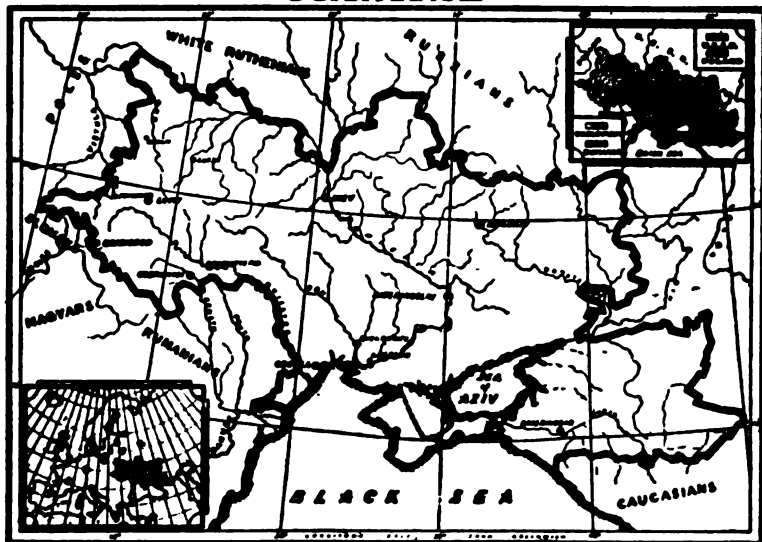

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ETHNOGRAPHIC MAP OF **UKRAINE**



LOWER INSET: PELOPONNESIAN TERRITORY IN EUROPE UPPER INSET: DEMARCATION OF UKRAINE AFTER THE WORLD WAR

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HOW CAN WE COMBAT THE SOVIETS?

Editorial

THE publication by the State Department of *The Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941*, a collection of documents relating to the Stalin-Hitler collaboration before and during the second World War, has revealed the deep cynicism and amorality of Soviet policies. There is little hope that a common basis for an understanding between world communism as represented by Soviet Russia and the democratic forces, headed by the United States, can be found. More and more it seems that a clash between these opposite camps appears unavoidable, despite the fact that neither power wants a new world conflagration, for both powers know that a new war would mean the certain destruction of mankind.

Yet a new catastrophe seems almost inevitable. It can be avoided only if the Western world, particularly the United States, will be able to so weaken the Soviet Union that the latter will be discouraged once and for all from engendering a new and aggressive war against this country.

The strength of the Soviets, it is to be remembered, has two main sources: their dynamic propaganda and their war potential. Which of these two factors is the stronger and which could be with comparative ease overcome by the United States so that it might lead to a complete and decisive weakening of the Soviet power, is yet to be found out. Some means, however, of checking Soviet expansionism, have been given recently, at least partially, by two prominent Americans, John Foster Dulles and General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

In his recent speech before the Foreign Policy Association in New York, John Foster Dulles, leading Republican adviser on foreign policy, indicated how Soviet propaganda could be effectively combated. He declared: "It is not possible to buy peace with a certain sum of money, not even \$17,000,000,000." He urged that the United States provide also "constructive ideas for which the whole world stands in wait . . . Peace, no less than war, requires idealism, self-sacrifice and a righteous and dynamic faith." (*The New York Times*, January 18, 1948.)

Mr. Dulles' contention seems to be in line with the new United States foreign policy regarding Southeastern Europe, which is a veritable "Achilles' Heel" of Soviet power. In that region American policy

has produced a constructive program aiming to stop Soviet Russia's imperialistic drive to the West. Southeastern Europe, from the strategic viewpoint, is the most vulnerable spot of the Soviet Empire. But we know also that the enslaved peoples of the Black Sea-Caspian region await eagerly such a constructive program, emanating from this country. Yet, to date no such program has been formulated not only in the implementation of American foreign policy, but as a part of American public opinion as well.

It is not without great regret that we remind our American policy-makers that long before the publication of the Nazi-Soviet documents, Soviet Russia's aggressive plans were a mystery to no one. Yet, at the time when these documents were being read, translated and prepared for publication, the American military authorities forcibly handed over to the Soviets without regard for human rights and their political opposition to the totalitarian regimes hundreds of thousands of anti-Soviet Ukrainians, White-Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and other Eastern European refugees. All these people, to be sure, were our actual allies, whom we sent against their manifested will to slave labor camps, if not to certain death in Soviet Russia, the self-declared enemy of the United States and of the entire Western world.

The Case of Ukraine

It is no longer a secret that Ukraine has been waging its unequal struggle with the despotic regime of Soviet Russia for the last thirty years. During that struggle the Ukrainian people have made untold sacrifices. Today no one would deny that the Kremlin, pursuing its policy of destroying the Ukrainian peasantry, has adopted such barbaric and inhuman methods as the artificially-created famine in Ukraine which took at least four million Ukrainian lives. Today the American government has undisputable proof about the powerful Ukrainian underground movement and its Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the UPA, which has not laid down its arms against the Soviet aggressor. Furthermore, it is common knowledge in the United States that the Ukrainians, especially those in Western Ukraine, are being savagely persecuted by the Soviets for their Catholic faith, and that six Ukrainian Catholic bishops and their metropolitan are in Soviet concentration camps because they refused to submit to the Kremlin-dominated Russian Orthodox Church. Yet our officials are still timidly reluctant to use these facts for the purpose of weakening Soviet power.

To our amazement and regret, American public opinion, and to some extent official policy, are to this day influenced greatly by pro-Russian elements in our government, universities and press. These elements, by their anti-Ukrainian interpretation of the political history of Eastern Europe, and especially of Ukraine's struggle against Russia, had considerable success in concealing the true intention of imperialistic Soviet Russia, the successor of the Russia of the Czars.

Thanks to these forces in the United States, which still stand for the "indivisibility" of the Russian Empire, be it "White" or "Red," attempts are being made to divert this country from playing the role of defenders of all enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe. "Change the government in Moscow," runs the argument, "and the new Russian government will be amenable to the West." These forces, it seems, would make the United States forget its international pledges, as expressed in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms.

A few weeks ago our Congress voted an extensive budget for the propaganda purposes of "The Voice of America." The program, we are told, includes some twenty-four foreign languages. Yet, it is astounding to discover that there is no radio broadcast in the Ukrainian language, a language spoken by some 40 million Ukrainian forcibly incorporated in to the empire of Stalin. These Ukrainians, we know, are bitterly opposed to the Soviet totalitarian domination and show their opposition by armed uprisings and insurrections. It is a foregone conclusion that American propaganda would find an extremely fertile field in Ukraine, especially now when the present masters of the Kremlin openly accuse the Ukrainian patriots of being in the service of "American imperialists."

• • •

The former Chief of Staff of the United States Army, General Eisenhower, in his farewell address to newspapermen before taking over the presidency of Columbia University, gave his candid opinion about the war potential of the Soviet Union. Asked by one of the correspondents which part of Europe or Asia has the most strategical importance for the security of the United States, the distinguished American, without hesitation, declared: "Europe west of the Volga is the most important part of the world from our viewpoint." (*The New York Times*, February 6, 1948.)

He ascribed this importance to the fact that in that part of the world alone there exists today a potential industrial capacity to produce more goods than are required for national consumption. When the

surplus production begins to go into war material, it is time for the United States to take notice, the General warned.

The most important part of Europe west of the Volga River is Ukraine, although General Eisenhower preferred, for reasons of his own, not to name it. It is not only Ukraine's industrial potential which will play a great part in any anti-Soviet war, should such come one day. Above all, it is the political and moral potential of Ukraine, which will prove to be a decisive factor in case of a Soviet-American war. If the American General Staff will knowingly neglect to exploit the aspirations for liberation of the Ukrainians and other peoples under the Soviets, it may be assumed that the war potential of these countries will be utilized by the Soviets against the United States.

And yet, this war potential of the Soviets cannot only be paralyzed, but it can eventually be put to use for the benefit of the world's democracies, should the United States adopt a constructive policy toward Ukraine and other countries dominated by Soviet Russia.

To date the significance of these moral and political factors, which in the last analysis could and will prove to be the strongest arguments against Soviet expansionism, have been, unfortunately, ignored by the American press and American science. Not infrequently American universities, and especially their Slavonic departments, are staffed with either White Russian (Tsarist) imperialists, or with Americans of pro-Soviet orientation, who do everything possible that the struggle of the Ukrainian people for their national emancipation be least known in this country.

We hope that General Eisenhower, now the new head of Columbia University, who so ably and authoritatively has pointed out the strategical significance of the countries west of the Volga—will also succeed in directing American thought toward a proper presentation of the problems of the Eastern European peoples, enslaved and ruthlessly exploited by the Soviet totalitarians.

In the DP camps in the American zones of Germany and Austria, there are thousands of Ukrainian scientists, engineers, professional men and women, who are in possession of vast knowledge concerning this Soviet industrial potential of which the new President of Columbia University spoke. Furthermore, there are among the Ukrainian political refugees men of great learning, and experts on Soviet Russia's political machine and its communist ideology. These people could be of great service to our national security—they know from first-hand experience how to effectively combat Soviet imperialism, because they

know what we Americans generally fail to recognize: the secret of Soviet propaganda. But, despite the fact that the "cold war" between the Soviet Union and the United States has been in a full swing for the past year, these anti-Soviet refugees are still living the lives of socially unproductive elements for the simple reason that our government has not so far taken the opportunity of using them to aid in producing that for which Mr. Dulles is calling: "Constructive ideas for which the whole world stands in wait."



UKRAINE: ALLY BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

THIS is an age of global struggle between Soviet communism and western civilization. The former is committed to slavery, the latter to freedom. Soviet communism is the continuation, in aggravated form, of medieval Russian Tsarist absolutism, made alluring, in the propaganda sense, by borrowing some perverted western collectivist ideas which, in practice, make the individual a helpless robot in the grip of a state that controls every detail of political and economic life.

Western civilization assumes differing political and economic forms in different countries. But it possesses a wide common denominator in Christian and humanistic respect for the dignity of man, in maintenance of the ideal of liberty under law. Such characteristic Soviet institutions as the omnipotent secret police, the completely controlled press, the slave labor camps where millions of unfortunate human beings are overworked and starved to death, are unthinkable in any country that belongs in the camp of western civilization.

Now if these cruel and tyrannical features of the Soviet regime were restricted to Russia they would not furnish a cause for political concern to people in the United States and other free countries. We could set them down to the evil heritage of Russian autocracy and hope the Russian people would outlive them.

But there is the very strongest and most credible testimony, that of such leaders of the Russian Revolution as Lenin and Stalin, that the Soviet Communists are not content with their victory in Russia. They will not be satisfied or feel safe until they have conquered the entire world by a mixture of subversive propaganda and armed force.

Stalin has published a book, "Problems of Leninism," which has all the authority in Russia that Hitler's "Mein Kampf" possessed in Nazi Germany. In that book Stalin quotes Lenin with approval as follows:

"It is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states are inevitable."

One could quote many similar citations from the writings of Lenin

and Stalin. A distinguished political refugee from Eastern Europe, a Socialist with long experience of Communists, their philosophy and their methods, said to me after a long talk in London in 1946:

"So long as there is one free country the Soviet rulers will not feel safe or secure. They will conduct intrigues and propaganda against it; they will denounce it as imperialistic; they will do everything to destroy that last citadel of freedom."

The aggressive propaganda of the Soviet Union against the United States, a propaganda offensive that has been intensified during this last year, offers ample confirmation of this Socialist's interpretation of the situation. Well-meaning and naive Americans sometimes suggest that the Soviet leaders are animated by fear of the United States and its supposed design to attack Russia.

This is sheer nonsense. The Soviet rulers are astute and realistic enough to know that neither the American Constitution nor American popular psychology would permit an aggressive preventive war. They know that America demobilized with pellmell speed and has not yet adopted any form of universal military training. The Soviet Union has kept a far larger number of men under arms and maintains a system of universal conscription.

There is an element of fear behind the constant and restless Soviet expansion. But it is not fear that could be removed by any act of the United States, short of making a communist revolution in this country and installing Mr. William Z. Foster in the White House. It is fear of the still small voice of freedom.

What Stalin and his associates cannot endure is the sight of free and prosperous societies outside their own frontiers. To be sure the Russian people are kept almost hermetically sealed off against normal foreign contacts, against association with foreigners, against non-Communist books and magazines that might present favorable sides of life in non-Communist countries.

But millions of Soviet citizens in Red Army uniforms have seen a considerable part of Europe during the late war. They have seen what preposterous lies their government propaganda in the press, on the radio, in political speeches has been telling them about conditions in "capitalist" lands. They have learned that the countries of eastern and central Europe, even after they were shattered, broken and impoverished by war, are far ahead of the Soviet Union in a thousand details of comfort and cleanliness, in the standard of living for the

masses of the people. One of the most widely repeated sayings in countries of Europe which have experienced Soviet occupation is:

"Two things are bad for communism. The Red Army has seen Europe. And Europe has seen the Red Army."

The Soviet leaders cannot endure that even a small corner of any country that has been marked for annexation or political absorption should remain free, in order to point the contrast between the Communist and the non-Communist ways of life. This is why the Soviet Government was so insistent on annexing the last bit of Ukrainian territory. This is why Soviet spokesmen emphasize the supposed need for a strong centralized "democratic" government in Germany, that will stamp out "the last remains of fascism." One can properly understand this demand only if it is kept in mind that by "democracy" the Soviet leaders mean communism, while "fascism," to them, is often synonymous with freedom and democracy.

Any interpretation of Soviet aims and policies which proceeds on the assumption that the Soviet regime is a normal nationalist government, pursuing limited strategic and security aims, is foredoomed to disillusionment. It will always be impossible to come to any permanent agreement with the Soviet rulers (barring, of course, some sweeping and unpredictable political change inside Russia), first because their ambitions as Communists revolutionaries are insatiable and unlimited, second, because they conclude treaties and agreements only to violate them and make promises only to break them.

Addressing the Communist Party Central Committee in the early thirties, Stalin declared: "We shall not yield an inch of our own soil; we do not covet a foot of foreign soil." This sounded like the reasonable statement of the leader of a country committed only to national self-defense. It should be noted that Stalin did not say: "We do not covet a foot of foreign soil,—except Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, the Karelian Isthmus, Petsamo, the Western Ukraine, almost half of pre-war Poland, Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, Carpatho-Ukraine, Koenigsberg, South Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands, etc."

The Soviet Union which, according to Stalin, "did not covet a foot of foreign soil" has annexed about 280,000 square miles of foreign soil. More than that, it has reduced to subjection a much larger and more populous area, represented by the nominally independent states of Poland, Rumania, Yougoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Albania and the parts of Germany and Austria which are

under Soviet military occupation. The method of subjugation has been very simple. Moscow-trained Communists have been installed in key posts in what are nominally coalition governments. The independent leaders are murdered, like Petkov in Bulgaria, or beaten and imprisoned, like Jovanovitch in Yugoslavia, forced to flee for their lives, like Mikolajczyk in Poland, imprisoned for life, like Maniu in Rumania.

There are some gradations in the degree of subjugation. Czechoslovakia and Finland enjoyed some internal autonomy. But the general pattern of complete control of these satellite countries from Moscow has been vividly illustrated by the recent Communist coup d'etat in Czechoslovakia and Stalin's pressure upon Finland for a "mutual assistance" agreement.

The suggestion is sometimes made in more or less veiled form that America could and should come to an agreement with the Soviet Union on a basis of dividing up the world into spheres of influence. Any such proposal would be inconsistent with the Atlantic Charter and with the ideals which the United States proclaimed during the war.

But the suggestion of this kind of a division of the world is not only immoral; it is profoundly impractical. For the Soviet rulers have proved over and over again that they cannot be trusted to observe any agreement, whether phrased in the precise terms of a written treaty or in the vaguer phrase of an oral understanding.

It is a matter of record that the Soviet Government concluded, on its own initiative, treaties of non-aggression and neutrality with its five western neighbors, Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. It is also a matter of documented record that Stalin proved just as eager as Hitler to expand his frontiers at the expense of his neighbors' independence and territorial integrity. Every one of these treaties was torn up like a scrap of paper at the first convenient opportunity, during the first months of the Second World War.

Soviet actions made a mockery of Soviet promises in insure "free and unfettered elections" in Poland at Yalta, to co-operate in the use of democratic methods in countries liberated from the Nazis. There has been equally conspicuous Soviet bad faith in regard to the Potsdam Agreement, with its assurances that Germany would be treated as an economic unit, that democratic parties would be encouraged in Germany. (All political groups except the Soviet stooge Socialist Unity Party have been suppressed in the Soviet zone in Germany.)

There was an informal wartime understanding between Churchill and Stalin that the Soviet Union and Britain should share influence in

Yugoslavia, that Greece should be definitely within the western orbit of influence. But Yugoslavia became a complete Soviet satellite and the Soviet Government has encouraged the present governments in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania to give shelter and aid to Greek Communist guerrillas, who are trying to overthrow the legal Greek government and who have succeeded in creating conditions of great confusion and misery along the northern border of Greece.

The United States Government, through a most unwise and morally indefensible secret agreement at Yalta, conceded to the Soviet Union joint ownership of the railway system in Manchuria and a naval base at Port Arthur, at the southern tip of the Manchurian peninsula. The Soviet Government, on its side, promised to deal only with the legal government of China. But as soon as Soviet troops had occupied Manchuria. Chinese Communist forces, in rebellion against the Chinese Government, were invited into Manchuria, transported on Soviet controlled railways and armed and outfitted with captured Japanese material. As a result Manchuria at this time is almost lost to China. Nationalist troops are clinging precariously to a few main towns.

It has been made clear repeatedly that if the Soviet Union is given an inch of leeway it will take a yard. Before the outbreak of the Second World War Soviet leaders repeatedly expressed satisfaction with their country's frontiers, with the independence of Finland and the Baltic states. They asserted that, with one sixth of the world at their disposal, they possessed everything necessary for "building socialism." But the whole history of Soviet pre-war, war and postwar diplomacy has been full of intrigue and land-grabbing.

There is not the slightest reason to suppose that, if the United States should recognize the legitimacy of all Soviet annexations, and the right of Moscow to dominate all Europe up to the Stettin-Trieste line, Stalin's appetite would diminish. On the contrary, every new Soviet acquisition in the past has served as a springboard for further aggression. Soviet domination of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, for instance, has been a lever for pressure against Greece. The installation of Tito's dictatorship in Belgrade has been exploited for rendering aid to the Italian Communists. The Soviet Union has used its military occupation of sections of Germany and Austria as a means of trying to pull both these countries into the Russian sphere of influence.

Through its Communist party fifth columns the Soviet Union today has guerrilla shock troops operating far in the rear of the political frontier which America and Great Britain have erected against further

Soviet expansion. The political moral seems obvious. Cold wars, like shooting wars, are not won by static and defensive tactics.

If there are totalitarian fifth columns, unfortunately, in that part of the world which is still, by and large, in the camp of freedom, there are fighters for liberty behind the iron curtain. Some of the most stubborn of these fighters for liberty are in the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) which carried on a remarkable two-front struggle against both forms of totalitarian tyranny, the Nazi and the Soviet Communist, during the period of the war.

Since the end of the war Ukrainian guerilla forces, under the redoubtable Taras Chuprynka and other leaders, kept up a persistent struggle against Soviet tyranny along the boundaries of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Ukraine. They succeeded in ambushing and killing the Polish Vice-Minister of War, General Swierczewski, better known under his pseudonym of General Walter. It was under this name that he fought with the Communists against Franco in Spain.

There were several combined military actions of the Soviet, Polish and Czechoslovak governments against the UPA, which last year transferred its main base of activity from the Polish border regions to Slovakia. Isolated Ukrainian units are still fighting in mountainous, wooded and swampy regions of the Soviet Union. The existence of these forces probably explains why the iron curtain has been slammed down with special severity in the Western Ukraine. No independent foreign journalist has been able to visit this region since the end of the war.

The UPA during the war called on the peoples of the Soviet Union, especially the non-Russian peoples, to fight with arms in their hands both against Hitler and against Stalin. It did not possess enough military organization, heavy artillery or modern weapons to hold permanently any large area. But the whole world would be much freer, safer and more hopeful if the political objective of these Ukrainian insurgents, destruction of both forms of totalitarian tyranny, had been realized.

A book which has been published about the origin, growth and activity of the UPA by Mikola Lebid reprints the texts of interesting appeals which the UPA issued while it was carrying on active operations on Ukrainian soil. The following slogans appear in all these appeals: "For an independent sovereign Ukrainian state! Freedom to the peoples! Freedom to the human being!" One of these appeals is addressed to Ukrainian volunteers who fought with the Germans. It is dated September, 1943, when the tide of war had already turned

against the Germans. Pointing out that the Nazi tyrants had tried to exploit the hatred of the Ukrainian people for communism without giving them independence, the appeal calls on the volunteers not to retreat with the Germans, not to surrender to the Bolsheviks (for both courses would probably lead to death), but to pass over with arms in their hands to the UPA. The appeal concludes:

"We shall fight for the Ukrainian independent state and for independent states of all the peoples whom the Bolshevik hangmen have enslaved. . . . The peoples of Europe do not want Hitlerism or Bolshevism. . . . In our struggle with Bolshevik imperialism Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijan Tartars, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Turcomans, Tartars, Russian workers and all other peoples of Europe and Asia will help us."

There were other, similar appeals to the Georgians, to the Volga Tartars, to other non-Russian peoples, each adapted to the grievances and historical background of the people concerned. Still another is addressed to the soldiers of the Red Army. It ends with the following slogans:

"Death to Hitler and to Stalin! Death to the Berlin and Moscow inciters of war! Down with imperialist war! Long live the revolution of the oppressed peoples! Long live the self-governing states of all peoples! Long live peace and friendship of peoples!"

Following the historic tradition of Ukrainian revolutionaries, the UPA tried to organize a league of peoples oppressed by Soviet tyranny and formed national detachments out of Georgians, Tartars, and various peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia. The liquidation by the Soviet authorities of three former autonomous republics (the Volga German, Crimean and Kalmyk) and of some nationality districts in the North Caucasus offers conclusive evidence about the hollowness of the official claim that the non-Russian nationalities are enthusiastic supporters of the Soviet regime.

In an age of war, revolution and totalitarian aggression all frontier lines tend to become provisional and uncertain. The First World War led to the revival of states like Poland, which had ceased to exist as a nation for more than a century, and Czechoslovakia, which had lost its national identity for a much longer period. The Japanese grip on Korea, Formosa and Manchuria seemed unbreakable until Japan went down in complete defeat in the Second World War.

The Soviet Union has changed boundary lines and obliterated the national existence of peoples in Eastern Europe in complete disregard of the principles of the Atlantic Charter, of which it is a signatory, and

of specific treaties which it concluded with its western neighbors. Nor is there any sign that the process of Soviet would-be expansion has ended. As the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Ernest Bevin, recently told the House of Commons:

"It is the policy of the Soviet Union to use every means in its power to get Communist control in eastern Europe and, as it now appears, in the West as well."

The Soviet Union respects no boundaries in its cold war against the United States. It tries to enlist the aid of every force of subversion and disintegration in all the five continents. It has its corps of conscious and unconscious agents working on American soil.

It should be the policy of the United States to stand for the liberty of all oppressed peoples under Soviet rule, regardless of whether they came under this rule before or after 1939. Ukrainian political refugees should be treated on the same basis as refugees from Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

Recognized leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist movement should be made just as welcome in the United States as men like Mikolajczyk, Nagy, Gorgi Dimitrov and Matchek. They have every right to a place in the east European freedom front, which should offset the Communist treason front in Western Europe and other parts of the world.

Indeed the knowledge and experience of Ukrainian nationalist leaders should be of inestimable value to this government. Only recently they have been fighting against the Soviet tyranny with arms in their hands. They must possess an expert knowledge of the mood of the peoples behind the iron curtain, of the Ukrainians on both sides of the 1939 Soviet frontier. They should know from firsthand contact with the situation what are the strong points of the Soviet system and what are its most vulnerable weaknesses, what themes and slogans would be most effective in psychological warfare in this part of the world.

The entire recent trend of events, the formation of the Cominform, the breakdown of discussion about Germany, the Soviet declaration of war on the Marshall Plan, Bevin's call for union in Western Europe, points to a period of acute crisis in the relations between Soviet totalitarian dictatorship and the nations which have retained free institutions.

It is important always to remember that this is a struggle not of races, not of peoples, but of ideas. There are traitors to western Chris-

tian civilization in the countries of Europe which are outside the iron curtain and also in this hemisphere. And behind the iron curtain there are many human beings who have risked death and slavery for the sake of freedom.

The Ukraine can be a most valuable ally behind the iron curtain if the possibilities of its nationalist movement are fully realized and exploited in America.



UKRAINE AND THE BUDGET OF THE U.S.S.R.

By T. S.

A BUDGET is a plan of national economy usually drawn up to cover one year. Therefore, in democratic countries there is a lively discussion over various items of this budget by the various political parties. Sometimes this struggle assumes quite a sharp form.

The situation is entirely different in countries with totalitarian governments. In such countries, in general, any kind of political struggle, even including questions of economics, is decidedly out. All economic problems are solved in conformity with the will of "the fuehrer" and the organs of highest administration interpret this as the expression of the "will of the people." In other words, totalitarianism in politics leads to totalitarianism in economics. The peculiarities that characterize the Soviet economy are most markedly illustrated by an example of the structure of the Soviet State budget.

During recent years, the income included in the budget of the U.S.S.R. increased as follows (in billion rubles): in the year 1926—4.2, in 1932—27.5, in 1937—98.4, 1941—216.8, 1947—391.5. In other words, the budget of the U.S.S.R. from 1926 to 1947 increased from 4.2 to 391.5 billion rubles or 93.2 times. In comparison with 1913, the per capita increase was 88 times, or from 23 rubles in 1913 to 2,028 rubles in 1947. Of course, in money of a constant purchasing power, this increase would be considerably smaller. Unfortunately, we do not know the amount of the depreciation of the ruble. If we tentatively accept that the ruble in comparison with the pre-revolutionary period has fallen to one-fifteenth of its former value, the absolute increase of the budget per capita is still 5.9 times, or from 23 rubles in 1913 to 135 rubles in 1947.

This increase in the budget can be explained by two causes:

- a. A greater increase in the taxation of the Soviet population in comparison with the pre-revolutionary times.
- b. Purposefully complicated financing of all branches of the national economy through the system of the state budget, which is thus considerably increased in order to conceal the exploitative character of the Soviet system.

The USSR has a planned economy. Therefore, the state could have taken all the necessary means for the building up of socialism directly

from the working masses without any utilization of the financial system. Technically, it could have been accomplished very simply: either by a corresponding reduction of the worker's wages, or through the shifting of the surpluses from one branch of the state economy to another, let us say, from agriculture to industry. However, it would have been a dangerous procedure. It would either have led to a decrease in the wages, which were already very low, or, if the second method were adopted, it would have exposed the robbing of agriculture for the benefit of industry.

Therefore, the distribution of the national income in the U.S.S.R. is executed through the budgetary system. It gives an opportunity to conceal the fact of the unheard of exploitation of the working masses by the Soviet state. This is accomplished by the fixing of low prices for the products of agriculture from kolhosps and of high prices for all kinds of consumer's goods.

Of course, the fact of an unequal expropriation from the workers of a considerable part of their income through the system of low prices for their production and high prices for their purchases is officially denied. Even the outward form of the budget of the U.S.S.R. is planned to conceal its exploitative character, as is obvious from the budget of 1947.

TABLE I

Sources of income in the Budget of the
U.S.S.R. for 1947 (in billion of rubles)

<i>Sources</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent of Total</i>
I. Income from the state enterprises and organization:		
1. Taxes from circulation	254.7	65.1
2. From the income of the Socialistic industrial enterprises	18.7	4.8
II. Income from the population:		
3. Income taxes	27.7	7.0
4. From state loans	21.4	5.5
5. From state compulsory insurance	4.7	1.2
6. From state voluntary insurance	1.6	0.4
III. Other income	62.7	16.0
TOTAL	391.5	100.0

From the table it is evident that the so-called taxes from circulation occupy an unusually high place in the budget. It is equal to 254.7 bil. rubles or 65.1% of all income from the taxes. Not only abroad but even within the U.S.S.R., the general public is not aware of the fact that the "taxes from circulation" are nothing else but a sales tax on consumer's goods. The taxes from circulation are those imposed on the most necessary food products and consumer's goods. There are taxes on bread, meat, salt, fats, fruits, clothing, linen, footwear, paper, soap, furniture, tobacco, liquors, matches, kerosene, etc. Thus all food products and consumer's goods are affected by the taxes from circulation. Moreover, there is a strong regularity in this taxation,—the more important role the product plays in the lives of the citizens, the higher is the tax.

In 1941, shortly before the war, the state paid to kolhosps 6.5 kopeks for a kilogram of rye and sold the bread to the population for 100 kopeks a kilogram. If we consider all the expenses for transportation and manufacturing, the profit for the state was 75-80 kop. on a kilogram.

The taxes from circulation increased the price of meat, on an average, thrice; the price of clothing four times; that of tobacco, matches, kerosene 10 times. The inhabitants of the U.S.S.R. who are forced to buy all the necessary consumer's goods and food products from the state, which has the monopoly for their production and distribution, seldom realize that at the same time they pay tremendous taxes to the state.

In other words, the taxes from circulation are indirect taxation which in the democratic countries is used for the taxation of tobacco, alcohol, sugar, matches and some colonial goods. In a number of countries having much higher standards of living (France, England, etc.), the average value of indirect taxes is between 27 to 37 per cent of the total of the state income, including duties from imported goods.

The tax from circulation, beginning with the first five-year plan, is the mainstay of the Soviet budget. It has been increasing from year to year: in 1945 it amounted to 123.1 billion rubles; in 1946—191 billion rubles; in 1947—254.7 billion rubles. The increase in the budget of the U.S.S.R. in 1947 over that of 1946 equal to 68.8 billion rubles is almost totally covered by the increase in the taxes from circulation (63.7 billion rubles). This tax is greater than the yearly sum of the wages of all workers and civil servants of the U.S.S.R. in 1950 (33.5 million people), as can be judged from the five-year plan for 1946-1950.

Obviously, the Soviet propaganda denies categorically the exploitative character of this tax. Therefore, the tax from circulation is considered as a tax from the income of the "socialist sector," namely, from the "income of the state institutions and organizations." In order to emphasize that the tax from circulation is not a tax upon the people, the Soviet financial terminology uses a special category, "the income from the population," where the income from the income tax, loans and the income from the state obligatory and free insurance are included.

The income tax for 1947 comes to 27.7 billion rubles or 7% of all income. With an eye on propaganda, this amount is not high. The state loans, which are obligatory, amount, according to the budget, to 21.4 billion rubles or 5.5%. All the work of forced distribution of the state loans is vested with the professional organizations. In its decision of May 4, 1947, in connection with the new loan of 1947, the All-Union Central Federation of Professional Unions stressed that "the workers of the Soviet Union by a united and organized subscription to the loan will demonstrate again their deep love and devotion to the bolshevist party, to the Soviet government and to the great leader and teacher, comrade Stalin" (*Pravda Ukrainy*, No. 93, May 5, 1947).

Under such circumstances, it is obvious that everybody would prefer, no matter how difficult it is, rather to subscribe "with enthusiasm" and "of his free will" to the State loan, than to join the ranks of those who "do not demonstrate their deep love and devotion to the bolshevist party," etc. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the city of Kiev the loan of 1947 was oversubscribed 102% or 114 million rubles during the first 22 hours by the workers and civil employees (*Pravda Ukrainy*, May 5, 1947).

The role of loans in the Soviet Union is constantly increasing if one considers their long term character and the impossibility of redemption before maturity. The total debt of the state in loans at the beginning of 1947 was 146.7 billion rubles. Up to that time, the state had paid back to the population in interest and in redemption of the capital sum of the debt only 18 billion rubles, which constitutes only 12.3% of the whole sum of the debt made. As we see, the Soviet state is in no hurry to pay off its indebtedness, because the Soviet ruble is diminishing in value. The state actually returns to the creditors 10-15% of the borrowed sum under the real, not nominal, calculations.

The income from the state industry in the budget of 1947 is equal to only 18.7 billion rubles or 4.8% of all income. One has to stress that

the term "income from industry" in the state of the Soviet reality is entirely conditional, because it is determined wholly by the motives of government planning, not by the law of the market. Apart from that, however, the sum is unimportant when we consider that one hundred billion rubles were poured into industry during the last three five-year plans.

From the state obligatory insurance (insurance of the kolhosp property) the budget receives 4.7 billion rubles or 1.2%. Unfortunately, the Soviet publications do not specify the nature of the term "other income" which is equal to 62.7 billion rubles. Probably this includes income from the ports, railroads, etc.

Let us summarize the income of the Soviet government according to the budget for 1947. Out of a total income of 391.5 billion rubles, the population contributed indirectly or by compulsion 308.5 billion rubles or 78.7% of the total (tax from circulation—254.7 bil. rubles, tax from population—27.7, from state loans—21.4, and compulsory state insurance—4.7 bil. rubles).

In the Soviet economy where all the implements and means of work belong to the state, where the state is the only employer, where all are working for the state, the sole income of workers, peasants, intellectuals, etc. can be and is the wages in money or in products. In other words, of the income in the budget of the Soviet state up to 78.7% comes from the wages of the working masses. The state which is the owner of all the productive powers of Society, all its riches, and its property pays only 21.3% of the budgetary income.

Taking into consideration the average population of the U.S.S.R. in 1947, it appears that during the year every citizen, independently of his age or position, gives 1600 rubles to the state through taxes and other obligatory payments. When we take into consideration only the working people and the actual level of their nominal wages, then this sum increases to 3,200 rubles which constitutes 66.6% of their wages. It means that out of every 100 rubles which the state pays to workers, civil service employees and others as a salary, it takes back 66.6 rubles from them through its budget system (income taxes, loans, taxes from circulation, obligatory insurance) for covering the needs of the state.

Should we wonder then that the level of existence of the citizens of "the most democratic country in the world" is the lowest in Europe?

Moreover, in the budget of the U.S.S.R. for the year 1947, it is stressed that at the end of the year the population of the U.S.S.R. will have 13.5 billion rubles in the savings accounts which gives 70 rubles

of savings per capita. With this money we can buy in the state store about 7 pounds of white flour, about half a pound of fat or 2½ pounds of sugar. No comments are necessary.

How then are spent those tremendous sums which every year, under any circumstances, the state forcibly takes from the population? The answer to that question can be found in the expense part of the state budget of the U.S.S.R. for 1947. The total expenses come to 371.4 billion rubles. Thus the budget has a reserve of 20.1 billion rubles. Separate items of expenses are given in Table 2.

TABLE 2
Expense part of the budget of the
U.S.S.R. for the year 1947

<i>Items</i>	<i>Total billion rubles</i>	<i>Percent of Total</i>
1. For national economy ..	131.8	35.5
2. For social and cultural enterprises	107.1	28.8
3. For war industry	67.0	18.1
4. Expenses for government, courts and prosecution	12.8	3.4
5. Expenses for scientific research ..	6.6	1.8
6. Expenses for loans ..	6.1	1.6
7. Other expenses ..	40.0	10.8
TOTAL	371.4	100.0

More than a third of all expenses, or 131.8 billion rubles (as compared with 95.7 bil. rubles in 1946) goes for financing the national economy. Among the separate branches this sum is divided as follows: industry—79.9 bil. rubles; agriculture—16.2 bil. rubles; transport and communication—13.8 bil. rubles; others—unknown items—18.7 billion rubles. It is of interest to note that the capital invested in industry during the year 1947 is 4.3 times that of the expected income from it.

Published expenses for military affairs amount to 67 billion rubles or 18.1 percent of the whole budget. Actually the percentage is considerably greater, because the inclusion of the financing of the national economy in the budget considerably increases the total and thus decreases the percentage of the expenses for the military of war. Yet even so, this sum is only a part of the expenses which are devoted to the satisfying of immediate military needs. It should be stressed that the

capital investments in industry (79.9 billion rubles) and especially in the unidentified "other unknown items" (18.7 bil. rubles) go, in a considerable part, for the establishment of various military objectives.

The capital investment in transport and communication (8.9 bil. rubles) as well as "other expenses" (40 bil. rubles) have an eye also to the necessities of war. To this should be added the scientific research work (6.6 bil. rubles) that undoubtedly is connected with military aims. As a matter of fact, the expenses for scientific research are constantly increasing: in 1945 they were only 2.1 bil. rubles; in 1946—5.1 bil. rubles were spent; and for 1947—6.6 bil. rubles were allotted. Thus during three years the budget of scientific research increased 3.1 times.

This all means that about 200 bil. rubles or more than half of the Soviet budget is spent for the building of the military objectives or for an increase of the military potential of the Soviet state. In absolute figures during the past 20 years, these sums have increased from 0.6 billion rubles in 1927 to almost 200 billion rubles in 1947, or 333 times. If we take the coefficient of depreciation of the Soviet ruble to be equal to 15, then the real increase of the military expenses per capita of population was from 4 rubles in 1927 to 69 rubles in 1947, or 17.2 times.

The expenses for administration, courts and prosecution in 1947 come to 12.8 billion rubles, as compared with 11.6 billion rubles in 1946 and 9.2 billion rubles in 1945. Under this heading are certainly included the costs of the NKVD, prisons and forced labor camps. Of course, they never figure separately in the Soviet budgets. It should be stressed, however, that the spendings for the enormous Soviet administrative and penal apparatus are constantly increasing. This is actually a peculiarity of every police state. The Soviet ministries are on the increase. There are 50 of them now. The territorial regions become smaller and their number is constantly increasing.

There is no country in the world with a larger administrative apparatus than the Soviet Union, not counting the exceedingly large apparatus for the administration of the national economy. It is interesting to note that in August of 1946, the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. abolished 730,000 vacant positions in the administrative staff of all budgetary and agricultural organizations. If we assume that these vacant positions were equal to only 10% of all positions, then in this case the total number of employees would be equal to 8 million people. However, it is not the whole apparatus. In it is not included the apparatus of the party, professional cooperatives and many other organizations, which require another several millions of officials.

Finally we shall deal with the expenses connected directly with satisfying the needs of the population or with the payment of debts. Expenses for loans (paid interest, paid obligations, etc.) amount to 6.1 billion rubles or 1.6% of total expenses. Expenses for social and cultural enterprises come to 107.1 billion rubles or 28.8% of all expenses. They are divided as follows: education—52.4 billion rubles; health protection and physical culture—18.9 billion rubles; state social insurance—9.3 billion rubles; state help for large families and single mothers—5.9 billion rubles; social security, pensions, help to the veterans and their families—20.6 billion rubles.

In other words, the workers in the U.S.S.R. who are forced to pay into the state budget from their wages 308.5 billion rubles, actually receive from the state through the social and cultural enterprises and repayment of loans only 113.2 billion rubles. Thus the sum of 195.3 billion rubles is the sacrifice that the working masses of the U.S.S.R. are carrying "willingly" and "with enthusiasm" in order to build up the "communist society" and create conditions for building up a similar society throughout the world.

Let us look now at the role that Ukraine plays in the budget of the U.S.S.R.

The total expenditures provided for in the state budget of Ukraine, which is an integral part of the budget of the U.S.S.R. during the recent years have increased as follows: 1937—4.1 bil. rubles; 1945—8.2 billion rubles; 1946—11.3 billion rubles, 1947—14.8 billion rubles. As we see, from 1937 to 1947 the budget of Ukraine increased 3.6 times from 4.1 to 14.8 billion rubles. This, however, does not give any clue to the level of satisfaction of the needs of the population of Ukraine.

As a matter of fact, the colonial status of Ukraine is connected with a complete, actual absence of any budgetary rights. After completely subjugating Ukraine economically and politically, the Soviet government still was afraid of any signs of separatism on her part and as a result we have a strict centralization of the total economy of the U.S.S.R. Actually, expenses for the national economy in the budget of Ukraine in 1947 are 3.4 billion rubles or 2.6% of expenses for the national economy in the all-Union budget (131.8 billion rubles or 35.5%). This centralization has led to the situation that large sums of money from the income collected in Ukraine, directly go to the budget of the U.S.S.R. and are spent mostly outside the borders of Ukraine. It is characteristic for the relation of the U.S.S.R. to Ukraine that the expenses for the social and cultural enterprises in Ukraine in

1947 are 9.4 billion rubles, which is equal to 8.7% of the expenses for the same item in the budget of the U.S.S.R., while the percentage of the population of Ukraine to that of the U.S.S.R. is 15.5%.

As I have already stressed at the beginning of this article, the discussion and adoption of the budget under the conditions of the U.S.S.R. becomes a simple formality, because everything is foreseen and decided beforehand.

There has been no case when any of the deputies ever disagreed with one part or another of the budget, or openly and truly criticized it. The deputies of the Highest Council, the highest organ of power in the U.S.S.R. have the right only "to praise" and "to thank." This is not forbidden. And they utilize this right to the utmost. When the state budget of the U.S.S.R. was discussed in the Soviet Council, Bazhan, the vice-president of the Council of Ministers of Ukraine, made a speech in which he begged the council to increase the budget of Ukraine by several million of rubles for cultural purposes, that is, for the spread of the bolshevist propaganda, and finished his speech with a poem, in which he glorified Stalin and promised that Ukraine will work even more intensively "under the life-giving warmth" of comrade Stalin. Where is there any other country in the world where the representative of the people in the discussion of the state budget glorified the head of the State?

An analysis of the budget of the U.S.S.R. shows that:

- a. In its securing of the income it is based on the brutal, unheard of direct taxation of the working masses which leads to an unprecedented lowering of the standard of living.
- b. In its expenses, the aim of the budget is to increase to the maximum the military potentialities of the U.S.S.R. The budget of the U.S.S.R. is a budget for the preparation for a new war.
- c. Ukraine is actually devoid of all budgetary rights. In the Soviet political and economic system Ukraine is an object of a direct exploitation also through the state budget.



THE ATTACKS ON UKRAINIAN CULTURE

By CLARENCE A. MANNING

TH**ERE** is a story recorded in Roman history that the King and tyrant of Rome, Lucius Tarquinius the Proud, sent his son in the guise of a fugitive to the city of Gabii which he wished to conquer. When the young man had secured the confidence of the leaders of the city, he dispatched a trusted messenger to his father to ask what was the next step. The father made no answer but took the messenger on a walk through his garden and with his cane he knocked off the blossoms of the tallest flowers. The son took the hint and systematically brought false charges against the leading citizens of Gabii until the city fell easily into the hands of the tyrant.

That story typifies the history of Ukraine. Ever since the decline of the Kievan state, the aggressive neighbors of Ukraine have sought continuously to destroy the Ukrainian spirit by eliminating the heads of the people. There have been three main periods of this movement. The first was that of the Polish Republic before the revolt of Khmel-nitsky. The second was in the eighteenth century under imperial Moscow. The third is still continuing.

These three attacks were deadly and far-reaching but they were very different in their methods, their goals, and their intensity. We may well say that they differed according to the movements of the time and the predominating interests of society. We may also say with equal justice that they dealt with the body, the mind, and the soul of Ukraine. Let us see what the three were aiming to accomplish and the methods that they employed.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the old concept of the Christian Empire was losing its political effectiveness. The old conception of nationality—as determined by loyalty to the feudal oath was still in force and dominated the methods of thinking of the rulers, but there was already appearing the notion of the gentleman as a man of culture that was to reach its height in the regime of Louis the XIV. The influence of the Renaissance was becoming a formula rather than an enlivening force and it was facilitating the transformation of the original, powerful Polish-Lithuanian alliance into a state organized on Renaissance models.

More and more the union of the Kingdom of Poland and the

Grand Duchy of Lithuania was becoming a united country with a cultural unity on the part of the upper classes. The original conception had been singularly free. By the marriage of Grand Duke Jagiello and Queen Jadwiga, there had come into being a powerful state in the mediaeval sense. On the basis of the feudal oath of loyalty which allowed almost complete variance in all non-essential matters, it had brought the predominantly Roman Catholic Poland into close association with the religiously mixed Lithuania with its official records in the Church Slavonic of Kiev and Wilno. The object was the defence of a large area of Europe against the aggression of the Holy Roman Empire and the Teutonic Knights on the west and against the aggression on the east of the Mohammedan Golden Horde of which the Grand Prince of Moscow was the most subservient vassal.

By the middle of the sixteenth century this ideal had been replaced by the belief that it was somehow better and more genteel to speak Polish and Latin. Slowly but surely Church Slavonic in the records of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania receded into the background. More and more the Ukrainian provinces and the Ukrainian gentry who had felt themselves relatively at ease under the old system saw themselves transferred to direct Polish rule and found it advisable to accept the change.

The movement proceeded with a steadily increasing tempo after the Union of Lublin in 1569. It can be measured by the fact that Dmytro Vishnevetsky, one of the early founders of the Sich, had a grandson, Jarema Wisnowiecki, who was the foremost opponent of Khmel-nitsky and the Kozaks in the seventeenth century. Prince Ostrozhsky, the great defender of the Orthodox Faith in the sixteenth century, saw his son pass over to the other side. We know the date when the White Ruthenian ancestor of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the Polish and American patriot, left his traditional faith and language for the hope of social success.

This was an attack on the body of Ukraine. In its effective stages, it was not attended by political persecution but rather by social ostracism. It did not concern itself with the Ukrainian peasantry who no more than the Polish peasantry were represented in the Diets or the Senate. It was the affair only of the intellectual leaders who desired something more than the conventional training of the schools of the day.

At the same time there is no reason to deny the fact that the schools of the day for the Ukrainian population were woefully in-

adequate. After the fall of Constantinople, the outstanding teachers of the Byzantine Empire who had escaped the debacle of the country had gone to the West. There as emigré scholars they had revived Western learning and this had drifted back into Poland. Thus the socially and intellectually ambitious leaders of Ukraine found themselves drawn to the prevailing learning and manners of the Polish regime and tended to imitate it and then to be absorbed into it.

The schools of the various Brotherhoods which aimed to preserve the national consciousness rested inevitably upon the educational system then in force at Mount Athos. The Orthodox Church of Constantinople was torn by factionalism and in its struggle for its own existence had little to offer. Hence came the bitter polemical writings that marked the day and dominated the field until the great Peter Mohyla attempted a synthesis which still remained an archaic rather than a progressive force. Among its worst features was its attempt to correct and revive the archaic Church Slavonic instead of passing on to the Ukrainian vernacular of the day at a time when all of Europe was beginning to realize that the language of the people and not of the books was the distinguishing feature of a nation.

Thus the temptation that beset the Ukrainian intellectual was one of ambition. As the landowners drifted to the Polish system to have advantages for their children, so the more alert intellectuals sought the new Western learning for themselves and their children. To the Kozaks all this was anathema but the great Kozak leaders were working out their own ideas. They had no time to write and study. They had to act and, for good or ill, Ukraine passed into the period of the Kozak revolts without its nobility, without a large part of its scholars. It was the least cruel but perhaps the most hampering of all attacks upon the Ukrainian people and culture. Still it left the masses untouched and uncorrupted.

The second attack came in the eighteenth century, after Peter the Great and later Catherine realized what Kiev had offered to their people. This was an attack upon the minds of the Ukrainian leaders and an appeal to their more sordid interests. A Vishnovetsky acquired increased social standing by considering himself a Pole. He jeopardized only his political ambitions by remaining as the leader of the Kozaks. A Samoilovych risked his own life and the wealth of his family, if he did not choose to serve the Muscovites.

From the first days when Moscow attempted to supervise the Kozaks under the anointed right of the Tsar to change personally all

pacts which his delegates made, it became clear that the officers of the Kozak regiments who had by now become the social upper class of Ukraine, could only hold their positions and their lands by typical Muscovite submission. This was galling to many of the more able and energetic officers but there was little that they could do. If they tried to acquire the favor of the tsar, they could live in St. Petersburg and be accused of neglecting their duties. If they wished to fulfil the functions of their office, they were accused of plotting against the ruler and of disobeying some unclear and unpublished order as it was interpreted by some irresponsible official.

On the other hand, if they strictly abstained from political life and profited by every opportunity to merge their fate with that of the Russian aristocracy, they could hope for some safety and security. It is no wonder that many of these, not excepting the last Hetman, Cyril Rozumovsky, asked to be relieved of their dangerous posts, profited by the momentary opportunity to secure title to the official property of the various regiments, and settled down as dutiful Russian Muscovite nobles, though always aware that they were under a constant suspicion of disloyalty.

For the intellectual, the choice was perhaps more subtle, for he could salve his conscience with the fact that there was no written Ukrainian language, and that it was as easy to write Great Russian as the unspoken Church Slavonic employed by the literary men of Kiev. Even before the foundation of St. Petersburg, there had been a flow of educated clergy into Moscow. Later they were followed by many more, as opportunities grew smaller in the provincial cities and greater in the new capital.

At the same time the Great Russian regime not only rediscovered the existence of Kiev which it had proudly ignored while it had been under the jurisdiction of the Golden Horde but on the basis of the relationship of Prince Andrey Bogolyubsky to the great Yaroslav, it laid claim to the entire history, literature and culture of Kiev, and proclaimed itself the lawful heir of the past.

From there it was but an easy step to proclaiming that Great Russian was the one form of East Slavonic which had the potentialities for becoming a literary language. From then on it was easy to hold that whatever schools were to be established in the now Russianized governments carved out in the Hetman state (the old Rus-Ukraine) they should be conducted in Russian, while for the clergy the lectures conducted in Latin could serve as an intermediary of ignorance for both

Great Russians and Little Russians (as the Ukrainians were now officially called).

The rigid ideas of the regime of St. Petersburg affected both the bureaucrats and the radicals. Belinsky was as hostile to the writings of Shevchenko as was Tsar Nicholas I himself. The one sought to condemn the poet to the literary inferno and the other to political silence. The culmination was the decree of Valuyev as Minister of Education that there is not, was not and never will be a Little Russian (Ukrainian) language, even when Ukrainian literature was already well developed in the Russian Empire and starting a literary career in Western Ukraine under Austria-Hungary.

Yet, despite these handicaps, modern Ukrainian literature grew and developed and there came in the political, economic, and cultural fields that revival among the surviving intellectuals, soldiers and peasants that resulted in the proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1918, when the American ideals of self-determination and of liberty as voiced by President Wilson rang out in the First World War.

We may well call this period the assault upon the mind of Ukraine. It propounded a theory that would recognize the past and fit Ukraine into a great monolithic state. It gave opportunities to the scholar and the writer to accept a new order, to fit himself into a new state machine which would accept his individual contribution, provided he considered himself a normal and legal part of a false tradition. The answer was the disintegration of the Russian Empire, the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II, and the complete failure of the Provisional Government of Russia to satisfy in the old monolithic fashion the ideals and realities of the various subject nations that had been brought into the Empire by inheritance, force or chicanery.

Then began the third and present period, the period of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which at the beginning paid at least lip service to the cause of national feeling but based its policies on the fact that it was the mouthpiece of the laboring masses of the entire world, the workers and peasants of all countries. When it was made clear that this meant the mouthpiece of the Communist intellectuals, workers, and peasants of all countries, the instincts of the democratic peoples revolted but even their leaders were not sufficiently aware of the composition of the old Empire to take aggressive action against the new regime. They encouraged the efforts of the monolithic leaders of the White Armies to create a democratic Russia and they avoided

open support of the suppressed nationalities. The result was the overthrow of the White Armies, the crushing of the democratic republics and the victory of the Red Armies and the Communist ideals.

The Ukrainian National Republic fell and its leaders passed into exile. Then there arose the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and culturally all seemed well. Many of the old leaders, still like the Western democratic world, overlooking the logical consequences of the doctrines of Lenin, returned. They were still imbued with a belief that the human rights that had persisted from the time of the Kievan state through two attempts at denationalization would continue and that they could work freely. A minority with the old Kozak spirit described by Kotlyarevsky in the *Eneida*, wiped the dust of a Soviet Ukraine from their feet and attempted to work abroad. So it had been with Orlyk, the hetman of the Kozaks after the disaster of Mazepa. But this time they had more hope.

There was a moment when it seemed as if the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic might overshadow the Shevchenko Society of L'viv, the Free Ukrainian University of Prague, Czechoslovakia, and all other institutions. To-day we can see the loss to Ukrainian scholarship in this momentary dawn which ended in the hampering, arrest, and induced death of Professor Hrushevsky, in the indictment, trial and punishment of Serhey Yefremiv, and the many others who died for having ideas, knowledge, and honesty.

For a brief moment Ukrainian literature revived as did the literatures of all the liberated countries. It comprised writers of all parties and of all schools of thought. Many of them including radicals and Communists as Khvilovy accepted parts of the new ideology and attempted to interpret them in a Ukrainian manner. Within twelve years they had learned their mistake.

The new movements were to be nothing but an extension on the Communist basis of the teachings of Belinsky and the monolithic Russian Muscovite nationalist intelligentsia who had doomed Shevchenko to the literary inferno. The honest Ukrainian Communists as Khvilovy passed out by suicide or execution. The dishonest, to whom life was dearer than honor as Tychyna, Rylsky, and Korneychuk, passed on to sing the praises of the great scholar, scientist, critic, and genius of all time, Joseph Stalin.

Yet this time the movement did not stop there. Even the Ukrainian peasants had never accepted the blind servility and submission of the Great Russians. They still wanted their little piece of land and their

families and were willing to fight for them and for the right to human liberties. The Kremlin and Moscow had the appropriate answer:—the collective farm, contributions, starvation, famine, death, and deportation for the survivors. For the first time, the foes of Ukraine decided to make an attack not only upon the upper classes but upon the people. At least three million people died in the famine of 1932-3 and no one has estimated the millions who have been forcibly removed from Ukraine to the far east and north to break up their sense of unity and their own traditions.

Stalin is willing to allow the existence of the Ukrainian language but he has made it clear that in this language there shall be written only articles approved by the "big brother" of the Ukrainians, the Great Russian people, and by the supreme Politbureau of the Communist Party sitting in Moscow and dictating the destinies of the entire Soviet Union. He has made it clear that the culture of Ukraine is to be Communist Russian culture, only expressed in Ukrainian with perhaps a few details of the Ukrainian scene thrown in.

Yet even so the attempt to eliminate the spirit and soul of an entire people is meeting with obstacles. Again and again Moscow thunders about the revival of the bourgeois-nationalistic ideas of Hrushevsky and his students. A large part of the Ukrainian Communist Party has been purged for bourgeois-nationalist sentiments. Even such devoted servants of the Party as Rylsky have been condemned for not being sufficiently Communist on the accredited pattern. Stalin has extended the same treatment to Western Ukraine which he acquired during the World War II and the list of executions and deportations grow apace.

Yet there is not only the passive resistance of helpless victims of the Communist terror. It is already clear that armed detachments of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army are operating in Western Ukraine and it is becoming evident that the operations exist throughout all Ukrainian territory. Those Ukrainians who have escaped the iron curtain by arriving in the western zones of Germany and elsewhere as displaced persons are hard at work laying the foundations for new developments of Ukrainian culture. They are receiving the aid of the million or more Ukrainians scattered throughout the Western hemisphere. The Pan-American Ukrainian Conference held recently in New York was but a forerunner of a new sense of confidence and of hope.

This third assault of Russian Communism is truly an attack on the very soul of Ukraine. It is attacking not only the leaders but the masses.

It is trying to eradicate all those principles under which the Ukrainians like other Christian peoples have lived for nearly two thousand years. Yet it too is failing, for apart from physical extermination the spirit of man is unquenchable. It can be momentarily corrupted by the shameless rewriting of the Ukrainian past, the mutilation of the works of Ukrainian literature, the slandering of the great men of the past, but truth will ultimately prevail.

The very excesses of Communist zeal are creating an answer. It is unifying the world against the totalitarian monster and thus is giving hope to all those peoples who under great odds have kept the faith. It remains only for the world to recognize that Ukraine can be a potent ally in the great work of spreading true democracy and that a nation which have been so sorely tempted to deny its own existence can be trusted to do its part in developing those ideals which were enunciated in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms and were spurned by the attempt to appease Stalin and the Communists. May there soon come a triumph of the true ideals of the United Nations and a true recognition of a free Ukraine as entitled to a seat in that reformed organization!



THE STONES CRY OUT

By SVIATOSLAV HORDYNSKY

SINCE the final occupation of Ukraine by the Soviets in 1920, no less than forty churches have been demolished in Kiev alone. Among these were buildings of great historical and artistic value. Some dated as far back as the XI and XII Centuries, others were from the Kozak period. They withstood throughout the ages the attacks of Mongolian hordes, wars with Poland and Tsarist Russia, the so-called "Great Ruin" following these wars, World War I and the revolution, when Kiev changed hands more than once during cruel battles, and when hostile artillery bombarded its historic edifices, only to be demolished in the years that were officially known in the history of Europe as years of peace. They were destroyed by religious and national hatred. There is no trace today of the "Golden Roofed" Cloister of St. Michael from the XI Century, of the Holy Trinity Church of 1184, of the Church of the Assumption on the Podol (the lower part of Kiev) built in the XII Century, and of a long row of splendid structures of the Kozak period, built in the characteristic style, which is known under the name of "Kozak Baroque" and constitutes the highest achievement of Ukrainian architecture. The Cathedral of St. Nicholas erected by Hetman Ivan Mazepa in 1690, the Churches of St. Nicholas Slupsky, from the XVII Century, of Sts. Peter and Paul, 1640, the Bratsky Monastery on the Podol from the XVII Century, were all demolished by the communists. In the demolishing of the Church of the Assumption in the Cloister of the Lavra, which was begun in the XI Century and completed in the XVII Century, the Germans had a hand. This is a list of only the most important buildings, though they by far do not complete the list of priceless losses.

Amid all this destruction the Ukrainians felt most acutely the demolition of the "Golden Roofed" St. Michael's Cloister. It was one of the oldest as well as one of the most imposing edifices of Kiev, not including the Cathedral of St. Sophia, built by Great Prince Yaroslav the Wise in 1017-37. The demolition took place in 1934, and today we are in possession of adequate and authentic information from witnesses and contemporaries of this sad event. Several official documents pertaining to the destruction have already been published. But before we analyze the hysterical frenzy of destruction that led to the ruin of this

memorable building, let us first give a short history of it. It is all the more necessary, because lately new information has come to light on the time of its erection and even its name.

Until recently historians were of the opinion, that the church



"THE GOLDEN ROOFED" ST. MICHAEL'S CLOISTER

named after St. Michael, and mentioned in the Lawrentian Chronicles and those of Ipaty, was built in 1108 by Prince Svyatopolk II, the grandson of Great Prince Yaroslav the Wise. However it was also known from the old chronicles, that the son of Yaroslav the Wise, Great Prince Isyaslav-Dimitry, built a church somewhere in the vicinity of St. Michael's, before that church was started. During the Mongolian raids, when many structures in Kiev were ruined, one of the two churches disappeared, and in later times there was no evidence which of the two remained and which was ruined. However the documents from the XVI Century associate the remaining church with that of Saint Michael's. Some of the later authorities of the XVII Century, as for instance, Saphonovich in his "Small Chronicles" of 1672, even began to connect it with the times of the legendary Michael—the first archbishop of Kiev. Beginning with the XVI Century the church gained in renown, and was visited and described by many foreign travelers

of the time. The emissary of the German Emperor, Eric Lassota in 1594, saw it and mentions its mosaics in the apse and dome and the frescoes on the walls. It was described by the well known French scientist and constructor Guillaume LeVasseur de Beauplan in 1650 and Paul, the Archdeacon of Aleppo and emissary of the Patriarch of Antioch in 1654. Beginning with the XVII Century, the church was renovated by the Great Hetman Bohdan Khmelnitsky, who built the side domes and finally under the Hetman Ivan Mazepa it received its external appearance of Baroque.

Some art historians, as the Russian scientist D. Aynaloff, tried to identify St. Michael's with the church built in honor of St. Dimitry of Thessalonika, but there was no definite proof. Finally, not long ago, Professor P. Kurinny proved, that the Church, known since the XVI Century as St. Michael's, was actually the church of St. Dimitry, erected in 1054-78 by Prince Isyaslav-Dimitry, and therefore, it was only a few decades younger than the cathedral of St. Sophia—the most prominent surviving monument of ancient Ukrainian architecture.

At first this cloister-church was a two story structure, with three apses and five domes. Its oldest parts were the east side, with the apses and the west side with two towers—one of which had stairs leading to the upper choir gallery. Four old pillars in the forms of crosses supported the main dome. In the XVII-XVIII Centuries, the northern and southern walls were removed, two side naves were added, the gold plated domes were renewed and two more added. Among the interior decorations, the most valuable were the mosaics in the main apse, that represented the Holy Eucharist. In the center the image of Christ with an angel appeared twice, and from both sides of the altar advanced rhythmically the Apostles. The Eucharist was flanked on each side with figures of St. Dimitry and St. Stephen. The rest of these apses and walls were covered with frescoes which were covered with a layer of mortar, and were rediscovered only after 1808. Only a part of them survived, but it is very possible that with the demolition of the building, undiscovered frescoes on the church walls were forever lost.

It is characteristic, that the inscriptions on the mosaics were not only in Greek, but in Old Ukrainian as well, whereas the mosaic inscriptions in St. Sophia are still only in Greek. On the basis of the old chronicles, historians conclude that the mosaics and frescoes in St. Sophia were made by foreign artisans and those in St. Michael's were made by local artisans, all the more so, as no chronicle mentions foreign artisans as taking part in this construction. Historians are of the opinion,

that in the XI Century the local artisans were still unable to undertake such a high artistic assignment as in the Cathedral of St. Sophia; this became possible in the following century. However, as the architect Oleksa Povstenko points out, these historians sadly erred in their



ST. MICHAEL'S CLOISTER: BAS-RELIEF CUT IN STONE—XIth Century

dating. Povstenko generally inclines to regard the mosaics and the frescoes of St. Sophia also as partly the work of local artisans, and defends this thesis rather convincingly, by emphasizing Old Ukrainian traits found in these work, such as the costume, the way of life depicted in them, and the similarity of many artistic elements to Ukrainian folk art.*

In any case the possibility, that the artisans, who worked for Yaroslav the Wise, worked later for his son in the Church of St. Dimitry, brings up all sorts of interesting artistic parallels and suggestions, that can throw a new light on the history of the Byzantine style in Ukraine. This negates simultaneously the previous hypothesis. It also destroys the hypothesis of D. Aynaloff (in the review *Belvedere*, Vienna, 1926, No. 49), that one of the creators of the mosaics in St. Michael could have been the well known painter and mosaicist St. Alimpy, about whom we know that he traveled from Kiev to Constantinople to learn the art of mosaics. The "Pechersky Pateryk" mentions that in 1089 he worked on the cathedral of the Pechersky Monastery under Greek art-

* See two of his articles about the churches of St. Sophia and St. Michael-Dimitry in the I and II issue of *Ukrainian Art*, Munich, 1947.

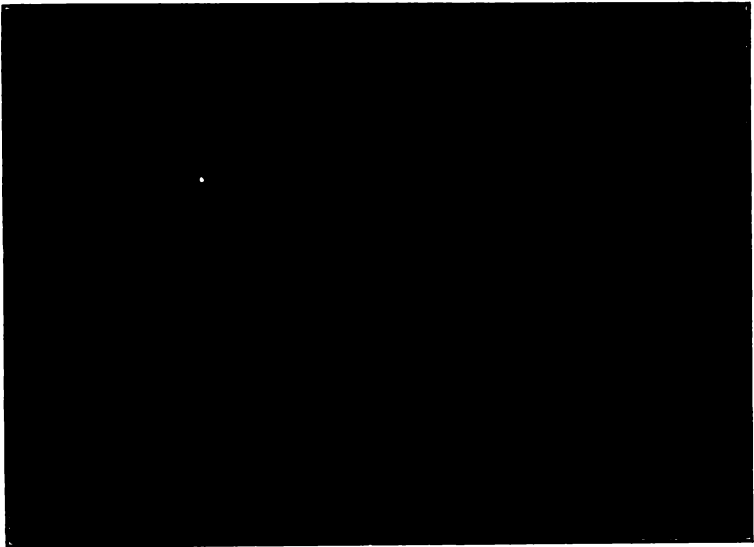
isans, and "learned from them." But at that time he would have been about twenty years of age—and could not have possibly helped decorate the church of St. Dimitry.

This priceless architectural monument, which held a prominent place in the history of east European art, was demolished in 1934.

Up to 1933 the capital of Soviet Ukraine was not Kiev, but Khar-kiv. Kiev, situated in the very heart of Ukraine, had too many historic memories of ancient and recent traditions, when in 1917-19 many thousands of Ukrainians demonstrated in the Kiev squares, demanding an independent State. In view of this fact the Soviets began their experiments of the communistic reconstruction of Ukraine not in Kiev, but in a newly appointed capital, Kharkiv, that was situated near to Moscow and on the route to the industrial Don Basin. But following the staged and organized famine of 1932-33, that finally brought about compulsory collectivization, the Soviets felt strong enough in Ukraine to move the capital back to Kiev. Therefore, the Communist Party decided to "reconstruct" Kiev, in order to erect new buildings for government offices and new residences for the aristocracy of the Party. According to the plans of Moscow for the construction of the buildings that would house the "Central Committee of the Party," the site of the Trinity Church, built in the XII Century, was assigned. For the "Council of Folk Commissars" the site of the Cloister of St. Michael (Dimitry) was assigned. Between these two new buildings a gigantic statute of Lenin was to be erected. The instructions for these "reconstructions" were given to the former head of the GPU (Soviet Gestapo) —Balicky. An accurate report of the planning of the demolition was published in Lviw (Lemberg) in the monthly review *Nashi Dni* (No. 10, 1943) by Professor Volodymyr Miakovsky. He writes: ". . . But it would be unjust to assign to him (Balicky) any initiative in these plans. The program of the reconstruction was made out in Moscow. The authors of the plans were architect-constructors, for whom the five figured fees, that they received for this work, meant more than all the antiquity of Ukraine, but the general decisions and program of the reconstruction came, of course, from the Kremlin."

The intended demolition of the Cloister of St. Michael-Dimitry caused a real battle. The leading opponent of the new plan was the aged Professor Mykola Makarenko, widely known in the scientific world as an archeologist, and a member of the Archeological Committee of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. In order to save this priceless structure from ruin he attempted to use his connections in Russian scientific

circles, dating from the time when he was one of the most prominent members of the staff of the Hermitage in Petersburg. When this proved of no avail he even had courage enough to send a telegram to Stalin himself. This daring step sealed his fate: he was arrested and exiled



ST. MICHAEL'S CLOISTER: THE EUCHARIST—Mosaic XIth Century

and that was the last ever heard of him. In justice to the truth, it should be mentioned, that the Russian Art Historians of the older generation, D. Aynaloff and H. Kotoff, tried likewise to defend the ancient edifice. They proposed to the Communist Party to tear down the additions that belonged to the general group of the cloister and leave only the church itself in the complex of new buildings, as a "rare souvenir of ancient times." But the "reconstructors" would not allow a church to stand in the square, where the monument of Lenin was to be erected, and when at the same time over the portals of Ukrainian Churches gigantic letters proclaimed Lenin's famous slogan: "Religion is the opium of the people." The "lovers of old rubbish" were granted only permission for the immediate removal of the mosaics and frescoes from the walls of the church. The words "lovers of old rubbish" are authentic,

and taken from the official letter of the Commissar (minister) of Education, W. Zatonsky, to the GPU, later published by professor Miakovsky. The decision stood, and the splendid old edifice was hastily torn down, to make room for the new government building.



ST. MICHAEL'S CLOISTER: ST. DIMITRY
Mosaic XIth Century

Truly the stones cry out.

• • •

In contemporary American scientific literature one is apt to come across all sorts of false information. For instance, in Professor Samuel H. Cross's article "The Mosaic Eucharist of St. Michael's (Kiev)" that appeared in *The American Slavic and East European Review*, May, 1947, we read: "The demolition of St. Michael's was dictated by the necessity of finding a commanding site for a new government building,

We do not know the reason why the Communist Party changed its mind and the site from which a fine nine century old building was removed with such unseemly haste, remains completely empty, till this day. Possibly the plans were altered. But who can restore that priceless monument of ancient Ukrainian architecture, created under the sponsorship of the Ukrainian princes and hetmans?

Owing to the efforts "of the lovers of old rubbish" it was possible before the demolition to remove the mosaics and frescoes, and preserve them in the store house of one of the museums of Kiev. From there a part of them, including the figure of St. Dimitry, the patron saint—was transferred to Moscow to be shown there as specimens of "Russian" art.

Such is the short history of only one of the many old Ukrainian churches that were demolished.

only to have the latter, when completed severely damaged by the invading Germans. In view of the fact that the exterior of the cathedral was totally deformed by restorations, and as long as the extant mosaics were carefully preserved, the disappearance of the edifice was no cause for any profound regret." . . . One may conclude from these words that on the site of the old church something was really built; however the eye witness V. Miakovsky of Kiev, whom we have already quoted, states that as late as 1943 "the place was still empty and fenced off. The Soviet had not put into life their capricious plans of erecting a new building on this historic site." As to the statement of Professor Cross that the demolition of the church "was no cause for any profound regret," it suffices to look at the photo of the church, in order to regret profoundly that such a statement could have been written by the late professor. One understands, however, that he fell a victim to false information, rendered by those who sought to destroy all traces of their vandalism.



UKRAINIAN LITERATURE—A MIRROR OF THE COMMON MAN

By C. H. ANDRUSYSHEN

WHEN in the early part of the nineteenth century Ukrainian literature revived under the influence of Kotlyarevsky's travesty on Virgil's *Aeneid*, Ukraine was just emerging from its "middle ages." The most glorious period of her history, that of the principate of the Kievan Rus', was a thing of the remote past, wrapt in a quasi legendary aura. Even the second period of her renown, the Kozak Age, lay in the past, buried in the mounds which in Shevchenko's time were from one to two centuries old, and which in his estimation stood out like "witnesses of our forefathers' glory." Gone were the temples and palaces with their splendor; gone were the powerful warriors, courtiers and retainers with their glitter; gone were the burly kozaks, the terror of the Turk and Tartar as well as of the greedy Pole. All that glory was suddenly hurled into the chasm of feudal servitude, which merged the well-to-do with the ruling classes, either Polish or Russian, while the impoverished became even more so, and finally lapsed into serfdom. Figuratively, the light that shone so brightly in the bygone ages suffered a general eclipse; it was reduced to a mere spark which nevertheless continued to smoulder in the composite heart of the peasantry, that layer of Ukrainian society which was destined to become the repository of all that their nation possessed of greatness. And when the time came for the renaissance, its authors had only to draw from that peasant source all that was needed to make the new movement thrive. If for the whole of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth Ukrainian literature, with but rare exceptions, mirrors the life of the common people, their manners and customs, their joys and miseries, their hope and despair, the chief reason for this is that it was the only category of humanity in Ukraine left to be reflected in a literary form. Under such circumstances therefore Ukrainian literature could have been nothing else but ethnographic, *i.e.*, depicting the life of the common man, of the peasant in general and in particular.

May it be noted that the word "ethnographic" is here used not in its strict sense, but rather in its modified literary sense, referring mostly to the manners, customs and spirit of the people under discussion.

That form of Ukrainian literature did not assume a romantic,

Arcadian feature as it did in other quarters; it did not seek unduly to idealize the uncouth mass, but to present it as such, with both its merits and faults. In most cases it ceased to be a mere reflection or presentation of the village life, and took on a more tendentious manner—that of exposing the ills and the wrongs done to the “common dumb mass” by the mighty and the wealthy. In that respect, Ukrainian ethnographic literature became a liberalizing as well as a liberating force, a literature of purpose and mission.

That democratic tendency is in evidence only sporadically in the literature of the preceding centuries. At the end of the sixteenth century and in the beginning of the seventeenth the voice of Ivan Vishensky was heard fulminating against the oppressing lords and in defence of the lowly. Nearly two centuries later Hrihori Skovoroda made his philosophy rife with humanistic and humane elements. In the dramatic interludes the condition of the peasantry is presented in broad lines and shown in its antagonism to the oppressors. In all these attempts the ethnographic element is scanty; what is presented is mostly the hard fact of oppression and injustice, without the depressing details. It was a generalizing on a theme which was later to increase to such proportions as to fill to overflowing the Ukrainian literature of the entire nineteenth century.

Kotlyarevsky's Satire on Serfdom

Kotlyarevsky's *Aeneid* may be considered as the first ethnographic work as such in Ukrainian literature. It also has the distinction of being the first literary work written in the Ukrainian vernacular, thus starting an epoch in the Ukrainian realm of letters. In it one finds mirrored the manners and customs prevailing in Ukraine in Kotlyarevsky's time (1769-1838). He faithfully follows events as recounted in Virgil's tales of the adventures of Aeneas, but makes them take place in an atmosphere purely Ukrainian. Being a travesty, its chief characteristic is, naturally—humor; and to Kotlyarevsky's generation it certainly sounded ludicrous; the more so as in the characters which he imitated they recognized themselves, their friends and contemporaries. In that recognition their laughter was the more rollicking.

Kotlyarevsky's satire is a stern accusation of serfdom and of the cruel methods perpetrated by the land- and serf-owners upon their subjects whom they held down to an almost inhuman level of existence. Nowhere is this severe attitude more in evidence than in the “hell” episode where

"The lords were tortured
 And fried on all sides
 For never giving respite to their people
 And for treating them like beasts."

Kotlyarevsky's hell is filled with the wealthy and the mighty, with the learned and the cunning, with those who had enjoyed life on earth at the expense of their fellow-beings to whom they had done painful injustice. As in the Scriptures, Kotlyarevsky makes it as difficult for a well-to-do to get into heaven as for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle. Only the persecuted, the humble, the lowly, and the simple are there. Of such only, together with a very exceptional landlord, is Kotlyarevsky's kingdom of heaven. The fact that such an accusation comes from one who himself belonged to the wealthy property-owning class is therefore the more telling.

That "black" mass of Ukrainian society, whose speech Kotlyarevsky exalts in his poem, is in reality the chief hero of the work; and Aeneas himself is a representative of that mass, and may be considered rather as its composite presentation than as a mere individual. With Kotlyarevsky's Aeneas and the company he leads the entire Ukrainian people assumed the foremost place in Ukrainian literature. That place it held for over a century, until the first World War, when the ethnographic school gave precedence to the modern psychological, sociological and symbolistic themes.

Kvitka-Osnovyanenko Discovers in Serf a Being with Human Dignity

Hrihori Kvitka-Osnovyanenko (1778-1843) was a well-to-do, and God fearing landowner. Although he treated his serfs kindly, his work, naturally enough, contained no protest against the evil of the system. In his stories he merely painted pictures of rural life, to show that "even under a coarse shirt there beats a human heart. With that intention in mind, he observed the common life around him and sought his heroes and heroines among those who followed the plow, sowed the field, harvested the grain, worked in garden plots and in flower beds. These he presents realistically enough, but surrounds them nevertheless with an aura of sentimentality. His characters Kvitka treats as if they were his own subjects—with loving kindness and friendliness, to the point of idealizing them. Kotlyarevsky presents the people as a whole; Kvitka presents individuals, hardly differentiated, to be sure, but individuals none the less.

Perhaps too much has been made of the generality that Kvitka was

the first to introduce the peasant into the world literature. Kvitka's peasant and village stories, to be sure, appeared some ten years before those of the French George Sand and of the German B. Auerbach; their influence on the Western European writers, however, was nil. Nor has it been established that Kvitka had any influence on Turgenev as far as the latter's *Zapiski Okhotnika* ("The Sportsman's Diary") is concerned.

The greatest credit is to be given Kvitka for insisting upon writing in the spoken language of the common people, since genuine literature can be based only upon the living speech of the nation. The language spoken in *salons* and in learned societies is artificial and lacking in concreteness. And so he began to employ the tongue of the ordinary people, practicing what he himself preached. And this is what he preached:—"We should silence and put to shame those people who have the strange idea that it is impossible to write in the language spoken by ten million (now forty-five million) people; a language which has its own power, its own beauty which it is hardly possible to translate into another language, its inherent humor and irony, and all that every other recognized language possesses."

With such ideas and ends in view Kvitka wrote his stories, which are so full of ethnographic matter as to be genuine studies of the manners and customs and of the local color of the region in which his uniform and sentimental types live and move. The greatest of these is *Marusia* which is considered as the first novel in Ukrainian literature. Its subject matter is simple enough:—Young man Vassil falls in love with Marusia and wishes to marry her. Her father likes him well enough, but refuses to grant his consent because the suitor is due for military service. If he marries Marusia, he will have to leave her anyway; and while he is away, the farm and property will fall to ruin without the hand of the master to attend to it. To overcome that difficulty, Vassil finds work in a commercial establishment in order to make enough money to pay someone to do his military service for him. In time he has the money and finds a volunteer. The wedding date is set, but Vassil has to go to a distant town on a business mission. In his absence Marusia falls ill and dies. He arrives on the day of the funeral. Out of grief he enters a monastery where he soon dies.

This simple and naive story, which Kvitka considered as his greatest achievement, forms the nucleus around which he constructs his tearful, sentimental tale whose characters are so sensitized as even to speak in lamentations almost every time they open their mouths.

That exaggeration of feeling estranges one from the story. On the other hand, the richness of its ethnographic episodes, the descriptions of local manners and customs, such as the style of courtship, wedding celebrations, funeral ceremonies and others, make the story one of the most important literary monuments of Ukrainian literature. Almost half of it is devoted to the particulars of the peasant's domestic life with its intense joys and sorrows. Since Kvitka was one of the big landowners, it is understandable why he limited his descriptions to the domestic scenes and only to the well-to-do peasants. Had he broadened the picture to include the servile and slavish aspect of peasantry, he would have had to expose the injustice of the entire social system; and this Kvitka was bound to avoid.

Yet Kvitka was a humane lord. His writings are permeated with emotional expressions, caressing words, sentimental feelings, religious fervor. All his work is a moralizing factor, full of didactic elements, the chief of which is the preaching of man's resignation to God's will. And so, by his own spirit of humaneness, in addition to the religious balm in his stories, Kvitka at least makes serfdom less intolerable than it really was.

Marko Vovchok's Struggle Against Social Inequality

The greatest Ukrainian prose writer of the nineteenth century was Marko Vovchok (pseudonym of Maria Markovich—1834-1907) whose peasant stories are of a monumental importance in Ukrainian literature both for their literary value and for the purity of the language. Her first stories, published in 1859 with the encouragement of Panko Kulish, dealt with serfdom in general, and in particular with the economic and social themes relating to the subjected peasantry. With but rare exceptions, every theme she develops is depressing, for she almost invariably paints scenes of misery and dejection. True enough, she does that in a sunny prose, but the excellence of her style hardly relieves the gloomy aspect of the whole. The sun, however bright, does not dispel the distress, sorrow and affliction of the people of the soil; and the affectionate, diminutive expressions, and inordinately sentimental words make the strain even more intolerable.

Marko Vovchok began her literary activity with stories in which she, like Turgenev in his "Sportsman's Diary," presents the various peasant types as they really are, inured to the conditions into which they were born and content to live their lives without a protest, provided that their state does not become worse than it actually is. In her later

stories her peasants begin to protest and yearn for freedom. In such an idyllic piece as *Chumak* ("Wandering Laborer") she gives us free peasants, a rarity in the Ukrainian literature up to that time. The most significant stories, however, are those in which the serfs appear to be dissatisfied with their social and economic state and tend towards emancipation. That new type appears in *Ledashchitsya* ("An Idle Woman") in the person of Nastya, a village girl who is tempted to become free at any cost. And freedom she does gain in the end, but at the price of her virginal honor. She dies as a result of the disease she had contracted, but she dies a free woman nevertheless.

The cornerstone of Marko Vovchok's entire literary endeavor is the *Institutka* ("The Seminary Graduate") in which is collected and concentrated all that which she had scattered throughout her previous stories. Here too the serfs suffer the injustice of their fortune, but not passively. Like Nastya, Prokip in this story yearns for freedom, come what may. He exchanges his serfdom for hard military service. That service is extremely difficult to bear, and is in no wise easier than the life under the lords, but he is a free man, and that very thought buoys him up. He is not happy; but he is content. This tendency is an entirely new feature in the Ukrainian literature of the time.

The *Institutka*, being Vovchok's chief work, was dedicated to Shevchenko. And for a good reason: for much of what was expressed in her stories, she gathered or imitated from Shevchenko's poetry, some of which is simply filled with descriptions of human misery and injustice. The poet exerted a great influence on her, and highly appreciated her stories. In a short poem dedicated to her he calls her his daughter; and, in fact, Marko Vovchok did become his successor in the expression of the people's griefs and grievances.

In this connection it must be borne in mind that Shevchenko is in himself a profound mine of ethnographical knowledge. A poet has not yet appeared in world literature whose work presents so vividly and exhaustively the life of his people as does Shevchenko in his exalted poetic chronicle which comprizes the entire historical period of the Ukrainian people.

As long as Marko Vovchok depicted only the manners and customs of the common folk in her stories, she was successful; but as soon as she attempted to invest these stories with a psychological element, to bring into them sociological problems with a view to analyzing and solving them, she failed. For to invest the peasants with exalted feelings

and make them speak intellectually and learnedly, is to make the stories in which they figure artificial, drawn-out and falsified.

No one more than Marko Vovchok realized the insincerity of such an effort. For that reason she turned for her material and themes to the treasury of Ukrainian folklore, traditions and historical songs. The subjects she selected from that vast store she broadened and vested with the poetic beauty of her language. Some of these are idyllic in character; others fantastic; still others are known as historical fables. To this category of tales belong her *Kermeluk*, *Nevilnichka* ("The Serf"), and *Halya*. The central feature of these stories is the evidence that out of misery and sorrow there emerge fighters, heroes who, in order to gain freedom and better fortune for themselves and for their people, employ their physical might mercilessly and unscrupulously—a far cry from the passive serf of the first period of Vovchok's peasant type, or even from the second, where one sees the peasant aspire to freedom and gain it even at the risk of eventual destruction.

Marko Vovchok was also a worthy follower of Ivan Kotlyarevsky, who was the first in Ukrainian literature to condemn the evils of serfdom. The humanitarian and democratic spirit that permeates the work of Kotlyarevsky prevails throughout the work of M. Vovchok. It may also be said that the humanitarian trend of her stories derives in part from Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a work which was read extensively in Europe in the middle of the last century.

In many ways she is akin to Kvitka, especially in the ethnographic character of her stories, in the tenderness of her treatment of her themes, in the fragrance of her language, in the aura of sentimentality with which she encompasses her descriptions of folk life, and in her tender types of women. Both the authors are not too inventive in their feminine creations. All their women characters are monotonously uniform and shallow figures with similar characteristics—meek, obedient, humble, naive, honest, prudish, chaste. Practically all the heroines are the acme of these perfections. The two authors differ, however, in their attitude with respect to serfdom: Kvitka does not deal with it in his works; Vovchok, on the other hand, makes serfdom her chief concern. Kvitka is a moralist; Vovchok merely narrates, without any of the former's religious sentimentousness. Kvitka is considered to be the "father of the Ukrainian novel" in general, while Vovchok is the pioneer in the social novel. In the suppleness and melodiousness of the language, and in the poetry of her simple tableaux she surpasses Kvitka, and is second only to Shevchenko, in that respect.

Writers, who Find in Common Man the Bearer of Ukrainian National Tradition

Panteleymon Kulish (1819-1897), a poet, novelist, journalist, historian, ethnographer, and public man, prided himself to be the successor to Shevchenko. It was through his personal care that the stories of Marko Vovchok were printed, as were the works of many another Ukrainian author. Facilities for this were easily available in the printing press which Kulish owned and operated in St. Petersburg. There he also published the periodical *Osnova* ("Foundation") which introduced to the Ukrainian public a goodly number of beginning writers. Kulish himself was interested in the manners and customs of the village people, and was an ardent collector of the historical songs and *dumy*, which he often transformed and published. He translated the Bible and Shakespeare. One of his greatest works was "The Notes on Southern Rus'," an ethnographical work on Ukraine. Of great importance also is his historical novel *Chorna Rada* ("The Dark Council") which he wrote under the influence of Sir Walter Scott. In his shorter stories Kulish sought to imitate the manner of Kvitka, whose influence is much in evidence in such folk stories as *Orisyia* and *Divoche Sertse* ("A Maiden's Heart").

* * *

Anatole Svidnitsky's novel *Lyuboratsky* will be treated more fully in the section in which we shall deal with the Ukrainian novel. At this point suffice it to mention that here the description of the folk manners and customs is complemented by those of the upper stratum of society represented by the students of the seminary and by the family of a clergyman. In that section we shall also discuss the novelists Ivan Nechuy-Levitsky and Panas Mirny whose works at least partly belong to the ethnographic-realistic school.

* * *

In the work of Stepan Rudansky (1830-1873) the description of folk life is extended to include the characteristic features of the different ethnic groups living in Ukraine—Russians, Poles, Jews, Gypsies; as well as of the several classes of society—peasants, landowners, clergy. These groups, types and orders Rudansky treats through the prism of his humor. Their lives with all their pettiness and foibles he transforms into a caricature, yet not farcically enough to make them lose their semblance. In his humorous quatrains Rudansky smiles, laughs, guffaws; but he does so through tears and groans, for he is one of the most tragic of all the figures of Ukrainian literature. His life had been

continually black and bleak. Perhaps for that reason is his laughter so hearty and does not bespeak a vacant mind.

• • •

Mikhaylo Kotsiubinsky (1864-1912) began his literary career as a representative of the ethnographic-realistic school, which in his time was almost a century old. Before he evolved into idealism and impressionism, in which he excelled in stylistic, thematic and artistic qualities, he was a descriptive writer dealing mostly with Ukrainian village life. He he was especially capable of seizing and concentrating in his stories the attitudes of the common folk and of recording the inner activity of their natures. These stories, however, are quite different from those of Kvitka and Vovchok in that they are devoid of that excessive sentimentality with which the former two are so lavish. Furthermore, his characters are not so stereotyped, and his narrative form is more artistic than are the works of the older writers.

In depicting the life of the common people, Kotsiubinsky does not limit himself to the Ukrainian village: many of his stories are fine ethnographic studies of the life in those parts of eastern Europe which he visited. These "regional" stories deal with various phases of life and faithfully reproduce the manners and customs of the Bessarabian, Hutsul, Moldavian, Tatar, and Itakian peasant folk. His power of observation in this respect is especially outstanding in the "Shades of the Forgotten Ancestors" which is perhaps his greatest ethnographic tale. It deals with the complicated life of the rustic people of the Ukrainian region of the Carpathians. His *Fata Morgana* is the longest of his stories in this category, and most clearly reflects the reactionary attitude of the peasantry in the face of misery and injustice. The descriptions of the village scenes landscape are Kotsiubinsky's greatest accomplishment in this fine but unfinished psychological work so revealing of the hidden springs of human nature.

The etude in which is concentrated the ethnographic element of Kotsiubinsky's own work, and which also comprizes the synthesis of the entire Ukrainian ethnographic-realistic school is *Intermezzo*. In this short but immensely important work of art Kotsiubinsky reveals his boundless sympathy for the people who live in utter penury. Here he presents an episode out of his own life:—From the dusty, sultry, sunless city he escapes into the very bosom of Nature where he rests enveloped by the swaying wheat fields and by the blue sky. He breathes in his idyllic surroundings, and his soul luxuriates in the peace and well-being of Nature, away from the turbulent existence among men—

when suddenly there appears before him a peasant who with his dark figure full of misery, pain and distress obscures for him the sun and the entire sparkling world. Before him he sees the stooped frame of a peasant who does not live but simply vegetates. He looks at him with horror, because he sees before him not a human being but a creature reduced by misery to the level of a dumb beast, a creature living all his life in a mud hut, in a yoke, without any hope of a respite from his cruel destiny. From this depressing atmosphere Kotsiubinsky seeks an escape into the sunny and ideal air. But this phase of his literary activity is no longer ethnographic. It is idealistic and impressionistic in character.

Painter of Ukrainian Peasant's Soul

Ethnographic realism strikes one with full impact in the work of Vassil Stefanik (1871-1936), that "greatest peasant" of the Ukrainian people. That appellation he richly earned for himself by his warm love of, and attachment to, the soil and its people. With Stefanik this was no mere sentiment but an overbearing passion. In his miniature, episodic stories he concentrates so much feeling and meaning that many a one of them is worth more than even a full-length realistic novel. Stefanik is one of the most laconic writers. In a few words, in a phrase or two, he paints an entire scene or tableau; and that which he does not show or express, he forces the reader to imagine—such is the suggestive power of Stefanik's art. It is precisely on account of the scantiness of detail that the seemingly bottomless chasm of human misery appears so appalling in his stories. Stefanik charges his short sentences with so much descriptive power that they become the very essence and make the details superfluous; and the very lack of details lays the depressing picture even more bare before the eyes of the reader. For that very reason the peasant types stand out in bolder relief in Stefanik's work, and appear even more stooped, dejected, despondent than any that have thus far appeared in Ukrainian literature. They are infested with such a dread fatalism that they no longer seem human. They are inured to their painful state with utter resignation, just as a martyr who sees no other way out than by suffering the ills of life in patience.

Stefanik's peasants is a hard-boiled lot, a thick-crushed individual who rants against his misfortune, upbraids God Himself, but himself does nothing to lessen his pain and oppression. Stefanik presents him, without the least idealistic adornment, as cruel, egotistic, miserly, drunk, in sum—a negative type. It is rarely that one finds in Stefanik a smiling, benign peasant. The heart of his peasant has been shattered by the

hard knocks of misfortune so mercilessly that, he cannot but appear as heartless as life itself. And yet Stefanik's work is not altogether devoid of positive types, such as old Hritz and Maksim in his later stories. These likewise are tough characters, but at least they are not so harsh as are his previous creations.

His stories are inordinately pessimistic and depressing, at times intolerably so. Their redeeming quality is that they are the work of a first-rate artist, an artist who is a master of the laconic phrase, form and style. By the very form of his expression he is capable of creating such a powerful artistic effect as to make one, for a moment at least, forget the horror of human misery which yawns at him from Stefanik's entire work. In spite of that oppressive gloom, however, Stefanik remains a great stylist, and a psychologist of no mean merit. His miniatures are full of psychological import and are expert studies of the workings of the human heart overwhelmed by pain and sorrow.

An even better psychologist is his contemporary Marko Cheremshina who used his art to great credit in reproducing the life of the Hutsul region of Ukraine, the folklore of which is rendered even more beautiful and spiritually significant by the highly poetic prose of this master. Another writer belonging to the same category is Les' Martovich in whose realistic pictures of the peasant life in Western Ukraine (Galicia) one clearly sees exposed the faults and even crimes of that human mass which is as yet unenlightened by a spiritual renaissance. These two, together with Stefanik, form a trinity which, generally speaking, closed the ethnographic-realistic school which had prevailed in Ukraine since the revival of Ukrainian literature at the dawn of the nineteenth century.

It is a tearful, sentimental, pessimistic, heart-rending, cruel form of literature, with hardly a ray of sunlight to pierce its well-nigh continual gloom; but it could not have been otherwise, because the people from which it rose could speak only in melancholy accents. They could only groan out the sorrow of their hearts. Chained by serfdom, despoiled of national and cultural freedom, what could they do but sing and speak in minor tones! Exaggerated minuteness, as well as continual repetition, however, produces an impression; and the more painful the impression, the greater the reaction. The people needed but to realize in the literary perspective the depth and the extent of the injustice done them. It was the common grief which they all shared that welded them together into a nation aspiring to a brighter destiny and to more ideal spheres of national enterprise.

UKRAINIAN RIVULETS IN THE STREAM OF AMERICAN CULTURE

By LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

C**ULTURE**, it has been aptly said, is to a people what the soul is to the body. When we speak of culture, we mean fundamentally the totality of essential beliefs, practices, traditions and patterns of behavior that provide coherence and continuity to any self-perpetuating group of people. As a unifying principle, then, culture is the very personality of a people, crystallizing its achievements, both material and immaterial, its aspirations and possibilities toward higher goals of human attainment. Clearly, when one speaks of a Ukrainian culture, he is differentiating, as others do for their respective national cultures, in that he focuses his attention upon the cultural achievements of the Ukrainian people as such, separate from those of other peoples. Yet, as a matter of concrete historical fact, Ukrainian culture in its development in Eastern Europe has been a mainstream flowing into the ever-expanding reservoir of the culture of Western Society with its deeper fundamental of moral life and intellectual outlook. This basic truth represents the great historical chasm between Russian culture with its characteristic Asiatic orientation and Ukrainian culture with its typical Western ties.¹ And anyone who has read the undistorted histories of these two peoples without having discovered this truth, has read indeed with dark glasses.

Ukrainian Culture is Western

Thus, serving and drinking in the dynamic and liberalizing power of Western culture and standing in basic intellectual and spiritual communion with the numerous other national groups west of what is properly Russia, the Ukrainian people in their glorious history from the Kievan period down to the present have amply demonstrated in action and achievements the distinctive traits of what we may now, with understanding, call an essentially Western, Ukrainian culture. In their politics they have shown from their early Kievan state, through their 17th century Kozak Republic and their 20th century Ukrainian National Republic, indeed, down to the very present Ukrainian In-

¹ Chubaty, Nicholas D., "Ukraine and the Western World," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Winter, 1947, pp. 145-158.

surgent Army,² that political liberty and freedom, in the best tradition of the West as Voltaire himself saw it, is worth the maximum price—life itself. In their science and philosophy, as far as these were permitted in their century-long, foreign-dominated land, they have well demonstrated, in the eternal spirit of the Academy of Kiev, Ivan Franko, Hrushevsky and countless others, that responsible, objective and free inquiry into reality, again in the best tradition of the West as the German critic Herder saw it, is the only human passage to truth. In their arts, again as far as these were allowed, they have magnificently displayed, in the expressive works of Kotlyarevsky, Shevchenko and Lesya Ukrainka, the fact that the noblest manifestations of beauty, truth and hope, also in the best tradition of the West as Charles Dickens saw it, emanate from human impulses bent upon self-expression, moral improvement and personal liberty.

And lastly, but foremost, in that it embraces all of the preceding, in their religion, insofar as it, too, was unrestricted, the Ukrainian people have clung steadfastly and unswervingly to a solid Faith based upon reason—a Faith toward understanding—which assembles into a balanced, organic unity the whole complex of their activities and provides inexhaustibly their humility, their fortitude, their joy. Ukrainian culture is intrinsically a religious culture and its people a fundamentally religious people. In this lies its greatest and most potent weapon against atheistic communism, for herein are sanctified the very dignity of the individual person and the maximum possibilities for cultural and political freedom which have constituted the destiny of Ukrainian history.

The Dispersion of Ukrainian Culture

This mainstream of Ukrainian culture which, like the Dnieper, has flowed down through the centuries with its ever-expanding network of tributaries, has now, by the convulsive effects of Ukraine's calamities these past thirty years, lost its supporting banks, its points of concentration, so to speak. There is no longer a mainstream today, there are now a thousand rivulets, at first flowing aimlessly wherever the Ukrainian people are scattered about the world, but each rivulet eventually seeking some point of concentration where it may begin again to expand into a stream and a main tributary to world culture. Such rivulets stemming from Ukrainian heritage are appearing today, more

² Chubaty, Nicholas D., "The Ukrainian Underground," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Winter, 1946, pp. 154-166.

and more, on this American continent, and as such contain the possibilities of becoming an important stream, intermingling with that of American culture and emptying powerfully into the reservoir of world culture.

Despite the comparative recency of the Ukrainian immigration to this continent, there are so many unmistakable signs of the above fact that the possibility intimated looms large. In our universities and colleges, in the cinema, on the stage and in art, significant expressions of Ukrainian background and heritage have appeared to make their contribution to the reinforcement and enrichment of American culture. Many who either directly or indirectly are of Ukrainian origin have become associated with our institutions of higher learning and engaged in tasks of the highest import to the further development and conservation of democratic American culture. Some of these deserve special mention. Professor George Kistiakowsky, for example, a representative of the third generation in a family of prominent Ukrainian scholars, is a chemist on the faculty of Harvard University and during the past war devoted several years to the development of the atomic bomb. Last year at a dinner-meeting in New York City attended by such scholars as President James Bryant Conant of Harvard University and Prof. W. Albert Noyes, Jr., President of the American Chemical Society, Dr. Kistiakowsky was presented with the William H. Nichols medal for 1946 for his "fundamental contribution in the field of explosives and as head of the explosives division at the Los Alamos Atomic Laboratories," "he contributed vitally to the success of the atomic bomb." The scholarly tradition of the Kistiakowsky family is evidently well maintained inasmuch as Dr. Kistiakowsky's father, Prof. Bohdan Kistiakowsky of Kiev University, was a world-renowned sociologist and one of the original members of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences founded in Kiev in 1918, and his grandfather, Prof. Alexander Kistiakowsky, also of Kiev University, was a celebrated authority on the Ukrainian Laws of the 17th and 18th centuries and a constant contributor to the Ukrainian journals *Osnova* and *Kievskaya Starina* which symbolized the cultural rebirth of the Ukrainian nation.

Equally prominent, too, are Professors George Vernadsky and Stephan and Volodimir Timoshenko. Professor George Vernadsky is well known in our universities in the United States as an authoritative source on Russian history. Author of numerous brilliant works on East European history, as for example *Political and Diplomatic History of Russia, Bohdan—Hetman of Ukraine*, etc., treating of the eventful

leadership of Bohdan Khmelnytsky in the Kozak Republic of the 17th century, Prof. Vernadsky is a member of the faculty at Yale University and also of a fine Ukrainian background. His father, Professor Vladimir Vernadsky, a professor of geology, was significantly the first president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, which was established at the time when the Ukrainian people regained their short-lived national statehood and to which, as mentioned above, the father of Dr. Kistiakowsky also belonged.

The world famous name of Timoshenko is not restricted solely to the field of military warfare, but takes a similar place in less popularized field of painstaking scholarship. Professor Stephan Timoshenko, who also last year received high honor along with a member of the Ford family for his talented work in the field of mechanics, was already a high-ranking specialist and authority on durable materials in Ukraine during Tsarist times. Later as one of the many outstanding Ukrainian intellectuals in Prague, Czechoslovakia, Professor Timoshenko has been since 1923 an elected member of the Scientific Shevchenko Society and is now a member of the American Academy of Sciences and of the faculty of Stanford University, California. He is respected widely in the United States as the foremost authority on durable materials, a subject of incalculable importance to American industry and economy. His brother, Professor Volodimir Timoshenko, also is at Stanford University. With a similarly colorful background extending back to the intellectual environment of Ukraine, Professor Volodimir Timoshenko ranks as one of our most prominent economist in the field of food research and recently served abroad as a special adviser on German food conservation with the American Military Government. Both of the Timoshenkos have made literary contributions in their respective fields of scientific endeavor.

The limitations of space forbid a proportionate elaboration of the achievements of numerous other cultural workers with a Ukrainian background. Dr. Arnold Margolin, for example, was an ambassador of the short-lived Ukrainian National Republic, published in 1946 the work, *From a Political Diary, Russia*, and is now engaged in teaching Eastern European affairs at the American Army College in Germany. Professor Stephan Mamchur is a dean at Wayne University in Detroit, teaches in its department of anthropology and sociology, and during the war, as a specialist on social life in America, served as an adviser in Washington. Further mention must be made of Prof. Alexander Granovsky, an author of numerous works in the field of entomology and

a faculty member of the University of Minnesota; Dr. Mykola Haydak, at the same institution and the director of the university farm; Dr. Senkus, a young resourceful chemist, formerly of the University of Indiana, possessor of forty different patents and now director of the laboratories in the large chemical works of the Commercial Solvent Corporation; Professors Andrusyshen and Pavlichenko of the University of Saskatchewan in Canada; Dr. Isydore Hlynka of the Canadian Science Service; Dr. Kasha, a physical chemist at the University of California and also closely connected with atomic research; Professor Alexander J. Nedzel, M.D., at the University of Illinois and Professor Nicholas Britsky of the same institution; Professor Vasyl Halych of the Superior State Teacher's College in Wisconsin; Dr. George Bachur, sociologist at the University of Michigan; Dr. Joseph D. Stetkewicz, professor of metallurgy at Rutgers University, N. J.; and John S. Gonas of the Chicago Law School, Joanna Behrens, physiologist at Hunter College, John Terlesky, mathematician at Lafayette College, Pa., and Thomas H. Wallace of Williams College in Massachusetts.

This random enumeration suggests some of the currents existing in the Ukrainian cultural rivulets which are flowing into the general stream of our American culture. Extending it beyond the field of education as such, we observe the Ukrainian name of Alexander Archipenko, the world famous sculptor, whose superb works have graced countless exhibitions the world over. In music, that of Koshetz, whose chorus gained world repute during the twenties, stands out, as well as those of Prydatkevich, Hayvoronsky and Ouglitsky, the symphonic works of the last often being played in American concerts and over the radio. Also, the growing prominence of the exceptionally charming pianist, Lubka Kolessa, who directs the piano department of the Toronto Conservatory and whose recent performances at Carnegie Hall have inspired one critic to emphasize that she belongs there, emphasizes the possibilities of still further accomplishment. In this respect, too, the young talented violinist, Donna Grescoe, deserves careful attention, as all critics agree, in her future development. In the cinema, there are quite a number of artists of Ukrainian birth or descent such as Michael Mazurki, but the name of John Hodiak has attracted the most attention of late. On the stage, the works of the young choreographer, John Taras, are suggestive of great promise, and in painting, the names of Osinchuk, Butovich and Hordinsky, well known in Europe, stand to draw equal recognition in America.

In the Unhyphenated Service of America

Too often, of course, national groups in America seems to suggest a hyphenated condition of feeling and sentiment upon the disclosure of their respective contributions to American culture. In most cases, however, this is more appearance than reality of fact. The bleak circumstances surrounding their countries of origin today serve to enhance their appreciation a thousandfold for the liberties of movement and expression afforded by American democracy. Such freedom being indispensable for the unimpeded fruition of talent, even in music: as recently witnessed by the barbarous restrictions of the Soviet government which have been applied also to painting and other forms of art,³ it becomes clear why any hyphenated sentiment of love for American institutions is like a seed without soil for its growth. On the other hand, to expect, as some unwitting people do, a complete divorce in the hearts of foreign born Americans or their recent descendants of their selves from their cultural heritage is not only from a scientific hereditary point of view nonsense, but detrimental to the richer development of our American culture. This seems so obvious that it hardly requires further comment. And individuals who stem directly or indirectly from such a heritage and make the arbitrary attempt to achieve such a divorce in their state of being are not only deceiving themselves, but are scarcely deserving of any respect for what amounts to an act of self-negation.

Those of Ukrainian origin or descent view such matters in the above light. As one of the most recent immigrations to America, they and their children understand consciously and fully the vital significance of a free environment for a prolific cultural development. The history of Ukraine, probably more than that of any other European nation, teaches this truth. The unlimited opportunities provided by the free American society are for them a priceless treasure bearing hope, promise and freedom of cultural action which were not always theirs in their long submerged homeland. Now, as Americans, they are grateful to begin to grasp these opportunities in the unhyphenated service of America which today stands as the symbol of human salvation in the eyes of peoples everywhere, including their Ukrainian brethren in the Soviet Union. Thus to the extent that they serve the strengthening and reinforcement of this world symbols, to that extent

³ Osinchuk, Mikhaylo, "Contemporary Ukrainian Painting," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 4, Autumn, 1947, pp. 341-354.

unavoidably they serve the needs of other peoples, again including their Ukrainian brethren.

The contributions to American culture by Americans of Ukrainian origin or descent are, of course, still in their initial beginnings. To be sure, as cultural rivulets in the larger stream of American culture, they go far deeper than the level of activities represented above. They stem from the homes, the churches, the press, and the many organizations of our Ukrainian Americans. Sharing with American culture in the deeper, resourceful springs of the still greater Western culture, of which both are vital parts, Ukrainian culture, insofar as they express it, each in his own way and according to his own talents, is a natural ally of the American cultural outlook and its democratic affirmation of the basic principles that constitute the very foundation of Western Civilization—the principles that make of man, Man, not animal. A reading of Ukrainian history teaches also this truth.

The opportunities for still greater contributions to American democratic culture are wide open. Until recently, our fellow Americans hardly knew of the existence of the Ukrainian people, but today, mainly through the necessity of their relations with the Soviet Union and through our many sources of information, such as this publication, they seek more and more data on the troublesome relations between Russia and Ukraine, the weakest link in the structure of the Soviet prison. Or, if you heard this past Christmas and the one before the countless times our fellow Americans played Leontovich's *Schedrik* under the title of "Bells," and now properly call it Ukrainian, you will appreciate the growing intermixture of the Ukrainian cultural rivulets with the American stream. In both cases the foremost obstacle of ignorance of national identity has been rapidly overcome and the satisfaction of increasing American interest in Ukraine and its culture poses now as the uppermost problem. As a prominent American political theorist emphasized to this writer, "to think of dealing politically with the Soviet problem and at the same time to ignore the role of the Ukrainian people, in this connection of greater significance than that of any other Eastern European group, smacks of the highest irrationality."

The Shevchenko Scientific Society

Our rivulets, therefore, are many in America, but if they are to form into an important stream in that of American culture and thus, today, world culture, they must find some point of concentration, some agency of conservation fully capable of satisfying this growing Ameri-

can interest in Eastern Europe, in Ukraine and its history and culture. The day of neglectful ignorance of such matters is past in America. The preservation of its own democratic institutions and of its future in the world at large demands this knowledge. It is here that the meaning and purpose of Shevchenko Scientific Society is coming to this country.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society, as the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Western Ukraine, was the equivalent of the American Academy of Science in the United States. Its dedication and devotion to the pursuit of dispassionate scientific research in the seventy-five years of its eventful and prolific existence drew the admiration of intellectual Europe which respected it as one of the highest ranking institutions in Eastern Europe. Its membership was and is graced by some of the leading names of Western scholarship, such as Albert Einstein, Michael Hrushevsky, Max Planck, Ivan Franko and numerous others. Now, today, with Soviet domination over its former home, the Society is temporarily established in Munich, Germany, but because of the obviously unsettled and disruptive conditions plaguing that area, it is presently surveying the possibilities of transplanting its organization, resources and valuable archives to the free soil of the United States where it may continue its works and contributions to Western culture. The momentous significance of such an event, as concerns the service of Ukrainians to American cultural activity, would be incalculable.

Through it Americans of Ukrainian origin or descent can begin to consolidate their best intellectual and artistic energies in the unhyphenated service of American culture and correlatively in the preservation of the beauty and truth of Ukrainian culture.

In the genuine spirit of Shevchenko, so well depicted in one of Dr. Manning's brilliant works, we recall his last and lasting words:

"When I die the steppe around me
Shall enfold my grave:
Lay me in my beloved Ukraine
That is all I crave.
Let me see the Dnieper rushing
Where broad grasses wave;
Let his beetling banks be near me:
Let me hear him rave."

Shevchenko's sparkling Dnieper, symbol of our heritage, the hidden power of our service to America!



PROF. C. A. MANNING'S STORY OF THE UKRAINE AND ITS REVIEWERS

By N. D. CHUBATY

ON January 25, 1948, an unusual celebration, devoted to Ukrainian culture, took place in New York City, with several hundred participants. A representative of the Ukrainian University in Prague, which has been transferred to Munich, presented an honorary Ph.D. degree to Prof. Clarence A. Manning of Columbia University for his untiring efforts in promoting Ukrainian culture in the Anglo-Saxon world. Dr. Manning was cited for his "industrious studies of Ukrainian culture and humanistics." The American scholar has acquired a fundamental knowledge of the history and literature of Ukraine and has written several excellent works pertaining to the Ukrainian people.

The New York gathering was for the specific purpose of bestowing an honorary degree conferred upon him by the Ukrainian University in Munich for his latest and most widely known book, *The Story of the Ukraine*.

Only a few weeks ago before, Moscow's mouthpiece, *The Literary Gazette*, an organ of "The Union of Soviet Writers," published a most vitriolic attack on Prof. Manning for his *Story of the Ukraine*. A Sava Golovanivsky, author of the article "The Protectors of Traitors and Killers," unleashed his tirade against Prof. Manning, using such terms as "fascist-racist," "German imitator of slandering the Ukrainian people," and the like. The Soviet scribe, it seems, had no intention of criticizing Prof. Manning's book for its literary and historic value, but instead devoted his energy and talent to the political problems offered by the Ukrainian nationalists, especially by the Ukrainian displaced persons in Western Europe who refuse to return to their communist-ridden homeland. The author Golovanivsky simply thinks that the publication of *The Story of the Ukraine* is closely related to the alleged intention of the United States to go to war with Soviet Russia.

Characteristic of *The Literary Gazette*, Golovanivsky's article accuses Prof. Manning of "consciously taking from Hrushevsky the conception that the Ukrainian nation has no bourgeoisie and his theory that the Ukrainian nation has developed from one ethnic source." These views, as we know, had been severely denounced by the Communist Party. It was for such theories, i.e. the claim that the Ukrainian

people have their own origin, independent of that of the Russian, that hundreds of Ukrainian writers and poets have found themselves in Soviet slave labor camps, where many have perished from tortures and misery. Since the end of the war, three major purges have already taken place in Ukraine: the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev has undergone a thorough purge, as did the Ukrainian Communist Party and the entire administration in Ukraine. Each time the Soviet totalitarians accused Hrushevsky and his followers for their allegedly "dangerous" views concerning the history of the Ukrainian people. Although Michael Hrushevsky, the foremost historian of Ukraine, died in exile some thirteen years ago, his ideas are still extremely popular among Ukrainians in and outside the country. This official castigation of Prof. Manning's book by the leading publication of Moscow only proves how dangerous the Soviets consider such an objective work on Ukrainian history as that written by the American author.

A series of American magazines and dailies, on the other hand, have published more or less impartial reviews on *The Story of the Ukraine*. These reviews reflect the various opinions of American authors and scholars in regard to Soviet Russia and her imperialistic policy toward the non-Russian peoples. Only a small segment of reviewers takes a pro-Soviet stand and approves without reservation the Soviet policies in Ukraine. The majority of the writers share the main ideas of Professor Manning.

To date the following dailies have published extensive reviews of Prof. Manning's book: *Free Press*, Winnipeg; *The Daily Times and Herald*, Dallas, Texas; *The Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, Mass.; *The Denver Post*, Denver, Col.; *Brooklyn Eagle*, Brooklyn, N. Y. and the *Aufbau*, the organ of German refugees in New York.

More detailed reviews appeared in *World Affairs*, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, *The Annals*, *The United States Quarterly Book Review*, *America* and the organ of the American Historical Association, *The American Historical Review*.

Significantly, only reviewer John S. Curtiss in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* and the American-German *Aufbau* have completely taken the pro-Soviet view, while the rest of the reviewers have welcomed Prof. Manning's book as a much needed source of information about Ukraine for the Anglo-Saxon world.

The well-known Polish historian, Prof. Oscar Halecki, wrote in *The Annals* as follows: "And for the first time a foreign scholar has completely adopted the point of view of the Hrushevsky school regard-

ing the general interpretation of Ukrainian history." Another reviewer, D. Fedotoff White, writing in *The American Historical Review*, concluded: "The book was written from the Ukrainian nationalist point of view and is a very effective presentation of it."

The originality and merit of Prof. Manning's book lies in that it was written not from the Ukrainian point of view, nor from the Russian viewpoint, which has been a customary practice in presenting Ukrainian history. It was written by an independent and able American scholar who spent many years in studying the Ukrainian language, history and literature which resulted in the publication of a scholarly and objective study on Ukrainian history. This, of course, could not be tolerated by the Russians, be they "White" or "Red"; thus this unprecedented attack on Professor Manning in *The Literary Gazette* of Moscow.

Although *The Story of the Ukraine* could be regarded as a standard text book on Ukrainian history and not a political treatise, it has, nonetheless, certain political repercussions. It raises a question whether the history of a given nation, which is temporarily enslaved by a totalitarian power, should be written from its viewpoint or from the point of view of the enslaving state.

It would seem that American liberalism as well as the practice of scientific objectivity should accept the first conception as more just and humane. A totalitarian power like Soviet Russia, being vitally interested in the occupation of such a rich country as Ukraine, will do anything in its power to convince the rest of the world that such an occupation is in the interest of the Ukrainian people.

Unfortunately, such liberal views in presenting the history of Eastern European peoples are not predominant in most American colleges and universities. On the contrary, the influence of the Russian historical school has made deep inroads in our establishments of higher learning. The history of Eastern Europe, as taught in our schools, has been meticulously copied from the pattern set by the Russian historians such as Ilovaysky, Pogodin and Kluchevsky. They imposed a distorted view of Eastern European history, represented the Russian imperialistic viewpoint and they saw no other peoples in Eastern Europe but Russians. Significantly, such reactionary views are far more firmly entrenched in America than they are in the countries of Western Europe. Therefore, Prof. Manning's book on Ukrainian history may be considered as a veritable revolution as far as America's attitude to the history of Eastern Europe is concerned.

Professor Manning was first among American scholars to present the history of Ukraine as it is presented by all Ukrainian historians who are free to lecture or write on the history of Ukraine. The main theory of the late historian Hrushevsky was that there are three distinct peoples among the Eastern Slavs: a) Russians (Muscovites), b) Ukrainians and c) White Ruthenians. It opposes the paradoxical Russian viewpoint that the beginning of Russia as a state and nation took place not in Moscovy, but in Ukraine. The same Russian school negates the entire early period of Ukrainian history with a contention that the latter began only after the Tartar incursions. Prof. Manning's book explains this anomaly in a simple and convincing manner.

We are sure that the historical views as expressed in *The Story of the Ukraine* will be opposed for some time because Russian scientific propaganda (White and Red) has been the official theory too long accepted by our universities. But we hope that one day these views as expressed in *The Story of the Ukraine*, will prevail and will bring a true picture into American historical literature of the present and past history of Eastern Europe. Professor Manning's book, ably and objectively written, is an important contribution to American historiography about Ukraine.



STALIN'S PAN-SLAVISM IN THE UNITED STATES

By WALTER DUSHNYCK

THE ever-increasing pressure by the Balkan satellites of the Soviet Union against Greece, and the Comintern activities in Italy and France can mean only one thing. The great schism between the democratic West and the totalitarian East is a grim and accomplished reality. In every field, the Soviet Union and its satellites make ready for a final test with the western world, for the Soviet elite is convinced that the time has come when their historic "mission" can be realized: world conquest for communism.

With a Soviet Europe as their immediate strategical aim, and with a Soviet-dominated world as their final goal, the Soviets have acquired and developed such preponderant assets that their intentions and calculations no longer can be ridiculed or ignored. One of its forces must to be reckoned with is its huge and unique international Fifth Column, well-disciplined and blindly-devoted to the Kremlin. It includes the reborn Comintern (Cominform), with its leading men playing the role of Soviet pro-consuls in a dozen European countries; the Communist Parties, and the legions of docile fellow-travellers; the Kremlin-dominated Russian Orthodox Church, and, finally, the aggressive Pan-Slavic movement.

While all these ramifications of Soviet totalitarianism are both revolutionary and anti-American, the Pan-Slavic movement deserves the especial attention of the American people. There are over 15 million Americans of Slavic descent in this country for whose souls the far-reaching hand of the Kremlin has been grasping stubbornly for the past several years.

The idea of Pan-Slavism is not a novel invention of the Kremlin. More than a hundred years ago it had sprung up among the Czechs and Ukrainians as a form of political protest against the autocratic regime of Russia and Austria. But during World War II the Soviet government saw fit to "resurrect" Pan-Slavic sentiment not as a means of fighting the invading German armies, but as a far-sighted device for linking together the various Slav communities of the world. The arguments in favor of "the community of Slav blood brothers," so generously used by Soviet propaganda a few years ago, have now been supplanted by those stressing communism as the strongest community link among all the Slavs.

Employing this technique, Soviet Russia has already taken over control of all the Slavic countries. Yet the development of political affiliations among the numerous Slavic nations is of vast importance. The Pan-Slavic Congress, held at Belgrade in December 1946, revealed the ever-growing control of Moscow over various Slavic groups not only in Europe, but in our own hemisphere as well. Significantly, Col. Mochalov, Secretary General of the Pan-Slavic Congress, declared: "We are fighting international reaction which works against the unity of the Slav peoples . . . The Pan-Slavic Congress will condemn what one may call atomic diplomacy." He then openly advocated a Slav bloc against the United States.

"Slav Mission" in America

The American Slav Congress was founded in 1943 in the United States simultaneously with the re-establishment of the Russian Orthodox Church and the resurgence of imperialistic Pan-Slavism in the Soviet Union. Its purpose is to serve both as a transmission belt for Russian ideology and as a potential Soviet Fifth Column in this country. Its president, Leo Krzycki, vice-president of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, made a tour of inspection in Soviet Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Meeting Tito, he is reported as having addressed him as "the George Washington of Yugoslavia." Other important lights who emerged from this group, are Oscar Lange and Father Orlemanski, both subjects of national and international controversies.

The American Slav Congress comprises several groups, and represents almost every Slav ethnic minority in this country. Among the most important of these are: the United Committee of South Slavs (Louis Adamic's group), the Committee for Yugoslav Relief, the Bulgarian-American People's League and others representing Poles, Ukrainians, Russians and Serbs and Croats. In September 1946, the American-Slav Congress held a mass rally in New York in the Manhattan Center, in which many of the Soviet-dominated countries participated. Present were: Lt. General Alexander Gundurov, president of the All-Slav Committee in Moscow, Lt. General Karol Swierczewski, Polish Vice-Minister of Defense (known as "General Walter" in the Spanish Civil War, he was assassinated by the Ukrainian underground in March 1947); Tsola Dragoicheva, the Bulgarian counter-part of Rumania's Ana Pauker, Alexander Korneichuk, former Foreign Minister of Soviet Ukraine (known for his anti-American satires), and

many others. It was resolved to launch an all-embracing campaign among Americans of Slav descent, using their press, radio, fraternal organizations, youth clubs, churches and veteran organizations; furthermore, it decided to organize a "Slavic Union of American citizens which will be capable of influencing election results next fall, so that only such candidates should be elected who would fully work for international progress." Perhaps it is on this group that Moscow is counting heavily to get support for the "third party" movement, initiated by Henry A. Wallace and supported wholeheartedly by the Politburo.

Satellite Diplomats at Work

The pro-Soviet activities among the Americans of Slav descent have considerable support from the Soviet satellite diplomatic corps, accredited to the United States. All of them serve as front men for a vast network of espionage, sabotage and revolutionary, anti-American action. Such diplomats as Oscar Lange, now recalled to Poland, Sava Kosanovich of Yugoslavia, Boyan Athanasov of Bulgaria and Michael Ralea of Rumania are the liaison men between American Slavs and the communist Politburos in their respective countries. Diplomats of the Soviet-dominated countries have been most vigorous supporters of imperialistic Pan-Slavism. Red-front Slav groups in the United States not frequently listen to these men at their meetings and rallies, where the regimes of Stalin and Tito are extolled, while our own system is vilified and denounced. To this end satellite missions have greatly increased their staffs in this country. For instance, Poland now has more than 170 diplomatic agents as compared with 50 before 1939. Among them are two men deserving of special mention. They are Colonel "Konar," who is Polish Military Attache in Washington, and his deputy, Major Rozanski, whose brother, "George Borejsza," recently visited this country, ostensibly to engage in purely professional matters. Back in Warsaw, Colonel "Konar" and Major Rozanski were in charge of a special "provocation department" organized by the Polish Security Ministry in order to combat the Polish underground. Now they are working among the Americans of Polish origin, infusing the Polish-American associations with one basic idea—participation in the Stalin-directed Pan-Slavic bloc.

Bulgaria had no official representatives until a few days ago when that country was recognized by the United States government. Yet a mission under General Vladimir Stoychev and Boyan Athanasov has

been working hard among the Bulgarians in America. Athanasov was the Bulgarian envoy to Lisbon under the Bogdan Filov government, at which time his country was allied with Hitler. At present he is closely connected with the Bulgarian Council in the United States, whose former head, Peter Grigorov, was editor of the Bulgarian-language communist weekly *Narodna Volya* in Detroit before returning to Bulgaria and serving together with Georgi Pirinsky, ranking member of the American Slav Congress, as chief advisers to Dictator Georgi Dimitrov on anti-American policy in Sofia.

Although Soviet Ukraine is not recognized as an independent state, it is a member of the United Nations. As a consequence, its carefully-selected and Moscow-trained emissaries are in close contact with Stalin-loving Ukrainian groups here and in Canada. Dimitri Z. Manuilsky, Ukrainian Foreign Minister, often confers with these leaders, and occasionally gives them a hint as to how to shape their policy. On June 16, 1947, for example, Vasil Y. Tarasenko, a counsellor of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, took part in a rally of red-thinking Ukrainians, mostly members of the Ukrainian section of the International Workers Order, at Cooper Union in New York, which severely censured American foreign policy. A sum of \$12,000 was collected for the "orphans" of Ukraine and the "Soviet army hospital" in Lwiw.

Activities in Canada and South America

In Canada, too, Pan-Slavic propaganda, ably directed by the Soviet diplomatic representatives, has influenced some sections of the country's Slav population. Several thousands Yugoslavs and Ukrainians are reported to have asked permission from the Canadian government to return to their homelands. In Argentina and Brazil Russian propaganda among the Slavs has intensified rapidly. The Soviet Embassies quite openly support such groups as the Yugoslavs, Poles, Ukrainians, Czechs, Slovenes and Russians, hoping to convert them to Soviet Pan-Slavism.

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It would be a mistake and grave injustice to hold that the majority of Americans of Slav descent trip along to the tune of the Soviet pied piper. On the contrary the Pro-Soviet Slavs form a relatively small proportion of the entire American-Slav population. Most of the American Slavs, as a matter of fact, came to these shores to escape the unbearable political tyranny of their foreign-ruled native countries. Despite a sentimental attachment to their "old countries," on the whole they are deeply

devoted to their adopted country and its democratic system of government. Yet there exist the inevitable fanatical and poisonous groups, who blindly follow Moscow's policies and, as such, present a substantial threat to the security of the United States.

This resurgent Pan-Slavic propaganda has sounded all the sinister overtones of the late Nazi and Pan-German movement, which tried to rally around its imperialistic and totalitarian goal all Germans the world over.

It has become incumbent upon the United States to stamp out the mushrooming subversive growth while it still remains in a relatively embryonic stage. Otherwise, the first battles of a possible World War III will take place in the backyard of a divided household.



LEST WE FORGET

Hunger in Kharkiv in the Winter 1941-1942

By A CITIZEN OF KHARKIV

WITH a feeling of deep sorrow I painfully recall the sad experience of my native town, the capital of Eastern Ukraine.

70 cases of death per 1,000 inhabitants—26,000 in a year—these were the cruel facts in the year 1941-42. Kharkiv had a population at the time by ca. 120,000 families, i.e.—every fourth family lost one of its members.

Heartbroken mothers, wives and sisters wept bitterly for the cruel death of their beloved ones.

Indescribable were the sufferings of the survivors compelled to observe the pangs of their dear ones—dying from the most horrible death that mankind can imagine.

The inhabitants of Kharkiv died in the winter 1941-42 in the early days of the German occupation, from *starvation*. Everywhere was nothing but the ruins of destroyed houses, the black silhouettes of exploded and burnt factories and official buildings, vast excavations caused by bombs which had killed thousands of peaceful natives, a chaos of stone and iron where formerly had stood solid bridges.

Kharkiv was utterly destroyed by hostile masters of Ukraine.

The silence of death prevails in the main streets which only a year ago were crowded with people and traffic. Now the same streets are impassable for the mountains of ruined walls, overturned trams and buses and the dug-up paving. No people are to be seen anywhere. Huge buildings seem to be deserted for good. No sign of life is to be found. But you can notice some window frames closed with boards and a crooked stove-pipe emitting a faint stream of smoke. Here people live! People who have found a miserable corner to hide in, a wretched nook slowly to die in. In these very small kitchens life is pulsating still. Here a whole family and sometimes many families have found their poor shelter. All the inhabitants of Kharkiv live this winter in small kitchens often with 7 to 10 people together. They sleep on benches, tables and simply on the floor in dust and smoke amidst dirty dishes and garbage. In the daytime they all crowd around the kitchen stove,—dreary figures wrapped up in odds and ends of rainment and in old galoshes, snow-boots, warm slippers, etc. The rooms are extremely cold because of the

prevailing cold of 30 degrees below zero but the windows are without panes and the bomb-damaged roofs and walls remain unrepaired. In the deserted houses there are heaps of books and furniture which are used as fuel in this hard winter. Valuable art-objects in luxurious bindings merrily blaze in kitchen-stoves to keep the fire going. Pieces of ancient and genuine furniture and pianos turn to ashes and cinders. As warmth helps the freezing human being to struggle with death, so the price of an object depends only upon the quantity of heat it will give. A massive log is more precious to the freezing man than a thing of great artistic or scientific value. This was the law prescribed by the hard life of the winter 1941-42.

Food is an article still more rare and consequently more expensive than fuel.

Anything at all is given away for a slice of bread, a handful of corn, a cup of flour.

The small supplies of food stored by the population has been long consumed. The town is void of eatables like a desert, like a long-besieged citadel cut off from the outward world. All the bridges and railroads are blown up, every kind of communication and transportation facilities is totally destroyed. The entering and the leaving of the town is strictly prohibited. Communication of any kind is cut off even between the parts of the town situated on both sides of the small river which though narrow and almost dry in summer offers a great hindrance for the people in autumn and winter.

There are no stores, no markets, no shops of any kind. All the stores were either destroyed or plundered and robbed on the last days before the retreat of the Soviet army. *The town before the surrender had to be totally destroyed, deserted and emptied of all foodstuffs.*

This was the terrible logic of the war. Laborers returning from their work had been told already some weeks before the retreat that preparations were being made to mine all important official buildings as well as all ammunition factories. The passers-by in the streets could observe the work of the so-called Special Miner Brigade and witness the mining of bridges, official buildings and factories. Far more horrible were the arrangements made in great secrecy. Rumours grew from day to day that whole streets and sections of the city were to be mined and that all big houses were to be blown up as well.

The people in their despair were on the verge of losing their minds from the strained and nervous atmosphere caused by these rumours. The strain grew worse and worse from the constant air-raids which

systematically destroyed the so-called "military establishments," not sparing, however, the homes of the peaceful citizens, destroying all sections of the city and killing hundreds of quiet and innocent inhabitants daily. The roar of cannons accompanied by a dark earth vibrating roll became more distinctly heard with every day. The war approached Kharkiw with gigantic steps. The inhabitants who had slept the last two months without undressing, on the alert for the air-alarms, were awakened one night by the noise of heavy explosions which occurred at systematic intervals. The mined buildings of the city were being blown up.

These explosions shook all the big and strong buildings; the smaller ones collapsed like toy houses made of paper; all windows and doors were blown out by the air-blasts; broken glass poured in showers on the heads of the frightened passers-by. These explosions went on for more than two and three days. People lost all sense of time. Nobody knew for certain the reason of the "earthquakes" that caused their houses to tumble in. Nobody knew what the following minute would have in store for them. The dark October night was light like day from the blaze of the great fires. The town was burning from all sides. The red blazing sky was seen tens of kilometres away. Big stores, theatres and other vast establishments flamed like torches.

Night and day hundreds of people fascinated by the possibility of the easy gains of thievery found their way to the destroyed and burning houses and stores. At night cars with groups of men in the uniforms of the NKVD came to set fire to not yet burning houses. With flaming torches and brands they carried out the orders of "the higher command."

The town had to be surrendered empty and destroyed. This was the iron law of the war. But this "higher command" was well aware that 450,000 inhabitants, i.e. half of the population, remained in the destroyed town. These were all people who lacked the physical strength and means to leave the town and find escape in flight. The local Soviet authorities were well aware that it was impossible to evacuate the inhabitation of one million because there were no means for transportation and no time for doing it. But some "hellish power" took all efforts to destroy everybody and everything that remained behind and had no compassion either on the feeble and old or on pregnant women and small children. Though being well informed that the one million inhabitants of Kharkiw could not be evacuated and that the physically weaker part of the population was destined to remain, the government

authorities in spite of it took great trouble to destroy all food products. Declaring the remaining part of the population as traitors and "enemies of the nation" the authorities fully justified themselves in destroying all food stores. Long trains and vast stores of corn, flour and vegetables were destroyed, burnt or spoiled by soaking with kerosene. These enormous quantities of food if justly distributed among the people who stayed would have saved the majority of them from starvation. During the last days before the withdrawal of the Soviet army some speculators, bandits and plunderers found some quantities of foodstuffs that had by chance escaped destruction. These speculators later wholly governed the black-market and fixed the abnormally high prices for bread during the first months of the hunger period. The first awful symptoms of hunger appeared very soon—people died of starvation in November 1941. The curve of the deathrate increased rapidly from November on and reached its climax in the spring 1942 (in March, April and May). The following statistics will clearly show the movement of the death-rate per 1000 inhabitants.

1941		1942									
Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.
20.0	26.0	48.0	65.0	76.0	98.0	80.0	60.0	65.0	40.0	36.0	30.0

In the year 1942 the population of Kharkiw lost 26,000 of its inhabitants, i.e., 70 death cases per thousand whereas the average during the last ten years had amounted only to 11-13 cases per thousand inhabitants. The above figures show quite clearly how rapid the death-rate in winter 1941-42 was. The comparatively low death-rate in the years previous to the World War Two had been the result of the efforts of the sanitary-medical organization of Kharkiw which had succeeded in diminishing cases of diseases, paying great attention especially to child hygiene. The majority of the population of Kharkiw had consisted of the so-called "energetic class," (workers etc.), and children and the old were a comparative minority. The relationship of the age-groups of the population remained in general the same during the German occupation. It cannot be denied, however, that after the withdrawal of the bolshevists there seemed to be in a slight majority families with many children, pregnant women and the old, i.e. all the ones who were faced with the naked problem: to remain with the Germans or to be

evacuated together with the retreating Soviet army, and were not able to decide for themselves, the more so as all means of transportation were missing. Taking into account the slight changes in the age structure of the inhabitants the average of deaths per thousand could have possibly been increased from 11-13 cases to 15 cases, which would amount to 500 cases from the total population. But the death cases registered were 26,000 in 1942. We must not forget that this registration was by no means accurate because all the mortuaries, hospitals and war-prisoner camps, i.e. places where death-cases were extremely numerous, did not give reports of any kind at the time. In short, instead of the normal 5,000 death cases per year we had an incomplete figure of 26,000 cases in 1942. These cruelly naked numbers show clearly that more than 20,000 people died directly from famine or from reasons caused by famine, a fact stated also by official registration which gave as the reason for death in 80% of the cases as: "hunger, exhaustion, lack of albumen, heart attack" etc., etc. The specific coefficient of the death-cases indicates that there was a greater number of victims among certain social groups. In fact some social groups suffered much more from hunger than the others. It is characteristic and noteworthy that the centre of the town inhabited by officials and the town intelligentsia suffered the most whereas in the suburbs and the outskirts of the town, inhabited by workingmen and the so-called "middle-classes" the death rate was notably lower.

Death cases among the laborers were rather exceptional whereas the majority of the intelligentsia fell victim to it. Almost every family of the intelligentsia lost in this winter one or two of its members but some of them were wiped out altogether. Women, in general, showed more vitality and strength to struggle with famine. The percentage of those dying from hunger was a little higher among men than women. This was quite true among the old. Only in very rare cases did old men suffering from starvation recover later whereas among old women it was oftener the case. Death triumphed over the old who had been left behind without any means of existence, without anybody to take care of them or to help them. It often happened that nobody knew that an old woman or man living alone had died till after some days or weeks the smell of the decomposed corpse directed the attention of the neighbors or the house janitor to the sad event.

Famine reaped a horrible harvest in the child centers.

From 4,000 cases about 1,000 death cases were officially registered. We are not to forget, however, that the reports given by these institutes

were at the time far from accurate. From the limited quantities of foodstuffs ascribed to the establishments for the starving children only very small amounts were really distributed among them for the greater part remained in the "dirty-hands" of the administrative staff, nurses, orderlies, and the like who not only survived but also made great personal profits from the loss of the lives of thousands little children. The corpses of the children were not buried for there were no coffins to be had, no means for transportation and no time. Tens of these miserable corpses lay for weeks in the yards or the gardens of the child centers waiting for their turn for burial. Their turn came often very late!

Who was able and stronger, tried to flee from the town as from a place haunted by pestilence, leaving behind his properties, houses and his relatives. Everything was left behind in the last effort to save one's life. The stream of the people leaving the town enlarged with the increasing deathrate only in a slower tempo. 20 or 25 thousand people left the town every month, some of them never to return to their native town, seeking possibilities to settle down somewhere else. They all left their near relatives to their own destiny. There were also other people who exhausted and extremely weak from the loss of their strength caused by long starvation risked their lives to save their dear ones. In the frosts of 30-40 degrees below zero, carrying heavy loads, scarcely moving their feet wrapped-up in old rags, they went 200-300 kilometres in drifts facing the snow-storm to far-off villages to exchange their last warm clothes for corn or flour so as to carry the loads on their weary shoulders or small sleighs back the same long distances. All of them did not succeed in returning. Many of them died, were frozen, lost their way or in saving the lives of their dear ones had with frozen hands and legs to lie down in beds never to rise any more. Part of those who went to fetch bread remained in the villages where they had found work and bread. Many families left together with their children with a small amount of their most necessary household goods heaped on hand-sleighs.

Kharkiv lost in 1942 150,000 people, i.e. 30 per cent of its total population. From the remaining population of half a million inhabitants there were registered in the beginning of 1943 scarcely 300 thousand people but in the middle of 1943, after the second invasion of Kharkiv by the German occupational forces, the total of the inhabitants amounted only to 250 thousand people. The constant flow of the departing population from the town into the far rear and the evacua-

tion accomplished by the Germans after their second retreat diminished the total of the population to 200,000 people.

900 thousand people before the war, 450 thousand after the German invasion and 200 thousand after the German retreat,—these are the numbers that show the loss of the population of Kharkiw during the first two years of the war.

It would, however, by no means be true to state that all the inhabitants of Karkiw took to flight in the panic of self-preservation. Though the getting of the daily bread required abnormal amount of energies it would be an exaggeration to state that all mental and physical powers were used up in the hard daily struggle to preserve the lives of the members of one's family or of one's self.

Everyone, starting from the mayor and including the most humble citizen felt a like responsibility for the restoration of the city and the normal conditions of life of its citizens. All bridges, official buildings and factories were repaired with great eagerness. The quantities of electric powers of the local station were increased rapidly in every month. The tram-lines were expanded in kilometres. Smaller private enterprises were established again. Schools, Homes for Babies, Nursery-Gardens, Homes for the Old and Invalids were opened. A whole net of communal canteens and messes were established where thousands of starving inhabitants had the possibility of getting their lunches free of charge. The creative powers of the man for the first time rescued from the bondage of servitude, from the humiliating suppression of merely taking orders, being now unbounded in its progress, often surpassed the practics. Daring and far-reaching programs for solving the economic problems of the future, improved methods of social work for the benefit of the citizens were established.

These efforts for rehabilitation and restoration, however, had to suffer great impediments; each day brought new disappointments with it. The reestablished tram-lines and the Electric- and Hydro-Power Stations were immediately requisitioned by the German occupational forces billeted all over the town. All factories reestablished for productive work were requisitioned by the army troops. Even smaller private enterprises, handicraft and repair workshops were to work only for the German army. The hard efforts to improve the food-system for the benefit of the starving population had also to suffer from hindrances.

Every day brought the awful news of the death of some recognized Ukrainian specialist, scientist or social leader and benefactor. Men who had sacrificed for the community their powers, knowledge,

abilities, their health and the best years of their life were unable to find a sack of corn or potatoes to save their lives. In offices and other institutes people worked side by side with dying men who faded away before the eyes of their associates. The fatal symptoms of famine were clearly seen in their swollen faces, or in some extreme cases, in hollow cheeks and sharpened features, gray colour, blue lips, dull eyes which looked into the world with infinite apathy and exhaustion, heavy swollen legs and hands, impeded gait, tired and slow movements. They were but the shadows of men who formerly had been distinguished professors, lawyers, physicians, social leaders. These shadows moved like automats, quietly appearing and disappearing as if waiting for something. They waited for a piece of horseflesh or a cup of blood from the city slaughter-houses. They sat near ovens for hours drinking hot boiled water. Every day some of them vanished quietly. One of the shadows had disappeared without a trace and unheard by the others. But even the dying men continued to work for the benefit of the future generations. They experienced the joy of self-sacrifice, the joy of working for the benefit of community. Standing face to face with a cruel death, they still preserved their warm and deep sympathy for humanity. The old father, feeble from long underfeeding, gave away to his grown-up children two small tasteless corn-dodgers presented him for the holiday by a generous and good-hearted neighbor's wife.

Hopes for a better future seemed to be destroyed for ever. But people who had been convinced did not lose their belief. People who had been awakened from their long lasting lethargic sleep of inactivity did not fall into it any more. In their ears still sounded the Call of Freedom that had awakened them from the Darkness standing in the face of the cruel approaching Death. This voice called them to united activity and their vital energies did not slumber any more. The same voice still as a memory sounds deep in our hearts and calls us to unite in national solidarity.

The happy day of Ukrainian freedom will yet come!



PAN AMERICAN UKRAINIAN CONFERENCE

ON the road to the creation of a world-wide pro-free Ukraine and anti-totalitarian front, a Pan American Ukrainian Conference was held in New York City November 18-22, 1947, the first of its kind. It was attended by delegates of American, Canadian, Brazilian, Argentinian, Paraguayan and Uruguayan citizens of Ukrainian descent, acting as spokesmen for their respective nationally representative organizations.

The conference was held under the joint auspices of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. It resulted in the formation of a permanent Pan American Ukrainian Conference agency, with its officers drawn from the North and South American organizations represented at the conference.

After reports had been submitted upon the status and activities of Ukrainian organization on both continents, the conferees deliberated upon the ways of aiding the peace effort of America and her neighbors, as well as upon the means of coordinating and intensifying efforts in support of the Ukrainian national movement, which has as its goal the freeing of Ukraine of Soviet Russian domination and establishment of a free, independent and democratic Ukrainian State. Finally the conference took under consideration and planned ways of combatting the spread of Communism and Soviet Russian expansionism.

The reports were delivered by the heads of the delegations, with Very Rev. Dr. Wasyl Kushnir speaking for the Ukrainian Canadians, Rev. Mikola Ivaniw and Elias Horachuk for the Brazilians, John Hrehoraschuk and Andrew Bilopolski for the Argentinians, Paraguayans and Uruguayans, and Stephen Shumeyko for the Ukrainian Americans.

Keynote addresses were given by Prof. Nicholas Chubaty, Dr. Luke Myshuha, Dr. Longin Cehelsky of this country, and by Very Rev. Samuel W. Sawchuk, Volodimir Kossar and Dr. T. Datskiw of Canada.

Officers of the Pan American Ukrainian Conference agency are as follows: Very Rev. Dr. Wasyl Kushnir of Winnipeg, president; Dr. Longin Cehelsky of Philadelphia, vice president; Dmytro Halychyn of New York, treasurer; and Elias Horaschuk of Curitiba, Brazil, and John Hrehoraschuk of Buenos Aires, Argentine, as members of the agency's executive council. Selection of a secretary was deferred.

Immediately upon meeting, the Pan American Ukrainian Conference dispatched a vigorously worded Memorandum to the General

Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations assailing and protesting against the "deliberate policy of genocide being pursued by Soviet Russia against the over forty million Ukrainian people." Its text follows:

**Text of Conference Memorandum to the General Assembly,
Economic and Social Council and Commission on Human
Rights of the United Nations**

Genocide now the Soviet Russian Policy in Ukraine

Having convened at this, our Pan American Ukrainian Conference, currently being held here in the City of New York, we the duly elected representatives of American, Canadian, Brazilian, Argentinian, Paraguayan and Uruguayan nationals of Ukrainian descent, acting as spokesmen of our respective nationally representative organizations, by unanimous resolution, do hereby call the attention of the United Nations General Assembly and of world opinion at large, to the deliberate policy of genocide being pursued by Soviet Russia and its satellite nations against the over 40,000,000 Ukrainian people in their native but Red-ruled Ukraine, particularly against those who have dedicated their lives and fortunes to the attainment of the centuries-old-ideal of a free, sovereign and democratic Ukrainian state, governed by the people, and being of and for the people.

At the same time we appeal to the General Assembly to adopt appropriate measures to halt this inhuman Soviet Russian genocide policy, designed to destroy the liberty-loving Ukrainian people as a national, cultural and religious entity.

Particularly do we now recommend that the United Nations General Assembly take appropriate action to counteract the recent secret agreement between Soviet Russia and her satellites, Poland and Czechoslovakia, which is to pool all their forces and resources in an attempt to liquidate the Ukrainian resistance movement, particularly its spearhead, the well nigh legendary heroic UPA, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which originally fought against the Nazi invaders of Ukraine, and, after having helped to bring about their rout and defeat, has, since then, been waging guerilla warfare against the Soviet occupants of Ukraine, in a heroic and valiant effort to help free Ukraine.

This latest episode in the saga of Ukrainian struggle for national freedom, this attempted extermination by three powers of those who would free their native land, is symptomatic of the conditions and circumstances under which the Ukrainian people have been forced to live

under Russian rule. Theirs has been a veritable martyrdom. It hardly has a precedent in history. Whereas some people or races have undergone some measure of it at one time or another, the Golgotha of Ukrainian national suffering at the hands of the various Russian ruling regimes has been of a full and never-ending nature. The Ukrainians have endured it in its full measure, not periodically but continually throughout their entire tragic albeit heroic history.

Ukraine chief obstacle to Russian expansionism

The reason for it is that, dating back to when Russia was known as Muscovy, the drive to expand Russian borders at the cost of all moral considerations and human rights and suffering, always had the Ukrainian people as its chief obstacle. Just as once they had been a veritable bulwark of Western European civilization against the onslaughts of huge and barbaric hordes from the Asiatic steppes and, it should be noted, in the process they weakened themselves as a nation, so ever since then the Ukrainians have been, in their own way, the chief bulwark against the traditional and ruthless Russian expansionist drive, which in its present Communist form carries along with it untold human physical suffering, the degradation of the human spirit, and the destruction of the finer elements and values of human life.

In retaliation against Ukrainian resistance, the Russian ruling regimes have applied measures of an extremely repressive character, to say the least.

Denationalization—chief policy of Tsarist Russian rule of Ukraine

Under Tsarist Russian rule, which lasted from the decline of the 17th century Ukrainian Kozak Republic to the rise of the short-lived independent Ukrainian National Republic in 1918, these repressive measures were directed mainly toward the end of subduing the Ukrainian national resistance and desire for national freedom.

Two principal methods were used, namely, persecution and denationalization. The latter was particularly the cardinal policy of the Russian autocratic imperialists. The unbridled excesses of this policy can be judged by the fact that historical events were falsified even by Russian scholars, who were motivated more by Russian chauvinism and expansionism than by any sense of scholarship. They, as well as other Russian propagandists, made Ukrainian history and culture appear in the eyes of many in the outside world as part of that of the Russians.

As a result, there are still those today who, by way of example, are laboring under the illusion that the Kingdom of Kiev (10-13th cen-

turies), also historically known as Rus (the derivative of which, "Russia," the Muscovians under Peter I adopted as their present national name after they had overrun Rus-Ukraine) was Russian, when as a matter of fact it was Ukrainian. The Kievan kingdom, Rus-Ukraine, marked the dawn not of Russian but of Ukrainian history and statehood.

The ban on the use of Ukrainian language

To attain denationalization, that is the Russification of Ukrainians, various restrictions and prohibitions were placed on the Ukrainian language itself. Thus in 1863 the very use of it was forbidden completely for literary purposes when the then Russian Minister of Interior issued the ban against it, attached to which was his official pronouncement that "there is not, never was, and never will be a Ukrainian language." This despite the fact that millions upon millions of people spoke and wrote in it then, just as many more do today. This despite the fact that at that particular time some of the finest poetry in the Ukrainian tongue had already been written, by Ukraine's greatest poet, now world famous, Taras Shevchenko, who, incidentally, died prematurely (1861) because of the Russian physical and spiritual persecution of him as a Ukrainian *per se* and as one who propagated the idea of a Ukraine free of Russian rule. In all respects, he was one of the countless victims of the Russian policy of liquidating, by one method or another, of all those believing in the ideal of a free Ukraine and a democratic form of government.

The term "genocide" was not in existence as such then, but what it represents today was already in the process then, in Russian-occupied Ukraine.

At that time, too, the development of Ukrainian culture and scholarship was also being hindered by Russian authorities at every step. Talented Ukrainian scholars, writers, artists and musicians, deprived by the Russians of normal outlets for their creative abilities, were compelled to emigrate to Muscovy. There, perforce or by suasion, they played an important role in the development of Russian culture and scholarship, a fact acknowledged by disinterested authorities themselves.

Apace with these developments, the exploitation of Ukraine's natural resources, of the proverbial Ukraine, of the "land of milk and honey," was conducted by Russian authorities in a manner which lowered the economic level of the average Ukrainian peasant and worker to one of the lowest on the continent.

However, despite this ruthless Russian subjugation, denationali-

zation and exploitation of the Ukrainian people, aimed at the elimination of their national identity and the artificial creation in its place of "one and undivided Russia," the Ukrainian people emerged from their travail upon the fall of Tsarist Russia stronger and more nationally conscious, possessors of a high culture, fine literature, well established historical traditions, and with it all an unconquerable, resolute will to regain their national liberties and to re-establish themselves in the family of nations.

The rise and fall of the Ukrainian National Republic

And thus, when at the close of World War I and the accompanying collapse of both Tsarist Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires (both of which ruled the Ukrainians then within their particular domains) the opportunity rose for the Ukrainian people to rid themselves of the shackles of their national slavery and to strike out for their national freedom and independence, they did exactly that. The result of their effort was the Ukrainian National Republic. Its establishment under the most adverse conditions testified to the inexorable will of the Ukrainian people to attain their free national existence.

Unfortunately for them, and for the very ideals upon which our human progress and civilization is based, the Ukrainian National Republic was not permitted to live long. Once more, as in the past, the Ukrainian people found themselves deprived of the fruits of their national tree of liberty which they had for so long been cultivating, watering it not only with the proverbial sweat of their brows but also with the blood of those countless heroes who gave their last full measure of devotion to the cause of the liberation of their native land.

The Ukrainian National Republic, attacked from all sides by the traditional enemies of Ukraine, especially by the now Bolshevized Russia, harassed from within by a Red fifth column, weakened by the lack of sufficient war materiel, the ranks of its armies decimated by the scourge of typhus, and, in a most unjust climax, its claim to freedom for the Ukrainian people, based squarely on Wilson's historic principle of national self-determination, rejected by post-war well-intentioned but confused and ill-informed Allied statesmen who made a vain attempt to establish a lasting world order based on peace, liberty and democracy—before the onslaught of all these combined events, the Ukrainian National Republic collapsed. Another partition of Ukraine ensued. Most of Ukraine fell under Bolshevik rule. Poland became the occupant of the greatest part of Western Ukraine, with the remnants of it in the

form of Carpatho-Ukraine being absorbed by Czechoslovakia and that of sections of Bukovina and Bessarabia taken over by Rumania.

Much as the Ukrainians subsequently suffered under Poland, including the world notorious "pacifications," much as they endured under Rumanian and even Czechoslovak misrule, still all of it has been little when compared with what they have been undergoing for the past several decades under Soviet Russian rule.

*Destruction of Ukrainians as National Entity—
Chief Objective of Soviet Russian Rulers*

Where, during Tsarist Russian times, denationalization was the major policy of Russia toward Ukraine, with genocide resorted to sporadically and without any particular plan, nowadays under Soviet Russian rule the attempted denationalization and, particularly, subjugation of the Ukrainian people, has assumed its most virulent form, namely, that of genocide. Despite the sugar-coated concessions of an ethnographic nature to the Ukrainians by the Soviet rulers, the destruction of the Ukrainians as a national, cultural and religious entity has become a calculated and ruthlessly carried out policy of the Kremlin.

At first this genocide policy was of a haphazard decentralized character. Its execution during and in the years immediately following the Ukrainian war of liberation was the work of individual Red Russian armies or bands, particularly of the infamous Checka (eventually succeeded by OGPU, then NKVD and MVD—all mountinglly infamous) secret political police detachments who, without any particular centralized direction and motivated mostly by their hatred of those who espoused the Ukrainian cause and democracy, murdered and tortured to death, right and left, anyone suspected of such sentiments.

When some calm was restored following the Ukrainian liberation war, and as the Soviets grew in power and before this power the Ukrainian resistance fighters had to take cover, the Soviet rulers, although as unprincipled, ruthless and unscrupulous as ever, yet threading warily upon the fresh grounds of their conquests, made a calculated attempt to appease the Ukrainians by yielding to them certain cultural concessions.

Soon, however, the fallacy of their thinking that the Ukrainians would yield to their blandishments, that they would be satisfied with the mere crumbs and not the whole loaf of liberty, struck them with full force.

A comment of a London Journal

As a result, Soviet Russian policy towards the Ukrainians took on a new turn. It became aimed directly and systematically at the complete political, economical and cultural subjugation, denationalization and the destruction of the Ukrainian people. Although some Ukrainian cultural institutions have been permitted to continue their existence, yet they have found themselves emasculated of any real progress because of their being allowed to proceed only along channels of Communist ideology. The same is true of Ukrainian writers under the Soviet. Those who rebelled against this policy or showed even the slightest trace of Ukrainian nationalist sentiment, were branded as traitors to the Russian Revolution, summarily tried and executed, or sent to the notorious prison camps in the north or Siberia. Concerning one such trial, early in 1930, one reputable London journal (*Saturday Review*, Jan. 18, 1930) correctly pointed out that "the real reason for bringing a charge against Jefremov, Chechivsky and the others is the desire to destroy the Ukrainian intelligentsia by getting rid of its chief representatives. . . . Realizing its failure, Bolshevism has taken to its alternative weapons—terrorism and provocation. By this means it seeks to kill the creative efforts of Ukrainian culture . . ." In other words—genocide.

The Kremlin-fostered famine in Ukraine

Genocide, too, has been practiced against the masses of Ukraine by the Kremlin rulers, deliberately and ruthlessly. The opportunity for it rose in the early 1930s. Taking advantage of Ukrainian resistance to their system of collectivization, the Soviet Russian brought about and fostered in Ukraine a famine which, conservatively speaking, took a toll of well over four million lives. And although (in the words of a resolution submitted in the Congress of the United States), "the Soviet Government was fully aware of the famine in Ukraine and although having full and complete control of the entire food supplies within its borders, it nevertheless failed to take relief measures designed to check the famine or alleviate the terrible conditions arising from it, but on the contrary used the famine as a means of reducing the Ukrainian population and destroying the Ukrainian political and cultural rights." In other words—genocide.

Persecution of Religion

In keeping with this policy, the Soviets have also been trying to destroy the traditionally deep religious faith of the Ukrainians. At first,

they attempted to do this by the notorious godless campaigns, the destruction and desecration of churches, the banning of religious services, and in general by brutally persecuting religious persons at every step. When that failed and the last war brought about a revival of religious practice even among those who for the sake of expediency had deserted it, the Soviets inaugurated the policy of having religion serve the ends of the State. With this in mind, they first revived the Russian Orthodox Church and appointed a Kremlin puppet as its patriarch. Then they dissolved the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and forced its communicants to enter the Russian church led by the Moscow patriarch. Next they turned their attention to the Ukrainian Uniate (or Greek) Catholic Church. Its bishops were suddenly arrested soon after the war's close and imprisoned, and all of them are no longer living. Hundreds of priests were executed outright. Meanwhile the faithful underwent the same fate. Finally, in the spring of 1946 the Moscow radio announced that the Ukrainian Catholic Church had "broken off" its connections with Rome and had become a part of the Russian Orthodox Church. In this manner, then, the atheistic rulers in the Kremlin have obtained full control of the Ukrainian church—Orthodox as well as Catholic—within the Soviet borders, and are now using it as an instrument of further persecution, denationalization and destruction of the Ukrainian people.

In keeping with its policy toward the Ukrainians, the Soviets have been for many years, especially since the close of the last war, forcibly resettling vast blocks of the Ukrainian population from its native habitat into Siberia or other distant parts outside Ukraine. Into the evacuated areas the Soviets have been bringing in Russians or people of Asiatic origin.

This resettlement has also been a method of providing slave labor for the notorious prison camps throughout the U.S.S.R., with the result that a very high proportion of the estimated 14,000,000 inmates of these camps consists of Ukrainians.

Still another evidence of Soviet genocide policy against the Ukrainians are the hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian displaced persons in Europe outside the Soviet sphere. Much as they love their native land they refuse to return to it, and in many cases fight to death Soviet attempts to forcibly repatriate them, for they well know what fate awaits them under the Soviets on account of their pro-free Ukraine and anti-totalitarian sentiments.

Such then is the plight of the Ukrainian people, of those who have

suffered the most and sacrificed the most in the recent war against Fascism and Nazism, of those whose heroic deeds are emblazoned on the pages of the free press throughout the world.

UPA—The Ukrainian Insurgent Army

Nevertheless their struggle for their national freedom is stronger than ever before. The strength of it is manifested, by way of example, by the very existence of the powerful Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which conducts guerilla operations against large bodies of crack Soviet, Polish and Czechoslovak troops or police. Although operating behind the notorious Iron Curtain, some of the UPA's exploits have nevertheless made their way into print of American, English, French, Swiss, Dutch and other press. Its supreme aim is to help free Ukraine.

Ukraine—The Tinderbox of Eastern Europe

We respectfully submit to the United Nations Assembly that the Soviet denial to the Ukrainian people of their national liberties, of its attempt to destroy them as a national, cultural and religious entity, and, on the other hand, the highly militant Ukrainian counter-action against all this in the cause of national freedom, has made Ukraine today a veritable tinderbox of Eastern Europe, greatly endangering the possibility of lasting peace there. Moreover, the situation there contradicts all the hopes and aspirations of humanity when the victorious nations undertook to create a system which would work for lasting peace.

This menace can only be met by prompt and decisive action of the democratic nations as gathered in the General Assembly.

An Appeal to the United Nations General Assembly

Accordingly, we, the undersigned of the Pan American Ukrainian Conference, respectfully petition the General Assembly to create an international commission to investigate the situation prevailing in Ukraine and to make a fair and unbiased report.

We likewise petition the General Assembly to take, on the basis of this report, appropriate measures to halt this policy of genocide which the Soviets are using in an attempt to destroy the Ukrainian people as a national entity because of their unceasing struggle for freedom of foreign misrule and domination.

We request that the ordinary rights of man be secured for the people of Ukraine, and that, moreover, the United Nations take steps

to set up in Ukraine a democratic government representative of the Ukrainian people and responsible to them and that the representatives of this new democratic Ukraine be seated in the United Nations instead of the present hand-picked Moscow delegates, who represent neither the will nor wishes or interests of the Ukrainian people.

Such democratic and courageous action will insure to Europe and the world renewed and increased confidence in the United Nations as an exponent of the democratic ideals of humanity. It will end the state of unrest and violence reigning today in Ukraine. And it will represent a great step toward the elimination of suspicion among the powers and toward the attainment of that permanent and lasting peace which alone can save the world from destruction of another world war, and this time a more horrible one than any in history.

PAN AMERICAN UKRAINIAN CONFERENCE

STEPHEN SHUMEYKO, Head of the delegation of the *Ukrainian Congress Committee of America*

REV. DR. WASYL KUSHNIR, D.D., Head of the delegation of the *Ukrainian Canadian Committee*

REV. MIKOLA IVANIW, Head of the delegation of the *Sociedade dos Amigos de Cultura Ucraina en Brasil*

JOHN HREHORASCHUK, Head of the delegation of the *Comité Unido Ucrainiano en las Republicas de Argentina, Paraguay y Uruguay*.

New York City, November 21, 1947.



BOOK REVIEWS

TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF RUSSIA, by Włodzimierz Baczkowski. Jerusalem, Hamadpis Liphshitz Press, 1947, vi, 216 pp., supplements, glossary, index.

Though brief, this is an effective survey of the political, religious, and social ideology from the earliest history of Muscovy to the present time. Considerable attention is devoted by the author to the pointing out of Oriental rather than Occidental characteristics of Russian political thought throughout the ages, including much of the present day Kremlin philosophy and practice (pp. 20-21). From these accounts it is obvious how much the Bolsheviks have borrowed from past tradition and how they are simply continuing the tyrannical methods of the Old Regime. What they learned from the West was the Machiavellism which only supplemented what they had already.

A student of Soviet history of the last thirty years, if no dates were given for certain recent events, would think the old tsars were still in power. For example, the agents of Peter the Great tried to murder Charles XII of Sweden in 1709; agents of Nicholas I murdered Russian revolutionaries abroad just as the Red agents murdered Gen. S. Petlura of Ukraine, Gen. Mueller, and others in Paris, L. Trotsky in Mexico, and are now after the blood of Kravchenko and Guzenko. The Oprichnina of Ivan the Terrible's regime has its more modernized descendant, the NKVD (state police—gestapo). The liberal sum of money used by Tsar Alexander I to bribe the corrupt Talleyrand was a trifle in comparison to the Red expenditure for spying, bribery, and propaganda abroad. It is obvious from Mr. Baczkowski's account that the essential practices of the Russian government did not change when the "White" regime was replaced by the "Red." Both of them have been red indeed, stained with human blood.

The most recent phase of the Kremlin practices of glorifying Russian nationalism is, of course, the continuation of the old, old Russification polices. Only, the Red writers are trying in some way to outdo the writers of the tsarist regime by glorifying such shady characters as Ivan the Terrible and such irreligious practices as those of Peter I. Even the foreign propaganda, at which the Bolsheviks are so efficient, is not a new policy: as far back as Catherine the Great propaganda was afloat in Austria for the purpose of "liberating" the rest of the Ukrainians, while Pushkin prophesied that the deliverance of Europe would

come from Russia (p. 87). Such is the inherited foundation—the tradition on which the Reds are expanding the Empire, with the big aim of the conquest of Europe, Asia, and the world.

The chapters dealing with the religious question (IV) and foreign affairs (V) are more illuminating than the others. The author cites numerous facts to prove that no religious freedom ever existed under any regime in the Russian Empire; that the tsars often arrested, mistreated, and liquidated even the bishops and patriarch of the State Church. Ivan the Terrible waged a ruthless war on the church and the modern Communists have often used him as their "model." The Orthodox Church existed as a tool of the state under the Old Regime and the Kremlin has been restoring it to the same position during the last five years. Metropolitans of the tsarist regime glorified and worshipped the tsars; in 1942, Metropolitan Sergius referred to Stalin as the "God-sent leader—vozhd." The statistics (p. 119) cited on the status of churches in 1917 and 1941 are ample evidence of the devastating Bolshevik antireligious war which nearly wrecked most of the religious establishments and did away with close to 100,000 church workers. With the help of the NKVD the present Russian government is forcing non-Orthodox churches into its Orthodox camp to facilitate its plans for Russification. Thus far the Ukrainians that were "liberated" from Poland feel the hand of the tyrant the most, as most of their priests have been forced to become Orthodox or been sent to the slave camps.

The chief element of Russia's diplomacy for over four hundred years has been territorial expansion by conquest. Effective propaganda, as a rule, preceded the conquest, as it does to-day. Though the Russian politicians to-day scream from the housetops epithets of "warmonger" at everyone outside their orbit, their national history and the facts of their present practices give conclusive evidence of real "warmongering." Mr. Baczkowski calculates that out of the last 200 years of Russian history nearly 128 years were devoted to wars, 101 of these years being spent in wars of conquest, and only four and a half in wars of defense (p. 139). Though the Reds, often and loudly, claim pacifism, they "act war." In 1939, Molotov assured the states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania that Russia did not intend to intervene in any way in their internal affairs but to assist them; the same Molotov, within a year, announced the incorporation of these Baltic states by Russia as Soviet "republics" (pp. 151-2) and mentioned the resistance of the bourgeoisie of these states to the new regime.

The author is well informed on Russian history, much more so than many of the American political or journalistic "experts." He is one of the very few who is qualified to utilize, and does, not only Russian sources but also English, Polish, and Ukrainian. His account of the Soviet republics is altogether too brief. His data on the Ukrainians in recent Poland are incorrect when he states there were only 5,000,000 of them (p. 184), and again when he mentions but 3,500,000 as being of the Greek Catholic faith. Had he examined the church census of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant churches, he would have found more correct data than in the doctored Polish figures. But for one of Polish nationality he shows remarkable fairness in his handling of subjects pertaining to the Ukrainians and gives ample evidence of genuine scholarship. His book, as its title suggests, should go a long way toward enabling the English-speaking reader to the better understanding of Russia. It is a worthy contribution on this subject.

SUPERIOR STATE COLLEGE

WASYL HALICH

THE EUROPEAN COCKPIT, by William Henry Chamberlin. The MacMillian Co., N. Y., 1947, 330 pp.

The author is a noted student of East European affairs who from his own experience gained by living and working in that area has a first hand knowledge of that part of the world. He wrote this book after a four month's trip to Europe in the summer and early autumn of 1946 in the course of which he visited Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Switzerland and Belgium. He found Europe in a "fluid, transitional, provisional stage . . . a cockpit of contending forces, internal and external"; it is "poor, divided, and politically impotent," because it "has experienced a catastrophe, and it is groping, region by region and country by country, for a way out of this catastrophe."

The old European order has been shattered by the war. A new stable order has not yet taken shape. The old Europe is a cockpit because it is an arena of struggle between the Soviet and Western influences, "There is an ideological competition between Soviet and American ways of life all over the world. It affects many countries where the people have never seen a Russian or an American soldier."

The author believes that there are four main causes of the American-Soviet tensions. They are: "1) The fatalistic belief of the Soviet ruling class that there is an implacable antagonism between the Soviet

Union and the foreign 'capitalist' world and that wars are inevitable so long as capitalism remain. 2) The habitual bad faith of the Soviet government. . . . The Soviet government has displayed nothing but contempt for treaty obligations when these stand in the way of territorial or political expansion. 3) The use of communist parties in foreign countries as fifth columns to serve the purposes of Soviet imperialism, and 4) The conspicuous inequality between the United States and the Soviet Union in access to news and information. A Soviet journalist in the United States may go where he pleases, talk with whom he pleases, and write what he pleases without control or censorship. . . . Unfortunately there is no element of reciprocity . . . Close and fair examination . . . will show that those four obstacles are of specifically Soviet origin."

The author criticizes the lack of foreign policy in America and lists the mistakes that have been made, such as the hasty American demobilization after the war; the allowing of communists and their sympathizers to infiltrate into important positions in American agencies at home and abroad; the following advises of such amateurs as Harry Hopkins and Henry Morgenthau, Jr. He condemns the American inability to take a long view of our relation with the outside world, and urges the people to turn from wartime illusions to postwar realities and unconditionally to support democratic forces whenever they are trying to organize.

The author describes conditions in the countries which he visited truthfully as he saw them. However, it is apparent that in some instances he has not obtained unbiased information. For instance, the Ukrainians did not fight with the Germans but against them. Those who were forced to join the German army used this as a training ground for their own good and for supplying the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) with necessary munitions. The author states that "Russian losses, human and material were tremendously heavy. Ten millions is possibly a minimum, not a maximum figure for military and civilian casualties." Most of those losses were actually Ukrainian, since Russia did not suffer as much destruction during the war as Ukraine did.

The author correctly states that the majority of the people East of the Curzon line are not Russians. However, the Poles were not the largest single ethnic group in that territory. According to the Polish census of 12. 9. 1931, the Ukrainians formed 68% of the population while the Poles were only 23%. Lwiw is also a city in a predominantly Ukrainian territory.

The author sees in a federated Europe the only course out of the present despair. This should be achieved with the help of the United States. "It is not, and certainly should not be, America's purpose to dominate any part of Europe by the crude methods employed by the Soviet Union east of the Stettin-Trieste line. But it is, or should be, an American objective to promote by all available means the growth and spread of free institutions and an economic recovery in a Europe which will someday, one hopes, be free of puppet governments and satellite dictatorships. Such a Europe will no longer be a cockpit, but an independent and important member of a world community."

M. H. HAYDAK

THE COLD WAR: A STUDY IN U. S. FOREIGN POLICY, by
Walter Lippmann, New York, Harper Bros., 1947, 62 pp.

This comparatively short essay constitutes Mr. Lippmann's reply to the anonymous article on "The Sources of Soviet Conduct" written last July in the *Foreign Affairs* journal. The author of this article, Mr. X, appears to be Mr. George F. Kennan who presently holds the very influential position as Director of the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State. Consequently, the ideas contained in the contents of this article are of the utmost importance as concerns the course of American foreign policy.

With his well-known talents for calm analysis and lucid presentation, Mr. Lippmann literally anatomizes the reasoning of Mr. X. to demonstrate the futility and waste of his policy recommendations. In this he well succeeds and events since last summer seem to bear out his position than that of Mr. X, although the directions of the foreign policy of the United States are still far from concrete determination and resolution. In brief, Mr. X. feels that decay has already set in at the core of Soviet power, that its aggressions are manifestations of this inherent fact for which there is neither proof nor disproof, and that the United States should embark upon a "policy of firm containment," meeting Soviet shifts and maneuvers at every point with the result of consequent frustration to Soviet ambitions—a policy, as Lippmann calls it, of "holding the line and hoping for the best."

Equally aware of the menace of Soviet world aspirations, Mr. Lippmann advances certain detailed reasons in criticism of this policy and then his positive recommendations. His major criticisms are as follows: (1) leadership and initiative in world affairs are not the natural off-

springs of simple adaptation to the "shifts and maneuvers of Soviet policy at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points"; (2) predication of policy upon optimistic predictions derived from an unprovable estimation of decay in Soviet power is tenuous to say the least; (3) under our constitutional system a passive policy of adaptation engenders difficulties of financial appropriation by Congress destined to invite always occasions of "too little and too late"; (4) the free market economy of the United States, in sharp contrast to an unfree planned economy, is unadaptable for the requirements of encounter at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points; (5) the dispersion and particular fixation of American military power necessitated by a policy of containment negate the traditional dynamic of American military genius and invite a superficialization of power through the resulting thinning-out process; (6) the coalition of "dis-united, feeble and immature states" on the peripheries of Soviet power, as engendered by the principle of containment, involves a host of practical difficulties associated with American entanglement in the internal affairs of these weak motley units; (7) concentration upon these unstable states, as seen in the execution of the Truman doctrine, undermines and subverts our traditional and powerful bonds with the states of the Atlantic community which now find themselves placed "between the hammer and the anvil" in this cold game of Soviet-American warfare: and (8) the policy advocated by Mr. X ignores the crucial fact that it is the Red Army, not Marxist ideology, which is at the source of Soviet encroachments upon Europe and the submission of European states to the Soviet will.

Mr. Lippmann's elaboration of each of these criticisms is sound, definite, and clear, not to mention its provocativeness and apparent irrefutability. It is realistic in that it focuses attention upon the determinate entities of political power as against the imponderables of ideology and the like. Yet, undue concentration upon such entities has its disadvantages. For example, in his treatment of the Yalta agreements (p. 37), Mr. Lippmann maintains that because Soviet armies were already on the borders of Manchuria and northern China at the time, the concessions made by Roosevelt and Churchill to the Soviets in the Far East "were less than the Soviet Union had the power to take by its own force." The realism of his position in this case is undeniable, but it entails simultaneously a sacrifice of principles which had, as the appearance of the atom bomb showed, the great possibility of easy support. This military innovation was known by Mr. Roosevelt at the time of

Yalta. Its impression upon Stalin would have been immense in any consideration of interests in the Far East.

Mr. Lippmann's recommended policy embraces several tangible points: (1) the conclusion of peace treaties for the immediate withdrawal of foreign armies from the occupied territories; (2) the reinforcement of the Atlantic community through the Marshall Plan with emphasis upon self-rehabilitation; and (3) the full support of the United Nations. He is well aware of the problems encompassed in the furtherance of each of these recommendations. Granted that the withdrawal of the Red Army from the territories is uppermost, will the Soviet come to agreement on the other provisions of a German or Austrian treaty, covering reparations and the like? Mr. Lippmann doesn't seem to handle this satisfactorily. To simply state that then we shall know that the U.S.S.R. is bent upon domination would not necessarily follow (p. 43). The Soviet propagandists will argue that military withdrawal is dependent upon the satisfaction of their other demands. We are in this phase today. As to the United Nations, what of the veto issue? Mr. Lippmann does not treat this. Nevertheless, the author performs a valuable service in clarifying the issues and resting his case in the main upon the preclusion of the dispersion of our material substance throughout the world and upon the power of a more cohesive Atlantic community effected through the Marshall Plan which, it must be emphasized, is independent of and distinct from the Truman Doctrine as expressed in the article of Mr. X.

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