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LOWER INSET: UKRAINIAN TERRITORY IN 1939 UPPER INSET: DISMEMBERMENT OF UKRAINE AFTER THE WORLD WAR

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

CLARENCE A. MANNING. Professor at Columbia University, department of Slavic and East European languages; author of *Story of Ukraine* and *Ukrainian Literature*.

STEPHEN PROTSIUK. Ukrainian engineer and economist now a displaced person in Austria.

MICHAEL MISCHENKO. Doctor of medicine and professor of psychiatry at Kharkiv university, pupil of famed Russian physiologist Pavlov; member of *Psycho-Neurological Academy* as well as of Institute of Experimental Medicine in Kharkiv.

NICHOLAS CHUBATY, Ukrainian historian and editor of **UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY**, Vice-President of Shevchenko Scientific Society.

M. SELESHKO. Ukrainian journalist now in Canada.

SVIATOSLAV HORDYNSKY. Ukrainian poet and literary critic, now residing in the United States.

T. S. Formerly Professor of economy at Soviet universities, now in this country.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND UKRAINE

1939-1949

(Editorial)

AUGUST of this year marks ten years since the outbreak of the Second World War and the world, still nursing the bitter wounds of that struggle, has paused to meditate upon the events that caused so great a catastrophe. Humanity is seeking to isolate and control the forces that led to an unprecedented tragedy which literally destroyed millions of human beings. History knows no occasion of equal ferocity wherein the animal instincts of man have had such a free reign. Individual and group murder has become an art in our day—witness the practical need of conventions against genocide, racial discrimination, and mass-murder.

What are the causes which twenty years after the First World War led to an even greater conflagration, with unparalleled suffering and destruction? It is an easy over-simplification to place the cause in rapacious Hitlerism alone, which endeavored to rule the world in much the same fashion which characterizes Russian Communism today.

The rise of Nazism affirmed the existence of profound dislocation in society. Their basic roots lie in the moral-political realm. After the First World War both the equality of individuals and the equality of nations became accepted principles of international conduct. At the same time the actual realization of economic and political equality of all inhabitants within a state was not achieved, and in like manner genuine equality among nations was not achieved. This discrepancy between words and actions, especially on the part of the Great Powers, served as fertile soil for German Nazism and Russian Communism. And although neither one nor the other totalitarianism is capable of granting equality to nations or individuals, still in overpopulated Europe these burning problems played into the hands of demagogues, who on one hand preached that Communism will bring genuine economic equality, and on the other that nationalist Fascism will bring privileges and plenty.

Lenin and Stalin were able, and are still able today, to convince many workers in poverty-stricken Europe and wealthy America that Moscow is able to bring economic equality and prosperity to the com-

mon man. All that is needed is the conversion of the entire world into a USSR with several dozens of obedient Communist satellites. The panacea of Hitler and Mussolini promised that nationalist Fascism would liberate all nations and tie them together in an orderly re-arrangement of the world under the control of Berlin. The demagogic pronouncements of Berlin and Moscow carried effective influence, despite the fact that the practical application of Communism in Russia brought forth hunger and death to millions. Despite the fact that Nazism proved itself to be the relentless enemy of non-Germans, turning them into fertilizer for the construction of German *Lebensraum*. And the democratic countries, which had announced the doctrine of democracy inside nations and between nations, proved in practice that great distance separates deeds from words.

The Ukrainian nation, the owner of the richest region in Europe, felt great frustration because of the practical repudiation of Wilson's principle of self-determination of nations by the democrats of the League of Nations era. It is not surprising, therefore, that Ukraine became one of the major causes of both world wars, and no amount of the "silent treatment", prescribed in textbooks of history of diplomacy is of any therapeutic consequence. The fact is that Ukraine (and not the darling "Russia" of Sovietophiles) was the main battlefield of the Second World War and suffered the greatest losses in wealth and human resources. We are convinced that the failure to solve the Ukrainian problem according to democratic principles will produce conditions leading to future cataclysms of world-wide significance.

Sugjugated by Russia for centuries, the Ukrainian nation desires freedom, wants to be the master of its own house and to live its own way of life. The great exploiter of Ukraine, Russia, has shaped its diplomacy for over 200 years so as to prevent "the separation of Ukraine from Russia." The stakes are high in this game. Ukrainian independence would eject Russia from the Black Sea, the Balkan peninsula, and the Mediterranean basin. Independence for wealthy Ukraine would damage Russia economically and reduce it to half of its traditional strength. And let us not delve into the nightmare obsessing the Russians in fear that an independent Ukraine might signalize the disintegration of the Russian empire into a net of national states.

No wonder, then, that Russia both tsarist and Red has been dead set against Ukrainian aspirations. The campaign against the Ukrainians reaches as far back as Peter the Great with his theory of the

"unity of the Russian people." His will was carried out within the Empire to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. There were Ukrainians in Austria, however, and they acted as a Piedmont of national rebirth united by tradition and religion to Western European civilization. These influences spilled over to their brothers in Russian Ukraine, and one of the major objectives of tsarist policy in the First World War was to gain control of all Ukrainians and to destroy the Galician Piedmont. Stalin was motivated by the same desire in 1939. It is significant that in the first months of their successes both Nicholas II and Stalin set out to liquidate the "separatist" Ukrainian Catholic Church as a main support of Ukrainian independence movement.

A basic principle in the imperialist diplomacy of Stalin and Molotov was a free hand for Russia in Western Ukraine. Was that desire not perhaps the chief motive of Stalin in engineering the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939? The Soviet slice in the dismemberment of Poland consisted primarily of Ukrainian territory, and with unerring consistency both Western Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine were incorporated into the Soviet Union upon the conclusion of the Second World War.

The retention of Ukrainian wealth and strategic points remains a cardinal principle in contemporary Russian foreign policy. To attain this objective the Kremlin will use any useful device, from famine to the extirpation of Ukrainian culture and deportation to Siberia to granting a seat to an "independent Soviet Ukraine" in the United Nations.

Russia's fight against the Ukrainians creates a reaction against the Russians among the Ukrainians, who in consequence take advantage of all avenues suggesting the end of Russian rule. Ukrainian resistance against Moscow is greater today than that of any other nation. As a matter of fact, ever since 1917 Ukraine has been a headache to Moscow's Communists and its people have carried on a continuous struggle against those they consider occupants of their native land

This reality of Ukrainian dissatisfaction induced Hitler to toy with the idea of Ukrainian living-space. Had Ukraine evolved into an independent democratic republic after the First World War according to Wilsonian principles, the pact of Stalin and Hitler against Poland in 1939 could not have developed. It also seems possible that even such an irresponsible diplomat as Hitler would be rendered helpless

had the balance of power in Eastern and Central Europe represented a concatenation of forces including an independent democratic Ukraine.

Although aware of Ukrainian dissatisfaction with Russian rule, Hitler miscalculated the determination of the Ukrainians to be free. The Nazi hierarchy entertained the mistaken notion that after decades of softening by Russian misrule Ukraine would fall into their laps like a ripe plum. This misunderstanding of the dynamic nature of the Ukrainian movement became a major cause of Hitler's downfall in the East, for German occupational policies, anti-Ukrainian in theory and practice, merely hastened the day of doom.

Ten years after the outbreak of the Second World War the Ukrainian problem still awaits a positive solution. The Ukrainian people are the most important ally of the West behind the Iron Curtain. The world's troubles today are complex and interrelated and a future settlement, should it come by war or negotiation and compromise, that does not bring democracy and equality to the Ukrainian people will not bring permanent peace to Europe.



THE ROOT OF THE PROBLEM

By CLARENCE A. MANNING

ANOTHER conference of the Foreign Ministers has been held and after a prolonged series of talks, it has adjourned without any appreciable progress made toward a solution of the fundamental problems that separate the Western democratic world and the Soviet totalitarian terror. The formal blockade of the Western Powers in Berlin has been ended by the Soviets and has been replaced by a continuous series of interferences with communications by the Soviet authorities. In fact so little has been fundamentally changed that the Soviet authorities are able to speak of their victory over the West.

In the meantime Soviet energy is being directed once more to the east. Most of the centres of nationalist China have passed into Red hands, the difficulties in Korea show no sign of being solved, Communist agitation is growing in India, and the menace of Communism in southeastern Asia is increasing.

Within the iron curtain, with depressing and monotonous regularity the liquidation of the civilized elements of the states goes on. There are renewed attacks on newly discovered sources of Ukrainian nationalism, there are renewed condemnations of all those poets, authors, and critics who have tried to give a just appreciation of the past figures of Ukrainian history and literature. In the satellite countries there is the same and even an increased pressure on all forms of Christianity that do not with the Patriarch of Moscow accept the almost divine stature of Joseph Stalin. There is the continued arrest and persecution of the leaders of the Uniat Churches and now the growing pressure against the Roman Catholic leaders in Czechoslovakia.

More than that, there is a persistent report of the activities of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Army within the Soviet Union and of the use of certain Soviet divisions in armed conflict against it. There are constant reports of the trial and execution of its members in the satellite states. There are reports of its cooperation with the underground fighters for liberty and democracy in the Baltic area, and in the Caucasus. There is good evidence that the populations of the Soviet Republics of Central Asia are struggling also for their liberty while in the east the Kazakh tribesmen not only are a continuous thorn in the side of the Soviet government but it is generally admitted that

they are offering a continuous opposition to the progress of the Chinese Reds. The peasants of Slovakia are rioting in many places in defence of their religion and their homes. Even if individually these reports are exaggerated, it is still obvious that a large section of the Soviet-dominated population are in one way or another restive under the iron rule of the Kremlin.

Yet the West does nothing and it emphasizes the minor problems that have arisen within Western Europe and sees them as greater than the cloud on the horizon. It presents one subject after another to the United Nations, to the General Assembly or to various subordinate gatherings, with the advance knowledge that the Kremlin-appointed representatives of the satellite states will vote in a solid body against them, that the recommendations of the United Nations will not be carried out, that its representatives will not be admitted to the territory under Soviet control, and that the Soviet veto in the Security Council will be cast against any measure that promises to alleviate the situation.

At the same time the formal relaxation of the Berlin blockade has inspired many intellectuals to make another attempt at securing an understanding with "Russia." They are struggling with the facts to secure evidence for their theory that somehow or other "Russia" has the right to distrust them for the past, for the present, and for the future. They are stressing anew the fact that Communism thrives on social injustice and regardless of all the evidence as to Soviet slave labor and the hard conditions of life in that earthly paradise, they are still trying to find under the rule of Moscow those higher freedoms which somehow or other Moscow claims to possess, for they are unwilling to face the fact that civilization is now confronted with a more absolute tyranny than it has ever known.

It is obvious that the defeat of Communism and the extension of liberty throughout the world is something more than the dropping of one or more atomic bombs or the pounding into bits a selected number of European and Asiatic cities. It is something more than the marshalling of a certain number of divisions to fight indiscriminately against an equal or superior mass of Soviet man power. In that the intellectuals are right but the important question which has rarely been considered is the real nature of the menace—that curious combination of a desire for social change with the land-hunger and ruthlessness of the Great Russian population of Moscow, which with the fall of Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire assumed the pretensions of being the centre of Christian civilization, while it claimed all

the rights and powers of the Mongol Empire. It is this combination that has created the present Communist menace.

Communism is no new thing in world history. For centuries and millenia small groups of human beings in many parts of the world have been thrilled by the idea of creating a community in which all things would be held in common. Many of these men were sincere idealists and humanitarians.

At the end of World War I, there was an upsurge of Communism. Workmen and peasants everywhere were sick of the bloodshed and the devastation. The old regimes in the defeated empires had failed and with their failure they had carried down all the trust and confidence of the people. New leaders sought to use the ideals of Communism for the good of the people and their own purposes, but to no result. A few days of bloodshed, a few months of chaos, and slowly but surely the surviving demand for law and order put a stop to the excesses and created the governments that dominated Europe between the wars.

It is striking fact that for twenty years no one of the governments so constructed accepted Communist ideas. Some of them were extremely far to the left and introduced radical social changes. Yet as time went on, the more conservative forces came into power, even though in Germany and Italy political adventurers and unbalanced ideologists swept the people from their feet and embarked them upon mad adventures. Yet be it noted, that the bonds between these adventurers and the Russian Communists were never as severely cracked as their public propaganda announced. Even Hitler, after the uproar over the Reichstag fire, took care not to punish too severely such a Communist as Dimitrov, who was later to be the Communist ruler of Bulgaria.

The single exception to this picture was Russia. To the people of Europe and America the land of the tsars was an unknown land. They felt dimly that this great land mass which was still under a police rule offered untold possibilities for good and evil but they were not intellectually curious to know what it contained. They had listened to the denunciation of the St. Petersburg regime by Russian intellectuals and political exiles, who assured them that all would be well, if only the tsar were removed. They had no idea of Russian history. They did not realize that Russian rule was clamped upon Ukraine only in the eighteenth century. They did not dream that Russia had reached the Baltic only in the same period. They did not dream that Russian domination of the Caucasus was barely completed at the time of the

American Civil War and that Russian occupation of Central Asia was even more recent. They did not know and Russian censorship saw to it that they did not learn that Russian Central Asia had endeavored to secure its liberty during World War I *before* the Revolution. They knew nothing and cared less about the countless peoples who had been swallowed up before the march of the tsar's armies and with their eyes fixed upon Germany and Austria-Hungary, they saw no further.

What was the result? As the Ottoman Empire disintegrated during the nineteenth century, the Serbs, the Bulgars, and the Greeks found friends and supporters abroad. As Austria-Hungary went to pieces, the Czechs, the Poles, the Romanians, the Hungarians, the Italians around Trieste, all were encouraged in their hopes for freedom. When the tsar fell and the Russian Empire collapsed, the old intellectual exiles were at hand in the Western capitals to persuade the statesmen of the West that they were now to be the spokesmen for the new Russia. Allied support was thrown to such men as Kerensky who stood out for Russian domination of all subject peoples, or it was given grudgingly and in part to White leaders who called for a restoration of Russian unity by force of arms.

The men of Versailles were able to understand the aspirations of the Russian Poles for liberty and union with their brothers in Austria-Hungary. They could learn from Scandinavia the justice of independence for Finland. There was a modicum of sympathy for the Armenians, largely because they had suffered at the hands of the Turks. That was all. When the Ukrainians, the Lithuanians, the Estonians, the Latvians, the Georgians, and many other peoples declared their independence and set up their own governments, Western thought was astounded and shocked. It was easy for both the Provisional Government of Kerensky and the White leaders to convince them that all of these governments were mere puppets of the German General Staff and should not be aided. It was only the Baltic Republics which had access to the sea which could survive, for with the Dardanelles closed, there was no way to give the others help during the crucial days.

This was one aspect of the picture. The other was the character of Lenin. He had gone to Russia with the approval of the German General Staff, and while this was held against him in some quarters, Western liberal thought preferred to emphasize his liberal and radical ideas. His signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918, was treated as the necessary yielding to German imperialism, while the action of the Ukrainian delegates in accepting the same treaty was

regarded as proving that Ukraine was the product of German agents. The German surrender in November, 1918, was regarded as nullifying that Treaty so far as Russia was concerned, for Russia was a single state and there could be no self-determination in it.

In the reorganization of the Russian Empire, it was the work of Lenin to interpret in practical terms all those confused ideas of socialism that were bogging down in central and western Europe as the decencies of life began to reassert themselves. It was the understanding of Lenin which enabled him to adjust these ideas to the mentality of the Great Russian people and with his Russian and international detachments to form a Red Army and a Cheka which could dominate and rule the country. He succeeded in his mission and with equal or greater ability Joseph Stalin continued his task.

Then came a double process, the work inside and outside the old Russian Empire. The radical leaders abroad looked with envy upon Lenin for he had succeeded in cementing his power where they had failed. More and more the dream of a Communist International, resting on the power of the workers and peasants of the world, and free from bourgeois and national elements, came to be a humble dependence upon the superior wisdom of Lenin and the men of the Kremlin. With each year the conferences in Moscow changed from being conferences of equals to reports of inferiors to superiors. With each year the emissaries of Moscow in Berlin and Paris and the other cities of Western Europe and Asia came to be not advisers but plenipotentiaries of a higher power who could give orders and make sure that they were obeyed. The Communist parties of the world became for good or ill mere branches of the supreme centre at Moscow and changed their policies, their friendships, and their tactics as Moscow gave the order.

At home the Moscow Communists had another weapon, the Red Army, and they used it without scruples. No one in Moscow cared whether the so-called Ukrainian Red Army was Ukrainian or Russian. The Communist centre could apportion generals and supplies as it would. It could send detachments of troops across the border where it thought best and the unfortunate national governments, neglected and spurned by the victorious allies and harrassed by the Reds, the Whites and the Provisional Government, were overwhelmed.

It seemed easy to Moscow and once the Communists had overthrown the governments struggling for liberation from Russia, the way seemed clear for the next step. The country selected was Poland to open the way for the Red Army into Germany. The result was the

battle of Warsaw in 1920 when the forces of Marshall Tukhachevsky melted away on the Vistula and the troops of Stalin and Yegorov faced the Ukrainian divisions of Petlura, while the southern Polish armies saw themselves unable to reach Germany or the Carpathians. For a period of years, Europe was saved, and with the failure of the Communist revolt in Estonia in 1924, a so-called period of peace commenced, while Moscow prepared again to strike.

The chance came in 1939, when the West menaced by Hitler and Mussolini had still the courage to refuse an alliance whereby the Red Army would occupy the border states. Hitler was willing and so the Soviet Union secured half of Poland, all of Ukraine, and the Baltic area. Then in 1941, the clash between the Nazi and the Soviets brought to Moscow the sympathy of the West and the opportunity to profit by the German defeat to secure a foothold in central Germany, across the Carpathians and in the Balkans, not to speak of Manchuria, Korea, the Kurile Islands, and areas vitally important to the defence of the Americas.

From a foothold to mastery was a short step. From mastery to reorganization was shorter still. From reorganization to the introduction of typical Soviet trials was a mere interlude. The old dream of a Slav brotherhood, long held in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, was soon seen to assume the Muscovite form and Benes and Masaryk could do nothing about it. Tito in Yugoslavia resented it in the name of the original Communist ideas and of Yugoslav self-respect and the issue is still uncertain.

On the other hand by his cynical attempts to subdue and turn into slaves all of the non-Germans, Hitler brought about that reaction which produced the Ukrainian Revolutionary Army and the various underground movements in Eastern Europe which are cooperating with it. It is from among the men trained in this movement that are gathered today those forces which are resisting the Russianizing process of Stalin and are troubling the puppet governments of all the states. It is they who are demanding that the Moscow-appointed rulers of all the Soviet Republics and the satellite states be replaced by real democratic governments which can play their part in a free world.

On the other hand as opposition to Communism rises in the West and the democratic powers are becoming aware of what the Moscow government is really trying to achieve, there is again a stirring among the Russian intellectuals abroad to renew their demand for the creation of a unified Russia. Kerensky and his friends, the survivors of the

White generals, all are again asserting that there can only be a unified Russia. They are so unresponsive to the ideals of the United Nations and a peaceful world of cooperation that they can say that the Great Russia can never be happy, prosperous, or contended, unless they belong to a Russian state embracing all peoples ever conquered by Russian arms.

Today the situation is clear but it is still uncertain how far the Western world is prepared to act upon it. The United Nations today is helpless to act positively. The veto power of the Soviet Union and its satellites serves to prevent any amelioration of conditions until Moscow gives the word and we can only hope that Stalin and the Politbureau will see the light of peace. The most optimistic realize that there will be a long period of stress and strain, of the cold war, which may turn at any moment into real hostilities. It is but an aggravation of the situation twenty years ago when on all the boundaries of the Soviet Union armed clashes were the order of the day but through ceaseless watching none developed into a major conflict.

That makes military preparedness a major issue regardless of the ebbs and flows of tension in Berlin, in Greece, in Iran, in China. In that strain the Soviet Union has the advantage, for just as the Russian Empire of the past could shift its pressure from Sweden to Poland, to Turkey, to Persia, to Afghanistan, to China, do it at will and without warning, so a unified democratic world must be prepared for this constant testing and thrusting at all points adjacent to the Soviet Union.

Yet it is not so easy to reply effectively and practically. The disaffected areas surround the heart of the Soviet Union, the land of the Great Russians. It is rarely realized that the German invasion of the Soviet Union hardly touched the Russian Soviet Republic. It was during the drives on Moscow and Leningrad that there were hostile forces on Russian soil in vital areas and it was only as the Nazis approached Stalingrad that they passed from the Ukrainian Soviet Republic into the Russian territory proper. It has long been recognized by the tsars and the Soviets that the heart of the area from which they had begun their onward march could not be reached until their subject peoples had been ruined. The average Russian soldier in the Red Army could fight with the realization that his home and his family were out of danger. This fact immeasurably increases the problem of defeating the Communist danger and still leaving as part of a cooperative world those peoples who have suffered and are suffering the most.

All this is another argument against a preventive war, an attack

by the democracies upon the Soviet Union, but the desire for peace on the part of the democratic nations would prevent it anyway. Yet it is no excuse for allowing the continued massacres and deportation of millions of human beings. It is no excuse for the continuation of a situation whereby the Soviets and their satellites are able to nullify all attempts at world organization and cooperation through the United Nations, for this is rapidly becoming even more impotent than the older League of Nations which did have the power to brand as an aggressor any state which it should consider guilty, and which finally found the moral courage to expel the Soviet Union as an aggressive nation.

This points to the immediate problems that the democratic world must face. It is not enough for it to stop the extension of Communism but it must prepare itself for some form of counteraction. To do this, it must find a way to express through the United Nations a formal condemnation of the Soviet policy, even at the risk of withdrawal by the Soviet Union and its satellites and the erection of a Soviet world organization in Moscow as a variation of its present Cominform and other world systems. Then it must find a way to support and to help those groups and individuals who are struggling within and without the iron curtain against Muscovite tyranny. It means the undoing of those unthinking acts that abandoned the governments in exile to the tender mercies of Stalin and the frank recognition that the so-called representatives of the satellite states are merely Stalinist puppets and should be treated as such. It means the proper treatment of the refugees and of the persons who are continuing to escape from within the iron curtain, whether alone or in armed bands.

More important than all is the development of democratic thought to the point where it is willing to recognize the existence of the oppressed nationalities of the Soviet Union. It means the open acceptance of the independence of the various Soviet republics and the definite attempt to give to these republics governments of their own democratic choosing. No one can estimate what that might mean. It might increase Soviet pressure upon helpless populations but it would be a notice that the world no longer accepts the old idea of a monolithic Russia. In 1918 the acceptance of the legitimate rights of the oppressed peoples of Austria-Hungary by the great Western powers certainly aided in the disintegration of that Empire. The reverse action in Russia only created the modern Frankenstein which is engulfing nation after nation. To announce publicly and by radio that the democratic world

no longer accepted Russian unity, whether under the Soviets or any other form of government would slowly but surely change the face of political events. It would be bitterly opposed by many of those scholars who have drunken deeply of the wells of Russian scholarship and by the Russian emigres of all political factions but sooner or later, it would have its needed effect.

It would be in line with those democratic processes which have been working within the British Commonwealth of Nations and which have given independence to the Philippine Islands and made them an integral part of the anti-Communist Asiatic world. It would show to the United Nations that the Western powers believed in democracy and would concentrate the attention of the world within and without the iron curtain on the hopes and aspirations of a free world, in which each nation will be able to take its own proper role.

Today democracy and Communism have reached an impasse and that impasse cannot be broken by desperate attempts on the part of the West merely to halt the onward march of its rival at those points where it wishes to attack. No breach can be made in the iron curtain by the increase of trading, the securing of raw materials in the West in exchange for the sending of manufacturing machinery and techniques to the east. There are only two solutions possible,—the yielding of the West or its mustering of intellectual, moral, and physical strength to start a counter-offensive which is aimed not only at crushing the Soviet fifth columns but of penetrating within the iron curtain itself. That involves the ending of the present absurd situation whereby the West binds itself not to question in international gatherings the claims and pretensions of the Soviet Union and its satellites. The United States has done well in still recognizing the legitimate representatives of the Baltic Republics. It should now go on to extend its principles and to recognize the true feelings of the cowed and oppressed populations not only of the satellite states but of the Soviet peoples as well, the first victims of Moscow's policy. It should throw into high relief the self-sacrificing efforts of the patriots behind the iron curtain and of that great mass of people who are risking their lives for that cause of human liberty of which the Ukrainian Revolutionary Army has become the best-known exponent. It would be the sharpest blow to Russian Communist imperialism and would give sense, meaning and dignity to the work of the United Nations and the idea of a free world.

THE EVACUATION OF INDUSTRY IN 1941 AND THE POSTWAR ECONOMY OF UKRAINE

By STEPHEN PROTSIUK

THE economic structure of the USSR has passed through various phases, from the period of the forced expropriation of the holdings of the upper classes, the NEP ("new economic policy" of compromise with free enterprise), the era of the five-year plans, and war-time economy to the current period of post-war reconstruction. As a matter of course the economy of Ukraine experienced the same vicissitudes. It is erroneous, however, to suppose that the tactics used in realizing these changes or the results that followed were identical in all parts of the Soviet Union.

A close study of almost any of the manifold changes in the economy of Ukraine is striking in that invariably one is led to the conclusion that in Ukraine these changes have an exploitative and imperialist character. It appears that during the NEP and the first five-year plan the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Gosplan (State Planning Board) attempted to give Soviet planning a broad all-Union, non-discriminatory character. This policy was abandoned, however, and with each successive change the plans betrayed the cold, sinister designs of regional discrimination, which progressively increased from the third five-year plan through the 1941-44 war economy to the fourth five-year plan of the post-war "reconstruction." The last two periods are very closely related, and they should be studied together, but this report is limited to one significant link in the chain of measures employed by the Russians to subvert the prosperity and power of Ukraine. This article will examine the evacuation of Ukrainian industry during World War II.

The savage hordes of German aggression, taking advantage of the Ukrainian hatred of Russian misrule and of the lack of enthusiasm of vast section of the Red Army for Moscow's plans, advanced with unusual speed. By November, 1941, the Germans held the territory which before the war had produced 63% of all the coal in the Soviet Union, 68% of the pig iron, 58% of the steel, and 60% of the aluminum. The importance of these Ukrainian materials to the Soviet economy is showed by the catastrophic state of Soviet production at the end of 1941. The production of molds and sheets of colored metals (mainly

aluminum, zinc, and copper) decreased to less than one-fourth of one percent of the pre-war figure. The production of ball-bearings fell to one-twentieth of the pre-war level. These two items are cited because in present-day technology industrial production without these products is impossible.

Confronted by such a crisis, the Soviet government had to resort to energetic steps in order to save the situation. On August 16, 1941, Moscow promulgated the so-called military-economic plan for the fourth quarter of 1941 and for the ensuing year. The most important provisions of this plan concerned the evacuation of the industry of threatened areas to Eastern and Asiatic regions. A few days later, in the building of the so-called "State Committee for Defense" in Moscow, the evacuation program was set in motion under the chairmanship of Shvernik, a member of the Politbureau.

The idea of transferring industry beyond the Urals was not new. It is a basic economic plank in the realization of the so-called "Eurasian empire," which has always been the dream of official Russia, Red or otherwise. The Communists are working now to achieve this objective. The Russian economist S. Shvarts (*Sotsialisticheskii Vestnik*, No. 3, 1948, New York) inaccurately states that the evacuation of industry to the East was begun only after the outbreak of the war. It is an indisputable fact, for example, that the eighteenth congress of the All-Union Communist Party in 1939 authorized the construction of so-called "double-factories" in the eastern regions of the USSR. At the same time it was expressly emphasized that the Asiatic and Far Eastern regions should be transformed into areas of the most extensive industrialization. The evacuation of industry in 1941-42 in reality merely continued and unexpectedly accelerated the trend in this direction.

Ukrainian factories and plants, raw materials, semi-processed goods, finished products, and most important of all, qualified Ukrainian workers, were forcibly evacuated in 1941-42. The production of pig-iron in the Ural and Siberia regions in 1943 increased 35% over the 1940 figure (by about 1,600,000 tons). Steel production increased 37% (an increase of 2,300,000 tons), that of rolled steel by 36% (1,800,000 tons). These are the statistics given by Voznesensky in his "*War Economy of the USSR during the Patriotic War*," published in Moscow in 1948. The extraction of coal in the Urals, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia mounted from 20,700,000 tons to 33,300,000 tons, and in the Urals alone the output of electrical energy increased from 6.2 to 10.5 billions of kilowatt hours.

The Chelyabinsk region, it has been announced, was enriched with such equipment from evacuated Ukrainian factories as: 6 blast furnaces, 13 Martin furnaces, 5 electric furnaces, 5 rolled and pipe-rolled units, 5 coke complexes, not to mention the varied and costly equipment which forms an essential part of these major metallurgical complexes. These examples are taken from but one industry, but they help to understand how, at the expense of the areas suffering German occupation, the industrial output of Sverdlovsk increased seven times in the 1941-44 period, of Nizhny Tagil and Kamensk seven and-a-half times. In the last few months of 1941 the eastern industrial districts of Ukraine (those in the western part were overrun immediately by the Germans) were deprived by the Soviet evacuation policy of 1300 large factories and plants. Of this number it has been revealed that 455 were set up in the Urals, 210 in western Siberia, and 250 in Kazakstan and the central Asiatic republics.

With the expulsion of the Germans and the arrival of the Russians in Ukraine industrial enterprises scarcely amounted to 19% of the pre-war level. This loss came not only from the Soviet evacuation policy but also from war damage, the barbaric German policy of destroying industry as their armies retreated as well as the equally damaging "scorched earth" policy of Stalin. On the other hand, regions which prior of 1911 had little or no industry blossomed with "new industrial cities," such as Pavlodar, Petropavlovsk, Sarapul, Kochetav, Yokshar-Ola, and Kzil-Orda.

The evacuation of industry from Ukraine was carried out feverishly because of the proximity of the fighting front and was accompanied by great technological losses. Ukrainians participating in the dismantling faced the tragic dilemma of either destroying valuable immovable equipment and turning over the movable machinery "as a gift to Russia," or of ruining the entire plants by blowing the factories up with explosives. Most of the managers and responsible officials in factories already knew that even with eventual Soviet victory the evacuated factories would not be returned.

A few examples illustrate the speed and fever with which the Kremlin carried out its evacuation policy.

The evacuation of the factories in the city of Zaporizhzhia was carried on without interruption day and night for thirty days. The dismantling was done during the day, and mounting upon railway cars at night was in total darkness, for the Dnieper hydroelectric project ceased to provide current on August 18. The first convoy of factory

equipment left Zaporizhzhia August 20, and the last on September 21. The total number of cars was 3,500. Dismantling involved many difficulties, such as the desire of party officials to evacuate from an electrode mill a hydraulic press, probably the largest in the entire USSR with a cylinder which alone weighed 95 tons. The problem of its transportation "was solved" by cutting it into sections by the use of oxygen, and no comment is needed upon the utility of the cylinder after this operation.

Congeaed metal in the baths of an aluminum plant was "scooped out" by the use of explosive materials. After such procedure all the ovens and baths were ruined for good. Despite the high losses in life, the dismantling continued until the Germans had almost surrounded Zaporizhzhia by crossing the Dnieper at the north near Kakhivka and in the south near Kremenchuk. Ural and Kuznetsk factories had already received the first consignments of Zaporozhzhia equipment when explosions carried out by special units of the Red army destroyed the factories and completed the evacuation of the city's industry.

The evacuation of the gigantic Novo-Kramatorske factory of heavy construction machinery also required almost a month, from September 29 to October 21, 1941. From the seventh of October on the factory was bombed almost every day. One of the biggest factories in Novo-Kramatorske turned out tanks before the outbreak of the war, and during the war practically all factories were assigned to war production. Here, as in Zaporizhzhia, most attention in dismantling was paid to large units weighing 10,000 tons and more. All that was successfully evacuated was used to expand industry in the more distant regions of Asiatic Russia. Equipment that could not be evacuated, such as steam rollers and Martin furnaces, was blown up by order of the Communist party. This policy was followed throughout Ukraine. Factories in Kerch were deprived of literally all of their machinery, from furnaces to heavy cranes and laboratory equipment. Technical personnel were required to remain at the factory to the very last moment. For example, the engineers of the *Ozivstal* factory in Mariupol escaped by sea in a motorboat, for the Germans had already captured the city before permission to leave was given. A well-known factory in Yenakiivsky was evacuated to the Chusov combine on October 10, everything possible being carted away, stocks of special clothing, ten cars of oil, cars of electric bulbs and other accessories.

The mines and mining industry in Ukraine were also stripped of their equipment. Mining machinery, compressors, underground ma-

chines, electric engines—everything from the Nikopol manganese basin was hauled off to the *taiga* region of the northern Urals, in the region of the Polunochnaya river, where on the eve of the war manganese deposits had been discovered. As yet this new region did not even have a railroad, and the primitive road leading to it was so harassing that the trucks transporting the machinery crept along through the forests for months under conditions of polar winter. The evacuated workers from Nikopol suffered unbearable conditions for a year, since it was not until September, 1942, that the construction of the new railroad to Ivlen was completed.

Echelon after echelon of Ukrainian wealth was packed off into the depths of Russian Asia, where new factories, however primitive, were set up. The workers of the evacuated plants lived through a hellish ordeal. By the hundreds of thousands, Ukrainian workers, engineers, and technicians were forced to leave their homeland and after endless suffering were ordered to remain in the *taiga* country beyond the Urals or the wastelands of central Asia. Official Soviet statistics report that the urban population in the eastern regions of the USSR increased from the 1939 figure of 15,600,000 to the 1943 figure of 20,300,000. This increase of almost 5,000,000 represents, in largest measure, the sad fate of the Ukrainian workers. Because of the influx of human labor the number of industrial workers in the period from 1940 to 1943 increased 65% in the Urals, 71% in western Siberia, and 54% in Kazakhstan and central Asia.

Work conditions in these new areas were extremely difficult and unpleasant. The installation of the removed machinery, much of which was badly damaged, was done almost entirely by hand. Neither cranes nor elevators nor means of local transport were available. Foundries and shops for treating metals with heat were housed in wooden barracks without the ventilation facilities needed for breathing, not to speak of the dangers of conflagrations that threatened at all times. It was sufficient that even such barracks existed. At times the machinery was put together under the open sky on temporary foundations. Living evidence in such matters can be given by workers from the No. 5 Comintern plant and others, especially from the airplane factories, which were a special concern of the "State Committee of Defense."

Workers at a factory of fighter planes (first of the MIT, later of the IL type) were called upon to work all December in 1941 and January and February in 1942 without a roof over their heads in a temperature of 45 degrees below zero Fahrenheit, under conditions so

cold that the machine oil froze. Temporary structures were built in March. The "party and government" limited its efforts at amelioration to three glasses of vodka daily per worker. After 12 hours of work the laborers returned to the "workers' settlements." These were a horror to behold—grey, dark trenches or *zemlianky*, rarely shed-frames covered with canvas, the latter with triple-decked cots. The long Siberian nights had to be endured with the light of pine torches or of "koptylak" which served as the only source of heat as well. Workers, often with their families, suffered terribly, and in the trying months of 1941 and 1942 food was scarce. When it did arrive no cooking utensils were available and workers ate their portion from rough wooden platters which they had either hewn or burned out.

The agony of physical suffering was augmented by morale factors. Forced evacuation hopelessly tore families apart. Fathers were sent to one place, mothers to another, and children to a third. For months and years people did not know of the whereabouts of their relatives. Even to this day there are thousands of people in the USSR who do not know where their loved ones are. Evacuation was often ordered suddenly; a person would leave his home in the morning, unaware that orders to evacuate would arrive, and never reappear. Typical Soviet disorder, augmented by panic caused by the approaching front, ruled throughout. The report of an official of the Ministry of Heavy Industry, in which it is stated that at a railroad station in Ruzayev 545 cars of unknown factory equipment were discovered, speaks for itself. All evacuated factories had special officials charged with visiting the most remote stations in the USSR in search for missing wagons of equipment.

Attention should also be given to the employment of women and children during the war years. The percentage of children employed in industry increased from 6 to 15% between 1940 and 1942. Fifty-two percent of all the workers in industry in 1942 were women. They worked at the most difficult assignments, at tasks never allocated to women in other countries. In 1942 women comprised 27% of those employed as firemen of steam boilers, 32% of puddlers and 40% of all loaders.

As the war communiques in 1944 and 1945 featured the names of localities evacuated in the earlier years of the war, preparations were made for the return of at least managers and technicians and some equipment to the evacuated Ukrainian cities and towns. But obstacles and painful "surprises" were sprung by the Politbureau and the Central Committee of the Party. *Not one machine, not one work-bench ship-*

ped East from Ukraine was allowed to return to its former location. At first Moscow explained this as the result of fictitious difficulties in installing the equipment in their former areas because of the complete destruction of Ukrainian factories by the Germans. The barbarous destruction by the Germans was a fact, and yet it had been possible to set up the same equipment under more trying conditions in the empty wastelands and forests of Siberia.

This explanation seemed unjustified even to some members of "the government" of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist party, for they, basing their claims upon the millions of victims that the Ukrainian nation sacrificed in routing the Germans, ventured in 1945 to intervene in Moscow for the rebuilding of the industry in Ukraine. Khrushchev and Kaganovich replied with another tune: "What need does Ukraine have for old factories and machinery which, as matters now stand, are working so wonderfully for the glory of the USSR beyond the Urals? For you we shall construct entirely new factories, completely equipped with German materials received as reparations."

This too remained a fable. Much equipment was indeed taken from German plants, but for the most part it also meandered to the "old" factories beyond the Urals because their installations were incomplete. The new factories in Ukraine remained plans on paper, although a token effort was made to build new Ukrainian factories in the 1945-1948 period (a ball-bearing plant in Kharkiv, an automobile factory in Dnipropetrovsk, and a few others). But in comparison with Ukrainian industry in 1940 and especially in comparison with the investments for reconstruction of industry in the central and eastern regions of the USSR, the present industrial status of Ukraine represents no improvement whatsoever. *Instead of the reconstruction of evacuated and ruined industry or the building of new industry there is decay and retrogression in Ukraine.* This may not be evident from the bare statistics of the number and size of the factories, but it is unmistakably clear from the structure and character of the new Ukrainian industry.

Taking advantage of the military crisis, Moscow removed from Ukraine first and foremost all the machine-construction plants, and today seems to have forgotten about this important branch insofar as Ukraine is concerned. Instead, today emphasis is put upon those activities that exploit Ukrainian raw materials directly—coal and iron mines, coke and chemical plants, metal works. The production of Diesel engines, electric motors, automobiles, cranes, elevators and

turbines is falling off very markedly in Ukraine and is not a noticeable fraction of the beautiful possibilities that the Donbas, the Dnieper valley, and other regions promise Ukraine. Consideration should be given also to the construction of great chemical factories, the production of textile machinery, sewing machines, typewriters, graphic industry, measuring and precision instruments. Ukraine is ideally capable of such production not only because of the available raw materials, but also because demands for consumption are high, the satisfaction of which at the present time is completely dependent upon the Moscow and Leningrad industrial areas.

The fear of revising Ukrainian industry in proportion to its natural wealth and potential has gone so far that pig-iron, steel, aluminum, other raw materials and semi-processed products are shipped from Ukraine to Czechoslovak, German, and several Polish plants for final processing. The finished products do not return to Ukraine, however; instead they are routed to the large Moscow industrial area, Ufa, Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, and the Kuznetsk basin. The reconstruction of metallurgical industries in Ukraine has been widely propagandized, and some effort has been made in this matter, but the tempo of this encouragement in Ukraine lags far behind that of the southern Urals, to take a random example. While reports from Ukraine are limited to such factories as Zaporizhstal, Ozivstal, and Mariupol, the report on the metallurgical industries in the Urals, printed in *Pravda* in June, 1948, lists no less than 14 factories, most of which have grown within recent years into giant plants equalling those of Sverdlovsk, Magnitogorsk, and Novosibirsk. There is no such parallel in Ukraine.

Another significant observation helps to characterize the present situation. Nearly all the Ukrainian metallurgical plants existed either before the First World War (1914-18) or were built during the NEP and the First Five-Year Plan (1927-32). Later growth was limited to the expansion of existing plants, whereas most Ural plants were established during the third five-year plan, and the trend continued during the war years and the fourth five-year plan.

The reconstruction of Ukrainian industry suffers because of a shortage of qualified workers—a state of affairs directly caused by the evacuation policies of the Russian communists. Great losses were suffered in the ranks of Ukrainian industrial workers by their participation in the war. However, after the new occupation of Ukraine by the Russians the vast majority of Ukrainian workers were not permitted to return to their native country. One reason given by the Party was

that their special qualifications and "reliability" made it necessary that Ukrainian workers be used as instructors of factory cadres, composed of the native populations in the new industrial regions. In 1945 shortage of skilled workers in Ukraine was so acute that permission was given for a small number of experts to return to Ukraine. However the ranks of those so favored consisted not of Ukrainian experts, but of their students, mostly Russians plus small groups of Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Turkomens, and others.

The wave of non-Ukrainian elements that flooded into Ukraine in 1945-47 is for Moscow's propaganda a proof of the "brotherly help" that the other nations of the USSR have given the Ukrainians. As usual, leading this array of brotherly helpers is the "great Russian nation" (*veliky russsky narod*). For the bewildered Ukrainians, however, it is another evidence of Russia's reckless denationalization policy, which is so many-sided that it is expressed even in a camouflage of what appears to be a purely economic activity—the evacuation of industry.

The distortion of the structure of Ukraine's economy, its impoverishment, the eradication of Ukraine's most important industries of machine construction and chemical products, and the usurpation and exploitation of the finest Ukrainian specialists—these are great blows which Moscow has visited upon Ukrainian economy. Recovery demands impossible efforts from planners and technicians. The root of current deficiencies goes back to the exploitative policies of the five-year plans, beginning with the second in 1932, and reaching its apex in the destructive evacuation policy of 1941-42. Both of these factors were spawned by a deliberate desire to strengthen and deepen the colonial status of Ukraine in relation to the USSR as an entity. All the economic steps taken by the Politbureau or the Gosplan in regard to Ukraine must become an object of extensive study by experts who desire to reconstruct the future economy of Ukraine on healthy principles consistent with the vital needs of the Ukrainian people.



HUNGER AS A METHOD OF TERROR AND RULE IN THE SOVIET UNION

By MICHAEL MISCHENKO

HUNGER and continual undernourishment is one of the fundamental methods employed by the Soviet regime to maintain power. Used in various open and hidden ways, hunger is an important political factor in dominating the occupied nations, and ideologically its use is based on the theory of the class struggle. For instance, the pauper-peasant, who refuses to slave in the *Kolkhoz*, is regarded in the Soviet Union as the enemy of the class, as a *Kurkul* (Kulak) and a bourgeois nationalist. His private possessions are confiscated, and he himself is thrown out into the street without any means of earning a livelihood. More often, however, he is exiled into the remote regions of Asia, and there sentenced to slave labor and death by gradual starvation.

There are psychophysiological results from this chronic undernourishment in the Soviet Union. Hunger plays a great role in the spiritual and physical enslavement of the individual, and offers a stimulus for slave labor, as well as the maintaining of the existing regime. Friendliness toward the Soviet administration is cultivated under this stimulus of hunger. The standard of living in the Soviet Union, for example, is extraordinarily low, and the Soviet citizen is half starved, but there are special and exclusive stores and eating places for the members of the Communist Party, the collaborators of the M.V.D. (State Secret Police), so-called responsible Soviet workers and activists. It is difficult to join the ranks of the persons fed in such a manner by the Soviet administration, but still it is possible under certain conditions of public behavior—by secret cooperation with the M.V.D., and by special activities in trade unions. Entrance to this special system for the distribution of food supplies becomes a fascinating dream, an ideal to the half-starved population, and very often it is the cause of the development of those moral qualities which seem so strange and incomprehensible to the Western world, and which are so pronounced in the behavior of the Soviet diplomat in the international forum. This re-education of the Soviet individual is called "liberation from decayed bourgeois liberalism and sentimentalism."

On State holidays, the unbelievably drab and hungry Soviet ex-

istence, marked with perpetual food shortage, changes suddenly into a time of abundance, when fish, meat, butter, and caviar are available to all. Such periodic, though shortlived moments of abundance serve to revive hopes that perhaps really "life has become better, life has become happier," to quote the words of Stalin, spoken on such an occasion.

When, acting according to the slogan of "brotherly help," the Soviets occupied Western Ukraine and the Baltic States, the occupation troops saw for the first time the high standard of living in those countries and stores full of food products. This was officially interpreted as a malicious demonstration of the bourgeois classes of the respective countries, and as a specially organized exhibition of welfare, for every citizen of the Union has had it pounded for years into his head that the Western nations are starving to death.

After robbing the occupied countries and creating a famine, the Soviets began to supply them with cereals and bread, and transported these products in freight cars decorated with colorful propaganda posters, boasting before the world that the Soviet Union puts an end to hunger — the result of the bourgeois regime.

Even in prisons and concentration camps the heavy weight of hunger may be eased through extra labor by the so-called socialistic shock-workers.

Finally, the complete pauperization of the population, with the absence of the most necessary means of livelihood, tends to put the citizens under the complete power of the organs of the state, which extorts spiritual and physical loyalty by threatening to withdraw the opportunity of working and earning bread—the sole means of existence.

Hunger is used as an acute form of repression of recalcitrant nations.

The famine in Ukraine in 1933 can serve as a good example. This was the period of the greatest resistance of the Ukrainians to the Soviets. The peasants refused to slave in the Kolkhozes. In reply they were deprived of their remaining food products, which were exported and sold at dumping prices, and as a result the granary of Europe began to starve.

The peasants came in masses to the towns and cities in search of food, but the administration forbade the food stores to sell them bread. Millions of peasants that found their way to the cities fell dying on the roads, thousands lay in the city streets. This was really a huge experimental laboratory for the psychiatrist, but it was forbidden to write

or even talk about the famine. Various pathological changes under the influence of hunger could not be the object of special scientific research.

In the "land of socialism," where everything is anticipated and planned, there dare be no famine. Therefore the press did not mention it, even when dying thousands blocked the thoroughfares of the cities. No statistics were recorded, no medical nor food aid was given, and all offers of help from Western Europe and Western Ukraine were refused. The hospitals, where only a few had the rare luck to find themselves, as it was strictly forbidden to accept any cases of starvation, (which was not regarded as a disease), did not issue any reports and were not allowed to give starvation as the cause of illness and death.

The changes in the human organism, and especially in the nervous system, under influence of hunger, cause grave disturbances in the mental structure of the individual and various pathological irregularities in his psychic activity. Hunger ruins the sources of energy in the human body. It uses up all the necessary stores of sugar and fat. It exhausts the organism; the skin takes on a sickly earthen color and is covered with wrinkles, the starving human ages from hour to hour, and even infants look like very old people. Their eyes become very large, immobile and of an austere calmness. The dystrophic processes frequently causes the drying up of the inner tissues until the human body becomes only a skeleton covered with a tightly stretched skin. More often the feet, hands and face swell. The skin cracks, and the wounds fester. The organism weakens and loses all healing capacity, and the slightest activity causes exhaustion. The organism loses all its strength and uses up its entire energy and all its protein merely by performing its fundamental functions—respiration and the circulation of the blood. The nervous system is weakened and coordination of all physical processes becomes disorganized. The heart wears itself out in its natural functions and its beat quickens at the slightest exertion, until breathing becomes a difficulty. The pupils of the eyes dilate. Finally hunger diarrhea sets in. The extraordinary physical abuse causes the heart to stop by the paralysis of the vagal nerve. This happens frequently during walking, while climbing stairs or trying to run.

Starvation becomes the immediate cause of psychic changes of the personality and brings about psychic and nervous disorders. The nervous cells and the cerebral physiological processes, which are the basis of individual experience, thought and consciousness, grow steadily weaker. In ordinary life personality is formed by various factors in the

surroundings of the individual. In the formation of experience, modern physiology of the brain attributes particular importance to the intensity and meaning of external phenomena (Pavlov, Sherrington, Protopopov). The so called reasonable, socially adequate activities of the human being express outwardly that part of its experience that is equal to the functional force of the nervous cells. The decrease of the sensibility of the cortex of the brain under the influence of hunger causes it to react slowly to ordinary impulses; at the same time trivialities acquire a disproportionate importance and throw the starving individual out of balance, upsetting and exciting him. It is known fact that the hungry human being is extraordinary excitable and emotionally unbalanced.

In the early state of starvation, as well as under the influence of chronic undernourishment, the hypersensitivity of the nervous system subjects the human being to all sorts of hallucinations. The intellect as well as the critical sense weakens, memory fails, will-power diminishes and thoughts begin to wander. The masses accept more easily the propaganda of a happy life, the idea of class antagonism, faith in a better future, the certainty that the land really belongs to the peasants and the factory to the proletariat. Is it any wonder that the Soviet regime keeps its nations in a chronic state of undernourishment? But insofar as this state is not permanent and the administration live in continual dread of bloody revolution of the repressed masses, the method of chronic hunger is reinforced by other forms of terror: prisons, concentration camps and mass deportations.

The decrease of the sensibility of the cortex of the brain affects the personality in a still deeper measure. It loses control over the sub-cortical centers—the organs of inherited instinctive experience. The distorted mentality becomes a prey to impulses, dictated by the hypersensitive instinct of hunger, overpowering the individual. The feeding instinct creates new laws and to a still greater extent tends to change the spiritual image of the human being. Family love weakens, and family ties become slack. The family disintegrates. Children in particular feel the helplessness of the parents and break away entirely. Beginning at an early age to live on their own, they unite into groups of homeless vagabunds. They not only sense the helplessness of their elders but also a certain menacing danger. Here are some of the answers of children treated in the psychopathic wards during the famine:

To the question how he came to the city, one seven year old boy

answered: "My father died, my mother was so swollen she could not move. She told me to go and find bread for myself—so I went away from home."

An eight-year-old boy: "Father and mother died, only my brothers were left, there was nothing to eat and I went away."

A nine year old boy: "Mother said: 'Save yourself, go away from home.'—I returned twice, I was sorry for mother. But she begged me to go and wept, and I went."

A ten year old: "Father and mother were swollen, they could not move and I ran away from home."

These children walked 30-40 miles from their home villages to the city. They were picked up on the streets in various phases of nervous and abnormal mental states. But those that had the luck to be taken into hospitals were very few. The majority were picked up by specially mobilized teams, under a guard of the NKVD,—the ill, the dying and the dead,—and transported outside the city to be thrown into ditches. This happened in many cities of Ukraine: Kiev, Dnipropetrovsk, Odessa, Poltava and especially in Kharkiv, then the capital of Soviet Ukraine.

A large percentage of those taken into hospitals died. Those that recovered were ailing, weak and apathetic for a long time. They did not mention their parents, showed no signs of home-sickness or grief and spoke about the tragic circumstances at home and their own experiences without any emotion, as if they were speaking about the trivialities of everyday Soviet life. But they understood well the political meaning of hunger.

At the end of the period of famine, under the silent pressure of the populace, the accusations of the Western democratic press and the protests of the Pope, the NKVD established in Kharkiv an immense juvenile concentration camp—the "barracks of death"—as the populace secretly called it. About ten thousand children were collected there after being picked up in the streets. Here the death rate reached 40%. The daily rations consisted of a soup twice a day, and 5 grams of sugar with the morning tea. Milk, vegetables and fruit were entirely unknown. The children were compelled daily to sing Soviet hymns and participate in assigned recreation, and eventually there came a political purge of the offspring of "bourgeois" parents.

In the last period of psychic change the food and family instincts underwent a final deformation. The starving people began to eat straw, poisonous herbs, corpses. The streets were filled with people

suffering from acute gangrene of the legs and arms caused by poisoning from the spurred rye (*secale cornutum*.) Others wandered in extreme psychopathic states after eating poisonous herbs. Occasionally cannibalism broke out.

All these phenomena bear testimony to the grave changes that take place within the human personality, the loss of clear orientation, the dimming of consciousness. For example, in the village of Surmachivka, in the district of Chernyiv, a starving mother made a fire in the oven, and began to bind the hands of her ten-year-old son, ordering him not to scream, as the neighbors might hear. But the mother underestimated his strength and the boy broke away and called the neighbors. Under arrest the mother was conscious and did not deny her intentions. She underwent phases of complete indifference or wept bitterly, and her weeping was more like howling. Her grief seemed to run the scale of all possible emotions; the most dejected sorrow, suffering beyond expression, and who can tell, perhaps even disappointment in not being able to carry out her purpose dictated by hunger. She disappeared behind the walls of the NKVD.

Other symptoms of nervous disorders develop as a result of exhaustion from hunger, such as neurotic and acute reactional states. Another example:

A starving family in the village of Merefa, near Kharkiv, obtained some hemp seed and pressed oil out of it. This oil was to be exchanged for bread in the city. But from among the whole family only the sixty-year old, half-starved grandfather was strong enough to undertake the trip. He was told to take the oil to the city, beware of the thieves and exchange it to their best advantage. The old man took the train and cautiously observed his fellow travelers. As often happens, out of good-natured curiosity, someone asked him where he was bound and what he was taking to the city. This seemed highly suspicious to the old man, and he became more and more disturbed and excited. Finally his fear and suspicion became an obsession, he was firmly convinced that he was spied upon, and surrounded by thieves who were waiting for the first occasion to cut his throat and steal his precious oil. He even heard threats and warnings in the sound of the wheels. As the train was entering the city, the old man seemed to think that the attack would take place at any minute. His nerves gave out, he flung himself at the door, and with shrieks of "Help, they are cutting my throat," sprang from the still speeding train. In the psychopathic clinic where he was taken in a state of extreme excitability, he quickly came out of his

morbid state, and bitterly despaired over the loss of his oil and how he would face his starving family.

More frequently, however, various neurotic states occur: neurasthenia, neurosis of the inner organs, neuralgia. These states are most characteristic in children, as those in a state of extreme undernourishment are particularly sensitive to the burdens of life.

Seven years later, it was established that during the period of hunger the rate of childbirth was so low that in many regions there were no children of school age.

The disease that might be called "hunger psychosis" is but little known to psychiatry, as the famine organized in Ukraine is an inconceivable phenomenon in the Western world.

Nervous and psychic ailments produced by prolonged starvation should be attributed to acute disturbance of the carbohydrate and protein metabolism. They gradually degenerate and weaken the cortex of the brain and the functions of the vegetative nervous system. Possibly, there exists an intoxication due to the pathological products of metabolism. As the fundamental biological processes of the brain weaken, its analytic and synthetic functions are unbalanced, the intellectual functions are lowered and other disturbances in the psychic activities take place.

Clinical observations of patients suffering from prolonged starvation lead to the confirmation of the following basic symptomatic complexes:

1) Sympato-tonic, 2) neuralgic, 3) neurotic, 4) hallucinatory, 5) amentive (out of mind).

They all play their role in the formation of the new type of Soviet individual who under their pressure loses those qualities that are regarded as distinctively human, and socially civilized. It makes him ready to accept his position as a slave, if he can only survive. He is ready to yield. Death often intervenes, welcome to the individual and also to the master.

The champion of nationalistic Russian ideals and the "great Soviet humanist" Maxim Gorky, in answer to democratic protests against terror, formulated as follows the attitude of the Communist regime toward the occupied nations: "When the enemy does not surrender, it is necessary to kill him."

That has been the Soviet way of solving its problems and for it it has found hunger one of its most potent weapons.

THE UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT AT THE TIME OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By NICHOLAS CHUBATY

AT the time when liberal political ideas, emphasized in the works of Montesquieu and in those of his followers, were being realized in the American Declaration of Independence (1776), and somewhat later in the Constitution of revolutionary France—during that important period Russia was completing the liquidation of the Ukrainian Kozak State which, after Bohdan Khmelnytsky's successful uprising against Poland, united with Russia as a separate and independent state (1654).

In no more than fifty years after the Pereyaslav Pact between Ukraine and Muscovy, relations between those two united states were so unbearable that the Ukrainians thought that the only course whereby Ukraine as an independent nation might be saved was a revolution against Muscovite despotism. The unsuccessful revolution of hetman Ivan Mazepa (1709) who, taking advantage of the difficult position of Russia during the reign of Peter I, joined forces with the enemy of Moscow, Swedish King Charles XII, became the beginning of the end of Ukrainian statehood.

The eighteenth century saw a continual struggle of the Ukrainians both on their native soil and outside the borders of their land for the preservation of the Ukrainian state. For tactical reasons, the Ukrainians who lived within the borders of their country demanded only the maintenance of the stipulations in the Pereyaslav Treaty, and were satisfied with the prevailing autonomy. The Ukrainian political emigres abroad, so-called Mazepists, demanded full independence for their country, *i.e.*, complete separation from Moscow (Russia), and, after unification of the western parts of Ukraine then under Poland, creation of a united state governed by the Constitution of 1710. Those who inside and outside Ukraine fought for its freedom, in reality tended towards the same goal. At times they were even in close understanding with each other, although for special reasons they used different political tactics. It was therefore with good reason that the Ukrainian historian Drahomaniv termed the eighteenth century the "greatest political century

in the history of Ukraine." According to the administrative system in Russia, Ukrainian autonomists did make some gains in their attempt to preserve Ukraine's seeming statehood, such as the continuation of the hetmanate and the distinctness of its administration and law. It seemed that after the death of the third successor of Ivan Mazepa, hetman Danylo Apostol (1734), Ukraine would almost immediately be incorporated into Russia as a new province. The "Little Russian Collegium" as in the times of Peter I, began to rule Ukraine despotically, as if it were a conquered country. The St. Petersburg administration of Byron made itself felt, and is still painfully remembered by the Ukrainians.

The Last Hetman of the Ukrainian Nation

Sheer accident changed the Russian system of unscrupulous centralization. A common Ukrainian kozak, Oleksa Rozumovsky, happened to gain influence and significance at the court of St. Petersburg. As a result, he became a favorite of Empress Elizabeth who, under his influence, appointed to the hetman's throne of Ukraine his 22 year-old brother Kirilo (Cyril), the then "President of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences."

For fourteen years longer (1750-1764) Ukraine still had its own chief statesman who, with the help of the Ukrainian "Starshiny" (military leaders) succeeded in restoring to Ukraine many of the lost rights usually enjoyed by an autonomous political entity, and even in re-establishing the connections with those inveterate opponents of Russian sovereignty over Ukraine—the Ukrainian emigration in Western Europe headed at the time by *Hrihori Orlyk*, General-Major in the service of the French King and a member of the secret council of King Louis XV.

Although the youthful hetman of Ukraine stood far removed from the political life of his country before assuming his duties as its chief, now under the influence of patriotic officials, he took the initiative in seeking to restore the former status of Ukraine, such as had prevailed in the times of Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

At a Council of Officials summoned in 1763 at Hlukhiv, the capital of hetman Rozumovsky, the question of restoring to Ukraine her former rights and liberties was raised. At that meeting also a petition to the Empress was drawn, which consisted of twenty points. Its chief purpose was to plead the enforcement of the clauses of the Treaty of

Pereyaslav (1654). The petition reminded the imperial government at St. Petersburg that Ukraine had accepted the tsarist protectorate voluntarily, on the basis of a separate pact between the Russian tsar and the Ukrainian hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Further, the petition demanded the confirmation of separate political and social Statutes of the Ukrainian State, free election of hetman, the institution of a Ukrainian *Soym* (parliament), *i.e.*, the General Council of the Officialdom, and the establishment of a separate Ukrainian judiciary with its own code of laws. The petition likewise mentioned the establishment of two Ukrainian universities, in Kiev and Baturyn. Finally, it asked the St. Petersburg government to remove Russian troops from Ukraine.

The Official Demise of a European Nation

The hetman corroborated the petition of this last Ukrainian *Kozak Soym*, and asked the Empress to accede to its demands, on the grounds that those rights "could not be requested on a more just and rightful basis than by the loyal Ukrainian people who, although free, are not given an opportunity to enjoy those rights and liberties."

That petition reached St. Petersburg at a very inopportune time, because at that very moment the tsarist throne was undergoing great changes. Empress Elizabeth was succeeded by Catherine II who, made it her purpose and duty to realize the centralizing policy of Peter I, which, as far as Ukraine was concerned, meant the end of its statehood.

Soon after her accession to the throne Empress Catherine II put an end to the rule of hetman Kirilo Rozumovsky as well as to the very institution of the hetmanate of Ukraine (1764). After the abolition of the office of hetman, there followed the destruction of the Zaporogian Sich which was a separate administrative military entity within the framework of the independent Ukraine, and which served as a protective barrier for the old *kozak* liberties (1775), the abolition of the administrative status of Ukraine, and its incorporation as three "Little Russian" provinces into the Russian system. The reduction of the peasants to the level of serfdom, as was the case in Russia (1783) and, on the other hand, the elevation of the Ukrainian *Kozak* officialdom to the dignity of Russian nobility (1785) made Ukraine one with Russia. As a separate state entity, Ukraine ceased to exist.

After the death of its talented leader Hrihor Orlyk (1759), the Ukrainian political emigration likewise ceased to exist—it seemed that even the territorial name "Ukraine" had disappeared from the map

of Europe. In its place there appeared from time to time "Little Russia," the official appellation which the government at St. Petersburg ordered to be used henceforth under pain of severe punishment. It seemed as if the Ukrainian nation had disappeared. In fact it had disappeared from the maps of Europe, but it continued to exist in the hearts of Ukrainian patriots who to some degree were openly and legitimately struggling against Russian domination. To a greater extent, however, they continued to act subversively and in an underground manner in order to save their people from the deadly embrace of Russian centralism as well as to restore to Ukraine its national character.

The Ideological Followers of Western Revolutionaries on Ukrainian Territory

The details of that enthusiastic action of Ukrainians against Russia were until recently unknown even to Ukrainian history. Only in the last few decades a series of historical researches disclosed to the world an unknown Ukraine, the Ukraine of those times when the American patriots proclaimed the independence of a new nation—the United States of America, when the French liberals were preparing their country for a revolution against the ruling aristocracy under the protectorate of the King of France, when the Polish patriots sought to overthrow the hateful domination of Russia over Poland and by means of the Constitution of May 3, (1791), to restore their country as a genuinely independent nation by giving it a more democratic and just government.

It could not have been otherwise, because the hetmanite Ukraine was at that time not alien to the liberal movement of the then Western Europe. The works of the French liberal philosophers were very influential among the Ukrainian intelligentsia, who extensively cultivated the French language and manners. The Ukrainian political emigration, which was concentrated mainly in France, was in close connection with Voltaire and with French Encyclopedists. The Ukrainian emigrants also had connection with French Freemasonry. No wonder therefore that the Ukrainian intelligentsia could not easily overlook the destruction of Ukrainian autonomy; no wonder that they could not but begin a struggle for its preservation. This fight appeared useless, but in fact their endeavor became a solid foundation for a rapid national renaissance of the Ukrainian people in the age of Roman-

ticism. Without their work the new literature initiated by Ivan Kotlyarevsky would not have made its appearance; nor would Taras Shevchenko have heralded the national rebirth of his people.

The struggle for the preservation of Ukrainian nationhood was conducted by patriots of the latter half of the eighteenth century by legitimate means, and subversive means were employed when the efforts to save Ukraine's autonomy solely by peaceful and law-abiding means had failed.

After the abolition of the office of hetman, who was in fact the chief of autonomous Ukraine, the first opportunity that presented itself to the Ukrainian patriots to proclaim the rights of Ukraine was at the Imperial Commission which was summoned for the purpose of drawing up a new Constitution (1767). The Ukrainian intelligentsia became most enthusiastic and, taking advantage of their right to send elected delegates to that Commission, selected those who were influential and fundamentally acquainted with the legal status of Ukraine and who were noted for their civil courage.

The Last Envoy of Ukraine at St. Petersburg

The foremost place among the delegates was taken by the representative of the Lubno military gentry *Hryhoriy Poletyka* (1725-1784), who stemmed from the Kozak aristocracy. His father belonged to the Brotherhood of Insignia (Kozak elite) which stood next to the hetman in importance. After completing his studies in Ukraine, he moved to St. Petersburg where he worked in the Academy of Sciences. He must have had vital connections with Ukraine and enjoyed great confidence among his compatriots, since the Kozaks of the Lubno regiment elected him as their deputy.

As a member of the Imperial Commission for drafting a new Constitution, he conducted an unusually courageous and lively policy in order to save the character of Ukraine as a separate nation. He studied history thoroughly, especially the legal clauses which governed Ukraine's relations with Moscow. Just as did the authors of the Petition of 1763, he continued to emphasize in his letters and public utterances that Ukraine is not a conquered nation but an equal partner of Russia, and that her relations with the tsar had been established on the basis of a voluntary pact. He continued to correspond eagerly with the Ukrainian patriots within the borders of Ukraine, collecting from them the information regarding the prevailing state of the country

as well as about the infringements of the Pereyaslav treaty by Russia. Finally, he wrote one treatise after another in which he approved Ukraine's right to be a separate nation, and revealed how Muscovy had broken her treaties which she had promised to honor.



HRYHORIV POLETYKA

The statements of Hryhoriv Poletyka were so bold that his Ukrainian informers warned that his rash and zealous utterances were liable to have catastrophic consequences for him. They therefore begged him to destroy his correspondence with them, which at a time of great political stress might have become a source of accusation against them.

After his Ukrainian mission in St. Petersburg, Hryhoriv Poletyka returned to Ukraine and, being well-to-do and self-sufficient, gave himself over completely to the literary work of a historian. He collected a large library and archives, and wrote several historical treatises. In spite of everything, however, his courageous defence of the rights of Ukraine which he voiced before the Imperial Commission in 1767 reverberated throughout Ukraine and roused the Kozak element to resume the struggle for autonomy. In the Nizhn military division there were political demonstrations under the leadership of Hryhori Dolynsky with a view to supporting the demands of the Ukrainian delegates serving on the Imperial Commission. The failure to save the autonomy of Ukraine by legitimate means thrust the Ukrainian patriots in the direction of conspiracy against Russia, and even induced them to seek support.

Opposition in Novhorod-Siversky

Following the transformation of Ukraine into three South-Russian provinces, Novhorod-Siversky, on the border of Russia, became the

center of Ukrainian political life. That city became the capital of the Russian vice-regency, and for that reason outstanding Ukrainian individuals crowded there, and together, in closed coteries deliberated upon the destiny of Ukraine. In those coteries we find both the clergy and the laity. And these formed the last patriotic generation of Kozak Ukraine before the national rebirth of the Ukrainian people at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In Novhorod-Siversky there was organized a substantial Ukrainian opposition to Russia. Here many outstanding Ukrainians found refuge, among others the last archimandrite of the Zaporoggian Sitch Volodimir Sokalsky; the popular archimandrite, renowned from the period of the *Haydamak* rebellion, Melchisedek Znachko Yavorsky, formerly abbot of the Matrynensky Monastery; and Varlaam Shishatsky, rector of the local theological seminary, who later became the Mohilian archbishop and successor to Yuri Konisky. The latter was such an inveterate enemy of Moscow that in 1812, during the Napoleonic invasion of Russia, he was unequivocally on the side of the French Emperor, for which he was liquidated.

Beside this group of clerical individuals the Novhorod-Siversky political circle comprised Hryhoriy Poletyka, Fedir Tumansky, a man of learning and a worker in the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences and in other foreign learned societies, Opanas Lobisevich, former secretary of hetman Kirilo Rozumovsky, a confident of the latter's political moves and close companion during the hetman's travels in Western Europe. He was an experienced person, connected with many people of significance in Russia. Count Oleksander Bezborodko, an excellent politician and a fervent Ukrainian patriot, was likewise connected with this group, as well as M. Khudorba, author of a history of Ukraine which was written in a spirit hostile to Russian rule. Unfortunately, this work has been lost.

In a word, Novhorod-Siversky became, between 1780 and 1790, the real spiritual and political center of Ukraine. Those who had assembled there could not condone the subjugation of Ukraine by Russia. They were those whom St. Petersburg was unable to bribe by means of titled privileges or by further enslavement of peasants under their control. When all legitimate means had failed completely, they chose illegal conspiratorial methods in order to save Ukraine. That they sought to do with the assistance of foreign powers hostile to Russia.

Ukrainian Delegate to the King of Prussia

We possess some information very incomplete, to be sure, about one such attempt; for it is only reasonable to suppose that such work was conducted in a secretive and conspiratorial manner. We have in



VASYL KAPNIST

mind the mission of the Ukrainian envoy Vasyl Kapnist to the Prussian King Frederick II, requesting help for Ukraine in her effort to free herself from the Russian rule.

Among the trinity of monarchs that had the power to decide the fate of Central and Eastern Europe at that time, and especially that of the crumbling Poland (the Austrian Emperor, Prussian King, and Russian Empress), the Prussian King Frederick II, in the opinion of the oppressed peoples of Central Europe, was considered the most liberal, although that opinion lacked solid foundations. As the author

of the work *Anti-Machiavelli*, he propagated the policy of morality, in spite of the fact that he often used Machiavellian methods in his own political moves.

Regardless of the greater or lesser Machiavellianism of the Prussian King, the political conditions in Europe developed to a degree where the neighboring countries, Ukraine and Poland, both oppressed by Russia, could depend for assistance only on the Prussian King. In 1788 Russia became entangled in a new war with Turkey. After the first partition of Poland the Austrian Emperor Joseph II devoted himself completely to the internal reorganization of his extensive state, and for that reason only the Prussian King was able to react against the Russian expansion westward, especially on the territory of Poland.

The Polish patriots took advantage of this very moment and summoned the so-called Four-Year Sejm (1788-1792) which made it its aim to effect a thorough reformation of the Polish state and to give

it a new and more progressive constitution. That was done by the publication of the well-known Constitution of May 3, 1791. The Four-Year Polish Sejm rejected Russian supremacy over Poland, whereby Poland was being reduced to the role of a satellite of Empress Catherine II.

The Ukrainian patriots, whose political brain was concentrated in Novhorod-Siversky, likewise took advantage of this situation and decided to turn to the Prussian King and to ask him for armed assistance against Russian tyranny, simultaneously, of course, preparing their own armed might against Russian rule in Ukraine. The delegate of the Ukrainian revolutionary groups was Vasyl Kapnist who, in 1781, was sent on a secret mission to Berlin in order to request the Prussian King's assistance.

The mission of Vasyl Kapnist is enveloped in mystery, and we know precious little about it. But it is certain that he was backed by large numbers of the Ukrainian population, especially by the Kozak Estate. That is evident from the fact that, as a delegate, he was also able to speak in the name of the Ukrainian armed forces which were being organized in order to throw the Russian yoke of tyranny off the shoulders of the Ukrainian people.

Likewise we know little about the manner in which the Prussian government received the Ukrainian proposition. But even if its attitude had been most favorable, the changes in the political situation of Europe made impossible an armed uprising of the Ukrainian people against Russia. The Russo-Turkish war came to an end with the defeat of Turkey, while Russia regained the freedom of movement on her Western borders. This changed political situation also included the fall of the Polish Constitution of May 3, and the second partition of Poland, which gave Russia Ukrainian territory on the right bank of the Dnieper. The plan of the Ukrainian patriots therefore became inopportune.

The Political Credo of the Ukrainian Patriots

The Istoriya Rusov (History of the Rus People), a great historico-political work, served as the ideological compendium of the Ukrainian political credo of the generation living in the times of the Western revolutions. The author of this work is supposed to be Yuri Konisky, the Mohylovian archbishop; but Ukrainian research has not as yet discovered who really is its author. What is certain, however, is that this work appeared toward the end of the eighteenth century, and that it

issued from those circles of society which were engaged in the struggle for the preservation of the national character of Ukraine.

The author of the *Istoriya Rusov* is strictly opposed to the prevailing tendency of Russia to deny to Ukraine the very right to exist as a separate nation; and stresses throughout his work that the Ukrainian people are an entity quite apart from the Russian and Polish peoples, and that they possess all the right to be an independent nation and talent enough to become the leading nation in Eastern Europe.

The author traced the sources of the political traditions of Ukraine to the dawn of the history in Eastern Europe to the Kievan State, which in the 9th century A.D. was known as *Rus*. Hence the title of the book. Poland was considered totally foreign to Ukraine, as well as the absolute and culturally inferior Muscovy. These two neighbors throughout the centuries sought to deprive Ukraine of her freedom. If they, each in its turn, did succeed in their aims, it was chiefly because Ukraine found herself enfeebled by the inroads of Asiatic barbarians. But in spite of everything the Ukrainians continued to fight incessantly for the preservation of their natural right to be free and independent. The author held that Muscovy had trampled underfoot the Treaty of Pereyaslav of 1654, by means of which Ukraine had voluntarily become united with her. For that reason, it was maintained, the tsar lost all moral right to hold Ukraine.

Having established the principle that Ukraine has the right to be an independent nation, the author employed the argument of the existing rationalistic school, which became the ideologic foundation for the American Declaration of Independence and of the American Constitution. At times it appears as if the author were freely quoting the American Declaration of 1776.

The author of the *Istoriya Rusov* continually emphasized that truth and justice cannot be disjoined and must unequivocally become the foundation of a moral order not only among individuals but also among peoples. These truths he based not only on reason, as did the rationalists, but makes them issue, in fact, out of his profound religious sense. Every people has the right to live an independent life. He who infringes upon that right must of necessity meet with a harsh reaction on the part of an oppressed people. The consequence is an armed uprising aiming at a restoration of the people's freedom.

"Every creature," wrote the author in the preface, "has the right to defend its life, property, and liberty." This idea of resistance to evil prevades the entire *Istoriya Rusov*. In another place the author utters

the same thought in somewhat different words: "All the peoples which lived on the earth always defended and will always continue to defend their life, liberty, and property."

Now let us compare this with the famous text in the American Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The author of the *Istoriya Rusov* lived in the most powerful monarchy in the world at that time—Russia. He experienced the evils of an absolutist government, and for that reason he was a republican and a democrat. He was an enemy of all manner of tyranny, and believed that all rule by violence must eventually crash to the ground. He was a typical representative of Ukrainian individualism which he confronted with the collective and servile tendencies of the Russians. He was convinced that this attribute chiefly distinguishes the Ukrainians from the Muscovites. His opinion regarding the natural characteristics of the Russian people he put in the mouth of Colonel Bohun, who was the most sympathetic and heroic figure of the times of Bohdan Khmelnytsky: "Among the Russian people," says Colonel Bohun, "there exists the most implacable servitude and slave in the highest degree, because among them, besides that which is God's and tsar's, there exists nothing which they themselves own or can own. According to their conviction, the people are brought into this world to possess nothing." The author sees the source of Russian despotism in the Asiatic-Mongolian influences which prevailed among the Russians for centuries. Typical representatives of that Muscovite tyranny are the Russian tsars, especially Peter I and his successors, who finally deprived the Ukrainian people of their natural right to be free, according to the author.

Although in many places the *Istoriya Rusov* reveals false views, which are today historically unfounded and are for that reason rejected by historians, the main ideas became the political ideology of the Ukrainian intelligentsia at the time of the American and French Revolutions. In addition, it had an influence on the Ukrainian national rebirth in the first half of the nineteenth century.

It was almost impossible to put such a work in print, and for that reason many copies of this fairly extensive opus were made and sent to all parts of Ukraine. It was only in 1846 that Ossip Bodyansky professor of the University of Moscow, and a fervent Ukrainian patriot,

succeeded in having it published. It appeared as Book IV in the series *Chteinye Moskovskago Obshchestva Istoriyi i Drevnostey* (Readings of the Moscow Society of History and Antiquities).

* * *

After the abolition of what remained of Ukraine's autonomy, the Ukrainian nation officially ceased to exist. In official Russian documents there existed only the term "Malorossiya" (Little Russia), a province of Southern Russia. In the underground, however, there existed a nation free in spirit, and that nation strove by all means possible to regain its natural rights. Just as the American Revolution served the Ukrainian patriots as an encouragement for their endeavors, so did the French Revolution roused Ukrainian hopes of realizing their national dreams.¹ Ukrainian patriots established contact with revolutionary France. As a result, Boissy d'Anglas, a deputy of the National Convention of France, rose to speak in that Assembly in defence of Ukraine and of other peoples subjugated by Russia.²

In the nineteenth century, in the Age of Romanticism, the nation officially abolished by the government at St. Petersburg began to revive with all its elemental power. Although outwardly the times appeared very unfavorable for Ukraine, none the less the piercing eye of an observer could notice that a modern nation was taking rise in Ukraine. The German geographer and traveller Johann Georg Kohl wrote about Ukraine as follows: "There is not the slightest doubt that one day the gigantic body of the Russian Empire will fall apart and Ukraine will again become a free and independent nation. That time is approaching slowly but inevitably. The Ukrainians are a nation possessing their innate language, culture and historical tradition. For the moment Ukraine remains torn apart by her neighbors, but the material for the construction of a Ukrainian state lies in readiness. If not today, then tomorrow will appear a master-builder who will use these materials to erect a great independent Ukrainian state."³

This did a foreigner write about Ukraine in 1841. The next one hundred years brought his vision more and more closely to reality.

¹ It is interesting to explore how the American Revolution influenced the Ukrainian movement.

² *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes* 1922; Vol. XIX. 27.

³ J. G. Kohl: *Die Ukraine, Kleinrusland*, 1841, p. 27.

VINNYTSIA—THE KATYN OF UKRAINE

(A REPORT BY AN EYEWITNESS)

By M. SELESHKO

TOWARD the end of February, 1944, when I was marking time in a German prison in Potsdam, I was transferred to cell number 20, already occupied by several other prisoners. After a brief acquaintance I learned that one of these was a Ukrainian from the vicinity of Vinnytsia. We came to know each other closely and he told me his life history. At that time he was twenty-three years of age, born and bred in Soviet Ukraine. He had been educated by the Communist party and had been a Communist in the full meaning of the word. Communist ideals were his ideals. He fought on the German-Soviet front. After his capture by the Germans, he was forced into anti-aircraft artillery work for the Germans in Berlin. Because of negligence in line of duty he was thrown into jail. There our paths met.

I kept asking him questions about life under the Soviets. He formerly belonged to a civilian border patrol unit. Being a Comsomol, he took his duties seriously and helped track down many foreign intelligence agents who were trying to slip across the border into the Soviet Union. There were others, young Soviet patriots like himself, in the villages and districts.

He told me of the steps taken by the Soviets in Ukraine as a preparation for war. In the Communist party at least as early as 1937 it was felt that war against Germany was imminent. Confidential instructions to members of the party and the Comsomol stressed this eventuality. These instructions ordered that the Soviet hinterland in Ukraine be purged of enemies of the people. By the words "enemies of the people" were meant not only all those people who worked actively against the Soviet regime, but also those who were believed to be inclined to hostility toward the government, including those whose complete devotion to the regime had not been clearly manifested.

A purge of enemies of the population of the Soviet border regions was commenced. Herein lies the story of the Ukrainian tragedy in Vinnytsia, which was revealed to the world in 1943.*

* Vinnytsia is a Ukrainian city, which was, prior to 1939, approximately 100 miles from the eastern border of Poland.

My young companion is now a Ukrainian patriot, and much about him must not be made public. Everything he said supplemented my own knowledge of the Vinnitsia tragedy and helped to complete the picture I had formed of it during my experiences in Vinnitsia.

* * *

In the summer of 1943 I was living in Berlin under the close supervision of the Gestapo as a suspected foreigner, an unreliable alien and a Polish citizen. On July 2, 1943, during the noon hour, I was called to the telephone by what the Germans called the Ukrainian Confidence Service. This was a German government agency which registered all Ukrainians in Germany and it tried to win their support for German purposes among the Ukrainians.

The chief of this agency informed me that in the near future a special committee for the investigation of mass murders in Ukraine would depart to do its work on the spot. He also told me that I had been appointed interpreter for this committee because of my knowledge of German, Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish, and in addition because I knew how to type in both German and Ukrainian. He suggested that I accept this position voluntarily and at the same time emphasized that, should I refuse, I would be drafted for it on the basis of a certain mobilization regulation.

I had no choice. I asked for several hours to consider the proposal. I immediately got in touch with my friends, among them Dr. Oleh Kandyba-Olzhych, the Ukrainian poet, who was living illegally at that time in Berlin. We agreed that it would be best for me to go with the commission, even though its destination was not known. And I had not asked, for in Germany during the war it did not pay to be overly inquisitive.

After two hours I called the confidence service and announced my willingness to accompany the commission as a translator-interpreter. I was instructed to await further instructions via telephone. About 5 p.m. of the same day the headquarters of the criminal police telephoned. I was ordered to appear at their address and to report to an official named Denerlein. I went.

Denerlein, a friendly man of rather advanced age, immediately introduced me to several officials in his department, and said that we would depart for Ukraine immediately. After brief interviews I was given appropriate military travelling documents and allowed to return home.

The criminal police department was swarming with uniformed police, some of them wearing an arm-band marked SD, which meant that these officials were from the special political section *Sicherheits-Dienst*. By piecing together various bits of conversation I deduced that our group was going to the front lines. Among the members of the commission were Raeder, Krupke, and Groner, all three commissars of the criminal police. State-councilor Klass, the chairman of the commission, was already at the place where the commission was supposed to function.

We set out July 4, 1943, by way of Warsaw, Lublin, Kovel and Shepetivka. Before our departure I was given a pistol as a preparation for any eventuality. We were unmolested in Warsaw, although at that time the battle in the Jewish ghetto was going on but beyond that city our route was through a region controlled by Ukrainian insurgents (UPA).

Immediately outside of Warsaw we passed long trains that had been blown up. In the town of Kovel in the Ukrainian province of Volyn we had to transfer to another train. Precautionary measures for defense against partisans were taken and, ridiculously enough, I was ordered to hold my pistol in my hand in ready position for firing against the machine-guns and mines of the guerrillas. We were not attacked, however, for the insurgents shot up with machine guns the dummy tank train that had been purposely sent ahead of us and we experienced nothing beyond fear. At the railway station in Shepetivka, however, we met action on a somewhat broader scale. After our train, loaded with German soldiers, pulled in at the railway station, the Ukrainians destroyed all of the four rail lines leading into Shepetivka and we could not continue the journey. We managed to reach Vinnytsia without any losses, around 11 o'clock at night. We were driven in police automobiles to No. 5 Mazepa street. Under the Bolsheviks this had been named Dzhherzhinsky street and the building had housed the regional headquarters of the NKVD.

Excavations in Vinnytsia

In Vinnytsia I was informed about the purpose of the commission by one of its members, a photographer, who arrived in the city at some earlier date. With the aid of the civilian population mass graves had been discovered, in which thousands of corpses had been buried. These graves were to be opened and the commission was to establish whom

the NKVD had murdered. The commission lived and worked in the former headquarters of the NKVD, the place from which the mass-murder was directed. It included among its members German specialists in criminal investigation.

The exhumations in Vinnitsia began on May 25, 1943, and were carried on in three places. The population was of the opinion that there were around 20,000 victims in the war years. In addition to our commission two other bodies—a legal and medical commission—took part in the investigations.

Our committee unpacked its equipment, set up its office and on July 7 after lunch set out in automobiles for the scene of the exhumations—a garden along the Lityn highway, which leads from Vinnitsia to Lviv by way of Lityn.

From the conversation of the police, who were housed in the same barrack that we were, I had gained a more or less adequate picture of what had taken place. The first sight of the corpses horrified me, as did the stench that came from them. It was a hot summer day and it was necessary to steel one's nerves in order to live through the horrible experience. I had been a soldier in the Ukrainian army during the First World War and had seen many men killed in battle, but what I had then seen can in no way be compared with what I witnessed in that park.

A huge mass of people were milling among the trees in the garden. Everything was permeated with the heat of summer and the horrible stench of corpses. Here and there workers were digging up the earth. From it with the use of ropes they pulled out human corpses, some of them whole, others in pieces. They laid them carefully out on the grass. At first it seemed to me that there were thousands of them, but later I counted them and there were but 700 lying on the grass. Everybody present had a serious expression. The local inhabitants examined the exhumed corpses, and scrutinized the remnants of clothing. From the graves workers threw out bits of cloth and placed them in separate piles. The wet clothes were spread on the grass to dry. The dry clothes were searched for papers and other belongings. Everything was taken out, and registered; the documents found were read, when possible, and recorded; those not legible were preserved. Now and then from one group or another burst out the agonizing, hysterical cry of a woman, or the groan of a man, which resembled the terror of death. A woman recognized the clothes of her loved ones, or a man those of a member of his family. All of them, it was later ascertained, had been

sure that their relatives were somewhere in exile in Siberia, perhaps, or in the Far East, in the North, somewhere. Now they learned how the Soviet government had fooled them, for their loved ones lay in Ukrainian soil, in Vinnytsia, murdered by the NKVD. The government had met all questions with the reply that all in exile were deprived of the right of communicating with their families.

After the first shock had lessened, and I had become accustomed to the sweet, unpleasant stench, I took a greater interest in the investigations. The digging was done by common criminals from the local prison under the guard of German police. Alcohol was frequently given to the workers so that they might be able to stand the stench. Men and women, clothed and unclothed, were dug up. Men with their hands tied behind their backs. Here and there heads that had been beaten in; sometimes the nape showed signs of bullet-wounds. Black corpses, mummified corpses, corpses yellow-black with cadaverous wax. They had been in the earth a long time, for the most part deformed by the pressure of the soil above. Members of the commission, old criminologists who had seen many a crime, affirmed that never before had they seen anything so ghastly. In an area close to the graves doctors made immediate autopsies and tried to ascertain the cause of death. The horror of Vinnytsia I shall never forget and it is doubtful whether even a Dante would be able to portray the agony that had taken place.

Our next point was the Gorky Park of Culture and Rest, named in honor of the Russian poet. Here the scene was no better than the previous one. A lesser number of corpses was unearthed, for the most of the digging was done in the garden along the highway. The bodies of mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers had been buried under the earth, and over it boards had been placed for the young people to dance and amuse themselves, unaware that their relatives' corpses were lying underneath! The names of those Communists responsible for such diabolical measures are known and it is hoped that their evil memory will not pass into history forgotten.

The picture was the same in the graveyard opposite the park. Beside the regular graves as well as under the stones of the original graves were found mass-victims of the NKVD.

The Commission at Work

The committee worked industriously. Witnesses of the horrible tragedy were questioned, the place of the criminal executions deter-

mined, and the time as well. Documents found either alone or on the corpses were analyzed, nothing was overlooked; German thoroughness, often approaching absurdity, as it seemed to me, was employed. I was not acquainted with the techniques of criminologists, the clues they put together in order to arrive at the facts, and often what to me appeared beyond dispute they accepted with reservations and searched for unimpeachable evidence. The hours of work were from 10 to 16 each day. I was used as an interpreter between the local inhabitants and the German specialists. Thousands of people volunteered to act as witnesses for the commission. They volunteered in spite of the fact that Bolshevik agents made many threats of revenge, and insisted that the Germans had killed these people and were now seeking to place the blame on the NKVD. This twist interested me and I paid special attention in order to ascertain its veracity. Insofar as I am concerned there is no doubt that the unearthed corpses in Vinnitsia were the first victims of the Bolsheviks, murdered in what was in fact a preparation for war.

I cannot describe the entire work of the commission, all that it ascertained and concluded. I imagine that its findings have been recorded in detail and are available somewhere. As a Ukrainian in civilian attire it was easy for me to get around, for I felt that I was at home, on native Ukrainian soil. The Germans, of course, did not enjoy such a confidence in Vinnitsia, for they had come as conquerors. A complete history of the entire tragedy will one day be written by historians. I was forbidden from doing anything on my own and was able to maintain official contact with my friends only through the German military post office, which was scrutinized by the Gestapo. I made no personal notes. Instead, another opportunity presented itself: through the kindness of one of the members of the commission I was able to send personal letters to Ukrainian friends in Berlin. He gave the letters to a pilot assigned to regular duty between Berlin and Vinnitsia. I recorded as much as I could in the form of private letters, and the material arrived in the hands of my friends without accident. On the basis of these letters I am able to reveal the impression I had of the tragedy in Vinnitsia.

Some Special Incidents of the Tragedy in Vinnitsia

A few incidents will illustrate the tragedy.

The wife of a priest named Biletsky from the vicinity of Vinnitsia

recognized the garments of her husband lying on a mound. She cleaned the garment and a patch was revealed. As proof that she spoke the truth she departed for her village, and returned to the commission a few days later with other bits of the material used for patching. The committee examined the material and agreed that the patch on the priest's coat came from the same material. This was proof that her husband had been shot and buried in Vinnytsia, but the NKVD had informed her that her husband was in exile without the right of communicating with his family.

Hanna Hodovanets, a Ukrainian peasant woman, recognized her husband's coat as they unearthed it from a mass-grave. She told the police about her husband's arrest. He had been arrested because he had not reported at work on a certain holiday. She had done everything possible to find out what had happened to him, and one day in 1938 she received a card from Moscow, from the procurator's office and signed by none other than Andrey Vyshinsky, with the news that her husband had been freed from prison in March, 1938. However, her husband had never returned home and she felt that something was wrong. Her feelings became a sad reality when she recognized her husband's coat.

Another Ukrainian woman, Olkhivska by name, sat for hours on the hills of dirt as the corpses were lifted from the graves. At one grave she gave vent to cries of anguish. She had just recognized her husband, who had been arrested by the NKVD, by a broken small finger as well as by his clothes. And she too told a story that ended in a mass-grave.

There were similar examples by the hundreds, while thousands of others found no clues whereby they might identify their loved ones. I talked with them, recorded their tragedies, shared their suffering. The commission studied the methods of Soviet interrogation and trial, torture and execution, prison and exile. It interviewed thousands of witnesses, went through a mass of varied documents, and examined the belongings of witnesses.

The following incident suggests that justice may yet triumph in this world. A note was found in the coat of the exhumed corpse of a heroic Christian. It was wet, as was the corpse, but was carefully dried. Then I set to work to decipher it. With the aid of several local Ukrainians we put together the story. The paper was of ordinary stock, white in color, used in local school tablets. In crude handwriting was penciled: "I . . . beg the person that finds this note to pass on to my wife, Zina . . . from the village . . . region of . . . that I was denounced to the

NKVD by the following . . . ” And here were the names and addresses of seven persons. The note continued: “They bore witness against me before the NKVD and spoke falsehoods. I have been sentenced to death and in a short time will be shot. God knows that I am innocent. Let God forgive their transgression; I have forgiven them.”

We refused to believe what we had read. To expect such magnanimity from a simple peasant in the moment of death was too much to believe. But the fact stirred everybody. We informed those in charge of the investigation, and later it was found that it was all true. Two of the persons named in the note had died in the meantime, two were officers in the Red Army, and three were available in the neighborhood, peacefully going about their business, since no one knew that they were secret assistants of the NKVD. During my presence in Vinnitsia they were not arrested. The Germans, however, recorded all the secret helpers of the NKVD. Some of them managed to obtain administrative posts during the occupation, and often announced themselves as of German origin. The Germans were aware of this manoeuver and were preparing a surprise move called “lightning-action,” *blitzaction*. I was later informed that this “lightning action” had been executed before the Germans abandoned Vinnitsia. The three were supposedly killed, but the act of vengeance was accomplished by unclean hands that had no right to be termed just, for they were guilty of the murder of 40,000 Jews and an unknown number of Ukrainians in the Vinnitsia region.

Hulevych, Skrepek, and many other Ukrainians testified how the NKVD transported the corpses to the burial points. They stated that the bodies were transported from NKVD headquarters at No. 5 Dzherzhinsky street, that at night they saw and heard the trucks in action and that in the morning on the way to work they saw the blood that had dripped from the trucks and that they saw NKVD underlings covering up the signs of their work at the site of the mass graves. There were also witnesses who testified that from trees they observed what was happening behind the high walls of the NKVD compound and that graves were dug and corpses buried. It was a fact well circulated in the city that two Ukrainians, who had dared to peer through the board fence despite the prohibition, had disappeared never to be seen again. It was also common talk that a boy, who had tried to climb the fence in order to steal some apples, disappeared without a trace after the NKVD guards caught him in the act.

How the NKVD Operates

I talked with those people in Vinnytsia who first divulged the information about the mass murders, on the basis of which excavation was begun by the Germans. The commission found a woman who had worked in the NKVD headquarters for fifteen years. She was superannuated, and not in command of all her mental faculties, but the memory of what had transpired long before she retained as though it had happened yesterday. When the Bolsheviks retired before the German advance, she remained in Vinnytsia by frustrating efforts made by the government to evacuate her. Her revelations, although chronologically vague, were valuable in that they described Soviet methods of investigation and punishment. Former prisoners of the NKVD gave corroborative testimony.

One such former prisoner, named Dashchin, who had been in exile in the Kolyma region, told of an incident in a gold-mining camp. The camp contained 7,000 prisoners from all parts of the Soviet Union, and upon completion of the work there it was evident that the means of transportation to another locality were not available. The prisoners were too weak from malnutrition to go elsewhere on foot, for the nearest work-camp was thousands of kilometers distant. The problem was solved very simply. The prisoners were driven to a cliff that had been mined, and were blown into oblivion. Dashchin was one of the few that miraculously survived the explosion. Somehow he managed to trek across Siberia and return to Ukraine.

The NKVD usually made arrests at night, searching the house and later writing a protocol on the case. The Commission found very many of these protocols both with the corpses and in a separate grave where only documents were buried. All arrested were accused of being "enemies of the people." Some had refused to renounce their religion, others had opposed the collectivization of their private property, still other had spoken dangerous words against Communism. Some had been victims of denunciations or revenge, other had failed to appear at work during a religious holiday, while many had changed their place of work without the permission of the NKVD. Many witnesses questioned by the committee were unable to explain why their relatives had been arrested. Their inquiries addressed to the NKVD or the judge simply evoked the stereotyped reply, "enemies of the people exiled for a long period of time without the right of communication with their relatives." Women appealed to Stalin and other leaders of

the Soviet state, but the reaction was the same. I saw and read many cards carrying that message. Among the items found in the graves were remnants of priestly garments, religious books, and correspondence of the murdered with the authorities of the state and the police. Items discovered were put on display—photographs, letters, postage stamps, and crosses—and many residents identified their dead relatives by them.

A religious group in the region of Ulaniv deserves special mention. Called the sect of St. Michael, nineteen of its members were arrested by the NKVD and some of them were identified in the graves. They were recognized because it was their custom to wear a white cross sewn to their clothes. Garments with this cross were found in the graves, sometimes alone and at times still about the corpse. Many members of this sect visited the excavations and recognized their co-religionists.

Statistics on the Tragedy

From May, 1943, to October, 1943, 9432 corpses were found in three places of excavation. There were 91 graves with corpses, and three with only clothes or documents. Forty-nine graves had from one to 100 corpses, 33 from 100 to 200 corpses, and nine from 200 to 284 corpses. One hundred and sixty-nine corpses were of women, 120 of advanced age, according to the findings of the medical commission. Forty-nine women were of young or middle age. The corpses of females of advanced age were clothed, whereas those of the younger years were naked. This seemed to bear out the rumors common among the local population that the young women arrested by the NKVD were subjected to sexual brutalities prior to their execution. One pregnant woman was found who had actually given birth to a child in the grave. Most of the corpses were of people from 30 to 40 years of age. Most had died from bullets from a special gun. Some of the victims had been hit by two bullets, others had but one bullet in the head, while still others had received as many as four. Evidences of skull fracture by means of an instrument, apparently the butt of a rifle, was found in 391 cases. The stronger men had their arms and legs bound. Cases of shooting in the forehead as well as the back of the head were recorded.

Of the total of 9432 corpses 679 were identified, 468 by their garments, 202 by documents, and 2 by body marks. From the point of view of occupation the identified included 279 peasants, 119 workers, 92

officials, and 189 members of the intelligentsia. Nationally the identified were broken down into 490 Ukrainians, 28 Poles, and 161 uncertain, although the names of the last group suggested almost all the nationalities of the USSR and some from Europe as well.

These basic statistics speak for themselves. Only one place, the garden, was thoroughly examined, for the park and the cemetery were only partially investigated. It is not excluded that many more bodies had been buried in these places. Other localities, which according to the reports of the local population, were also scenes of mass murder by the NKVD were not inspected. It was ascertained that other Ukrainian cities that had been regional and district headquarters of the NKVD had also experienced mass executions. Efforts were made to verify the rumors circulating among the population regarding mass graves. Kiev, Odesa, Zhytomir, Berdychiv, Haisyn, Dnipropetrovsk, Krasnodar in the Kuban region, and other places were supposed to be investigated, but chaotic conditions in Ukraine frustrated such endeavors. It is known, however, very definitely that in Krasnodar, where the Kuban kozaks fought stubbornly against the Bolsheviks in an effort to win independence, the NKVD employed a special machine which ground up the bodies of shot and oftentimes still living persons as if they were meat and automatically dumped this mass of human flesh into the Kuban river. This brutality was affirmed by eyewitnesses who reported various phases of the slaughter.

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My companion in the German prison in Potsdam told me that in 1937 instructions were given both to the Communist party and the Comsomol to cleanse the border districts of Ukraine of "enemies of the people." This purge was carried out. The revelations of this former Comsomol both agreed with and supplemented the findings obtained by the committee of investigation.



THE FIVEFOLD CLUSTER OF UNVANQUISHED BARDS

By SVIATOSLAV HORDYNSKY

IN the early twenties there came together in Ukraine a group of five talented poets, the Neoclassicists—Mykola Zerov, Pavlo Fylypovych, Maxym Rylsky, Mykhaylo Dray-Khmara and Oswald Burckhardt (Yuriy Klen). One of the group, Dray-Khmara, in his sonnet *The Swans*, called them “the Fivefold cluster”:

O fivefold cluster of true bards, unyielding, strong,
Through storm and snow rings out your ever echoing song
Which crashes through the ice of doubt and of despair,
Press on your way, O swans, from serfdom, from the grave,
The shining stars of Lyre will lead you onward there,
Where surging life ever stirs like ocean wave.

This sonnet, when it appeared in 1928, resulted in bitter persecution of both its author and the review that printed it. What was this talk of despair and serfdom? What “bourgeois” seas would the Neoclassicist sail?—The author defended himself in vain by stating that under the “fivefold cluster” he meant the French poets of the “Abbaye” group, “who having stood nearest to their own time, broke the ice of despair, in which the dark genius of Mallarmé was concealed,” and as a proof he quoted his own translation of Mallarmé’s *The Swan*. But the author’s denial and his refusal to accept the actual Soviet reality was so plainly stated in these two tercets, that no one believed him.

What was the origin of this new Neoclassical school, which the critics aptly called the “Heroic School,” and which was shortly to occupy a dominating place in modern Ukrainian poetry? Some recent Ukrainian critics have tried to prove that this school of Neoclassicists did not exist, because no one organized such a school, and that some of its members could just as well be described as symbolist or romantic poets. As a matter of fact the Neoclassicists never formed any formal organization, they issued no program, they held no regular meetings, but they had a little influence in the publishing house *Slovo* (The Word) in Kiev. This is beside the point, however. To us their esthetic views are more important than any formal literary organization.

In his recent volume of reminiscences Yuriy Klen, one of the group, wrote that they were only a group of friends, with similar views and tastes and that the very name of Neoclassicism was accidental, and implied merely that the poets thus labeled



M. DRAY-KHMARA

wanted to learn from the classics, their masters, who had created immortal works of poetry. Klen describes the evolution of this group. At the end of 1918 in cold and starving Kiev the poets met at home of the critic Borys Yakub-sky. They "Gutenberged," that is, wrote small booklets and exchanged them among themselves. Zerov was an expert in this technique. When life in Kiev became unbearable, some of these poets moved to the small town of Baryshivka. Here lived still the remnants of the wealthy "unproletarized" tanners, for which the town was famous. Zerov and Klen taught in the local high school and here they signed their hand-written books: "Lucrosae, Anno Domini MCMXX, (in Ukrainian *barysh*—profit, means in Latin *lucrum*). One of Zerov's finest Alexandrian verses was written here and dedicated to Burghardt. It is in these verses that the esthetic ideology of the Neoclassicists is to be found. The author tells how after leaving "modern Baalbek," they lived outside the world of mankind, societies and libraries, serving only their master Apollo, and burning to him incense on a humble altar.

Thus in ancient Olbia, wandering sculptors
Among the mercenary folk and petty deeds
Cherished in their souls dreams of far-off Hellas,
And for surrounding hordes and savage Scyths
Sculptured in marble undreamt-of gods.

After 1920 Ukrainian poetry broke up into many groups and trends. This was the beginning of the so-called "industrial" and "mass" literature. New and noisy themes arose amid the new post-revolutionary reality, confusing the inartistic literary youth and conflicting with the esthetic tastes of the Neoclassicists, who had been reared on the choicest works of world literature and trained by severe criticism. In their works the Neoclassicists ignored the fashionable themes, and it was this that brought down upon them



YURIY KLEN

the wild blasts of the orthodox-Marxist critics, who demanded to know why they refused to descend from their Olympus and to write for the masses. Why did they not march in step with the new era? To these accusations Rylsky replied that

When the new era catches up with us,
We too shall march in step with it . . .



MAXYM RYLSKY

These discussions developed more and more into a cultural problem. On one side were the experienced poets and theoreticians (all except Rylsky were university professors and authors of critical works); on the other were the minstrels of the modern tractor and of concrete, representatives of often ephemeral trends, determined to create in a hurry a new *Proletarian literature*, which they at first understood in a negative

sense—the demolition of old traditions and styles. It was not long before Zerov was to compare their fashionable *vers libre*, which was borrowed in reality from Whitman and Verhaeren, with glass beads over which savages fight...

This cultural problem was brought out into the wider forum of the well known *Literary Discussion* of 1924-28. This movement was instigated by Mykola Khvylovy through his brilliant pamphlets. Khvylovy was a member of the Communist Party and fought for revolutionary literature; he was convinced that the "new literature was to be the creation of peasants and laborers, but only under the condition, that they be intellectually developed, talented and brilliant men." Consequently Ukrainian literature had to turn to "psychological Europe" and cultivate the type of the European intellectual. Zerov agreed with these views. In his three articles *Ad Fontes* he strove to show that an excess of ideas had a negative influence on literary creation. Of the "decayed Europe," as it was popularly called in the Soviet Union he wrote: "Let us not shun Europe, either bourgeois, or feudal.

We should have no fear of becoming psychologically infected." He defended freedom of expression with all the uncommon courage needed in those days:

"Do we dare to use the experience of such an interesting writer as D'Annunzio? We do. The Orthodox theologians of the XVII century did not hesitate to learn from their Catholic opponents. Let us too study D'Annunzio, when we wish to do so, without considering his political conduct. We may be sure that there exist certain social rules in literary conceptions and an Italian fascist should not be able to convert anyone to his political faith by sheer eloquence."



MYKOLA ZEROV

ZEROV is regarded as the most profound among the modern Ukrainian critics. He made his criticism an art, and gave a masterful analysis of a series of Ukrainian authors, as he demonstrated how far the ideological aspect of their works was in accord with their fundamental artistic disposition. An erudite and brilliant speaker, he felled his antagonists in all literary discussions "so that nothing, not even a feather, remained of them," according to the words of Klen.

Zerov was an incomparable translator of poetry. He produced the best of the present-day translations of Latin poets (Catullus, Horace, Vergil, Ovid), and, of the French

poets of the group of the *Pléiade*, Ronsard, Du Bellay, and J. M. Heredia. His original poems were printed in *Kamena* and in literary reviews. A hundred sonnets, the *Sonnetarium*, the poet sent secretly from exile to one of his friends, and during the war this friend managed to bring them to safety. These sonnets were published in Munich in 1948. Zerov cultivates to perfection and almost exclusively the sonnet and the Alexandrian distich. Among his poems are gems of surpassing beauty that belong to the greatest treasure of Ukrainian poetry.

His highly esthetic poems are at the same time full of allusions to the "vile and avaricious times," to the days of the "thirty tyrants" brightened only by the laugh of Aristophanes, and he himself often

found vent in stinging satire, attacking "rhymesters and scribbling females, who caught the confused step or literary fads and plaited for their masters wreathes of corrupt odes..."

Today the fate of Zerov is unknown, but he is regarded as dead. The attacks against him started in 1929, when the official Soviet critics accused him of directing his critical "formalism" against Marxist methodology and charged that "causing no racket, as the futurists did, but armed with erudition and academic authority, he led a planned campaign against Marxism." When he finally stopped publishing his works, this was termed sabotage. An eyewitness, who succeeded in escaping from the Solovki Islands in the White Sea, wrote about meeting with Zerov and other Ukrainian writers at slave labor camps. Zerov always carried with him a small volume of Vergil's *Aeneid* and in his rare spare moments he read and translated from it. Because he never could dig the prescribed amount of frozen soil, he never received his full food ration. In the Soviet Union an exiled writer ceases to exist. In 1938, when the academician A. Biletsky published in Kiev an *Anthology of Classic Literature*, the finest translations in it were those of Zerov, but in this book of over 500 pages, Zerov's name was not mentioned once.

PAVLO FYLYPOVYCH, also a professor of the University of Kiev, wrote a series of excellent critical works on Shevchenko, Franko and Lesya Ukrainka. As a poet he showed his talent in two books: *Earth and Wind*, 1922, and *Space*, 1925. His poems were symbolist in character, but their perfect classic form entitles him to be called a Neoclassicist. He does not hesitate to modernize his verse in its tonal aspect, but all his experiments are strictly confined within the bounds of the metrotonic system of Ukrainian verse. His images are purely poetic: "the hungry eye of night looked through the window,"



PAVLO FYLYPOVYCH

"hands that dip water out of eternity's lakes," "out of his longing rises a dream," "a man stood over his proud field, proud as the sky, strong

as the earth." Economic in expression, he deeply feels the poet's responsibility for every word and its function. He pictures his Orpheus as one "who was given not the fleeting smoke of words, but a sublime power which brought even stones to life."

Pantheistic oneness of will and purpose that rule the world, unity of man and nature are his poetic doctrine:

A single will that rules the world,
With a single aim leads us into the future
And we shall die with but one commandment
In our unconquered and unbending hearts.

Beauty and himself will man redeem,
New life will spring from ashes of the ruins,
The single dream, the wise and great
Swings not in vain bells of the universe.

The ages fly, but in an infinite sea
On only sun burns for the earth
And all will be united in space—
Man and beast, the flower and the blue.

Fylypovych is likewise listed as destroyer. He was last seen on the Solovki Islands, from where he is said to have been transferred to the mines north of Leningrad, and there all trace of him was lost. He also was accused of being a "bourgeois eclectic," of "formalism" hostile to Marxism.

At the time this is written the only member of the *Fivefold Cluster*, who at the present moment is known to be alive is MAXYM RYLSKY. He is one of the most prolific Ukrainian poets. More than twenty volumes of his original verses have been published, beginning with *On the White Island* (1910) which was printed when he was sixteen. Most important are his books of lyrics published in 1918-29: *Under the Autumn Stars* (1918), *Blue Distance* (1922), *Through Storm and Snow* (1925), *The Thirteenth Spring* (1926), and *Where the Roads Meet* (1929). Here one finds sincere lyricism, mellow with memories of childhood and quiet dreams, and at the same time echoes of passages from history and his favorite authors Shakespeare, Mistral, Daudet, Dickens. In those years, according to Serhiy Yefremov (*History of Ukrainian Literature*), "Rylsky attained unreached heights," and we have to agree with Yefremov. While in Zerov the scholar surpasses the poet, in Rylsky both scholar and poet are harmoniously united. The main theme of his poetry is: "Eternity came and put her hand on my brow." The poet's duty is to listen to life and catch its rhythms "the deceitful, the true, dark sin and bright laughter, and weigh them not

as Themis the judge, but put them on the scale with calm hands and seeing eyes... "In his first works he was always the poet of a peaceful Ukrainian Arcadia, of rustic idylls and the world of Skovoroda's "sweet" philosophy. In his esthetic fastidiousness he tried to avoid everything brutal and alarming that might destroy his peace. His fears were not of a dramatic but of a purely lyric character: "Never will the past return, it is gone and everything seems but a moment," or:

You may have found no happiness.
But why yearn for it, my friend? . . .

He sees himself as an inhabitant of a lonely cell, "a monk without a God, and a priest without a prayer," he insists that the cold calm of his cell is above all the love and grief of this world. His most characteristic trait is a dreamy flight to far off countries—Mistral's Provence, Venice, Paris, the Sahara. In the midst of the primitive conditions of Soviet Ukraine, of the war and the revolution what a truly great power of imagination one had to possess in order to write:

White-robed Desdemona
Stands high upon the stairs;
With roses of the evening star
Her forehead pure is crowned . . .

But in his book *Through Storm and Snow* the rhythm and noisy chaos of the city is beginning to be heard. His poetry takes on a new aspect, that of drama and tragedy. "What is your grief to any one? The shadow of your solitude? Is your small agony Golgotha? And your words—are they crosses? In the tumult of great spaces are you someone, are you something?"—he asks, and here is true anguish. But he still avoids the actual, he still shows us these things through the prism of his deeply poetic allegories. The stress, however, increases, and the poet seeks to evade it by limiting his original creativeness and turning to translations. One after another he completed a row of masterful works: *Pan Tadeusz* by Mickiewicz. *The Cid* of Corneille, *The Phaedra* of Racine, *The Misanthrope* of Moliere, Voltaire's *The Maid of Orleans*, Boileau's *Art of Poetry*, Shakespeare's *King Lear*, Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin*. The only original longer work, and at the same time his first attempt at social motifs, is the rhymed novel *Maryna*, written with the sweeping breadth of Mickiewicz, which discloses the epic in his poetry. The purpose of this poem was to show the social order in Ukraine during the times of serfdom. This subject, so to say, disfigured the backbone of the poem, because the author could not portray his

characters otherwise than as prescribed by the Marxist theory of class struggle, which divides mankind into two opposite camps: the "exploited proletariat" and the "blood-drinking bourgeois."

In the meantime Rylsky was arrested in 1931, and before him loomed Hamlet's question "to be or not to be." He chose "to be," and resolutely renounced his former life as an error. His new code he proclaimed in his *Declaration of the Duties of a Poet and a Citizen*, written in verse and published in such new volumes as *The Sign of the Scales* (1933), *Kiev* (1935), *Summer* (1936), *Ukraine* (1938), as well as ten other volumes, published during the war in close succession. They are mostly Soviet patriotic poems, which brought him high awards and decorations and the position of a member of Supreme Soviet. His *Song about Stalin* became an unofficial Soviet anthem. And his art?

Strengthen the ranks around the leader!
Strengthen the power of the Bolsheviks!
For the day as bright as gold,
For the flower, the sun, the CP!

This is a passage from one of his latest poems. The academician A. Biletsky, who wrote the forward to a new three-volume edition of Rylsky's poems, informs us, that in such poems Rylsky at last attained the "peak" of his poetic perfection, that the "poets of the old world knew no such emotions," and that the author owes his literary rebirth to that "strange artist, whose name is the CP, and who daily works miracles." Nevertheless no premiums, nor decorations nor even the position of a deputy gave the writer any special rights in choosing his own themes for his poems. In 1947 the poem *A Journey into Childhood* fell under severe judgment, and after being scrutinized by the organ of the Council of Ministers (*Radyanska Ukraina*, 1947, No. 197), the poet was pronounced "full of grave political errors and ideological confusion." "The poet writes that we writers are led by the words of Shevchenko, as by a pillar of fire, does he not know that we are led by the party?" And *Literaturna Gazeta*, of which Rylsky was even the editor, simply stated that his works were "ideologically corrupted and anti-artistic," that they were striving to renew the reactionary theory of *Art for Art's sake* and that on the lips of a Soviet citizen it sounds strange to hear Christian ideals of love for one's neighbor, instead of the slogans of Soviet humanism . . . "According to Rylsky, art is noble inasmuch as it makes humanity better." (1947, No. 42).

MYKHAYLO DRAY-KHMARA, a professor at the University of Kamyanets Podilsky, is the author of only one small volume of poems *Prorsten* (The Sprout) published in 1926, but this single volume placed him at once among the best Ukrainian poets. The magic of words is brought here to his own specific perfection. Being a linguist, he discovered old and long forgotten words and displayed them in a new splendor. "I love full-ringing words, fragrant as honey and as elating, words that slumber through ages in unknown, unfathomed depths." His poetry is characterized by its unusual melodiousness; it has that intonation and quality of sound that constitute the real originality of every poet, because it is actually this and the ideas or subject that remain in the reader's memory through the ages. For instance:

"Rozburkhalasya khmar armada,
A ty opalena, v ohni,
Usya ljubov i vichna zrada,
Letila okhlap na koni . . .

Armadas of clouds revolted,
And you, glowing and ablaze,
You, sheer love, and eternal seduction,
Dashed bareback on a golloping steed...

Hardly anything was saved of his fine translations of Maeterlinck and Mallarmé. In 1930 the State Publishing House of Soviet Ukraine agreed to publish for the Neoclassicists an anthology of French poets, the foreward to which was written by S. Savchenko. In this anthology were the specimens of the greatest poets of France and Belgium from Leconte de Lisle and Baudelaire to Apollinaire and Cocteau. The promise was not kept, under the pretext that only "bourgeois and not revolutionary" poets were chosen. Klen alone managed to save and later to print his translations in the literary review *Visnyk* in Lviv.

Dray-Khmara was arrested for the first time in 1933 and again in 1935. From the prison in Kiev comes his last known poem, which begins:

And again with match-sticks charred
I mark grey days upon grey walls . . .

He was accused of violating paragraph 54 regarding counter-revolutionary activity, and was exiled to the taigas of Kolyma in north-eastern Asia to labor in the gold mines and dig peat. In his reminiscences Klen published a series of Dray-Khmara's letters to his wife, and these are unique documents in the history of literature: they are letters full of longing for his dear ones, visions of the Kiev that was lost to him, descriptions of the wild landscape among which he toiled and the hallucinations of a starving man. He died in 1939; in his last letter he wrote: "I can not write to you any more . . . If I do not rest, I

collapse while working, and then they drag me out with ropes . . . My legs are swollen . . ."

OSWALD BURGHARDT (YURIY KLEN) died from starvation as a refugee in Germany in 1947. He was of German descent but born in Ukraine and living in a Ukrainian environment, he became a Ukrainian patriot. He adopted the penname of Yuriy Klen in 1933, when he succeeded in escaping from the Soviet Union and accepted the post of professor of Slavonic literature at the University of Munster and later in Prague. During his stay in Ukraine he was close to the other four poets, but he chose not to publish his own works, and for safety's sake, he worked as an editor and translator. Thus, among other pieces, the complete works of Jack London, under his editorship, were published in a Ukrainian translation.

He escaped from Ukraine at the beginning of the famine during the compulsory collectivization. His first poems, which at once made him prominent, were published in the *Visnyk* (The Messenger) in Lviv. But his most important work, which stirred the deepest emotions in all Ukrainians who read it, were *The Accursed Years*, published in 1936. The subject was the artificial famine in Ukraine. In this work hunger attains the terrifying dimensions of a cosmic catastrophe and throughout the poem ring the menacing voices of the demons from the *Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign*. The poet masterfully united lyric elements and descriptive realism: "In those days all dogs were devoured, and not a cat was left. But heaven sent us no prophetic signs, and the comet's tail blazed not across the sky . . ." These descriptions of hunger were given against the background of a vision of Kiev "where human anguish smoldered in a red haze." They pulsate with wrath, passion and sarcasm, and again subside into tensely emotional lyricism. The poem ends with a prayer "for all those buried alive in the snow," where "the beauty and the proud flower of a nation create a myth out of the scraps of shipwreck," for all those that "for bread and tea praise hell as paradise—their lot is the worst of all."

His other poems are collected in the volume *Caravels* (Prague, 1943). Here lyric elements are united with historical ideas, so popular in the Ukrainian poetry of that day. The world that we see is not the true world,—the real world "is suspended in the swinging hands of austere seraphs," and the time will come when we shall perceive it as the miracle, that it really is. The antithesis of the *Scythians*, a Russian messianistic poem by Alexander Blok, is Klen's "We." Against the landslide of the East "we" stood as a wall—that

Europe should not be crushed under the iron onrush and could continue dreaming her Gothic dreams.

Klen began to write his long poem *Ashes of the Empire* during the war. There were to be five parts, but he completed only four. This poem was an immense chronicle of the way in which the Russian revolution of 1917 set unleashed evil powers into the world,—powers that eventually caused World War II. The strongest parts of this work are those where the poet in his wandering through slave labor camps, like Dante, meets his poet friends (the reader recognizes Zerov, Fylypovch, Dray-Khmara) and listens to their confessions and anguish:

For years this earth dug
With spades to the rhythm of the iamb and the trochee . . .

Passages such as that where on the highest peaks of the Alps Hitler reveals the fascinating picture of ruling of the world, or that where the Jews course Hitler in the light of dark candles, leave the impression of a tormenting nightmare. They are really unique in modern poetry.

Klen is also the author of short stories that are a tribute to Ukrainian literature. In his volume of parodies *Diabolic Parables* (1947), he succeeds in creating an imaginary author, wanderer, philosopher and humorist who finds paradoxes everywhere.

• • •

The greatest service that the Neoclassicists did for Ukrainian literature is that they brought it nearer to the themes, ideas and forms of European literature. These themes, ideas and forms never did disappear in Ukrainian literature, but the specific conditions resulting in the forced isolation of Ukraine from Western Europe marked Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth century with an unpleasant stamp of regionalism. It was this regionalism that the Neoclassicists opposed in their "high style," and demanded a literature that would not be merely an echo of Russian or Western European literatures, but would hold its own independent and equal place in the literatures of the world. It was they and not the noisy "revolutionaries," who caused the real revolution in Ukrainian literature. They were aware of it. It was not by chance that their satirical *Neoclassic March* began with the words: "We Neoclassicists are the current of a powerful revolution . . ." The large and dynamic group of Khvylovy regarded them as their revolutionary allies. Khvylovy himself saw the new cultural Renaissance only appreciated in Soviet Ukraine, "the joyous Greek-

Roman art," and therefore wrote: "the Zerovs caught the scent of our epoch."

But the poetry of the Neclassicists could not find a place for itself in the acutely political and propagandist literatures of an occupied Ukraine. Their poetic art belonged to other spheres, their problems were not of the social or political, but of a spiritual order. As such they were really an "internal emigration" and had to be liquidated, as everything else that rose above the prescribed level.

At a time when the best Ukrainian poets were being liquidated, hot discussions were held in various Pen-clubs and Universities regarding the spirit of European culture and the ideals of Neo-humanism. Against the brutal facts of liquidation such discussions were empty abstractions. No one saw, or perhaps wanted to see, the slave labor camps in the far north, where the real representatives of this culture proved the value of these ideas with their lives. All these events passed unnoticed. Not one word of protest disturbed the confused silence. Indeed, the European spirit is very ill.



WORKING CONDITIONS OF SCIENTISTS AND SPECIALISTS IN SOVIET UKRAINE

By T. S.

This study is based on data obtained from 119 Ukrainian scientists and specialists who are now displaced persons in Germany. Identical questionnaires were circulated in the DP camps in Germany in 1946 and 1947, and among those who received them were 50 university scholars, including 21 full professors, 18 assistant professors (dotsenty), and 11 graduate fellows and specialists. The remaining 69 individuals were specialists who had no direct connection with university work. Fifteen of those interviewed were women, six of whom had held university positions.

Those questioned come from all parts of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, chiefly from the cities, and include all the leading specializations. Of the 119 interviewed, 66 represent the social sciences and humanities, and 53 the natural sciences. The questionnaire, filled out and signed individually by the scientists and specialists, provides full description of the conditions under which they lived and worked in the years preceding the Second World War. Some phases of their lives are considered over a long period of years, from 1917 to 1940, and thus embrace the whole span of the Soviet regime. In regard to the age of those polled, in 1940 59 individuals were under forty and 26 ranged from 40 to 45 years of age. Accordingly, almost three-fourths of the individuals are products of the Soviet period, for they not only completed their university training under the Communist regime but in many cases even their secondary education was obtained after the Revolution.

This article is based upon the data obtained from the questionnaire and deals with the working conditions, the budgeting of time, and the level of earnings of the Ukrainian intellectuals.

Vexatious Aspects of the Soviet Union

The totalitarian character of the political and economic system in the USSR directly influences all aspects of the material and spiritual life of the Soviet individual. In accordance with the substance and spirit of this system, everything in the USSR, beginning with children's

primers and ending with all possible expressions of the creativeness of the human soul, is subjected to the stringent control of the state. All that concerns the human personality is in one way or another observed, registered, and studied.

One means of controlling the Soviet citizen employed by the government is the use of questionnaires. The 119 individuals of the current study supplied the following information regarding the use of questionnaires from 1917 to 1940 in Soviet Ukraine:

Number of times questionnaires were filled out	Number of persons in present study that filled them out	Percentage of total
1-10	4	3.4
11-20	11	9.2
21-30	7	5.9
31-50	15	12.6
51-75	4	3.4
76-100	9	7.6
Over 100	8	6.7
No data	61	51.2
Total	119	100.00

Those that gave no specific answer to the questions usually answered with such words as "many times," "very often," "countless number of times," "not less than three times annually," and "frequency not calculated." As soon as one reaches voting age in the USSR (18 years) he is obliged to fill out questionnaires and no one is exempted from the task.

What is asked in these questionnaires? The greatest attention is paid to social origin, expressed in such questions as parentage, the employment of parents before the revolution, and the amount of their property. Second place in importance is given to questions concerning the activity of the individual: what he did before the revolution, what he did during the civil war (1918-1921), in what armies he served, an enumeration of the institutions in which he was employed during the Soviet period. Additional questions intended to mirror the various interests and activities of the individual follow in diminishing frequency: was the individual a member of any parties, and if so, when and for how long? Was the individual abroad at any time, when and for what purpose? Did he have any relatives abroad? Does he carry on correspondence with anyone abroad, and if so, with whom? Has he ever been arrested, and if so, when, for what reason and in what

manner? Several indicated the presence in Soviet-sponsored questionnaires of questions regarding a knowledge of foreign languages. Intellectuals that worked in the villages were questioned regarding their participation in religious activity.

This was the more or less standard content of Soviet questionnaires. In addition, however, there existed special questionnaires adapted to the nature of the institution concerned or specific work in this or that branch of economy or cultural work. Thus a railroad construction engineer "filled out a long questionnaire which contained 181 questions. It was interested in relatives three generations removed, with the parents and grandparents of both my wife and myself."

The handling of the questionnaires was the task of the "special department," abbreviated *Spetsotdyel* which is organized in every institution regardless of its character. The supervisor of the *Spetsotdyel* is appointed by the NKVD works under its instructions and is responsible only to it for his success. The supervisor occupies a separate barred room into which entry by others is absolutely forbidden. In small institutions the functions of the *Spetsotdyel* are carried out by the secretary of the local cell of the Communist party or by the manager of the institution, provided he is a member of the Communist party.

The *Spetsotdyel* is a branch of the NKVD, its eyes and ears. Its tasks are broad and numerous. It studies the background and activity of the entire personnel of the institution and employs a variety of means, from questionnaires to a net of secret informers and the use of skillful conversation, warnings and observations of the *partiinnost* (party-ness) of the individual. The *Spetsotdyel* collects questionnaires, personal items regarding the employees, the specialists, and the production plans of the institution. Finally, it carries on a systematic, day-by-day inspection, observing the execution of the plans and directives of the party and government, the success of special campaigns (such as subscriptions of government loans, elections to the Supreme Soviet and to local soviets), and watching out for deviations from the general line of the party.

The questionnaire gives a general description of the specialist and scholar. The observation of his daily work and behavior in general is carried on through various means depending upon the nature of the institution and other factors. The majority of those queried in the present study indicated the necessity of writing, in or hanging up a card revealing the particular time of appearance at the place of work.

In general scholars and scientists preferred not to be late. An engineer was not in the habit of being late because "he knew what that would really mean to him." But nevertheless there were cases of tardiness. A professor of geology received a reprimand which was announced in his institution, because he appeared late to work by one minute. A 75-year-old professor and research worker in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences had to seek a special pardon because he was a few minutes late in reporting for work. And a professor of history was given a denunciation in 1940 that was publicized in the central newspaper. Often results were worse. An agronomist was sentenced to three months of prison because of his failure to appear at work in the spring of 1940. Another agronomist was sentenced to compulsory labor for three years and an assistant professor of architecture was deprived of his position. The administration was no less severe in punishing those that treated humanely workers that had fallen into disfavor. Thus an economist was publicly reprimanded and warned because "he did not turn over to the authorities an inspector who was tardy in appearing for work." A construction engineer was fined because he "did not report to the authorities that a fifty-five year-old woman had stayed away from work without permission for one day."

Not infrequently Soviet practices caused tragi-comical situations. A professor of physics reports: "Going to work in a streetcar, I realized that I would be late, and deliberately broke a glass pane and refused to pay for it in order that I might be taken to the police station and a record be made. Then the police issued me a certificate indicating that they had detained me."

This method of controlling the work of specialists is open and is based upon the actual moment of arrival at the place of work. According to Soviet law all workers are subject to this treatment and violations are punished severely. Secret inspection of the activities of scientists and specialists is widespread in the USSR, mostly in regard to forbidden activity, content of work, and adherence to Marxist-Leninist methodology.

Many specialists and instructors in high schools have indicated cases of secret shorthand reporting of their lectures and knowledge of police agents attending them. Members of the Communist party and of the Comsomol are obligated by party discipline to observe closely and report to the Spetsotdyel on the behavior and attitudes of non-party scholars. A professor of economics reports that he was "always under observation;" other professors were "under suspicion of Uk-

rainian nationalism," or "were accused because their courses integrate their subject-matter very poorly with Marxism-Leninism." An artist in the opera indicated that "he suffered difficulties because his portrayal of Mazepa was not that of a clear-cut traitor."

Ukrainian intellectuals suffered tragically because of such police measures. As an illustration the case of the trial of a professor of the Ukrainian language is cited. The professor was sentenced on the basis of evidence obtained secretly, and a highschool teacher who was brought into the case by the NKVD as a witness was punished in consequence by the confiscation of from 20 to 40 per cent of his salary, depending upon the decision of the court.

Ukrainian scientists and scholars in the Ukrainian republic are under constant attack because of "deviations from the line of the party," failure to fulfill norms, tardiness, "inappropriate" social origin, and other crimes. They are uncertain as to their status, are morally terrorized and always expect unpleasant developments. In an attempt to escape from this hopeless situation various adjustments are made, such as a peculiar social mimicry or adjustment to their environment by concealing their social origin, that most pernicious item in the biography of almost every Ukrainian intellectual.

SOCIAL ORIGIN OF SUBJECTS

	Total	Number that concealed their social origin	Percentage
Workers	9	0	0.
Peasants	54	28	51.4
Civil Servants	29	16	55.2
Nobility	9	7	77.7
Clergy	12	6	50.0
Others	6	2	33.0
Total	119	59	49.6

A large majority of those questioned—92 individuals—were from the lower classes, from families of workers, peasants, and petty officials. These groups supposedly comprise the foundation of the Communist dictatorship, but despite this fact more than half of those of peasant and petty white-collar families concealed their social origin. Various devices for concealment and social misrepresentation are employed. Many of those questioned had concealed only part of their background by glossing over individual facts and separate items. Thus an old agro-

nomist of peasant origin concealed the fact that during the drive for collectivization his family was "dekulakized" and his father exiled. A physicist did not reveal that prior to the Revolution his father owned 45 hectares of land. A hydrotechnic engineer whose grandfather owned 60 hectares before the Revolution and whose father was executed by the Bolsheviks managed to conceal these facts. A high school teacher did not mention that her father, also a school teacher, had been shot by the Communists and that a brother lived abroad. A painter hid the fact that his father, who had been a judge during the existence of the independent Ukrainian republic, had been executed by the Communists, and a physician, the son of a "middle peasant," successfully concealed his participation in the Ukrainian army in 1918-21, as well as the residence abroad of two brothers.

A professor of psychiatry descended from the nobility said he concealed his origin in order "to save his life." A lecturer in geology, from a family of middle peasants indicated that his background was that of a "poor peasant," because "more confidence was placed in the *bidniak* and he was bothered less." A professor of zoology, the son of a well-to-do peasant, concealed that fact "so that he could have a chance to become educated and earn a living." A professor of linguistics "did not indicate that he was the son of an army doctor, for that would have deprived me of work—the only way the family could survive." A lecturer and specialist in the Ukrainian language, the son of an army officer, wrote that he was the son of a civil servant, because "otherwise he would not have been able to receive a higher education." An actor whose father was a church cantor "was unable to reveal who his father was, for that would have deprived me of the right to an education. In addition, it would make me suspect politically." An engineer indicated that he concealed his origin in order that he might be able "to live and breathe." A journalist said that he always gave correct answers to Soviet questionnaires "because his origin was purely proletarian—the son of a village shoemaker—and it was not necessary to hide that fact."

The specialists that concealed their social origin usually used documents, wholly or sometimes only in part falsified. The great majority indicate that they were always extraordinarily careful in their behavior. This is revealed by the statement of an economist who wrote:

"I watched myself constantly. At work I never spoke of the whereabouts of my parents or brothers, even in private conversation. In all questionnaires I declared that my parents were deceased. I never told my co-workers where I lived and never told my neighbors where I was employed.

I did not keep close company with acquaintances in order to remain inconspicuous in private life. I never invited my colleagues to my home. I never talked about my relatives because my uncles had been exiled to the Solovetsky Islands and to Siberia. I registered at high school and at the university with falsified documents and concealed the correct origin and address of my parents."

A professor of philology wrote as follows:

"Having relatives and many friends that had been imprisoned, I had to conduct myself very cautiously at all times. Therefore I shunned new friendships, kept contact with only completely trustworthy persons, misrepresented by family connections, and deliberately refused to get married. I believe that this policy is responsible for the fact that I am alive today and did not experience arrest and other repressions."

A priest's son indicated that "he was unable to conceal that fact because of accidental reasons, and therefore at the beginning of the Revolution pretended that he broke with his family, although he secretly remained in contact with them."

Wandering Life of Scholars and Specialists

Such conditions inevitably created an abnormal atmosphere among Ukrainian scholars and scientists. No one was certain of his position, and most were dissatisfied with their work. This was one reason why the change from one position to another was so high.

From 1917 to 1940 inclusive the scientists and scholars in our study changed their place of work as follows:

	Number of persons	In percentages
Never	9	7.7
1 or 2 times	5	4.3
3 times	20	16.8
5 times	14	11.8
10 times	31	26.1
15 times	20	16.8
20 times	5	4.3
More than 20 times	2	1.2
"Many times"	13	11.0
Total:	119	100%

The motives for transfer were various. A lawyer revealed: "I changed my position 14 times. Five times I transferred on my own initiative, four times after the liquidation of the organization, and five times it was necessary to leave the organization because I met

acquaintances who could have revealed my social origin." An engineer indicated that he changed his work eight times: "four times because of the liquidation of the organization and four times voluntarily, for there arose a threat that my exile might be revealed and I was subject to discrimination as a former offender." A journalist who lived within "the internal emigration" under an assumed name emphasized that "it was dangerous to live in one place, for an enemy might act as an informer; occasionally a dangerous witness from the past appeared on the horizon. At times I had to quit work in order to escape the purge."

In summary, the reasons for change of employment can be classified in this fashion:

Number that changed place of work	Removed in repressions, purges, as "socially foreign"	Moved voluntarily as escape-device	Reorganization, liquidation of institution	Voluntarily for better position	Various reasons	Unknown or not indicated
110	25	28	23	15	9	10
100%	22.7%	25.4%	20.9%	13.7%	8.2%	9.1%

Thus of our total of 119 subjects, 110 changed employment and half were forced to do so after purges or repressions or in order to escape them. Sixty-four, or 53.8% of the total in this study, had to work not connected with their training as a result of their change in employment. Answers regarding the reasons for performing such unrelated work indicate that of the 64 only 8 changed their type of work voluntarily because of greater remuneration. A professor of philology worked in sugar-beet fields, and as a proof-reader and statistician. A professor of physics and chemistry worked in a restaurant and later as a teacher in the public schools. A historian of Ukrainian literature worked as a machinist in a mine and later as a caretaker in a pharmacy. Engineers, economists, lawyers, and teachers worked as building custodians, chauffeurs, ordinary manual laborers, managers, accountants, and administrative directors of apartments.

Hours of Work

The budgeting of time among scientists and specialists in 1940, indicated in hours and minutes, shows the following:

Groups	Basic Work Day	Overline	Community work	Sleep & Rest	Other
Scientists	6 h. 40'	3 h 10'	48'	7 h 15'	6 h 7'
Specialists	9 h.	1 h 10'	45'	7 h 5'	6 h
Combined	7 h. 50'	2 h 10'	47'	7 h 10'	6 h

The basic work day on the average included an hour and ten minutes devoted daily to meetings and conferences. Usually the basic work-day plus overtime amounted to 10 hours. Regulations of a police and disciplinary character intended to increase production pertain primarily to scientists and specialists, since they are in charge of various departments and are responsible for the work performed. In addition, the use of psychological incentives is very widespread in the USSR. Thus an "All-Union miner's day" was instituted in order to increase the production of coal, workers were awarded titles such as "distinguished miner" and management was provided with 16 titles indicating various degrees of recognition together with appropriate uniforms, insignia of rank, hammer-and-sickle badges, and laurel wreaths.

"Community work" consumed on an average three-fourths of an hour each day in the case of both scientists and specialists. This work consisted of participation in various meetings, preparing speeches for officials, lectures on the Stalin constitution, teaching special groups the obligatory short course in the history of the All-Union Communist party.

Six hours each day were left to the scientists and specialists for personal and private matters—home and family, meals, planning, and recreation. Of the fifty scientists in this study, almost half indicated that they stood in lines in order to purchase necessities. Among the specialists the proportion was higher. Usually, however, this task was performed by other members of the family. A geologist wrote the following:

In November, 1939, the chief engineer of the Ukrainian Geological Trust and five or six other engineers wanted to purchase coupons for suits. These were obtainable in the state general store (*univermag*) at the corner of the *Kbrescbat'yk* and *Luteranska* street in Kiev, and the sale was without ration. Prices were fixed by the state. These engineers took their place in line at 6 p. m. Sunday, remained in it all day Monday, and received their coupons only at 11 a.m. Tuesday. The tickets cost from 300 to 400 *karbovantsi*^{*}, and when presented to the shop 1000-1200 additional *karbovantsi* had to be paid for the suit.

A composer wrote the following:

My wife was in need of a coat. Taking advantage of a month's vacation, I spent it all standing in line before the *Imdposhyva* (a special shop for individual tailoring orders) from 4 in the morning to 11 at night, but never succeeded in getting the coat. Instead I was taken to the police station

* *Karbovantsi*—Ukrainian equivalent of *Ruble*.

and had to pay a fine of 100 *karbovantsi* because it was forbidden to line up at night. In one month I lost 240 hours. If one adds time lost lining up for bread, butter and other food products, the sum will be fantastic.

The subjects of this study indicated that they spent very little time with their families. Almost all devoted very little time to reading technical literature, and with belles-lettres it was even worse. A professor of biology indicated that he read fiction "very rarely, only in street-cars." A professor of philology indicated that he did the same "in street-cars, during breaks between classes, and before falling to sleep." Others indicated that they read fiction only when travelling, or when on vacation.

Four scientists and 5 specialists stated that they rested on off-days. All the rest replied in standard fashion that they worked as usual, worked at home, or that in reality they had no off-days. An agronomist affirmed "it was difficult to distinguish a work-day from off-day; in reality, there were no off-days." The entire burden of household tasks fell upon the wives. Of 111 heads of households only 4 indicated that their wives rested during the husbands' off-days. In cases where both husband and wife were employed off-days were spent taking care of the week's household obligations.

Compensation

The following table illustrates the monthly earnings of the family of a scientist and of that of a specialist, in *karbovantsi*:

Category	Basic pay of head of family	Overtime pay	Earnings of other members of family	Total
Scientist	830	452	204	1486
Specialist	734	155	229	1118
Average	782	303.5	216.5	1302

The earnings of scientists and specialists are almost triple the average earnings of an ordinary worker who in 1944 throughout the USSR averaged 444 *karbovantsi*. In order to understand the significance of the monetary earnings of Soviet scientists and specialists it is necessary to translate them into terms of monthly expense. The general income tax with various accretions took away 13 per cent. State bonds, which are compulsory in the USSR, amounted to 10 per cent of the salary. Rent, heat, and light came to almost 12 per cent of the monthly earnings. In addition a network of "voluntary" associations

to which it was wise to belong levied regular dues, such as the *Osoaviakhem* (Society for the promotion of Military Aviation), MOPR (International Organization for the Aid of Revolutionaries), *Het Nepysmennist* (Down with Illiteracy!), *Druh Ditei* (devoted to combatting juvenile delinquency), *Autodor* (devoted to the promotion of better highways), and PVO (Anti-aircraft Defense).

An electrical engineer wrote:

A student who has received an assignment from the Comsomol or Trade Unions approaches you and suggests that you become a member of this or that organization. To decline is impolitic, for that will be construed as a disloyal orientation toward the government and you will be under suspicion. Therefore everybody agrees. I was a member of MOPR, *Osoaviakhem*, and PVO. Dues are small, but added together with other "voluntary" contributions ("fugitives from capitalism," "Republican Spain," "homeless children," "building a home for the Lenin Escadrille"), they represented a sizeable sum.

All Ukrainian intellectuals were subject to such practices and financial obligations. After all had been deducted, the take home pay was reduced to 60 per cent of the total, or 782 *karbovantsi*.

The stopping of all publications concerning the budget of workers and administrators in the USSR in the 1920's makes it impossible to compare the actual level of earnings of Ukrainian intellectuals with that of intellectuals of other countries. But several critics offer plausible comparisons. With their 782 *karbovantsi* Ukrainian scientists and specialists could choose each month at fixed prices in state stores in 1940 among such items:

Item	Unit of measurement	Fixed price in <i>karbovantsi</i>	For the entire family of 3.3 persons for a month
White bread	1 kg.	1.5	521
Sugar	1 kg.	5.0	156
Meat	1 kg.	10.0	78
Butter	1 kg.	28.0	28
Man's wool suit	1	600.0	1.3
Low cut shoes, man's leather	1 pr.	120.0	6.5

Thus with a month's salary a scientist or specialist with a family of 3.3 members could obtain men's clothing for 1.3 persons or 6.5 pairs of leather low-cut shoes, or 28 kilograms of fats.

Such were the normal conditions of life for the vast majority of scientists and specialists in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

CURRENT UKRAINIAN CHRONICLE

NEW GROUP OF UKRAINIAN FIGHTERS ENTERS AMERICAN ZONE

On June 23, 1949, a new group of soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) crossed the Czechoslovak border into Bavaria after a campaign through Czechoslovakia. In an interview with the press the Ukrainians gave fresh information concerning the activity of the UPA on both sides of the Curzon Line. They revealed that in Soviet Ukraine the UPA has been reorganized because of strong MVD concentrations into small, fast-moving and highly maneuverable flying units. They claimed that the myth of Soviet invincibility has lost hold among the population and that similar movements of protest have arisen among other non-Russian nationalities within the Soviet Union.

SECOND SESSION OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL.

In the latter half of June, 1949, the *Ukrainska Natsionalna Rada*, the Supreme political arm of Ukrainians living abroad, held its second session in a Western German city in the American zone of occupation. The Executive Organ of the *Rada* was reorganized and new officials elected, since many of the key members had recently emigrated to the New World. The Party of Ukrainian Nationalist-Revolutionaries, an oppositional group within the Council, was defeated in its efforts to revise the electoral law regarding the mode of selection of members to the Council.

UKRAINIAN CHURCH INCLUDED IN CZECH ANTI-RELIGIOUS CAMPAIGN

The Czechoslovak Communist persecution of the Catholic Church in that country embraces a facet involving nearly 100,000 Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in Eastern Slovakia, who are led by Bishop Pavlo Goidych of Priashiv. The Government has forbidden the Redemptorist Fathers in the village of Mikhailovtsi to conduct missions, and their monastery buildings utilized as a Catholic school have been forcibly turned over for housing for Greek children evacuated by the Communist partisans. In addition, all individuals in the Basilian monastery in Priashiv, as well as the nuns in the convent of the Basilian Sisters

in the same city, have been arrested and interned in concentration camps. A Greek-Catholic orphanage in Priashiv has also been confiscated by the government.

IMPRISONED PRELATE SENDS MESSAGE TO UKRAINIANS

According to a refugee who escaped into Belgium from Western Ukraine last May, two pastoral letters written by Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, Ukrainian Catholic primate in a concentration camp in the sub-Arctic Vorkuta district of Siberia, have reached Western Ukraine and enjoy wide popularity there. The prelate called upon Ukrainian Catholics to stand firm in their faith and to resist Communist tyranny. News of similar content was printed by the *Nachrichten* of Basel, Switzerland, and *La Croix*, of Paris, France.

UKRAINIAN AUTOCEPHALIC ORTHODOX CHURCH HOLDS COUNCIL

The Eleventh Council of the Holy Synod of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church was held in Munich, Germany, on June 15-17, 1949, with Metropolitan Policarp presiding. Decisions were taken regarding the training of future priests in the Ukrainian Theological Seminary in Munich, cooperation with the Orthodox Patriarch in Istanbul, and preparations made for a general synod of all Ukrainian Orthodox churches outside the Soviet Union.

NICHOLAS MURASHKO

Nicholas Murashko, president of the Ukrainian National Association, a fraternal benefit organization in this country with more than 50,000 members, died of a heart attack August 4 at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Joseph D. Stett. Mr. Murashko was 57 years old.

Born in Sviate, Western Ukraine, he came to this country in 1907. In 1914 he joined the association and he had served as president since 1929.

He was vice president of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, a former president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and had been since 1942 manager of *Svoboda*, Ukrainian language daily newspaper, and the English language *Ukrainian Weekly*, both published in Jersey City by the association.

UKRAINIAN WORKERS IN WESTERN EUROPE ORGANIZE

At a meeting held in Paris in July of this year the "Union of Ukrainian Workers in France" decided to reorganize their union according to occupations. Ukrainian workers in Great Britain have organized a "Confederation of Ukrainian Free Unions in Britain," and both groups have established contact in order to defend Ukrainian workers against the excesses of employers.

COMMUNISTS MAN-HUNT UKRAINIANS IN POLAND

According to reports received by Ukrainian circles in Sweden, thousands of Ukrainians scattered throughout Poland, formerly natives of Western Ukraine, Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Carpatho-Ukraine, are being subjected to man-hunting expeditions conducted by the UB, or Polish political police. Over-all operations are in the hands of the Russian MVD, and the objective of this campaign is to round up all Ukrainians for "repatriation" to the Soviet Union.

UKRAINIANS ATTEND CONGRESS OF LIBERALS IN FRANCE

The congress of the "World Union of Liberals" held in Dauville, France, from July 7 to 13, 1949, was attended by a Ukrainian delegation of five persons. The Ukrainian Bohdan Panchuk presided at a session of liberals representing nations subjugated by Soviet Russia. Panchuk and Yurii Salsky, also a Ukrainian, were elected to the international organ of the group.

UKRAINIANS AT MEETING OF CATHOLIC INTELLECTUALS

"The International Movement of Catholic Intellectuals," affiliated with *Pax Romana*, Catholic student organization, convened in Luxembourg in July of this year, with three Ukrainians in attendance. A section devoted to Eastern Catholic groups was created and the Ukrainian Andrii Kishka of Belgium was charged with organizing assistance to Catholic intellectuals fleeing Soviet persecution.

UKRAINIAN YOUTH IN AMERICA HOLD CONVENTION

The Ukrainian Youth's League of North America held its annual convention over the Labor-day weekend in Syracuse, New York. In conjunction with this event Ukrainian professionalists met for their annual deliberations.

BOOK REVIEWS

SLAVONIC ENCYCLOPAEDIA. Edited by Joseph S. Roucek. Philosophical Library, New York, New York, 1949, pp. 1445.

The fact that the first Slavonic Encyclopedia in English has just been published will be welcomed not only by the Slavs but also by the Anglo-Saxons. For the former it means "publicity" in the Anglo-Saxon world, and for the latter a source of information on topics which play a great part in contemporary politics.

A major task facing the editors was the allocation of proportionate space for various topics, especially with respect to the different Slavic peoples. This problem has not been solved too happily. For instance, some important Ukrainian topics have been completely omitted, some treated only as subtopics of Russian or Polish topics. Some of the personalities have been treated at length, whereas some, although more prominent, have been mentioned in only a few lines.

Speaking of personalities, one must regret that many of them have been chosen quite deliberately. Well known personalities have been omitted, while young and hardly known people have been overemphasized. In particular this can be said about Ukrainian personalities in the United States and Canada, as well as in Ukraine. Not a single line has been written about Fred M. Sersen, "a distinguished American Slav," to whom the Encyclopedia has been dedicated.

Many Ukrainian topics could hardly have been written better. This can be said not only of the topics treated by Ukrainian contributors but also of those written by American authors, notably prof. Fredericksen, who has written the bulk of the material pertaining to Ukraine. The Encyclopedia contains more objectively written articles on Ukraine than any other non-Ukrainian Encyclopedia hitherto published. In many articles, written by Ukrainian and American contributors, a clear-cut distinction between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples has been made. Many fallacies concerning the Ukrainian people, hitherto propagated by Russians and quoted by foreign authors, have been authoritatively explained and corrected. It is interesting to note that even the myth of Ukrainian anti-semitism, so often encountered in many non-Ukrainian publications, has been completely dispelled, and that by an American author.

But, on the other hand, there are many confusing and controversial

articles. For instance: N. M. Oboukoff, in his article on the Slav population, writes: "The Russians are . . . divided at the present time into 3 branches: the Great R (ussians), comprising about 70%, the Ukrainians or Little R (ussians), slightly more than 25%, and the White R (ussians), slightly less than 5%" (p. 1047).

In the article on minorities in Czechoslovakia the Ukrainian population of Carpatho-Ukraine is called at one time Russians, then Russians (Ukrainians), and then again Ruthenes, and the territory is called Carpathian Russia (p. 783-89). The same can be encountered in the article on Czechoslovakia's population: two terms are used interchangeably for the Ukrainian population—Ruthenes and Russians (Ukrainians), and the territory is called Carpathian Ruthenia (p. 1039-40). In the article on minorities in Poland a distinction is made between the Ukrainians and the Ruthenians, and then again these terms are used as synonyms (p. 790-94). In the article on Czechoslovak politics and government we find a subdivision under the heading "Carpathian Russia" (p. 1010). The Ukrainian river Dniester "empties . . . into the Black sea . . . about 30 mi. south-west of Odessa (Ukrainian Russia) . . . entering Russia at Kharkov . . . more rapid than most Russian rivers" (p. 231).

One encounters such curiosa as two articles on Carpatho-Ukraine: one under the heading "Carpatho-Ruthenia (Ukraine)" and another under "Carpatho-Ukraine (Carpathian Ruthenia)" (p. 132, 136). There are also two articles on Lviv: "Lvov (Lviv), former capital of Western Ukraine. Founded probably by Prince Danilo of Halyc . . . the greatest cultural center of the Ukrainians," and "Lwow (Lemberg), the most important city south of Poland," "Poland's Heroic City." "Founded in 13c. by the Russian princes" (p. 732).

We find also "Mukachiv (Mukacevo), a city in Carpatho-Ukraine" and "Mukacevo (formerly Munkacz), a commercial center in the Trans-Carpathian Russian Region of the Ukrainian SSR" (p. 839-40) (what a monstium!) The same monstrous nomenclature is applied to Uzhorod: "Uzhorod (formerly Ungvar), capital and cultural center of the Trans-Carpathian Russian Region (formerly Ruthenia) of the Ukrainian SSR" (p. 1342). And again, "Hohol Mykola, son of an Ukrainian writer . . . wrote in Russian . . . pictured the beauty of Ukrainian nature, folklore and historic past of Ukraine" (p. 522) and "Gogol Nicholas, Russian Dickens" (p. 404).

A few more distortions: Rurik, the Viking . . . "was the founder of what later became known as the Russian Empire, first of the 'Russians'"

(p. 1085). Vladimir I, "Grand Duke of Kiev . . . the first Christian ruler of Russia" (p. 1352). Yaroslav, "son of Vladimir I is known as the first legislator of Russia" (p. 1389). Monastery of Poczajowska Lawra, "in Poland . . . before World War I, ranked second, only to the Pechersky Monastery, Kiev, as a Russian Pilgrimage center" (p. 650). In the article "Slavs in Hollywood" Russians and Ukrainians are put together.

This list of inaccuracies and distortions concerning Ukraine is far from full. But enough has been quoted to show that beside impartial, accurate accounts of Ukrainian history and the Ukrainian people there is a lot of Russophile confusion. The editor-in-chief probably justifies this method of treating some of the subjects because of their controversial nature. However, this method can be hardly justified. Even the Russian Academy of Sciences issued an official decision to the effect that Ukrainian is a separate and independent language (1905). The Ukrainian SSR is a member of the United Nations as any other nation. Carpatho-Ukraine has been annexed to the Soviet Ukraine as a part of Ukraine. The Lemki have been resettled in Soviet Ukraine as a Ukrainian people. The editor-in-chief writes in the Preface that "all subjects have been prepared primarily from the empiric and non-evaluating point of view" and that "the Editorial Board . . . has insisted on a descriptive, empirical, and scientific approach to each topic." But the adoption of a non-evaluating point of view does not mean that the facts should be distorted or confused. It does not mean that the editor-in-chief should let the co-authors write once that Ukraine is Ukraine and then again that Ukraine is Russia. The Anglo-Saxon reader, for whom this Encyclopedia is destined, cannot understand this confusion.

Some of the reviewers have pointed out that the Encyclopedia contains a Sovietophile tendency. Indeed, Soviet ideology and practice have received to some extent a benevolent interpretation (especially in "Misconceptions about Soviet Russia," p. 811-16). This can be partly explained by the fact that the Encyclopedia was written in 1946 when Soviet Russia was still called in the United States "our great ally." Some articles have been reprinted from other publications from 1944-45. But, on the other hand, we find also a more critical (although more casual) evaluation of Soviet ideology and practice, as for instance in the article on Ukrainian socialism, where Bolshevism is described as social fascism (p. 1203).

It is regrettable that the long gap between the preparation of the

material and the publication of the Encyclopedia renders many facts and data obsolete.

The Encyclopedia is not free from quite a few mechanical mistakes or minor inaccuracies, as for instance: "Doncov born 1833"; misspellings: Kopacok (instead of Kozachok, p. 324), sourna (instead of sourma, p. 334), Watalka of Poltava (instead of Natalka of Poltava, p. 698), Michael Khvylovy (instead of Mykola Khvylovy, p. 699), "Hrushevsky produced a great 10-volume History of Ukraine bringing the story down . . . to the middle of 10 c." (instead of to the 17 c., p. 699); "the Lvov diocese had unmarried clergy, whereas in Peremyshl and Stanislaviv diocese the priests were married (the facts are opposite, p. 1334).

MICHAEL DUDRA

A HANDBOOK A SLAVIC STUDIES, edited by Leonid I. Stralkovsky. Harvard University Press, 1949. P. 753.

This book is the result of the interest in Eastern European affairs aroused by the Second World War. In his preface the Editor notes that "a fundamental condition of scholarship demanded the presentation of factual material and the limitation of each author's personal opinion to such interpretation as was necessary to the proper understanding of the facts." This attempt to give an impartial view of the history and culture of all Slavonic nations is apparent, but a special policy is clearly seen in the treatment of the material: some parts are treated in detail, and others, as the Ukrainian, only so to say, in passing.

In this book, written by both American and native authors, Ukrainian affairs are analyzed mostly from the standpoint of the Russian historiography. So, for example, S. R. Tompson describes the Kievan epoch as a part of Russian history with no mention that it is in the first place an organic part of Ukraine. Long ago Hrushevsky emphasized that this denial of Ukraine's rights to the Kievan epoch by Russian historians does not bring honor to Russian science. The special article on Ukraine is the work of O. J. Frederiksen, who gives a short encyclopedic review, where the sole abnormality is that the whole material is pressed into only 10 pages. Even the bibliography to this article is larger than the article itself. Here the inaccurate facts are only of a minor nature, for example, the Lithuanian period of Ukraine can hardly be called a Golden Age in her history, because the Ukrainians commenced to lose their elite to Poland in this period. Some errors

occur in dating: The maps with the name of Ukraine are known much earlier than the XVII century. The ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris, has such a map prepared in 1572 for King Charles XI. The university in Kharkiv (1804) is older than that of Kiev (1835). It is clear that in this scanty article the author had no place for literature, and it is limited to mentioning a dozen names from the XIX century with none from the XX.

The strangest fact in this book is that whereas Russian literature is reviewed in three large articles with personal characteristics of writers, and even Lusatian literature has its particular place, modern Ukrainian literature is completely omitted. So we find a detailed article on Soviet Literature, where only the Russian is described, with no mention that under the Soviet regime a Ukrainian literature exists also, and in its struggle against Soviet barbarism and tyranny lost three quarters of its best writers. An example: The Album *Ukrainian Soviet Writers*, published in 1930 by the State Publishing House, portrays 36 noted Ukrainian writers. They fared as follows: one died a natural death, 22 were shot or perished without a trace in subarctic regions, one was "pardoned" and returned during the war, two escaped during the war to the West, 10 are still living; of these 2 are inactive, 6 were attacked as "nationalists," and 2 in government positions are relatively safe, but are regarded by Ukrainians as Quislings.

One can say: but their works are unknown to Americans! Yes, but is it not the task of publications such as this Handbook to acquaint the American public with these works? The single "Sonata Pathetique" of Mykola Ku'lish is so remarkable that nothing comparable can be found in the whole tyrant-praising Soviet literature of the Russians.

Among the inaccuracies in this book we must mention the myth that the final recognition of Ukrainian linguistic independence "came as an outgrowth of the Soviet Revolution." In their own independent State the Ukrainians did not need recognition by others, and Soviet occupation was only a brake that rather hindered the evolution of this linguistic independence. It is sufficient to consult statistics from the first years of Soviet occupation: in 1922 the number of Ukrainian books dropped to 18% when compared with 1918. When book production later grew enormously, this was done by these same national forces and against the wishes of Soviet regime. It is a generally known fact that all dictionaries of Ukrainian language which have been published to this day have been proclaimed nationalistic and officially banned.

Maxim Gorky, as late as in 1926, allowed himself to deny the Ukrainian language. In such matters the Ukrainians have a good memory.

In the article on Poland by Oskar Halecki one wonders how he can regard the constitutional rights that the Ukrainians had in Austria as a favoring of the Ukrainians by the Austrian regime. But in general his attitude toward the Ukrainians is fair and he admits that the Ukrainians in Poland "did not obtain the promised autonomy, and the Polish government failed to establish a definite program of solving the Ukrainian problem."

S. HORDYNSKY

PUT MOEI ZHIZNI (*My Life's Journey*). Memoirs of Metropolitan Eulogius, based on conversations with T. Manukhina. YMCA Press, Paris, 1947.

This book consists of the memoirs of a leading Russian Orthodox churchman of the immediate pre-revolutionary era. For the Ukrainian reader these memoirs are of interest because Metropolitan Eulogius carried on his duties in Ukraine (Kholm and Volyn provinces) and to a degree influenced both the religious and political destinies of the Ukrainian people. The book was written by Mrs. T. Manukhina, a friend of the churchman, and is based on conversations between these two individuals. In a sense, therefore, it lacks the authentic stamp of the archbishop's personality and views. It remains, however, a good secondary source for the study of the relations between Ukraine and Russia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first part of the work concerns the prelate's youthful years in Russia proper, but in 1897 he became a church dignitary in Ukraine, and since that date his activities were woven closely to the interests of both nations.

A Russian by birth, Eulogius was named rector of the Orthodox seminary in the Ukrainian city of Kholm in 1897. From that date until 1917 he was a leader among people he did not understand under conditions new and strange to him. In one place he writes: "With my first meeting with the seminarists, I noticed that they were inwardly completely unlike the Russians. Polite, with well-groomed hair, cleanly and even elegantly dressed, they made a good impression upon me. Later I came to know them more intimately. The influence of the West was obvious. Intrinsic culture and hospitality, care in expression, and reserve could be felt. Neither drunkenness nor rowdiness. At birthday celebrations there was no over-drinking, no glassesful which, as with us,

entice to debauchery. They dress up in new albeit inexpensive clothes with starched collars and go to the city to seek dignified company with the young ladies of the city."

Whether right or wrong, the observations of this Russian regarding the Ukrainians are significant. Despite such rarities, however, Eulogius approached Ukraine from the official Russian viewpoint as merely a Western segment of national Russian territory. As a prelate and politician he energetically Russified and worked for imperialist ends. His opportunities in this field were many. Not long before Greek-Catholic Kholmshchyna had been "accepted into Orthodoxy." Not all were able to forget their faith and with pain Eulogius recounts how Greek Catholic priests from Austrian Galicia crossed the border to conduct services for the persecuted Greek-Catholics and to baptize their children and bury their dead.

Kholmshchyna had been part of the Polish province united administratively under the name "Vistula district," up to 1912. Most of its population were Ukrainian, however, and they were exposed to Polonization because of this administrative scheme. As a member of the state Duma Eulogius fought for the separation of Kholmshchyna from the Vistula district, but he did so for purposes of Russification and not as a defense of local Ukrainian rights.

Eulogius struggled against Ukrainian renaissance. He opposed the translation of the Bible into Ukrainian and wrote that his election to the state Duma was fought by the Ukrainian "independentists." And in 1917 he fought the newly-formed Ukrainian state with all his power. For him all Ukrainian armies were "bands." In 1918 he opposed autocephaly for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and in 1919 was arrested by the Ukrainian democratic republic and banished to Galicia. There he found refuge in the home of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, his erstwhile enemy, for during the Russian occupation of Galicia a few years before Eulogius was put in charge of the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church among Galician Ukrainians!

Eulogius lacked comprehension of the historical events that swept like a tide about him. The dark clouds of the impending storm escaped his notice and he betrayed no qualities of a prophet. He remained blind to the weaknesses of the Russian empire and of the Russian Orthodox Church. The nearest approach to an apologia is his assertion that "in order to protect Orthodoxy against its enemies it was necessary to lean upon the state, and by leaning upon the state the freedom of the Church was sacrificed."

L. O.

SOVIET SATELLITES, by Andrew Gyorgy, Sergius Yakobson. Cyril E. Black, Stephen Kertesz, and Robert G. Neumann. *The Review of Politics*. Notre Dame, Indiana. 1949. 64 pp.

The booklet consists of a brief introduction (Andrew Gyorgy) pointing out recent trends and political development of Eastern Europe, and of four articles dealing with the subject from various complementary points of view: Soviet Concept of Satellite States (Sergius Yakobson), Constitutional Trends in Eastern Europe, 1945-1948 (Cyril E. Black), Church and State in Hungary: Background of the Cardinal Mindszenty Trial (Stephen Kertesz), and U. S. Foreign Policy and the Satellites of USSR (Robert G. Neumann).

This is another series of excellent studies of politics in Eastern Europe issued by the *Review of Politics*. Each article is written by a competent author and represents a brief, but lucid and at the same time deep, critical analysis of the "fundamental changes brought about by the irresistible sweep and continued presence of the Soviet Union in the politics of Eastern European satellite states."

While each article is very instructive in showing the tactics which led to the Soviet subjugation of Eastern European countries, the most instructive, in our opinion, is the last article dealing with Soviet-American political relations during and after World War II.

It shows us not only the perfidiousness of the Soviet Union in her endeavors to gain domination over these countries, but also the blunders and contradictions in the policy of the United States, which facilitated this development and from which a lesson should be drawn now for the future.

For instance, the author writes: "The United States clearly recognized that the Soviet Union had a right to have friendly governments along her frontier" and "expected that free and unfettered elections would be conducted in all liberated and ex-enemy countries." "Unfortunately," these two principles "directly contradicted each other." "It must have been clear to any astute student of Eastern and Central Europe that free and unfettered elections would produce governments decidedly cool, if not hostile, to the Soviet Union." "Nobody understood this . . . better than Stalin himself, who . . . declared with admirably frankness: "Any freely elected government in these countries will be an anti-Soviet government."

MICHAEL DUDRA

UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"The Ukrainians In Exile," by Vladimir De Korostovetz. *The Contemporary Review*, No. 1004, August 1949, London, England.

This account of the activities of exiled Ukrainians today should prove genuinely enlightening to many an English reader. The author furnishes an instructive background for his theme by citing such facts as the estimated composition of Soviet slave labor camps, 50% of which is held to be Ukrainian, the underground operations of the Ukrainian Insurgents Army, the early difficulties of the D.P.'s under forcible repatriation, and the vacillating national and religious tactics of the Soviet regime in the war and post-war periods.

The writer discloses that according to Soviet statistics in 1920, "inside the territories of the U.S.S.R. of those days, the Ukrainian population was about 30-40 million, with an annual increase of 2 per cent. Hence by 1948 there ought to be about 60 million, whereas statistics of 1947-48 give us just over 30 million." The inclusion of the recently annexed Ukrainian territories raises the latter figure to 40 million. The explanation for the lack of increase of the population in Ukraine is to be found, as the author well stresses, in mass deportations, man-made famines, and the high mortality rate in the concentration camps. Also illuminating is the fact that previous to the Soviet occupation of Ukraine there was no Ukrainian Communist Party, bearing out former Secretary of State Byrnes observation in his book, *Speaking Frankly*, that Russian expansion is not simply a creation of the Soviet regime but a pronounced feature of Russian history.

The writer's perspective on the role to be played by exiled Ukrainians as a nucleus of democratic leadership for the liberation of Ukraine is sound, and his detailed description of their current activities notably in England and Canada, suggests that this role is being carried out.

"Nationalities in Russia," by Solomon M. Schwarz. *Modern Review*, Summer, 1949, New York.

The author, who is well known for his economic studies of the Soviet Union, presents an accurate historical description of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union. Taking special cognizance of

the Ukrainian and Georgian national problems, he rejects at the very outset the misleading parallels that some students draw between the heterogeneous peoples constituting the American national unit and those making up the Soviet Union. He further asserts that the free development of nationalities necessarily engenders a desire for national self-determination and self-government and the development of national culture, and soon after emphasizes that "in reality, national self-determination in the Soviet Union is a fiction, although the cultural growth of nationalities is an indisputable fact." The latter part of this statement, put in such absolute terms, is subject to serious doubt if we consider Ukrainian culture and not that of the many primitive tribes that Professor Schwarz has in mind. Such fields as the writing of Ukrainian history and the development and use of the Ukrainian language can furnish much evidence of cultural stultification, not growth.

His material is authoritatively documented and affords much fruit for thought. Reference to the Ukrainian advancement of the federal idea in 1917, Stalin's repudiation of the principle of self-determination in 1921, and the seemingly endless unrest in the Ukrainian and Georgian regions indicate the course that these nationalities will take in the near future.

"The Soviet Man," editorial. *The Reporter, a Fortnightly of Facts and Ideas*, August 16, 1949, New York.

The objective of this newly established publication is to select for each issue some special problem and to advance a rounded view of it. The editorial and the several articles following it deal in this issue with many aspects of Soviet life, but in the opinion of this commentator furnish no more information on the general subject than can be found in the magazine section of *The New York Times*. Much of their content is mere repetition of what has become common knowledge, such as the glorification of the Soviet state and Stalin, the stratified classes, and so on. When one scans the articles on "Russia: Postwar Moods" by Isaac Deutscher, in which he claims to have talked immediately after the armistice with D.P.'s and found that one quarter of them were for Russia and another quarter for communism, one cannot help but wonder how he arrived at the percentage and to whom he really did talk since it is doubtful that there were that many Russians among the D.P.'s, even before actual repatriation.

"Lenin's Attitude Toward an International Organization for the Maintenance of Peace, 1914-1917," by C. Dale Fuller. *Political Science Quarterly*, Columbia University, June, 1949, New York.

To trace the gyrations of thought of Marx, Lenin or Stalin is not an easy task, especially within the limits of a short article. However, the author of this essay seems to have done this successfully. Lenin, as the author shows, had no fixed attitude on the question of an international organization, but his consistent bent was toward the impossibility of any agreement with the capitalist nations. On national self-determination, of particular note was Lenin's apparent confidence that Ukrainian hatred of the Russians would be dissipated by granting them the right of secession and he believed, as the writer puts it, "once free, the formerly oppressed peoples would be attracted into an alliance with the great socialist state (Russia), because the working hours would be fewer and the wages higher." However, Lenin's philosophy of political expediency also played a role in this policy, and certainly the events of the post-World War I period justify the notion that Lenin did not really believe that mere economic attraction would insure union.

"Liberalism and Eastern Europe," by Alfred A. Skerpan. *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, Winter, 1948, Washington, D.C.

It is refreshing to read a piece of work that evinces a solid grounding in the material studied. This article by an associate professor of history at Kent State University is of such a calibre. Outlining the growth and subsequent eclipse of liberalism in Eastern Europe, the author shows a remarkable grasp of the historical realities of that area. As concerns the Ukrainian nation, his understanding indicates a fundamental soundness of perspective and familiarity with its history.

In his historical survey he carefully notes that the Ukrainians, along with the Hungarians, Lithuanians and Czechoslovaks, regained an independent statehood lost in the early modern period. He notes, too, how Polish chauvinism hindered the progressive expansion of liberalism after the first World War by its "elaborate pretensions to territories and peoples outside its borders."

In following his thought one cannot help but agree with his final

conclusion "that the problem of liberalism in eastern Europe becomes the problem of liberalism in America . . ." For even the Soviet regime through the efforts of the American Slav Congress is aware of the close relation between the two. There are approximately ten million Americans of Slav descent in the United States, a timely number not without importance in political activity.

"Communism and the Churches," by H. M. Waddams. *International Affairs*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, July, 1949, London.

Mr. Waddams is the General Secretary of the Church of England Council on Foreign Relations and includes in this article a mass of information on the position of the Churches in Eastern Europe. As one would expect from the point of view of the ecumenical interest of his Church, the author has an excellent knowledge of the Russian Orthodox Church, an intimate familiarity with Orthodox and Catholic elements in other Slavic countries, such as Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, but apparently little acquaintance with the Orthodox and Catholic Churches in Ukraine. Brief mention is made of the fate of the Uniates in Ukraine, but the author does not place their early liquidation in the march of religious persecution that led from Metropolitan Slipy to Stepinatz, Mindszenty, and now Beran.

"Food and Agriculture in the Soviet Union, 1917-48," by M. K. Bennett. *The Journal of Political Economy*, The University of Chicago, June, 1949, Chicago.

Expressing in a footnote to the title of his essay his heavy indebtedness to his colleagues, Vladimir P. Timoshenko and Naum Jasny of the Food Research Institute at Stanford University, for the data which he summarizes in this article, Mr. Bennett attempts to discern certain long-run trends in the agricultural situation in the Soviet Union. He brings together much interesting data to demonstrate the growth of a formidable military power with a supporting industrial base in "the face of food situation which remained precarious and of a level of real wages which remained very low." The food situation in the Soviet Union was, prior to World War II, "clearly one of less abundance and variety" than in the period prior to 1928.

"What Kind of War?" by Hanson W. Baldwin. *The Atlantic*, July 1949, Boston, Massachusetts.

In discussing Walter Lippman's article "The Russian-American War," which also appears in this issue, Mr. Baldwin lays great stress on the objectives of any such war with Russia—as he phrases it, "the kind of peace we want." His argument insists upon the freeing of all territories and nations that have been enslaved by Russia. It is regrettable that once having defined one of our foremost objectives, he should suddenly stop short of directly including Ukraine, although the latter meets fully the definition he sets forth of enslaved territories. He does recognize, nevertheless, that "the Ukrainian separatist movement, always strong throughout the centuries, might present another major issue." In other sections of the article Mr. Baldwin is quite explicit on American encouragement of opposition to the U.S.S.R.—"that we should particularly encourage the oppositionism—underground but definite—in the Iron Curtain countries, and the separatism and nationalism of the Ukrainians. . . ." If that be so, as indeed we hope, then can the author, both from the logical and practical angles he himself considers, still remain vague on the need for independence for Ukraine?

"Fate of Ukrainian Catholics," letter by the Most Rev. John Buchko, Apostolic Visitor for the Ukrainians in Western Europe. *The New York Times*, August 5, 1949, New York.

With complete justification the Most Reverend Buchko calls the attention of American newspaper editors to the tragic and inexcusable omission of any detailed reference to the liquidation of the Western Catholic Church in Western and Carpatho Ukraine by the *New York Times* and other American publications. As he emphasized, "The Ukrainian Catholic Church was the first, but not the last, to fall a victim of the Moscovite war against Rome." Moreover, "His Holiness, Pope Pius, in his famous encyclical, *Orientalis Omnes* called the attention of the world to the martyrdom of the Ukrainian Catholic Church under the Soviet regime and appealed to all Christians to pray for the Ukrainian Catholics."

Judging by the relatively cool behavior of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in America on this matter, one may well direct this appeal to it in order to stimulate a more telling interest on its part in this earliest phase of the current persecution.

"Hitler Aide—Stalin Spy," by Guenther Reinhardt. *Plain Talk*, August, 1949, New York.

Fantastic! Amazing! Incredible! Only in such terms can one characterize this piece of information concerning Alexander Sevriuk, a Ukrainian, who after the first World War was ostensibly an impassioned fighter for Ukrainian independence, a member of the Ukrainian delegation at Brest-Litovsk, and the Ukrainian Ambassador to Vienna. Later, because of his anti-Soviet past, he rose to dubious prominence in Nazi intelligence under Admiral Canaris, with connections ranging over all of Europe. In 1940, it was chiefly through him that his former Ukrainian colleagues, Professors A. Shoulgin and E. Borstchak, who "had formed the Ukrainian Democratic National Government in France and had called upon Ukrainian emigrés in England and France to fight Hitler," were imprisoned by the Nazis. This top adviser to the Nazi planning staff was—anti-climactic, isn't it?—in the service of Stalin for 20 years!

Through French intelligence dossiers, the German Intelligence unit tracked down his connections with Soviet agents in Switzerland and ultimately with none other than the versatile D. Manuilsky in the Soviet Union. Unraveled also was the G.P.U. identity of Peter Kozhevnikov, vice-chairman of the governing board of the Ukrainian Nationalist movement in Berlin, who was planted there to keep tabs on brother Sevriuk.

The author states wisely that if the Soviets succeeded in planting their agents in the inner circles of Tokyo and Berlin, it must be much easier in London and Washington. The moral would appear to be for our government to rely on those Americans who do know something about Eastern Europe and its peoples and who for years now have fought for their freedom!

L. E. D.



