that of Law and Economics. The staff was drawn not only from the former faculty of the Ukrainian Free University but from other Ukrainian university professors available and the student body included besides Ukrainians, Poles, White Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Russians, Serbs, and Germans.

During the years 1945—1949, the University flourished. Although conditions for living and studying were very hard, the professors kept their work on a high level both as regards lectures and seminars. In addition to this, the faculty prepared textbooks for their students and published their own independent researches in various journals and separate volumes. A special jubilee volume was produced to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the in-

stitution. The faculty and students were allowed to use not only their own small library which had been gathered with great difficulty but also the library of the Bavarian University of Munich and this proved of great assistance and made up for some of the other difficulties of their situation.

In 1948—49, the staff consisted of 23 ordinary professors, 19 extraordinary professors, 15 instructors, 9 lecturers and 7 assistants together with 9 persons of the administrative staff. This was in all some 82 persons. In the same years there were about 400 students, about equally divided between the two faculties. Many of these had been students in Ukrainian and other universities. Their education had been interrupted by the war and now they came together in the Ukrainian Free University to continue it.

The institution was supported by tuition fees and by gifts from Catholic charitable institutions and by the American authorities. The lack of paper interfered with the publications of the faculty, although many important works were mimeographed. These numbered about 25 books or about 2000 quarto mimeographed pages. Two volumes were printed: "*Ukrains, and Its People*," 280 pp. 8° and "*Collected Scientific Papers*," published as Vol. V. of the U.F.U. pp 255, 8°.

During these five years, about 100 students received the Ph. D. or LL. D.; 50 received the M. A. and some 500 students passed partial examinations for the M. A. In 1950 the University was granted by the Bavarian government the right of conferring degrees which would be treated as equal to those of the German University.

In November, 1945, the *Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute* which had been in Podebrady, Czechoslovakia, began the third period of its existence in Regensburg, Bavaria. The work of the Institute was carried on in four sections: 1. Research; 2. Academic courses; 3. Home Study courses, and 4. Special High School and professional courses. There were also established a pharmaceutical and a veterinary laboratory.

The academic section had 140 instructors and about 900 students yearly. The course of 8 terms was carried on in three faculties and 7 divisions. During the five year period 179 students were graduated as engineers, 50 as veterinarians and 120 as pharmacists. The Institute reprinted about 40 textbooks running to some 7000 mimeographed pages.

The section of professional high school and other courses had 67 branches in the various DP camps with 450 teachers and 2,500 students

who successfully completed these courses and passed their final examinations.

The Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute did most of its work in the field of practical education. It founded some societies which co-operated with their Alma Mater in research and in the formation of a professional staff and with the students and graduates of the school. In May 1947, the U.T.H.I. celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary.

*The Ukrainian School of Economics* in Munich was founded and organized by two Ukrainian professors of economics, Borys Martos, and M. Barvinsky, in the latter part of 1945 in the form of a business college. Its object was to prepare supervisors and clerks for state offices, cooperatives and private businesses and as practical experts in native and foreign countries. The course consisted of eight terms with some 21 to 28 hours of lectures weekly. The leading subjects taught were commercial studies as bookkeeping, accounting and mathematics, business administration, sociology, self-government, social hygiene, cooperation and Ukrainian culture. English and German were the foreign languages included. The staff consisted of about 50 faculty members and administrators; the number of students rose to about 300. During these five years about 60 students were graduated with a diploma in Economics, and 10 as engineering economists.

In the spring of 1946 *two theological seminaries* were organized, one for the Greek Catholics and one for the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox. The first was established by the Apostolic Visitor Nicholas Voyakovsky with Monsignor Basil Laba as Rector in the castle of Hirschberg near Weilheim in Bavaria. Some 70 students were accepted, many of whom had had their theological studies interrupted by the war, although there were new candidates also. After four terms the seminary was moved to the little town of Culemborg in Holland where the work was continued with the same faculty and methods under the supervision of the Holy See and the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Holland. In 1950 it was closed.

The Theological-Pedagogical Seminary of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church was founded in Munich by the Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchy and some lay professors. Its object was to train candidates for the priesthood and also for the educational and administrative needs of the Church. It had therefore the two faculties of Theology and Pedagogy. The staff included both clergy and laymen and numbered about 30 persons. The Rector was Prof. Pantelemon Kovaliv, formerly

of the University of Kiev. The seminary conferred both Master's and Doctor's Degrees in Theology and Education.

*The Scientific Shevchenko Society*, the oldest Ukrainian research institution in the arts and sciences with its seat in Lviv, Western Ukraine, was established in 1873, and liquidated by the Bolsheviks on January 14, 1940. In March, 1947, it resumed its activities in Munich with over 60% of its original members, its former President and a majority of the old Board of Directors, who had succeeded in migrating to the West.

In the reorganized Society, Dr. Ivan Rakovsky remained as President. Dr. Zenon Kuzela became Vice-President and Dr. Volodymyr Kubyovych became General Secretary. The three sections provided for in the old By-Laws were reconstituted. New officers and several sectional committees were established. New institutes were added—as the Institute for the Ukrainian Language, one for the Ukrainian Encyclopaedia, one for Bibliography and one for the Study of the Nationalities of Eastern Europe. The former librarian, Volodymyr Doroshenko, commenced to rebuild the library which had been confiscated by the Bolsheviks. While he was in a DP camp at Berchtesgaden, he succeeded in collecting several thousand books, papers and manuscripts from the Ukrainian exiles and is still carrying on this work in Philadelphia.

Several new Ukrainian scholars have been elected to active membership and this includes especially those who had been living in Eastern Ukraine under Soviet rule.

The sections and committees held many meetings in Munich for the reading and discussion of papers and for the approval of the printing of some under the name of the Society. Joint meetings of all the sections were held once or twice a year in accordance with the traditions to commemorate the anniversaries of Shevchenko and Franko. Two joint meetings were held in Mittenwald and Berchtesgaden to consider the problems of the reorganization of the Society.

The members were urged to co-operate in the execution of important projects. Among these were the commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the Society, its history and bibliography. The Institute for Bibliography published "*Ucrainica in foreign editions*" prepared by Eugen J. Pelenskyj. The Institute for the Encyclopaedia prepared this in Ukrainian and an English edition is under way. The Institute for Study of Nationalities under the direction of Prof. Kubyovych has compiled a great work on the national-sociological relations in Ukraine under the Soviets.

Five volumes of the *Memoirs of the Society* have been edited and three more are ready for printing. The Library of Serial Publications of

Ukrainian Culture has also prepared the "Story of Ukraine" by J. Kholmsky.

The renewed Society at once commenced to organize branches in Western Europe and elsewhere wherever there was a group of active members. The first and most important branch was organized in New York in 1947 under the Society's Vice-President Nicholas Chubaty. In connection with this several new active members were elected, namely, Prof. Clarence A. Manning, Dr. Murray Senkus, Prof. Al. Granovsky, Dr. V. Halich, D. M. Haydak of the United States and Prof. George Simpson and Professor Watson Kirkconnel of Canada. Previously the only active member of the Society (from 1929) was Albert Einstein. At present the Society has 94 active members, 58 regular or corresponding members, and one honorary member.

*The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences* was founded in Augsburg, Germany, in the latter part of 1945 by several exiles chiefly from Eastern Ukraine as D. Doroshenko, L. Biletsky, V. Miyakovsky and others who admired the activities of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev during the period of Ukrainization (1922-1929). This had been followed by the Russification of the Kiev Academy and the spiritual enslavement of it and hence the word "Free" was added to the title of the Academy established in exile.

Under the leadership of these men, the Academy began its work with its headquarters in the DP camp, Sommekaserne in Augsburg, where the first meetings were held. Prof. Miyakovsky and Dr. L. Chykalenko commenced an interesting collection of prints, of all Ukrainian newspapers and publications in exile from 1945 to 1950 and they established a Museum.

Within a short time several groups were set up. The most active were those for prehistoric archeology, linguistics and literature, ethnography, beaux-arts, biology, mathematics, physics and philosophy. Meetings were held for the reading of papers and discussions. The archeologists occupied themselves especially with the Trypillya culture. The ethnographical group prepared a folklore exhibition in Dillingen. Some joint meetings of the groups were arranged. November 14 and 15, 1948, a jubilee meeting was arranged to mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev.

As part of its work there was established an Institute of Slavistics under Prof. Jaroslav Rudnytsky who is at present at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, Canada. The U.F.A.S. has issued about 55

publications (printed or mimeographed) totalling 470 mimeographed and 560 printed pages.

When the scholars left for America, the central office was transferred to Winnipeg and branches were established in New York and Germany. The museum, archives, and library were brought to the United States.

*The Ukrainian Artistic Movement (MUR)* in addition to its literary works considered the scientific problems and theories of Ukrainian literature, its history and criticism, in its meetings, publications and magazines.

In Munich in 1948 there was held a "Week of Ukrainian Culture". In connection with this there were arranged exhibitions, concerts, and lectures covering all aspects of Ukrainian culture in the past and present.

This short survey has aimed to give a broad outline of the activity of the Ukrainian scholars in exile. It shows that despite all their difficulties these men have attempted the following:

1. To continue the free development of Ukrainian scholarship and culture free from the Bolshevik pressure that prevails in the homeland.
2. To preserve Ukrainian books, magazines, newspapers, publications of all kinds and works of art.
3. To protect and care for Ukrainian scholars and scientists who are now in Western Europe and America.
4. To establish close ties with Western scholars and scientists and to help them take their proper place in the Western world of learning.

When we consider the hardships and the difficulties which confronted the Ukrainians in the early days of the DP camps, we can only marvel at the amount of constructive work that they were able to undertake and carry through. It bodes well for the energy and zeal of the men and for the vitality of Ukrainian culture.

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#### UNEMPLOYED

Two Soviet citizens meet.

"How are you getting along?" asks one.

"Pretty good," answers the other. "We live worse than we did yesterday but undoubtedly better than we will tomorrow."

"And your children?"

"They're fine. One works as a bookkeeper and one is an engineer. The only one in America is out of work at present but if he didn't send us food parcels we'd be desperate."

## TEN DAYS OF UKRAINIAN ART IN MOSCOW

by S. H.

From June 15th to 25th of this year, a huge festival of Ukrainian Art was organized in Moscow. As everything else in the USSR, it was an official enterprise. Its object was to show the development of Ukrainian Art under the Soviet regime in Ukraine. For this purpose, four Ukrainian theatres and five choruses, with some 2,000 performers were called to Moscow. Over 80 Ukrainian poets and writers appeared personally (even one that formerly had spent 10 years in a Siberian concentration camp), and an exhibition of Ukrainian art, with over 1000 works, in 23 rooms, of the Tretyakov Gallery was organized. Another exhibition showed the best examples of Ukrainian folk art.

The organizers of this festival were very careful in their choice of all the performers of artistic works. The folk art, with its ethnographic character, was emphasized by giving it the first place. While such items of popular art as embroidery, ceramics and woodcarvings called forth the enthusiasm of the Muscovite spectators, the contemporary Ukrainian painting received offensive and negative criticism from the press because, as *Pravda* put it, "through these works you can hardly feel the contemporary Socialist Ukraine." The Ukrainian artists "did not recreate the industrial work in the Donbasin and in the factories," "there are almost no works dedicated to the great friendship of the Soviet peoples," and the art works depicting the kolkhozes were completely unsatisfactory. As we can see from the names of the artists whose works were exhibited, only minor artists were invited to participate. This is obvious, since the best Ukrainian artists have been liquidated by the Soviet Russian regime; such noted painters as M. Boychuk, V. Sedlar, I. Padalka, V. Meller, M. Shekhtman (an artist of Jewish descent) were shot by the NKVD; others are in exile, as V. Krychevsky, the Rector of the Kiev Academy of Art, or another Professor of this Academy, M. Dmytrenko. Even the greatest Ukrainian painter, still living under the Soviets, Anatol Petrytsky, was not mentioned during the exhibition. Thus, the Ukrainian competitors in art were easily eliminated, because nothing irritates the Russians so much as the higher culture of the other nations under their domination. When in the *Biennale*

Exhibition, in Venice, in 1928 and 1930, the works of Ukrainian artists were shown in the Soviet Pavillion, they were acclaimed by Italians as the best. The result was that in the next *Biennale* exhibitions the works of Ukrainian artists simply disappeared, and so the Russian cultural hegemony was maintained. Now, only secondary Ukrainian works of art were chosen to represent the contemporary Ukrainian culture in the Moscow festival.

Also, the drama and poetry did not satisfy the Muscovites. *Pravda* makes the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Ukraine responsible for all the "ideological errors" found in the works of Ukrainian writers. Even such high ranking persons in the Soviet hierarchy as A. Kornychuk, and his Polish wife, Wanda Wasilewska, were attacked for their „historical mistakes" in their play „Bohdan Khmelnytsky." But the main force of the attacks was concentrated on Volodymyr Sosyura for his poem, "Love Ukraine", written in 1944. The ridiculous side of this attack is that this poem is among those that were honored by the highest Soviet award — the Stalin prize, and it was reprinted several times by the State Publishing House of the Soviet Ukraine...

What were the grave errors of Sosyura? Let us see the poem itself:

## LOVE UKRAINE I

Translated by FLORENCE RANDAL LIVESAY

Literal reading by PAUL CRATH

*Love Ukraine like unto sun-shining,  
Like wind and like grasses and waters,  
Like hours so happy, in moments rejoicing  
And even keep love in misfortune.*

*Love Ukraine in dream and awakening  
Thy cherry-blossom Ukraine!  
Ever-living and new is her beauty  
And speech as of nightingale singing.*

*She resembles a leafy orchard  
And, like one, she shines over the ages  
Among fraternal nations  
Love Ukraine with all your heart  
And with all your deeds  
For us she is the one in the world  
One in the expanse of her sweet charm.*

*The Ukrainian Quarterly*

*She dwells in the stars and the willows,  
 She lives in each heart-beat  
 In flowers, in birds, in electric fire,  
 In every song, in every thought,  
 In the smile of a child, in a maiden's eyes  
 In the crimson shimmering  
 Of battle-banners.*

*As in the Burning Bush, never extinguished,  
 She lives in lone paths and in woodland,  
 In the blare of factory whistles  
 And in the billows of the Dnieper.  
 And in those purple clouds.*

*She lives in the cannon's blast, in dust dispersing  
 The foreigners in green uniforms, — like dust!  
 She lives in the bayonets which in the darkness  
 Hacked out for us a Road to springs bright and evident.*

*O Youth! Let thy laughter belong to her  
 And tears, and all things whatsoever  
 Unto the bitter end.  
 Thou mayest not love other nations  
 If thou lovest not thy Ukraine.*

*O Girlhood! As thou lovest her blue sky  
 Love Her in every moment.  
 Thy beloved would not love thee  
 If thou lovest not thy Ukraine.*

*Love Her in toll, courtship, in battle;  
 Love Her like the Song which glides  
 With the Morning Star...  
 Love Ukraine with all thy heart  
 And we will be forever with her!*

The poet carefully mentioned the "brotherly nations", "the crimson flags" and "the foreigners in green uniforms" (the Germans), but even with all these items he could not purchase the favor of the Russian critics. Several Russian translators of this poem got the hint that not everything was in order with the communist ideology of this poem, and to remedy these shortcomings they added in their translations passages which did

not exist in the original text. Certainly they did not ask Sosyura for permission to do this. So, one of them, Prokofiev, added in his translation "the Soviet Fatherland", the "Volga", and naturally, "the stars of the Kremlin." Another translator, Ushakov, beautified the poem with "Kol-khozes". Both were sharply reproved by *Pravda* for these additions because they marked the "nationalistic" undercurrent of this poem. The result was that Sosyura wrote to *Pravda* a letter of repentance, in which he thanked them for the "just Bolshevik criticism" and promised "never again to make such unpardonable breaches in his poetry." Similar letter of repentance was written also by the Russian translator Prokofiev, not to mention another by the literary pair Korniyuchuk-Wasilewska.

As we see clearly, Sosyura was beaten not for what he wrote but for what he did not write: the praise of the Soviet regime in Ukraine. His "bourgeois nationalism" lies in the fact that he, a Ukrainian poet, propagates the love of Ukraine in the first place before all others. This is the grave sin for which hundreds of Ukrainian writers have paid with their lives. The fact that the Russian poets have full liberty to praise Russia, as Stalin himself does, does not count; this is not a "bourgeois nationalism" and no one has ever heard that a Russian poet has been liquidated for this error. On the contrary, Russian writers are reproached for being too "cosmopolitan", and M. Zoshchenko not long ago was reprimanded by Zhdanov for the fact that he did not show enough national Russian pride in his short stories.

Once again this episode with Sosyura reveals the chauvinism of the imperialistic minded Russian élite.

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### FASTEST TEMPO

by *Nicholas Prychodko*

The USSR has the fastest tempo for building. (From a Resolution of the Communist Party convention.)

"How long did it take you to build this six-story building?" asked an American visitor?

"Three years," replied the Russian guide, proudly.

"In America we build a 20-story building in a year," volunteered the American, "and how about this eight-story one?"

"Oh, that one was started yesterday when I was passing by and today, see, it's all occupied by dwellers," answered the guide without batting an eyelash.

## A GREAT BYZANTINE-SLAV CATHEDRAL

V. J. KAYE KISILEWSKY

In the last few years Canada has received a number of outstanding Ukrainian intellectuals who are gradually asserting their position in the new country. Some have secured posts in the Canadian universities, or in research work in medicine, engineering, agriculture and some are well on their way to receiving due recognition in their specialized fields. Dr. Yaroslav Pasternak, an archeologist of exceptional abilities with recognized achievements to his credit is one of these. He is perhaps best known for his discovery of the remains of the long-lost ducal cathedral of Halych and for the excavations carried on in this connection.

The Cathedral of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin at Halych played an almost mythical part in the history of the Ukrainian Church and Nation. For many years it was the burying place of the Princes of Halych and it was the discovery of these royal tombs that has given the excavations so much significance among Ukrainians.

The town of Halych was very ancient for on its site have been found settlements of the Neolithic and Bronze ages. The city's power and prosperity, however, dates from the XII century, when Prince Vladimir of Peremyshl made it his capital, and when, in 1145, it became the administrative centre of the Principality. From that date, the importance of the city increased, and reached its zenith in the XIIIth century.

The Cathedral itself was probably built between 1153 and 1187, during the reign of Prince Yaroslav Osmomyshl. Under Yaroslav the Principality attained its greatest size, and reached to the Carpathians, the river Dnieper, and the Black Sea.

This ruler is characterized in the contemporary Kiev chronicles as: "...Wise, eloquent, God-fearing, and highly-esteemed among the neighbouring States..." In the contemporary Ukrainian epic poem "Tale of Ihor's Campaign" he was addressed: "You sit on your golden throne supporting the Carpathian Mountains with your iron regiments, having closed the gates of the Danube against the King of Hungary, and founded the New Halych..." This is now Galatz, on the Danube, in Rumania.

Prince Yaroslav, however, was buried in the crypt of the cathedral which he built in Halych itself.

The excavations are the more important in that little remains from this period to give us any idea of the secular or ecclesiastical architecture of Halych. There is, however, one exception—the beautiful church of St. Pantelemon which at the beginning of Polish rule in 1370 was taken from the Ukrainians and given to the Polish Franciscan Order as a result of which it now has a roof of the Renaissance period, has been adapted to the Latin rite and re-dedicated to the Polish Saint Stanislaus.

In 1240 the Tartar invasion swept across the land, leaving ruin and desolation in its wake. Like many other towns and villages, Halych suffered much from the invaders. Its castle, fortifications, and cathedral were destroyed. The Princes left Halych to its fate and moved their capital further north, to Kholm and Lviv.

In the course of centuries, after the disappearance of the Kingdom of Halych through Polish conquest, the site itself of the old capital of the Principality was forgotten together with the tombs of such princes as Rostyslav who fell in the battle against the Magyars in 1189, Vladimir II who died in 1199, and Roman who died in 1205.

In the middle of the last century the national revival among the Ukrainians renewed their interests in their own history, and inaugurated a systematic investigation of places regarded by the population as historic sites. The first excavations were carried out by Father Lev Lavretsky, the parish priest of the village of Zalukva, one of the parishes which had formed part of the ancient capital, Halych. Father Lavretsky was assisted by Professor Isidore Sharanevych. By 1891 they had uncovered and described the foundations of nine ancient churches. Yet although they, and later Drs. O. Czołowski and J. Pelensky, searched indefatigably for traces of the great cathedral, they were unsuccessful.

In 1934 research was recommenced by a young Ukrainian archeologist, Yaroslav Pasternak under the aegis of Andrew Count Sheptytsky, Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. After a preliminary study of the whole site of the ancient capital, (now an obscure town with 4 thousand populace) he came to the conclusion in 1936 that Professor Sharanevych was undoubtedly correct—that the remains of the cathedral should be sought at the village Krylos, very close to the site of the parish church. After careful examination and study he dug the first trial trench some 15 m. long. On July 25th, 1936 he uncovered some huge masonry running from south to north at a depth of about three metres. A thorough

study eventually proved this to be the foundations of the cathedral that had been so long arduously sought.

Further excavations revealed the remains of a floor consisting of large alabaster slabs. Work was postponed for a time because of the approach of winter and because it was felt that more preliminary archeological study should be done.

In the spring of 1937 the work was resumed. Very soon the first sarcophagus was discovered. This grave had obviously been plundered, probably during the Tartar invasion but it had undoubtedly been that of a Prince. Nearby were found the remains of a wooden coffin and the skeleton of a young woman. The skull contained almost perfect teeth, well preserved, and was crowned with the remains of a diadem of a fabric interlaced with gold. No clues to her identity have been found but it is thought that the remains are those of a Princess.

For the rest, the work has consisted in the uncovering of the foundations and thus revealing the surprising extent of the cathedral. The edifice was roughly in the form of a square, the sides measuring more than 100 feet each way, dimensions only slightly smaller than those of the St. Sophia at Kiev. The walls of the foundations, however, were thicker than those of St. Sophia.

The remains of the massive walls are well preserved. The style was Byzantine with Western Romanesque modifications. The roof was covered with lead, and fragments of the plates have been found on the ground. The sanctuary of the cathedral consisted of three spacious apses. The centre apse was five metres in diameter. The excavations have shown that the edifice possessed five aisles but more may have existed. The excavations were interrupted by the war and it is doubtful whether the Soviet regime will be interested in continuing the excavations which have aroused such a resurgence of national enthusiasm among the population of Western Ukraine.

The discovery of the cathedral and the methodically-planned excavations conducted by Dr. Pasternak did much to fill the large gap in the history of the Halych Principality which played such an important part in the early history of Eastern Europe.

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# TENSIONS WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION

*The Analysis of the Senate Document No. 41.*

by LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

The recent report on "Tensions Within The Soviet Union" (Senate Document No. 41), prepared at the request of Senator Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, is undoubtedly a valuable and instructive document expertly compiled and developed from extensive source material dealing with all the major sectors of Soviet society. Within the scope of its theme and the limits of a brief pamphlet, it unquestionably furnishes the reader that necessary panoramic view of the subject which frequently is unobtainable in the usual writings on other aspects of Soviet life. That it will be useful in enlightening many Americans on the chief sources of friction and tension in the Soviet Union goes without saying, and every effort should be exerted to widen its general circulation.

Among informed observers and intellectually honest students of the Soviet Union this interesting work cannot, of course, escape critical examination and analysis. Despite its obvious merits, this Senate document contains certain defects which, if not pointed out objectively, can influence unfavorably short perspective which can lead to a variety of unfortunate consequences of misjudgment and miscalculation in our political, psychological, and possible military campaigns against the multiform aggressions of Soviet Russian imperialism. A concise enumeration of these defects, with an empirical evaluation of the specific data presented, will more than confirm this apprehension.

## SIX SALIENT CRITICISMS OF THE DOCUMENT

It is evident, for one, that a disproportionate emphasis is laid upon several of the topics considered with the relative neglect of one of the most significant sources of unrest and disorder in the Soviet Union, namely the so-called "national minorities" who, as a matter of fact, have come to form the majority in the population complex of that area since World War II. Indeed, in the face of overwhelming evidence easily accessible to those responsible for this document, it appears that the importance of this crucial subject of national relationships, in which the imperialist Rus-

sian Bolsheviks have failed miserably, has been intentionally minimized. It is frankly inconceivable that the two experts engaged in the preparation of this work are ignorant of the mass of outstanding literature on this subject. As a direct result, their depreciation of this highly important problem accounts for the fact that in his lucid summary of the report, Senator Wiley is helplessly left with the notion that the minority groups merely "suffer from the policies of a centralistic totalitarian system . . .<sup>1</sup> This surely is a weak, myopic view of the situation for these alleged minority groups are not of the type with which we are familiar in this country or in certain parts of Western Europe. The cardinal political fact is that these supposed minority groups constitute whole, live, and freedom-seeking nations which, as in the more recent case of the so-called satellite countries of Poland, Hungary etc., have been ruthlessly seduced and enslaved by Soviet Russian imperialism, and the paramount desire of the former is in essence no different from that of the latter.

The second prominent weakness of the report springs logically from the first in that although it is intended to present the broadest possible information as a working groundwork for intelligent psychological warfare, it is gravely deficient in its coverage of the known underground operations and other forms of resistance found in the spacious non-Russian areas of the Soviet Union. Here, too, the Senator recapitulates the contents with the now overplayed theme of communicating with the Russian people and, unlike Mr. Stassen and numerous others, fails to recognize that among more than one hundred million non-Russians in the Soviet Union, whose profound hatred of traditional Russian imperialism is proverbial, we enjoy actual, dependable and certain allies, not simply potential ones which may never be actualized. When Mr. Acheson recently declared, "It is clear that this process of encroachment and consolidation by which Russia has grown in the last 500 years from the Duchy of Muscovy to a vast empire, has got to be stopped," he doubtlessly was mindful of the Ukrainian, Balt, Byelorussian, Georgian and other victims in the Soviet prison of nations.<sup>2</sup>

A third criticism that can be justly advanced hinges on the ambiguity and the misleading character of the terminology employed by its authors. For instance, quite frequently the terms Russia and the Soviet Union are used interchangeably in connection with events involving non-Rus-

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<sup>1</sup> "Tensions Within The Soviet Union", U. S. Gov't Printing Office, Wash., 1951, p. v.

<sup>2</sup> The New York Times, June 27, 1951.

sians rather than the Russians themselves, and the uninformed reader is falsely led to believe that these events took place among the latter. This, as many alert American observers are beginning to understand, is characteristic of the technique of premeditated confusion exploited by certain irresponsible Russian emigres in the pursuit of their Mother Russia craze, but there is every reason to doubt that such is the case here. Nevertheless, accurate reporting for official purposes as important as this surely demands precision in the use of proper and valid terminology.

Fourth, the work contains many sound generalizations and interpretations based on the data offered, but due to the above criticisms, some of these which pertain especially to the ways and means of effective psychological warfare, can be easily overshadowed by more forceful general observations grounded in a broader range of fact and reality. Moreover, factual evidence that is plainly more pertinent and significant in the support of one interpretation is in a real sense misused in substantiation of a far less important one. And finally, throughout the exposition there appears to be too heavy a dependence on the spotty and utterly inconclusive interviews conducted by the Harvard group among East European refugees in Western Europe. This statistical approach to canned knowledge is certainly a poor substitute for years of patient study and research.

#### SPECIFIC CASES JUSTIFYING THE GIVEN CRITICISM

With these outstanding objections clearly set forth, we are now prepared to examine some of the data and interpretations provided in the document in order to assess and appreciate the soundness and full import of these various points. As was pointed out earlier, the report manages to cover all the major areas of Soviet society—the youth, the intelligentsia, religious groups, the misnamed national minorities, the Red Army, women, workers, farmers, the party, management, and forced labor. Some of these, notably the Red Army, women, the party, managerial groups, and the workers, receive excellent and highly informative treatment. The other portions, however, are not comparably developed and thus justify our criticism.

In the introductory part of the report, attention is focused on the necessary dissipation of two common illusions, viz. the unwarranted expectations of Titoism among all satellite states and the imminence of an organized revolt in the Soviet Union. Few informed observers would disagree with this. What is subject to disagreement and criticism is the

argument which is used to disprove these illusions. In the first case, the emphasis placed on the fact that the Soviet Union is not monolithic in character is commendable, but to base this entirely on the current feud between Belgrade and Moscow, although this undoubtedly constitutes the most incisive breach yet, arbitrarily ignores the successive manifestations of opposition and defiance courageously shown by Ukrainians, Lithuanians and others even before Tito emerged on the political scene. Regarding the second illusion, the rash assertion that "It is debatable that those, who are dissatisfied, would necessarily disaffect from the Soviet Union and its Communist regime in case of a military show-down with the West, particularly if no well-thought-out guidance and encouragement are given to the dissenting elements from the outside," reveals an unusual lack of insight into the evidence of current and recent history.<sup>3</sup> The mass surrender of Ukrainians, Tatars, Caucasians etc. in the opening phase of the German-Soviet conflict and the continuing operations of the Lithuanian, Ukrainian etc. resistance now easily nullify the pessimistic overtone of this unjustifiable opinion. Naturally the factors of outside guidance and encouragement are important but these revolve about the issue of degree and extent, not the substance of certain disaffection.

The discussion on the progressive disillusionment of Soviet youth in communist promises and performances is constructive in many respects. There is considerable evidence supporting the decline in enthusiasm among youth for the official ideology of the state which now in its insistence upon absolute conformity pays little attraction to the characteristically rampant idealism of youth, and certainly the cultural exposure of young Soviet soldiers to the presumed "comforts and luxuries" of Central Europe led only to the acceleration of this psychological regression. But the interpretation, contained in the following statement, is a perfect example of logical misemphasis. "From the Soviet point of view," it is maintained, "that a low state of morale existed among youth groups even prior to the war is attested to by the mass surrenders of Soviet soldiers to the Nazis in the early stages of the war, that is, before the German atrocities and excesses convinced even rebellious young people that their duty lay in fighting for their country even if not for communism."<sup>4</sup> As every accurate student knows, this outstanding event of the war was not a Russian phenomenon as the preceding vague statement can logically imply, but was conspicuously a non-Russian one, confined to Ukrainians, Balts, and the Caucasian peoples almost exclusively, and still less was

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<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

it attributable to the diffused disillusionment of the youth in the sense entertained by the authors. In short, this prime evidence belongs in the section on national "minorities" and their respective liberation struggles from the foreign domination of Moscow.

Turning now to the chapter on the Soviet intelligentsia and its humiliating state of subservient alacrity to Stalin's omniscience, it is disconcerting to find a patently incomplete picture portrayed by the writers for the unwary American reader, especially since one of the most significant areas of tension ignored here assumes from time to time widely publicized proportions. The evidence given is chiefly Russian, despite the fact that considerably more can be drawn from official attacks on the so-called "bourgeois nationalism" of the non-Russian intelligentsia, and in particular the Ukrainian. Yet there is virtually nothing said about the periodic assaults upon this officially stigmatized vice in Ukrainian literary and artistic output. These official rebukes signaling the approach of an ideological purge are almost annual affairs for Ukrainian writers, poets, and artists, the most recent case being that of Mr. V. Sosyura's poem "Love Ukraine".<sup>5</sup> Surely the Ukrainian intelligentsia has excelled in committing several of the basic sins enumerated by the authors, particularly the "Failure to stress properly Russia's national virtues and achievements," "The all-pervading presence of cosmopolitanism," and "Insufficient demonstration of Soviet patriotism and of Soviet national pride," to the extent at least of meriting honorable mention in any such discussion.

The sections of the report devoted to the religious groups, the collective farmer, and the forced labor battalions are on the whole impressive and illuminating, and it is unfortunate that certain misleading observations and inadequacies prevent them from being completely so. In connection with the first, the report is definitely on firm ground in its detection of tension among the 25 million Moslems whom the Soviet leaders mistrust because of the insurrections that spread in 1942 in some of the central Asiatic republics, among the Jews and their cultural cosmopolitanism, and also among the communicants of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Recognition of the last as a "potential enemy of the Soviet regime" is definitely an understatement of fact with which the authors of this document are evidently unfamiliar. Since the Church has been officially liquidated, its leaders and followers have become attached to the under-

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<sup>5</sup> Harrison E. Salisbury, "Ideological Purge Pushed in Ukraine," *The New York Times*, July 14, 1951.

ground Ukrainian Insurgent Army to preserve and advance the faith in actual operation against Soviet atheism.

Concerning the collective farmer, the reader is given no indication as to where the main incidence of the ghastly burden of collectivization finally rested. Instead, the inaccurate assertion is made that "The forced elimination of individual farming in the Soviet Union laid the ground for a terrible famine in Russia."<sup>6</sup> This is plainly inexcusable since the writers had an opportunity to scan the evidence provided in my testimony on genocide which they employed for other purposes. Up to five million peasants were killed in Ukraine during this horrible, state-sponsored famine, and the unsuspecting reader is blissfully left with the faulty impression that the Russians suffered this fate. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that cognizance is taken of the persistent opposition to the institution of the supercollectives, the so-called agrograds, but again no inkling is given of the chief source of this opposition.<sup>7</sup> In point of fact, for some time now the peasants in Western Ukraine, largely inspired by the underground, have bravely resisted this innovation of consolidated tyranny, and numerous reports to this effect, as for instance those assembled by the responsible Mr. Harry Schwartz of the New York Times, have not been inaccessible even to the general reading public.

Similar strictures may be made on the treatment of the subject of forced labor. Relying on the classification of forced labor groups provided by Prof. Ernst Tallgren, the undiscerning authors apparently fail to appreciate the fact that the greater part of Soviet forced labor consists of non-Russians. As an example, the first large group, made up of peasants, consists overwhelmingly of "Ukrainian farmers," and, to follow the quotation, "As they are used to have physical labor, they constitute the bulk of the work brigades."<sup>8</sup> A quick glance at the other categories of human debasement, such as persons who have traveled abroad, former inhabitants of the borderlands, those condemned for their religious beliefs or for specific Soviet wartime crimes, is sufficient to indicate the non-Russian backgrounds of these helpless victims. The opinion given that there is "little reason to expect from these victims of the Soviet regime a direct revolt against their oppressors" is meaningless without a description of the specific conditions surrounding the stage of such an easily conceivable revolt.

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

Our final consideration must be directed to the description presented in the report of the misconceived national minorities problem. Again it must be admitted that on the whole the presentation is satisfactory one and to my knowledge the best account that has yet appeared in official circles. Certain important details, however, must be properly corrected.

First, due to Soviet territorial annexations in World War II, the non-Russian composition of the total Soviet population is more nearly 53% than the estimate of 46% based on actual pre-war distribution. Second, we cannot but express agreement with the general observation that Soviet national genocide demonstrates conclusively the emptiness of the Bolshevik claim to a humane solution of the thorny nationalities problem, but we are thoroughly at a loss to understand the flagrant omission on the part of the authors of the weighty Ukrainian evidence of calculated Soviet genocide. From my testimony on the Genocide Convention, virtually all the relatively smaller nations are mentioned, but not even an allusion is made to Ukraine which, as Dr. Lemkin, the brilliant author of the treaty, and numerous others have rightly conceded, has carried in lives the heaviest burden of Soviet Russian genocide. Against the mass evidence appearing in the official hearings on this issue, this pithy performance along with the recent "Fact Sheet on Genocide, The New International Crime of Mass Murder"<sup>9</sup> appears ridiculous in motive as well as content.

Unlike the preceding condition, the portions dealing with Great Russian chauvinism (pp.33-34) in its vulgar and blatant expression in the Politburo, in local administration, and in industry, doubtlessly deserve high praise for fair and objective reporting. Appropriate emphasis is placed on the fact that "great Russians are moved solidly into the strategically decisive parts of the Union."<sup>10</sup> There is no question that this analysis can serve as an excellent objective basis for an understanding of present developments centering on this fundamental issue, as witness the vital material assembled lately by Harry Schwartz on the current Russian campaign to stem the unrest among the non-Russian peoples in the Union.<sup>11</sup>

Yet in leading logically to the section on "Resistance In the Ukraine," the authors, aside from the few references abstracted from my genocide testimony, lean weakly on the bare remark of a presumably authoritative

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<sup>9</sup> Spencer D. Irvin, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, June 24, 1951.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>11</sup> "Soviet Combating Separatist Moves," *The New York Times*, July 19, 1951.

observation that "In the early stages of the war there were mass desertions of both troops and civilians to the Germans. Not only did some of the non-Slavic peoples along the Baltic and in the Caucasus prove untrustworthy, but *even* many of the Ukrainians."<sup>12</sup> No greater understatement of this phenomenal event could reasonably be made. If detailed Ukrainian and German reports did not appeal to these Library of Congress researchers, they would have done better to quote from a speech delivered by W. Averell Harriman last year in Houston, Texas: "Stalin knows better than we do the weakness of the Kremlin hold on the Russian people and its still weaker hold on the people of the satellites. That is why purge after purge has been necessary to maintain control. Stalin knows that when the German armies overran the Ukraine, they were at first welcomed by many. It was the brutality of the S.S. troops dealing with the occupation that turned the Ukrainians against the Germans."<sup>13</sup>

#### UNIMAGINATIVE RESULTS FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

As we should rationally anticipate, the conclusions of Senate Document No. 41 are logically determined by its content of fact and reason. To reiterate the need for appealing to the Russian people and to stress the fear of war among the Soviet peoples are not, in the light of available evidence, exactly imaginative and action-inspiring recommendations for effective psychological warfare. Also, the remarkable reflections of Mr. Stassen are quoted at the end of the report, but it is of further interest to note that no mention is made of his concrete recommendations on foreign policy which, among other things, include the national independence of Ukraine. The condition of independent national will is an intrinsic aspect and property of the reasonable exercise of national self-determination, and because this is denied by certain pseudodemocratic Russian emigres, espousing only in name the principle of self-determination, Ukrainian leadership and organizations are perfectly justified in abstaining from any relations with such morally baseless groups. The Senate document fails to consider these crucial problems, and this failure is the natural result of its partially limited and shallow treatment of the "majority non-Russian minorities" in the Soviet Union. The need for a supplement to this document, covering almost exclusively this explosive area of Soviet political life, should be manifestly clear.

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>13</sup> *The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C., September 19, 1950.

## DOCUMENTS OF OUR TIME

### THE UKRAINIAN FREE UNIVERSITY IN MUNICH AND THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY REFUGEE PROJECT

At the request of the State Department, the Russian Centre at Harvard University undertook through its scientific collaborators the questioning of hundreds of fugitives from the Soviets in Germany and America so as to secure material "at first hand" on conditions under the Soviets.

In Germany for the Harvard Project there worked a scientific team under the leadership of R. A. Bauer, and his assistant Mr. Luther. In America the work was headed by Dr. Ivan D. London.

The work of the American team provoked among the persons questioned lively dissatisfaction not only because of the complete lack of information of the workers on the Project of the national problems of the USSR but also because of their pro-Russian tendencies, which sometimes insulted the national feelings of the Ukrainian fugitives from the Soviets. For example: the question of the questionnaire, "Why did you declare yourself a Ukrainian?" could insult a member of any nation, if the name of his own nationality had been substituted as, American, French, etc. This question aroused lively protests from the Ukrainian press. How the European aspect appeared can be judged by this letter of the Rector and Professors of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. (*Editor.*)

#### THE UKRAINIAN FREE UNIVERSITY ON THE INQUIRY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

In connection with the unfounded reports circulating in the United States that the professors of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich cooperated with the Scientific Expedition of Harvard University and took part in its inquiry, we regard it necessary to inform Ukrainian circles that:

In connection with the visit to the Ukrainian Free University by the members of the expedition, Mr. R. A. Bauer and Mr. Luther, and the desire of the University to furnish to the expedition the necessary literature on questions concerning Ukrainian affairs by appointment by the Rector of the University Prof. I. Mirchuk, Prof. Yu Boyko established relations with the Expedition so as with scholarly objectivity to acquaint the researchers of the Expedition with the national and state struggle of the Ukrainians, especially in the Soviet reality.

When the representative of the Expedition turned to Prof. Yu. Boyko to help with the resources of the University in the technical preparation of the questionnaire made by the members of the Expedition on the national question, Prof. Boyko objected that the suggested questionnaire could not be used, for it was not composed objectively but was marked by Russian aspirations and insulted the national feelings of the Ukrainians. The representatives of the Expedition agreed in the beginning to rework entirely the questionnaire in cooperation with the professors of the Ukrainian Free University. In connection with this on March 21 of this year there was held a meeting of the scientific collaborators of the Expedition of Harvard University with Professors N. Vasylenko-Polonska, Yu. Boyko and the Rector of the University, Prof. I. Mirchuk (who was able only in part to take a share in the meeting).

But at this meeting, after many hours of discussion, there was seen the impossibility of agreeing upon the text of the questionnaire in view of the fact that the representative of the Expedition, Mr. Luther (to whom the Expedition has assigned the task of completing the agreement), maintained the Russian position. Thereupon Professors N. Vasylenko-Polonska and Prof. Yu. Boyko who were at the meeting refused to continue the conversations and declared that in view of the impossibility of agreeing upon the final parts of the questionnaire, they considered that there could be no agreement upon any part of the questionnaire and that the questionnaire could not be connected in any way with the Ukrainian Free University and its collaborators. With this the relations between the University and the Expedition of Harvard University ended.

If it should appear that attempts are being made to use this questionnaire for the formation of "statistical data" on the national conditions in contemporary Ukraine, we would consider it necessary to point out the complete impossibility of approaching by this path and in any degree to an understanding of the objective state of affairs. Such a questionnaire can give nothing but the falsification of reality for the benefit of the traditional Russian imperialism.

Professors of the Ukrainian Free University:

*I. Mirchuk, Rector,  
N. Vasylenko-Polonska,  
Yu. Boyko.*

## THE SCOTTISH LEAGUE FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM

Philanthropic; Non-Party; Non-Sectarian

*President:* The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Mansfield. — *Vice Presidents:* Gordon Duncan; Professor A. Dewar Gibbe; Sir M. Barclay Harvey, K.C.M.G.; Major Guy Lloyd, D.S.O., M.P.; Captain J. H. F. Mc Ewen; Lt. Col. Sir Thomas Moore, C.B.E., MP; Sir George A. Waters. — *Chairman:* John F. Stewart. — *Vice-Chairman:* Duncan Macnaughton. — 22 Young Street & Ashfield, Jupiter Green, Edinburgh, Tel.: 87789.

The Scottish League for European Freedom was formed in 1944 to carry on the work begun in 1939 of endeavouring to educate public opinion on Eastern and Central European affairs, and especially of warning the civilized world of the tremendous gravity of the Russian menace, which the promoters of the League had clearly seen from the first.

By the Russo-German Pact of August 1939, Russia and Germany definitely decided the immediate start of the war, dividing Europe between them, and for nearly two years Russia gave Germany all the help it could, in the obvious expectation that Germany and Britain would exhaust themselves, when Stalin would destroy the British Commonwealth and own Europe without striking a blow. Hitler disappointed him by attacking Russia in June 1941, but this had the tragic result that the English-speaking world went Russia-mad overnight, completely and blindly pro-Russian. The League did all it could to warn this country, but met with almost no encouragement.

At Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, Stalin not only got all he asked for, but Roosevelt, instigated by Harry Hopkins, a man with neither background nor foreign experience, poured everything he could think of into the astonished Bolshevik leader's lap, till now, thanks to American politicians and financiers and to British supineness, Stalin bestrides the world and holds it in terror.

Not one single forecast or statement of the League has ever been falsified by events. Russia's unprovoked attack on peaceful, democratic and prosperous Finland, and the crushing terms imposed by the victor, pointed unmistakably to the continued aim of Russian policy—world conquest. The Finnish Province of Karelia was annexed, giving Russia peaceful commercial ports which she has converted into strongly fortified naval bases. Finland was forced to surrender Petsamo, her northern port, so giving Russia direct access to the North Atlantic in readiness for an attack on Britain, Canada and the United States. Half of Poland was annexed. The annexation of cultured, peaceful and prosperous Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania followed, scores of thousands of their unresisting and inoffensive men, women and children were at once shot or deported to a worse death in Siberia or Arctic Russia. None of those who remained is permitted to live within many miles of the coast and the peaceful but

busy ports of the three States have been converted into enormously strong military, naval, air and submarine bases.

But the crowning folly was surely the handing over to Moscow of East Prussia, with its Baltic Coast reaching almost to Lubeck, and including the great port of Koenigsberg, now another immensely fortified Russian naval base.

Previously, the Baltic Sea was open to the world, controlled by a number of smaller nations whose interest it was to keep it open and who could not have closed it—Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland; now, however, it is a Russian lake and can be closed at a moment's notice. There is no question at all that an attack can now be made from the Baltic bases which would overwhelm this country before we knew we were attacked. It is from there that the greatest danger to this country will come—not from other parts of Europe. We in vain tried to point this out in 1939 and consistently from that time. It cannot be said we are wise after the event, because we were wise before the event, as any thoughtful person might have been. But, whether it was the only national newspaper possessing courage or prescience or both, *The Scotsman* was the only single British journal which opened its columns to our attempts at warning. We were refused everywhere else, we were unpopular. And Stalin has reaped his rich harvest: Rumania, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, Albania, Hungary, Austria, East Germany, with Berlin an island in a Russian sea, surely the most incredibly inept international arrangement ever made! And he has what Russia has wanted for generations and the rest of Europe tried, for its own safety, to prevent, the approach to the Dardanelles, through our helping him to the inestimably important Mouths and Control of the Danube.

While we were busy with our comparatively parochial matters, Stalin was adding to his Asian possessions, and the rich Chinese Province of Sinkiang is Russian, so is Mongolia, so may others be, while strategic bases of the first importance, such as the Kurile Islands, were freely presented to him by Roosevelt. This last is inexplicable, even seeing Roosevelt's generosity with what did not belong to him, for the Kuriles are within reach of America's back door.

And now, having built up Russia's power, the civilized world is under the shadow of the Red Terror. There is no peace or security in the world, no possibility of material progress or welfare—nothing but fear. Even if no war comes, is life worth living under these conditions? What is to be done to end them? Can they be ended?

After frantically disarming, we are now frantically arming, and propose to spend thousands of millions in defence measures, taking men and material from productive and constructive work to making weapons

for further destruction of life and property. Does any thinking person really believe that, while these preparations are going forward, Russia will be standing still? Our connivance permitted Russia to seize and transport to Russia the very pick of German scientists and technicians, at least as able as American, and to imagine that America has a monopoly, or even a superiority in appalling instruments of destruction, is a dangerous fallacy; it is not true.

The civilised world is now "anti-Communist," but it does not know how to make its anti-Communism effective, or even what it really is. Actually, it is a name adopted by Russian Imperialism to hoodwink the soft-hearted and soft-headed Westerns, and Russian Imperialism has been the same for at least the last 800 years, and its policy has from the first been world conquest. Read its history and you will agree. It does not matter two pins that Russia is Tsarist, Bolshevik, Communist, Socialist (as under the short-lived Kerensky regime), or anything else, Russian Imperialism is inherent in every Russian heart.

There are followers of Kerensky with a good deal of American financial support who merely want to sit down in the seats of the mighty in the Kremlin and take the place of the Stalinites, ruling over an undivided U.S.R.R. under another name. There are the Russian Tsarist emigres, romantic, and also with unenlightened American support, who, like the French emigres after the French Revolution, expect to go back to the Imperial regime they left, having learned nothing in the meantime. Both these parties insist on "Holy Mother-Russia, One and Indivisible," just as Stalin does, and they refuse to consider freedom and independence for any but themselves. The action of these organisations gives much pleasure to the Kremlin as dividing opposition to itself and very likely the Kremlin has found means to subscribe largely to the funds which keep them going strong. Societies have been formed for "Friendship with the Russian People," oblivious of the plain fact that the Russian people have no desire for our friendship. How can they? From the age of five, children are taken from the care of their parents, and in school and elsewhere are taught, first and foremost and all the time, that their first duty is to hate us and all outside the Russian Imperium, and that they are, completely and utterly, *the Herrenvolk*. We have not many realists amongst us.

And there is the movement of the oppressed peoples themselves, which The Scottish League for European Freedom first brought into public notice, and for which it provided, in June 1950 in Edinburgh, the opportunity for its leaders to place their views before the English-speaking peoples. This is the Underground Resistance and Independence Movement in all the non-Russian States of the U.S.S.R. It is surely a simple matter to follow it.

There are 70 million Russians and from 160 to 180 million non-Russians in the U.S.S.R. These last hate Communism, hate Bolshevism, hate Russian Imperialism. In civilisation, culture and belief in true democracy they are far in advance of the Russians. For years they have fought more or less singly, but more recently they have co-ordinated their organizations and fighting never ceases. They fight for their own freedom and sovereign independence, and the frightful massacres by the Russians in reprisal, make no impression on them.

There are these millions ready to be allies of the West in ending for ever the Red Terror. They know the Russian terrain, tactics, resources and methods in a way no Western can ever know. Would it not be more effective, and even, to take the most sordid view, cheaper, to accept these as allies than uselessly to spend thousands of millions for further destruction? Surely there can only be one answer.

These truly democratic nations, with no imperialist ambitions, all make certain conditions. They must be previously assured, without any reservation whatever, of their complete, free, sovereign independence; they decline to have any pre-conceived federation imposed on them; among themselves they will decide themselves with whom they will federate; they oppose very strongly the dropping by the West of atom or hydrogen or any other bombs on their countries, being certain that their carefully thought-out plans would obviate the necessity for this. They point out that the strength of the Red Army assumed by the West is misleading. A very large proportion of the Army is composed of nationals of the Resisting States, who, if they were assured of the future independence of their countries, would find the means to reach them, and the Red Army would dissolve. So far from promoting a World War, the non-Russian peoples feel that their plan is the only one to prevent the outbreak of war, but that, if war comes, it will be localised and shortened. The Resistance Movements are expert in Russian methods, and they have their own contacts and means of spreading information behind the Iron Curtain, and have military and economic plans all ready for co-operation with the West if the West wishes. But it has to be clearly understood that it is for their own independence they will fight, and they will brook no Western domination any more than Eastern.

The Resistance Movements, initiated by the peoples themselves and first given publicity by the Scottish League for European Freedom, are rapidly gaining support in Canada and the U.S.A., while the support of the South American Republics is unanimous. More than one European country would follow a strong lead. Especially in Canada and the U.S.A., prominent political and other leaders are now openly and strongly advocating support for the non-Russian peoples as the only way of ending the Terror.

There is surely everything in favour of such a course, and it is now gaining political support even in Britain. There is the mere justice to smaller nations "rightly struggling to be free" from the most atrocious tyranny this world has ever known; there is the certainty that the enormous natural resources of these non-Russian States will be used for their own peaceful development, instead of being used, as at present, solely to build up Russia's military might. For, deprived of these resources, Russia's military might would sink into insignificance. Incidentally, we, some years ago, published the information that Russia's heavy industry was wholly geared to the production of war equipment; we were denounced for saying so, but it has now come to be recognised as correct even by the British Government. The Scottish League is always sure of its facts before it publishes them.

United Nations, Atlantic Pact, United Europe, European Federation, none of these has had or will have any effect in arresting Moscow's march towards world conquest. The only thing that will arrest it, destroy it, is the disintegration of any kind of Russian Empire, an Empire whose ideal and mission are too deeply rooted in every Russian heart to be eradicated by "Agreement" of any kind.

For there is the further alternative suggested by the starry-eyed, an "Agreement" with Soviet Russia, by which Russia and the West can live peacefully side by side. The only comment necessary is that, in all her history, Russia has never observed any agreement, and, if she were to do so now, it would mean suicide, for world conquest for Communism (Russian Imperialism) is the only reason for its existence. And there is not the slightest evidence that anyone in Russia is prepared to revolt against the regime.

The non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R., whose Underground Resistance and Independence Movements are co-ordinated, are in alphabetical order—Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Cossackia, Croatia, Czechia, Estonia, Finnish Karelia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, North Caucasia, Rumania, Serbia, Siberia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkestan, Ukraine, White Ruthenia (Byelorussia), numbering in all 160 to 180 million people against Russia's 70 odd million.

The Scottish League for European Freedom will be glad to welcome new members, no matter in what part of the world they reside. The subscription for full members, who must be British subjects, is 10/-per annum, but associate members paying 5/-per annum will, like full members, be regularly supplied with the League's "Information Leaflets" giving the facts from time to time as they affect Russia and Eastern and Central Europe. There is no source of information equal to these leaflets for accuracy. It has invariably proved that the League was not wrong, but was only ahead of others. It will be so again.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**ALBERT MOUSSET: THE WORLD OF THE SLAVS.** — Translated by A. M. Lavenu. Published under the auspices of the London Institute of World Affairs. Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., New York, 1950, 204 p.

This book was first published in Paris in 1946, but the English translation has been revised by the author who has added a new chapter at the end, describing the events of last years. The author is well informed, especially on Polish and Czech matters, as well as on the national problems of the Balkan Slavs. The reader should not forget that this book was written only a year after World War II, when the ears of all were still deafened by the clamor about the "Great Russian Ally," and by all the slogans of the Slavic Red propaganda put out especially in the New World. Mr. Mousset is quite critical of the aims of the Russian sponsored Slavophile movement. While, in some points, he is vague and has an unjustified surmise as to the real objectives of the new Slavophilism, in his preface of 1950 he definitely points out that the anti-German solidarity of the Slavic peoples "has been exploited by the Kremlin for the opposite purpose: the enslavement and absorption of their brothers in race."

The author has a full comprehension of the importance of Ukraine but, the passages devoted to it are rather superficial. One has the impression that for some unknown reason he does not want to touch this problem which is still unpopular in the Western World. "The Ukrainian question was assuming a fresh form of acuteness," he says (p. 40), but he does not explain its nature or cause; whereas in writing about the other Slavic peoples he quotes liberally even long excerpts from the daily press. There is no mention of such an important event as the foundation of the Brotherhood of St. Cyril and Methodius in Kiev, in 1846, something, which was truly revolutionary for its time in its plans for the federation of all Slavic peoples, and therefore led to the imprisonment of the initiators of this Brotherhood. The most frequently mentioned part of the Ukrainian territory is Carpatho-Ukraine (which the author calls also Carpatho-Ruthenia, Carpathian Russia or Sub-Carpathia). Mr. Mousset describes in detail the transfer of this region by the Czechs to the Russian occupied Ukraine "without any plebiscite or international consultation," but he is wrong when he holds that "moreover, had they been consulted, the vote of the Ruthenians would not have been in doubt." Mr. Mousset means that their choice would have been Soviet Ukraine. We think the contrary: everyone having to choose between the Russian cholera and the Czech headache would choose the headache. The description of the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic (Uniat) Church is completely spoiled by Mr. Mousset's discovery that these millions of Ukrainian Uniats were... Poles or Czechs. One might as well have said that they were Chinese. It is obvious that the author did not always get the materials for Ukrainian subject at first hand.

Nevertheless, Mr. Mousset's book is an important contribution to the understanding of inter-Slavonic affairs. It fully reveals the fate of the Slavonic nations

between two imperialistic blocks — the German and the Russian. The difference between them is that the Germans did not make a secret of the fact that they enslaved the Slavs because they considered themselves as a "master race," while the Russians striving toward the same end insist that they are brothers to their victims.

S. H.

**MICHAÏL ALPATOV: RUSSIAN IMPACT ON ART.** — Edited and with preface by Martin I. Wolf. Translated by Ivy Litvinov. Philosophical Library, New York, 1950.

M. Alpatov, at present a professor of Moscow University, is widely known for his studies on Byzantine Art. In this book he attempts to explain the Russian national character through art and literature. This book shows how strenuously the new communist Russia is striving to rehabilitate its past culture which, not so long ago, was termed "feudal", "bourgeois" or "capitalistic".

English-speaking readers should be cautioned that Alpatov ascribes to Russian culture the entire period of the Kiev State until the 13th century, and does not even mention that this culture, created by the Ukrainian genius and on Ukrainian soil, has anything in common with Ukraine. Many of his statements are, from the scientific aspect, fully unfounded and ridiculous. For example, he finds that the *Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign*, "is permeated by a purely Russian spirit." This was already denied more than a century ago by the greatest Russian literary critic, V. Belinsky. Belinsky, in 1841, proved for instance, that such a feminine type as Princess Yaroslavna was possible only in Ukraine and never in Muscovite society "where the woman was regarded as a sort of livestock." Prof. George Fedotov, another Russian scholar, likewise remarked recently that such words as "honor" in the *Tale* had an entirely different meaning in Russia. Thus, the "purely Russian spirit" of *Tale* is Mr. Alpatov's fantasy.

It is too bad that such an unscientific point of view was not explained to the English reader by the author of the Preface.

S. H.

**POLITICAL POWER IN THE USSR 1917-1947.** By Julian Towster. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1948. Pp. 443.)

Prof. Towster, in his work, attempts to present the source of the political power of the present Russian regime. While trying to explain the theory and structure of the government, he briefly analyzes the Red constitutions, conventions, the nationality principle, the Bolshevik party, and the different classes. The book seems almost a dictionary with its lengthy explanations of various agencies and practices. It is well annotated; in fact, about a third of its space is devoted to notes, which are utilized in an uncritical academic manner. To a serious student of the present Russian Empire the book has very little to offer; yet it was not written for the common reader, and certainly not for the uninformed reader, for surely he will be misled in some places.

The best chapters and the only ones in which the author shows any originality are III and IV, dealing with the class and the nationality principles (of course according to Russian theory). It is interesting to note that he admits

the existence of classes in the proletariat haven and briefly discusses them. It is surprising, because the author has been inspired by Prof. Frederick L. Schuman (the great defender in America of the Red regime) and he sounds very much like his colleague. His treatment of nationality is a fairly extensive repetition of the theories of the Bolsheviks. The author is not critical — he simply refers to what Marx, Lenin, or Stalin said. It is apparent that Prof. Towster wants to be super-cautious and not offend the Reds in thought or word. Nearly all the notes refer the reader to Russian publications. A reference to an occasional book in English is made if the book is also friendly to the Red system.

Time and again the writer discusses the theory and practice of the Soviet government. He is much stronger on theory than on practice, and yet he is not altogether to be blamed for this, because an account of the entire operation of this regime often results in great confusion, because the law is "on paper" only. In dealing with the church issue, Prof. Towster does a creditable piece of work until he reaches recent years; then he throws his academic training out the window. Here is one of his gems: "The Greek Orthodox Church of Carpatho-Russia; the Uniat Churches of the Western Ukraine, which have been submitted to the authority of Rome since 1569 and embrace six million adherents... rejoined the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate" (p. 366). Rejoined Moscow?.. The author does not refer the reader even to any Russian book to indicate at what time in history the people of this part of Ukraine ever belonged to the Moscow Patriarchate before 1945. Neither does he tell *how* they rejoined: how all the Ukrainian bishops and more than 1,000 priests were arrested by the Russian authorities. As in all other cases the author would go into minute detail, if the Stalin government deserved any pat on the back.

Prof. Towster is strongly critical of the tsarist regime, under which he lived as a boy, but he is not so critical of Stalinism, which seems to look good to him from afar. He condemns the old regime for its Russification policies but keeps silent about the Russification practices of the present government. His discussion of the topic of "Slavic Solidarity," no matter how cautiously handled, reveals the continued existence of the old Russian Pan-Slav policy, or Russia over all.

Since the author is attempting to analyze the Soviet power, his book would have been improved if he had elaborated on such important factors as the M.V.D., the slave camps, terrorism in the newly-occupied countries, the prisoners of the last war, the fate of the returned D. P.'s (and what happened to them), the various purges, the real relationship or attitude of the Russians toward the non-Russian subjects of the empire, the mass starvations by the government of millions in the Ukraine in the thirties, the depopulations (genocide) of the Ukraine, Crimea, and the Baltic states. If he had treated these important phases of the present Russian imperial system, the author would have shown impartiality and genuine scholarship. His book sounds almost as if it had been written by a Soviet scholar in Moscow in 1947. And yet Mr. Towster, a friend of the Red regime, was employed by our federal government as a special adviser to the Justice and State Departments in the closing years of the war.

WASYL HALICH

THE JOURNALS OF THE MARQUIS DE CUSTINE. — Journey for our time. Edited and translated by Phyllis Penn Kohler. Introduction by Lieut. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith. New York, Pelegrini & Cudahy, 1951, pp. VIII + 338.

If we leave aside the overwhelming number of tourists and travelers who have visited Russia—USSR merely for the sake of new sensations and new experiences about which they reason little and draw few conclusions other than the most superficial, we can find two predominating points of view among the more serious visitors; some become so enamored with Russia and its exotic character that they are ready to explain away their own objective impressions in the desire to learn the hidden contribution that the Russians are making to the world; the others with a more definite point of view become disillusioned at the gulf between Russian claims and Russian fulfillment and are willing to say so openly. To the first class belong the authors of those works which have appeared with sickening regularity during the last thirty years to inform us that all is well in the Kremlin and that the world only needs to accept the ideals of Stalin to be happy. To the second class belong those disillusioned Communists as Artur Koestler, Andre Gide and others who are now revealing to us the disappointments that they experienced when they were unable any longer to shut their eyes to the inconsistencies, defects, and cruelties of the Communist system in which they had sought the millenium on earth.

Marquis Astolphe de Custine is a superior representative of this class who visited Russia in 1839 when the tsarist system was at its height and Nicholas I in the heyday of his power. His father and grandfather had gone to the guillotine during the French Revolution and as a supporter of reactionary principles he went to Russia "in search of arguments against representative government." He returned "a partisan of constitutions" (p. 21). He realized that he could not find in Russia material for the support of what he regarded as a sound conservative order which would unite with a conservative regime those human values which were the basis of Western civilization. His experiences in St. Petersburg, in Moscow and elsewhere in Great Russian territory revealed to him the bridgeless gulf between the developing Western civilization with its aspirations for the future and the power-mad Russian people, drawing their inspiration from the Golden Horde and driving the tsar to further and further claims for expansion.

General Smith well expressed the similarity between this system as it was developed by Nicholas I and the system employed to-day by Stalin which is but a twentieth century version of the old tsarist regime. He is however unduly optimistic about the "really progressive revolutionary movement" which manifested itself in 1905 and in 1917. Herzen had predicted that Russian Communism would be "Russian autocracy turned upside down" but as General Golovin has pointed out, the revolutionary Russian intelligentsia was far more dependent upon the unitary regime of Peter the Great than they dared to believe. Every act of the Provisional Government (as the Ukrainians saw and experienced it) was either a step toward weakness or a conscious disavowal of the meaning of democracy, another unconscious example of the Aesopic words which formed part of the pretensions of the old regime. The hope that the Marquis saw for the Russian people was something far more difficult to exemplify, a real fresh start in the formation of a culture and a civilization which would admit those values that the West had already achieved.

The Marquis did not visit Ukraine but there are a few passages in the book which speak volumes for any one who appreciates the difference between Kiev and Moscow. Thus he remarks (p. 323), "Formerly a certain refinement of taste characterized the Russians of the South, and, thanks to the relations maintained by the rulers of Kiev with Constantinople from ancient times and during the most barbaric centuries, the love of the arts reigned in this part of the Slav Empire. At the same time, the traditions of the Orient had preserved there the feeling of grandeur and had perpetuated a certain dexterity among the artists and the workers. But these advantages, fruits of former relations with peoples advanced in a civilization inherited from antiquity, were lost after the Mongolian invasion." He well emphasizes that the present day Russians remember "Serai (the Golden Horde) much better than Byzantium."

Another point of interest to Ukrainians is his comment on M. de Repnin (p. 95). "M. de Repnin governed the Empire and the Emperor. M. de Repnin has been in disfavor for two years and for two years Russia has not heard this name spoken—this name which not long ago was on every tongue. He fell, in one day, from the highest power to the darkest obscurity." Why the Marquis does not say but it was this M. de Repnin who had married the daughter of the last hetman of Ukraine, Kyryllo Rozumovsky, and the suspicious mind of the Tsar saw in him a possible candidate for the head of a free Ukraine. It was this same man whose daughter was a great support and help to Shevchenko, even though to-day modern Soviet Ukrainian scholarship is attempting to depreciate this importance and to picture Varvara Repnina as a bad influence in the poet's life.

The Ukrainian reader will be at once struck by the close similarity that exists between the ideas of the Marquis de Custine and Taras Shevchenko, in his great series of poems as the *Great Grave*, the *Caucasus*, and the *Dream*. Writing at about the same period, the French aristocrat and the Ukrainian serf-poet both were agreed in their interpretation of the Russian character and especially the role of Peter with his efforts to transform the old Russia by retaining the traditional powers and varying the externals to approach European civilization at the cost of thousands of lives and of human suffering.

It is one of the unsolved problems of Russian Communist mentality why in 1930 they resurrected for a short period the memoirs of the Marquis and published them. It was probably a benighted outburst of their idea that history began in 1917, a belated expression of their desire to separate sharply the period of the tsar and the Communists. Yet there was too much similarity between them and the whole movement of assimilating the careers of Ivan, Peter, and Stalin could not be interpreted, so that the book was allowed to drop back into oblivion. Yet it is, as General Smith says, "the best work so far produced about the Soviet Union" and it deserves the widest circulation and consideration by all who are studying the relations between Russia-USSR and the rest of the world in the hope that some way may be found to integrate the Russians with the rest of Europe. It is the strongest argument that the Russian expansion must not only be checked but rolled back and the only way that that can be done is to give freedom to the oppressed nationalities of the Soviet Union, the chief of which are the Ukrainians.

A. ROSSI: THE RUSSO-GERMAN ALLIANCE — AUGUST, 1939—JUNE, 1941. Boston. The Beacon Press, 1951. 218 p. \$2.75.

"The agreement of 23rd August, 1939 was the last thing anybody believed possible" (p. 73). This non-aggression pact between two most powerful enemies was without doubt one of the most amazing events in modern history.

The author has done extensive work for several years and has been able to use freely a great mass of printed and unprinted materials which have become available only since the ending of the war. We have good reason to emphasize the efforts which the author has put in his notes to indicate his sources, something often insufficiently valued in works of this kind. At times perhaps he holds too closely to his sources and too rarely tries to broaden his vision or to trace briefly the background of the different problems.

The book, which appeared first in French, illuminates many questions of international politics in the years 1939-41. The first question of interest is as to who took the initiative in the negotiations. It seems that from the end of 1938 *both* sides were making delicate approaches to an understanding, but that Stalin first made clear to Germany his readiness for the conclusion of an agreement in his speech at the VIII Congress of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on March 10, 1939.

Another interesting and valuable feature is the revelation that the agreement was brought about despite the diametrical difference in the attitude of the two partners toward war. Germany was decided upon war and wanted it; the Soviets were absolutely against it. Of course both partners made the agreement in their own and only their own interests. Similarly in the first half of 1941, when Germany was making its last preparations for the attack on the USSR, Moscow was doing everything to show its loyalty to Germany and not to allow the war.

The author does not know much about Ukraine and the Ukrainians. He mentions in his introduction the plans of Hitler to recompense Poland for Danzig and the Corridor at the expense of Ukraine. When Poland would not accept this, he changed his plans and decided to come to an understanding with Moscow at the expense of Poland.

He gives a great deal of space to the events of September, 1939. The division of the spheres of influence was settled but more than one reader will learn for the first time from this book of Mr. Rossi, how insistently Berlin pressed the Soviets from September 3rd on to cross the border and to occupy its sphere. Interesting too is the postponement of Moscow until September 17, so as to find more easily a pretext. Originally the justification was to be the threat to the Ukrainians and Byelorussians from the advancing Germany army, but after German protests, Stalin himself decided on the plea of liberating brothers of the same blood as the most acceptable motive in the given situation. The book would certainly have gained in value, had the author stated how many Ukrainians and Byelorussians were living in 1939 in Eastern Poland and what they thought of annexation to the Soviets. It is strange that he does not mention the annexation of this region to the Soviets, although he did in the case of the Baltic Republics and Bessarabia. The question of the occupation of Bessarabia is well set forth but the author does not explain why the Soviets were satisfied with the addition of

Northern Bukovina to the USSR and does not mention that Northern Bukovina was inhabited by Ukrainians.

A very little known fact was the effort of the Germans in the autumn of 1939 to change the line of demarcation in Galicia and to include the Boryslav oil basin in its own sphere of influence. But the decisive opposition of Molotov prevented this. On the other hand, Moscow yielded to the Germans the region of Suwalki on the borders of East Prussia and Lithuania and bound itself to give to Germany an additional 300,000 tons of oil yearly, about the equivalent of the total yearly production of the Boryslav basin.

On the whole the book gives a systematic and well-connected review of the political, economic and military cooperation of Moscow and Berlin up to June 22, 1941.

Among the sources, the author frequently quotes the diary of the Italian minister Ciano, in which he gives us the interesting views of Hitler and Mussolini on various questions. It is not out of place to cite the opinion of Hitler on the Soviets expressed in his conversation with Mussolini at the Brenner Pass in October, 1939: "It seems that Russia too is undergoing a far-reaching evolution and the path which Stalin has taken appears to lead towards a kind of Slav-Muscovite nationalism and to be a move away from Bolshevism of a Jewish-International character" (p. 77).

The use of terminology is not always consistent and at times dates are not given. The book is written in a light style and can be easily read.

New York

J. FEDYNSKYJ.

DER SLAVENAPOSTEL METHODIUS IN SCHWABENLANDE (METHODIUS, THE APOSTLE TO THE SLAVS IN SCHWABEN), by Adolf Wilhelm Ziegler, "Dillingen und Schwaben Festschrift" of the Dillingen University, 1940.

The recent volume of Prof. F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism, History and Legend* (Harvard University Press, 1948) has destroyed the long existing legend of the schism of Photius. The author has shown that the "schism of Photius" never existed and that Photius was no less a partisan of Rome than was his patriarchal opponent Ignatius. The passing disputes between Photius and the Pope were exaggerated by later opponents of the Papacy especially after the actual schism between the Eastern and Western Churches in 1054 under the Patriarch Michael Cerularius. This work by Prof. Ziegler deals with the same period but considers the northern field of controversy between Byzantium and Rome, which involved that portion of the new Slav world which was accepting the Eastern rite and the Slav Liturgy,—the Great Moravian State, Pannonia and later Rus-Ukraine.

It was Bulgaria, a land of its own religious culture, that served as the cause of the quarrel between the Popes and the Patriarchs of Constantinople, both the more yielding Photius and the more stubborn Ignatius. In Pannonia the Popes Nicholas I, Hadrian II and John VIII (858-882) asserted their right of jurisdiction over the Slav World of the Eastern rite and the Slav liturgy by completely taking the side of St. Methodius, a Macedonian Greek, Apostle to the Slav world and Archbishop of Pannonia, against the German episcopate of eastern Germany.

The plans of the Popes in Slav Pannonia, the land of King Kocel, were opposed by the claims of the Archbishops of Salzburg, who were carrying on mis-

sionary work in this area. The appointment by Rome of Methodius as Archbishop of Pannonia and legate of St. Peter enraged Adalvin, Archbishop of Salzburg, and he inspired the Bavarian soldiers of King Louis the German to seize Methodius, and carry him to Regensburg in the diocese of Ermanrich, Bishop of Passau, where Methodius was tried and condemned to imprisonment in Schwaben in the diocese of Anno, Bishop of Freising, in 870.

The court did not allow Methodius to appeal to Rome, an act of glaring illegality. The German bishops placed their local church law above the law of St. Peter, as the most recent Papal documents have stated. It was only by some underground channel that Methodius succeeded in informing Rome of the illegal action taken against himself and it was two and a half years before Pope John VIII learned of the imprisonment of his legate Methodius in Schwaben. He at once sent his legate Paul of Ancona with sharp instructions to liberate Methodius from prison and to punish the guilty parties, which was done. Methodius remained Archbishop of Pannonia until his death (885), although quarrels with the German bishops did not end.

Prof. Ziegler has devoted the greater part of his work to the two questions of the trial of Methodius and the place of his imprisonment as they were set forth in the letters of Pope John VIII. The chief inspirer of the imprisonment of Methodius was Adalvin, Archbishop of Salzburg, although he died before the Papal legate reached Bavaria (873), so that the whole anger of the legate was directed on Bishop Ermanrich of Passau, who had handled his religious prisoner very brutally, and on Bishop Anno of Freising in whose diocese Methodius was confined.

Methodius behaved very properly at the trial and even expressed himself condescendingly to the Bishop of Passau. He reproached him for his lack of education, although Ermanrich was a protegee and pupil of the scholar Hrabanus Maurus of Fulda and had a good education for those times. The conduct of Bishop Anno was a great disillusionment for the Pope, for Anno had enjoyed the especial confidence of Rome (*fidelis et homo Sancti Petri*).

Where was Methodius imprisoned? Most authors had thought that it was in the Benedictine Monastery of Freising. Prof. Ziegler is of another opinion. St. Methodius was condemned in Regensburg in the diocese of Bishop Ermanrich of Passau, according to the Pannonian Life of St. Methodius, and then was sent to Schwaben and so the majority have thought that the place was Freising. Prof. Ziegler tried to find in Schwaben a place which would have some connection with Ermanrich, for it was he who sent the prisoner there. Ermanrich was himself from Schwaben and had been formerly a monk in Ellwangen there and he always maintained close connections with this monastery. Hence Prof. Ziegler concludes very properly in our opinion that St. Methodius was imprisoned in the Benedictine Monastery in Ellwangen.

This work throws a new light upon the quarrel between Methodius and the German bishops. The author has used conscientiously the entire historical literature, including the Ukrainian work of Dr. I. Ohienko. His knowledge of the Slav languages has given him the opportunity to use the sources at first hand. His analysis of the documents shows his deep sense of research, non-partisanship and scientific concentration. The work is an excellent example of scientific scholarship of the solid pre-war type.

N. CHUBATY

**TOTAL EMPIRE, THE ROOTS AND PROGRESS OF WORLD COMMUNISM.**  
By Edmund A. Walsh. 293 pp. Milwaukee, Wis.: The Bruce Publishing Co.

Whatever may be said about the historical and analytical limitations of this absorbing work, it certainly cannot be denied the maximum praise and approval for its immaculate style, its impressive coherency and continuity of argument, and its attractive display of scholarly effort and anecdotal richness. In a sense Father Walsh here sums up thirty years of experience and study of the Soviet Union.

In the introductory chapter on "Leaves From A Russian Diary," the author gives many interesting notes on his experiences in Russia following World War I and with President Roosevelt at the time of the ill-fated recognition of the Soviet Union. What is inexplicable in this description, as well as in the analytical chapters that follow, is the writer's total and evidently deliberate abstention from any pointed reference to the existence of any peoples other than the Russian in that East European region. Surely in the course of his relief activities in the Crimea he must have encountered Tatars, Ukrainians, and other non-Russians to warrant a more balanced, and therefore a more effective, presentation of the political realities prevailing in that explosive area.

It is inconceivable that such a student of Soviet affairs is utterly ignorant of the distinct histories and identities of these numerous non-Russian peoples whose relationship to the Russians is in many basic ways like that of the Irish to the English, but after carefully reading the entire text, the most charitable reader is left with no reason to believe otherwise. For example, in his comments on the spiritual alienation of the Russian people from Western Europe, he carelessly commits the old error, which for reasons of historical inferiority, was conceived by the Tsarists and is now perpetuated by the Russian Soviets, the confusion of the national origin of Russia with the earlier and more prosperous one of Ukraine (p. 41). Elsewhere the historically inaccurate assertion is made, "But the liberators of the proletariat uprooted some 3,000,000 Russian peasants during the first two years of the First Five Year Plan" (p. 200). In still another place, in speaking of the unspeakable repatriation proceedings at the end of World War II, we are misinformed that "hundreds of thousands of Russian refugees... were unwilling to return to their native land..." (p. 204). In both cases as easily determined by available evidence, Ukrainians are inexcusably regarded for Russians. This grave defect in the handling of rudimentary material places in this point the book below the recent works of Carr, Crankshaw and others.

However, this defect is offset by his solid interpretation of traditional Russian imperialism. He sees a definite continuity in the imperialistic impulse from the time of Ivan III of Muscovy to his Marxist successors in the Kremlin. There is no absurd historical hiatus separating the Tsarist and Soviet periods of modern Russian history, for "Psychologically, the Russian people—upon whom the Revolution is based and without whose acquiescence it could not have been launched or so long sustained—have always revealed qualities of frustrated mysticism which inclines them to constant acceptance of contradictions and paradoxes" (p. 44). The crowning statement epitomizing the author's well-founded outlook on this important subject appears later and is worth quoting: "The second circumstance which strengthens Mr. Stalin's hand in his bid for total power is the adroit combination of Russian nationalism and Russian imperialism... It is the dynamism

resulting from these three component elements—Russian nationalism, Russian imperialism and Marxian Communism—which characterizes the present contender for control of Europe and Asia . . .” (pp. 138-139). His skillful treatment of this combination is undoubtedly a wholesome antidote to the farrago of fatuous nonsense concocted in the recent works of certain biased Russian emigres.

Many valuable insights and notes of sound judgment on the contemporary international drama mark the development of the book's general thesis. Memoranda prepared by the author at the request of President Roosevelt prior to the diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union disclose an astute evaluation of the Soviets, and advise the predication of recognition on a concrete demonstration of sincerity and not on mere verbal promises to abstain from internal intrigue. With solid authority he shows that Mr. Roosevelt was blissfully naive about the Soviets from the time of recognition in 1933 to the high point of Yalta. The discussion of the United Nations, in a sense the fruition of this one-sided relationship, is well balanced, and sets forth the founded opinion that the Soviet and satellite delegates are in effect corrupters of the organization. As rightly emphasized, “Soviet Russia, in point of time, had by 1950 been conducting a cold war against the United States for over thirty years” (p. 52).

The discussion of Marx, Engels and Lenin is lucidly developed, but for any trained student of the subject it offers nothing new in the way of analytic criticism. There is an evident tendency to rationalize the histrionic play of Soviet delegations on the doctrinal basis of dialectical materialism, but again, anyone in the least familiar with Marxist philosophy and the utter vagueness of this doctrine cannot but feel that the philosophical significance attached to Soviet acts by the writer is somewhat over-emphasized. A Gromyko surely knows in his own mind when he is lying.

In the light of the above appraisal, it is not at all surprising to discover the omission of subversive warfare in the list of recommendations advanced for current action, for sober consideration of this necessitates a more intimate knowledge of the political realities of Eastern Europe than is reflected in the book. Instead, an uneasy dependence on the diplomatic service, which has consistently followed Marquess of Queensberry rules, is assumed, although in the conclusion he fully recognizes that we are not engaged in conventional diplomacy when we have to deal with the Soviets. In short, the prominent weaknesses of the work limit the logical conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis.

It is singularly regrettable that for one who constantly alludes to ideals and morals, in sharp contrast to the Bolshevik neglect of them, he arouses no burning sense of justice and charity for the victimized non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. This may be attributable to the basic fault of the exposition. Nevertheless, with cold geopolitical firmness, but also with undeveloped historical perspective, not to speak of moral consideration, it is loosely asserted that “The measure of validity in Russia's historical claims for free exit through the Dardanelles is not slight.” Doubtlessly it is necessary and desirable to reconcile in triangular harmony the moral, historical, and geopolitical elements in an analysis of this sort, but because of its manifest shortcomings this endeavor falls in its very tracks.

## UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

ACHESON'S GIFT TO STALIN, by Eugene Lyons. *The Freeman*, August 27, 1951.

Eugene Lyons, President of the Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of the USSR gave a statement on the policy of the Committee. He attacked Secretary Acheson for his widely circulated statement on the 500 years of Russian imperialism. Whoever knows the history of eastern Europe, knows that Secretary Acheson gave a concise and factual summary of the history of Russia. This statement displeased the Russian emigration and the president of the Committee for it branded Russia a prison of nations. Lyons, a progressive American, takes the same position as the Russian reactionaries. He is for the maintenance of the 500 year old Russian prison of nations.

Why? It is impossible to divide *historical Russia*. The reactionaries base this on historical right, the democrats on the will of the masses. In the opinion of Lyons, the insistence on *the indivisibility of Russia* is the "common ground on which Americans and democratic elements of the Russian emigration can meet for joint action against the Soviets." Another reason is that the "Russians abhor Communism but love their country." *Are there no non-Russian peoples loving their countries?* In Lyons' opinion, Secretary Acheson took the evil road of the Ukrainian separatists few in number, because when Lyons was in the USSR, he never met one. He thinks there are a few abroad. There are probably none in the club where Lyons talked with Kerenky. However the nationalities problem according to Lyons is an internal affair of Russia, "a free and democratic nation."

Rarely has an American journalist been as cynical in his use of the words, democracy and freedom, as Lyons in this article. Rarely has any one been so cynical in his interpretation of the freedom of nations who for 34 years have struggled for liberation from Moscow, red or white.

We may well believe that Lyons never found in Soviet Ukraine an open Ukrainian independent, for Stalin has not been able to do so; he receives 99% of vote. In the Ukrainian emigration there is no group that wishes federation with Russia, but Lyons has not met them.

The statement of Secretary Acheson was not only a truly American statement in its ideology but a practical statement, for it gives hope to the real allies of America—the revolutionary movements of the non-Russian population of the nations enslaved by Russia and does not appeal to fictitious allies among the supporters of an indivisible Russia, devoted, like Stalin, to expansion.

AMERICA AND THE FUTURE RUSSIA, by Reuben Darbinian. *The American Review*, Summer, 1951.

The editor of the well-known journal, "The Armenian Review," discusses the widely circulated article of George Kennan printed in the journal "Foreign Af-

fairs," the same subject which we discussed in "The Ukrainian Quarterly" in the Spring issue of 1951.

Mr. Darbinian calls the fundamental ideas of Kennan "a faulty and dangerous plan for America." He agrees with Kennan that America without a new political plan concerning Russia will lose the Third World War, even if it wins on the field of battle. His plan is not that of Kennan. Kennan advises America not to interfere in the question of Soviet Russia, although he confesses no hopes for a democratic system in the new Russia. He gives no pledge that there cannot arise in place of the Communist Russia which is a menace to America a fascist regime which will be equally dangerous. The author of this article does not agree with Kennan that the rights of the individual will be preserved in a new Russia.

Mr. Darbinian believes that Kennan's idea that the Soviet power will fall is dangerous for if any one knows Eastern Europe, he knows that a utopia is expected there.

The author also regards it dangerous for America to accept the idea of Kennan that it must not interfere in the solution of the nationality questions of Soviet Russia. The non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union hope for help from America in their liberation from century old enslavement in the name of American principles and the Atlantic Charter. The lack of a clear plan here may be fatal to America and will certainly cost the lives of many American soldiers.

Kennan hands over all these questions to the Russians for decision and this will inevitably mean that after the fall of the Soviets there will be a terrible war of the non-Russians against the Russians. "It is impossible — writes Darbinian — to expect that Ukraine, the Baltic countries, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia and the trans-Caspian countries will be able to come to a peaceful understanding with the Russian nation without the aid and even the leadership of the West and especially America."

The author is surprised that Kennan has completely ignored the question of the non-Russian peoples and this gives the impression that he has never studied the national question of the Soviets. He states:

"Americans often confuse the peoples of the Soviet Union with the Russian people, but those who avoid this confusion consider the non-Russian peoples as 'national minorities' and are inclined to ignore their will in determining the fate of Russia. The fact is, out of a total population of 200 millions the real Russians are less than 100 millions,, a circumstance which precludes the possibility of regarding them as minorities.

Mr. Kennan also never took into consideration the fact that "*Today all the non-Russian nationalities of Russia want independence with absolutely no dependence on the Russian nation.*"

"*There can be no question that, after the overthrow of bolshevism only the brute force will hold the people within the Russian state.*"

The author is surprised that Kennan acknowledges the right of independence only to the three small Baltic states and not to the other non-Russian peoples in Russia. This attitude of such an important person as Kennan renders undue service to the cause of America, for it only becomes an "encouragement of the Russian people's unsalutary megalomaniacal nationalistic aspirations and their passion for domination.

We are very glad to cite this voice of another nation oppressed by Russia, the voice of the ancient cultured people of the Armenians. Our journal will endeavor to find place for the spokesmen of the other nations in the Russian prison.

"ALLIES WE DON'T NEED", "INTOLERANCE INCORPORATED," by Fred Forest, *New Leader*, Sept. 3, Sept. 10, 1951.

Fred Forest, a collaborator on the "New Leader," the organ of the American Socialists, has written two articles, in one of which he condemns the Russian Fascist-imperialists represented in America by Boldyrev and in the other he places in the same position the Ukrainian revolutionary movement and condemns it. It is natural for him to condemn the solidarists of Boldyrev for their anti-democratic tendency, but as a socialist and democrat he does not condemn them for their imperialism and their desire to enslave the non-Russian peoples of Russia. He does not condemn the Russian Fascist solidarists for this, because he himself is for the enslavement of more than a hundred million of non-Russian peoples by the Russian empire. On the contrary, although he recognizes the right of a people to decide its own fate and is for the "popular will," he condemns the separatists who do not wish a federated Russia, by which they would receive as national minorities some sort of rights to cultivate their own culture and religion. He is opposed to the activities of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations (ABN), who stand for the liberation of their peoples from the yoke of Moscow, because in the eyes of an American socialist this is the "Balkanization of Russia."

Mr. Forest, "a democrat and a socialist" is telling a clear untruth, for he regards the revolutionary movement of the non-Russian peoples against Moscow as Nazi work. This is false, for the anti-Russian revolutionary movements were primarily movements of liberation and thoroughly democratic and progressive and they rested for their support upon the broad masses of the population of the respective country. This—Mr. Forest is not able even to understand. While various peoples of the Soviets in the first months of the Russian-German war cooperated with the Germans in the hope that they would secure from them aid in liberation, the fact is that they were all against the Nazis and fought them as well as the Communists, when the Nazis actively opposed their liberation from a foreign yoke, be it German or Russian.

The author knows this and yet he illustrates the article with a portrait of the Nazi leader Rosenberg and this is an evidence of his lack of journalistic conscience and responsibility.

Thousands of members of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Army and of fighters for freedom in other nations enslaved by Russia, whom the Nazis have murdered will sometime be the reason that American socialists will blush for allowing their publications to print such reactionary articles with such "conscientious enlightenment." The American partisans of red Russia have brought America into a very serious situation. We are afraid that the partisans of a "democratic" Russian Empire will bring our country still more harm by such information about the revolutionary movements directed against Moscow as that given by Mr. Forest.

THE UKRAINIANS IN TROUBLE. *The Economist*, London, July 14, 1951.

The article discusses the attack on the Ukrainian artists and the leadership of the Communist party in Ukraine for their nationalist deviation, taking as a text

the formerly praised poem of Sosyura "Love Ukraine." The growth of nationalism in Ukraine and the other Soviet republics is the natural echo of the war appeal of the Kremlin to Russian patriotism and the authorities are indignant that it is taken up by the non-Russian peoples as a slogan for themselves. Ukraine has always been the centre of discontent and opposition to collectivization. It is rumored now that the new measures toward this goal are being bitterly combatted in Ukraine and peasant discontent is regarded as the cause of the failure of Ukraine to fill its quota of eggs, milk, vegetables fats and cotton. The attack on the party means that "the possibility of a purge among the higher officials of the Ukrainian party is not to be excluded. Yet, whatever happens, the Ukrainian and other Soviet writers and artists have been warned to steer between the Scylla of cosmopolitanism and the Charybdis of nationalism."

**SUPPRESSION OF NATIONALISM IN THE UKRAINE.** "Pravda" condemns a Deviationist Poem, from a Correspondent. — The Manchester Guardian, July 16, 1951.

The poem of Sosyura, written seven years ago "Love Ukraine" has evoked a criticism of its "false" patriotism and a rebuke for the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party for "grave shortcomings, and mistakes in ideological-educational work". There have been other indications of the growth of nationalism in Western Ukraine and apparently for a while Moscow tried to counterbalance it with a "loyal" nationalism by giving Ukraine its own flag and anthem. The Kremlin now apparently has come to fear this "loyal" nationalism. The poem of Sosyura could have been written "by any enemy of the Ukrainian people in the nationalist camp, such as Petlura, Bandera, and the like". This is significant for it is the first mention of Bandera in eastern Ukraine and the Soviet Union and this suggests that his name and influence have penetrated further than had formerly seemed possible. The criticism of the poem makes it seem as if "Pravda" suspected the poem of doubting whether the Ukrainian people under the Soviets are advancing toward the bright goal set by the slogans about the Socialist fatherland. It interprets nationalism to be "the striving (of a nation) to separate itself and lock itself within the national shell, in the striving not to see the things that bring near and join together the working masses of the U.S.S.R, but to see only that which can separate them. The survivals of capitalism in the minds of the people are far more alive as regards the national question than any other." The danger of this may be the reason why "Pravda ends the article with the phrase, "Our country need fear no enemy so long as there exists and flourishes the unbreakable friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Fatherland," a "pro memoria for American adherents of "one and indivisible Russia."

**COEXISTENCE? YES, BUT ON WHAT BASIS?** By Edward Crankshaw, New York Times Magazine, September 9, 1951. (Edward Crankshaw is the English author of the excellent book, "Cracks in the Kremlin Wall").

The question of the author is whether co-existence with Soviet Russia is possible. Stalin declares that it is, but in the west, influential circles have come to the conclusion that it is not. The first answer postpones World War II for a time; the second conclusion leads to war. The author thinks that Stalin has told the truth,

for he has only stated the fact that co-existence now is going on and will continue to. He cites examples of the co-existence of such antagonistic ideas as Catholicism and Protestantism, the antagonism of England and France at a certain period of history, the antagonism between the blocks of great powers, France and Russia against Austria and Germany. The present block of democratic powers needs only to be strong and then co-existence and even commercial relations between democracy and communism can exist. This last idea is the natural position of the author as an Englishman in regard to the problem raised in the American Congress which is to be dreaded for its resources but Russia which is using Communistic slogans for its own imperialism.

The author believes that this condition must remain but he does not take into account the repercussions that a policy of permanent arming must have, even upon such a strong economy as that of America. Why does he take this position? Because he is convinced that war with the Bolsheviks would change nothing and that even if Stalin fell, Russia would remain and carry on its policy in Korea, China and Iran. Here he is wrong, for Russia is not a monolithic state of one people as Germany or Japan. On the destruction of the power of Stalin Russia must only not exist but will not. It will fall apart naturally into a series of national powers, which will not carry on the policy of Russia in Korea, China and Iran, simply because they will be weak states unable to carry on a policy of imperialism and expansionism. He does not give true weight to the national problems of Russia and undervalues the benefits to the world of the liquidation of the Russian Empire.

**WHEN SOVIET RULE CAME CLOSE TO DISINTEGRATION**, a despatch from Bonn, by Anthony Mann, Daily Telegraph Special Correspondent, The Daily Telegraph and Morning Post, London, April 5, 1951.

The author reviews the relations of the Germans and the peoples of the Soviet Union during the early part of the World War II. When the Germans entered the Union, they encountered no "Russian patriotic feeling" but the population regarded them as liberators and looked for an improvement in their economic conditions and the restoration of individual property rights. In this hope they welcomed the Germans. The Soviet troops deserted in large numbers. Hitler had no desire to exploit this situation to his own advantage. He combined the idea of destroying Bolshevism with the primitive idea of decimating and enslaving the Slav race and this brought disaster. He opposed Rosenberg's idea of semi-autonomy for the non-Russian peoples under German leadership and his unimaginative thugs as Quakeiter Koch in Ukraine and Fritz Saukel, Commissioner for Labour Supply, completely destroyed any hopes of collaboration and created a genuine upsurge of "pan-Russian patriotism." By the time that he allowed General Vlassow to create an army it was too late. A liberal policy might have completely disintegrated the Soviet Union.

This is a good article but the author fails to recognize that the people of the invaded territory were not Russians but Ukrainians, Byelorussians, etc., who sought liberation from Russian and Bolshevik rule. There was no pan-Russian patriotism aroused but the Ukrainians and the other peoples fought for their liberty against both the Nazis and the Soviets, as did the Ukrainian Revolutionary Army, although the Communists for years tried and are still trying to conceal this fact.

