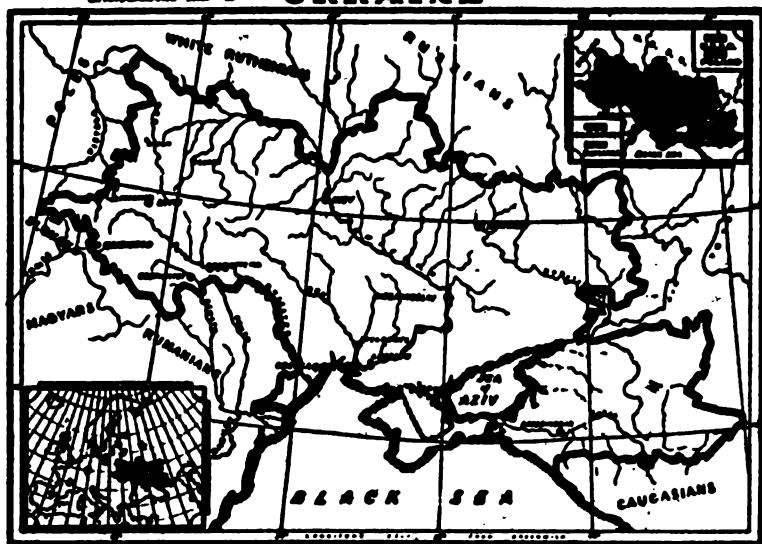

THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY

VOL. VI — NUMBER 3

STANDARD MAP OF UKRAINE



UPPER LEFT: PRESENT TERRITORY IN 1939 UPPER RIGHT: DEMARCATION OF UKRAINE AFTER THE WORLD WAR

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CONTENTS

Our "Containment" Policy a Road to Peace or to Disaster <i>Editorial</i>	197-205
The Trials of Ukrainian Communist Literature <i>Clarence A. Manning</i>	206-213
"Understanding the Russians" <i>Arthur P. Coleman</i>	214-218
Ukrainian Donbas at the Close of the Fourth Five Year Plan <i>Stephen Protsiuk</i>	219-228
Ukrainian Literary Language in the USSR <i>Rt. Rev. Ilarion Ohlenko</i>	229-240
The Abolition of Religion in Ukraine <i>Nicholas Prychodko</i>	241-245
Ten Years of Soviet Literature in Ukraine <i>Bohdan Romanenchuk</i>	246-252
Serhiy Timoshenko, Ukrainian Architect (1881-1950) <i>Volodymyr Sichynsky</i>	253-255
My Testimony on the Genocide in Ukraine <i>Michael Mishchenko</i>	256-264
Stubborn Polish Claims to Western Ukraine <i>Sviatoslav Hordynsky</i>	265-269
BOOK REVIEWS:	
<i>Federalism in Central and Eastern Europe</i> , Rudolf Schlessinger S. Protsiuk	270-271
<i>"Human Rights"</i> , edited by UNESCO S. Protsiuk	271-272
<i>The Nine Lives of Europe</i> , Leo Lania Dmytro Sokulsky	272-273
<i>The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia</i> , Max Beloff—2 Vols. Roman Smal Stocky	274-277
Ucrainica in American and Foreign Periodicals	278-283
Current Ukrainian Chronicle	284-288
Picture on the Cover: <i>George Kulchytsky, Kolkhoz Workers</i> , Woodcut.	

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OUR "CONTAINMENT" POLICY A ROAD TO PEACE OR TO DISASTER

Editorial

At the end of August, George F. Kennan, the State Department's top expert on Russia, took a furlough to devote himself to further study at the Princeton Institute of Advanced Studies. On his departure from active political work, the American press proclaimed him the author of the American foreign policy toward Russia which has been known since 1947 as the policy of "containment". The object of this policy is to restrain Bolshevik aggression on all the boundaries of the red Russian empire and not to allow Moscow to bring other countries under its control. In accordance with this policy America is ready to make enormous material sacrifices to bar the aggression of the reds in Greece, in Turkey and anywhere in the world and to offer economic and military assistance to the Western European powers to such a degree that at least in the beginning they can defend themselves against the Communist assault.

The policy of containment is a peaceful policy, so purely defensive that it becomes a sort of hidden appeasement. It recognizes the indisputable right of the Kremlin to lord it over 200,000,000 slaves, of whom more than half are non-Russians who have been conquered by force by Russia within the last 200 years and who hate Russian rule. Even the constantly uneasy Ukraine, which has been carrying on for years an active struggle against red Russia and has thereby weakened Moscow, remains outside the sphere of American interest. And this is at a time, when red Russia through its fifth column of American Communists is trying to overturn the democratic system in our country. American policy guarantees to the Kremlin not only the inviolability of the Russian Empire but indirectly its continued enslavement of a hundred million non-Russians within the Russian Empire.

The present authorities in American foreign policy definitely exclude the possibility of the disintegration of Russia without a war or after the winning of war. This is the view of Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, Philip Jessup and Kennan, the author of the containment policy.

Dean Acheson in a speech before the newspaper editors declared his "burning and fighting faith for freedom", and that "all people in the world are entitled to as much freedom as we want ourselves", but he

went on to say, when he spoke about Russia, in contradiction to his own words, "We do not propose to subvert the Soviet Union, we shall not attempt to undermine Soviet independence" (N. Y. Times, April 23, 1950).

Philip Jessup, ambassador at large, also took his stand for the inviolability of the Soviet Empire. In a radio interview opposing a preventive war against red Russia, he added:

"Even if such an action were to be successful in knocking out the Soviet Union, it would leave occupation and reconstruction problems of such complexity as to make our present post-war problems look like child's play. *And we would have sacrificed the respect and support of other nations.* (N. Y. Herald Tribune, August 29, 1950).

Why the liberation of 100,000,000 people, and a dozen of nations, from Russian colonial exploitation would cost America the respect of other nations, is the secret of Mr. Jessup. It is also not clear how the breaking up of Russia would bring to America so many problems that they would make our present problems seem child's play. The professor does not explain. We are convinced that Ambassador Jessup is wrong and prove our position by the situation in 1918 when tsarist Russia was split into various national entities. That situation was not so tragic as Mr. Jessup paints it. The territory of Ukraine, of the Caucasus and of the Don remained even in noticeable order without foreign help.

George Kennan, the director of the committee for planning the American foreign policy and a lover of the Russian people and culture, is fully aware that he is excluding the division of Russia into free nations. (The Understanding of Russians, New Republic, June 26, 1950. Russians called a moral people, N. Y. Times, May 29, 1950).

What is the cause of this anxiety of authoritative American individuals for the unity and inviolability of Russia? The first reason is the hope of these political circles that they can in some way come to an understanding with the Kremlin to produce a patched-up peace. A second reason is the dangerous Russophilism of the architects of our policy as well as the strong but concealed influence of the anti-Communist Russians, who consider of prime importance the maintenance of the unity of the Russian Empire and strive to imbue with this notion the deciding persons in our Russian foreign policy. *This produces the paradox that our citizens are being compelled to fight Russia and our policy is being formed by the friends of Russia. At one and the same time we wish to place Moscow in a position where Russian imperialism cannot threaten the world and we wish to save the Russian Empire.*

The American containment policy has been carried on for three years and we are now in a position to analyze it to see whether it is positive or negative. The policy has restrained Communism and saved Greece, Turkey and so far Iran. It has with the aid of the Marshall Plan allowed us to rebuild our allies in Western Europe economically and to organize the Atlantic Defense Union. Only in France and Italy has Communism been stabilized as an important force. The policy of containment accepts the thesis that time is working to the advantage of the democratic nations, which are growing more rapidly in strength than is the Communist world. According to this theory there will quickly come a time when the Soviets will be confronted with a wall of such power that they cannot hope to rely any longer upon aggression and may even be forced to capitulate.

We can test the correctness of this policy by analyzing the problem as to *whether the strength of the democratic world has grown more rapidly than that of the Communist or not. If the first alternative is correct, the policy of containment will lead us to peace without war only at the cost of tens of billions of dollars. If we see that the Soviets in three years have increased in power more than the democratic world, it is obvious that the policy is leading to disaster.*

The chief strength of America and the democratic world is its *heavy industry*, which lies at the base of its military technical power. America in the last years has increased enormously its productive capacity. Our allies in Europe with the aid of the Marshall plan have rebuilt their industry which, when combined, many times surpasses the industry of the Soviets and their satellites. Yet the Soviets in a very short time have rebuilt and increased their own industry which had been ruined by the war. They have transferred most of it to the depths of Asia, so that it may be less accessible to American airmen. The Soviets have cared for the rebuilding of the industry of their satellites and are now planning to build industry in China. The democratic world is reaching the peak of its industrial capacities. The Soviets need time for economic consolidation and for the establishment in China of an industry that will work for them. Therefore time is rather on the side of the Bolsheviks than of us.

Besides its mammoth industry, America and its allies have technical superiority over the Communist world through the *supply of atom bombs* in the possession of America. Russia probably now has the atom bomb, but its supply is smaller than that of America. Its quality is perhaps lower. In the opinion of several military theorists, the atom bomb will not decide a war; it can only bring upon the enemy a severe blow but not a victory.

Along with this the Soviets have many times over exceeded America and the democratic countries in preparing *human military material*, and well-trained and fanatical leadership. The communization of China has strengthened the Communist world not only with its rich natural resources but with countless masses of human material which can be used in industry but which when properly trained and politically fanaticized can become a threatening danger for the democratic world. The fanaticism of the Korean Communists is a frightening foretaste of the danger that may threaten the democratic world in this field. The problem of the "Yellow Peril", which was so much discussed in Europe before World War I, has thus become a threatening possibility.



The *strategic position* of the Soviets, already very advantageous, has been significantly improved by the capture of China by the Communists. The Soviets, located in the very centre of two continents, can attack on any border their antagonist when he is separated from his home by thousands of miles. They are protected on the north by the inaccessible Arctic Ocean; from the Pacific by the chain of the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin and the peninsula of Kamchatka. The communization of China has removed possible American air bases for several thousand miles from the southern Soviet border in Asia and has given great protection to Soviet industry there. Thus the strategic position of the Soviets gives them the power to expand beyond their own boundaries and to seize new countries, by risking on the borders of the Soviet empire only petty wars carried on with foreign troops backed by Soviet military leadership and industrial support. This policy might ultimately weaken America without a major war. The Korean war is the first of these small wars, certainly not the last.



It is a great tragedy of humanity and of our civilization that the most inhuman and most brutal power known in history is winning greater *moral successes* in the world than are America and the democratic powers, the undisputed champions of the freedom of nations and of humane ideals. In other words the cold war of the last three years has been won by the Soviets, thanks to their talented propaganda, in spite of the fact that along with their propaganda they are outraging humanity and the peoples. The Soviets thoroughly know the mode of thought and the aspirations of the individual peoples of the world and they are profiting by their knowledge. That nation which does violence to the individual openly before all nations and especially in Asia has become in the mind of the

Asiatics their liberator from colonial and exploiting rule and the apostle of freedom.¹

The policy of the American russophiles in our State Department with their refusal to face the problem of the liberation of the nations enslaved by Russia has voluntarily given up the strongest weapon which we are able to use against the Kremlin and it has enabled the Bolsheviks to use it effectively. The proclamations of American propaganda do not enkindle the enslaved nations, for they speak of liberation for the Asiatic peoples but silently permit the peoples of Eastern Europe and Western Asia to remain under Communist tyranny. Freedom is not divisible; it must be universal.

Let us stop on some practical cases of the success of Soviet propaganda. American correspondents constantly report that in Asia not freedom-loving America but the brutal Communist Russia is winning greater sympathy.²

The Bolsheviks with their skilful propaganda lay upon America the responsibility for the old colonial exploitation, in spite of the fact that America never was a colonial power. In non-communized countries as India, Indo-China and Burma, the demagogy of Malik in the United Nations is more effective in convincing the Asiatics than are the sincere and truthful statements of the American delegate, because Malik appeals to national sentiments and interests of those newly liberated nations. The speech of the Soviet delegate Malik made on August 22 at the session of the Security Council in the question of Korea is in this direc-

¹ In Russia the Soviet Academy of Sciences had been ordered to create a new *Institute of Oriental Studies*. The task of the new institute is to: "study the *history and culture* of countries as they exist today in Orient", prepare dictionaries and textbooks and *Marxist curricula* on the history of the various countries". (New York World-Telegram and Sun, Sept. 13, 1950). What is being done in America to know history and cultures of non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union, especially of Ukraine?

² David Lawrence, *New York Herald Tribune*, July 18, 1950. C. L. Salzburger, *New York Times*, June 2, 1950, and series of previous articles. In his last article of June 2, Mr. Sulzberger reaches these conclusions for American foreign policy:

"The foreign friends of this country consider it urgently necessary for the United States to formulate and proclaim a policy program that, with neither ideological nor geographical gaps, could permit all the world's free nations to endorse it and, if so inclined to participate."

"It has been made insufficiently clear to the people of the United States and to other nations that what the United States opposes is not communism but imperialism. In the past Dutch or British imperialism has been opposed. At present Soviet imperialism is opposed."

tion a masterpiece of this Bolshevik propaganda. We will cite only a passage from his remarks where he quotes the words of the President of the Supreme Presidium of the Assembly of Northern Korea:

"For the first time after a period of slavery which lasted forty years, and after we had been oppressed and persecuted in a degrading way, our people has been given the freedom of communicating in its own language, the right to studying, and full possibilities of exploiting our rich cultural heritage. Together with the development of the culture of the people of the northern part of our republic, the welfare of our republic, the welfare of the population has increased by leaps and bounds." (N. Y. Times, Aug. 23. 1950).

What extreme nationalist of any oppressed nation could utter a more patriotic speech! After the florescent development of the "Ukrainian rich cultural heritage" (1917—1929) hundreds of Ukrainian scholars and writers, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian patriots perished wretchedly at the hands of hangmen like Vishinsky and Malik, and when it is necessary, the same Malik will proclaim the same ideas as the content of Soviet ideology.

The greatest scepticism is produced by the *American policy in regard to the future of the territory of the present Russia after the fall of the Bolsheviks*. The last war again called into action the old forces operating on the territory of the Soviet Union as the liberating movements of the non-Russian nations enslaved by Russia. These nations have been violently annexed to Russia within the last 250 years. In 1918 they profited by the Russian revolution to free themselves from the yoke of Moscow. Then there arose the governments of Ukraine, White Ruthenia, the Region of the Don Cossacks, Turkmenia, and the three governments in the Caucasus. The Bolsheviks by force communized the new nations and added them to the Soviet Union.

The Kremlin began to suppress all national movements, in spite of the fact that it at times made certain concessions to them, only at a more convenient season to return to the old oppression and violence. In the last war the most dynamic movement of liberation in Eastern Europe was the *Ukrainian Independence Movement*. The Ukrainian people showed their hostility to the policy of Hitler which aimed to make of Ukraine the Lebensraum for the German people. The underground Ukrainian Revolutionary Army inflicted great losses on the Germans in Ukraine. It likewise turned against the red Russian rule in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Resistance has not died out but is spreading beyond its borders, especially in the newly occupied Western Ukraine. In 1943 under the Ukrainian

leadership there was organized the *Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations* which with its joint forces has made it its goal to destroy the Soviet Union and on its ruins found a union of free nations independent of Russia. The Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations has no Russians in its membership, for on the territory of the Russian people there is no revolutionary movement against the Bolsheviks.

It would be thoroughly natural, if America, in accordance with its ideology and tradition, should employ these national movements of liberation of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union as its most potent weapon against the Kremlin. Up to the present time American official and even non-official policy has not supported these movements and has even done everything to turn these peoples away from her. The official policy of the State Department, the policy of the state agency, the "Voice of America," even the half privately established "Committee for Free Europe" do not wish to see that red Russia is a prison not only for individuals but also for nations. They do not wish to know anything about the anti-Soviet resistance, especially in Ukraine. This fact has greatly disillusioned in America the nations under the Soviets, has weakened the revolutionary anti-Bolshevik movements and as a result have brought only profit to the Kremlin, which knows how to capitalize on all mistakes of its opponent, America. We fear that the continuation of this policy will bring to America even greater damages and even greater benefit to the Kremlin.



The containment policy during the last three years has also brought for the Kremlin the *stifling of the anti-Communist forces in the satellite nations of Moscow*. Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and in less degree Czechoslovakia, before the war were nations with a definite anti-Communist orientation, for they knew red Russia as a neighbor. Their communization was carried out by violence against the expressed will of the overwhelming majority of the population and it is not surprising that in the first years of the Communist governments there were strong anti-Bolshevik underground movements. The defensive position of the containment of the Bolsheviks during the past three years has had the consequence of weakening these anti-Bolshevik forces and the underground movements have tended to disappear. The terror directed against the population is inducing resignation and passive acquiescence in what is taking place. The longer this policy continues, the weaker will be the anti-Communist movements and the more consolidated will be the pro-Bolsheviks. The history of Ukraine during the last 30 years is an in-

structive example of this deadening of the population to what goes on around it.

Analyzing the industrial potential, strategic position, military training of human material, moral successes of political propaganda, consolidation of democratic and communist forces in the world pro and contra regarding the Soviets in regard to America, we must realize that during the last three years of our containment policy the Kremlin's power became not weaker but perhaps stronger. The question arises of the advisability of this policy for our country and the democratic world.



The essentially defensive position of our foreign policy is now provoking action among important circles of the American citizenry, especially the veterans. There is heard more and more clearly a demand for an offensive American policy against red Russia. The more violent individuals and groups even call for a preventive war against Russia for peace.

No one would welcome a peaceful solution more than the Ukrainian people and their relatives across the ocean who are now American citizens. The Ukrainians in Europe and the Americans of Ukrainian origin are well aware that the Ukrainians will have to drink again the bitterest cup in case of a new war. Yet unfortunately no one knows better than the Ukrainian people after their experience of 30 years and their present observation of the policy of the Kremlin that there can be no other solution, *that war with red Russia is unavoidable, if we are to save our freedom and our civilization.*

In the hymn of world Communism, the Russian text of the Internationale, is the strophe: "There will be a last, decisive battle." — All signs in heaven and earth indicate that the Politbureau in the Kremlin is now preparing for this last, decisive battle with the world of Western civilization and democracy.

World Communism, led by the Moscow Politbureau, is testing its own strength and that of its opponent. It is attacking its chief opponent, America, from within with its fifth column. It is attacking America on all the borders of the red Russian Empire in Asia, in South America and in Western Europe. The Communist leadership is zealously studying the moods of the population of the different countries and so its cold war is more successful than ours. Where it is necessary, the Communists appeal to the international solidarity of the proletariat; where it is necessary they turn to the national pathos and the patriotism of a population, to the national traditions of the enslaved or newly liberated nations or to

the pride of the Great Russian people in their world power. The Communists do not care for the truth or the morality of their propaganda.

Our propaganda rests upon the truth. President Truman has issued the call to combat Bolshevism with the propaganda of truth. The nations enslaved by the Kremlin have heard through the "Voice of America" of the free life in America; they have heard of the blessedness of Western unfalsified democracy, but they have not heard the most desired magic word "*national liberation.*" What will happen to them in case of the fall of Bolshevism, what will be the fate of the then liberated Ukrainian nation, which has struggled for freedom from Moscow for hundreds of years and which in the last 30 years has given more than 12 million lives of its best sons and daughters for the cause of freedom.

America must give the answer to this question to the Ukrainians and other peoples under Soviet rule. If American radio gives an answer in the American spirit, thousands will harm themselves to follow this new gospel of freedom from America, (listening to this broadcast forbidden by Soviets), millions will carry the words of this gospel from mouth to mouth.

America must pass to a bloodless attack upon the very heart of world Communism, as advised by Prof. Burnham.³ America must strike the Kremlin in its most sensitive spot, by demanding the liberation of the dozen of nations of the Soviet empire and by promising these peoples liberty. On that basis America will certainly win the cold war and arouse in the masses of Soviet citizens new hopes, and create a new political spring for eastern Europe and Western Asia. All else is money thrown away, for the population of the Soviets without this knows the value of its masters in the Kremlin and many have felt the impact of life beyond the Soviet borders during the World War II.



In this month General Dwight Eisenhower proclaimed a crusade of freedom and is carrying it on in behalf of the "Committee for Free Europe." Ukraine for 30 years has been one of the forefighters in the anti-Communist crusade of the free nations. It is not to the interest of America that Ukraine and the other nations enslaved by red Russia should be excluded from this campaign for freedom carried on by the finest part of humanity.

³ James Burnham, *The Coming Defeat of Communism*, New York 1950, Day Publ. Co. Unfortunately the most competent book on the problem written with the patriotism of "the founding fathers" was unable to reach even the last place of best sellers.

THE TRIALS OF UKRAINIAN COMMUNIST LITERATURE

By CLARENCE A. MANNING

It is no easy matter to be an author in the Soviet Union. In the civilized countries of Western Europe, a writer chooses his own subject and while he must conform in general to the wishes and tastes of the public, if he desires to secure a publisher and a large sale of his works, these limitations on his work are largely imaginary and a talented and able man may ultimately secure wide recognition, even if at first he seems to have been neglected. The history of literature is filled with cases of this kind. In the Soviet Union, where the government controls all the printing presses and the Communist Party exercises all powers of publication, censorship and criticism, the author is far more dependent upon the passing whims of the rulers of the country.

This is bad enough in the Russian Soviet Republic, the kernel of the Union and its dominant factor. It is infinitely worse in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic which faces at every moment the constant pressure of Moscow to abandon in the name of Communism and brotherhood all of the essential features of its own life in order to be worthy of cooperation with the Russians. The Soviet system not only dictates every moment and aspect of the present and prepares the future, but it continuously rewrites the past, omitting freely any details which do not suit the present policy of the leaders of the Kremlin. No one can be sure where the line between a correct following of the state policy and the guilt of heresy is to be drawn. Any failure to follow the whims of Moscow not only involves the ruination of a career but it may bring serious charges of treasonable tendencies with the ensuing execution or deportation to a slave camp.

Ukrainian authors have realized this for more than twenty years by sad experience. The enthusiasm with which writers like Khvylovy greeted the establishment of Communism in Ukraine soon passed away and was replaced by the understanding of the real position of Ukraine in the Soviet Union as a satellite and subordinate state. When he realized that Ukrainian culture was in the same position and was to be altered by force and compulsion, Khvylovy shot himself and many of his less determined contemporaries among the Ukrainian Communists were taught the same truth by execution or deportation.

The task of remodelling Ukrainian life and thought continued and at the end of World War II, there came no lightening of the pressure but rather its intensification. The few talented authors as Tychyna and Rytsky who had put themselves at the service of the régime found it hard to produce much of real value. The lesser authors did even less and despite their efforts to cooperate fully with Moscow in the great task of remodelling Ukrainian culture and life, they too were often condemned for their failure to be one hundred per cent Soviet Russian writers using a Russianized Ukrainian.

Let us look for example at some of the numbers for 1946 of *Dnipro*, a monthly literary-artistic and socially political journal published in Kiev. In the first place it contains articles by and in praise of Stalin and the Russian people, the guiding nation in the Soviet Union. Then follow contributions chiefly in the field of literature and criticism from the leading contemporary writers of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, largely men born around 1910. In No. 2, the editor, Valentyn Bychko, contributes the following poem, which is typical of much of the modern Soviet Ukrainian literature.

SONG FOR UKRAINE

Oh, the grain fields are waving with wealth,
Oh, the rivers are chattering gaily,
The Ukrainian land is our gold, is our gold,
Thou art happy and free without ending.

Refrain:

Be bright, be bright, as a rainbow, my country,
The Dnieper with fires will glow,
For sunlight and freedom,
The joy of the people —
Unto our great leader we bow.

On our banners we bore Stalin's name,
When we entered Ukraine with our army.
Our own Stalin is with us for ever and aye,
While the sun will be shining abow us. (*Refrain*).

For our brother the Russian fought on
Side by side with us all in one country.
In our hearts we will cherish eternal love for him
And e'er with him is Ukraine united. (*Refrain*).

Now our people have conquered their foes,
And the days of delight are beginning.
We are led, we are led by our comrade Khrushchov
On the path that great Stalin's appointing. (*Refrain*).

The unbiassed reader who does not consider the text of this poem from the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist angle, will form his own judgement as to the real subject of the poem, which can hardly be described as Communist Ukrainian. There is one other point to be noted: the phrase, translated as "bow" is "biti cholom", — to strike the floor with the forehead as a sign of obeisance. The phrase and the habit came into Moscow during the period of Mongol-Tatar overlordship and its use was abolished when Peter I entered upon a course of external westernization of the country. Its introduction here is but another demonstration of the pains of the Caucasian Stalin to perpetuate in the Soviet Union the native non-European traditions of mediaeval Moscow as the dominant force in the entire Soviet Union.

As is only natural, many of the stories and poems show the influence of the war and in Ukrainian as in Russian Soviet literature and indeed in the literature of all countries, short stories describing various heroic episodes appeared in great numbers and of high quality. Events were so startling that even a man of mediocre talent could not spoil a thrilling tale. Yet even these tales cannot meet the approval of the critics of *Dnipro*. Yuri Kobyletsky in an article, *Paths of the Sketch* in No. 2, p. 120 f, explains why. "Another mistake of our Ukrainian writers of sketches, about which we must speak especially is their national narrowness, a sort of 'khutoryanstvo'. This appears not on a large broad scale, not from the point of view of the processes which go on in our country, but so to speak, from a local point of view, often from a failure to understand the history of our people and especially the history of our epoch." He proceeds to point out that for a proper Ukrainian Communist, it is much more important to draw the inspiration of his hero from the film about the great Russian Communist patriot Chapayev than from the film about Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The young heroes were prepared for their brave work not by the inspiration of Skovoroda or Kotlyarevsky. They may have known Aeneas, Mykola Dzherya (by Ivan Levytsky-Nechuy) or Taras Bulba (a work about the Kozaks written in Russian) but they learned their heroism and bravery from "our Soviet system of education and upbringing, our Soviet teachers, our Komsomol organization".

Yet even these open confessions of Ukrainian limitations and this open adoration of Stalin and the Russians did not save the journal a few months later from bitter attacks by the *Literary Gazette* of Kiev which reflected the criticism of literature and the fine arts as arranged by the masters of Moscow.

To appreciate the full force of these attacks, we must remember certain tendencies in Russian Soviet literature. One of the greatest of these is the glorification of old Russian heroes. Peter the Great and Ivan the Terrible foreshadow the greatness of Stalin. The great Russian generals as Suvorov and Kutuzov are held up as models for the soldiers of the the Red Army. Russian scientists as Lomonosov are the founders of world science. The Soviet is building upon these foundations as part of its plan to impress all peoples both within and without the Soviet Union of the superior role of the Great Russian in all fields, at all times, and in all places.

In comparison with this Russian omnipresent genius, the Ukrainians must be forced to confess their own inadequacy and the proper study of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin will prove it. There are three means of attack.

The first is in the political-historical sphere. This takes its main shape in the attack on the historical school of Professor Hrushevsky. His fundamental heresy lay in the fact that he assumed that the modern Ukrainians were the direct descendants of the population of Kiev and of the Kievan state. He showed how the tendencies prevailing there were reflected with less change in the later history of Ukraine than in the utterly different system that prevailed in mediaeval Moscow. Any reference to any Ukrainian historical work which mentions favorably differences between Kiev and Moscow is a nationalist deviation from Moscow. Any history of Ukrainian literature which fails to stress the collaboration between Shevchenko and the Russian radicals of the day, which emphasizes the influences on Ukrainian literature other than Russian, is a dangerous heresy and follows in the bourgeois-national conceptions of Shumsky, Khvylovy, and Skrypnyk, three Ukrainian Communists, who believed that their people had something to contribute.¹

Any one who stresses the influence of the non-Russian literatures on Lesya Ukrainka denies her creative individuality, for she was directly and entirely influenced by the Russian poets who guided her genius.² Any one who stresses the Zaporozhian Sich and the Kozaks is a nationalist of the school of Hrushevsky.³

Close to this charge lies the second — national narrowness. This is in a sense the cultural aspect of the political-historical attack. The Ukrainians are culturally narrow in their outlook because they are stirred by the Ukrainian traditions of heroism and life that have been handed

¹ See *Radyanska Ukraina*, September 20, 1946.

² *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, September 5, 1946.

³ *Radyanska Ukraina*, August 16, 1946.

down in the villages for centuries. They are nationally narrow because the Dnieper evokes more memories in their minds than does the Volga. They are nationally narrow because they prefer the natural beauty of the Ukrainian southern plains to the grimmer and more severe landscapes of the Russian north. They prefer the Black Sea to the Baltic, despite the fact that Leningrad is located on it.

Petro Doroshko, a native of Chernyiv, was a soldier in the Red Army during the war. He received the Order of the Fatherland War, 1st class, the Order of the Red Star and Medals for "Military Merit", "the defence of Stalingrad", "the victory over Germany", "the Capture of Berlin", "the liberation of Prague". Then he wrote a volume of poems, *Quiet Waters, Clear Dawns*, while he was on duty in Vienna. *Dnipro* published extracts from these dreams of a homesick soldier for Ukrainian scenes. Evhen Adelheim⁴ censures him bitterly. "The project does not call for criticism, but let us look at its realization. How does Petro Doroshko picture Soviet Ukraine? What features does he emphasize, with what details does he deck out his picture? Green banks, willows, sedges, fishing boats, the quail in the grain, pines, corn-flowers, fragrant grass, quiet waters and clear dawns—that is all." No Soviet Ukrainian should marvel at the beauties of Ukrainian nature.

Similarly the critic Stepan Kryzhanivsky⁵ censures another poet, O. Yushchenko, for coming back to Kiev and looking for the old monuments connected with the past of the city and not concerning himself with the graves of Vatutin (killed by the Ukrainian Revolutionary Army) and Sholudenko, which our poets do not mention...or the work for the rebuilding of Kiev".

From this it is easy to pass to the third attack, a form of "khutor-yanstvo". The Ukrainian peasants with all of their misery under the old regime still felt that the land was their own, that they were individuals with their own little spot on which they were born, lived and died. That sense of belonging to oneself is a direct indictment of the fundamental principle of collectivization, of membership in the old Great Russian mir or the modern kolkhoz where the individual exists by the will of his community. The glorification of the country and country life implies often "reaction in views of life".

Armed with these three principal weapons the Society of Soviet Writers can execute the will of the Communist Party in putting pressure

⁴ *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, September 12, 1946.

⁵ *Radyanska Ukraina*, August 16, 1946.

⁶ *Radyanska Ukraina*, August 16, 1946.

upon the Society of Soviet Writers of Ukraine to devitalize still further the Ukrainian literature which is being produced in the postwar period. When that pressure is not considered sufficient, still more can be exerted by the direct action of the Communist centre on the government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The purges of the late twenties and the early thirties eliminated from the literature nearly all the names of those talented authors who possessed independent minds and ideas and who were the men who had played a leading part in the formation of the independent Ukrainian National Republic. The present object is to separate the present men from the non-political Ukrainian tradition, to deprive them of the possibility of fitting themselves into the natural scene around them, while the Communist Party on the political side is striving by famine, by collectivization, and by deportation to destroy that natural scene and the fundamentals of the traditional life on the Ukrainian plains and steppes.

In another sense the present attack upon Ukrainian Communist literature is striking at those sides of life which had been not bothered by the Russian imperial government. That had contented itself with a formal banning of memories of free Ukraine. It had emphasized the subjection of the hetmans to the tsars and it stifled any sign of political criticism. It did not attack the background of the country.

It is only necessary to look at the poems of Shevchenko with their glowing descriptions of the beauty of Ukrainian nature to realize that descriptions of plains, of grainfields, of the gravemounds of the Kozaks, the heroic exploits of the past, were not regarded as material for censorship. The entire bulk of literature in both Polish and Russian that dealt with Ukraine relied for its appeal even to the conquerors on the landscape and the traditions of the past. It merely gave its own interpretation to the political happenings. It encouraged the young Ukrainian writers of the early part of the nineteenth century to assert their individuality by stressing the ethnographical differences between the Ukrainian and their neighbors.

This feeling helped the young literature. It made possible its rapid growth and its achievement of artistic and intellectual maturity and it aided materially in the growing strength of the national movement. The Soviets and their policy are more devastating. They are in a sense turning back the clock and as the introduction of the collective farms struck deeply at the root of the human life in the country, so now their literary criticism is turned to the elimination of the artistic feeling of the people.

It gives a deeper and a more sinister interpretation to Stalin's definition of the role of Soviet literature and of the writings in the various languages that are to be used for it. Socialist (Communist) in essence and national in form. That phrase was long interpreted as an encouragement to authors in the other Soviet Republics to place Communist teachings in their own environment. The present move in Ukrainian literature shows that that interpretation gave far too much leeway to the local initiative, for now the background, the scenery, the past in literature and in all the arts is seen to be an inalienable and indivisible part of the essence which is to be thoroughly Communized.

It conflicts strangely with the attitude toward Russian literature. Soviet writers take great pains to stress the love of the local scene in Pushkin, in Nekrasov, in Tolstoy, and in Turgenev. Pushkin's love for Boldino is not inconsistent with his position as a great progressive thinker worthy of mention and of regard by the Communist of to-day. Gorky's pictures of the lands through which he wandered are worthy of emulation and of study by the young Soviet writer. That is only for the leading nation in the Soviet Union, the Russians.

All others must realize that for a proper understanding of the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, their history, their land, their scenery must begin at the date when they first achieved a full understanding of the true meaning of Communist development. It is perhaps safe for a Ukrainian writer to describe to-day the building of the great industrial centers in Ukraine which are conceived and staffed almost wholly by Russians and other alien races which they have introduced into the country. It is possible to describe those centres in what we may perhaps call a Ukrainianized Russian jargon, very similar in some details to that artificial language which was overthrown once and for all when Kotlyarevsky published his *Eneida*. All else is suspect as somehow lacking in the essentials of Communist principles of art.

Anything which calls to mind the beauty of the country, the temper of the people, its past in any sense, even when it is intimately connected with Moscow and St. Petersburg is wrong, is reactionary, is bourgeois-nationalistic, is fascistic. A Ukrainian author who tried to write in the style of Gogol's introduction to the *Evenings on a farm near Dikanka*, perhaps the greatest appreciation in Russian of a Ukrainian landscape, would be as guilty of nationalism as one who wrote a defence of Mazepa or of Hrushevsky. He must confine himself to a minimum of local color and at every moment beware lest by his choice of words he may interest a hostile wedge between the Russians and the Ukrainians.

Many of the Ukrainian Communists took a certain pride in purging their literature of those men who had played their role in struggling to free the country from Russian domination. They looked forward confidently to a time when they could create a new literature permeated with Communist thought against a Ukrainian background. They too are being disillusioned and are going the way of their predecessors. They too are now being declared guilty of following in the footsteps of Hrushevsky, of showing Ukrainian national narrowness and „khutoryanstvo” — admiration for the old Ukrainian life. They too have not risen to the true appreciation of the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin as to the underlying meaning of Communism and they are being taught by criticism and punishment of their errors. The constant pressure upon them emphasizes once more that it is among only the exiles and the DP's that we can hope to find any appreciation of the Ukrainian spirit.

Ukrainian Communist literature as it is conceived to-day holds out a warning for all those self-deceiving literary men of the satellite states that they can not carry with them into their new life any vestige of their past, of the spirit and feelings of their literatures. It shows their future, a steadily increasing Russification which will continue until not only the iron curtain but the organization of the Russian Communist Soviet Union is once and for all destroyed and replaced by a free brotherhood of civilized peoples.



"UNDERSTANDING OF RUSSIANS"

Fourth of July Thoughts

By ARTUR P. COLEMAN

As we celebrate our national Independence Day in this peaceful and idyllic retreat, America, the news that comes to us from the outside world is frightening indeed. At last, it seems, we are beginning to reap the whirlwind we sowed the seeds of at Yalta and Potsdam. The crisis comes in the Far East. But the seeds of this crisis were sown in Europe. The cloud "no bigger than a man's hand" from which this tempest has grown *first took form* in Europe: on the very territory from which the ancestors of many Americans once emigrated. The misguided policy which has led us to the Korean Clash was begotten by our State Department for Eastern Europe. Now its liquidation is seen in Korea, but only its liquidation, not its origins. The origins were in Eastern Europe. In Korea all our errors of judgment with respect to the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe have come together in one awful culmination, and have brought us to the brink of war.

Yes, the Korean Crisis is the fruit of our policy as a nation with respect to the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe. What has that policy been, and what is it still today? Let the man who was one of its chief architects tell you. Let George Kennan, one of the "master minds" of our State Department define that policy.

In an address delivered recently before the Russian Institute at Columbia University, and now reprinted in shortened form in the June 26th 1950 issue of *The New Republic Magazine*, Kennan gives us a clear expose of our State Department's policy. "Understanding the Russians," Kennan's address is called, and this title, in mockery, I have taken from him as the title of my own paper.

As we read Kennan's words, we are at once brought up sharp: for here, in clearest terms, is a confirmation of our worst suspicions. In clear outline,—and coming from such a source it can certainly be taken as official—we have the pattern of thinking that has prevailed in our State Department for at least six years now. Here we have the policy analyzed that has brought us by one false step after another to our present deadlock with the Soviet Union, and, specifically, to the Korean Crisis.

Kennan's statement is, first of all, a masterpiece of omission and evasion. It is a plain *sidestepping* of the central issue in our dealings

with the Soviet Union. The central issue in those dealings should properly be the question of the *races other than the Russian* who are now held bound within the Soviet grip. Kennan has not a single word to say on this issue.

As everyone who has studied history knows, Russian foreign policy has since the time of Peter the Great had a single *fixed idea* driving it forward. That idea is: that the Russian state can not fulfill its destiny, cannot even in fact exist as a state, until and unless it embraces within its sphere of influence all the Slavic branches. This means not only the Orthodox Slavs of Serbia and Bulgaria, whose culture has the same roots as the Russian, but *also* the Western Slavs, — Poles, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Lusatians, Czechs—whose culture, along with our own, derives wholly or, as in the case of the Ukrainians in part, from Rome.

This *fixed idea* of Russian policy, this idea that never changes though the centuries elapse, is never once mentioned by Kennan in his address before the Russian Institute. In complete silence, this spokesman for our State Department passes over the aspect of Russian thinking that is at once most central and at the same time most crucial for us in our relations with the USSR.

From the policy which I have referred to above, the Russians have never, I repeat, deviated in all the centuries. At times they have been able merely to inch forward in the direction of its realization. At other times they have gone forward to their goal with *leaps* and *bounds*. The latter we have seen them do in our own time, and with the apparent sanction of our own State Department.

Yet nowhere, in his whole address, as reported in the *New Republic*, does this spokesman for our nation's policy *at any time*, either directly or by implication, *once* refer to this *fixed idea* of the Russian policy.

What Kennan does do, on the other hand, is spend long paragraphs in an effort to show us why we as Americans must be patient and tolerant and *infinitely forbearing* with the Soviet Union. Kennan is, of course, as a patriotic American, against Communism. But despite this, his plea turns out almost as an apology for Communism, as he urges us, the American public, to be endlessly patient with the evils of Communism. The Russians, Kennan argues, have suffered so long and so bitterly through centuries: have patience, you Americans, with their struggle upward. They lived for so long, these Russians, as Kennan says, "in archaic darkness and intolerance,"—forgive them now. Be tolerant with the Soviet system, he tries to persuade, and help the Russian people as

they strive to emancipate themselves, ever so painfully, from the grip of ancient usage and symbols. Never forget, this official of ours urges, that in the Russian people there is "immense good, immense faith in humanity," and a profound belief in "certain abstractions such as decency, honesty, kindness and loyalty . . ."

Of course Kennan is right. Of course we must be patient with the Russian people, and pity them, as they rise from the darkness of the past. BUT WHAT ABOUT THE PEOPLES WHO ARE THE VICTIMS of the Russians, the people who are slaves, today, because they stand in the way of the *realization of Russia's ancient and fixed idea*? What about expending a little patience on them, a little effort in order to *understand their point of view*? What about a little pity for their fate, the more so as they are, culturally, our brothers born.

It is here that we find the terrible and tragic fallacy underlying Kennan's smooth reasoning. In all the dealings of our State Department for the last six years and more the effects of this fallacy are to be seen. Daily we have been led, by this cruel and unsound reasoning on the part of our officials, deeper and deeper into the abyss, ever and ever further on the road, not of *understanding the Russians*, but actually, of utterly and completely *misunderstanding* them.

Kennan wants us to *understand the Russians*. Yet he, and other officials like him, have consistently *misunderstood them*. For they have evaded, as we have said, the principal issue in Russia's thinking with respect to the outside world. They have sidestepped the central matter of Russia's relations with the rest of the Slav world. These other Slavs, Russia has always considered her *own legitimate prey*. Yet in all Kennan's address, there is no mention whatsoever of this. In his tender and nostalgic concern for the Russian people, among whom he has spent much time and whom, understandably, he loves, this State Department spokesman has permitted himself to forget the very existence of at least half a dozen peoples. In his sympathy for one race, he has shown himself willing to throw half a dozen races straight to the wolves.

This is the great and tragic *fallacious premise* on which all our foreign policy for at least six years has been built. Russia's *fixed idea of absorbing the other Slavs has been whitewashed*. It has been accepted as inevitable, and its manipulators, the most skilful diplomats in the world, have been given the green light. Poles and Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians, and other Slavs of Latin orientation, *have been viewed as proper material for Communist, Stalinist exploitation*. This is putting it brutally, but truthfully, nevertheless: the way of the State Department.

As long ago as 1930 I saw with my own eyes the origins of this policy. In the summer of that year I was in Warsaw when the Sherwood Eddy party came through on its way back from the Soviet Union. The members of the party were all leaders of American life. Perhaps the most conspicuous of the group, both because of his height and his high position, was the Honorable Francis B. Sayre, who figured recently in the news in connection with the Alger Hiss case. The Eddy group was rapturous in its praise of what was then called "the great experiment," and full of the wonders of the "new gospel." The lecture on Polish culture which Paul Super, as Director of the Polish YMCA, had arranged for the party in Warsaw, was listened to politely but with pleasant unbelief and often downright skepticism. Only the Paradise to the East captured the imaginations of the party, and they had no patience with the slow evolution going on in other countries.

It was then that the nefarious policy we have been following since 1944 got its start. In the early thirties, Americans by the carload made the "great pilgrimage" to the Red God in Moscow, and all too many of the pilgrims came away *captivated*. It was a great trip, every minute of it guaranteed enjoyable by a well-drilled army of modern Potemkins, and those who took part in it were all too often deceived. All too many have looked back to those days with nostalgia ever since.

Kennan and his associates in the State Department are victims of that old mood, which saw everything that transpired in the Soviet Union as either *good*, or, in the light of history, *forgivable*. Toward the Soviet Union they wear blinders, and refuse to see things as they really are. *Mainly*, they take no cognizance of the *central purpose* of Soviet policy: the *fixed idea* of which I have spoken above.

So our officials go on telling us: forgive the Communists, and pity them. Be patient with Stalinism. Look with tolerance and forgiveness on the new Red Tsardom that has replaced the White. Do not be disturbed when this new terror far outstrips the old Romanov terror in spreading its evil tentacles about the Slavs of the West.

It is a dreadful thing to have to report the above. We who are familiar with eastern and central Europe know how *desperately fallacious* the advice is. We know that the Red Tsardom of Stalin is infinitely more dangerous to the world than the White Tsardom ever was. As a people we Americans had no use for that, because by tradition we are *against hereditary absolutism* in any form. But with Stalinism: ah, here too many of us do not even recognize the danger, much less combat it. Here we are childish and gullible. Be patient with the Red Tsardom, our

officials counsel, even forgive its brutalities. Not only that: some even go so far as to see in Stalinism a *very force for good*. Some are urging that Stalinism is playing the role of *deliverer*, in the case of such peoples as the Poles and Ukrainians, Slovaks and Czechs. Daily I read statements in the American press to the effect that these branches of the great Slav family *naturally belong inside the Stalinist Empire*.

Understand the Soviet Union, Kennan exhorts. To which I reply: alas, we understand the Red Tsardom only too well. Poles and Ukrainians, Czechs, Slovaks, and the other Slavs understood the policy of their neighbor centuries before our State Department officials were born! It is rather into a complete misunderstanding of Soviet policy and ideals that these officials have led us. It is high time the tide was checked, and the officially-created misunderstanding reversed.

But Americans must not lose heart. The tide *can* be turned. The English element in our population has long been the dominant and most numerous, and in consequence we have, as a nation, pursued a consistently pro-English policy. From this we may deduce that, as the Slavic element in American life becomes larger, as it assumes greater and greater responsibility in public affairs, we may gradually see our nation entering upon a course more favorable to the Slavic people. Favorable not alone to the largest of the Slav peoples, that is the Russians, but to the smaller nations as well, in the spirit of Woodrow Wilson. Slowly we shall forge ahead, if only the whirlwind now loose in Korea, which had its source in eastern Europe, does not prove too great for us to cope with, short of a general cataclysm.

We must hang onto the thought that, in the long run, justice does prevail. We must not give up, but keep fighting, in the hope that, at long last, we may have a part in seeing that justice *is* done in the heartland of Europe among the peoples of Ukraine, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Baltic lands and all the other countries, tragically located, between the German lands and the Soviet Union.



UKRAINIAN DONBAS AT THE CLOSE OF THE FOURTH FIVE YEAR PLAN

By STEPHEN PROTSIUK

The Donbas with its 90 billion tons of coal reserves is one of the greatest coal basins in the world. There is no need to dwell on the importance of the Donbas in the economy of the USSR. Suffice it to mention that in 1933 Donbas contributed 51.1 million tons of coal of the 76.3 mil. tons produced in the entire Union, and in 1938 it gave 80.7 mil. tons of the USSR total amount of 132.9 mil, tons. According to the program of the 4th five year plan, the exploitation of the Donbas in 1950 is to reach 86.1 mil. tons. In spite of the plans to increase the exploitation of the Donbas to the highest possible degree in the period of the so called post-war reconstruction, Donbas still has a long and promising future. Soviet statistics always emphasize the fact that due to the still unexplored areas of the Donbas, the exact calculation of its reserves is incomplete. In 1947 a special expedition of scientists from the Geological Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR was sent to the Donbas in order to establish the area and limits of the so called Great Donbas. As this expedition organized in 6 sections was supposed to complete its investigations within 3-4 years, the results should be published in this or the coming year, and they will give a better idea of the economic value of this treasury of the Ukrainian lands.

The latest calculations give the following picture: The Donbas is a basin of the "half-discovered" type, the discovered parts of its coal fields covering more than 23,000 sq. kilometers is the area known as the Old Donbas. Under these coal fields are deeper layers, which cover a much larger area, and these are termed the New or the Great Donbas. From the orographic aspect the Donbas is a plateau with blunt hilltops, the remains of the Donbas ridge, which existed in ancient times. The surface of the basin is covered with a wide net of streams which flow into the two important rivers of this region—the Don and the northern Donets. In its stratigraphy the Donbas has a typically geosynclinal character. It consists of a deep layer of sediment (30-36 thousand feet) ranging from the paleozoic to the cenozoic period.

The middle and upper carbon layers of the anthracite type have the greatest industrial value, whereas the lower, particularly the Permian deposits, are not workable. There is no doubt that the entire region of the

coal bearing Donbas is the product of intense geomorphological oscillations of the seaboard in connection with the submersion of this geosynclinal region. The thickness of the coal layers increases in the direction of the open sea, toward the south-east, as well as toward the center of the basin. The lithological structure also changes toward the center, which has a more continental character in its north-western part (mostly sandstone with thicker layers of coal). Toward the south-east it changes rather into clay and lime. From the aspect of tectonics the layers of Paleozoic and often Mesozoic ore are in comparatively straight folds, in which the fundamental anticlinal fold in the axis of the basin becomes particularly apparent, and on both its sides lie the synclinal folds. The synclinals are divided by the anticlinal elevations into independent layers, open on the outskirts of the basin in the south-eastern and the north-western parts. The question as to whether they extend under the younger deposits (the Mesozoic and the Cenozoic) is the basic problem of the Great Donbas.

The total number of the discovered coal deposits is about 200. Among these 100—115 are in the middle strata, 50—70 in the upper, the rest in the lower and the Permian strata. In cross section the layers of coal are distributed more or less equally. The intervals between the workable layers is generally 210-240'. Before the war the number of the worked layers was 30-40; 70% are 18-20' in thickness less frequently 5'6½" and rarely 7'. The geological reserves of anthracite extending to 5000 ft in depth were calculated to be 88.8 billion in 1939,—48,3% of the anthracite and semi-anthracite type (known as lean coal, which is characterized by its small amount of volatile particles—less than 17%, and high in its caloric value—8650 large calories), 8% caking coal, 4.1% coke, and the rest fat, gas and long-flame coal*)

Under present conditions the Donbas furnishes the fuel not for Ukraine but for the Soviet Union. Most of the Donbas coal is

*) More exact information about the structure of the Donbas can be found in the following works:

1. Stepanov P. Y.: "Geology of coal deposits", Scientific-technical Publications of Ukraine (ONTVU) Kharkiv, 1932.
2. Prigorovskiy M. M.: "On the Problem of Types of Coal Deposits and the Basins of the USSR". Vestnik Vsesoyuzn. Geolog.-Rozved. Obyedineniya, VI, No. 7-8, 1931.
- 3.) "Review of Principal Deposits of Coal and Combustible Shales" HHRU, 1931-32.
4. Zhemchuznikov Y. A.: "General Geology of Cuastobolits", Onti, Moscow, 1945.

CLASSIFICATION OF DONBAS COAL.

Type of coal	Content of volatility in the burning mass in %	Content of organic mass			Character of the coke grain	Caloric capacity in large calories
		C	H	O		
1. Long flame coal	42	75—86	5,0—6,4	17,5—10,0	Powdered or solid	7750
2. Gas coal	34—44	78—89	4,8—6,3	16,0—6,8	Melted, porous	8150
3. Steam coal	26—35	84—90	4,6—6,0	10,8—5,0	Melted, hard or moderately hard	8500
4. Coke coal	18—26	87—92	4,4—5,5	8,0—3,1	"	8600
5. Steam coal of baking type	12—18	89—94	4,1—5,2	6,0—2,1	"	8600
6. Lean coal (anthracite type)	17	90—95	3,7—5,0	4,6—1,6	Powdered or solid	8650

Remarks: According to the classification of M. Stopps, who identifies four fundamental ingredients of humic coal: *Fusain*, *Vitrain*, *Duren* and *Clarain*, — the Donbas coal belongs chiefly to the *Clarain* type.

transported to the insatiable industrial centers of Moscow (the so called Central), Leningrad and the Volga Region (Stalingrad, Gorky, Kuybishev and other centers) of the Soviet rear, which the USSR is developing between the Urals and the central Volga region, in particular in the districts of Ufa and Chkalov. Although the Karaganda coal is nearer to the last named regions, the Russians use the Donbas coal for two reasons: first, because the basin of Karaganda is still being developed, and at the present time can hardly meet the demands of the rail and industrial centers of Kazakstan and Central Asia and the growing metallurgical center of Magnitogorsk (even with the addition of the Kuzbas coal),— and secondly, as a result of the incorrect building of the rail connections between Karaganda and the industrial regions of the Bashkir Republic (a costly roundabout route through Chelyabinsk), the cost of transporting Karaganda coal was too great to be practical. Ukraine also uses Donbas coal, but Moscow assigns the amount to be used and it is a very meager amount at that. It is enough to state that in 1947 from the total production of coal from the Donbas (about 70 mil. tons) only 900 thousand tons (that is the eightieth part) were left to the disposition of the Ukrainian Ministry of fuel industry.

Fully realizing the undisguised cruelty of the colonial exploitation by Moscow, the Ukrainian nation regards the delivery of its coal in the same light as the delivery of its grain—as plain pillage. As a result no Ukrainian voluntarily helps the Kremlin carry out its plans for plunder, and therefore all the decisions and proclamations of the party that appear in the Soviet press perpetually spurn on the population and remind them of their “obligations toward the state”. As on the normal calendar holidays are indicated in heavy print, so on the calendar of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, certain days are marked off on which new decisions and directions are to be issued in connection with the various duties toward the Moloch—Moscow. The Donbas has the honor to figure in two places on this calendar in the months of May and December. At this time all the Soviet press organs and radio programs are loaded for days with articles and slogans connected with coal mining. With all the variations the theme is always the same: “to insure on time the planned production of coal from the Donbas, promised in a written obligation to Comrade Stalin”. According to the pattern all too well known to the Soviet citizens, all these proclamations begin with emphasizing certain successes of the miners (without mentioning by what sacrifices and at what price they were achieved), and usually close with an endless list of shortcomings which “interfere with the proper de

velopment" of the Donbas. It is this list of shortcomings that gives us the true picture of the situation in the famous Ukrainian coal basin.

All the press articles and radio programs of course are a good example of the perfidious system of exploitation of man-power in the Soviet Union. All criticism of definite persons is expressed by other individuals, the fellow workers of the criticized—in such a way that they bear the undeniable mark of *d e n u n c i a t i o n s.****) It is not difficult to recognize this fact. For instance, very often an article about the internal mine transportation, which in its contents and style indicates beyond doubt that it must have been written by a first class specialist is signed by an ordinary miner or more often by a correspondent, whose name appears in the next issue of the same paper on an article reporting on the political activities of one district or another or on the musical events of Odesa. In reality neither the specialist, nor the singer is the real author of such articles. They come from the pens of the secretaries of the various departments of the coal industry in Donbas, at the request of Moscow. The signatures of different persons are a means of deception, leading the miners to believe that the "Soviet Fatherland" does not expect more of the miners than they have already done and that it is only their better fellow workers, who encourage them to greater, almost superhuman efforts to "please the Fatherland and the great Father of Nations". These methods of "encouragement" however, have long since ceased to be a secret to the miners of the Donbas, and the serious organizational and technical shortcomings have never yet been remedied by the mere decisions of the Party.

The shortcomings are so numerous that they can not all be named here. Most serious is the shortage of qualified as well as ordinary workers, their improper distribution, the sickening sanitary, hygienic and living conditions of the miners, the incompetent and for the most part outmoded technique of mining and the pitiful lack of adequate equipment.

Moscow carried on World War II with all the brutality of purposeful cruelty, where the Ukrainian population was involved. Now it is already an indisputable fact that such a mode of warfare was one of the planned Russian methods aimed at the *p h y s i c a l a n n i h i l a t i o n* of the Ukrainian nation, invented by Kremlin. This is no place for

**) The denunciational character of the (falsified) articles and letters in the Soviet press, especially in the humorous journals ("The Crocodile" in Moscow and "Pepper" in Kiev) was correctly surmised by the American and West European press ("Ost-Probleme", No. 13, 1950, page 417), which shows that although late it nevertheless is beginning to understand Soviet conditions.

the analysis of the Politbiuro's policy, but one of the results of this policy was felt in 1941-45, when after the retreat of the Germans from the Donbas, hardly one third of the pre-war miners returned to work. In addition to the lack of sufficient man-power the war had wrought havoc in the Donbas. The state of the post-war coal mining industry in Ukraine was really catastrophic. But the Soviet regime had its own ways of remedying this. Immediately two well known communist methods were employed: first—great numbers of the unfortunate Ukrainian peasants, who had already undergone the horrors of the war, were driven by force into the mines: second—a new wave of "genuine Russians" came from the north, as an "aid from the great brother nation". The number of young Ukrainian peasants forced to work in the flooded and ruined mines was so high, that in the summer of 1947 it had risen to 80% of all the miners employed in the Donbas ("Soviet Ukraine", No. 168. Sept. 13, 1947). The majority of these workers were girls. In many cases the miners had to walk 3-5 miles, as the means of transportation not only in the more backward regions, but even in the more important centers, are very poor. For example in Stalino and Horlivka there was only one tramline till 1949. The miners often have no place to wash after work, and they usually change their clothes in the open. These two last conditions would seem unbelievable, if they were not confirmed by the Soviet press itself. ("Trud", the organ of the Central Committee of Professional USSR Unions, Sept. 12, 1947). A separate article could be written about the incredibly miserable living conditions in half ruined buildings, where one room, furnished with wooden boxes, houses ten or more occupants.

The low standard of the organization of the miners' work, the primitive state of underground transportation, machinery, the neglected railways, badly in need of repairs—all tend to lower the productive capacity of both machines and workers. A time study conducted recently in the "Voroshylvhradvuhillya" Combine on the work of 702 miners and loaders in the chief pre-war mines showed the following results: from the total duration of the standard work-day, amounting to 462 minutes (this is strictly the time of work) the losses in time and the causes were—the lack of empty cars — 90 minutes; waiting for the cut — 21 min.; lack of electric current — 15 min.; other organizational and technical defects (avalanche, cave-ins, disorders in the air circulations and others) — 61 min. In this way each of the 702 workers lost 187 min., waiting for one thing or another. In the light of these facts it becomes clear why the combined productivity of the basic group of miners—the cutters and the loaders—is 1.3 tons under the planned standard, why 34% of the oper-

ators of the mining machines, and 36.2% of the breakers did not perform their amount of work. On closer analysis the 462 minute working day reveals the abominable tactics with which Soviet propaganda strives to deceive the world and its own citizens. If we accept only the minimum of 70 min. for change and preparation, then the working day of Donbas miners amounts to 532 min. In no civilized country of the world does the miner work more than 6 hours. It is true that the Soviet labor rules on paper provide for a 6 hour working day for the miner, but the above mentioned 462, or rather 532 minutes, merely serve to prove what a difference exists between the ostentatiously written Soviet rules and actual reality, between the slogans of Soviet propaganda and the ruthless exploitation of the worker in practice.

To understand better the shortcomings of the coal industry in the Donbas, which were particularly marked in 1949-50, it is necessary to note that the coal mines of Donbas are still undergoing post-war reconstruction. The Soviet statement that the post-war reconstruction of the Donbas mines will be completed by 1950 is a mere statement. Facts show something altogether different: for example Melnikow, the secretary of the Stalino district committee of the Comparty of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine, reported in 1947, four years after the recapture of the Donbas, that in the Stalino district only 40% of the mines had been rebuilt ("Izvestia" No. 141, 1947). It is therefore not to be expected that in the next two years the remaining 60% could have been reconstructed. This opinion is verified by official Soviet reports: "Radyanska Ukraina", No. 88, March 19, 1949 writes that up to that time only 222 main mines had been reconstructed in the Donbas; but only 41 mines of that number were repaired in 1948, and in 1949 still less — only 36. The Stalino district is regarded as the leading in Ukraine, while the Voroshylovhrad district combines have been continuously below standard since the war. In 40% of the reconstructed mines the productivity of the Stalinvuhillya Combine is 66.1% of the Artemvuhillya — 56%.

The reasons for this sad state are numerous, but each foreman gives his own and insists that his reason is the only one and the most important. A paradoxical phenomenon develops in such conditions. The slightest defect is regarded as a case of immediate importance, and hence the attitude: "either all concede the reason given by me or I will not concede any of their reasons". Needless to say, such a position can be maintained only by the person who studies objectively the situation in which the Donbas finds itself must come to the conclusion, incredible as it may at first seem, that the leaders of the party organizations, who should

make the greatest efforts to improve the conditions in the Donbas and advance its reconstruction are the very people who hinder it. This might be explained by the fact that for the most part they lack the necessary professional knowledge, and their orders even if they are given in good faith only tend to cause disorganization and chaos in the mines.

At present much is said and written about the mining-machine. In itself it is a fine invention, but it can be worked only under the proper conditions. In the reports of the Soviet press one often comes across the number of 4,800 to even 7,800 tons of coal produced by this machine. But these are highly exceptional cases. In reality more than 40% of the miners of the Donbas did not perform their norm in 1949 (interview with Harasym Zaporozhets and Ivan Brydka in the "Pravda Ukrainy", Dec. 1949). The official norm for a mining machine in the Stalino region in 1949 was 3,200 tons monthly.

At present the organization of work in the Donbas is in such a condition that often when the miners break a sufficient amount of coal, it can not be transported to the surface, because of the lack of empty cars, or when there are empty cars the loaders have to wait for hours, because there is no coal. Or in exceptional cases when there is enough coal and empty cars, the stoppage in work is caused by the lack of timber for reinforcements in new passages. There are countless Soviet slogans about the need for the mechanization of the mines, but on the whole the mines repaired by the reconstruction trusts for further exploitation are "not sufficiently prepared", not to mention properly mechanized. For example the trust of "Artemashakhtovosstanovleniye" (one of the Russian occupational names) adhered to the policy that out of 24 longwalls in the mines that should be reconstructed, only ten were prepared. ("Pravda", No. 338, 1948). Because of the poor technical preparation of the mines, even the smaller cave-ins cause very long stoppages in work. Such stoppages of entire longwalls also occur at the slightest defect in the mining-machine or in the conveyance system. Before the war the mines had their underground workshops in which the miners could find necessary tools and spare parts for repairs. Now in the so called modern reconstructed mine such underground workshops are a rarity, and in consequence even the slightest defect compels the miner to leave his work and go to the top. The underground mining conveyance system is also in bad shape. Before the war for every 1,000 t. of coal there were 184 loaders; today their number has increased to 281. In many mines hand conveyance is still in use. In the mines of Stalinovuhillya 12% of the mined coal is transported by hand.

It is obvious that mining is not a light or pleasant work, but even after taking this into consideration, the avoidance of the mines by party members and highly qualified workers has attained alarming proportions. An editorial of "Pravda" (Dec. 19, 1947) reveals that in one of the leading (in the Soviet sense) regions—Horlivka—only 10% of the party members worked underground. One can imagine the situation in the so called backward regions of the Donbas. In order to place the remaining 90% of Party members—workers, clerks, and technical specialists—a disproportionately large administrative apparatus of the combined coal mines was organized. Naturally this system has had a bad influence on the efficiency of the work, as the responsible qualified specialists are absent from the shafts. On the other hand this fact must be regarded as the logical result of a general and dangerous attitude spreading in the entire USSR, particularly in the post-war years, the increase of bureaucracy in all stages of Soviet life. The growth of a privileged class of both uniformed and ununiformed proteges and "medal-bearers" is becoming more and more marked. This privileged class is entitled to certain material comforts as a few yards of better woolen material in the exclusive "Univermag", living quarters in a newly built apartment house, or even, in more recent times a small car. On its outskirts stands the grey working mass, not entitled to these privileges and it is beginning to feel more and more acutely the newly born, but essentially old isolation of the working class in the USSR.

This granting of privileges to various "big wheels" in the Donbas, who often have no connection with the coal industry, grew into such proportions as to move even the "conscience" of the Central Committee of Professional Unions, and its official organ "Trud" (Oct. 1947) to criticize the administrative conditions of the mines. "Trud" (No. 238, 1949) writes about the conditions in the mine Kholodna Balka that from the 154 families, who received new living quarters, destined for the miners, the miners got less than half; this is true of all the other mining regions. The growth of a separate caste of Soviet bureaucrats faithful and blindly obedient to the regime, and at the same time well paid is now the official goal of the Politbiuro, because the criticism of the organs of the professional unions met with sharp disapproval from the side of the Politbiuro. This was apparent in November and December of 1949, when a severe purge of the unions took place; the reason given in the official communique of the radiotransmission from Moscow was: a deviation from the party line.

The present situation in the coal industry in Donbas can only be termed as unsatisfactory and not only because Moscow pumps out the best material in the Donbas for its own use. For example, according to Soviet statistics, the Donbas supplied the Union with three fourths of all coal used, the region of "Artemvuhillya" is the chief deliverer of a first grade coke coal, with a very low percentage of ashes to all the metallurgical mills west of the Ural, the result of which is that almost 75% of the entire Soviet steel production is run by Donbas coal. Another reason for this unsatisfactory state is that the Soviet method of stupid plundering of Ukraine destroys the great natural wealth of the Donbas, and impairs the value of the mines.

Due to the indifference of the regime and the party members to the reconstruction of the "All-Ukrainian fire-room", this reconstruction is proceeding very slow, in spite of all the assurances of Soviet propaganda, but above all not in the proper direction, where the rules of a healthy economy are concerned. We recall that in February 1950 the Kiev radio mentioned in its address to the miners of the Donbas that they must reconstruct this wealth of the mines, in order to insure the timely execution of the "Stalin task" outlined in the program of the fourth five-year plan—that is the reconstruction of the Donbas by the end of 1950. Further according to the well known method of spurring on this radio broadcast went on to say: "The present tempo of work in the reconstruction of the mines does not correspond with the task". Knowing the working conditions, and above all the living conditions of the Ukrainian miner, we are not at all surprised that he is reluctant to exhaust the rest of his strength in performing this "Stalin task".

No "charts" of work, no inspections of the "Stalino of the Voroshylovhrad district committees of the party, no bombastic decisions or proclamations made under the Moscow knout will help to remedy the situation in the Donbas. Under the conditions of colonial occupation, now prevalent in Ukraine, this great coal basin will never know a real and beneficial development which can only be achieved in an Independent Ukraine.



UKRAINIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE IN THE USSR

By Rt. Rev. ILARION OHIENKO

The fate of the Ukrainian language within the Soviet Union is interesting and tragic, although in the Western world little attention is paid to it in large degree because of the Russian bias which distorts Slavic Studies.

The national policy of the Bolsheviks has undergone several changes, but it has been essentially consistent in its treatment of the Ukrainian language. This has been marked by definite hostility, although the degree of hostility has been modified during various phases of Soviet policy. The history of the Ukrainian literary language under Soviet rule can be divided into three periods. The first is the period of Russification, from 1917 to 1923. Next followed a period of Ukrainization, 1923-1933. This was followed by a period of Communization, from 1933 to the present time. In this investigation of the Soviet linguistic policy in Ukraine, the data herein presented are based on official Soviet reports or on publications appearing in Soviet Ukraine, which are equally valid in ascertaining official policy.

PERIOD OF RUSSIFICATION

After overrunning Ukraine during the Civil War, the Bolsheviks displayed open hostility toward the Ukrainian language and refused to recognize its existence, in line with the former Tsarist policy. In January and February, 1918, the Communists held Kiev, and for a period of three weeks merely to speak Ukrainian in the streets provoked shooting by the Red Army. Ukraine, however, turned out to be a difficult area to subdue, and a change in tactics was decreed from above. On March 4, 1918, the Communists declared Ukraine to be an independent Soviet republic, a step which was confirmed by the Third Congress of Soviets which met in the spring of the same year. Thus the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic came into being.

* This article is a translation of a part of a new book by Metropolitan Ilarion (Ivan Ohienko) entitled *Istoriya Ukrainskoi Movy* (History of the Ukrainian Language), published in 1949 by Nasha Kultura, Winnipeg, Canada, pp. 384.

Soviet policy toward the Ukrainian language continued to be negative. An enormous Russian bureaucracy moved into Ukraine, and Russian became the language of the state administrative apparatus.

Chervonyi Prapor (The Red Flag), the official organ of that wing of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party which at that time chose to cooperate with the Bolsheviks, declared in an issue published in Kiev on March 9, 1919:

"The fraternal relations between the Bolsheviks and Ukrainians are too unceremonious, encompassing not only bread and sugar but the soul of the people as well. The crazed and shameless Russification now spreading in waves throughout Ukraine is such as we have never known. Not one leaflet in the Ukrainian language for the Ukrainian people, not one pamphlet, not as much as one newspaper of the Soviet government, uses the Ukrainian language. The Ukrainian language is driven out wherever it is found. A whole series of orders calling for the use of the "generally-understood" (*obshcheponiatnyi*) language is a sign of the times. And all the humble attempts of the Ukrainian citizen to safeguard his national and cultural rights, corresponding to those belonging to the "brotherly" nation in Ukraine, receive but one answer: chauvinism, counter-revolution, bourgeois mentality!

The economic wealth of Ukraine made it necessary to tone down this chauvinist policy and achieve some sort of amicable relations with the native population. The eighth congress of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party on Dec. 6, 1919, decided upon an initial "Ukrainization of Ukraine." The congress resolved "to aid in the removal of all restrictions on the free development of the Ukrainian language and culture. Because of the centuries-old exploitation, among the *backward portion* of the Ukrainian masses nationalist tendencies are evident, which must be treated with the greatest tolerance and care. (The party has resolved) to put into reality the right of the working masses to learn and communicate in their native language; to take measures to insure that all Soviet institutions have a sufficient number of officials who know the Ukrainian language, and that these officials continue to use the Ukrainian language.

Attention is directed to the expression "among the backward portion of the Ukrainian masses," for that approach has characterized all Russians, Communist or otherwise, ever since.

Because of the continuing difficulties Lenin in 1920 publicly came out in favor of an independent Ukraine, and in regard to the Ukrainian language said: "Give the Ukrainians two languages, so that they will fight for our cause!" Data on the books published in Ukraine in these troubled

years well illustrate the state of language affairs at that time. The first figure refers to Ukrainian books, the second in parentheses to Russian, that were published in Ukraine: 1917 — 747 (452); 1918 — 1985 (368). Under the Soviets the picture changes: 1919 — 665 (726); 1920 — 457 (369); 1921 — 214 (248); 1922 — 136 (491). Statistics on periodical publication bear the same testimony: 1917 — 158 (695); 1918 — 239 (319); 1919 — 237 (221); 1920 — 125 (149); 1921 — 123 (182); 1922 — 53 (186).

With the beginning of NEP in 1921, private Ukrainian publishers closed down by the Bolsheviks renewed their activity, while in 1922 *Prosvita*, an organization devoted to mass education, was abolished, and its many branches were converted into Communist *Proletcults*. Russian control was tightened, and on July 7, 1922, the "independent" Ukrainian republic "voluntarily" joined the new Russia.

PERIOD OF UKRAINIZATION

Ukrainian dissatisfaction continued to increase. As early as the fifth congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, which met in November, 1920, Zinoviev suggested that the party deceive the Ukrainian masses into trusting the Communists. "Let us carry on in such a manner," Zinoviev advised, "that no one will be able to suspect that we desire to stop the Ukrainian peasant from speaking the Ukrainian language. After several years that language which has greater roots and which is more vital and cultured will triumph". This "competition between two cultures" was strongly supported by Lebid, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. As reported in *Komunist* on March 23, 1923, Lebid said at a party congress in Kiev: "We know that theoretically a struggle of two cultures is inevitable. Because of definite historical conditions the culture of the cities in Ukraine is Russian, while that of the village is Ukrainian. To accept the task of actively Ukrainizing the party and the workers is to accept the view of the lower culture of the village as compared with the higher culture of the city."

Popular opposition mounted, however, and in 1923 the party decided in favor of Ukrainization. On Aug. 1, 1923, the party issued a special decree:

The workers' and peasants' government considers it necessary at the present time to focus the attention of the state on the spreading of the knowledge of the Ukrainian language. The formal equality of the two languages most widespread in Ukraine, the Ukrainian and the Russian, is inadequate. As a result of the not great development of Ukrainian culture in general, as a result of the lack of necessary textbooks, the absence of sufficiently trained

personnel, life, as experience has shown, brings about the factual dominance of the Russian language. In order to remove this inequality, the workers' and peasants' government makes use of a series of practical steps, which although maintaining the equality of the languages of all nationalities on the Ukrainian territory, must guarantee the Ukrainian language a place which corresponds to the number and proper importance of the Ukrainian people on the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

This resolution set in motion the much-advertized policy of Ukrainization, which began in earnest in 1925. In this work the ministry of education played a very significant role, and such ministers, as Blakytny, Hrynko and Alexander Shumsky, formerly Social-Democrats of the *Bo-robtyst* faction, did their utmost to build Ukrainian culture. Eighty-five percent of the newspapers in Ukraine were printed in Ukrainian, and the vast majority of books was published in the same language. The theatre became thoroughly Ukrainian. Primary and secondary schools dropped Russian in favor of Ukrainian as the basic language of instruction, while 28 percent of the chairs in all institutions of higher education was Ukrainized. Government personnel were required to learn Ukrainian and courses in Ukrainian were inaugurated in government offices. A beginning was also made in the Ukrainization of the army, in which Ukrainians formed only 42.5 percent, as did the Russians, but in 1926 a secret order was issued which provided that "nationally conscious Ukrainians cannot occupy a post higher than commanding officer of a regiment."

The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev spearheaded the Ukrainization program, and a second scientific center operated in Kharkiv. This was the era when such philologists as Krymsky, Tymchenko, Kurylo, Syniavsky, Bulakhovsky, Smerechynsky, Sulyma, Nimchynov, and Nakonechny published their works. With Krymsky as general editor, the Academy published six volumes (A to S) of a Russian-Ukrainian dictionary; thirty terminological dictionaries of great scientific value were also published. The grammar was systematized, foreign words and usages were weeded out, and the Ukrainian language flourished and threatened to break through the rigid bounds set up by Communist principles of "national in form, but socialist in content".

This external Ukrainization was without strong support in key political and economic sectors but it went beyond the arbitrary limit set by the party. The party soon learned that it was dangerous to play with Ukrainization, which was getting out of hand. Russian nationalists saw danger in the activities of such Ukrainian Communists as Shumsky, Khvylovy, Volobuyev, and Antonenko-Davydovych, all of whom favored a Ukrainian culture divorced from Moscow.

DISCUSSION ON SOURCES OF CULTURE

A heated "literary discussion" took place in Ukraine in the years 1925—1928 concerning the basis of Ukrainian culture. Two schools of thought appeared, the Westerners and the Russophiles. Mykola Khvylovy, a leading writer and a genuine Communist, was recognized as the leader of the Western school, which advocated that the Ukrainians orient themselves on Western European culture. In a pamphlet entitled "Thoughts against the Current" published in 1926, Khvylovy answered the Russophiles:

Today when Ukrainian poetry travels an entirely independent path, it cannot be delivered to Moscow by any Russian gifts whatsoever. In our literature we have imbedded the theory of Communist independence. Is Russia an independent state? Of course! And we too are independent! Before us stands the question: from which world literature should our literature take its cue? By no means and never from Moscow! That is definite and without reservation. From Russian literature, from its styles, Ukrainian poetry must flee as fast as it can!

In 1927 Khvylovy published the short story *Valdshnepy*, his most significant work, in which he affirmed that the Russians were preparing a new "one and indivisible" empire, that Russian Communists have degenerated into "gatherers of the Russian land" after the fashion of tsars, and that the national policy of the Bolsheviks was a deception. Khvylovy's followers elaborated a complete ideological program. In culture and literature Ukraine was to look to Europe rather than to Moscow. One's own language is not enough, since Ukraine does not want to be a backward province of Russia; Ukrainians want to have their own intelligentsia in all departments of life. The Ukrainians are especially against teaching Russians Ukrainian merely to legitimize Russian rule in Ukraine. Ukraine, they held, was being inundated by imported Russian workers, whereas the Ukrainians wanted to create their own Ukrainian proletariat. They demanded that Ukraine and not Moscow represent Ukrainian culture before the world. Finally, they emphasized that the Ukrainians do not desire to live in a province or vassalage of Russia.

At the same time the economist Volobuyev wrote an article in which he pointed out that from the economic point of view the position of Ukraine in the tsarist Empire was not worse than it was in the USSR, for in both instances Ukraine was exploited as a colony. He also declared that the slogans of the October Revolution had not been realized and that the subjugated nations, such as Ukraine, had not been liberated.

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in Ukraine, of ridiculing rather than helping the efforts toward improving Ukrainian culture, while the Ukrainians were reduced to nonentities in their own country. In retaliation, Shumsky was accused of "deviation," and banished to Moscow, while Lazar Kaganovich, was sent from Moscow to put Ukraine in order. Kaganovich asked Mykola Skrypnyk, an orthodox Ukrainian Communist, to help in extirpating nationalism in Ukraine, but Skrypnyk refused and committed suicide on July 7, 1933. The troubled era of "Ukrainization" came to an end during the iron rule of Kaganovich. The Communists of Ukrainian origin had revealed their patriotic inclinations, and their Russian masters to whom the idealistic slogans of the October Revolution meant less than the preservation of Russian political and cultural supremacy, cut them down in a "struggle" against "local nationalism".

THE SORROWFUL END OF UKRAINIZATION

Ukrainization was most embarrassing to the Russian bureaucrats. They were expected to conduct all written matters in Ukrainian, whereas Russian was spoken openly in all Ukrainian governmental offices, as a manifestation of the personal preferences of the bureaucrats and the vast superiority of the Russian language. Top party echelons were not Ukrainized, since the movement was limited to the lower levels, where the personnel was Ukrainian anyway. Indicative of the quality of "Ukrainization" is the fact that a proposed Ukrainian dictionary was forbidden to appear, although a Russian dictionary was permitted. Tymchenko attempted to publish a Ukrainian historical dictionary, but he was forbidden to include within it any materials antedating the fourteenth century, on the theory that all language, history, and literature prior to that century is the exclusive patrimony of the Russians. Minor hindrances multiplied and culminated in a pogrom of Ukrainian culture.

In the spring of 1930, a public trial of Ukrainian cultural leaders accused of membership in the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" was staged. A similar campaign was repeated in 1932—33. The valuable "Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary" which appeared in 1924 was confiscated and destroyed. Many terminological dictionaries were likewise destroyed, and a Russian system of terminology introduced. Following the death of Khvylovy, his friend the poet Hirniak also committed suicide, and in 1933 the famous *Berezil* theatre in Kharkiv was liquidated. Former heroes were transformed into "enemies of the people" and "lackeys of the bourgeoisie;" scholars were required to attack themselves. The geo-

grapher Stepan Rudnytsky was arrested and at his trial in 1934 accused himself of "philological wrecking." He was forced to confess:

We paid special attention to work in Ukrainian philology. Taking advantage of the rapid process in the development of Ukrainization, we directed our work in the field of philology to exclude from the Ukrainian language Russian influences in the questions of grammar, vocabulary, phraseology, terminology and style; at the same time this was done expressly, openly, with the intention of increasing attention to these problems in the hope that the idea of the independence of Ukraine would be drawn into these questions.

Konyk, a Galician Ukrainian, was forced to confess:

In the discipline of scientific philology great damage was done, artificial words having been accepted in order to expel from the Ukrainian language words borrowed from the Russian. In this manner we not only ruined the scientific language, but the conversational also, the latter taking in a vast number of barbarisms, Galician influences, and in essence becoming an uncultured jargon.

PERIOD OF COMMUNIZATION

A new era in Soviet policy as it relates to Ukrainian culture was begun with a decision of the central committee of the All-Union Communist Party dated April 3, 1932. This decision called for the extirpation of Ukrainian nationalism and the strengthening of Communist ideals. Paul Postyshev was assigned to lead this campaign, and he arrived in Kharkiv, Ukraine's capital, in January, 1933. Of Russian origin, Postyshev worked zealously to cleanse Ukraine of nationalist taint, but to ingratiate himself with the peasants he demonstratively wore an embroidered Ukrainian shirt, and in June, 1935, transferred the capital from Kharkiv to Kiev, Ukraine's historic heart. With the assassination of Kirov, Postyshev was given an excuse "to let the blood of chauvinists flow," many Ukrainian scholars and writers were sentenced to death or banishment. During Postyshev's dictatorship the top layer of the Ukrainian intelligentsia was annihilated.

In 1938 Postyshev was relieved because of shortcomings in results obtained and was replaced by Nikita Khrushchov, who was ordered to complete Postyshev's mission. In March, 1935, Hrynko, the Ukrainian commissar of education, was shot, while Lubchenko, the last surviving *Borotbyst*, took his own life. By playing one nationalist group against another and resorting to calculated use of imperialist *divide et impera* techniques, the Russians put non-Russians and non-Ukrainians at the head of the anti-Ukrainian drive. A victim of such tactics was Andrii Khvylya, a Jew, who was forced by the Russian chauvinists to launch an attack

upon the Ukrainians among whom he lived and worked. Over Khvylya's signature a book with the title *To Destroy the Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism on the Language Front* was published in Kharkiv.

Sabotage and bourgeois nationalism were discovered in philological works published in Ukrainian, and a novel contribution given to the world of science. The Russian Bolsheviks began to transplant party methodology to philology and even insisted upon basing dialectology on the class struggle. Accepted philological techniques were declared bourgeois and counter-revolutionary, and Ukrainian philologists silenced. Some disappeared, others saved themselves by public recantation. All party members were expected, in the words of Lenin, "to transform the Ukrainian language into an instrument of Communist education of the working masses." (*Collected Works, XXIV, 514*). In *Questions of Leninism* Stalin asked, "What is national culture under the dictatorship of the proletariat? It is a culture socialist in content, national in form, and has as its objective the education of the masses in the spirit of internationalism and the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Stalin further states in the same work that "national cultures must be permitted to develop, in order to create the conditions for their amalgamation into one common culture with one common language." The linguist Marr adopted this approach to philology and preached the eventual triumph of Russian as the future language of the world.

ORIENTATION TO RUSSIA

The Ukrainian language was the first and the most important to be subordinated to the norms of Marxist philology and Russian acculturation. The forced Russification of language and literature followed. Many Ukrainian language peculiarities were declared "Polonisms" and eliminated. Ukrainian nouns were classified according to Russian categories and those which did not fit were either eliminated or given a new form. The Russian past passive participle was introduced in Ukrainian. In 1933 a new Ukrainian grammar, compiled by Khvylya, appeared, in which Ukrainian usages not found in Russian were eliminated and Russian forms substituted. Lazar Kaganovich, the Politbureau's proconsul in Ukraine, also saw fit to dabble in philology, by publishing a syntax in which Ukrainian was adapted to Russian. In 1937 a "Russian-Ukrainian dictionary" was published, which again was marked by imported Russianisms and the absence of peculiarities foreign to Russian.

The primary and secondary schools were ordered to increase the hours of compulsory study of Russian. In 1933 the Ukrainian universities

were compelled to adopt Russian as the language of instruction in the majority of subjects, while the universities were subordinated directly to Moscow. Russian theatres and papers re-emerged in new vigor throughout Ukraine. Journalists were told from above to stop using certain forms and words. The radio and films carried a program 75% Russian. To speak Ukrainian aroused suspicion, and many Ukrainian scholars, such as the philologist Olena Kurylo and the scientist Vernadsky, saved their lives by transferring their activities to Russian cities. Ukrainian scholars ceased to speak their native language and since the party could not define accurately the dividing line between Russian and Ukrainian, many simply ceased writing. The situation became even more confused with the fall of Khvylya in 1938—when his grammar and dictionary were declared nationalist and he disappeared from the scene. With the decline of Ukrainian, Russian was elevated to increasingly greater prominence. In June, 1938, the fourteenth congress of the Communist party of Ukraine took the following stand:

The congress emphasizes with special force the necessity of liquidating the results of hostile opposition to the teaching of the Russian language in almost all secondary schools, as well as in universities. Bourgeois nationalists, Trotskyites, and Bukharinites resorted to all kinds of nastiness and chicanery in an effort to expel the great Russian language from our schools and universities. The endeavors of the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists were calculated to split the Ukrainian people from brotherly friendship with the great Russian people, to split Soviet Ukraine from the USSR, and to bring back capitalist slavery.

At the same congress Khrushchov spoke as follows:

Today all peoples will learn the Russian language, because Russian workers raised the standard of revolution. The Bolsheviks studied the German language in order to study Marx in the original. The teachings of Marx and Engels has been further elaborated by the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, written in Russian. Therefore the peoples of all countries are studying and will master the Russian language, in order to understand Leninism-Stalinism and to triumph over their enemies. The enemies of the people, the bourgeois nationalists, knew the strength and significance of the Russian language, of Russian culture; they knew these were an influence for Bolshevism, and therefore they excluded Russian from schools. In many Ukrainian schools German, French, Polish and other languages were taught, but not Russian. Enemies used all means to divorce the culture of the Ukrainian people from Russian culture.

For the past fifteen years Ukrainian has been tolerated as a pale reflection of the brilliant Russian language. The newspaper *Visti* (No.

192) wrote in 1938: "The Ukrainian literary language grew and strengthened on the excellent works of the geniuses of literature and culture of the great Russian people." The press in Ukraine is filled today with articles with the message, "invigorate the study of the Russian language, for it is the key to the understanding of Communism!" *Zhizn i Iskusstvo (Life and Art)* indulges in such outbursts as "the Ukrainian language, to put it mildly, is not exactly suited for the opera." When a guest in Zaporizhzhie, a Ukrainian city, Gladkov, the author of the highly publicized novel *Cement*, tactlessly asked, "why bring the pre-Petrine period back to life, why galvanize the Ukrainian language, which is already covered with dust?" And today, according to the Soviet press, every Ukrainian writer, from Franko and Shevchenko down, was weaned on the literature and ideology of the "elder brother," the "brotherly nation."

Other non-Russians are treated in the same manner. On August 28, 1933, the Politbureau of the White-Ruthenian republic announced that "the artificial barrier between the White-Ruthenian and Russian languages in syntax and grammar is being eliminated." The Tatar publication *Culture and Education* in 1935 (No. 135) printed instructions which bade the Tatars to master "All-Union" words (Russian in reality) to take over without change socialist and scientific terminology from the Russian; to use only a Russian word when Tatar lacks the word in question, the creation of a new word being forbidden. In 1938 a state pedagogical institute was opened for the Uzbeks, but of eighteen chairs only one was permitted to use the local language while all the rest used the "all-Union" language. Under the Soviets, as under the Tsars, Russians are granted a bonus in order to attract them to work "in the border areas" of Russification.

One will search the Soviet press in vain today for a statement suggesting that the Ukrainian language differs from the Russian. An edition of the Ukrainian writer Rudansky's works simply omits all of that writer's complaints against the Russians, while in Moscow Tschaikovsky's opera *Mazepa*, complete with all of its anti-Ukrainian passages, is presented annually. The works of Lesya Ukrainka were printed in an edition of 5,000 copies, while a work of the Russian Communist Fadayev was translated into Ukrainian and printed in an edition of 120,000 copies. *The Workers Library*, which is published by the government in Ukraine as a handbook for the masses, advises the Ukrainian people what they should read. Ninety-five percent of the titles are Russian, while only five percent are Ukrainian.

DICTATION FROM MOSCOW

The trend toward Russification continued to mount until 1939, when war threatened. Keenly aware of their internal weakness, the Bolsheviki began to allow the Ukrainians greater rights. Yuri Yanovsky was even permitted to print the observation that within the past decade the Ukrainian literary language had been greatly impoverished. With the annexation of Galicia, Carpatho-Ukraine and Bukovina, the problem of the Ukrainian literary language came to the fore, and again surface toleration was evident.

Immediately after the end of the Second World War, the Marxist straitjacket was again imposed upon all under Soviet rule. The Communist party again pontificated in matters of poetry, literature, and linguistics. In 1947 the Kiev philological publication *Movoznavstvo* revealed that "the lexical wealth of the contemporary Ukrainian language, as the language of the people of industrial-*kolhosp* Soviet Ukraine, was created and is being created with the beneficent influence of the language of the great Russian people, as the result of the realization of the policy of Lenin and Stalin, a policy of the growth of a culture national in form and socialist in content."

Today the Russian language, as the "all-Union" language, is being strengthened in Ukraine. Linguistics in Ukraine today is termed "Soviet Marxist-Leninist linguistics." Dialectology as a science is abused and minor dialectics are explained as a backward usage of backward inhabitants. The history of languages is a most dangerous discipline.. The language of rural areas is considered reactionary and kulak-ridden, while the Russified jargon of the city worker is elevated to a position of esteem and example. *Movoznavstvo* cautions that dictionaries and literary works must not contain words inimical to Communism: "a terminological dictionary must not contain terms opposed to Marxist philosophy; thus the list of medical terms cannot include such words as *crippling, porcha and spell*". As in all parts of the USSR, freedom of the press, speech, and of education does not exist.

In 1948 a *Russian-English Dictionary* appeared in Kiev under the editorship of M. Kalynovych. The previous dictionary of that nature, which appeared in 1937, was set aside because it was "very incomplete, insufficiently exact, and insufficiently critical in regard to nationalist distortions in previous dictionaries." This new dictionary is heavy with Russian importations. This new dictionary contains the following appraisal of the dictionary put out previously by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

The six volumes of that dictionary are not available for use because they exhibit definite bourgeois-nationalist tendencies. The compilers and editors of that dictionary, for the greater part bourgeois-nationalist philologists and enemies of the Ukrainian people, ignored in all ways the kinship and reciprocity of the Russian and Ukrainian languages. Similar distortions were inserted by bourgeois-nationalist philologists in orthography, endeavoring to orient it on the West."

The study of the development of the Ukrainian language under Soviet rule suggests that in the years 1923—1932 that language acquired such strength that its further development could not be checked by brute force. The obstacles set up by the Communists were circumvented, and concessions granted were usually motivated by necessity or demagoguery. On the whole, the Communists have frowned upon the use of Ukrainian, and factual equality with Russian language has never been attained. How many devoted friends of Russian culture and literature really desire to behold a flourishing Ukrainian culture? Improvements and concessions granted to the Ukrainians always arose out of the demands of the times, never through real conviction as to equal rights or legal interpretation.

Today philology in Ukraine has been yoked to a political methodology; the Ukrainians are forced to regard the Russians as their "elder brother," and by force the Ukrainian language is approximated to Russian. Russification continues, by means of a multitude of governmental organs and educational institutions which use the Russian language. In addition to this cultural attack, Ukrainians are subjected to physical destruction through banishment, execution, imprisonment, and slave labor. It has been estimated that 15,000,000 Ukrainians are unaccounted for because of such policies. Thus the Bolsheviks continue the work of the tsars, using all means to preserve Russian rule and uproot manifestations of a distinct Ukrainian individuality.



THE ABOLITION OF RELIGION IN UKRAINE

By NICHOLAS PRYCHODKO

The current newspapers tell us of the drastic measures taken by the Communist governments of the Soviet satellites against the church and the clergy. The Western world accepts these news with astonishment and even disbelief, and quickly forgets these tragic incidents.

To those of us who for years have lived under the Communist regime, this news is not at all surprising. Furthermore, we could have predicted it as well as all the other political measures taken in the satellite states. It is a repetition of the Muscovite actions in Ukraine. The cruel destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, the fraudulent trials of Cardinal Mindszenty and the Protestant ministers in Bulgaria, and the increasing government pressure on all branches of religious life, are only an unmodified repetition of the annihilation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church in Ukraine.

When, in 1921, the armed struggle for an independent Ukrainian nation, and human rights in Ukraine, began to subside, when the Ukrainians could no longer resist the Moscow hordes in the military field, many Ukrainians continued to fight on by developing a religious, ideological ground against an ultimate spiritual subjugation.

A group of Ukrainian clergy with patriotic ideas, with the aid of the better members of society (many of them professors of Universities or the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences) established in 1921 in Kiev the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, independent of the Moscow imperialistic church, which from the very first days of the Revolution maintained and preached from the pulpit an uncompromisingly hostile attitude towards any endeavors of the Ukrainian people to liberate themselves from Muscovite Russian rule.

At the head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and its faithful followers, was the aged Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky, filled with a burning faith and an undaunted spirit and love for his people. It is impossible to forget how thousands of young and old stood under the vaulted arches of the magnificent St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev and listened to his brave, exalted sermons—words of Christ's faith and defence of his people before an assailant. The words of Christ's truth poured forth from inside the walls of St. Sophia, built by the Ukrainian Princes in the

eleventh century, and soon thousands of churches sprang up all over Eastern Ukraine. They brought to the people a word of the Great Truth, and a strength of spirit in those hopeless circumstances.

Soon there was formed in Ukraine an episcopate of 27 bishops and archbishops, with Metropolitan Lypkivsky as the head. Travelling from city to city, throughout Ukraine, organizing strongholds of the Orthodox religion, he would unexpectedly be met by active partisans from the surrounding forest, who wished to receive his blessing. The Metropolitan was always very happy to bless the faithful sons of their people for their continued struggle against Moscow tyranny.

Soon almost nowhere in the Ukraine was there room for the Moscow Patriarchal church. The whole nation, with the exception of a few groups of renegades and irreligious communists flocked to a Russian church and stood firmly behind it. Moscow was quick to comprehend the danger that this church constituted to her colonial and anti-religious policies. Officially, and unofficially, she immediately attacked the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church more fiercely than any other church.

As now in the Western Ukraine and the satellite states, the struggle began with a propaganda march against the church and the levying of grotesquely high taxes on parishes and the clergy. Then followed the arrest of the bishops, priests and the more active members of church groups, and the notorious trials intended to discredit the Church and bring forth a demand from "the workers" to close the churches.

In Kiev, for example, active party members conducted a house to house canvass for "voluntary" signatures of the residents to take down the church bells, on the pretext that they interfered with the Sunday rest of the workers. Signatures were solicited even in those areas where the bells were not heard. Everybody signed; a refusal meant the loss of one's job or arrest.

Often on great holidays, especially on Easter Sunday, the irreligious pupils of Moscow's teacher of atheism E. Yaroslavsky would hold a demonstration near a church, with drums and accordions, singing shameful, anti-religious songs in Russian, for example:

„Down with the rabbis, priests and monks,
We'll go up to heaven and drive out all gods.”

Sometimes they would hold their meetings near a church and shout their usual phrases that there is no God and that religion is the opium of the people. The congregation would stop in the midst of prayer, grab sticks and chase the rascals. The very next day, of course, repercussions would follow. The offenders would be confronted with arrest and deporta-

tion, for those were the directions from the central authorities to abolish the church without any regard for the methods employed.



VASYL LYPKIVSKY
Metropolitan of Kiev

Through charges of Ukrainian nationalism, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was virtually decapitated. Out of 27 bishops only I. Theodorovich, now residing in Philadelphia, remained in freedom, and that was only because he had been delegated to organize the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church in America. The other 26 died either at the hands of the GPU or in exile in Siberia.

Here are the names of those martyrs:

Archbishops: George Savchenko, George Mychnovsky, Stephen Orlyk, Joachim Kalnyshovsky, Peter Tarnavsky, Alexander Chervinsky, Constantine Krotevych, Theodosy Ariyiv, Constantine Malunkevych, Osip Oksiuk, W. Dachivnyk-Dachivsky, Peter Rmetaniv.

Bishops: Gregory Storonenko, Jacob Shulayevsky, Vladimir Michnovsky, Mark Hrushovsky, Conon Bey, Wasyl

Pshenichny, Anton Bronovsky, Maxim Zadvirniak, Mykola Karabinevich, Vladimir Samborsky, Ivan Pavlovsky, O. Vzovenesky.

At the same time that the Communists liquidated the church leaders, they also closed up the churches, first in the villages, and later in the towns and turned them into grainaries, stores, theatres and clubs. The „activists” visited the homes of the kolkhoz workers to see if they still kept any ikons. On religious holidays they organized the so-called „Sabbatarians” (the name for days of voluntary labor) for work. Naturally

everyone had to "volunteer". The whole action was conducted with mass arrests and deportations.

The church preached Christian morals, and that interfered with the Communist inauguration of their system of force and terror. It instilled into the hearts of the people love for Ukraine, for the mother tongue. It recalled to them historical events of their past and so, in spite of the wishes of 95 per cent of the people, the Church had to be abolished. Such a "solution" of the religious problem did not dim the torch of faith in the souls of the people. The religious struggle has never ceased. It still continues to this day.

Only an evil power like Communism (or its blood-brother, Hitlerism) could have demolished the glorious shrines of early Ukrainian architecture and paintings that belonged to the Church.¹

For example, in 1934, after moving the capital from Kharkiv to Kiev, as if to honor that city countless atrocities were committed there by Moscow's governor P. Postyshev. Among the buildings ruined were: The great gold-roofed St. Michael's Monastery, built in 1060 and restored in the 18th century; the Desyatyna Church, built by Volodymyr the Great; the St. Nicholas Cathedral, built by Hetman Mazepa in the 17th century; the Askold Tomb and Cemetery, where the Ukrainian Princes Askold and Dyr were buried. The Green Theatre was erected on its site for amusement and dancing. The time-honored, centuries old Lavra Monastery was converted into an anti-religious museum.

On St. Volodymyr Mt. a building, with beautiful panorama of the martyrdom of Christ, was destroyed. The canvas on which famous artists had worked (the cost was over a quarter of a million gold rubles) was hidden in a cellar and there ruined by rats and mold.

That same year one of the most renowned sanctuaries in Ukraine, a shrine of early Ukrainian culture, the Monastery of the Mezhyhirya Saviour, was destroyed. A villa for the party and police lords was built in its place. We do not even mention here the thousands of churches that were destroyed in the smaller towns and villages throughout the Ukraine.

Upon occupying Western Ukraine (under Polish rule until World War II.) Moscow immediately began her atrocious liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, which counted four millions of faithful followers. This Church was strictly opposed to Moscow's irreligious policy. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky—the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and a man with a patrician spirit—died mysterious-

¹ Hordynsky, "The Stones Cry Out," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. IV, 1.

ly. Somewhat later it was disclosed that he had been poisoned. The Communists then published a booklet in which they tried desperately to dishonor that great man and his religious and humanitarian work. Then followed arrests and deportations of whole Episcopate, because it refused to serve the Stalinist patriarchate of Moscow, instituted to spread propaganda and spy abroad.³

Following are the names of the martyrs for Christian Truth and defenders of their people:

Metropolitan Joseph Slipy.

Bishops: Hryhori Khomyshyn, Josaphat Kotsylovsky, Nykyta Budka, Mykola Charnetsky, Ivan Liatyshevsky, Hryhori Lakota, Theodore Romzha.

Bishops' Assistants: Petro Verhun, Augustyn Voloshyn.

According to the latest information Bishops H. Khomyshyn, J. Kotsylovsky, H. Lakota and T. Romzha have already perished in Siberia. Their fate has been duplicated by hundreds of Catholic priests and thousands upon thousands of their devout followers.

After this outrage against the Church in the Western Ukraine, the Communists organized there, under police pressure, a Church "Council" which "voluntarily" announced the union of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Patriarchal Church. When the clergy (those still in freedom) protested against this decision, they met with the inevitable reprisals—mass arrests and deportations. Arrested also was the author of the protest, Abbot Clement Sheptytsky, of the Studit Order, and brother of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. All monasteries were closed and the monks were arrested and exiled to Siberia and Central Asia.

Thus Communism has revealed its true colors in treating the religious life of Ukraine. Nothing else may be anticipated if it ever enters the home territories of those glorious Gothic Cathedrals of Europe; that is if the Christian world does not first wipe off the face of the earth this Moscow vandalism.

³ N. Chubaty, "Russian Church Policy in Ukraine", *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. II, 1. Idem, "Metropolitan Joseph Slipy," Vol. VI, 2.

TEN YEARS OF SOVIET LITERATURE IN UKRAINE

By BOHDAN ROMANENCHUK

There have been many hard moments in the history of Ukrainian literature, moments that have left deep scars on its development. There have been periods of decline, there have been even times when Ukrainian literature ceased to exist, but never before has it been subjected to such a capricious and tragic fate as in modern times.

With the fall of the Tsarist regime and the outbreak of the Ukrainian revolution, in 1917, all Ukrainian life and with it Ukrainian literature revived. In a short time Ukrainian literature made up all that it had lost during its enslavement. Hundreds of young poets and writers appeared and, among them were many first rate talents, who placed Ukrainian literature on a high level. This literary revival was so strong that even when the Soviets finally occupied Ukraine they could not at once check it. During the ten years of relative freedom, from 1920—1930, Ukrainian literature surpassed at least three times in bulk that which had been written during several decades under the Tsarist regime.

This, however, was what Red Moscow feared most. Moscow feared that Ukrainian culture and literature might surpass the Russian as much as she feared the freedom of thought, the deep inborn feeling of democracy and the striving for independence and liberty of the Ukrainian spirit. So Moscow started a persecution of the literature. This reached its peak in 1934 when many Ukrainian poets and writers were shot by Russian firing squads, and hundreds of those that were not killed were sentenced to long years of exile in the concentration camps of the far north, from which only a few returned. There were left only those who humbled themselves before the party, to save their lives. These men resigned themselves to the circumstances and conscientiously carried out the "social commission". From that time on Ukrainian literature has experienced its greatest tragedy and—shame. It is now the slave of the party and knows no free development; it is compelled to perform its slave labor which is calculated to harm the Ukrainian nation and to benefit the Russian.

Modern Ukrainian literature is therefore torn in two and is developing in two different and hostile directions. One is the direction taken by the contemporary Ukrainian emigre writers scattered through the

world. This can develop freely, without any influence, orders or directions from any one, although it is in very difficult material circumstances, which to a certain extent check its development. It has an all-Ukrainian democratic character, which makes it a member of the large family of free literatures.

On the other hand Ukrainian "proletarian literature" within the boundaries of the USSR and behind the Iron Curtain, is anti-national and anti-democratic in character and is developing according to the relentless party program. It aims to undermine Ukrainian culture, literature, vital national interest, and preaches only communist slogans calculated to promote Russian imperialism. Its subjects are limited to the narrow party program; it is, therefore, false and hypocritical. From the formal and artistic side this literature is mostly primitive and inartistic. It is hopelessly stuck in the rut of "socialistic realism", the only style approved by the party, from which it dares not depart.

How does the Ukrainian writer feel about the official styles and programs?

The best answer to this are the works of Ukrainian authors, written during and after the war, that is in the last decade. If he looks at the subject and artistic value of these works, the reader quickly comes to the conclusion that they show merely a low quality of mere craftsmanship, merely an execution of the "social commission" and are not literature. No matter how much the Soviet critics may extol the nobility of these ideas and the artistic value of these works, the truth will out. The most prominent trait of this totalitarianized literature is its perfidy and hypocrisy, which is true of the entire Soviet reality.

The easiest way to prove the falsehood and perfidy of Soviet literature is through the study of its characters. It is here that the author has the opportunity to show his art, if he is allowed to create freely. But the harassed Soviet author can not think of art, when he is faced with the task of portraying the ideal Bolshevik, about whom he can form no clear idea, due to the instability of the party policy. That which today is good and beautiful, will be counter-revolutionary tomorrow. In order to meet the requirements the author uses a fixed model and endows his communist heroes with such perfection of character as to make them impossible and unnatural creations. He paints the villains, the persons hostile to communism, in the blackest of colors and makes them equally unreal and impossible. Neither such ideally noble, nor such completely black characters are possible or natural, and so the entire literature is stripped of all actual and artistic truth and even plausibility.



To illustrate what we have just said, let us analyze some of the works of the "proletarian" writers from the last decade. The literature can be divided into two periods: the war and the post-war literature, as during the war all the writers were compelled to write about the war, and at its end the party ordered them to write about the post-war reconstruction. Every author had to pay his tribute to the party; the top writers, the second rate and the young beginners—none were exempt. But even those who received the highest honors bestowed in the Soviet Union, in the form of Lenin medals and Stalin premiums, do not justify their renown from our point of view. For example take one of the leading Ukrainian Soviet writers Alexander Korniychuk. At one time he was one of the best dramatic writers and the author of rather orthodox, and ideologically correct but still artistic works, as "*Platon Krechet*", "*The Loss of the Fleet*" but he now writes as primitively as a beginner, who is taking his first uncertain steps in literature. Two of his plays "*Partisans in the Steppes of Ukraine*" and "*Come to Dzvonkove*" are typical propaganda pieces, written on commission. In the first play the author portrays Ukrainian kolkhoz workers in the role of Soviet partisans, who organize an underground action against the Germans, after the retreat of the Red Army. The form of this comedy, the scenes, situations, cheap and primitive effects, which any mature author should blush to use, show unmistakably how Korniychuk has deteriorated. It is clear that the author was not in the least interested in the artistic possibilities of the work, but merely carried out the newest commission to demonstrate the "fervent love of the population (in this case the Ukrainian kolkhoz workers) to the Soviet fatherland and to the beloved leader Comrade Stalin".

The heroism and other noble traits of the Soviet partisan of course generously sprinkle the pages. This becomes apparent when a simple kolkhoz partisan disguising himself in the uniform of a captured German general, captures some twenty German officers with the help of the single word "schweigen". The handful of partisans with him take over all the military supplies, while the frightened German soldiers save themselves by flight. Everything goes as easily and smoothly, as in a fairytale. The intimidated German officers obediently raise their hands and let themselves be disarmed, the army scatters like chicks before a hawk, and even the paratroopers fall obligingly right into the hands of the partisans. However the "higher life confirming Soviet morality" of the author comes to light, when he tells his heroes to club the paratroopers to death and to throw the general into a swamp where he slowly suffocates.

The author's task in the second play "*Come to Dzvonkove*" is to show the post-war reconstruction. He, however, shows only the magnificent plans of this. The authorities of the village Dzvonkove plan to build a general hospital, drugstore, radio broadcasting station, library, school of agronomy, club, bakery, store and a "silrada" (city hall) with a colonnade, such as "his eminence Count Gursky one had". "Now that our state is eminent in the whole world—we are the eminencies", reasons a kolkhoz peasant. In the center of the village the figure of Stalin has to be erected, "but so high that it will be seen not only from all points of the village but from afar as well . . ." The author is not in the least concerned with the rebuilding of the peasant homes since the kolkhoz workers are happy to have any roof over their heads. For the "most part of Dzvonkove is already reconstructed. Nobody lives under the bare sky", says the head of the kolkhoz, who lives in a chickenhouse. He is first of all a kolkhoz worker and must care for the harvest, because the State needs grain. This is a perfect subject for a literary satire, but the author seems to be wholly unaware of it.

Postwar reconstruction is also the theme of the novel "*Living Water*" written by Yury Yanovsky, the author of such fine novels as "*Four Sabers*", "*The Horsemen*", and "*Master of the Ship*". The author describes kolkhozes, factories, mines and the universal enthusiasm of the people for the party and its policy, the unbelievable heroism of the populace, its self-denial and self-sacrifice for the good of the socialistic fatherland . . . All are overjoyed that they are allowed to help the party strengthen communism. The kolkhoz worker Hanna K. helps to rebuild the kolkhoz; she does not worry over the fact that her own home was ruined during the war, that her husband was killed in it; "filled with ardent faith in the life-giving power of the kolkhoz order" — she says:

"If we have the kolkhoz, I will build my house; if there will be no kolkhoz, even this cage is too much . . ."

Still another example:

— "Pal Palych", said Korzh — "tell me as my neighbor with what living water have we been sprinkled, that we are not afraid of death, that we survived the Germans and came to life again?"

Pal Palych looked into the clear eyes of Korzh and answered softly:

"The party, my friend, the party did all this!"

To the author the party is the "living water", that conquers and revives all, gives a "joyous and happy life" to the Soviet man, or at least he wishes to convince us that it is so.

Nevertheless the author did not satisfy the party and in spite of his efforts landed on the list of the "bourgeois-nationalist backsliders".

Soviet criticism came to the conclusion that he "showed the domination of the biological elements in life over the social", that he failed to show the "great historical changes in the mentality of the Soviet peasants under the kolkhoz order" and that he "did not re-create artistically enough the sources of stability and heroism in both labor and battle". The truth is that the author strove to give his heroes at least a slight semblance of humanity, within the restricted and severe limitations of the party program. He gave them some human traits—both positive and negative,—some human foibles and feelings. For example the invalid Col. Kovalenko is very much in love with his young and beautiful wife, who has left him because he has been crippled. He tries to forget her in work, but sometimes secretly he sheds a few tears of grief over her. That is all wrong. It means that the author showed weakness in a communist! Communists are not weak, and because he is a communist and a former colonel of the Red Army, he has no right to weep even in secret! . .

One of the older writers Vadym Sobko in his novel *"The Blood of Ukraine"*, describes the retreat of the Red Army before the Germans in the first year of the war. The most characteristic features of this novel are the improbable military situations and scenes. Large numbers of German tanks retreat before a handful of Soviet soldiers. Germans die by the hundreds, before one or two Soviet machineguns. The Soviet soldiers are courageous and heroic to selflessness, whereas the Germans are without exception cowardly and stupid. All the Soviet deeds of valor are the merit of the party, which is represented in each and every division by a political commissar whom the author depicts as a demigod. For example:

"Shkaruba received the commissar's directions calmly enough. He was certain that as long as the commissar was with him *no misfortune could befall them.*"

Or the naive incident at Stalin's speech:

"The soldiers gathered at the radiostation and surrounded it in a tight circle. Not a word, not a breath . . . "There must be silence in the whole world when Stalin talks", says one of the soldiers.

"In a half hour Mykhaylo Hayvoron returned to his trench with the party certificate in his pocket next to his very heart. Mykhaylo was solemn, self-centered. Now that he was a communist he regarded every step, every deed in a new light . . ."

"In the days of great battles the party became still nearer and dearer. The communists, men without doubts or fear always went in the first ranks. They led thousands of young warriors into battle. It was they who gave the party thousands upon thousands of new warriors."

Among the younger writers Oles Honchar wrote two novels on war themes: *"The Bannerbearers"* and *"The Earth Rumbles"*. In the first the author describes the "heroic attack of the Soviet Army on the West", and particularly the march of one of its units "The 5th Ukrainian Army"

through Rumania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Most remarkable here are the over-sweetened and super-idealized Soviet soldiers. The author does his best to convince his readers that the Soviet soldier is the only true soldier and that all others, no matter of what nationality, are robbers, bandits and cowards. The war scenes and situations are improbable, unnatural and naive.

The second novel deals with the life of the Soviet population under German occupation, in particular the guerilla war. But for some reason the partisan action is carried on by teen-agers, who organize their separate group and carry out a series of sabotages. They are, however, speedily discovered, arrested and tortured to death by the Germans. In prison these teen-agers conduct themselves as the most hardened and courageous mature revolutionists.

Perhaps the author is a good narrator, for some of his episodes are interesting, but his work can only be termed a "fantastic novel", inasmuch as it is full of extraordinary, impossible and improbable characters as well as situations. Without doubt Honchar is a talented writer, who could write fine novels, if he had freedom to create, but there is no hope that his works will ever be literature as long as he remains under the dictates and demands of the party.

One of the older writers Ivan Senchenko dedicated his novel "*His Generation*" to the Soviet Youth. The author did all he could to satisfy the party, to strike the right tone, find the proper attitude in glorifying the party and the Soviet youth, but the communist critics could not stomach the book. The reason of his failure is that Senchenko "even now could not get rid of old mistakes of a nationalist character". In reality he could not overcome the difficulties of describing artistically the figures of the Soviet youth. It is an impossible task for any writer, because the Soviet ideal of youth is very ephemeral and unreal. The central figure in this novel is Leonid Slyvenko, a 15 year old prodigy with the brains and experience of at least a hundred mature men. There is nothing that he does not know, or cannot do; nothing can stop him; he is the boldest, the most courageous, the most determined, the wisest, etc. The unfortunate author lost all sense of the human and superhuman, the real and unreal, possible and impossible. There is no limit to his idealization.

A talented writer of Jewish descent Natan Rybak chose for his novel "*Thus the Sun Rose*" a historical theme of Hetman Khmelnytsky. The party commission in this case was to write a novel about the "centuries old friendship between the Ukrainian and the Russian nations". The author was to demonstrate how the union of Ukraine with Russia was the

wisest possible political act and then, according to the author, the sun rose for Ukraine.

This novel is remarkable inasmuch as the author met the demands of the party very faithfully and explicitly, and showed an extensive knowledge of "historical materialism" and "the battle of classes". The falsification of Ukrainian history according to the Soviet prescriptions and the insults to the memory of a great Ukrainian Hetman found their culmination and surpassed all limits of possibility.

Still another historical novel "*Petersburg Autumn*" about Taras Shevchenko was written by Olexander Ilchenko. The book deals with the last years of Shevchenko after his return from his Asian exile when the poet was compelled to live in Petersburg, because the Tsar forbade him to return to Ukraine. The author of the novel had a similar party assignment to "demonstrate the friendship between the Ukrainian and Great Russian nations" in the past. To carry out this the author had to falsify historical facts, the history of Ukraine, her culture and literature. So he represents Shevchenko as a democratic internationalist, who fought together with the Russian democrats Chernishevsky and Dobrolyubov against the Tsarist regime, which persecuted both the "brotherly nations". On the other hand all the other Ukrainian cultural and literary leaders of that time the author paints as negative types and the enemies of the Ukrainian nation.

We have said nothing about poetry because very little poetry is written and that serves to prove how utterly weary the poets are of the demands of the party, the dreary Soviet reality, the dictated subjects and the spiritual serfdom. This weariness is unmistakable in their works. But mental exhaustion and creative weakness are evident in the works of all Ukrainian writers at home. It is enough to compare the older works of such fine poets as once were Tychyna, Rylsky, Bazhan, or novelists as Yanovsky, Holovko, even Korniychuk and many others with their more recent publications and their complete creative sterility becomes apparent. The same is doubtlessly true of the smaller talents, who, granted freedom of creation, would have given perhaps not first rate, but still valuable works.

The entire modern Ukrainian literature under the Soviets has dwindled down to mere propaganda carried on through literary media. We are perfectly safe in saying that the modern Ukrainian literary output in the Soviet Union adds nothing positive or valuable either to Ukrainian literature or the national culture. It will have only the value of a sad historical document to show that Ukrainian literature is experiencing its darkest hour under the yoke of a relentless occupant.

SERHIY TIMOSHENKO, UKRAINIAN ARCHITECT (1881-1950)

By VOLODYMYR SICHYNSKY

On July 6 of this year there died at the age of 69 the distinguished Ukrainian architect Serhiy Timoshenko. The deceased was one of the most outstanding creators of contemporary Ukrainian architecture, and a leading representative of the modern Ukrainian movement which has struggled to develop its own style based on the old artistic tradition but transformed for modern conditions of life and existence. This national current has greatly increased in strength since the beginning of this century along with the growth of the Ukrainian cultural movement and the development of literature, art, the theatre, and music. The birth of this movement met with great opposition from the Russian officials and the political publications of Russian circles, for they attempted to create one "Russian" pattern and could not accept the existence of any special Ukrainian cultural centre or separate style.

The early part of the XX century up to the First World War witnessed continuous polemics on this theme in Russian and Ukrainian journals, scientific works and public discussions.

Serhiy Timoshenko was one of the most outstanding participants in this cultural endeavor and in the "peaceful" struggle of two different points of view, two opposing mentalities. His arguments and proofs were not restricted by his words but were revealed in his actions. His works of monumental art were a visible proof of the existence of a Ukrainian culture and style different from the Russian (Muscovite). To this creative work, the deceased consecrated his entire life which was filled with untiring work and sacrifice.

S. Timoshenko was born February 5, 1881 in an old Ukrainian family in Bazylivka in Chernyivshchyna. After completing the real gymnasium in Romny in Poltavshchyna, he entered in 1902 the Institute



Prof. Serhiy P. Timoshenko

of Civil Engineers in Petersburg, which was at the time the only special higher school of architecture and one of the best schools in Russia. In this school the Russian government tried to train architectural engineers in the general Russian spirit, giving them the general Russian pattern in architecture. It was in this school that S. Timoshenko, with his fellow countrymen, founded a Ukrainian Student Society, one of the first in Petersburg. The Ukrainian "Hromada" took as its goal the fostering of Ukrainian culture, the study of the ancient Ukrainian architecture, the rebirth of the Ukrainian architectural style, the propaganda for Ukrainian art among its own and foreign youth. To this end it arranged architectural exhibitions, competitions, lectures and established a library and a collection of pictures of Ukrainian architecture. The Ukrainian "Hromada" of the Institute of Civil Engineers up to the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 had produced a long series of Ukrainian architects, scholars and art students, who are still working in Ukraine.

S. Timoshenko, after completing the Institute of Civil Engineers in 1906 with the title of Civil Engineer, worked in Ukraine in the cities of Kovel, Kiev, Kharkiv, Lviv, and Lutsk. Extraordinarily industrious and productive, he executed a great number of plans of individual structure and whole groups of buildings of which about 400 structures were actually built; dwelling houses, villas, railroad stations and other public buildings, churches and monuments. The plans of Eng. Timoshenko were distinguished for their extraordinary accuracy and precision and were much respected by contractors.

Being for a long time the chief architect of the management of the North-Donets Railroad with its centre in Kharkiv, S. Timoshenko built many railroad stations on this and other state lines. Among other outstanding works, he constructed the freight station in Kovel, private houses in Kharkiv, in Kharkivshchyna, the Crimea, Kiev, in Volyn, a hospital in Kazan (where he won first prize in a competition), electrical works in the Don Basin, and excellent storehouses for the preservation of fruit in Volyn and Poland.

Especial attention must be given to the plans of S. Timoshenko for Ukrainian Churches (Orthodox and Greek Catholic) constructed according to the typical forms of Ukrainian architecture. The finest of these are in Galicia, Volyn and Canada.

S. Timoshenko also deserves high credit for his work as an organizer of Ukrainian cultural and artistic life. He was one of the founders and later head of the Architectural Artistic Society in Kharkiv, one of the founders of the Architectural Institute in Kiev in 1918, Vice-head of the

„Producers of Ukrainian Art” in Lviv and of other societies. In the years 1923—1929 he was professor of building in the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy in Podebrady near Prague, where he wrote a handbook on building materials.

Since 1946, Serhiy Timoshenko lived in Palo Alto, California, with his brother, Professor Stepan Timoshenko, the well-known technical scholar and author of a widely used university handbook on the strength of materials. During his residence in the United States, Eng. Serhiy Timoshenko executed a long series of architectural plans for private homes and churches. He won a prize in a competition for plans for the Ukrainian Cathedral in Winnipeg in 1948. Besides this, S. Timoshenko drew plans for other Ukrainian Churches in Canada: in Vancouver (a large five-domed church), Edmonton, Saskatoon, the rebuilding of the Church of St. Volodymyr in Toronto; a chapel in the cemetery in Asuncion, Paraguay.

Serhiy Timoshenko died July 6 of this year and was buried in the cemetery in Palo Alto, California. He was one of those engineers who regarded architecture as primarily a branch of art in which is reflected the entire spiritual and material culture of a people.

S. Timoshenko based his production on the total inheritance of Ukrainian art, especially on the so-called Kozak (Ukrainian) baroque, which in the XVII—XVIII centuries achieved its own special development in Ukraine in both stone and wood architecture. He used also at times the “Empire” style (like the “colonial style” in America) which with the beginning of the XIX century had taken on special forms in Ukraine. The Western European romantic currents of the late XIX and early XX centuries also exercised a certain influence on his work.

With it all the architect S. Timoshenko was able to transform these into modern architectural forms which beside their functionalism and constructivism clearly revealed an independent national style. At the same time his works testify to his individual methods and his individual style.



MY TESTIMONY ON THE GENOCIDE IN UKRAINE

By MICHAEL MISHCHENKO, M. D.

During the hearings before the Senate Commission held in connection with the ratification of the International Genocide Convention a former Soviet citizen, Dr. Michael Mishchenko, Professor of Psychiatry at the Kharkiv University until 1943, expressed his readiness to testify as to his own experiences. Professor Mishchenko lived in Ukraine under the Soviet regime the entire time between the two World Wars. He is now in the United States and is working as a physician in one of the state hospitals. For causes unknown to the author, his testimony was not used, but at the request of the author we are publishing it here in the *Ukrainian Quarterly* (Editor's Note).

In giving this testimony as to Soviet Russian genocide intended to annihilate physically the Ukrainian people, I take an oath that this testimony is true and I assume full responsibility for it before the American people as a future citizen of the United States of America.

I was born in Kharkiv in Ukraine and I lived and studied in that city; I worked until 1943 in the Ukrainian Psychoneurological Academy, the Institute of Experimental Medicine, the University, the Institute of Political Education and I was a witness as a physician and a Ukrainian scholar of all the crimes committed by the Russian Communist party and the Soviet government against the people of Ukraine.

SOCIAL MOTIVATION OF THE SOVIET TERROR

During the Russian Revolution of 1917, when the non-Russian peoples, Poland, Ukraine, Georgia (the Caucasus), Byelorussia, Finland, the Baltic peoples, broke away from Russia and commenced their own independent life, the Communist Party seized the government in Russia. Relying on the dregs of the population, the criminal element, and profiting by the chaotic times of military anarchy and of national distress, the Communist Party put out deceiving slogans, "Down with war", "Rob the robbers", "Peace to the cottages, war to the (palace) hangmen", "The land for the peasants, the factories for the workmen". It made it its duty to carry out the program of the revolution by terrorism and to build socialism by violence. The path selected by the party proved false. In an

industrially retarded country the party could not build socialism; it not only could not carry out its promises, but it greatly increased the sufferings of the people. The failure to satisfy the national and social needs of the peoples dug an impassable chasm between the peoples and the Communist Party and led to its separation from the popular masses and to its transformation into a new bureaucratic caste ruling over the people. The Communist Party gave up its program of a national revolution and took the old, pre-revolutionary Russian path of imperialistic politics.

Thus in the field of law the Communist Party gave up a humane system of social protection and honest labor enterprises and passed over to the penal system of prison labor and concentration camps. The citizen was deprived of the right of a free election of the government, free criticism, church, and public trial. People were condemned to death and to distant camps in Siberia secretly and without right of appeal.

In education the Communist Party gave up the system of social education and introduced into the schools Russian nationalism and imperialism.

In military affairs, it passed from a national militia to the introduction of extreme militarism.

In the question of nationalities, it passed to the oppression of the non-Russian peoples, their Russification and exploitation.

In foreign policy, it moved for imperialistic expansion, the extension of its boundaries and the enslavement of neighboring peoples.

It conquered Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Caucasus, and Mongolia, carried on war with Finland and Poland, later acquired the Balkan countries and part of Germany, and is now ruling in China.

By introducing compulsory collectivization of agriculture with the object of economic exploitation and to deprive the peoples of the material base which might make them independent of the Soviets, the Communist Party is carrying on a bitter struggle with the rural population and is reducing it to complete pauperization and enslavement to the state.

The Communist Party proclaims itself the advance guard of the working class and deprives the workers, who have been in the main hostile, of their elementary rights, and even the right of a free choice of labor, development of their own interests by strikes and by participation in free trade unions.

To maintain their power against the growing hostility of the peoples and the opposition even in the Communist Party itself, it is spreading the terror, planned against the bourgeoisie, now against the broad masses of the population (Petlurism, Trotskyism, Bukharinism, the Union of the Liberation of Ukraine, etc.), keeps the people under constant tension and

fear for their lives, and has organized for this purpose the special army of the MVD, equipped with tanks and aviation.

The Communist Party of Russia, in starting on the path of Russian nationalism and imperialism, has extended its terror to whole peoples and especially to the Ukrainian people.

FORMS OF SOVIET TERROR

The Soviet terror, designed to annihilate physically the Ukrainian people, is carried on in the following forms:

Individual terror. — This is applied by the illegal arrest of the innocent population, especially the Ukrainian intelligentsia and relies upon 1) the knocking out of teeth, 2) the insertion of pointed objects under the nails, 3) the breaking of bones, 4) beating on the abdomen with empty bottles till loss of consciousness, 5) long continued prevention of sleep, 6) long continued standing, 7) artificial squeezing, 8) torturing with thirst and feeding on only salt herring, 9) crushing of the sexual organs, etc.

Various forms of Psychic Terror.—1) Psychological mistreatment of wife and children of the prisoner before his eyes during an examination to produce a compulsory confession of guilt, 2) the waiting for execution after a false proclamation of a death penalty, 3) threats and shooting with a pistol at the prisoner, and many others. As witnesses of these tortures there can be produced DP's who have been in Soviet prison. (See literature).

Mass deportation of the Ukrainian rural population, workers and intelligentsia to the camps of northern Siberia for excessive heavy work in localities, where men cannot live because of climatic conditions (Kolyma, etc). The character of the work: cutting of wood, mining, digging of canals in swampy regions in cold weather in the water, building of railroads. The character of this existence is described by the material collected by the Ukrainian journalist Dynnich—*Chorna Purha* (Black Storm), *Ukr. Visti*, 1948 (Germany).

Mass deportation of the wealthy Ukrainian rural population to Siberia for permanent settlement. Villagers with their children have been thrown out in winter with temperatures of 40-50 degrees below zero in the woods beyond the Urals without clothing, food, or shelter. The majority either froze or died from hunger.

MASS SLAUGHTER OF THE POPULATION

Ukraine, the most oppressed country by the Reds is a graveyard of the hundreds and thousands of the innocent Ukrainian population who have

been murdered and shot as a result of the nationalistic, zoological hate of the Russian Communist Party and the Soviet government against the Ukrainian people. An example of such mass annihilation of the population is seen in Vinnytsya. During the war in the summer of 1943 the population discovered the place of burial of the victims of the Moscow terror. At this place the Soviet government had made a pleasure park. Only part of the graves was excavated but in these there had been buried some 8,000 victims. An international commission of physicians and judicial experts established that these were victims of Soviet terror. I was present during the excavations. The victims lay with their arms bound with wire. A bullet had been planted in the back of the head. Some victims had been buried alive without the show of any shot wound. Their mouths were filled with earth. Thousands of people from the neighborhood, women and children, came to the excavations and recognized their husbands and fathers and testified that after their arrest the NKVD had informed them that the prisoners had been sent to Siberia without the right of writing. A witness to this is Archbishop Hryhori of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, who conducted the funeral services over the bodies and is now in Germany in a DP camp and many other DP's. There is a special literature in Ukrainian on this case and protocols and reports of the Expert Commission in Switzerland and other countries.

Vinnytsya is a small Ukrainian city; but such large graves can be found in the larger places, Kiev, Odesa, Dnipropetrovsk, Poltava. I know of far larger graves in Kharkiv, the former capital of Ukraine—in the city park, the Cemetery of Saints Cyril and Methodius, on the Holodna Hora.

MASS BURNING OF THE POPULATION

In 1941 the Russian Communist authorities in Moscow developed a new method for the mass destruction of the Ukrainian population, burning alive. I saw myself how the six story building of the NKVD in Kharkiv, filled with thousands of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, professors of higher institutions, engineers, teachers, etc., was set on fire and burned down. The prisoners could be heard throughout the entire city and the NKVD shot those who tried to escape and those who tried to assist the prisoners.

The burning alive of innocent prisoners took place in many cities of Ukraine, especially in the region of Kupan and Saltiv. Many witnesses from Kharkiv who are now in America can testify to this method of "socialist cooperation" between the Russian Communist Party and the Ukrainian people. I can give their addresses.

FAMINE AS A FORM OF MASS DESTRUCTION OF THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION

I, as a physician, can testify. So can hundreds of thousands of the Ukrainian political emigres, villagers, workers, intelligentsia, who are in Europe (Germany, Austria, France, England, Belgium), America (the United States, Canada, Argentina, Brazil), Africa and Australia. By their presence and their political demonstrations against the Soviet genocide they hope that perhaps the "dead" world will hear their voice and the "stones will cry out".

The famine year of 1932-33 in Ukraine was the period of the forcibly conducted collectivization of rural agriculture. The Communist Party of Moscow made it its purpose to break the national and political opposition of the Ukrainian people to Russia, to destroy its material base, to increase the economic exploitation, to bind the rural population to the kolhospny as forms of the government production of grain and other products of the rural economy and thereby to strike at the political activity of the population.

In Russia collectivization was carried on later and did not have the same painful character because in that country forms of communal agriculture were previously known and conditioned by the poorness of the soil and the poverty of the rural population. The collective system is a form of a natural state economy, where the bound rural population is subject to the cruel exploitation of their labor by a government which takes without cost all the products of their labor and leaves them an amount insufficient for their nourishment, without mentioning the satisfaction of their other elementary needs. For example: the government collects the grain in the Kolhospny and pays for one pud (16 kilograms of wheat) 80 kopecks (5 kopecks a kilogram) and sells to the population baked white bread for 48 rubles for the same amount. The head of a family works as a maximum 250 working days a year and receives for it in accordance with the fulfillment of the plan for grain delivery from 300 grams to 1 kilogram a day. This makes as his maximum $250 \times 1 \text{ kg} = 250 \text{ kg.} \times 5 \text{ kop.}$ or 12 rubles and 50 kop. a year. In addition the worker receives 20-30 rubles for the grain taken by the government. From this he pays his taxes and buys the required obligations of the government loan. Besides this the government helps him to sell a part of the grain from the worked labor days. So as not to die of hunger the whole family and even small children work. The life of the village population is supported from their gardens covering 150 square metres a family, which the population works on holidays and at times when they are not required to work in the Kolhospny. These calculations are based on a typical Kolhospny

and not one arranged for foreign show. It was in the village of Surmachivka, Hliynsky region in Chernyshivshchyna, where I spent 1 and ½ summer leaves from 1928 to 1941.

As a rule the rural population of Ukraine opposed the collectivization which was carried out with such brutal acts of violence, military expeditions, tortures, that such an expert in "stern measures" for his political friends and opponents as Stalin was compelled to interfere with an article in Pravda "Go slower on the changes". After this political manoeuvre the terror was started in the form of a mass artificial famine.

By the orders of Moscow all their own food supplies were taken from the rural population, and the entire grain harvest was taken to Siberia and abroad. The famine began. Everything was eaten, dogs, cats, straw, bark, grass. The people in thousands started for the cities to secure help. People died on the streets of the cities, villages and entire regions died out. A special division of the NKVD carried by night the dead and the seriously ill but still living persons outside the cities and buried them in pits. I have seen myself how this division collected the bodies of children, some dead and some still living, and how these last begged them not to touch them. They carried them outside the city and threw them into holes. Cannibalism began. In the shops human flesh was secretly sold. They began to steal children on the streets.

In the spring of 1933 I was ordered by the Institute of Political Education and the Ukrainian Psychoneurological Academy to go to the Obolon region in Kharkivshchyna to organize medical assistance and children's homes during the sowing campaign, as it was called in the Soviet Union. I was selected for this as a Ukrainian and a non-party man for it was dangerous for a party man or a Russian to appear in a village. The regional centre, the large village of Obolon, had almost entirely died of hunger. In the houses I saw the unburied corpses of men, women, and children. Now and then shadows of people wandered along the streets. I saw irritable insane people, wandering around the village, poisoned from eating henbane, a poisonous plant. In the houses lay people with severe cases of gangrene after ergot poisoning (*secale cornutum*). I went around the village of the region on foot, anxiously waiting for an attack from the hungry and hungry myself, but I saw no people. A small number of them had been gathered in separate villages under the forms of a kolhosp and were being fed on raw beets, preparing them for the sowing campaign. Absolutely no children were to be seen and there was no one for whom there was need to organize children's homes and kindergartens. In Obolon I saw only 9 children and in another village 6. I was there

1 ½ months from March 15 to May 1 and during this time only one show kolhosp set to work. One of the administrators of this explained to me that this kolhosp had been able to hide some of its grain from the Soviet government.

More than 8 million people died from this famine and there were no children born.

That this was an artificially devised famine can be proved by the following facts:

1. There was no famine in Russia. In Russia normal Soviet life went on, monotonous and wretched, but nobody died of hunger.

2. In Siberia there were enormous supplies of government grain. When the grain was taken from Ukraine to Siberia, there was no place to store it; there were no warehouses. The engineer M. Kekalo can testify to this, for he was then exiled in Siberia and is now in New York.

3. The Ukrainians were forbidden to go to Russia for grain.

4. Russia gave no aid to Ukraine and rejected aid offered from abroad.

5. The rural population was forbidden to buy grain in the cities.

6. The Soviet NKVD staff in the cities and villages were well fed through the system of closed restaurants, entrance to which was forbidden to the starving village and town populations.

7. In party institutions and factories of state importance, the workers received 2 kg. of bread a day.

8. It was forbidden to mention the famine under threat of severe reprisals.

9. There was absolutely no mention of the famine in the press and it was even emphasized that there was no famine and that the happy Ukrainian people thanked "the leader of the world proletariat", Joseph Stalin, for his "liberality".

10. It was forbidden to give medical treatment to those dying of hunger and to receive them in hospitals.

11. If any of the starving did get into a hospital, it was forbidden to make the diagnosis "exhaustion from hunger" and to give hunger as the cause of death.

12. It was forbidden to make statistics of the starving and of the rate of mortality.

13. To the protests from abroad the NKVD in Kharkiv in the Saltovskiy barracks gathered together a concentration of 10,000 children, to whom they fed millet and black bread, while in a state of exhaustion from

hunger, and this increased and hastened the death of the children. My wife agreed voluntarily and without payment to work in this institution as a teacher and can confirm all the tales of the wretched treatment of the children and their high mortality.

14. The well-known Soviet "humanist" writer, Maxim Gorki, in answer to the protests of the foreign press against the terror in Ukraine thus formulated the position of Russia toward Ukraine in the Soviet official press: *Izvestiya* and *Pravda*: "If the enemy does not yield, he must be beaten".

There are many other forms of masked terror, aiming at the physical annihilation of the Ukrainian people, and among them are:

a) chronic hunger, b) the spreading of alcoholism in the cities and villages, c) excessive labor in factories and plants under the guise of "piecework" or as it is called "the method of socialist competition and shock labor". These forms of terror and of economic exploitation lead to the spreading of tuberculosis and the physical and psychic degeneration of the laboring class and a high mortality rate in the population.

The mortality of children is so incredibly great in Ukraine that the Soviet government has forbidden statistics of it. For children who protest against the Soviet regime, the death penalty is authorized above the age of 12 years and concentration camps have been opened for them in Siberia.

I as a physician affirm that:

1. Individual terror, the use of physical and psychic tortures for the annihilation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia; 2. Mass deportations and shipping to Siberia of the Ukrainian population; 3. Mass murders; 4. Mass burnings; 5. Famine as a form of mass terror: — are means of genocide deliberately planned and organized by Communist Russia to annihilate the Ukrainian people.

The conclusion is that to take the place of the deported and physically annihilated population, decimated by famine, Russia is sending a Russian population and the territory of Ukraine, a member of the United Nations, is being deliberately colonized by a foreign people.

It has been established that in the Siberian camps and concentration points, 90% of the people are Ukrainians.

In view of the fact that the Ukrainian State, first of the European countries, understood the significance of Russian imperialism dressed in an international form, resists it and thereby risks physical annihilation, it must receive the most careful attention not only from the organs of the

American government and the United Nations, but from broad American society, the intelligentsia, labor unions, and farmers.

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STUBBORN POLISH CLAIMS TO WESTERN UKRAINE

By S. HORDYNSKY

Two years ago Stanislaw Skrzypek published in London a volume entitled: *The Problem of Eastern Galicia*.

This book is written from the Polish viewpoint and presents material intended to prove Polish rights to Eastern Galicia. The Polish proofs and arguments are set forth in detail and all contradicting arguments are minimized or omitted. In general it can be said that there is a Ukrainian answer to every Polish argument, but such a refutation would seem to the foreign reader a tangled knot, which would be difficult to unravel. He can only depend upon the raw material of statistical facts. This book does furnish some statistics, and these speak more eloquently than all the historical, political and cultural arguments, which the author uses to prove the indisputable Polish character of Eastern Galicia.

So the reader is informed that in 1880 Eastern Galicia had a 28% Polish speaking minority, but only 22.2% of these were Roman Catholics. This indicates that the rest were Ukrainians, who happened to speak the Polish language, as was then rather customary among the Ukrainian city dwellers. However, the Polish population increased rapidly, and according to the Polish census of 1931 there was already 41.7% Polish speaking persons as against the 52.3% of Ukrainians.

What was the reason for this growth that threatened the Ukrainian position? This book is to a certain extent relevant in this respect: a smaller natural increase, for while the Ukrainian birthrate was always higher than the Polish, so was the Ukrainian death rate. Another reason was emigration. Between the years of 1926-1930 alone 97,800 Ukrainians left their land for European and American countries. The book does not state the reason for either phenomenon, but they were due to the unbearable economic conditions caused by the fact that a large part of the Galician land was in the hands of Polish landowners, and they divided it chiefly among Polish veterans and imported colonists. In their overpopulated country the Ukrainians always regarded them as intruders. Galician peasant poverty became proverbial, and foreign correspondents compared it with that of the Hindus. Even such everyday necessities as matches were a luxury and they were often split into four parts by the peasants for the sake of economy. The Poles upheld their hegemony in the cities by keeping the

administration, transport and industry in their hands, and by employing as few Ukrainians as possible. According to Mr. Skrzypek's statistics only one out of every five public service employees was Ukrainian. Simultaneously with the emigration of the Ukrainians, large numbers of Poles came to Eastern Galicia. The author estimates their number as 84,000 by 1900, and states at the same time that during the Polish rule of Eastern Galicia "there was a still greater migration of the (Polish) population". All this shifting of the population could not but change the national structure of the country with its 5 million population, endangering the Ukrainian majority.

The major part of the Polish population kept to the cities, and although a small number of them did take to farming, they were never able to create their own national culture in Eastern Galicia. Their culture or to put it better civilization had a rather international aspect, usually characteristic of the urban way of life. Folk art, architecture, poetry, music and costume—were the heritage of the ageless Ukrainian culture but were never developed in this territory by the Polish population. This Ukrainian culture is the logical continuation of the pre-historic culture of the Dnieper river system. Its Ukrainian elements are not limited to Eastern Galicia but reach deep into Western Galicia as well. The Polish anthropologist Czekanowski, in writing about the Ukrainian Lemko tribe, emphasizes its Neolithic type and its ancient habitation of Western Galicia. To omit these facts—as the author of the book does—means simply to omit the essential characteristics of the land. The author, however, introduces such arguments as, for instance, the Polish character of the city of Lviv, enhanced by the numerous Polish monuments, as if it were not a generally known fact that the Polish administration never allowed the erection of a single Ukrainian monument in Lviv. It might almost seem that the author was ashamed to mention that the city was founded by the Ukrainian Prince Lev—Leo (hence Leopold in Latin, Leopol in French).

Eastern Galicia was an occupied country; this means that it was taken from the Ukrainians by armed force. The author regards the Ukrainian movement as an Austro-German intrigue, and tries to prove this by arguing that in 1918 the Austrian governor of Galicia Count Huyn "handed over authority in Eastern Galicia to Ukrainians". The truth of the matter is that Ukrainian armed officers pulled the Count out of his bed at night and compelled him to relinquish his authority, without even allowing him to telephone to Vienna. Twenty years of Polish rule showed clearly that the Poles were not competent in their ruling of the country: they were unable to abide by even the provisions of their own constitution, not

to mention their international minority obligations. They not only refused Eastern Galicia the promised autonomy, but they did not even allow the creation of a Ukrainian University (under Austrian rule the University was bilingual, while under Poland it was entirely Polonized). This resulted in the curious phenomenon that a Ukrainian Underground University existed in the XX century in Lviv. Lectures were held in private homes and in cellars, but many European countries acknowledged the graduates of this University. The largest prison in Lviv, known as Brigidky, however, was always overflowing with Ukrainian students, and this earned the prison its popular label of the „Ukrainian University”. The intolerance of everything Ukrainian led to ridiculous absurdities. Often letters, addressed in Ukrainian were returned to the sender with the notice that the Polish Post office does not understand Turkish or Chinese according to the personal sense of humor of the post office clerk.

Thus the Polish state was continually exhausting itself in an aimless fight against its own citizens. It is possible that the history of Eastern Europe would be somewhat different if in the street-cars of Lviv the warnings “Do not lean out” had been written in Ukrainian as well as in Polish, and the signs in the public rest-rooms had been bilingual...

Today there are no Poles in Eastern Galicia, except a small number of professionals, needed by the Soviets. The Poles were transferred to Poland chiefly to the former German regions on the Oder. It may be said that the relinquishing of Eastern Galicia by the Poles without any armed opposition was their great political and historical mistake, which renders the possibility of their return to this land dubious. It is true that armed opposition would have been hopeless, but let us not forget that at the same time a small number, only about 80,000 Ukrainians in Western Galicia put up a desperate fight against the forcible deportation from their native Lemko country, and only after the military agreement of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the USSR, and with the help of the Soviet extermination divisions, was it possible for Poland to attain its purpose. But even now the villages of this region are for the most part uninhabited, as the Poles are afraid to settle there. It is difficult to make any prediction as to the possibility of a future Polish return to Eastern Galicia. Single trees may be transplanted, but to transplant entire forests to and fro is something that contradicts the laws of nature. It is highly doubtful whether the Poles will have such another opportunity as they had in 1918-19, when Eastern Ukraine was engaged in the deadly struggle against the Soviets and was in no position to help Galicia, which was finally overrun by the Polish army of Gen. Haller, equipped and trained by the Allies. In the

future much will depend upon the question of the restitution of the Ukrainian ethnographical territories under Poland, if that could be at all possible, as the entire population on the other side of the Syan (San) and Buh (Bug) rivers, which was not physically annihilated, is scattered throughout the USSR and Western Poland.

Thus nothing is left of the Polish inheritance of Eastern Galicia, and the prediction of W. Grabski, the leader of the Poles in Eastern Galicia, that in 25 years not a Ukrainian would remain in Eastern Galicia was not fulfilled. The author of this article recalls, not without a feeling of tragic irony, the following fact: when in 1939 the Soviets occupied Lviv and ordered that every building be decorated with a red flag, the apartment house where the author lived was decorated with a flag made out of the red lining of the military coat of the late Polish General Rozwadowski, whose family lived in the same house. Gen. Rozwadowski was the symbol of „Polish-Lwow”, he was the instigator of the anti-Ukrainian uprising in Lviv, after the creation of the West Ukrainian National Republic in 1918. His coat to a certain degree can be regarded as symbolic of all those who do not wish to see the essence and results of the Polish-Ukrainian struggle, by which only a third party profits. Through war in Eastern Galicia and the treaty in Riga, Poland helped to destroy independent Ukraine, the only barrier which could serve as a defense to Poland itself. Today the Poles remark with grief the fact that in five years Poland has advanced further in Sovietization than did Ukraine in fifteen.

Will the mistakes of the past be repeated in the future? Poland and Ukraine are now facing analogous problems—survival under the Russian invasion, and the creation of a defense dam which will be able to repulse and check the Russian aggression against Europe. Both nations stand before great historical tasks, they have great possibilities and carry great responsibilities: a strong Poland on the Baltic, and a strong Ukraine on the Black Sea, with the aid of the naturally friendly neighboring nations (the Czechs and the Slovaks, the Baltic nations, White Ruthenia), might become such a block of defense and resistance. This, however, is possible only in case it is the cooperation of equals with equals. All plans of the 24 million Polish nation to rule the almost twice as large Ukrainian nation will inevitably end in the same defeat, which has been repeated in the course of Polish history many times. It is regrettable that the author of this book does not take these facts into consideration. To him the problem of Ukraine is not a question to be settled between Poland and Ukraine, but between Poland and Russia. Today the author of this book will not find many sympathizers even among his compatriots. His views are outmoded.

He endeavors to convince his readers that the Ukrainians lived better under Poland than under Russia: it is beside the point under whose foreign rule Ukraine fared better, for the capital question is the restitution of Ukrainian rights to sovereignty.

The book teems with various fantastic facts, and the informed reader is at a loss to imagine where the author found them. For example, he insists that in 1939 Lviv had only one Ukrainian daily, whereas there were three ("Dilo", "Novy Chas", "Ukrainski Visti") against the four Polish dailies and the Jewish Zionist daily. But at the same time there were also in Lviv four Ukrainian literary reviews to the single Polish. The *Front of National Unity*, a Ukrainian Party, is termed by the author as pro-German, because the leader of this party Col. Paliyiv (according to the author's information) published a pro-German daily in Krakow, during the war. The fact is that Col. Paliyiv never published a daily in Krakow. Therefore in the light of the latter non-existing fact the party's pro-German character before the war does not come in question.

The book closes with various official documents. The foreign reader should be warned that the Ukrainians always considered all international treaties connected with Ukraine drawn up without Ukrainian participation, as non-existent and therefore not binding. The book gains nothing in dignity by citing among the international documents declarations of miniature Ukrainian Quislings, such as Ilkov and Bachynsky, who were in reality merely the representatives of the district police, which "helped" them win election to the Polish Parliament.

Finally it seems worth while to mention that the name of "*Eastern Galicia*" which the author uses in his book—was officially forbidden in Poland, and all were obliged to use the term "*Malopolska Wschodnia*" ("*Eastern Little Poland*"). The author of this review still has in his possession the record of the Penal Court in Lviv, on the strength of which the entire edition of the Ukrainian literary and art review "*Nazustrich*" was confiscated by the Polish administration, because in No. 4., 1938, the name of "*Galicia*" was mentioned twice. This according to the report, "intentionally defines in a way inconsistent to the truth the Eastern Provinces of the Polish state, thus propagating Ukrainian nationalistic and separatistic tendencies".



BOOK REVIEWS

"FEDERALISM IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE", by Rudolf Schlessinger, Dr. Rer. Pol., Paul Trench, Trubner and Co., London 1945.

The literature on Soviet problems is extensive, but because of its present timely opportuneness, there are still few objective works which give a true picture of the actual state of things. It is often the case that it is the prejudiced and the biased works which win a greater popularity than the more deserving unprejudiced writings, thanks to the cunning propaganda of those circles in which they were created (we have in mind the Russian chauvinistic circles). The serious study of Professor Schlessinger is a valuable unprejudiced work. His analysis of the conditions in the prison of nations, Tsarist Russia, in the former Austria-Hungarian Empire, in the countries of Central Europe in the first years following World War I, deserves full confidence due to his unbiased stating of facts. We are naturally most interested in that part of the book which the author dedicates to the USSR (Part IV, Federalism in the USSR, Chapter XIII—XIV, pp. 317-417). We are pleasantly surprised by the author's excellent knowledge of the relations between Ukraine and Moscow within the boundaries of the new "prison of nations"—the USSR, according to Schlessinger's own words. The author's fine analysis of the Russian-Ukrainian treaty of December 28, 1920, deserves particular attention and appreciation. Here the author reveals the actual motives of Moscow in bringing about this treaty with Ukraine; he proves the deceit and falsehood of the Russian promises, which were disregarded by Moscow in the very first days after the treaty was made. Schlessinger makes excellent comparisons of the situation of Ukraine and the other nations enslaved by the Kremlin against the background of the constitutions of 1924 and 1936, and demonstrates how Moscow under the disguise of the new Stalin order contrived to dominate with a yet greater dictatorial power and to exploit to a still farther degree the national, cultural and economic lives of the enslaved nations. Schlessinger reveals all the methods of this exploitation, particularly in the ascription of nationalistic tendencies to Ukrainian Soviet cultural representatives, who fought for the realization of the ideals of the Ukrainian nation through legal means, permissible even in the Soviet regime. That is the reason why the so called "Skrypnyk" period in Ukraine, which took place in the twenties, and may be termed as a Ukrainian Renaissance, at last finds its proper analysis.

Schlesinger stresses the economic exploitation of the forcibly united Republics of the USSR.

The book also underlines with the help of statistics the great difference between the meager investment of Russian capital in the development of the national economy of Ukraine and Azerbaijan, and the immense advantages which Russia has from the Ukrainian grain, coal and iron and the Azerbaijan petroleum, the source of the greater part of these products for the entire USSR. The author rounds up his fundamental review with analysis of the present Soviet conception of one general "Soviet nation", or in other words the malicious conception of the "All-Russian melting pot". The author traces the beginnings of this conception to the ever increasing Russian chauvinism, the present definition of which he ascribes personally to Stalin. Finally it is necessary to point out that Schlesinger presents correctly the struggle of the Western Ukrainians against the Poles, in the times of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and later under the Polish occupation (1920—39). On the whole Schlesinger's book makes a very good impression, both from the aspect of the depth of research, the thoroughness of its analysis and its unbiased criticism. All those who are interested in the problem of contemporary Eastern Europe should become acquainted with this work.

"HUMAN RIGHTS", Comments and Interpretations, a Symposium, edited by UNESCO, Allan Wingate, London and New York, 1949.

The high-sounding title and the sponsorship of such a serious organization as the UNESCO do not justify the publishing of this book. Freedom of man should be the supreme stimulus of action to every social organization, including the contemporary forms of states. This is emphasized in such superb articles as those of B. Croce or Aldous Huxley, or the introduction by the champion of Hindu freedom, Mahatma Ghandi, and so it is difficult to imagine the motive of the UNESCO in including this selection of articles. The articles are by Serge Hessen and Boris Tchechko. The first is now professor in the new University of Lodz, in Red Poland; the other is described in the index of the book as a lawyer, but we are of the opinion that he is nothing other than an agent of one of the foreign departments of the MVD, now accredited by the UN. Both authors surpass themselves in praises of the Soviet regime, particularly of the Soviet, so called "Stalinist Constitution" of 1936, which according to them is the peak of all human endeavors toward the lawful establishment of the basic rights of man. The printing of such articles brings no honor to the UNESCO, for it could as fairly print for instance the articles

of Goebbels or Rosenberg. Fascism will always remain fascism, no matter if it be brown, or, as in the instances of Hessen and Tchechko, red. It would be excusable to some extent if the articles of Hessen and Tchechko were at least written in a proper, internationally accepted form, they are, however, the ordinary panegiric of the most common and primitive sort in honor of the wisdom and foresight of Stalin. UNESCO badly harms its prestige by printing articles of such a type, which serve only to show the organization's mistaken conception of internationalism. After reading these articles the average reader will have a feeling of bad taste; he might even begin to suspect, and quite naturally, that inasmuch as the Soviet constitution, which is worth only the paper it is written on, and which merely serves to cover up the most ruthless totalitarian regime in the world, is praised in the editions of UNESCO, so consequently all the efforts of the UNESCO are based on the same unreal deceitful paper slogans.

S. PROTSIUK

THE NINE LIVES OF EUROPE, by Leo Lania. New York, Funk & Wagnalls Company with United Nations World, 1950.

Leo Lania, journalist and author, gives us in this book almost a complete review of the conditions in Europe today.

Postwar Europe has greatly changed. The common man has lost his faith in man amid the ruins of the destroyed cities and plants. You can understand the German people who lost two wars and whose country is divided into sections, but you can hardly know why the free French people, especially the new generation, are pessimistic and without clear plans for future action. Many among them are communists because they like this highly disciplined worldwide party.

A propos of Communism the author makes a significant observation. He states that in Western Europe there are idealistic Communists, and when you go farther to the East you can hardly find any of these because they have been executed, for they refused to be a blind tool of the Kremlin. They saw the real face of Soviet communism after liberation by the Red army.

In the satellite states, as we said, the idealists and honest communists with a record of resistance have almost disappeared and there have remained only the weak who escaped into lies. The honest people in Eastern and Central Europe soon discovered that what Moscow offered them was not a new order, but foreign domination, that "popular democracy" was nothing but a slogan disguising Soviet imperialism.

The author concludes that Stalin's emissaries do not like men with honest convictions. "A converted nazi can be easily handled. He sells himself cheaply to the masters, but the sincere communist is dangerous." The quintessence of the tactics of the Kremlin is: "Put him away! Morals, faith, convictions, idealism—nothing but bourgeois prejudices!"

Therefore near the Soviet border the Communists are no longer regarded as apostles of a new social system; they are recognized as the mercenaries of the Kremlin.

Then the author discusses the problem of the German youth who should be re-educated in a democratic fashion, but he wonders if anybody can do it. The German youth is broken down in a moral sense and a statement of a German student in Munich is highly significant: "Everybody talks about democracy all the time: The Russians, the British, the French and you Americans. Our German leaders talk about democracy. Where is it? What is it?"

The youth in Germany and all over Europe have become cynical and nihilistic. In picturing the sickness of mind and soul in Europe, the author forgets to mention or does not see another important reason for this moral breakdown. It is the problem of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism. If he tried to discuss with the youth of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and of the other occupied or satellite states, he would have a chance to learn another reason for the pessimistic and cynical point of view. He could easily have learned that democracy of Roosevelt in Teheran and Yalta gave a green light to Stalin to go ahead in Eastern and Central Europe and China.

Therefore the ideals of the Atlantic Charter were destroyed by their makers. This was a very important reason for the disillusionment, pessimism, cynicism and breakdown of the nations who believed in the realization of the ideals of freedom.

We see that it is necessary to evolve a clear and attractive idea—a new Atlantic Charter—for the whole world and to work sincerely for its realization. The best idea seems to be that of the struggling Ukraine: "Freedom for the nations, freedom for man!"

We have no hesitation in recommending this book to anyone interested in learning about the postwar conditions in Europe.

DMYTRO SOKULSKY

MAX BELOFF, THE FOREIGN POLICY OF SOVIET RUSSIA; Vol. I, 1929-1936; Vol. II, 1936-1941; issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press, 1949.

Mr. M. BELOFF, an English scholar of Russian extraction has published in two volumes a record of Soviet Foreign Policy and promised in the foreword to apply the standards of objectivity and accuracy to his work. The work covers Soviet policy from the year 1929, the beginning of the first Five Year Plan, to the German attack on the Soviet Union in 1941.

In his work the author has had to review virtually the whole of world politics of this period as the Soviet Union is not only a state in the sense of international and public law but through its Communist Party with its foreign branches and the former Comintern is simultaneously a conspiratorial revolutionary world-movement. Mr. BELOFF is to be complimented for his collection of a tremendous mass of material on all phases of Soviet foreign policy and its many zigzags. He has attempted also to give an analysis of the Soviet policy and its relations to the causes and aims of the Communist political actions, taking into account their entire international background.

Ukrainian students of foreign policy will be especially interested in BELOFF'S work from two points of view: (1) whether or not the author has grasped the importance of the relationship of the Ukrainian problem to Soviet and European policy in general and whether or not he has presented it objectively and accurately; (2) whether or not the author has understood that the Ukrainian problem is the most important part of the vast and complex national problem in the Soviet Union. This problem is a consequence of the forced inclusion of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union and their subjugation by Moscow. It embraces the whole area from Finnish-Karelia, Komi, Byelo-Ruthenia to the Turkish and Iranian frontiers, including the Caucasian nations, the Tatars, the Kazakhs and the Turkestan nations, extending to the far-eastern Mongols and Buriats. Has the author depicted and presented this problem objectively as a decisive factor in all of the Soviet "security"—actions in foreign policy?—that is our second question.

In both respects we are rather disappointed. The author stumbles in all phases of Soviet foreign policy over the Ukrainian problem. In spite of the fact that in the German anti-Communist propaganda, even in some of Hitler's and Stalin's speeches Ukraine was played up by both sides, in spite of the fact that in Polish, Czecho-Slovak, Rumanian affairs,

in the Black Sea and Danubian problems Ukraine is a constant factor, Beloff sees only Berlin and Moscow as important and he completely fails to notice Ukraine not as an object but also as a subject. He apparently has forgotten the background of the whole national problem in Central and Eastern Europe before World War I and the effects of Wilson's principles after that war; he ignores completely the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for liberation by the government-in-exile of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic in this period. He ignores completely the existence of the UNO (Ukrainian Nationalist Organization) under the leadership of Colonel E. Konovalts and rather overestimates the influence of the former Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky as an ally of Rosenberg. He has a very inaccurate and superficial knowledge of Ukrainian affairs and treats them often in footnotes and even then his information is often false.

For instance he speaks about a "self-styled exiled Government in Lvov" (Vol. I p. 135), which in reality was in Paris; he gives a fantastic picture of I. Mazepa, the leader of the Ukrainian Socialists who fought during his whole political career any kind of Ukrainian chauvinism, for he presents him as "ferociously anti-Russian" (Vol. I. p. 145); J. Revay, another Socialist, for many years a member of the Czecho-Slovak Parliament and of the Socialist Parliamentary Club, and the very Rev. A. Voloshyn, are presented: "the new Cabinet, headed by Msgr. Augustin Voloshyn, with J. Revay as its dominating figure, represented the extreme Ukrainian tendency, and proceeded to organize the country on accepted totalitarian lines complete with a national militia, the Sitch." (Vol. II, p. 214.) It is very unjust to brand every legitimate expression of self-determination by the Ukrainians in such term as "extreme Ukrainian tendency" and to slander a Catholic priest and a Socialist as "totalitarian" because they demanded democratic self-determination. It is nonsense to accuse them of organizing the country "on accepted totalitarian lines," because the Ukrainian government anticipated the threatening Hitler blessed Hungarian aggression and immediately began to mobilize its forces. It is also false to state that in Carpatho-Ukraine "there was certainly no evidence of a (Ukrainian) nationalist movement, comparable to the one which embittered the relations between Ukrainians and Poles in neighboring Galicia," (Vol. II. p. 214).

It is true that Hitler proposed through Goering to Pilsudski an anti-Soviet alliance and offered to place Ukraine within the Polish sphere of interest and reserved for Germany hegemony over the Baltic states, Byelo-Ruthenia and Russia proper. But he did not use the information,

(now available from the archives of the *Auswaertiges Amt*) on the negotiations of Mr. A. Livitsky, the acting Vice-president of the Ukrainian exile-government, the latter's declaration to Ambassador von Moltke in Warsaw, offered with the approval of the Polish Foreign Minister J. Beck, and the continuation of the fruitless negotiations in the spring of 1939. In our opinion, without a careful study of these archives many aspects of German and Soviet policy can not be properly understood.

The second question which we asked about the work is a great disappointment. The author neither sees nor understands the vast national problem and its paramount importance for the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. He does not even know that there existed and acted, besides the Ukrainian government in exile the Georgian Government in exile with the venerable Socialist Noe Yordania at its head, the Azerbaijan government in exile with Resulzade, the North-Caucasian exile-center under A. ShamyI, the Byelo-Ruthenian exile-center under J. Zakharko, the Kuban-Kozak center under Otaman Iwany's, the Crimean-Tatar under exile-center D. Seydamet, the Idel-Ural under Tatar exile-center A. Iskhaki, and the exile centers of the Turkestanian nations, of the Karelians, Buriats and Komi. The author did not grasp the fact that the "Promethean League of the nationalities oppressed by Moscow" became the joint voice of all these groups. This movement united all the oppressed nationalities in a common front against the Russian oppressor and struggled for the application of the democratic principles of the League of Nations in Geneva to all non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union. Mr. Beloff repeats only the Soviet-Nazicanard: "the extreme Polish expansionism was represented in the Promethean movement which also supported the idea of independence of the Caucasian peoples of the USSR," (Vol. I. p. 146). Apparently the author is convinced that the moral influence of Wilson's principles regarding the right of selfdetermination of nations did not affect all the non-Russian nations within the USSR— but he regarded every effort of a non-Russian nation as Polish imperialism.

After the Soviet Union entered the League of Nations in order to oppose Hitler, Soviet Moscow started to brand the Promethean movement as Nazi-imperialism and the author repeats also this Soviet-canard: "Pan Turanism, the idea of detaching the Turkish-speaking areas of Soviet Central Asia and forming them into a federation with Turkey itself, continued to exercise an attraction on Turkish emigre circles. This idea was linked with the plan for emancipating the peoples of the Caucasus from Russian rule, the so called Promethean movement. In the

early nineteen-thirties Paris was the center of this activity, but from about 1937 it came under the patronage of Germany." As I had something to do with the Promethean movement I should like publicly to state: (a) M. Beloff does not know what the Promethean movement was and is; the article in the "Ukrainian Quarterly" Vol. III. No. III., 1947 on the history of the movement will surely enlighten him; (b) this movement had nothing in common with Pan Turanism. The Azerbaijanians, North-Caucasians and Georgians were united in the idea of a Caucasian Confederation reserving in it a place also for Armenia; (c) Nazi-Germany was completely hostile to the Promethean movement and attempted, without practical results, to form a Nazi-Anti-Comintern-Center for its propaganda. During World War II Promethean leaders were persecuted and interned by the Gestapo.

In was clearly shown in the show-trials of Bukharin, and Rykow 1938, in which also the Ukrainian Hrynko was involved, that the Promethean ideology had penetrated by its publications, declarations and Congresses also the Soviet Union in the course of its ideological war against the Russian Communo-chauvinism. The opposition was charged with: "having on the instructions of the Intelligence services of foreign States hostile to the Soviet Union formed a conspiratorial groups, "the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," with the object of espionage on behalf of foreign States, wrecking, diversionist and terrorist activities, undermining the military power of the USSR., dismembering the USSR., and severing from it Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Central Asiatic Republics, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and the Maritime Region of the Far East for the benefit of the aforementioned foreign States, and lastly, with the object of overthrowing the Socialist social and State system existing in the USSR. and restoring capitalism, of restoring the power of the bourgeoisie" (Vol. II. p. 7). The desire for selfdetermination and democracy of the non-Russian nations was mixed up during the trail with German, Japanese, English "imperialism" and espionage, and the author again repeats uncritically these Communist canards.

The Promethean movement was organized by the exiled democratic leaders of all the non-Russian nationalities. It was and is an expression of their struggle for national selfdetermination and of their desire for free international cooperation with the free nations in the former League of Nations at Geneva and in the present UN.

Roman Smal Stocky

UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"UNDERSTANDING THE RUSSIANS," by George F. Kennan. The New Republic, June 26, 1950, New York.

This brief summary of an address delivered before the Russian Institute at Columbia University by the once elusive Mr. X who was until lately the counselor of the State Department and is considered a Russian expert is truly a masterpiece on the misunderstanding of the Russians. Indeed, if this is the product of the intensive training of a young foreign service officer, such as Mr. Kennan once received, then it can fairly be said that General Walter Bedell Smith learned more of essential import about the Russians during his three year stay in Moscow than Mr. Kennan accumulated in the longer course of his "intensive training."

The address is in essence one of those flaccid and sentimental pleas for us to "understand" the suffering of this people who have long lived "in archaic darkness and intolerance" and even to be infinitely forbearing with Soviet Russia. In it Mr. Kennan superficially philozophizes about the "immense good and immense faith in humanity" to be found in the Russian people and about their profound sense of "certain abstractions such as decency, honesty, kindness, and loyalty . . ." Also, the reader is made aware of the fact that Mr. Kennan is enamored with Pushkin and is familiar, no doubt in his acquired Russian, with various branches of Russian literature.

All these statements may be more or less true, but they certainly in no substantial way provide any greater understanding of the Russians than, for most part, of any other people. If anything, they express a mystified feeling toward a given people in much the manner that a college sophomore evinces it in his study of a people possessed of a culture distinct from his own. However, the vast difference lies in the fact that Mr. Kennan's sentimentalities have been effective in shaping American foreign policy toward the Soviet Union.

By sheer ignorance, which is almost unbelievable, or calculated omission, Mr. Kennan unmistakably contributes to a definite misunderstanding of the Russians by his conspicuous failure even to mention the basic mania of Slavic superiority that has obsessed the typical Russian mind for the past three centuries. This psychological basis for both Red and Tsarist Russian imperialism has produced greater sufferings

among Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples than Mr. Kennan apparently has tears to spare. No mention is made of this crucial fact which has led the Russians to their barbarous treatment of neighboring nations. This is of no concern to the loving heart of Mr. Kennan, perhaps because of his love for Pushkin and his circle of Russian friends—while the others be damned!

The relation between this mystical love for the Russians and the essentially passive policy of containment that Mr. Kennan has advocated is quite obvious. The fruits of this policy are appearing today in Korea: tomorrow they will crop up in Indo-China, then Burma, Yugoslavia and elsewhere, while the United States, in simply containing and therefore really conserving the Soviet power and Russian imperialism, will be bleeding itself to death. This will be the colossal contribution of Mr. Kennan's thoughts on American foreign policy toward Soviet Russia, if they are consistently followed.

The only practical alternative to this path of national destruction is the policy of resistance as has been advanced rationally and concretely by James Burnham. It is a policy that recognizes not only the Russian people and its aspirations for freedom from the Bolshevik yoke, but also the Baltic, Polish, Bulgarian, Ukrainian and other satellite peoples and their desires for freedom. The minds and hearts of these enslaved peoples must be won if the United States is to overcome the menace of Soviet world domination. As Mr. Kennan enters his intermediate course of study on Eastern Europe at the Princeton Institute for Advanced Studies, it would be an excellent idea to have another expert less enthusiastic for preservation of Moscow's power, occupy the position of counselor in the planning of the US Russian policy. We can then be assured of a saner and sounder course of action in this world struggle without the shameful dissipation of our resources such as has characterized the policy of containment for the past three years.

"CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY." — Brookings Institution, April 1950, Washington, D. C.

It is often interesting and somewhat amusing to scan a chronology of speeches and the reactions they produce. In this publication the chief points of one of Secretary of State Acheson's speeches on the west coast are enumerated. They entail his six vague proposals for relieving the tensions between the United States and Soviet Russia, such as the demonstration of our faith in freedom, the communication of the value of

freedom to "the four corners of the earth" etc. To this masterpiece of diplomatic vagueness and elusion, Pravda, with phenomenal concreteness, countered with the statement—"a delirious program for the creation of a world-wide American empire through suppressing the sovereignty of all the peoples of the world."

One only wonders what Pravda's lying retort would have been to Herbert Hoover's explicit and meaningful speech of April 28, in which he accurately depicted the seven phases of American relations with Russia. How significant to Ukrainians is his description of the first phase which "began under the Czars. Since Peter the Great they steadily have expanded their reach of empire over the largest land mass in the world." The Russian subjugation of Ukraine was Peter's starting point. Mr. Hoover's call in that speech for a United Front of all who believe in freedom is a natural invitation to Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Balts and other Russian-enslaved peoples to join. Mr. Acheson, in his tailored double-talk about our "burning and fighting faith" in freedom, affords no inspiration to many of these peoples by his one explicit assurance to the Soviets that the alternation of political conditions in Eastern Europe, meaning the Soviet Union, is of no concern to us. Surely there are saner ways to counter Soviet propaganda than to weaken the hopes of the very peoples who are struggling for their freedom.

"THE 'DEVIATIONIST' SLOGAN," — by Lily Doblhoff. *The Commonwealth*, January 6, 1950, New York.

This correspondent for the French journal *La Liberte* emphasizes a fundamental truth in her criticism of the Western acceptance of this slogan. The "deviationist" slogan is a misleading oversimplification of the facts. The Hungarian Rajk, the Bulgarian Traicho Kostov, the Polish Gomulka and the others who are under fire from the Kremlin and in effect doomed, are fanatical communists of the highest order, but they do not desire to become the servants of an alien nationalist power. As she rightly explains, "The one basic thing to keep in mind is the nationalism of the Moscow." These so-called "deviationists" simply maintain the view that the cause of international world revolution is being perverted by Russian imperialistic aims. Twenty years ago thousands of Ukrainian communists suddenly realized that in the party-line the only true nationalism is Moscovitism, and they are no more. At this stage of world developments it is a tragic pity that such State Department "Russian experts," as Mr. Kennan, have to grasp this truth.

"PROGRESS OF AGRICULTURE IN RUSSIA," — by Alexander Baykov. *The Economic Digest*, May 1950, London.

The only reason for citing this unusually brief and on the whole superficial account of agricultural developments in "Russia" is to point out the insular obstinacy and the self-defeating obscurantism of this Russian writer who, no doubt, endlessly dreams of the revival of old "Holy Russia." Despite the fact that most of what he depicts pertains to the collectivized area of Ukraine, in reading this misleading writing one would think Ukraine never existed. Russian emigres here and in England should begin to wake up to the fact that in increasing degree Anglo-American literati are becoming conscious of the motives inspiring their denial of Ukrainian existence. The days of propagandizing for the Tsar are fortunately gone.

"THE CIRCULAR FRONTIER OF MUSCOVY," — by Valentine Tschabotarioff-Bill, *The Russian Review*, January 1950, N. Y.

Of the same false species as the preceding one is this supposedly learned treatment of Russian history. It is unpardonable enough to disseminate the untruth of Russia's origin in Kiev rather than in Muscovy, but when the author leaps into a historical nowhere to cap so-called Russian Cossacks with "Hetmans," he has truly created an unmitigated historical salmugundi which probably most Russian historians of his kind could scarcely stomach. It is of little credit to the publication to admit such nonsense into print.

"VLADIMIR AND THE ORIGIN OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH," — by Nicholas Zernov. *The Slavonic and East European Review*, London, November 1949.

Readers of this Quarterly who have shown any interest in the many splendid articles that have been written on Vladimir and the early Church in Ukraine would be quick to discern the implications of the above title. The two previous articles mentioned express Russian denial of Ukraine and its heritage on the economic and political levels, while this one attempts it on the ecclesiastical. It seems to be an imbedded Russian trait to distort history. As we gather from our newspapers, the Soviet Russians are accomplishing it on a gigantic scale, arrogating almost every historical feat of note to themselves. They are not unique in this. The Tsarist Russian, of which these examples are representative, was their

worthy predecessor in this infamous game of aggrandizement. For without Kiev what cultural lustre, beauty, and depth can Russian history under the black despotism of the Tsars show for itself?

"THE RUSSIAN CHURCH IN SOVIET POLITICS," — by Wieslaw Zylinski. *The Eastern Quarterly*, April, 1950, London.

In addition to this article, this particular issue of the *Eastern Quarterly* contains two other essays which bear on the general topic of Polish-Ukrainian affairs, viz., the "Defence of Yalta" by Jan Librach and "The Yalta Conference Decision Regarding Poland" signed by Juridicus. Of the three the most interesting and instructive is his article by Mr. Zylinski on the question of the position assumed by the Russian Orthodox church in relation to Soviet policy.

The author reminds the reader that during the Tsarist regime the Russian Church was far secondary to the state. The church was fully in the service of the state to the extent that the Westernizer Solovyov and the Pan-Slavist Aksakov stated that the church was in complete spiritual decline. Aksakov wrote: "There is not in the Russian Church any spirit of truth, any spirit of love, any spirit of life, any spirit of freedom or any redeeming inspiration." (Aksakov, *Collected Works*, v. 1.).

A very similar condition exists today in the Russian Church in its relation to the atheistic Soviet government. Till 1945 the Russian Church was under the leadership of Metropolitan Sergei who later became Patriarch. After his death, Patriarch Alexis became the head of the church which continues to serve firmly the interests of Soviet domestic and foreign policies. The destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia (Western Ukraine), in Carpatho-Ukraine and in Rumania has taken place under the strict surveillance and under close coordination of the Patriarch and the MVD.

The extension of power of the Moscovite Patriarch over the Orthodox churches in Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia similarly took place under the close supervision of the political factors operating from Moscow.

At home the Patriarch considers Stalin as installed by God, Himself. On the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Communist revolution in Russia, the Patriarch wrote the following message to his faithful flock: "Let us increase our prayers for the Russian State, and its authorities with a wise ruler at their head, designated by Divine Providence and destined to lead our home country on the way of good and

glory." The author presents the true position taken by the Russian Orthodox church in the Soviet Union. The Church's spiritual status at present is the same as was described a hundred years ago by Aksakov.

"THE IRON CURTAIN AND THE EIRENIC MOVEMENT," — by Helene Iswolsky, Thought, June, 1950, Fordham University, New York.

Miss Iswolsky in her introduction describes in detail the pro-union movement among the Catholics of the West which she calls the "Eirenic Movement." The fact is generally well known that the Western Catholics, and especially the Vatican, have continually endeavored to bring about union between the eastern Christians and the western Catholic Church. However, Miss Iswolsky persistently tries to prove that similar desires exist among the clergy and the masses of people under the Moscovite Patriarch behind the Iron Curtain. Miss Iswolsky finds the same desires even among the exponents of the Russian Orthodox sect which is in sympathy with the Soviet government and listens to the voice of the Moscovite Patriarch. The Publication of this sect is the magazine "One Church."

Miss H. Iswolsky quotes Russian emigrant, Professor Timashev from the Fordham University: "The message of love is heard and opposed to the message of hate." Moreover, that "dogma, liturgy, ecclesiastical traditions have not been sacrificed by the Russian Orthodox hierarchy . . . It is essential, however, to remember their dignity as Christians. The fact that the Christian tradition has not been lost in Russia is of infinite importance for the future of the 'Eirenic Movement'."

Reading all this on behalf of the church that has been conspiring, and which in all its efforts cooperates, with the MVD and the Soviet Department of Foreign Affairs, it makes one wonder how easily some forget about the coercion used upon five million Catholics of the Eastern rites in Western Ukraine, in Carpatho-Ukraine, in Rumania. This was done with the full cooperation of the Patriarch and the MVD and took the form of inhuman persecution of five millions Christians. Thousands were killed or sent to labor camps where slow death was inevitable.

L. E. D.

CURRENT UKRAINIAN CHRONICLE

IVAN PETRUSHEVYCH

On July 28, 1950 Ivan Petrushevych died in California. He was one of the prominent older emigrants in the USA. He completed his university studies in London in 1901, with the degree of Master of Arts, and later was the secretary of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv. He came to Canada in 1913, and became editor of the Ukrainian Catholic paper "The Canadian Ruthenian". In 1918 he was appointed to represent the Ukrainians in Canada and to attend the Peace Conference in Paris; he became the secretary of the Delegation of the West Ukrainian National Republic in London, where he remained till 1923. On returning to America he settled in Los Angeles, where he worked in a film studio, and later in the main library of Pasadena, Cal. In 1943 he organized the Ukrainian Division in the Hoover Library in Palo Alto, Cal., presenting it with his large private collection of books. He was also the founder of the "Ukrainian Library Society in California".

ABN CONVENTION IN EDINBURGH.

On June 12-14, 1950 a Congress of Representatives of the Resistance Movements in nations belonging to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) took place in Edinburgh (Scotland), under the auspices of the Scottish League for European Freedom. The Congress was attended by 35 official representatives of the resistance movements of the following 17 peoples: Azerbaijanians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Croats, Georgians, Hungarians, Idel-Uralians, Kozaks, North-Caucasians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Rumanians, Serbs, Slovaks, Turkestanians,

Ukrainians and White-Ruthenians. — Fifteen official representatives, members of the Central Committee of the ABN, came to Edinburgh from other countries. Numerous members of the Scottish League for European Freedom, under the chairmanship of Mr. J. F. Stewart as well as several important British guests were present at all the proceedings.

Among the representatives of the ABN were many distinguished persons: Mr. Alfred Berzins, formerly Minister in Latvia and President of the ABN; Prince Veli Kajam Khan, the President of the Turkestan National United Committee; General Ferenz Farkas de Kisbarnak, President of the Hungarian Anti-Bolshevik Liberation Movement and President of the Military Commission of the ABN; Captain W. Nanushwill, President of the Georgian Union in Gr. Britain; Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko from the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, President of the Central Committee of the ABN; Mr. Z. Pelesky, representative of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council; Mr. S. Povilavicius from the Lithuanian Underground Movement; Col. Z. Bogdanovich from the Serbian Movement of Liberation; Dr. Ludwik de Liptaj, formerly Minister in Hungary; Mr. S. Stankevich, President of the White-Ruthenian Center and many others.

The Conference issued an Appeal to "all the nations of the world who are still free". They were reminded that ABN is fighting against the most atrocious tyranny, known on earth — against Bolshevik Russia, and this struggle initiated by Moscow is not a question of political policies or economic systems, it is a fight for life or death between Truth and Slavery. In this struggle the

ABN warns the free nations against neutrality or the defensive, which means their downfall. This Appeal said that "the world will be saved not by the Atom bomb, which is or may be also in Russian possession, but by a new faith... The attack of materialism can be stopped only by the counter-attack of religious, national and social idealism. Only nations inspired by great ideas can conquer Bolshevism". These ideas are: "Freedom for nations, freedom for individuals!"

UCCA SUPPORTS PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S ACTION

The chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Prof. Leo Dobriansky sent a telegram to President Truman in which he declared that the American Ukrainians are pledged to support his action in the Korean affair, and that this action will strengthen the fighting spirit in Ukraine. The President's secretary answered the telegram, adding: "Your pledge of support is a source of fortitude to him in taking whatever steps are necessary in the defense of freedom loving nations everywhere".

INSURGENT MOVEMENT OF THE ENSLAVED NATIONS IN THE USSR

At 3 AM, June 30, 1950, on the 013 wave the underground radio from the other side of the Iron Curtain held an anti-Soviet broadcast. Discussing the insurgent movement, the broadcast gave the approximate statistics of the anti-Soviet elements: 60—90% of the populace in Ukraine and the Caucasus, and 20% in the northern USSR (Russia).

A-BOMBS ON KIEV AND ODESA?

The International Committee of Research on European Affairs, which numbers among its members Lord Vansittart,

Paul Reynaud, the former premier of France, and several members of the British Parliament, presented to the chiefs of staffs of the Western European powers a memorandum, in which among other matters it demanded that the USSR must be warned that if it began any aggression, A-bombs would fall on Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Odesa within a few hours of the attack.

If Russia does begin a war, it rightly deserves the A-bombs, but where does Ukraine come in? It would be as stupid to throw A-bombs on Kiev and Odesa as for instance on Prague or Bucharest, the cities without strategic value. It seems that Representative John Walsh, Democrat of Indiana and member of the House Armed Services Committee, showed more logic when he declared on Aug. 22: "The only way to destroy an octopus is to strike at its heart. We are not going to continue fighting secondary nations".

VATICAN STATISTICS

The Vatican radio announces that when the Soviets liquidated the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Eastern Galicia, it imprisoned, deported or killed 3,600 Ukrainian priests. All the Bishops were arrested and sentenced to long years of service in the slave labor camps in 1946.

All the property of the Ukrainian Church and all the buildings were confiscated and turned over to the Russian Orthodox Church at the request of the MVD (Russian Gestapo).

LIQUIDATION OF THE REMAINS OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The eastern part of Slovakia is inhabited by Ukrainians, who till recently still had their own Greek Catholic Diocese in Pryashiv (Presov). After the liquidation of the Catholic Church in Galicia and Carpathian Ukraine, this

was the last bastion of the Greek Catholic Church behind the Iron Curtain. Now the organ of the Italian Catholic Action the "Quotidiano" (July 2, 1950) announces that with the agreement of the Czech government the Greek-Catholic Diocese was forcefully annexed to the Russian Orthodox Church. This took place according to the established pattern: The bishops were arrested and a group of self-styled clergy proclaimed the "return to the Russian Orthodox Church", to which it never belonged. According to the last news from Bratislava the Bishops Pavlo Hoydych and Vasyli Hopko "are now in places unknown".

UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CARPATHIAN UKRAINE

According to the organ of the Jesuit Fathers "La Civiltà Cattolica", the Soviet administration liquidated completely the Greek Catholic Church in Carpathian Ukraine in the first days of May. In 1946 there were still 461,000 faithful. The priests who refused to accept the Russian Orthodox faith were imprisoned or deported into the depths of the USSR. There are still 81,000 non-Ukrainian Catholics in the country and 112,000 Jews, who are still persecuted for their religion, although there is a strong anti-religious propaganda carried on.

THE FATE OF THE DP IN CASE OF WAR

On July 6, 1950, the editor Zenon Pelesky, (chief secretary of the Ukrainian Emigration in Europe) together with the representatives of nine other national migrant committees inquired of the IRO Headquarters for the American Zone in Bad Kissingen as to what would become of the emigrants still remaining in Germany in case of war. The answer was that IRO is in a state of liquidation and does not feel

competent to give any information on the subject. The IRO representatives gave assurances that those who have a chance of emigration will be aided and, the others will be handed over to the German administration.

The next day the representatives put the same question at the office of the American High Commissioner in Frankfurt, Germany. They were told that the High Commissioner was deeply convinced that there would be no war in Europe. With the assistance of the UN steps would be taken to remove from Europe also those DPs who at present have no chance of emigration. They were furthermore reminded that the office of the American High Commissioner is a civil institution and in case of war and eventual evacuation these matters will be taken over by the military administration.

Nevertheless the High Commissioner promised to refer the matter to the proper authorities.

DISSATISFACTION WITH THE KOMSOMOL IN UKRAINE

At the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Ukraine which took place in Kiev, the dissatisfaction with the activities of the Komsomol (the Communist Alliance of Youth) was aired. Even the Central Office did not escape criticism, on the ground that it does not "reveal the essence of the remains of Ukrainian nationalism", and that the Komsomol does not "give proper attention in combating religious superstitions". 22 official resolutions were issued, which among others recommend "to sharpen the propaganda against bourgeois ideology, and the remains of Ukrainian nationalism," and to "hold more lectures on anti-religious subjects". In connection with

these resolutions a new purge in the Central Office of the Komsomol of Ukraine is expected.

REBELLIONS AGAINST COLLECTIVIZATION IN WESTERN UKRAINE

The Soviet press declares that the general collectivization in Western Ukraine is completed 99.7%. Now the most important thing is to "bring up the kolkhoz workers according to the spirit of Soviet ideology". It is just here that the Soviet system meets with the greatest resistance, because, as the organizers put it, it is "very difficult to fight with the remains of the small private ownership ideology". The Soviet press complains that the "kulaks and the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" have smuggled themselves into the kolkhoz and are trying to disrupt them from within.

SOVIET DECEIT IN UKRAINE

On May 24 Stalin held a banquet to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the victory over Hitler. During the banquet in his speech he uttered the following "historical words": "I drink to the Russian people, which is the most prominent people of all peoples of the USSR. The confidence of the Russian people in the Soviet Administration was that decisive power which insured our victory. We are thankful to the Russian people for its confidence!"

This could have been a purely Russian affair, had not the Soviet administration forced the Ukrainians and the other nations of the Soviet "republics" to celebrate these words of Stalin. All Soviet newspapers in Ukraine were flooded with expressions of gratitude to the Russian "hero-nation", where the leading role of the "elder brother" in communism was highly praised,—the

"older brother" "who created the Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State in the USSR"...

LITERARY INSTITUTE IN LVIV

In the middle of June, 1950, in the Lviv Opera House a five day session of the Institute of Ukrainian Literature at the Academy of Sciences took place. 900 persons participated in the proceedings. The main lecture was held by the academician O. Biletsky, on the theme "Lenin and Stalin — the Creators of the Foundations of Literary Science". This same academician gave another lecture more closely concerned with Ukrainian affairs: "The Problem of Fighting Against Bourgeois-Nationalistic Distortions of the History of Literature". M. Hudziy lectured on the subject: "Ukrainian Classical Literature in the Struggle Against Ukrainian Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism". These and all the others lecture held at the session were fully worthy of the followers of such literary experts as Lenin and Stalin.

"AGGRESSION IN KOREA"

The entire Ukraine is swept by mass manifestations against the "American Aggressors", organized by the Communist Party. It seems appropriate to note on this occasion that when in 1939 Russia attacked Finland the party organized similar demonstrations in Ukraine against the "Finnish aggressors".

THE DIFFERENCE

We read in the Swiss newspaper "Allgemeine Volks-Zeitung" (23, 1950) the following: "It may be said that the Russians in Russia carry the Soviet regime on their shoulders as their own regime; in Ukraine the situation is different: here it is carried as a burden".

WHY THE UKRAINIANS WERE ABSENT

June 26—30, 1950, an International Congress of the Freedom of Culture was held in Berlin to protest against the persecution of culture by totalitarian regimes. Mr. Melvin Lasky, an American journalist and the secretary general of the Congress, visited cultural representatives of various nations and invited them to participate in the Congress. Although the Ukrainians made efforts to receive an invitation, for some reason Mr. Lasky did not deem it necessary to invite them, notwithstanding the fact that both Polish and Russian representatives were present. The absence of the Ukrainians was generally noticed and one of the Polish delegates commented upon "the Ukrainians who are not here."

NEW UKRAINIAN PERIODICALS

The arrival of Ukrainian refugees in the USA and Canada stimulated the Ukrainian cultural movement in these countries, and as a result many new publications have come into being. The following new reviews deal with cultural matters:

"KYIW"—a scientific and literary magazine, the organ of the Artistic and Literary Association in Philadelphia, Pa., edited by B. Romanenchuk.

"VSESVIT" ("Universe")—printed in New York under the editorship of V. Chaplenko.

"NOWI DNI" ("New days")—a general illustrated magazine, printed in Toronto, Canada, under the editorship of Petro Volyniuk.

"OKO SVITU" ("The Eye of the World"), — an illustrated magazine, printed in Montreal, Canada, under the editorship of Rostyslav Shulhyn.

"LOGOS",—*Periodicum Theologiae Trimestriale*, with the editor Rev. M. Hermaniuk, C. Sa. R., in Yorkton, Canada, printed in Ukrainian and Latin.

LECTURES IN THE SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY IN NEW YORK

In the series of scientific lectures, already listed in the UQ, the following new lectures are to be added:

Prof. Vasyl Lev gave a review of the publications of the Society during 77 years. These amount to more than a thousand volumes of scientific works.

M. Andrusyak, V. Sichynsky, Y. Rudnytsky and P. Kovaliv delivered a series of lectures on the derivation of the name "Ukraine".

Prof. H. Makhiv lectured on the climatic changes since the Ice Age in Ukraine.

Prof. V. Shchayevsky discussed the numismatic evidence for commercial relations of Ukraine with the Italian Republics of XIII—XIV centuries.

Prof. N. Chubaty lectured on the history of the church relations between Ukraine and Byzantium.

Prof. Y. Padokh read his work on the fundamental ideas of criminal law in Ukraine during the era of Princes.

Prof. M. Andruskiw of Seton Hall University spoke about the Pythagorean discovery of irrational numbers and its influence on Greek mathematics.



