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UKRAINE AND THE UNITED NATIONS

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UKRAINE AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Editorial

The planned revision of the Charter of the United Nations has raised among other questions that of the membership of Ukraine and Byelorussia in the UN. Authoritative representatives of American foreign policy have ventured to solve this by the simple process of expelling these states from the UN. They say that there is a dictatorial government in Moscow and so the union republics of the USSR are nothing but provinces of red Russia and therefore like states of the United States. So there is no place for Ukraine in the UN.

This simplification of the problem overlooks two essential facts: 1) that there is in the USSR a dictatorship of one party and this makes a great difference between the actual situation and the constitutional order of the Soviet Union; 2) that the USSR is composed of old historical nations which have lived in their national territories for hundreds and thousands of years with ethnically different populations, different languages and cultures, with different pasts and with different political aspirations, and still more so since the time of the Great Russian Revolution. The Russian Communist centralizers have had to reckon with this fact and despite their own desire to maintain the unity of the Soviet Union, they have been forced and are still being forced to give more and more independence to the union republics of the USSR. Under these conditions Ukraine is the real Achilles' heel of the USSR.

TWO CONGRESSIONAL SUBCOMMITTEES — TWO OPPOSING CONCLUSIONS

In the second half of 1954, two Committees of the American Congress held hearings and published their findings based upon documentary investigations and the testimony of eye-witnesses. *The Select Committee on Communist Aggression* of the U. S. House of Representatives heard 335 eye-witnesses of life in the USSR and received more than 1500 statements made by refugees, in the overwhelming majority from the Soviets, and it published more than 500 pages of printed material on the subject of the aggression of Communist Russia against its neighboring free nations: the satellite states on the west and the states of the peoples of the USSR,

who used the Russian Revolution in 1917-1918 to form their own independent democratic states.

The published materials of this Committee, called the Kersten Committee from the name of its chairman, gave American scholars the power to prepare short histories of the recent subjugation of these peoples by Moscow and the inclusion of their states in the USSR. At the conclusion of its work the Kersten Committee published a very valuable Summary Report with its conclusions and recommendations for the American Congress. Among other statements we find this:

“That the vast majority of the people living under Red rule know first-hand the anti-human nature of communism and thus constitute a great potential force against communism . . .

“That when morality and adherence to international law are excluded from all relations among nations, the rule of the jungle takes over, tyranny and war then become indispensable. *The moral and political principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence should serve as a guide to American policy toward the nations and peoples enslaved by communism . . .*

“That the continued occupation of the captive nations by Soviet communist power is the basic cause of the growing menace of war and stands as a threat to the security of the United States. This threat is increased in direct proportion to the time and opportunity afforded the Communists to digest and consolidate their gains and to use these gains as bases for further and greater aggressions. *The threat is diminished in direct proportion as the communist hold is weakened by a positive policy that promotes the forces of national independence behind the Iron Curtain.*”¹

The report of the Kersten Committee confirms beyond all doubts that the satellite nations and the nations of the 16 union republics of the USSR formed their own states after World War I; that the democratic governments of these states were violently overthrown by red Russia and were replaced by communist administrations and that these formally existing union republics possess enormous potential anti-communist forces which are naturally allies of America. These anti-communist forces are strongest in the union republic of Ukraine which red Russia is trying in every way, whether by inhuman brutalities or by far reaching concessions of a state and national character, to hold within the Soviet Union. So the one policy which is useful to America and will lead to the weakening of the power of Russian communism is a positive attitude on

¹ *Summary Report of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression*, House of Representatives, 83rd Congress, Second Session. House Report No. 2684, pp. 5-6.

the part of America toward those national forces in the USSR which aim at securing the independence of the union republics of the USSR along the lines of the American Declaration of Independence.

At the same time as the Kersten Committee, there was another Congressional body, the *Subcommittee on the United Nations Charter*, headed by Senator Alexander Wiley, former Chairman of the Senate Committee of Foreign Affairs. The studies of this subcommittee were made by members of its staff, experts in international law, politics and economy, and especially specialists on the United Nations. They also published the results of their studies in 5 issues totalling 155 pages of print, each with an introduction by Senator Wiley.

Among many other questions and plans for the reform of the Charter of the UN the members of this subcommittee assert that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, a member of the UN, holds tenth place among the members of the UN in population and eighth in economic power and so in the general importance in the UN it belongs to the second category of states after China, the USSR, Britain, the USA, France and India. The scholars of the subcommittee proposed in a new reform of the Charter to give each state a number of votes in accordance with its general importance in the UN: to the five leading states 10 each, to India 9 and to Ukraine 8 votes.² The result would be that Ukraine according to the American experts is a great nation but in the present situation it adds to the communist block too many votes in the Assembly. So the American experts conclude that Ukraine and Byelorussia must be removed from the UN for they are only "constituent republics of the USSR and do not qualify as 'states' in the strict sense of that term." Senator Wiley, as chairman of the subcommittee, simplified the question still more, for in his introduction to the 4th number of this publication, he wrote: "When the time comes to consider the revision of the Charter we should protect this arrangement. Byelorussia and the Ukraine are constituent states of the Soviet Union somewhat like Texas and New York are constituent States of our own federated republic. If they deserve separate representation, then we should seek additional votes for Texas, New York, and Wisconsin and the other States of the Union." (Preface).

This simplified conception of Senator Wiley was adopted by Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, American Ambassador to the UN, when in an interview with a representative of the *U. S. News and World Report* (Nov. 25, 1954) he answered the question:

"Q. — And China"?

"A. — Well, China is there. It's a question of who represents China."

² *Subcommittee on the United Nations Charter*. Staff Study No. 4, P. 3, 20-21.

“Q. — We should be entitled to have Texas in there too, shouldn’t we? The American Ambassador to the UN answered: A. — If they’ve got the Ukraine and Byelorussia, then we certainly ought to have Texas and I would add Massachusetts.”

The materials of the Kersten Subcommittee confirmed the fact that there were at least 16 oppressed nations within the borders of the USSR and that these totally differed in language, culture and historical tradition from the Russians. Of these the Ukrainian people are the largest and the most dynamically anti-bolshevik, the reliable ally of America in case of a world crisis; but these nations do not exist for Senator Wiley or Ambassador Lodge.

The materials of the Kersten Committee also showed that the Ukrainian people during the last thousand years have twice had their own state which lasted for hundreds of years and that during the Russian Revolution they used the weakness of Russia to proclaim on January 22, 1918 the independence of Ukraine, defended it and are now fighting against the red Russian occupation. Ukraine is for the Ukrainians a state occupied by the Russian armies as Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The fact that to-day practically the entire state machinery of the Ukrainian Republic is formed of stooges of red Moscow does not deprive Ukraine in the legal sense of being a separate state as the establishment of a communist regime in Poland or Czechoslovakia does not take away the state character of the Moscow satellites. The China case shows that a nation can be a member of the UN although it is a question who is to represent it. A separate article in this publication definitely shows that in the sense of international law Ukraine is a separate state, as the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations although the dictatorship of the communist party prevents Ukraine from having a state government according to the wishes of its population.

HOW UKRAINE BECAME A MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

No one understands the fixed determination of the Ukrainian people to have their own independent state as does red Moscow. So in the establishment in Ukraine of a red government entirely dependent upon the Russian communist party, Moscow left for some years communist Ukraine as an independent state. Even after the formation of the Soviet Union, red Moscow took the formally legal position that there were separate republics in the Soviet Union, each of which could constitutionally secede. But the dictatorship of the communist party does not allow this article of the constitution to come into effect.

This was definitely shown in the discussions at the Yalta Conference when the membership of Ukraine in the UN was definitely decided. The documents on the Yalta Conference throw a new light on this.³ Stalin was the first to raise the question of membership for Ukraine and Byelorussia in the UN on February 7, 1945. "It was superfluous to explain the size, the population and importance of the Ukraine, White Russia . . . or their importance in foreign affairs." Molotov added: "They should be included among other members of that body. The dominions of the British Commonwealth had gradually and patiently achieved their place as entities in international affairs." During the meeting of the Foreign Ministers, Molotov again compared Ukraine to Canada and Australia, remarking "that amendments had been made to the Soviet Constitution, which gave the Soviet republics the right to have contact with foreign states. The Soviet Union was a union of States. . ." President Roosevelt was interested in this proposal. He added "that the British Empire, the USSR and the United States were very different in structure and in tradition. The British Empire for example had many large units, such as Canada, Australia, etc. . . The USSR had a different national structure. The United States had one language and one foreign minister."⁴

It is to be noted that President Roosevelt emphasized what neither Stalin nor Molotov had mentioned, the different national and ethnic structure of the USSR and so Ukraine and Byelorussia qualified as members of the UN. Stalin and Molotov did not mention the national differences between Ukraine and Russia although in fact the strong pressure of Ukrainian patriotic nationalism and the dynamic force of the then active Ukrainian Underground compelled the Kremlin to quiet the Ukrainian people by making concessions which beyond a doubt did not aid in the centralization of the USSR, although the introduction of Ukraine into the UN did not contribute much to internal changes in Ukraine. Stalin was not seeking two additional votes in the UN but to satisfy the ambitions of the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians, for he said elsewhere in a private conversation that he had his own internal difficulties with the Ukrainians. President Roosevelt then drew a clear difference between the position of Ukraine in the USSR and of Texas in the USA.

THE LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF NATIONAL PROBLEMS IN THE USA

There would not be now such a simplification in America of the question of the membership of Ukraine and Byelorussia in the UN, even

³ *New York Times*, March 17, 1955.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. T15, col. 8, & p. T17, col. 4.

by the most important leaders of American foreign policy, if in this country there had been more basic studies of the national problems of Europe, especially of the USSR. There are fundamental differences between the American federation and the Soviet Union. President Roosevelt referred to these at Yalta, i. e. that the USSR is a union of many nations differing in language and tradition, and the USA is a single nation which arose on the virtually empty spaces of America from colonists of different nations, who quickly fused under the influence of the dominant Anglo-Saxon civilization into a single American monolingual nation.

On the other hand the Soviet Union is a union of various nations formed violently by red Russia, although it is not able to take from these old nations their own individuality. The individuality of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Armenian and Georgian nations rests upon the differences in language, culture, religious traditions, historical past and a different way of life in the case of each of them. Each nation of the USSR has been closely linked to its national territory for hundreds and thousands of years. To move a Ukrainian to Turkestan makes him a broken man in his life, but if an American goes from Texas to Massachusetts or from California to New York, nothing has changed, for he is still in his own American nation. For a Ukrainian, Turkestan is a foreign land.

IS THE PRESENCE OF UKRAINE IN THE UN A MENACE TO AMERICA?

The report of the Wiley Committee which is against the presence of Ukraine and Byelorussia in the UN shows that Moscow through these republics which are constantly accepted as stooges of the red Kremlin has triple voting power and still worse, triple speaking power in the Assembly of the UN. In our opinion this speaking power of the USSR through its stooges from Ukraine would not be a menace to America, if our representatives in the UN knew how to make use of the weak sides of the USSR — the difference between the words and actions of the Soviet representatives, and dealt with the national problems of the USSR with that “positive policy that promotes the forces of national independence behind the Iron Curtain,” as recommended by the Kersten Committee. We agree fully with the recommendations of this Committee that the application of such a policy would quickly weaken the dynamic force of the Soviet orators, for the whole world would see the heights of the hypocrisy of Moscow in national questions and the “American capitalistic imperialism” which they attack would appear as a policy of the liberation of enslaved national states.

AMMUNITION FOR ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA

Unfortunately the position of the American Ambassador to the UN can only furnish ammunition to the Soviet orators and still more strongly aid them in their attacks. The Soviet representatives in the UN have an excellent chance now to appear in the UN as defenders of the national individuality of Ukraine and Byelorussia against the representatives of America. The comparison of Ukraine with Texas or Massachusetts is equivalent to the assertion that there is really no Ukrainian nation, as there is no nation of Texas or Massachusetts. The position of America must painfully hurt every Ukrainian on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

In Asia, thanks to the mistakes of American policy, freedom-loving America has appeared in the light of an imperialist and tyrannical red Moscow as a liberator from imperialism. We do not doubt that in the next Assembly of the UN, when there is a question of the reform of the Charter, freedom loving America will be again attacked by the Soviet tyrants as the enemy of Ukraine and Byelorussia, especially their state and national individuality.

Red Moscow definitely knows the sensitive point in the Ukrainian ambitions — to be after centuries of life without a state finally a nation in the international sense. So the Kremlin to weaken the anti-bolshevik dynamism of the Ukrainian movement for liberation is satisfying this ambition of the Ukrainian people. After the introduction of Ukraine into the UN, Ukraine secured its own flag, its own national anthem, a separate ministry of foreign affairs and some months ago the control of the universities of Ukraine was returned from Moscow to Kiev.

To quiet the state aspirations of Ukraine, red Moscow in connection with the 300th anniversary of the connection of Ukraine and Moscow ventured to detach the Crimean peninsula from the Russian Republic and place it in the Ukrainian Republic and thus consolidate the Ukrainian position on the Black Sea. We must recognize that the Crimea is a very important strategic territory with the base of the Black Sea fleet in Sevastopol. Red Moscow well understands what would happen if Ukraine with the Crimea broke away from Russia by force, but while Ukraine remains in the USSR, under the dictatorial power of the communist party, the transfer of the Crimea does not change the situation.

There are reports that soon Ukraine will formally become an independent state on the same basis as the satellites, Poland, Czechoslovakia etc. This would not change greatly the actual situation, for in such an independent Ukrainian Communist Republic Ukrainian patriots would still be sent to concentration camps in Siberia, as are now the Polish

patriots, who are fighting for the liberation of Poland from the domination of Moscow.

Nevertheless these efforts of red Moscow to underline formally the state character of Ukraine are regarded favorably by the Ukrainians of the entire world, even under the terrible reality of bolshevik tyranny. Why is this? Because the Ukrainian people for centuries have dreamed of having their own state. The Ukrainian remembers what obstacles the democratic states put in his way when after World War I, he was fighting the bolsheviks to found his own state on his own land. So the Ukrainian values the international status of Ukraine — its membership in the UN. When the Soviet regime falls, the Ukrainian understands that Ukraine will become immediately and practically independent. If it already has international status, the intrigues of its traditional enemies will have no effect.

Was the honorable Senator Wiley thinking, when for the first time in Germany he declared to the editors of *Die Neue Zeitung* on Sept. 16, that he was proposing to the American government to try to remove Ukraine and Byelorussia from the UN. His statement called out a unanimous protest of the entire Ukrainian press in the whole free world, Europe, the two Americas and Australia. There have been already hundreds of articles published, showing the illogical character of the position of the Senator and the damage he is doing to America. The Ukrainians throughout the world know that America cannot remove Ukraine from the UN while the Soviets have the power of veto but that the attitude of certain influential persons in American foreign policy is not creating confidence in and sympathy for America.

If this is the response of the unfortunate moves of American diplomats in this matter outside Ukraine, what is the response within the country? Can there be imagined better material for Bolshevik propaganda in Ukraine against America and the underground forces favorable to America, which are still fighting against bolshevik tyranny? They will certainly be presented on the radio and in the press as American agents and enemies of the Ukrainian people. The Soviet propagandists have secured enough material to prove that America is the enemy of Ukraine and so whoever wishes Ukraine to be an independent nation must stay with the Soviet government which “voluntarily without compulsion is building an independent Ukrainian state in brotherly union with the Russian people”. It is only the American imperialists who wish to drive Ukraine from the UN. What can the speakers on the Voice of America or Radio Liberation answer?

THE UKRAINIAN POSITION

What do the Ukrainian people wish in the coming revision of the Charter of the UN? The Ukrainian people as part of the democratic world believe that there must be expelled from the UN the representatives of all communist states which are within the orbit of Moscow including the representatives of Soviet Russia, for the communist governments in all these states are breaking the fundamental rights of the individual and the ideological bases on which the UN is founded. *We call for the removal of the representatives of the states dominated by Russian bolshevism and not the expulsion of national states from the UN.* The seats of these oppressed nations shall remain empty to show that the nations are innocent victims of bolshevik aggression, and that the peoples are still counted among the free nations. The seats are not the property of the passing communist rulers but of the peoples. These seats will be at the disposal of the representatives of the nations chosen by their own free will.

James Reston, a columnist of the *New York Times* quoted in his report from Denver on October 4, 1954, these words of General Alfred M. Gruenther, Commander of the Allied Forces in Western Europe: "Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, the Allied Commander in Europe, warned here that unless the United States improved its techniques for influencing world opinion, it ran the risk that the Communists would pick off the free nations one by one". The American Ukrainians are greatly disturbed lest the technique developed by Senator Wiley and Ambassador Lodge toward Ukraine may follow that line which so disturbs the American Commander of the Allied Armed Forces in Europe.

U. N. MEMBERSHIP OF NATIONS DOMINATED BY COMMUNISTS

(A Juridical Approach)

By MATTHEW STACIHW

There is no doubt whatsoever that a majority of the free world's public opinion is strongly in favor of an international organization of the U.N. type, which would preserve peace and offer to bring about changes in the world by peaceful means and in accordance with democratic political principles and justice. If there are differences of opinion, they are only on the question whether U.N. should be a free universal organization, i.e. with membership open to all nations, and whether the U. N. should be *sui generis* a world government with its own executive department and its armed forces.

There is no doubt about the majority of public opinion of the free peoples being in favor of reform of the existing U. N. Charter so as to streamline U. N. activities, even if it is to be on the existing basis.

The most pressing problems under public discussion in connection with U. N. Charter reform are: the scope of the great powers' veto, admission of new member nations to the U. N. and representation of previously admitted member nations. In addition, there is also under discussion the problem of temporary suspension of the right to be represented in the U.N. of those nations which have been taken over by communist regimes, and in particular the problem of depriving the government of the Soviet Union of the right to be represented in the U.N.

On the occasion of amendment of the U.N. Charter some newspapers in the United States, diplomats and particularly government experts on Eastern European matters have also categorically posed a demand that Ukraine and Byelorussia be deprived of U.N. membership altogether, because, they allege, they are not nations within the meaning of international law and political science.

For a deeper analysis of these problems, we must first apply a method of separating problems which are *par excellence political* from those which are in the realm of *jurisprudence*. It is according to this method that we are going to attempt to shed some light on the problems mentioned above, and in particular on the problem of the expulsion of the Soviet Union and some other states from the United Nations.

LEGAL QUESTIONS IN CONNECTION WITH U. N. MEMBERSHIP

a) *National sovereignty.*

In connection with the problem of the organization of the United Nations and U.N. Charter reform we are concerned with the aspect of statehood from the standpoint of international politics and international law.

From the standpoint of practical international politics, weak and small states are subjects of international politics only to the extent that international activities guarantee under absolute international law the free and peaceful development of every nation, great and small. In that event even a very small nation-state can be sovereign, i.e. it can freely decide about its own fate and its international relations (it is then possessed of internal and external sovereignty). If international law is suspended or threatened in all the world, or in some part of it, then small states are practically without sovereignty in the drama of international politics and they must decide to follow one of the leading great powers.

A vivid example of such lack of political *sovereignty* of a state endowed with *legal* sovereignty are the members of the Soviet Union, also the small and medium satellite states of the Soviet Union, i. e. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, East Germany, Bulgaria, Albania. All these republics are in fact under the domination of a single communist party of Bolsheviks with a center located in Moscow. Separate communist parties in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc., exist only as a matter of formality.

It is obvious that political sovereignty is also lacking in a state when, by force of specific circumstances, a state comes under the complete *economic* domination of another, stronger state. Then it is compelled, against its own will, to voice the political will of the alien state by reason of this economic dependence.

Notwithstanding all this, *international law* does not take into consideration political or economic aspects when the problem is weighed whether a given state is sovereign, or not. Juridical analysis of the problem of sovereignty is governed by legal criteria exclusively, and not by those of politics or economics.

From the standpoint of international law a nation is sovereign when *it has the right* to conduct its foreign relations with other states, and when it is able to determine juridically as a body of last resort whether it wishes to restrict its highest prerogative in its territory in some respects. Applying this juridical criterion to various existing states, we must come to the conclusion that the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, the Byelo-

russian Socialist Soviet Republic and other national "Union Republics" which comprise the Soviet Union are, according to international law equally *sovereign* states on a par with "peoples republics" such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, etc., satellites of the Soviet Union.

b) *Sovereignty of Ukraine and Byelorussia.*

Experts on the staff of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee have rendered their learned pronouncement that this Committee or rather its Sub-Committee on the U.N. Charter revision should come to the conclusion that Ukraine and Byelorussia are not sovereign nations at all, and hence should not be members of the U.N., because according to the U.N. Charter, U.N. membership is restricted only to sovereign states. They support the thesis that the governing principle of the U.N. should be: "one state—one vote." They allege that this principle is adhered to in the U.N. with the sole exception of Ukraine and Byelorussia, which "are constituent states of the Soviet Union and therefore not qualified as 'states' in the strict meaning of the term. . . Each one of them has one vote, which, combined with the vote of the Soviet Union provides one country with three votes."¹

From this allegation of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee experts that Ukraine and Byelorussia are not "states" in the strict meaning of the term, some official circles of the United States (Senator Alexander Wiley, or Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.) come to the conclusion that if Ukraine deserves membership in the U.N. then similar membership should be extended to Texas, Wisconsin, and other States of the United States, i. e. none. A further conclusion follows automatically: if neither the Ukrainian S.S.R. nor the Byelorussian S.S.R. are sovereign states within the meaning of the U.N. Charter, or if their sovereignty is at least questionable, then on the occasion of the U.N. Charter revision in 1955, they should be excluded from membership in the U.N.

We believe the statements contained in the Subcommittee report on the United Nations Charter No. 3 (p. 12) and No. 4 (p. 3) to be absolutely erroneous from the legal standpoint, for the following reasons:

1) Ukraine became a completely sovereign state as early as November 20, 1917, when that nation established its own state of its own free will under the name of Ukrainian National Republic. On January 22, 1918, the Assembly of that Republic, the Ukrainian Central Rada (council) made a formal proclamation of the full independence of this

¹. Representation and Voting in the U.N. General Assembly. Staff Study No. 4. of the United States Senate Subcommittee on the United Nations Charter. Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations. Washington, D.C. 1954, p. 3.

state through its Fourth Constitutional Law (Universal). The sovereignty of this state, i.e. its ability to undertake fully lawful acts in international relations was recognized by the government of Soviet Russia in a note of December 17, 1917, and subsequently by a formal declaration of the Soviet Russian delegation to the peace Conference of Brest (Litovsk) on January 10, 1918, and finally by the peace treaty of Russia in Brest of March 3, 1918 which was ratified by the Supreme Soviet of Soviet Russia on March 17, 1918. Besides this the Soviet of the Russian People's Commissars once more recognized the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic (with a Soviet puppet government) on April 7, 1918.

Subsequently Ukrainian sovereignty was recognized in a whole series of international agreements, of which the more important were treaties with Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria on Feb. 9, 1918, a treaty with Poland of April 22, 1920, etc.

2) Ukraine defended her sovereignty against Soviet Russian armed aggression beginning with December, 1917 and conducted a war of defense against this aggression under extremely difficult circumstances, on war-fronts by means of a regular army until November, 1920, when the defensive front was broken, not through the lack of valor on the part of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic, but through the lack of munitions and medical supplies for the wounded and those sick with epidemics (typhus, cholera, etc.).

3) Soviet Russia, by successful aggression, occupied at first the Southeastern part of Ukraine on the Left Bank of the Dnieper river, and from there, by the now well-known tactics, imposed a puppet Soviet government upon Ukraine which proclaimed itself immediately the "workers' and peasants' government" of the existing Ukrainian State, i.e. of the Ukrainian National Republic, and as of March, 1919, proclaimed in occupied Kiev, a "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic." In this manner Moscow brought about a situation, where formally there was a (civil) war between two Ukrainian governments — the democratic Ukrainian National Republic and the totalitarian Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, with Soviet Russia giving full military aid to this Soviet Ukrainian State. Legally this Soviet Ukrainian State was completely sovereign from March 14, 1918 and subsequently this State acted in international affairs separately from Soviet Russia.

In international agreements this Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic following its conquest of the defensive front of the democratic Ukrainian government, appeared as a sovereign state and was recognized as such as successor to the rights of the democratic government of Ukraine by the following acts: the treaty of Riga with Poland of March, 1921, the international conference of Genoa during the same period. In the opinion

of experts on international law that state was given universal recognition at the San Francisco Conference, where it was accepted as a sovereign member and signatory of the United Nations Charter and subsequently even elected to the U. N. Security Council.

From the standpoint of international law it is unimportant by what method the government of a given state came to power. The only matter of significance is whether the state has been legally recognized as sovereign in international law. It has been shown above on the basis of international diplomatic acts that Ukraine was recognized as a sovereign state, both under the democratic government, as well as the subsequent Soviet regime.

From the international standpoint, formal recognition of a state may be withdrawn, but such recognition cannot be withdrawn, if no new occurrences have taken place since the recognition of such state which would legally deprive this state of its basis of existence within the meaning of international law. The experts on the Senate Subcommittee of Foreign Affairs do not even attempt to allege that any such new circumstance has taken place which would be of legal significance in the evaluation of Ukraine's status within the meaning of the United Nations Charter.

4) The experts cite only one point in support of their position, i.e. the fact that the Ukrainian S.S.R. is a constituent republic of the Soviet Union. This fact is true, but it dates back to a time long before the San Francisco Conference, viz. to the day of December 30, 1922, when the government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. concluded a treaty with the other Soviet Republics (Russia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, North Caucasus and Azerbaijan) on the establishment of "The Union of S.S.R." This treaty was ratified by the supreme congress of the soviets of Ukraine, and subsequently, on its authority the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee adopted on July 1, 1923 a new constitution as a draft for the Soviet Union. This draft was in due course accepted by all the above mentioned Soviet Republics and proclaimed as the constitution of the U.S.S.R. at a joint congress. According to this constitution the Soviet Union is merely a voluntary union of equal republics which continue as *sovereign* states. Chapter two of this constitution of the U.S.S.R. states clearly: "The sovereignty of the union republics is restricted only by bounds enumerated in this constitution and only to subjects reserved to the competence of the Union. Outside of these restrictions every union republic exercises its state powers independently. The U.S.S.R. guarantees the sovereign rights of the union republics (art.3). To each union republic the right is reserved of *free secession* from the Union (art.4)." It is clear from the above that *juridically* the Soviet Union is a union of

sovereign states which have voluntarily restricted their sovereignty for the purpose of economic gains and more efficient military defense (preamble to the constitution), but outside of this, the states remain legally masters of their national destiny, i.e. they have the right to secede from the Union anytime they wish to do so.

This sovereign right of the Union Republics has in no way been abridged by the re-edited union constitution of the U.S.S.R. of 1936 (the Stalin constitution). Again art. 17 repeats what the previous constitution said about the right of free secession from the U.S.S.R. In accordance with the original treaty and subsequent constitutions of the U.S.S.R. each union republic adopts its own constitution and it is not subject to approval by any governmental branch of the union.

All of the above provides sufficient evidence to those who are familiar with constitutional and international law that Ukraine within the U.S.S.R. has preserved all the rights of a sovereign state, Ukraine alone and no other state having the legal decision of remaining or seceding from the U.S.S.R., and Ukraine alone having the right to adopt the Ukrainian constitution. These attributes of the Ukrainian S.S.R. legally qualify Ukraine as a state within the international meaning of the term. According to amendments to the second constitution, this state can legally conduct its own foreign policy independently of any Union organs.

5) In the light of these legal facts, it is beyond any doubt that any real expert on the constitution of the U.S.S.R. and on the constitution and constitutional history of Ukraine would not compare the status of Ukraine with the status of Texas or of any other State of the American Union, because any true expert knows that: Neither Texas, nor Wisconsin, nor any other State of the U.S. has the right of free secession from the Union, whereas Ukraine does have such right of free secession.

Neither Texas, nor any other American State has the right to enter into international agreements of a political, military, or even commercial nature, and in general may not conduct in its own name any relations with foreign states or conduct any international policy, while Ukraine has the right to conduct external affairs.

Finally, not of the least importance is the legal fact that in Ukraine, the repository of all internal and external power is the Ukrainian nation, which established that state in modern times on November 20, 1917, safeguarding and guaranteeing equal rights to national minorities (Jewish, Russian, Polish and others), while the residual powers in Texas or any other State of the U.S. rest with the people of the State, who do not differ basically from the people of the other States of the U.S. and hence have no desire to contend seriously for the sovereignty of their State, because all feel as one single American nation.

REPRESENTATION OF STATES IN THE U. N.

a) *Recognition of a State.*

We must distinguish between the recognition of a nation *de jure* and recognition of a government *de jure*.

De jure recognition of a state carries with it consequences in international law without regard to the fact of a given state being powerful or not, and even without regard to its ability to exercise unlimited power over a given territory.

b) *Recognition of the Representation of a State.*

It is quite a different matter when it comes to *de jure* recognition of the representation of a certain government. Such recognition may, in certain instances, be suspended, withdrawn or granted to another government of the same state which has as yet not assumed complete control over its territory.

Such was the case, e. g. with *de jure* recognition of General Franco's government in Spain by some states at a time when that government was in control of only part of the territory of Spain, and the major part was still under the control of the previous republican government. This moment is illustrated even more vividly in the example of the recognition of the Czechoslovakian Republic during World War II, at a time when the entire territory of this state was in possession of the government of the "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia."

A similar situation might develop with regard to Ukraine. Membership of Ukraine in the U.N. as a state should be preserved, with the status of Charter member as a possible investment in a successful policy of liberation of nations from Bolshevism.

Withdrawal of recognition of *representation* of a certain government can be effected at any time when such government ceases to be the spokesman of the nation's will. This is the instance in the case of all communist states. The democratic bloc of nations can well pursue withdrawal of recognition *de jure* of the governments of communist states, but in its place grant the right of representation in the U.N. to the true representatives of the will of the nations who live as free emigres.

POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN CONNECTION WITH U. N. MEMBERSHIP

a) *The Problem of U. N. Universality.*

The United Nations could be a universal organization only in the event, if membership in the U.N. were compulsory, somewhat along the same lines as individuals in a nation have no choice in being citizens thereof. If the United Nations, however, as provided by the Charter, are

based on voluntary membership, then they might have universal aims and purposes, but as regards membership they cannot be a universal organization, because some nations do not aspire to membership for one reason or another (e. g. Switzerland), while the government of others may be excluded because they do not fulfill the obligations which they have undertaken.

Nevertheless, we must rejoice at the universality of the *purposes* of the United Nations, inasmuch as such universality of purposes is a prerequisite to the organization being of service to all mankind. Narrowness of purpose at a time of the high development of civilization and the economic interdependence of mankind would be doomed to limited success and would be incapable of achieving the highest objective of human life: life in creative peaceful work for the attainment of spiritual and moral perfection. It is obvious that a narrow membership could not achieve universal objectives of all mankind. Therefore, any revision of the U.N. Charter and any interpretation of the present Charter in the future must recognize this logical prerequisite which flows from the universal purposes of the United Nations.

Voluntary membership in the U.N. poses primarily the problem of member-nations being represented by appropriate organs which *express the true wishes* of the given nation. The present Charter provides that membership "is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present charter and which, in the judgement of the organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations." Thus the Charter first of all accepts the axiom that all founding members, i.e. the nations themselves, and not their governments, are "peace-loving." This section of the Charter does not refer to *representations* of states, only to nation-states themselves. At the basis of this idea of the U.N. Charter lies the truth that nations, as bearers of the state's will, are always peace-loving. If a war of aggression starts of one state against the others, then it is not the nation which is not peace-loving, only its representation which by terror or deceit compels it to commit aggression. Likewise it is not a nation as such that would violate the basic principles of the U.N.—human dignity, human rights, tolerance, etc., only its autocrats who, in such instances, by falsehood and terror rise to positions of representation.

It should be made a principle of the United Nations, whether by way of amending the Charter, or by way of its interpretation, that when the appropriate organs of the U.N. examine credentials of official representations of states, they should recognize as representatives only those who have behind them the expression of the free will of the nation in free elections. Wherever such a system of election is lacking, there is no true

national representation as a matter of right, and the participation of such representatives should be rejected. A nation-state, however, should not be removed from U. N. membership as such.

In this manner the U.N. would, step by step, progress towards a universality of membership.

b) *Membership of Nations Enslaved by Tyrannical Regimes.*

The organizers of the U.N. were quite justified in admitting to the San Francisco conference in the matter of establishing the U.N. such a nation as Czechoslovakia which, in April, 1945 when the conference was convening, was still out of possession of any power over its own territory, but representation of Czechoslovakian emigres headed by Benes was recognized as a representation of a nation on equal rights with other nations. This was of prime importance in the mortal combat against Nazism.

In the present stage of a defensive war of nerves which the free world is compelled to wage against the cold war aggression of Bolshevik imperialism, a policy of liberation of nations enslaved by communism is one of the prerequisites of the victory of democracy. Communism has correctly appraised the importance of the moment of national liberation in the present international circumstances, and has made good use of the national independence aspirations of colonial nations in its fight against non-communist states. This is the measure of success of communism in South-east Asia. There is no doubt that Stalin's proposal at Yalta that the United States and Great Britain recognize certain Soviet Republics as equally sovereign charter-members of the U.N. had as its objective not a matter of two more votes for Moscow in the U. N. Assembly, but the creation of an impression upon all colonial nations that Moscow extends equal treatment to all nations of the Soviet Union on a par with the Russian nation, and for this reason colonial nations can repose their confidence in Bolshevism as recognizing their full equality. This gesture had the additional objective of pacifying the apprehensions of the so-called still free nations who are "neutrals" that neither Moscow, nor local communists would violate their national independence. A factor of no small importance was also Moscow's desire to subdue within the Soviet Union the national liberation movements of the two largest nations in the U.S.S.R. after the Russian, i.e. Ukraine and Byelorussia, by representing Soviet Russia as the champion of national equality and the defender of their sovereignty in the international law. The conjectures of some experts that Moscow had in mind only the two additional votes in addition to the then existing two satellites are without foundation, because even three or more additional votes would not give Moscow a majority in the U.N. Assembly. While assured of the veto, Moscow did not need two additional votes above those

of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, because such votes would not gain her anything.

Hence, if there is any discussion about amendments to the U.N. Charter or its interpretation, they should go in the direction of *removing the representations of all communist regimes from the U.N.* as being unrepresentative of the will of the people who have been enslaved by force, and the possible extension of the right of representation to plenipotentiaries-in-exile of such nations. Expulsion of merely two nations enslaved by communist regimes—Ukraine and Byelorussia, without challenging the membership of similarly enslaved satellites of Moscow—Poland and Czechoslovakia—would be co-significant with an overtly hostile act against the two nations, and not against their regimes, imposed upon them by Moscow.

LINGUISTIC PUZZLES

“The Third, or Russian group, of Great Russian, which is the official Russian literary language, and Ukrainian, with its subsidiary Ruthenian and White Russian dialects.”

“Ukrainian . . . is spoken over the steppe.”

From: “N. J. G. Pounds: Europe and the Mediterranean.” New York, 1953, p. 34-35.

HAS THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZED UKRAINE?

By BOHDAN HALAICHUK

Obstacles to the establishment of diplomatic relations between governments can exist in either of two areas: legal capacity and capability of action. For example Tibet was in fact an independent nation, but it did not possess international legal capacity, and from the point of view of international law it was not a separate subject of such law, but only part of the Chinese nation. Therefore the Chinese attack on Tibet was treated by the United Nations as an internal Chinese affair, in which international factors had no basis for interference. A similar situation prevailed when Indian troops attacked Hyderabad, which similarly was not a subject of international law and had no legal capacity, notwithstanding the fact that its ruler (the Nizam) enjoyed broad privileges of independence while still a vassal of the British crown.

When a Tunisian Minister fled abroad, however, and wanted to bring an indictment against France in the international forum, he met with a different obstacle: incapability of action. Tunisia is not part of France, but a separate State under French Protection. By accepting the Protectorate, Tunisia retained international legal capacity, but lost capability of action, since it surrendered to France all competences in the area of international law. The United Nations would consider a Tunisian complaint against France, but only if such a complaint were signed by the French General Resident.

The Republics of the Soviet Union lack neither legal capacity nor capability of action that would impede the dispatch and acceptance of diplomatic representatives or hinder any acts under international law. Since the changes in the constitution of the Soviet Union of February 1, 1944, members of the USSR have the right to establish direct relations with foreign nations: this right is recognized by the USSR, i. e. the agency with which they share their competence of statehood. Only two Union Republics, Ukraine and Byelorussia, have had their legal capacity and capability of action recognized by foreign states by signing treaties with them and by admitting them to the United Nations.

Allegations that Ukraine and Byelorussia are component parts of the USSR tend to confuse the issue, as not many people realize that a member

of a union of states can remain a legal entity under international law and have the right of legation. For example Bavaria, while a member of the German Empire, received and dispatched envoys as late as 1919; Canada is also a member of a union of commonwealth, the British Empire, and yet enjoyed the right of legation long before this Empire became a free union of entirely independent nations. Such considerations as that the acceptance or rejection of an American proposal to establish diplomatic relations would not be decided in Kiev or Minsk, but only in Moscow have no validity, in view of the fact that the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Romania, Hungary or Bulgaria was decided in Moscow, and not in Bucharest, Budapest or Sofia. Similarly, diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were approved in Moscow and not in Sofia. It is argued that once the United States has diplomatic relations with Ukraine and Byelorussia, representatives of the latter will infiltrate international organizations, but it is notorious that Ukraine belongs to many such international unions, and its representatives are quite active in them (as e. g. attacks against colonial nations), and they have been doing all this without waiting for an American Ambassador to arrive in Kiev. Similar allegations would make it also appear as if Ukraine had heretofore been aloof of any international activities, as for example the Mongolian Peoples Republic or Tannu Tuva.

But the main point of attack against the establishment of diplomatic relations with Ukraine and Byelorussia is contained in the first paragraph of a letter from the Department of State to Senator Smith and Representative Chipperfield, wherein the statement is made that the United States agreed to the membership of Ukraine and Byelorussia in the United Nations without taking any position in the question as to whether the two republics are to be considered independent nations, and for other purposes. This discreet indication would have people unacquainted with the issue believe (and obviously not all legislators are experts in international law) that when the United States voted for the admission of Ukraine and Byelorussia to the United Nations, this vote did not signify granting them the right of legation, and that the capacity for multilateral international relations (like membership in the United Nations) and for bilateral relations (like the right of legation) are two entirely different matters.

It is fitting to remark here that representatives of Soviet Ukraine have entered into and signed a number of bilateral acts under international law, like the UNRRA treaty on relief, a treaty with Poland on the exchange of minorities, and peace treaties with Italy, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. But leaving aside polemics concerning this or that act, it is more important for us to consider a basic principle of inter-

national law: the significance of the recognition of a state under international law.

Contrary to opinion, or rather innuendo, we must give full weight to the fact, that the capacity for membership in the United Nations and the capacity for bilateral international relations are the consequence of a single capability of action under international law. It would be contradictory to recognize a nation as entitled to membership in the United Nations while denying such a nation the right to be a legal body within the meaning of international law. In the absence of distinct and clearly defined restrictions formulated at the time of admission, admission to membership in the United Nations is tantamount to recognition *de jure* which gives the admitted state full international capability of action.

Whether admission to the United Nations, or previously to the League of Nations is tantamount to international recognition is treated in various ways in the literature of international law.

1) A view that admission to the League of Nations results in limited recognition (limited to the area of Geneva) is fairly rare (Erich, p. 496).

2) The majority of writers hold that admission to the League of Nations or to the United Nations is tantamount to recognition of the state *de jure*. The following authors hold this view: Anzilotti, Sanchez de Bustamante, Olivi, Bollini Shaw, Fauchille, Graham, Scelle, Ruiz Moreno, Kelsen, Marshall Brown, Lauterpacht. This view finds support in international practice, as when recognition is granted newly created states by governments on the strength of their admission to membership in such international bodies. E. g. the Baltic Republics were recognized by Czechoslovakia on January 5, 1922, the Government of the latter citing their admission to membership in the League of Nations as legal ground therefor. Other Governments would simply declare that they consider admission to the League of Nations tantamount to recognition by all member nations of the League (e. g. declaration by the Foreign Secretary of Yugoslavia of September 7, 1926 on the recognition of Estonia and Latvia).

Among the authors enumerated above there are some differences as to which governments recognize a newly admitted member of an international organization. The different opinions fall roughly into the following categories:

a) Some consider that a newly admitted member of an international organization has been recognized only by the governments voting for admission of such new member (Lauterpacht);

b) Others believe that recognition is given by: 1) those who vote for admission, 2) those who are absent when a meeting called for such vote is held, and 3) those who are admitted simultaneously (Graham);

c) still others that voting for admission amounts to recognition *de jure*, abstention from vote to recognition *de facto* (the case of the Estonian Minister Piin cited by Graham);

d) in the opinion of some authors a newly admitted member becomes recognized *de jure* by all other members of the organization because when they join such an organization and accept its constitution, by-laws or pacts as binding upon themselves, they endow the organization with a right to recognize new members in their name; a member of an organization has duties and rights towards every other member, and it would be impossible to carry out duties or enjoy rights with respect to another member whose legal existence one denies (Kelsen);

e) some authors finally believe that admission to membership in such an organization as the United Nations amounts to general recognition, binding all international organizations and even non-member nations, the status of such newly admitted member being determined objectively (Wright)

The opinions cited under a), b), and c) are based on the principle that a sovereign state constitutes the sole competence unto itself as to whom to recognize and from whom to withhold recognition. The two latter opinions seem to be applied in practice (the theory of automatic recognition as declared by the Foreign Secretary of Yugoslavia), and their validity also borne out by legal consequences flowing out of membership in such organizations as the United Nations. Admission to the United Nations means much more than mere recognition of statehood. To rights and duties flowing from international law must be added specific rights and duties enumerated in the United Nations Charter. Chapter 1, art. 2 clearly states that "the organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members." This principle obviously permits no other interpretation save that the position of each member is legally exactly the same in relation to all other members. It is therefore clear that from the principle of the United Nations Ukraine and Byelorussia are sovereign nations, and that the USSR does not represent these two republics in the U. N., or in the international forum otherwise. The British Commonwealth and the League of Nations used the term British Empire only as applied to Great Britain, Northern Ireland and those parts of the empire which were not members of the League (Wright). Kelsen holds a similar view: a member of the United Nations has a series of duties and rights in relation to every other member, but no relation could exist in the absence of recognition of legal capacity.

The different opinions of various authors cited above throw full light on the problem of the relation between admission to the United Nations and recognition. In the present reference to Ukraine and Byelorussia it is

quite immaterial, however, which of these views will be taken as the basis for arguing that they have been duly recognized by the United States of America. Regardless of whether we follow the view of Lauterpacht that Ukraine and Byelorussia were recognized by 47 Governments voting unanimously for their admission to the United Nations in San Francisco on April 27, 1945, or whether in accord with Kelsen we increase the number of those giving recognition to 58, adding those members of the United Nations who were absent from the San Francisco meeting of that date due to a delay in arrival of their delegates, in either case the United States cast an affirmative vote for the admission of Ukraine and Byelorussia. This opinion is shared and expressed by such an authoritative source as *The American Journal of International Law* (1945). The rule of international law permits no doubt that the United States have recognized Ukraine and Byelorussia *de jure*.

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ERICH KOCH AND UKRAINE

By HANS DE WEERD, Amsterdam, Holland

There are still dozens of persons from the Second World War who deserve carefully written books. One of them certainly is Erich Koch, Gauleiter of East Prussia and German Reichskommissar of occupied Ukraine. Koch can be considered as Hitler's worst Gauleiter and Reichskommissar at the same time but it is not this that gives the Koch case its historic importance.

Among students of modern East European history, E. Koch's name is becoming something like a symbol. The first European historian who discovered this was the famous Swiss scientist, diplomat, humanitarian and Peace Prize winner, Prof. Dr. Carl Burckhardt, who made this discovery even before the outbreak of World War II.

While Kommissar of the League of Nations for Danzig, Prof. Burckhardt asked to be introduced to a representative Nazi in order to study the spirit of the Hitler Party which had just come to power in Germany. The Swiss historian was given a possibility to meet E. Koch, who frankly told him that in the chaotic years following the Versailles Treaty, he, Koch would have become a fanatic communist, if Hitler and his appeal to German youth had not existed.

Burckhardt thought a great deal about this interview and realized that only Nazism had kept thousands of Germans from becoming Communists, but that with people like Koch, the Bolshevik mentality entered the NSDAP. Later events showed Prof. Burckhardt right, not least in the case of his former object of study, Erich Koch.

During the first years after the war, public opinion usually connected the name of the Reich Minister Alfred Rosenberg (hanged in Nuremberg) with Hitler's policy in the occupied Eastern territories. However, there is much evidence to the fact that the Nazi Party's ideological expert had practically no influence on events in the Soviet areas overrun by the German forces.

Originally, the modest Hamburg Gauleiter Kaufmann was to be named as Reichskommissar for occupied Ukraine, but Goering who believed in a vast economic exploitation of Eastern Europe, favored Koch, a far more ruthless person, who boasted of himself: "I am known as a brutal

dog." With the help of Reichsleiter Bormann, the "Brown Eminence", Erich Koch was appointed.

Remarkably enough, the East Prussian Gauleiter was not at once enthusiastic. He had cast his eyes on another Reichskommissariat: "Ostland" (consisting of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and White Ruthenia) because it bordered his own Gau in Germany. Between Ukraine and East Prussia there was no territorial bridge and Koch made the condition that one had to be created, if he were to accept his new post.

As a result, the Bialystok district of the former Polish territory was incorporated into the Ostpreussen Gau and Koch appeared in Rosenberg's Ministry for the occupied Eastern territories to settle things. Rosenberg had protested in vain against E. Koch's nomination. When Koch left his Ministry and was congratulated by one of Rosenberg's officials, who hoped for a positive German policy in Ukraine, Koch sneeringly answered: "Let me tell you one thing: The Ukrainians are the Slavs par excellence. They are to be ruled with Machorka (tobacco), Vodka and the Nagaika (Whip)."

In September 1941 Koch arrived in Rivne and gave his Generalkommissars the following program: "It is our task to squeeze all goods out of Ukraine that we can, without bothering about the feelings or property of the Ukrainians. Gentlemen, I expect you to be extremely hard towards the native population."

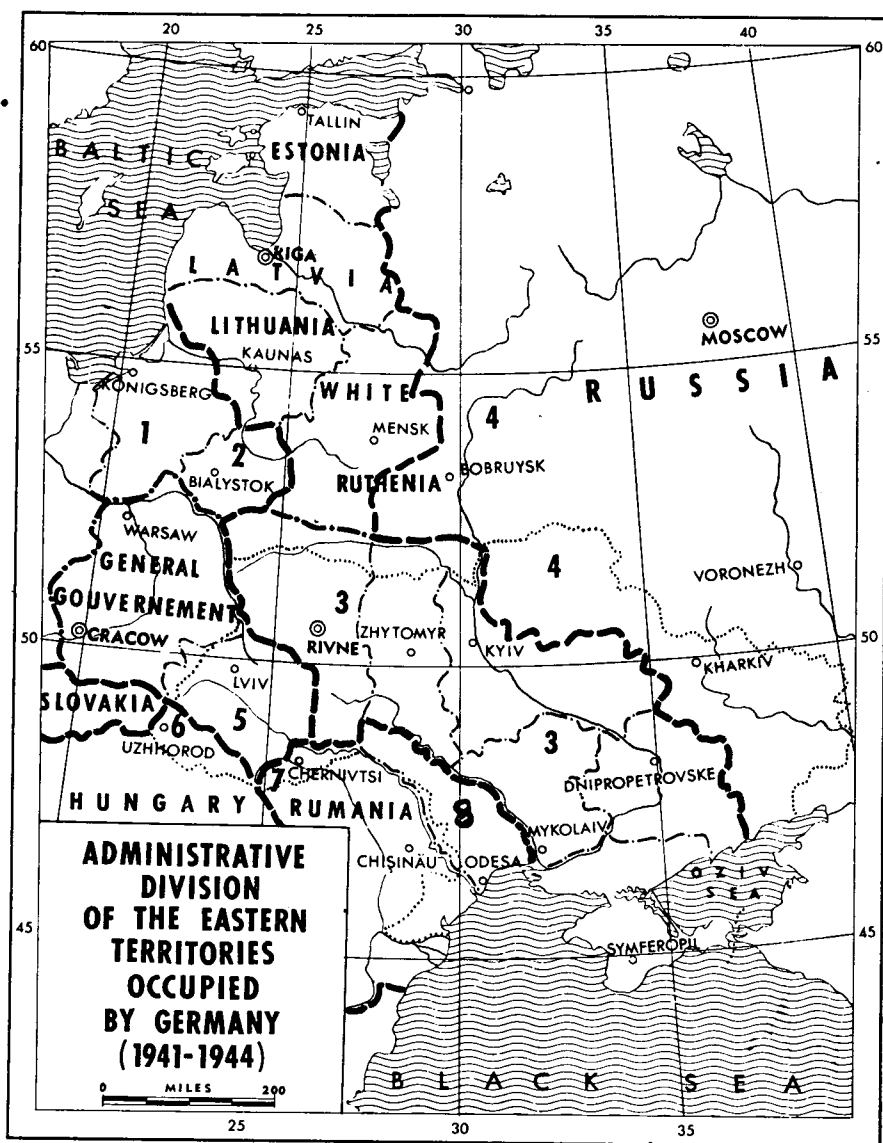
The Ukrainians, who had greeted the invading Germans with cheers, bread and salt, were soon to learn that the Red Kommissars only had been replaced by Brown ones.

Reichsminister Rosenberg while in Berlin learned, that his "subordinate," E. Koch, could do whatever he liked. When the Ostministerium prepared a plan to rebuild the Ukrainian education system and told the Reichskommissariat in Rivne that it was necessary to spend 2.3 million Reichsmarks for Ukrainian school books, Koch and his assistant, Dargel, personally went to the Ministry in Berlin and behaved in an indescribable manner. The controversy went so far that Koch told his Minister: "You are not the Rosenberg I used to know. You are a man, misled by emigrants."

When the School Law for RKU (Reichskommissariat Ukraine) was sent to Rivne, Koch forbade his Generalkommissars and Gebietskommissars to execute it. For this and many other reasons several of Koch's officials sent in their resignations and went to the Army or elsewhere. Koch closed the schools, and when Rosenberg during a visit in Ukraine wanted to see some Ukrainian scientists, Koch flatly refused saying: "When I find a Ukrainian who is worth sitting with me at one table, I

simply have to have him shot." Indeed, many Ukrainian intellectuals were shot by Koch's police troops.

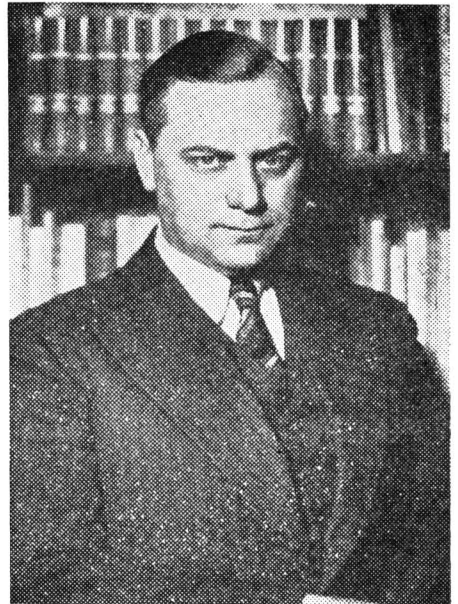
Every effort to form a new Ukrainian elite was deliberately crushed by Koch and his men. Though the incorporation of Ukrainian East Galicia



1—2 Enlarged East Prussia; — 3. Reichs-Commissariat Ukraine; — 4. German Military occupation area; 5. District of Galicia, a part of General-Government; 6. Carpatho-Ukraine; — 7. Bucovine; — 8. Transnistria — Romanian occupation.

into the General-Government (the remains of former Poland) caused much disappointment, Ukrainian books could at least be printed there (among others Dmytro Doroshenko's Ukrainian History for school use) and then be smuggled into the Reichskommissariat Ukraine. More freedom also was enjoyed in the so-called Army rear areas (Rueckwaertige Heeresgebiete) not yet handed over to Koch's civil administrative apparatus.

The agrarian reform, which enjoyed a relatively big success in all other Eastern territories, was sabotaged by Koch and his "Landesbauernfuehrer" Koerner in Ukraine. They preserved the kolkhoz system which facilitated exploitation. While Stalin in his Order Nr. 227 of July 28th, 1942 stressed that further withdrawal would cause disaster as the Soviets had already lost 800,000,000 puds (pud 36.4 lbs) of grain and while Soviet planes dropped leaflets promising the Ukrainian peasants land upon victory over Germany, if they only took part in the struggle against the invaders, Koch and his men squeezed Ukraine dry and took the "single cow" which even Stalin left to the farmers.



Dr. Alfred Rosenberg,
Reichsminister for Eastern Territories

German officials who knew Ukrainian problems both through study and from experience, as Dr. Hans Koch, the church historian, Dr. Oberlaender and Dr. Georg Leibbrandt (Chief of Rosenberg's Political Department) were dismissed. When the German Field Marshal Kleist urged a policy of friendship in Ukraine, Koch remarked that "one should get rid of this man." Germany's friends and allies were also worried: Vidkun Quisling, the Norwegian Nazi chief, who knew the Communist world well, expressed his concern in a letter to German top leaders, Dutch economists working in the RKU and completed the old German saying "Zwei Koeche verderben den Brei" with the statement: "Ein Koch verdirbt die Ukraine," which became a popular pun. Marshal Giovanni Messer, of the Italian Expeditionary Corps in Russia (C.S.I.R.) sent alarming reports on Ger-

man policy in Ukraine to Mussolini in May and October 1942, dealing extensively with the Ukrainian struggle for independence in former years.

Just as to-day, there was but one place where the Ukrainian problem was understood only too well; the enormous importance of this vast area covering old Moscow against the West, the Eastern Ruhr-areas from Donets and Rih, the rich corn crops and above all, a freedom-loving nation as large as France, England or Italy, which in case of a national resurrection, would be the successful standard bearer of the revolt of the oppressed Soviet nations against Moscow.

That spot, where the vital importance of Ukraine was understood so thoroughly, was Moscow itself. When Ukrainian nationalist partisans rose in the German rear, the Soviets sent negotiators to them but without results. As in White Ruthenia, they did not appeal to Soviet or Russian patriotism but to the love for the partisans' own country, in this case Ukraine. The best known Soviet



Erich Koch,
Reichskommissar of Ukraine

resistance novel against German occupants, Wanda Wassilevska's *The Rainbow* (made into a motion picture after the war) is constantly speaking of Ukraine and Ukrainian resistance against the Germans.

There is a constant rumor that Stalin, when distributing decorations, always put one order aside; telling his audience that that one could not as yet be awarded to its receiver, Reichskommissar Koch, who was still indispensable in Rivne. For it was Koch, who more than anyone else gave Stalin the opportunity to propagate the "Fatherland War" against the Germans who were once welcomed as liberators from Bolshevism by the Ukrainian population.

Several high German officials were killed by Soviet partisans; Koch was not, though there is evidence that he could have been easily shot by Soviet infiltrators in his immediate vicinity. This is certainly one of the most interesting aspects of Koch's incredible biography. It must be

stressed, however, that Koch's rule was as severe a catastrophe for his Gau East Prussia and Germany as a whole, as it was for that part of Ukraine for which he was responsible as Reichskommissar.

The mere fact that a Gauleiter, who went from the Rhineland town of Elberfeld where he was born to East Prussia in 1929 with scarcely a penny could gather a private fortune of 331 million Reichsmarks before 1942, concentrated in a mammoth-trust "Erich Koch Foundation" which had big influence in literally all branches of East Prussian economic life, and was made Reichskommissar in such an extremely important conquered area as Ukraine, sheds a light on the hierarchy of the Third Reich.

When Ukraine was abandoned by the German armies, swept away by the Red soldiers who were told by their Politcommissars what people like Koch were doing to their relatives, Koch visited the office of his colleague for Ostland in Riga where, already too late, endeavors were made to make friends with the Baltic nations, now that the Red Army was getting closer. Koch brutally condemned such "idiotism" and then set off for his own Gau in East Prussia, managing to forbid evacuation of the civil population whom he ordered to fight till the very end. Koch himself fled in a steamer loaded with his own property, while thousands of refugees were crowding on the quay.

He managed to get false identity papers as "former Major Rolf Berger." After the German collapse he lived illegally as an unemployed land laborer in a lonely Schleswig-Holstein village, unrecognized by other East Prussian refugees in that part of Germany, and establishing contact with a local Communist Party member. In May 1949 he was arrested. East Prussian refugees pleaded in vain to be allowed to be his judges. The following year Koch was delivered to the Poles by the English. From there some letters reached his relatives in the British zone. In 1952 a Munich weekly reported that he was sent to Moscow where he was to be trained for "special purposes" in the East German Republic.

Though this report could never be properly checked, it may possibly contain some truth. The Soviets are using several outspoken German war-criminals in high posts in the so-called German Democratic Republic, and even IF Koch is held prisoner or has been shot or hanged in Moscow, there can not be the slightest doubt that scarcely another man in the German-held Soviet territories rendered such excellent service to the Muscovite rulers.

After the innumerable disasters Koch caused to so many millions, after the unique chance to overthrow the Bolshevik yoke and to free long oppressed nations Koch so decidedly helped to spoil, one can only hope that all this evil may not breed a new one.

THE VOICE OF AMERICA AND UKRAINE

By LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

With the apparatus and facilities of the Voice of America largely removed from New York to Washington and additional signs of reorganizational change making their appearance, it seems highly appropriate at this time to assess in part the operations and programming of this important unit of the United States Information Agency. It is common knowledge that since its formation in the last decade VOA has been the target of considerable criticism and attack. In so far as this was honestly directed at its improvement and perfection, rather than merely at its arbitrary cessation, the objectives and good intent could not but be generally accepted by the citizenry. For, clearly, the Voice of America is a most essential and vital organ of our Government; in reality the mouthpiece of American society purposed to convey true information about American life to other quarters of the globe in order to forge close bonds of understanding and friendship with the nations and peoples in the free and slave-communist world. In many respects implementing this end, the results of the widespread opposition to a number of VOA's operations have proven to be constructive and salutary.

The bulging record of past events justifies to some extent the positing of an argumentative hypothesis here that perhaps, despite much reorganizing and perfecting done on its administrative and technical levels, VOA continues to be seriously hampered by the same qualitative and substantive deficiencies that have characterized its past. Behind many a "new look" old errors and defects are readily discoverable. But this in no way suggests any doubt about the able administration of the USIA by its director, Theodore C. Streibert, nor of the competent agility and cooperativeness to attain to maximum effectiveness on the part of his subordinates in the VOA unit. In fact, we are not concerned here with the placement of responsibility for any discernible shortcomings. Instead, our attention is focused entirely upon what appears to be the shortcomings themselves, under the guidance of the ruling question as to whether the progress ascribed to VOA these past few years rests more in the area of technical accomplishment than in that of improved information content.

Within the limited space of an article the many fields and aspects of this problem can scarcely be treated with adequate and fair consideration. However, one could acquire some appreciative understanding of it

if we limit ourselves to what may rightly be regarded as a legitimate and somewhat representative case in point. We can conveniently concentrate on the background and present structure and operations of the Ukrainian section in the Voice of America to form some picture of the strange developments that have surrounded this section, of the wasteful and unnecessary difficulties encountered in it, and of some current problems relating to it. A concise examination of this illustrative case will enable the reader to estimate in some degree the character and the depth of the progress achieved by VOA inasmuch as several of the matters considered below pertain to a greater or lesser extent to other sections of the unit.

THE SENATE HEARINGS ON VOA

An informed reader will surely not deny the importance of the work in this section to America's informational efforts in the propaganda war against Moscow. Basically, this importance is founded on the strategic value of Ukraine itself, which fortunately is today being generally recognized in some of the highest quarters of our Government.¹ As the largest non-Russian nation not only in the Soviet Union but also behind the European Iron Curtain, Ukraine, with its population of over forty million people, continues to be one of the most restive and troublesome areas to imperialist Moscow. Fully aware of this, the Kremlin in the past year and more has gone to all lengths to appease the nationalistic urges of the Ukrainian people who, according to the communist line, are supposed to be enjoying the fruits of "national freedom and independence." To what degree a similar awareness exists in VOA, which is charged with the task of forming and exploiting an effective appeal to the captive peoples in the Russian Communist empire, is a fitting question that must be answered if maximum efficiency in our propaganda drive is a desired goal.

Some indication of the answer may be found in the extensive hearings that were conducted by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations dealing with the entire network of our overseas information programs. From the voluminous report, it is evident that little time was devoted to the VOA sections preparing broadcasts to communist-dominated European countries.² Apparently nothing was con-

¹ See two excellent articles on the subject by Ansel E. Talbert, *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, Feb. 6, 13, 1955.

² See "Overseas Information Programs of the United States, hearings," Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 83rd Cong. 1st Session, 1953.

sidered with respect to the internal affairs of these East European desks. Moreover, there seemed to be no major attempt made to establish a clear definition of the policy governing the operations of these sections. What did appear was some distorted testimony submitted by a member of the VOA apparatus whose information concerning matters relating to the Soviet Union could be seriously questioned by competent observers.

By no means are these observations to be interpreted as a criticism of the conduct of the hearings by the distinguished committee under the chairmanship of Senator Hickenlooper. The plain facts are that on the whole the committee performed an admirable job of systematic investigation into an enterprise of vast complexity and difficulty and that adequate opportunity was offered to present testimony on any of the points mentioned above.

Regarding the observation on definition of policy as concerns VOA, Senator Green appears to have made the only attempt when he asked of Lewis K. Gough, national commander of the American Legion, "Do you think the military and territorial ambitions of the present Government of Russia are very different from what they were under the Czar?" To which Mr. Gough answered: "I am not enough of a student of history to be able to draw a comparison with the imperialist designs of the Czars. I have, however, made a thorough study of the designs by the Communist leaders from Marx and Lenin and Stalin. I am firmly convinced that their objective is the domination of the hearts and minds of men world-wide, which means us." Whereupon the Senator soundly countered, "Well, isn't that a means to an end? Isn't that still ambition — territorial ambition — with psychological force added to the military force?", to which Mr. Gough answered, "Yes, sir."³ This attempt, to be sure, is a vague one, but it should be obvious that what Senator Green was striving for is the determination of the nature of the enemy which logically predicates the establishment of a policy.

The testimony of Alexander G. Barmine, chief of the Russian section in VOA, is of significant interest to us because of his background, his known maneuvers to influence the programming of the Ukrainian unit, and the misleading semantic twists of his presentation before the committee. A few years ago, when the Ukrainian section looked more like the "Little Russian" medium of Mr. Barmine's domain, strong protests were raised by Ukrainian groups the world over. One such group, made up of members evidently familiar in detail with Barmine's past, pointed out that he "at the time when the Ukrainian people first began their struggle with Communism in 1917-21, was one of the organizers of

³ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

Bolshevism in Ukraine. He . . . was the creator of the Kiev center of the C.P. for which he was arrested by the Ukrainian Government, but later released in view of his youth."⁴ It is plainly ironical that this former GPU chief in Leningrad who combatted early Ukrainian resistance against imperialist Russian Communism, should be placed in a position to influence the undertakings of the Ukrainian unit in the VOA. But such has been the case, for, as this writer can attest to, one of the former chiefs of VOA made it a practice to have Mr. Barmine at his side when this unit was often under discussion with UCCA representatives. More recently, in consultations with two directors of VOA regarding the same subject, his name was brought up in a manner suggesting him as a source of opinion and advice on matters pertaining to the Ukrainian desk.

These facts fall into a coherent and internally consistent pattern with the thoughts and sentiments expressed in Mr. Barmine's few writings. On the basis of these writings he clearly identifies himself with the imperialist Russian school of thought that places above all else the indivisibility of the Russian empire and, in the face of all contradicting evidence, even goes so far as to deny the national identities of the non-Russian nations and peoples now held captive in this empire under the guise of the Soviet Union. For instance, in his testimony before the Hickenlooper committee he brazenly states, "If you remember, in 1941 when the Russian people didn't know anything about Nazis, because during the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the Soviet press for two years didn't say one bad word against the Nazis, in the first four months of the war four and a half million Russians surrendered to the German Army, so the German army went through like a knife goes through butter. But then later the policy of the Nazis aroused the Russian people to fight."⁵

Now, what Mr. Barmine knowingly was describing in this passage was the German episode in Ukraine during the last war, a matter of open history with which every student and observer of this area is well acquainted. The millions who gladly surrendered were in greatest part Ukrainians and not, as he portrays it, Russians, and the fight that was waged against the Nazis, once their imperialist intentions became known, was spearheaded by the patriotic Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Mr. Barmine in his own mind knows all this, but his ulterior motives impel him to misrepresent this under cover of the monolith term "the Russian people" — Great and little. The sole Senator who queried him, could not be expected to sense the proper semantics involved, but this technique is a

⁴ "The Potemkin Village in America," *The Ukrainian News*, Neu-Ulm, Germany, March 22-26, 1953, pp. 4-5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1455.

favorite with Russian emigres who in pathological pursuit of the objective of "Holy Mother Russia — one and indivisible," employ this means of confusion and disinformation. A similar case a year later left certain unsuspecting Senators with the patently wrong impression that the strikes and riots in the Siberian Vorkuta camps were staged by Russians,⁶ despite the eye-witness report of the young German journalist, Brigitte Gerland, that "the Vorkuta camps housed hundreds of thousands of prisoners, 80 per cent of whom were Ukrainians" and that given by a released British soldier, William Piddington, on the role of the Ukrainian underground movement in these Vorkuta slave camps.⁷

DEVELOPMENTS IN UKRAINIAN VOA SECTION

The short, fantastic background of developments and events in the Ukrainian section of VOA should now become more intelligible in view of the influences at work. It may be that at present a quick denial of the work of such influences would be forthcoming in the event of congressional inquiry. This is still to be determined in the light of other accessory facts, but there can be no doubt of the past achievements of the Russian influence when one reviews the incredible functionings of this section. As shown above, the influence breeds only in an environment of relative ignorance, and if one is to determine the cause for the following unbelievable developments, it is the combination of this capitalizing influence and the relative lack of appreciative understanding on the part of those determining policy. In emphasizing the highlights of this marred record, this writer has no fear of the favorite rationalization that "this is, after all, the Voice of America and not the Voice of Ukraine," for, very simply, I write as an American interested in a maximum appeal to the people of Ukraine. By scanning these general facts, for which there is much detailed evidence, the reader, even with a scant knowledge of Ukraine but with a modicum of political intelligence, may judge for himself as to whether we have realized this goal.

The Ukrainian section in VOA began its operations in December, 1949. The solid purpose for its establishment, it would seem, was to render hope and encouragement to the Ukrainian nation in its resistance to and fight against Moscow. The significance of this step was almost immediately witnessed by Moscow's reaction. In the winter and spring of 1950 the Ukrainian people were showered with concessions, such as

⁶ "Strategy and Tactics of World Communism," Part 1, hearings, 1954, pp. 4-6.

⁷ N. Y. Times, Dec. 31, 1953; U. P., Berlin, July 9, 1954.

greater supplies of consumer goods in Ukraine, the grant of their own "republic" anthem, flag and emblem, the creation of a Ministry of Defense in Ukraine, and the transfer from Kiev of the much-hated Russian overseer, Nikita S. Khrushchev. Apparently, the future augered well for our operations. Unfortunately, it did not turn out so. The section was attached to the Russian section under Barmine, where it remained until October, 1952, then was placed in the East European group, covering the so-called "satellite countries," and later shifted away from this group into a poorly defined bloc of Soviet related units where it remains at present.

These structural, organizational changes cannot be easily divorced from the caliber of the functional behavior of the Ukrainian unit, as we shall now see. No sooner had the section been put into operation that it was arranged to beam Christmas greetings to the Ukrainian people from and by a Russian Orthodox bishop in Brooklyn, Ioan. There are numerous high-ranking Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox clergy in this country who would have considered it a happy privilege to inaugurate these operations with greetings to their own people, but the brilliant selection was a Russian bishop. Second, the programs of the Ukrainian unit developed into nothing more than condensed versions of the Russian desk broadcasts. The language used has been a mongrel Russified Ukrainian imposed on the Ukrainian people by Kremlin decrees, as, for example, the famous Kaganovich ukase of 1946, and the content, for a time contrived outside of the historical Ukrainian calendar, incorporated tales about Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, Pushkin and other "Russian greats" which in the Ukrainian mind are correctly associated with the imperialist rape and domination of their native and once independent country. If, as has been alleged, part of the aim in maintaining a Ukrainian VOA section is to assure the Ukrainian nation that we are deeply interested in its survival, in the preservation of its cultural riches, then this was the very negation of our aim.

In the controversy that raged in 1950 over these developments, this writer pointed out to Mr. Kohler, then chief of VOA, that, among other things, no appeal was being made to the six or seven million Ukrainian Catholics in Carpatho-Ukraine and Western Ukraine. These were completely ignored by the broadcasts. The retort was that we cannot slant the programs along religious lines! It was also brought to his attention that the many reports on the underground activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were being completely overlooked in the Ukrainian programs, even on a reportorial as against a commentary level. Obviously, broadcasts of such activities to Ukraine would greatly implement the purpose of hope and encouragement to the population at large, but here, too, we received the unconvincing answer of not causing any incitement.

Seizing upon the exchange of letters between Mr. Kohler and myself, Mr. David Lawrence soundly observed in his column, "Apparently the broadcasts must not do anything to induce the people of the Soviet Union to change their government or social structure. Yet nine out of ten members of the Congress have believed all along that this is what they were appropriating money for."⁸ If it isn't this, rationally, what else could it be?

The almost nonsensical proportions of the Ukrainian programs in VOA produced an avalanche of protests from Ukrainian communities throughout the free world. Americans, Canadians and others of Ukrainian ancestry joined to rectify this scandalous affair. Even a bona fide appeal from the Ukrainian underground was delivered by this writer to the Department of State.⁹ Each of the points treated here and many more was critically examined in order to prevent further damage to America's psychological and political relationships with the Ukrainian nation and people. They called for the elimination of the many cited abuses and cessation of the detailed horror stories about torture and suffering in Soviet prisons that only served to frighten the general populace in its support of Ukrainian resistance, in effect doing the work of the Kremlin. One need only wonder what the present state of the Ukrainian section in VOA would be, had no such corrective protests been lodged.

In some of these elementary matters there was a marked improvement in the Ukrainian VOA programs, but the level of operation was still considerably below that of maximum efficiency in appeal. By the winter of 1951-52, when greater leeway was afforded the section, a new form of prejudicial treatment emerged. For some time, indeed, down to the very present, many observers have been curious to know why certain desks, notably the Czech and Ukrainian, should possess a conspicuous leftist composition of personnel. The former chief of the Ukrainian desk was a socialist product with an acute Menshevik ideological outlook, who, as related to the writer by Mr. Kohler, was selected largely because of his leadership status in one of the greater Ukrainian groups in this country. Who palmed off this piece of gross misinformation to the VOA chief then is inconsequential here, but it should be noted that this arch-socialist belonged to a Marxist-tainted group having no following in Ukraine and only a very small one abroad. On the contrary, the Marxist adherents are extremely unsympathetic to the powerful Ukrainian anti-Bolshevik underground, and therefore without any influence on the patriotic masses of

⁸ N. Y. Herald Tribune, October 4, 1950.

⁹ See *The Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Fight for Freedom, 1954*, New York, pp. 178-188.

Ukraine. Since the first chief's death, the acting chief of the Ukrainian section has been a protege of his and from the Ukrainian leftist camp. At this writing, another bigoted socialist has his bid in for the position, and many an observer is carefully watching the outcome of this application. For, needless to say, it should be of concern to every Congressman and American to place in the hands of a person who intellectually is unsympathetic with the basic structure and institutions of our country, the task of informing another people about the spirit and traditions of American society.

If one doubts the ability of such an individual to architect the program in accordance with his own preconceptions, then the case of Hryhoriw, who was known to be abjectly subservient to Barmine, should prove to be illuminating. The technique of calculated omission was exploited by him to an extreme. News and reports of anti-communist rallies and concerts in this country, attended by the thousands of Americans of Ukrainian descent, were to a great extent excluded from the VOA Ukrainian programs. They were not socialist gatherings. In 1952 the Ukrainian Youth Association of America sent a strong appeal to the youth in Ukraine to continue its valiant resistance against Moscow, but Hryhoriw saw fit to emasculate the message of its stress on the Ukrainian fight for freedom from Moscow's domination. To cite another example, on October 26, 1952 an impressive rally was staged in New York City, commemorating the tenth anniversary of Ukrainian underground resistance. Over 5,000 people attended, Senators Ives and Green spoke, and both the New York Times and the Herald Tribune covered it, but the Ukrainian VOA section deliberately ignored it. When pressed for an explanation, Mr. Hryhoriw excused himself on grounds that a Republican Senator participated in the anti-communist rally!

Many other similar events could be mentioned, but surely these are sufficient to give the reader some idea of what has transpired in this important section of our VOA. Another point of definite interest to the reader is the complete rejection and deletion of such terms as independence and sovereignty in the Ukrainian VOA scripts. This brings us to the subject of policy governing the activities of the section, but we should, nevertheless, take note of some of the applications of this policy, if only on the level of true reporting. Two events may be cited. When the Honorable Harold E. Stassen returned from a global trip a few years ago, he delivered an address in Washington, in which he advocated the freedom and independence of Ukraine, the Baltic countries, Poland, etc. In VOA, to the so-called satellite countries this was beamed in its entirety, but to Ukraine the broadcast omitted references to its eventual sovereignty and independence. Recently, in Congress and in numerous states and cities

observances were officially conducted on the 37th anniversary of Ukrainian independence, and January 22 was proclaimed as Ukrainian Independence Day in many states. VOA, however, contrary to fact, beamed its broadcasts to Ukraine under the script theme of Ukrainian Day. In short, the weapon of truth is truly our weapon to defeat communism, but this evidence shows that it is being used half-heartedly.

THE INSCRUTABLE POLICY OF VOA

The policy imposed upon VOA is in a sense inscrutable when account is taken of some of its strange applications which, as in the above cases, vitiate reportorial truthfulness itself and the official statements of our leading executive members who give expression to the policy of the Administration. Its perplexing inscrutability is deepened still more by one's careful evaluation of the dominant facts surrounding Ukraine today and the very purposes and objectives of a Voice of America. Each variable factor here is basically important for sound judgment on the policy handed down by some group in the State Department and for an understanding of the relative inefficacy of VOA as an operating body. Indeed, the policy pursued is in striking disconformity with official declarations, stubborn fact, and the very traditions for which this country is universally known.

As we have seen, independence is a forbidden word where Ukraine is concerned. Yet, the President has been unequivocal in his enunciation of this principle for all nations. In the joint U. S.-British Declaration, issued upon the conclusion of the Eisenhower-Churchill Conference last year, point three states: "We uphold the principle of self-government and will earnestly strive by every peaceful means to secure the independence of all countries whose people desire and are capable of sustaining an independent existence."¹⁰ Ukraine's desire and capabilities of sustaining independence are, as the special Kersten Committee report demonstrates, beyond question of doubt.¹¹ Its patriotic sons in the underground are today fighting for its resurrection, and if full credence is to be placed in the integrity of this declaration, it would seem that they deserve the psychological support of VOA. On an earlier occasion, the President declared, "We do not believe that any nation, no matter how great, has the right to take another people and subject them to its rule. We believe that every

¹⁰ Official printed statement, June 29, 1954.

¹¹ "Communist Takeover and Occupation of Ukraine." Special Report No. 4, 1954.

nation has a right to live its own life."¹² If this is so, without engaging in useless sophisms, how does one reconcile it with VOA practice denying even the expression of this right of independence in the Ukrainian scripts?

This obvious discrepancy between word and deed is further aggravated by the fact that Ukraine has had its prosperous periods of independent existence, destroyed in each case by aggression from without. In fact, it was one of the first nations to combat Russian Communist imperialism in 1917-20. Its early victimization as an independent state was the result of the force referred to in this passage of Secretary Dulles: "... let us look briefly at another of the springs of Soviet action, that of historical imperialism. This urge to expand is not something patented by the Communists of Soviet Russia. This urge has long been found with the 'Great Russians' in the Eurasian heartland. It is a national urge, though it is clear that today communism has greatly intensified it."¹³ Correctly answering a question posed to him on the nature of the enemy, Mr. Streibert dwelled on the same point when he asserted, "It is Russian expansionism and imperialism... That is the target of our effort, not communism as such."¹⁴

This deeply regrettable irony of openly suppressing the use of the word independence in the land of the Declaration of Independence is certainly not a comforting sign for the faith and belief of others in our integrity. The oice of Canada, the Vatican Radio, Radio Nacional in Spain, the official Italian radio and others advance and readily speak of the right of the Ukrainian people to true national independence, but VOA, despite the statements of our highest executive leaders, has virtually reduced the term to an anathema in connection with Ukrainian broadcasts. For the past year Moscow has been strongly propagandizing the fiction of Ukrainian independence and sovereignty for the purpose of moulding a partnership between Ukraine and Russia, but VOA, despite the mass of truth and evidence at its disposal, has failed to meet and counteract this propaganda drive.¹⁵ In many areas of the free world — India, the Middle East and elsewhere — the United States is effectively painted by Russian propaganda as "an aggressive and imperialist power," although, in truth, the Soviet Union with its captive non-Russian nations stands as

¹² N. Y. Times, April 6, 1954.

¹³ Department of State *Bulletin*, June 29, 1953.

¹⁴ N. Y. Times, Nov. 3, 1953.

¹⁵ See "Theses on the Tercentenary of the Reunion of Ukraine with Russia — 1654 to 1954," Tass, Jan. 13, 1954; Also, N. Y. Times, Dec. 15, 1953, May 24, 31, 1954 on Soviet drive for Ukrainian amity.

the historically unprecedented example of brutal aggression and imperialism. This truth, however, cannot be told, even perhaps for our own salvation.

STEPS TOWARD IMPROVEMENT

It is one thing to have the best transmitters, but it is an entirely different thing to transmit the best. If what has been depicted here is any gauge at all, then the former director of the International Information Service, which included VOA, Dr. Robert L. Johnson, is substantially correct in saying that the United States is about thirty years behind the Soviet Union in the use of propaganda.¹⁶ In essence, content adapted to the peoples we seek to influence and befriend is by far more important than the latest technological advances in transmission devices.

The heavy importance of the Ukrainian section in VOA cannot be too strongly underscored. For its maximum efficiency the following steps of improvement appear to be in order: (1) a status for the section equivalent to that of the Polish, Czech, Hungarian and others, one independent of the Russian — and Mr. Barmine; (2) direction of the section by a competent American of Ukrainian ancestry whose faith in the free institutions of this country is beyond reproach; (3) the use of the non-Russified Ukrainian language, based on the grammar and syntax adopted by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev in 1926; (4) the complete use of the Ukrainian calendar of historical events, with continuous emphasis on historic Ukrainian figures and patriots, the periods of national independence in the past, the exploits of the Ukrainian underground in the present, and the moral and political force of enlightened Ukrainian nationalism; and (5) the abolition of the somewhat ludicrous prohibition placed on the use of the term, independence.

The undertaking of these steps toward improvement would greatly satisfy the objectives of conveying the spirit and meaning of American life and traditions to the Ukrainian people, of assuring them of our friendship and interest in their struggles and aspirations, and of inspiring them with hope and encouragement to resist in the cause of freedom the communist domination. What exists now falls far below these objectives. Because of the crucial importance of our informational and propaganda programs, there is evidently the need for the formation of a Joint Congressional Committee on Information, similar in character to the Joint Atomic Energy Committee. The existence of such a committee would doubtlessly be some measure of insurance against the incredibilities that have marked the development of the Ukrainian section in VOA.

¹⁶ N. Y. Times, Sept. 11, 1954.

MOSCOW'S ANNUAL "INCOME" FROM UKRAINE

By M. MYRONENKO

The true and sole objective of Muscovite social-economic policy in Ukraine has always and unflinchingly been a policy of ruthless exploitation of Ukraine. This line of policy remained unchanging throughout the entire period when Ukraine was part of the Russian Empire. With the exception of a scant few works by Ukrainian historians and economists, the history of Russian exploitation of Ukraine in the economic field has not been written as yet, and has been studied by very few.

After about two hundred years of Russian economic policy towards Ukraine which was aimed at lowering the productivity of Ukraine, the reforms of Alexander II in the 1860-s began to cause an increase in Ukraine's productivity and Russia was able to derive larger material benefits from Ukraine. But simultaneously processes of unmistakable economic separation from Muscovy began to appear in Ukraine, with the latter's economy outdistancing that of Muscovy. Notwithstanding the fact that these processes sometimes assumed unclear and thwarted forms and went on at a tardy pace, in final analysis, however, they brought about a clear economic supremacy of Ukraine over Muscovy, the imperial metropolis. Lenin's penetrating eye took cognizance of this fact long before the revolution of 1917. He took notice of the fact that over two million itinerant laborers from Russian provinces bordering on Ukraine and from central Russia went in search of seasonal employment to "Ukrainian kurkuls" in southern Ukraine, the Don and Kuban. In analyzing the economic nature of this phenomenon, Lenin came to the conclusion that after paying all imperial taxes, so much surplus remained in Ukraine that the beneficiaries of those surpluses, the "Ukrainian kulaks," as Lenin called them, were in a position to be able to afford economically to hire over two million seasonal Russian laborers and to pay them an aggregate wage of 150 to 200 million gold rubles every season. The economy of Ukraine ascended to a level where it was able to provide wages and board to laborers from the metropolis. This fact seemed to indicate that the economic development of Ukraine and Muscovy was diverging, and that Moscow was losing control of the economic growth of Ukraine. The economy of Russia proper felt degraded for being un-

able to keep up with the economic development of the Ukrainian colony when the latter could give seasonal employment to over two million Russian peasants.

Lenin understood the situation better than any other Russian and he sounded the alarm long before the October revolution. He pointed out that the greatest danger for the empire and the prime objective of the October revolution was "revolutionary liquidation of the kulaks" of Ukraine. Militant communism and taxation in kind (grain requisition) of the 1920's was nothing else but robbery and liquidation of the Ukrainian countryside and wheat, the latter stored in bins and elevators of Ukraine as a result of the preceding imperial Russian policy. Lenin organized and armed the two million Russian seasonal laborers, who, prior to 1917 had been going to work for Ukrainian farmers every year, and in 1918-1920 dispatched them to rob their former employers. *This was the true and real economic significance of the October revolution for Ukraine.*

After a few years of the application of the Bolshevik NEP policy it became clear that outside of the compulsory taxation in kind, Moscow would be unable to take from Ukraine by lawful exchange for products of the Russian socialist industrial monopoly Ukrainian food products and raw materials, when Russian monopolistic industry and commerce failed. It was then that Moscow realized that her sole salvation was in a complete collectivization of the "kulaks as a class" and abolition of private property with all its attributes of sound currency, legal limits upon taxation etc., and it was then that Moscow again embarked upon collectivization.

Following these general introductory remarks, let us consider the general annual balance of Russia's "income from Ukraine." It would be nigh to impossible to give a detailed balance of this income under present conditions, when every bit of information is jealously guarded by Moscow, but if Ukrainian thought and science continues to delve into this problem persistently, even these facts and data which can be gleaned from Soviet publications, when properly analyzed and systematized, can give a fairly accurate picture of economic relations between Ukraine and Russia.

"INCOME" FROM AGRICULTURE

The total population of Ukraine (here and subsequently we consider the territory of the Ukrainian S.S.R. within the boundaries of 1939, unless otherwise indicated), was 31 million people in 1939, of which 11 million was urban and 20 million rural. Out of the rural population 16 million were members of collective farms and 4 million were workers on state

farms, in forestry, on machine tractor stations and in other agricultural enterprises, as well as countryside residents employed in municipal enterprises, cooperatives and in Soviet state and party administration.

Land under cultivation was 26.5 million hectares with insignificant annual variations, and 99.7% of the land area which had been in the possession of the peasants prior to collectivization was now collectivized. A relatively small part of the area, about 3.6 million hectares was cultivated by state farms, the so-called *sovkhozes*. Hence, for all practical purposes, there is no land in the personal possession or control of the peasants, with the exception of home garden plots. Thus the entire production of the agricultural economy is excluded from the possession and control of the peasant producer class through the system of collective and state farming.

According to data contained in various Soviet publications, the average annual production of agriculture of the Ukrainian S.S.R. during the pre-World War II period was (in millions of metric cwt. of 100 kilograms ea.):

cereal grain	250.0	(including 120.0 wheat)
sugar	20.0	
cotton	1.2	
potatoes	120.0	
sunflower seed	8.0	

Other cultures, such as flax, hemp, tobacco, mustard seed, soybeans, rice, etc. are not considered here, inasmuch as the area under their cultivation, less than 800 thousand hectares, has no bearing on the problem.

Most post-war Soviet publications indicate that this level of agricultural production continues the same, and as regards cereal grain, particularly wheat, has been exceeded. Therefore, the cited pre-war data may be considered valid also for the present period.

Moscow's primary objective of collectivization was to increase the surplus of agricultural production. "Surplus" in this instance means that part of the gross agricultural production which is taken from the countryside and the peasants as a compulsory requisition by the government in the form of state grain reserve collections government purchases, charges upon part of the harvested crops to the account of the Machine Tractor Stations (MTS), percentage collection in kind for milling, etc. In other words, this entire part of the agricultural production goes directly to the state by virtue of governmental enforcement.

Moscow considers as the greatest achievement of the present collective farm system the increase of the percentage of the surplus of agricultural production, emphasizing that prior to 1913 this surplus was very

small, because out of a total of the Empire's grain production of 5 billion poods (pood=36.113 lbs avdps), it was only 1.3 billion poods, or 26% of the gross crop, and under the present collective economy it is 2.5 billion poods, or 36% of the Soviet Union's total of 7 billion poods.

Considering that in 1914 the Empire's entire urban population was 17.7%, and the rest lived in the countryside, then 26% surplus of the then production of grain cereals was entirely satisfactory from the economic viewpoint, with a considerable amount left over after taking care of the consumer requirements of the cities (in 1913 the exports figure of grain beyond the borders of the Empire was 648 million poods). According to the census of 1939, however, the urban population increased to 32.8%, or by 15.2% compared with 1913, while the surplus of agricultural production, this time in the form of compulsory requisition of grain from the countryside increased only by 10%. Thus the relationship between the surplus of agricultural production and the number of the urban population indicates a deterioration during the period of Soviet economy.

In the overall aspect the balance of grain, when compared with the pre-revolutionary period, has generally deteriorated. But in addition, the territorial location of grain surpluses before the revolution was entirely different, and its economic results were dangerous to the Empire's economy. The imperial grain surplus of 1.3 billion poods was derived in greater part from Ukraine, between 700 and 800 million poods, of which half went from Ukraine to the markets of the Empire, and the other half for export. For this surplus, the Ukrainian peasants, i.e. *Ukraine received an economic equivalent, which albeit burdened with imperial taxes and commercial privileges in favor of goods produced by Russia, nevertheless brought at least some part of the capital back to Ukraine.* This circumstance was responsible for a relatively rapid, according to the then standards of Empire, economic development of Ukraine, an increased prosperity and an outdistancing of the economy of Muscovy. The gist of the new and modern Russian surplus withdrawal is requisition *without compensation* of surpluses from the Ukrainian countryside, the scheme of which leaves no obligation on Muscovy to give Ukraine equivalent in payment for this surplus production.

As indicated above, the gross annual grain production of Ukraine is 250 million metric cwt. How much of this is taken by Moscow and how much is left for the Ukrainian peasants? What is the present grain balance prescribed by Moscow? How much surplus does Moscow take from Ukraine? The answers to these questions contain the clues as to the true nature of Russian's economic policy in Ukraine.

Whereas "all-Union" data on this subject are in no way classified information, and are widely publicized as achievements, no information on the Union republic level is divulged anywhere, because publication of such indices would constitute a state danger to Muscovy and the divulgence of such secrets is considered counter-revolutionary. Nevertheless a careful analysis of the available data which appear in publications and their comparison can provide a fairly accurate picture.

During the period between 1935 and 1940 the collective farm workers of Ukraine worked an average annual total of 1.8 to 2 billion work-days. The average wages on collective farms in Ukraine during the corresponding period were from 0.8 to 1.0 kilogram of grain per work-day. Hence all labor expenses from the gross production figure of all collective farms in Ukraine amounted to a maximum figure of 20 million metric cwt. which translated into baked bread for the entire collective farm population of 16 million people, gave an average daily ration of 400 to 425 grams of bread per person per day. Actually wages for labor were in smaller amounts than stated above, because in every instance when wages in grain due to a laborer would be in excess of his food requirement, the surplus would be deducted to the account of so called government purchases. Moreover, about 1.5 million cwt. from the production of state farms were used as payment in kind for the labor workers; for feed of draft animals (2.5 million horses) about 15 million cwt. out of a total crop of 17 million cwt. of oats were used; for seeding a total area of 18.5 million hectares, at an average seed expenditure rate of 1.2 cwt. per hectare, a total of 21 million cwt. were used. In this manner, the expenditures for farming needs and for the payment of wages to collective farm workers, can be determined in the following figures:

wages for work-days of collective farm workers and workers of state farms	21.5 million cwt.
feed for draft animals	15.0 " "
seed	21.0 " "
	<hr/>
Total:	57.5 " "

The annual grain production planned and executed by Moscow in Ukraine amounts to a total of 192.5 million cwt. of "merchandise grain," or 1,174 million poods. Out of this total only an insignificant part is used for feed of cattle belonging to collective and state farms, the cattle and hogs produced going to the state, without any part of them given to the farmers, therefore an average of 1,050 to 1,100 million poods of grain, or up to 73% of the entire crop of grain goes to the state from Ukraine. By the all-Union yardstick, 40% of all grain collections go to the state.

Accordingly Moscow derives from Ukraine the following amounts of products of agriculture computed into gold rubles:

1. Grain: 1,100 million poods at 1 ruble per pood	=	1,100 mil. r.
2. Sugar: 125 million poods at 1 ruble per pood	=	125 " "
3. Cotton: 1.2 million cwt. at 40 rubles per cwt.	=	48 " "
4. Potatoes: 60 million cwt. at 90 kop. per cwt.	=	54 " "
5. Sunflower seed: 8 million cwt. at 15 rub. per cwt	=	120 " "
6. Other crops (tobacco, grapes, soy etc.) average of 100 rubles per hectare	=	100 " "
		Total: = 1,547 million gold rubles.

In addition, the collective and state farm system supplies products of animal husbandry (meat, dairy products, wool, hides, etc.) of a total value of 100 million gold rubles annually. The grand total of deliveries made by the collective and state farms is in the impressive figure of 1,547 million gold rubles per annum.

The correctness of this figure is borne out by such evidence as data contained in a publication of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R. which came out in Kiev in 1939 under the title: "Socialisticheskoye Selskoye Khozyaystvo Sovyetskoy Ukrainy" (The Socialist Farm Economy of the Soviet Ukraine), which states on page 94 that during the year of 1937 the collective farms of Ukraine received from the government for deliveries made, the amount of 1657 million rubles. When we take into consideration that in 1937 (and before World War II in general), the government paid the collective farms for delivered products prices almost equal to those which prevailed before World War I, i.e. in 1914, and that a great part of deliveries taken by the government were produced at deficit calculations and for this reason could not be included in the cited figure, (also excluded is payment in kind for the rental of MTS machinery which took between 20 and 24% of the total crops), finally, if we add the production of state farms, then the figures estimated above are rather conservative, because only average annual indices were considered, and it is a known fact that the year 1937, to which the Soviet source makes reference gave an exceptionally high harvest (between 27 and 30% higher than average).

In payment for that total amount of agricultural products delivered by Ukraine, the collective farm workers received in wages for work-days an annual total of 900 million Soviet rubles (average for the four-year period 1934-1937), which, translated into a gold equivalent in accordance with the real purchasing power of that money gives a total of 63

to 70 million gold rubles, or only 4% of the value of the goods produced by collective farm workers and taken by Moscow as merchandise deliveries.

If we consider that all the basic capital of the socialized agricultural economy of Ukraine, i.e. of collective and state farms and MTS, amounted only to 4 billion rubles on the eve of World War II according to the then current balance estimates, their gold equivalent did not exceed one billion gold rubles. Thus Moscow's net gain from the agricultural economy of Ukraine of 1,602 million gold rubles (1,667 million gold rub. as the value of all deliveries, less 65 million gold rub. for wages paid to collective farm workers) is the equivalent of 160% net profit on the capital investment.

The older generation of Ukrainian economists, in analyzing the annual income of Moscow from Ukraine before World War I, established (e. g. Tymofiyiv) that imperial Russia derived a net annual income from the Ukrainian colony between 350 and 400 million gold rubles from all sources, i.e. from agriculture, industry and raw materials. Contemporary Russia derives four times as much profit from agriculture alone. This is the true sense and purpose of the introduction of the so-called "progressive, leading socialist system of collective farming" because no other system would be capable of yielding such a high percentage of surplus production.

A cross-section of the relationship between the Ukrainian colony and the Russian metropolis is provided by the following data:

Total grain production and deliveries to the State
(in millions of poods, 1 pood = 36.113 lbs avdps)

	Total Production	Deliveries to State	% relation of del. to State to production
Ukraine (Ukrainian S.S.R. within 1939 borders)	1,500	1,100	73.0%
U.S.S.R. without Ukraine	5,500	1,400	25.5%
Total	7,000	2,500	36.0%

Thus the Ukrainian peasants gave up without compensation almost three-fourths of their gross grain production, while in the rest of the U.S.S.R. without Ukraine the corresponding figure is only one-fourth. Moreover, a close analysis of this "rest of the U.S.S.R." from the national-territorial standpoint indicates that deliveries to the state in the amount of 1,400 million poods were not taken from the peasants of Rus-

sia proper, but from the so-called borderlands. As early as the first five-year-plan (1928-1933) central European Russia had an annual grain deficit of 325 million poods which was to be covered, according to the plan, by importation from "producing areas," primarily Ukraine, North Caucasia (the Don and Kuban) and Siberia.

40% of the "merchandise grain" of the U.S.S.R. came from Ukraine within the borders of 1939 and the remaining 60% from Kuban, Don, North Caucasia, Ukrainian regions of Russia which border on Ukraine (Kursk and Voronizh provinces) and from Siberia and Kazakhstan.

MOSCOW'S INCOME FROM UKRAINIAN INDUSTRY

On the eve of World War II, the population of Ukraine constituted 16.6% of the population of the Soviet Union total, grain production between 22 and 24% of the Union total, while in industrial production Ukraine contributed 40% of the Union's total.

Industrialization, armaments and imperialist wars would be impossible for Russia to realize without ruthless exploitation of the agricultural economy of Ukraine and of the "borderlands." Severance of Ukraine from Russia would automatically deprive the latter of the material base for imperialist aggression.

Russia gets her industrial raw materials and semi-manufactured goods from Ukraine, and in turn manufactures them into finished products. All industry of Ukraine, with the exception of coal and metallurgy, has been developed by Russia exclusively for the purpose of servicing the two branches of industrial raw material supplies: coal and metals to equip collectivized agriculture with machinery, and thus guarantee deliveries of grain and products of agriculture.

Ukraine produced in 1940 (in thousands of metric tons):

coal	83,728.0	
iron ore	18,900.0	
pig iron	9,183.1	
steel	8,621.7	
manganese ore	956.9	(1937)

The gross total of Ukrainian manufacturing industries is only about 18% of the Soviet Union's total and at the same time Ukraine occupies the following positions in supplying basic industrial raw materials and semi-manufactured goods in relation to U.S.S.R. totals for 1939:

mining of iron ore	63.0%
smelting of pig iron	61.2%
steel production	47.1%
mining of coal	50.5%

It is clear from the above table that iron ore is exported from Ukraine without further processing, because Ukraine furnishes 63% of the U.S.S.R.'s iron ore and lesser percentages of pig iron and steel.

The secret of the disproportion between Ukraine's 18% participation in the manufacturing industries of the USSR and the specific gravity of extraction of basic raw materials is to some extent explained by data of production by manufacturing industries: in 1938 the Soviet Union produced machines of a total value of 28,079 million rubles, while Ukraine produced only 2,841.1 million rubles' worth (the latter figure is for 1936, 1938 not being available). This means that in machine building Ukraine's participation does not exceed 10-12%, or about one-half of Ukraine's contribution to the total of her manufacturing production. But even this 10-12% figure assumes a different meaning when we analyze what kind of machines were made in Ukraine. Agricultural machinery and tractors 20%, railroad equipment 16%, repair shops 16%, coal and ore mining equipment, equipment for metallurgy and power production 18%, shipbuilding 7%, electrical machinery 7%, for a total of 84%. The remaining 16% is apportioned among all other branches: shop equipment, machines for light industry, for food processing, construction industry, etc. Suffice it to state and underline that in Ukraine production of tool-making machines is only 1.5%, which means that Ukraine has virtually no machine-tool industry, an indispensable basis for all industrial development.

On the eve of World War II the value of products of the so-called heavy industry, i.e. coal and ore mining, pig iron and steel production, machine-building etc., at the price level of 1926-27 (which was approximately 50% higher than the level of 1913) was 9 billion rubles, part of which was reinvested in Ukraine in the form of industrial capital. The total amount of capital accrual of both industry and agriculture before World War II was 2.5 billion rubles annually. Of this amount, machinery and equipment (of heavy industry) probably did not exceed 1.5 billion rubles. Thus 7.5 billion rubles worth of heavy industry products, such as coal, ore, pig iron, steel and machinery and equipment were taken by Russia from Ukraine every year. The value of these goods is about one billion gold rubles. This is the aggregate of Russia's industrial income from Ukraine. From this we must deduct the amount of wages paid out in Ukraine, about 15 billion Soviet rubles, the purchasing power of which is equal to 1,200 million gold rubles (1 kilogram of bread cost 8 kopecks in 1913 and 1.50 rubles in 1939, correspondingly a pair of shoes of the ordinary kind was 3 rubles and 50 to 60 rubles).

Therefore the net income of Russia from Ukraine's industry and industrial raw materials was 3.8 billion rubles annually.

The total net gain of Russia from Ukraine consists of:

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| a) grain and agricultural products | 1,602 million rubles |
| b) industrial products and raw materials | 3,800 million rubles |

Total: (gold rubles) 5,402 million rubles

This is the annual minimum which Ukraine pays Russia for "brotherly love and protection," the price of enslavement which is the cause of misery and retrogression under which the Ukrainian people are compelled to live.

In addition to supporting the Russian occupation administration in Ukraine, Moscow derives an annual income of 180 gold rubles from every Ukrainian man, woman and child.

HISTORICAL PUZZLES

"Uniate Church includes many Russians . . ."

(N. J. G. Pounds: *Europe and the Mediterranean*. New York, 1953 p. 38)

The Slavonic falls into three divisions. The name "Ruthenian" is simply a foreigner's mishandling of "Russian" — "one Russian man." It applies mostly to the Western Ukrainians, but in older usage to any Russian."

(W. E. D. Allen, *Ukraine*. London 1940)

Remark: The greatest offender would be the papal chancery using steadily this mishandling term, but never to the Russians.

POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN UKRAINE BY MOSCOW

By NICHOLAS D. CHUBATY

During the 34 years of its rule over Ukraine (1920-1954), the Red government of Moscow has not only liquidated the liberties in Ukrainian Republic, not only destroyed physically about ten million Ukrainians, including almost the entire intelligentsia - scholars, poets, writers and artists, who defended the political and spiritual independence of Ukraine, but it has also completely liquidated the independent church life of the Ukrainian people and has ruined its two main churches, the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and completely limited religious freedom in Ukraine. At present officially these two chief churches of the Ukrainian people do not exist; they exist unofficially in the underground. To about thirty million Orthodox Ukrainians and about five million Ukrainian Greek Catholics the Kremlin has given the formal status of members of the Russian Orthodox Church headed by the Moscow Patriarch Aleksey. The Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church have been outlawed by the Russian Communist government although there is legally in the USSR a complete separation of the church from the state and the Communist government actually preaches atheism. Nevertheless, the government of Moscow has definitely assumed the protection of the Russian Orthodox Church under the leadership of the Moscow Patriarch Aleksey and has helped it to liquidate both Ukrainian churches.

In Ukraine in the XIX century a Protestant Evangelical movement with a Baptist coloring, the so-called Stunda, spread quite widely. It had about a half million faithful. This movement grew in eastern Ukraine as a Ukrainian national and religious reaction against the Moscow Orthodox Church and its Russian character. The Ukrainian Evangelical movement has now been fully enslaved. It has been put under the control of the central administration of the Evangelicals of the USSR in Moscow which has given it an exclusively Russian character. In a somewhat more limited form the Evangelical movement in the USSR is tolerated, perhaps as a threat against the Russian Orthodox Church if that should try to escape from Communist control. Protestant Evangelical communities can exist legally, have congresses and publish their works.

THE CAUSE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE UKRAINIAN CHURCHES
"MOSCOW AS THE THIRD AND LAST ROME FOR THE WORLD"

The Russian Communist government as an ultra-totalitarian government cannot tolerate any ideological organization which is not in its service. This is the basis for its anti-religious policy. But the fact that the Moscow red government draws a distinction between the different religious bodies in Ukraine, tolerates some and destroys others, is a proof that in this struggle of Moscow against the Ukrainian churches, the most important cause is not the Communist anti-religious policy but other reasons of a state and political nature. The favoring of the Russian Orthodox Church is shown by the fact that it is allowed to build new churches, theological academies, seminaries, and to print its official publications for which the government gives it paper and allows it to use the government plants. It allows the travel of representatives of this Church outside the USSR for relations with other Orthodox Churches friendly to the USSR. The relations of the Russian Orthodox Church with the government are maintained through a special department for the affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, headed by the high official Karpov with rights similar to those of the Procurator of the Most Holy Synod. The Soviet government fully coordinates its internal and foreign policy in religious matters along the line of the interests of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The Soviets are definitely opposed to any church of the Ukrainian people independent of Moscow. This is not an exclusive feature of the Bolshevik Russian government. It was true in the days of the tsars.

The Russian Orthodox Church severed its connections with the Metropolitanate of Kiev and the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1448, and became the independent Church of the Russian Empire and a willing participant in its plans. Metropolitan Makary (1543-1564) went further and admitted the interdependence of the Muscovite government and of the Russian Orthodox Church, the appointment of its authorities and the control of its property. Moscow also developed during these years the theory of Moscow as the Third Rome. This theory was defined for the first time by the Pskovian monk Philotheus who in 1524 wrote: "All Christian empires ended and were absorbed by one empire—that of our autocrat, in accordance with the prophetic books, the Russian Tsardom. Two Romes have fallen, and the Third exists; but there will be no Fourth." Moscow regarded itself as the definite heir and successor to the claims of Rome and Constantinople and as the guardian of the true Christianity of Christ and His Apostles. Moscow also held that there could

never be a Fourth Rome and thus proclaimed the permanence of Muscovite rule.

This belief has lasted during 500 years even into the atheistic Russian Soviet state. It was clearly indicated when Bishop Hermogen, Rector of the Moscow Theological Academy, declared on the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the independence of the Russian Church in 1948 that the present Patriarchate of Moscow alone preserves the true Christian Faith which is not shared by the Catholic and Protestant worlds.¹

The Moscow Orthodox Church was so closely connected with the state that for centuries the ideology of Russia was summed up in the phrase, "Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Fatherland." Moscow derived its claim to be the heir of the Second Rome, Byzantium, through the old Ukrainian state of Kievan Ukraine-Rus'. As a result the theory of the unity of the three eastern Slavic peoples, Russians, Ukrainians and White Ruthenians became the basis for the Russian political development under the tsars and also under the Soviets.

Under the tsars a Ukrainian Autocephalous Church could not exist; it contradicted this ideology by its very existence, for it threatened and denied the religious unity of the eastern Slav peoples. The second Church, the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite (Greek Catholic) was also impossible, for it seemed to Moscow to be an attack of the First Rome, Papal Rome, on Eastern Europe, the territory of the Third Rome and so contradicted the idea that Moscow was the Third and Final Christian Rome. Both churches of the Ukrainian people had to be destroyed.

THE CHRISTIANITY OF UKRAINE

Ukrainian Christianity and the whole spiritual culture of the Ukrainian people, although they were rooted in Byzantine culture, remained constantly a spiritual part of Europe. Ukraine physically and spiritually refused to become part of the Eurasian continent, which was the basis of the Moscow tsardom.

There were two trends in the religious life of Ukraine; the one was conservative and tried at all cost to maintain the bonds with the Patriarchate of Constantinople which had given the Ukrainian Church practical, if not formal, autonomy between the XII-XVII centuries. The other

¹ This same Bishop Hermogen late in 1953 was designated by the Patriarch of Moscow to come to a council in the USA of the Russian-American parishes which still recognize the authority of the Moscow Patriarch. When he was made Metropolitan for this country, the American government refused to grant him the privilege of permanent residence and he was compelled to return to the USSR where he died in the summer of 1954.

trend was to seek the closest possible relationship with Western Europe, the First Rome. This second trend gained strength after Constantinople fell to the Turks and ceased to be the source of culture, since the best fruits of the humanity of the day were appearing in Renaissance Europe. As a result of this Western trend among the Ukrainians, the religious union of the Ukrainian dioceses with Rome was brought about in 1596. This divided the Ukrainian people into two schools, the Orthodox who wished their church autonomous in union with the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Catholics who acknowledged the superiority of Rome but kept the entire Ukrainian religious culture and the old Ukrainian ecclesiastical language. It is to be noted that both Ukrainian churches preserved the same national culture which was under the strong influence of the West.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the middle of the XVII century accepted in its schools, especially the Kievan Mohyla Academy, and in its church administration so many Western influences that it seemed to the Orthodox of Moscow to have become a non-Orthodox and semi-heretical Church. The political union of Ukraine and the Moscow tsardom which was initiated by the Agreement of Pereyaslav in 1654, i. e. just three hundred years ago, quickly brought the violent subjection of the Ukrainian Autonomous Orthodox Church to the Patriarchate of Moscow and gradually its complete forceful reorganization on the Moscow pattern. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church during its 200 years of unity with the Russian Church was so subjugated that there was in 1917 not a single Ukrainian bishop in Ukraine. The Church became a political tool in the hands of the central Russian administration and was directed against the political and cultural aspirations of the Ukrainian people.

THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX AUTOCEPHALOUS CHURCH

It is not strange that from the moment of the revival of the Ukrainian State, the question of reviving a Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church and its complete break with the Russian Orthodox Church became pressing. This was done by a resolution of the government of the Ukrainian National Republic on January 1, 1919. It was impossible to carry out this resolution for all the bishops in Ukraine including the Metropolitan of Kiev were Russians, who refused to break with the Patriarch of Moscow. The lower clergy and the millions of Orthodox Ukrainians had no other course open than the revolutionary path of renewing their own hierarchy and achieving the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

This was done at the Kievan Council of 1921, already under Bolshevik rule. Amid the religious enthusiasm of the clergy and faithful on

April 6, 1921, in the Cathedral of St. Sofia, they elected Rev. Vasyl Lypkivsky Metropolitan of Kiev and head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church. He was consecrated by the method practiced for a time in the Orthodox Church of Alexandria, when the clergy and faithful in council laid their hands upon him. Then in the usual manner of ordination, he consecrated for all the cities of Ukraine new bishops of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church in opposition to the bishops obedient to the Moscow Patriarch who cared chiefly for the Russian minority in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church became the real church of the Ukrainian national revival and was tolerated by the Bolsheviks during the period of the so-called Ukrainization (1924-30). However, in 1927, the Soviet government ordered the removal of Metropolitan Lypkivsky from his post and accepted in his place as Metropolitan M. Boretsky.

The bloody hand of the Kremlin fell upon the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church in 1930 as it did on the entire Ukrainian cultural and political life under the Bolsheviks. The Soviet government arrested the entire episcopate and ordered them to dissolve the Church. After this, they shot some bishops and sent others to concentration camps. Some of the members of the Church administration remained at liberty; all were finally annihilated in the time of the *Ezhovshchyna* (1936-37). The more active priests met same fate as the bishops. During the seven years after 1930 the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church ceased to exist in Ukraine.

THE GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH OF UKRAINE

The placing of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (1686) under the Patriarch of Moscow and its slow reorganization on the Moscow pattern returned the sympathies of the Ukrainian people to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church united with Rome. During the second half of the XVII and XVIII centuries, on the Ukrainian territory outside of Moscow within the Polish Republic, this had its period of greatest expansion. The growth and strengthening of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was a sad and unendurable phenomenon to Orthodox Moscow, which claimed to be the Third Rome, for the First Rome, Papal Rome, had advanced in Ukraine to the Dnieper and the boundaries of *Smolenshchyna* in White Ruthenia, i.e. into the very heart of Eastern Europe. The destruction of this Ukrainian type of Catholicism of the Eastern Rite became for Russia the most important task in the church field and it could be only done after the annihilation of Poland.

The divisions of Poland (1772, 1795) and the annexation of the Ukrainian territories west of the Dnieper and *Dvina* to Russia led to

a call for the annihilation of the "Union" as the Russians contemptuously called the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church. The administration of Catherine II succeeded after a few years in giving a death blow to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church; it reduced the episcopate by force to two; the Kievan metropolitan was compelled to live in Petersburg. It exercised unprecedented repressions on the clergy and population by arrests and exiles thus reducing by three fourths the number of Ukrainian Catholics of the Eastern Rite on the territory seized by Russia.

After a respite during the reign of Alexander I (1801-25), Tsar Nicholas I started a new movement, and in 1839 had extinguished officially at least the remains of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine and White Ruthenia. Hundreds of priests were arrested and deported to the northern guberniyas. Others who refused to accept Russian Orthodoxy were removed from their posts. In 1839 there were officially in Russia no "Uniats". The last Ukrainian Catholic diocese under the control of the Tsar which had been preserved in the autonomous Kingdom of Poland, the diocese of Kholm, was also forcibly converted to Orthodoxy in 1875 amid terrible persecution of the clergy and faithful, who for years kept secretly the faith of their fathers.

The Russian law forbade any one to leave the Orthodox Church. However, in 1905 on the passage of a law of toleration permitting this, immediately 200,000 Ukrainians of the Kholm District accepted Latin Catholicism since the 1905 law of toleration did not permit the acceptance of Greek Catholicism. The Russian Orthodox Church had great fear of the advance of Eastern Catholicism, the Union, into the domain of the Third Rome.

The Greek Catholic Church remained only in the Western provinces of Ukraine, in Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine, which after the division of Poland had entered the government of Austria, later Poland and Czechoslovakia until 1939. The Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite played an enormous role in the cultural life of the people.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL EXPANSION OF MOSCOW

The disintegration of Poland at the beginning of World War II (1939) and the annexation of Western Ukraine to the Soviet Union placed the Greek Catholic Church of Western Ukraine in a dangerous position, for the hand of Moscow reached to this part of Ukraine. The Bolshevik government in the western lands of Ukraine in the years 1939-41 was too weak to realize immediately the old plan of Russia to liquidate the Union on the rest of the Ukrainian lands. Besides, the authority and popularity among the people of the Metropolitan of Halych, Andrew Shep-

tytsky, were so great that even the Soviet government did not venture to destroy the Greek Catholic Church.

In 1939 the Soviet government issued against the Church the same orders as against every religion in the USSR and the persecution was carried on in the same way. Six priests were killed, among them professors in the Theological Academy in Lviv, Mykola Konrad and Vasyl Ishchak. Several dozen were arrested and deported. (Rev. Illya Klyvak, Rev. Teodor Chubaty and others). The parochial schools and the press were banned, the church properties were confiscated and religion was removed from the schools. The period (1939-1941) was too short for the Bolsheviks to develop their planned activity to destroy the Greek Catholic Church.

The outbreak of the German-Bolshevik War (1941) and the expulsion of the Bolsheviks from Ukraine opened new possibilities for the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church. The hierarchy of the Orthodox Church in Poland, headed by Metropolitan Dionisi of Warsaw, helped in the formation of the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church (1942). Polikarp Sikorsky, Bishop of Volyn, became Metropolitan. Bishops of the revived Ukrainian Church were sent to all the cities of Ukraine. At the same time, in the lands under Poland there were also bishops who did not wish to break their dependence upon the Patriarch of Moscow. They formed the Ukrainian Autonomous Church.

The German government of occupation aimed to antagonize the two churches by mutual strife to weaken the power of the Ukrainian people who opposed the German policy in Ukraine. In this conflict of the two Churches, Oleksiy Hromadsky, archbishop of the Ukrainian Autonomous Church, lost his life. With the renewed occupation of Ukraine by the Bolsheviks, the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church was again annihilated. Now it exists only in the emigration. The return of the Bolsheviks brought back the control of the Patriarch of Moscow. The Orthodox Ukrainians of Eastern Ukraine were again placed under the centralizing power of the Moscow Patriarch and the church became again a tool of the Muscovite government.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE UKRAINIAN GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE USSR

The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine faced a mortal threat to its existence. In the second half of 1944, the Bolsheviks overflowed Western Ukraine and occupied Lviv. The aged Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky was still on the metropolitan throne. His authority was so great that the Bolshevik government did not dare during his lifetime to attack the Church.

But Metropolitan Andrew died November 1, 1944; there were serious suspicions that the Bolsheviks poisoned him. His successor automatically was his Assistant Bishop Dr. Joseph Slipy, a learned theologian and former Rector of the Theological Academy in Lviv. Then the Bolshevik government together with Aleksey, Patriarch of Moscow, began a general assault upon the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. It is to be noted that the atheistic government in the Kremlin carried on an almost synchronized activity of the MVD and that of the Patriarch of Moscow. In the first months of 1945, the Patriarch sent a letter to Metropolitan Joseph Slipy and all the Greek Catholic bishops of Western Ukraine to become Orthodox and accept his supremacy. The Metropolitan and all the bishops refused. In answer to this the MVD in April, 1945, arrested all the Greek Catholic bishops, i.e. Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, his Assistant Bishop, Nykyta Budka, the Bishop of Stanyslaviv, Hryhori Khomyshyn, and his Assistant Bishop, Ivan Lyatyshevsky, also the bishop for Catholics of the Eastern Rite in Volyn, Mykola Charnetsky. All were taken to the east, tried and exiled. Bishop Khomyshyn died in prison in Kiev (1946).

Then the Patriarch of Moscow acted. He formed an Initiating Group of three apostate priests: Dr. Havryil Kostelnyk, Dr. Mykhaylo Melnyk and Antin Pelvetsky to bring Western Ukraine to Orthodoxy and to unite it with the Russian Orthodox Church. The Kiev Soviet government quickly recognized this Initiating Group as the administration of the Greek Catholic Church, which all priests were to obey. The Initiating Group met with strong opposition from the clergy and the faithful. Several hundred priests met in July in the Cathedral of St. George in Lviv, and protested to the Soviet government in Moscow against this self-styled Initiating Group and asked for the release of the bishops. In answer the MVD arrested several hundred priests, shot some dozens and deported the rest.

Upon the order of the Moscow Patriarch and with the help of the MVD, the Initiating Group called a Synod in Lviv on March 8-10, 1946 to complete the formal break of the Greek Catholic Church with Rome and to join it with the Russian Orthodox Church. The MVD took a very active part and placed some hundreds of its people in the Synod. This surprising synchronization of the attack of the Moscow Patriarch and of the atheistic government on the Greek Catholic Church shows how far the government of the Kremlin has taken over the goals and methods of the old tsarist Russia in its dealings with the hated Uniate church, the representative of the First Rome and the dreaded competitor of the Third Rome.

The Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine formally was wiped out by this council. The Patriarch established his own Orthodox hierarchy

and the MVD so arranged it, that about one thousand priests were forced to recognize the rule of the Patriarch. However, millions of the faithful boycotted this hierarchy installed by the Russian Orthodox Church. The secret leadership of the Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, headed by Rev. Prof. M. Lavrivsky (a pseudonym), became a part of the Ukrainian Anti-Bolshevik Underground as we see from the *Appeal of the Ukrainian Underground* to the Ukrainians outside the borders of the USSR.²

In the year 1947 the Soviet government, after the union of Carpatho-Ukraine with the Ukrainian SSR, made the same attack upon the Greek Catholic Church in Carpatho-Ukraine. The bishop of Uzhorod, Teodor Romzha, was attacked by a Soviet tank on a public road during a pastoral visitation. He was severely wounded and died in a hospital. His diocese as in Western Ukraine was placed under the control of the Moscow Patriarch by arresting and removing the priests who in masses refused to become Orthodox.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE UKRAINIAN GREEK CATHOLIC DIOCESES OUTSIDE THE BORDERS OF THE USSR

The formation of the satellite states on the western border of the USSR gave the possibility for the Moscow Patriarch with the help of the Soviet government to make the same attack upon the Greek Catholic dioceses and parishes beyond the borders of the USSR in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Germany. The first blow was on the ancient Greek Catholic diocese of Peremyshl, which had been left on the western side of the Polish Soviet frontier. The Bishop of Peremyshl, Yosafat Kotsylovsky, and his assistant, Hryhori Lakota, were arrested in 1946 by the Polish Communist government and handed over to the Soviet authorities; both died in a Soviet prison.

In 1950, the blow fell upon the Greek Catholic diocese of Pryashiv which was in the Czecho-Slovak Republic. Both bishops, Paul Hoydych and his assistant, Vasyl Hopko, were arrested and condemned in a great trial to life imprisonment; they are now in a Czech prison. In fact, the only cause of their arrest was that both bishops resolutely refused to hand over their diocesan authority to Bishop Aleksey Dekhterev, a Soviet citizen, the representative of the Moscow Patriarch, who took over the diocese by force after their arrest. A "council" meeting in Pryashiv in April, 1951, decided to break with Rome and acknowledged the supremacy of the Moscow Patriarch.

² *Appeal of Warring Ukraine to the Ukrainians Abroad. The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 4, 1950.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN ROMANIA
AND BULGARIA

To illustrate the ambitions of the Moscow Patriarchate to become the Third Rome, we must point out that simultaneously there came an attack on the Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches in Romania and Bulgaria. The heads of the Orthodox Churches in both these satellite states were compelled to recognize the supremacy of the Moscow Patriarch and to assume the same ecclesiastical satellite position as did their communist governments. They are now dependent upon the Soviet regime in Moscow. The existence of the Greek Catholic Churches (quite strong) in Romania and (weaker) in Bulgaria seemed incompatible with the ideas of Moscow as the Third Rome. Hence, by order of Moscow there came an attack on the Greek Catholic Church in Romania which had about 1 1/2 million faithful. The entire episcopate was arrested and the clergy compelled to accept Orthodoxy and acknowledge the direct supremacy of the Romanian Orthodox Church and indirectly that of the Moscow Patriarch. The same fate occurred with the Greek Catholic Church in Bulgaria.

It is characteristic that at the time, when within the USSR the action of the Moscow Patriarch in liquidating the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church and the destruction of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was carried on by an understanding with the Moscow Ministry of Internal Affairs and its organ the MVD, the same action of the Moscow Patriarch in the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria and the placing of the Orthodox under the control of the Moscow Patriarch went on and is going on with a synchronized activity of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party. The religious shattering of the national Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches has become an integral part of the Soviet domestic and foreign policy.

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THE SOVIET FAR EAST

By JOHN V. SWEET

The Soviet Far East is a large country. It covers over 1,200,000 square miles with wide lands, many peninsulas and islands and very different geographical conditions. Yet the sea is the dominant factor and controls the climatic conditions. It links together the most widely separated points. The area has nearly 11,000 miles of coast line and including the islands about 14,000 miles. In addition the rivers and the internal waterways furnish the best means of transportation now as in the past and it is by the rivers and the sea that the great resources of the region are and have been developed.

The area consists of the Maritime Province, the Low and Middle Amur regions, the Okhotsk littoral, Kamchatka, the Chukchi Peninsula, the island of Sakhalin and other small islands and groups of islands.

The area is separated from Siberia and the Yakut country by two gigantic arcs of plateaus and mountain ranges which run from the northern shore of Lake Baikal to the Arctic Ocean.

The colonization of this area has been going on for more than a century, slowly at first and then with increasing speed at various times. Among these at all periods the Ukrainians have been very numerous. In the period between 1859-1900 the Ukrainians formed nearly 75% of the colonists and later in 1900-1912 about 65%. From a study of this colonization we can form a good picture of the racial divisions in the area, although the Russian official figures need careful study.

There is an excellent survey for the Maritime Province in a description of the area published in 1912 and this helps us to understand from where the settlers in each village came and how they settled down in their new homes.¹

We must also remember that in the period 1914-1926 there was a relatively small influx into the area. However, during the Revolution and especially after the fall of the Kolchak regime in the autumn of 1919, many military men and their families went to the Far East and

¹ *Materiali po obsledovaniyu krestyanskikh khozyaystv Primorskiy Oblasti* Vol. VI., *Opisanie seleniy, Saratov*, 1912, 575 pp.

settled in Northern Manchuria. About 60-80,000 soldiers entered the Maritime Province over the Chinese Eastern Railroad by a special permission of the local government. At the end of October 1922, most of these were evacuated by ship to Korea and others escaped to Manchuria through Hun-Chang. Later the remains of the Siberian Army as well as the civilians settled in parts of Manchuria and China and then drifted to other countries.

The original Siberian Revolutionary government was overthrown by Admiral Kolchak. The anti-Bolsheviks lost their fight because they did not take account of the national revolution in the non-Russian territories; the reactionary policies of Kolchak were similar to those of Denikin in Ukraine and the Caucasus.

Then the Far Eastern Republic was set up to erect a buffer state between the weak Siberian Soviet government of the Communists and the Japanese Empire and to hide from the Siberian population the revolution with its democratic forces that was still going on. This republic was under red influence from the beginning. However it had a good constitution and the people looked with hope to the future but when the Japanese evacuated the Maritime Province, on October 26, 1922, the Red Army marched in and suppressed the Far Eastern Republic by force.

After November 1, the Red Army commenced to make arrests throughout the Far East. They seized leading persons, especially the Ukrainians, numbering some 200 and later held a show trial in Chita December 1923—January 7, 1924, accusing them of an independence movement and an effort to separate the country from Russia.²

At the time of the elections to the Russian Constituent Assembly in 1917, some rough statistics hastily made gave the rural population of the Maritime Province as 344,000.

In 1923, a local census was made. It was not well carried out. The country was still in a turmoil but the census gave a total population for the Far East of 1,056,000. The cities had 187,000 in the Maritime Province and 109,000 in the Amur area. The rural population was 423,000 in the Maritime Province and 282,000 in the Amur province. These give an increase of nearly 79,000 in the Maritime Province, a growth in Vladivostok of nearly 50% and in the Nikolsk-Ussuriysky district of 20%.

According to the 1923 census the figures in percentages are as follows:³

² *Dal'ne-vostochniy Put'*. A newspaper in Chita. Dec. 23—Jan. 24. Chita Trial. by I. Sweet. The Ukrainian Quarterly. Vol. X, No. 2.

³ *Dalne-Vostochnaya Oblast* by B. E. Hluzdovsky. Vladivostok, 1925 pp. 62-63. 2nd edition.

Province	Maritime	Amur
Great Russians	21.5	38
Ukrainians	50.6	58
Other European stocks	2.2	—
Chinese	1.2	—
Koreans	22.3	1.2
Natives	1.9	2.4 and Tatars
Jews	—	0.3
Not mentioned	0.3	0.1

THE CENSUS OF 1926

This census gives us perhaps a proper picture of the distribution of the national groups in the Soviet Far East and allows us to study them, while on the other hand studies of the colonization will show how the country was built up and why Siberia and the Far East have not proved a melting pot as both the tsars and the Communists have hoped. Yet again figures must be used with caution, so far as the Russians and Ukrainians are concerned.

Special Circular No. 14 distributed to the census takers says:

“For a precise census of the Ukrainians, Great Russians and White Ruthenians in places where according to old custom the term *ruskiy* is used it is imperative that the questioned person names exactly his or her nationality to which he or she belongs: Ukrainian, Great Russian (*Ruskiy*) or White Ruthenian. In the census, *ruskiy*, *ross*, *Ruthenian* and the *Great Russian* must be noted as equivalent.”⁴

According to this census ⁴ the figures are:

Russians	618,252
Ukrainians	303,259
White Ruthenians	39,378
Poles	6,507
Jews	3,055
Other Europeans	22,323
Chinese	64,048
Koreans	166,932
Natives	20,679

Total 1,244,433

⁴ *The All Russian Census of Dec. 17, 1926. Vol. VII The Far Eastern Country and Yakut Land, Moscow.*

T. Oleskiewicz. *The Statistical Tables of the Ukrainian Population of the U.S.S.R. 1926.* Vol. II, Warsaw, 1930

J. Sweet. *The Ukrainian Far East.* Harbin, 1934 and New York 1948.

These figures include 40 regions of the Soviet Far East. The figures can scarcely be correct as they stand and they contradict other Soviet figures which point out "The Russian majority is only in the following four regions: Mikhalovsky — 54%, Grodekovo 50%, Biro-Bidjan 70%, Nizhne-Tambovsky 55%. The Ukrainian colonists occupied ten regions with a majority: Khankaysky — 54%, Ivanovka — 57%, Chernihovka — 66%, Spasky — 71%, Shmakovsky — 57%, Yakovlevsky — 60%, Ivanovka on the Amur — 56%, Zavitinsky — 50%, Mikhalovsky on the Amur — 56% and Aleksandrovsky — 57%.⁵ According to this, the Russians had in these regions only 91,777 majority with a percentage of 50-55% except in Biro-Bidjan. The Ukrainians in their ten regions had a majority of 50-71% and a total population of 320,244.

The White Ruthenians were distributed in small groups or separate villages, especially in wooded regions.

The largest cities in the Far East were at this time:

	1926	Russians %	1930	1939
Vladivostok	107,960	60.7	120,000	206,432
Khabarovsk	52,045	74.6	65,600	199,364
Blagoveshchensk	61,205	83.3	51,100	58,761
Voroshilov	35,344	67.2	————	70,628
Komsomolsk	— —	—	————	70,746
Total	256,574	71	————	605,951

A careful study of the Soviet statistics suggests that they show approximately the following:

	Khabarovsk Area	Maritime Province	Total
Russians	300,000	200,000	500,000 no more
Ukrainians	175,000	150,000	325,000 no less
Others	175,000	250,000	425,000
Total	650,000	600,000	1,250,000

We must still take account of the *Special Circular* No. 14 and by a combination of studies of the colonization and the census, the final corrected estimates will be as follows in percentage:

	Khabarovsk Area	Maritime Province
Ukrainians	45	54
Russians	42	13
Koreans	—	20
Others	13	13

This is based on many combinations which can be easily found.⁶

⁵ *Dal'nevostochniy Kray*, Dalgyz, 1932, Vladivostok, p. 30.

⁶ S. E. Kremiansky, *The National Composition of the Population of the Maritime Province*, 1924.

THE CENSUS OF 1931.

In 1931, a special census was made by the Far Eastern Plan, an institution formed to study the area for the purposes of industrialization and development. This produced the following tables (in thousands):

Total	Ukrainians	Koreans	Chinese	Jews	Natives	Russians and others
100%	21%	10.8%	3%	0.8%	3.75%	60.6%
1,660	350	180	50	12	62	1,006

These figures certainly need some correction. The Russian percentage has greatly increased but the figures include "others." Who are the "others?" They may form a very decided part of the entire group. According to these figures, there was practically no increase in the number of Ukrainians after 1926 but if we know anything, we can be sure from the history of Ukraine that at this time Ukrainians were being sent to the Far East in large numbers. It is very possible that the Russians may have increased to 800,000. In that case the "others," probably including newly arrived Ukrainians, would amount to about 206,000. We note too, that the number of Chinese has actually decreased, for many were retiring to Manchuria. Still another strange feature is that the number of natives has greatly increased. The census of 1923 set them down as 8,109, that of 1926 as 19,771. That of 1931 gives them 62,000. Such a growth is impossible and must cast doubts on the accuracy of one or more of the censuses.

If we could break down the language of instruction in the schools at this period, we would have another guide. We know that in 1932 there were 5,638 elementary schools with about 165,000 pupils and about 46,000 in middle schools. There were special courses for about 200,000 illiterate people, chiefly of Asiatic origin and there were 800 new schools for the "national minorities."

On the other hand, we know that in the late 20's the Ukrainians controlled the schools in the ten districts where they had an actual majority as they did the entire administration. In some cases this was true for the White Ruthenians. In the same way the Soviet school administration had taken over the former Chinese private schools and reformed them on the "Communist" pattern. The Korean schools had long been maintained by the government.

With the advent of the more severe russification, this policy was changed in 1932-33 and the Ukrainian language was dropped from the schools and replaced by Russian. At the same time it gradually dropped

out of the administration of the areas and as late as 1945 there were persons at different conferences without a knowledge of the official Russian.⁷

THE CENSUS OF 1939

The census of 1939 did not try to break down the groups in the population. For instance it completely ignored the presence of Ukrainians in the Maritime Province. It noted the decline of the Chinese from 50,000 in 1931 in the Far East to 29,620 in the entire USSR. We know also of the transfer in 1932-4 of thousands of Koreans from the Maritime Province to Khabarovsk and the Kazakh Republic for rice cultivation.

WORLD WAR II

We can assume from a study of the many different sources that at the outbreak of World War II, the population in 1941 was as follows:

	Maritime Province	Khabarovsk	Total	%%
Total	800,000	1,350,000	2,150,000*	
Russians	350,000	750,000	1,100,000	51.1
Ukrainians	225,000	475,000	700,000	32.6
Others	225,000	125,000	350,000	16.3

* Exclusive of those in military service.

In the autumn of 1941, the Soviets commenced a mass evacuation of the people from the territory menaced by the Germans. It was greatest from Eastern Ukraine, the Dnieper left bank. The evacuation was badly handled and many died, according to the Soviet reports. About 550,000 reached the Far East. These were chiefly Ukrainians, for the bulk of the evacuated Russians were located in the Urals and Western Siberia, although 50,000 were sent to the neighborhood of Chita.

Thus by the end of 1942, the figures had changed and we can estimate in this way:

	Maritime Province	Khabarovsk area	Total	%%
Russians	350,000	750,000	1,100,000	40.7
Ukrainians	400,000	850,000	1,250,000	46.3
Others	225,000	125,000	350,000	13
Total	975,000	1,725,000	2,700,000	100

⁷ *Regional Conference of Chairmen of the Kolkhozes, Vladivostok, January, 1945, et al.*

When the German army began its retreat, these people who had been evacuated started to return to their homes. This was banned by the Soviets in 1944 and in the spring of 1945, the government implemented this ban by a provision that any who were caught in their old home would be immediately returned to Siberia and the Far East.

The figures of totals for 1946, the post-war period suggests a population distribution as follows:

Amur-Khabarovsk	1,800,000
Maritime Province	1,400,000
Sakhalin and the Kuriles	200,000
Total	3,400,000

We must remember too that there are large Japanese and native populations in the Kuriles.

The figures of such scholars as Th. Shabad in his *Geography of the USSR* are fairly close to these estimates.

Another group of scholars base their estimates on the election tables for the respective distribution of the population. These are scarcely accurate for census purposes for they are arranged for purely political purposes. For example in those northern territories where the non-Russian peoples predominate, the election districts are made larger to reduce their influence.

We must note that these tables cannot include the forced laborers in the concentration camps, and the special territories under the Dalstroy (the Far Eastern Building Administration under the NKVD) etc., for no one knows accurately the number and fate of these slaves.

It is clear that there is going on an abnormal growth of the cities in the area as in other parts of the Soviet Union.⁹

All the evidence points to the fact that any original numerical superiority of the Russians in the Far East has been overcome and that any Russian superiority now has been secured by regarding as Russian all or most persons living in the Far East as part of the RSFSR.

It is also evident that Soviet statistics for many years must be treated with the utmost caution and carefully corrected. The Soviets have long known how to conceal the truth through figures and these can vary widely as Soviet policy dictates.

The Soviet Far East has been settled by immigrants largely of non-Russian origin but it is not to the Soviet interest to reveal the exact proportions. It is rather their desire to equate the new "Soviet" man and Russian and their statistics have been prepared for that purpose.

⁹ Baransky, *Ekonomicheskaya Geografiya*.

OBITUARIES

PRINCE IVAN TOKARZHEVSKY-KARASHEVYCH (1885-1954)



The British Press Bureau (Reuther's) reported on November 18, 1954 the death in London of Prince Ivan Tokarzhevsky-Karashevych, a Ukrainian diplomat, Commander of the Order of the Knights of Malta, Doctor of Philosophy and of Political Science. He was born June 24, 1885 in Chabanivka in Eastern Ukraine. He came from an old Ukrainian noble family. His ancestors like the ancestors of the Sheptytsky and Lypynsky families and many others during the centuries of the Polish domination of Ukraine had been Polonized but in the modern times of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for free-

dom, their descendents returned to their people and tried to repay to Ukraine by their redoubled energy and work that debt which their ancestors had incurred in the past. Such was the late Prince. By June, 1918 we find him in the service of the Ukrainian people as councilor of the Ukrainian embassy in Vienna under Vyacheslav Lypynsky. This was the period of the Hetmanate (a monarchical government) in Ukraine. When it was replaced in November, 1918, by the government of the Ukrainian National Republic, the Directory, Prince Tokarzhevsky-Karashevych with the same sense of duty to Ukraine put himself at the disposal of the republican government and accepted a diplomatic post in Rome and later in Constantinople, first as Councilor, later as Ambassador [of Ukraine] to Turkey. This was a period of unusually fruitful diplomatic work which was crowned by the assuring of friendly relations between Turkey and independent Ukraine. In the years 1922-4 he was Minister of Foreign Affairs in the government of the Ukrainian National Republic in exile. He then went to Italy and later to England where in recent years the conservative Ukrainian prince became the representative of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in England, a distinctively revolutionary organization.

In developing for himself what was in reality an all-national approach to the work for the liberation of Ukraine as a sovereign state,

Prince Ivan Tokarzhevsky-Karashevych did not refuse to cooperate with any Ukrainian political group, providing his work would be in accordance with his ideal, the rebuilding of an independent democratic Ukrainian state.

Prince Ivan Tokarzhevsky-Karashevych is a very interesting phenomenon in modern Ukrainian history. The old noble families were Polonized and Russified almost completely during the centuries of Polish and Russian domination. In the middle of the 19th century the Ukrainian people had almost no nobility. But when in the last century the Ukrainian people with their healthy roots, the peasantry, were reborn as a nation and began the struggle for their liberation, the descendents of these Polonized and Russified families returned to their people. This was the case with the Ukrainian historians V. Antonovych and V. Lypynsky, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and his brother Hegumen (Abbot) Klyment, and the diplomats V. Korostovets and S. Tyshkevych; it was true also of Prince Ivan Tokarzhevsky-Karashevych.

DR. LUKE MYSHUHA (1887-1955)



Luke Myshuha, LL.D., 67, of Jersey City, N. J., Editor-in-Chief of the Ukrainian language daily *Svoboda* and its English language supplement *The Ukrainian Weekly*, published by the Ukrainian National Association, Jersey City, N. J., passed away Tuesday, February 8, 1955, in St. Barnabas Hospital, New York City, as a result of the ravages of a thus far incurable disease.

Aside from his editorship L. Myshuha played a very prominent role in Ukrainian American organizational and cultural life.

The deceased was born October 30, 1887 in the town of Novy Wytktiv, of the Radechiv county, Western Ukraine. With the generous financial aid of his uncle Alexander Myshuha, a brilliant opera star famous throughout Europe,

L. Myshuha completed his college education in 1906 and finished his studies at the University of Vienna, Austria in 1911, where he received a doctorate in law. He practiced law in Western Ukraine

until the outbreak of World War I, whereupon he joined the Ukrainian Sitchovi Striltsi corps. After the war L. Myshuha was active in Ukrainian political circles in Volhyn. In December, 1919, L. Myshuha was attached to the diplomatic mission to Vienna and became secretary to the Ukrainian diplomatic mission to Riga in 1921 and later that year went on a mission to Copenhagen.

In the summer of 1921 the Western Ukrainian Republic government commissioned L. Myshuha as head of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission to Washington. At his post in Washington, he greatly helped to promote knowledge of the fight of the Ukrainian people to free themselves of foreign rule and oppression and to defend their Ukrainian National Republic, of which the Western Ukrainian Republic became a constituent part by the Act of Union of January 22, 1919.

In 1922, following the holding of the Ukrainian Congress of America held in Philadelphia, L. Myshuha played a leading role in the formation of the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States of America (Obyednanye), which nearly until World War II, was very active in raising funds for the Ukrainian Cause as well as cultural projects in Europe, and engaged also in the publication of books and pamphlets in English on the Ukrainian situation and cultural heritage. He was its executive secretary from beginning to end.

In 1923 L. Myshuha was appointed editor and in 1933 editor-in-chief of *Svoboda*. In 1940 he played a prominent part in the formation of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, which following its reorganization has since been the most national representative of Ukrainian American interests, devoted to American public interests and to the aiding on all fronts of the Ukrainian national liberation movement. He was on its Policy Planning Board throughout the whole time. In February, 1953 L. Myshuha was elected president, a post he held until his death, of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, which did a tremendous job in bringing over about 35,000 Ukrainian displaced persons to this country, and which is continuing to aid those still left in Europe.

A man of great personal charm, an indefatigable worker, an editor of distinction, L. Myshuha was also considered by his contemporaries as an unusually eloquent and convincing speaker. The passing away of L. Myshuha leaves a void of considerable dimensions in Ukrainian American organizational, political and cultural life.

STEPHEN SHUMEYKO.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS

By HISTORICUS

The annual meetings of American historians held usually during the last days of December, during the Christmas vacation, provide the best opportunity not only for checking the problems in which the American historical world is interested but for controlling the progress that historical research has made in this country and magnificently demonstrating American academic freedom.

These meetings are organized on the basis of mutual cooperation of American historians of various interests and ideologies. Under the auspices of the American Historical Association, several independent historical societies meet simultaneously under the same roof in a friendly mood of real scholarship. Members of the American Catholic Historical Association debate their problems in a room close to the meeting of the members of the American Society for Reformation Research; members of the American Jewish Historical Society discuss their problems side by side with the meeting of the Southern Historical Association or members of the Irish Historical Society or the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The same great meeting is attended by historians interested in agricultural history, modern history and medievalists.

Such controversial subjects as the "Soviet Union and the Grand Alliance in World War II," the policy of the New Deal and the Republican Party were discussed often from opposite points of view. The last meeting held in New York December 28-30, 1954 showed that American historical science is not evading the serious problems of the day, but is attacking them to discover the real truth.

It is necessary, however, to pay more attention to the history of Eastern Europe. In spite of the fact that the Soviet problem is a matter of vital concern to this country at the present time, East European history was not adequately covered at the meeting.

It is known to all that during 1954 the USSR prepared large scale celebrations of the 300th Anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, which opened the way for the annexation of Ukraine by Moscow. The Kremlin was unable to explain away this event. On the contrary, by distorting the real character of this East European problem, it tried to exploit it for its practical aim of supporting Russian Soviet imperialism. Crimea

was formally transferred from the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. An apparently new national policy for the two leading peoples of the USSR, the Russians and Ukrainians, was initiated. It is regrettable that this subject was not discussed at the last annual meeting of the American historians.

Several years ago the Moscow Orthodox Church celebrated its 500th anniversary of its independence from Constantinople (1448); 1954 marked the 500th anniversary of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. Both events were tremendously important for both East European and West European civilization. At this time the idea was born that Moscow was the Third and last Rome and, the sole interpreter of Christ's teachings. The present ruinous imperialism of the Muscovite Patriarchal Church over East European Christianity is the direct consequence of these events of the 15th century.

It is clear that this period in East European history can be interpreted not only from the Western European point of view, the Russian Muscovite point of view, the Polish Latin Catholic point of view but also from the point of view of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian peoples, who became the victims of Muscovite ecclesiastical imperialism.

The American Historical Association must be given credit for placing on the program of its meeting the subject, "Rome, Constantinople and Moscow in the time of the Union of Florence." The chairman was the distinguished Czech-American Byzantinist, Rev. Francis Dvornik. The addresses on the topic by Prof. D. Geanakoplos and M. Cherniavsky presented respectively the Greek Orthodox and Russian Orthodox views. The Ukrainian-American Byzantinist I. Shevchenko explained the Greek factors in the appearance of the Renaissance culture, but there was no opposing Catholic interpretation of the Union, either from the Ukrainian or Polish point of view. The session became a unilateral presentation of the Union in Florence, as was stated by Prof. Oscar Halecki, an expert in East European history. It is very regrettable that the chairman was even not interested in the presentation of other views than the Russian. In the future it would be very desirable that American academic freedom also be practiced in discussions on the sensitive East European history.

East European problems were also discussed the same day at the meeting of the Catholic Historical Association dealing with "Religious Crises in the 16th century in Eastern and Western Europe." The presiding officer was Prof. G. Mattingly of Columbia University. Prof. Halecki skilfully pictured the Catholic restoration in Poland. A more lively discussion was excited by Prof. Halecki's analysis of the Church Union of Brest (1596). A free discussion shed light on this event which is also a subject of controversy among Ukrainian historians.

QUARTERLY-CHRONICLE OF THE UKRAINIAN LIFE

I. IN UKRAINE — BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

THE SUPERVISION OVER THE UKRAINIAN UNIVERSITIES HAS RETURNED FROM MOSCOW TO KIEV

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR at the request of the Council of Ministers of the USSR has reformed the All-Union Ministry of Higher Education by creating a special Ministry of Higher Education of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in Kiev. In this way the supervision over the universities of Ukraine, which before 1930 were under the Commissariat of Education of Ukraine and later placed under a special All-Union Ministry of Higher Education in Moscow, has now returned to a separate Ministry of Higher Education in Kiev. It can only be a normal concession of the Kremlin in favor of Ukraine.

THE INDOCTRINATION OF UKRAINE IS STILL NECESSARY

In the months of January and February, 1955 the Central Committee of the Communist Party arranged in the leading centres of Ukraine, Kiev, Kharkiv, Lviv and Odesa seminars with lecturers from the local Marxist universities on the ideological bases of the Soviet empire for the leading teachers and heads of youth organizations in Ukraine. They gave lectures on such subjects as: "The Fiftieth Anniversary of the First Russian Revolution;" "The Categories of Materialistic Dialectics;" "The Use of Economic Laws in the Socialist State;" "The Struggle of the New against the Old in the conditions of Soviet Society," and "The Contemporary Bourgeois Philosophy in the Service of American and English Imperialisms." The seminars explained the new teaching programs in Marxo-Leninism, history, political economy and philosophy. This is a practical application of the "Theses of the Central Committee of the Communist Party" issued in January, 1954, in connection with the 300th anniversary of the Pereyaslav Agreement.

THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNIVERSITY IN KHARKIV

The 150th Anniversary of the University of Kharkiv was commemorated this year by a special committee. This institution, the first modern university in Ukraine, founded in 1805, had a great influence on the national rebirth of the Ukrainian people. It assembled within its walls the first students of the history, ethnography and folklore of Ukraine. Although the tsarist government did not allow the use in the university of the Ukrainian language, the professional body was chiefly composed of Ukrainians who exercised a strong influence upon the Ukrainian younger generation.

LVIV HONORS KRYVONIS

There was unveiled in Lviv in the park of Knyazha Hora, according to Radio Kiev, on December 31, 1954 with formal exercises a monumental obelisk dedicated in honor of Colonel Maksym Kryvonis.

Col. Kryvonis, during the war of national liberation waged against the Poles by Bohdan Khmelnytsky, 1648, especially distinguished himself by his capture of the fortress Vysoky Zamok which was the key to Lviv and was considered impregnable at that time.

On the obelisk is the inscription:

"October 14-24, 1648, the peasant and Kozak detachments under the command of Col. Maksym Kryvonis, a hero of the war for liberation, defeated the army of the Polish robbers and captured the castle on this mountain."

THE INCREASE IN ATHEISTIC PROPAGANDA IN UKRAINE

Atheistic propaganda in Ukraine has been speeded up by the publication in Kiev of a special journal, *Soviet Culture*, devoted exclusively to the propaganda for "scientific atheism" in Ukraine in accordance with a decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party dated November 10, 1954. Recently N. Khrushchev, secretary of the same Central Committee made public a statement on the need of not attacking religion in the USSR.

UKRAINIAN DISCOVERERS

According to a Reuther's dispatch from Moscow, two Ukrainian scientists, N. M. Pidoplichko and V. I. Bilai, have developed a new antibiotic which successfully combats germs which are resistant to penicillin. It has been named Microcid. Microcid combats acid-resistant microbacteria and a number of fungi. Microorganisms find it very difficult to adapt themselves to Microcid. The new antibiotic is used in the treatment of infected wounds, burns and throat infections.

THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF A UKRAINIAN PHILOSOPHER

The 150th anniversary of the death of Hryhori Skovoroda, the greatest Ukrainian philosopher, was commemorated in Ukraine on a very small scale, perhaps because the deeply moral philosophy of Skovoroda was as far from Bolshevik reality as heaven is from earth.

In the building of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the UkSSR there was a small meeting; some libraries had an exhibition of photographic reproductions of the first editions of the works of Skovoroda and extracts from the poems of the distinguished poet M. Tychyna on Hryhori Skovoroda, which he began some 20 years ago and cannot finish. It is not strange that under Bolshevik reality Tychyna cannot write about Skovoroda.

RED LITERARY PROPAGANDA

The Lviv writers P. Kozlanyuk, A. Shmyhelsky and the poets D. Pavlychko and R. Bratus are touring the region of Pokuttya and Eastern Pidkarpattia, lecturing on the work of the West Ukrainian peasant writer Marko Cheremshyna (Semanyuk) and presenting this Ukrainian democrat and worker for independence as a partisan of the Soviet government. They are often accompanied by the writer's widow, Natalya Semanyuk.

THE MUSICAL COMEDY "RED KALYNA"

The musical comedy "Red Kalyna," a new work of Soviet music, was presented at the end of December by the Kiev Radio, and its name greatly surprised Ukrainians throughout the world.

The extremely popular patriotic song "Hey in the meadow the Red Kalyna" was the song of the Ukrainian revolutionists fighting for independence against the rule of Moscow over Ukraine. It was sung by the soldiers of the Ukrainian Republican Army during the Revolution, by the members of the Ukrainian underground between the two World Wars and during their struggle by the soldiers of the UPA. As a result the song of the Red Kalyna was strictly forbidden in Soviet Ukraine, but the more it was banned, the more popular it became.

Now the Bolsheviks themselves have produced this song on the stage but they have completely distorted its content. The old song of the *Red Kalyna* called for "the breaking of the fetters of Moscow". The musical comedy "Red Kalyna" also puts this song into the mouths of the Ukrainian Kozaks but (as it claims) those who 300 years ago fought for the union of Ukraine with Moscow. The Bolsheviks would now like to inspire by this popular melody the unpopular idea of "the domination of Moscow over Ukraine."

It is to be noted that this device is not new in Ukraine. During the national revolution of 1917-21 in Ukraine the *March of the Ukrainian Republican Army* became very popular, and especially the words "Saint George and the Immaculate Mother shall help us." The Soviets removed these words. During World War II the Ukrainian Soviet military composer Charnetsky changed it into the *March of the Ukrainian Red Army*, which began with the same melody. Moscow is trying in every way to fight the spirit of Ukrainian independence, which is rising around its ears.

NEW UKRAINIAN MUSICAL COMPOSITIONS

The 75th birthday of prominent West Ukrainian composer Stanyslav Ludkevych was celebrated in Lviv opera theatre Jan. 17, 1955. An address on the life and musical activity of the composer was delivered by a younger composer Kos-Anatolsky. The Lviv Symphony Orchestra rendered the best Ludkevych's composition "Caucasus."

Stanyslav Ludkevych belongs to the older generation of Ukrainian composers. Prior to 1939 he was active in the Lviv Ukrainian musical world as composer and director of the Ukrainian Musical Conservatory. Recently he composed an historical opera "*Dovbush*" which had its debut in the Kievan opera theatre in December 1954.

The composer Hryhori Mayboroda has composed an opera *Milyana* on a theme drawn from Eastern Ukrainian life. Composer Kos-Anatolsky wrote another opera *Union* in which he introduces into the musical world the Bolshevik anti-Ukrainian propaganda on "the happy life of Ukraine which voluntarily was joined with Moscow at Pereyaslav."

A NEW FILM: "THE GROUND"

In Kiev there has been the final review of the film *The Ground* based on the story of Olha Kobylyanska. The film was produced by A. Buchma and O. Shvachko and they changed so greatly the social elements of the story of Kobylyanska that it is impossible to identify the individual scenes in the story of the great writer.

THE METAL PRODUCTION OF UKRAINE IN 1954

The Kiev radio on January 9 broadcasted the statement of L. Yu. Lukych, Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy of the UkSSR, that in 1954 in Ukraine the production of steel had increased 11.4%, of pig-iron 7.4%, of rolled metal, 17%. The output of the iron mines had increased 5.1%. These figures should indicate that the iron industry of the UkSSR had increased by a reduction in the export of ore from Ukraine. It would seem that the production of semi-fabricated iron products had increased in Ukraine.

THE CONCENTRATION CAMP OF VORKUTA IS FULL OF UKRAINIANS

A correspondent of the Ukrainian-American newspaper *Svoboda*, Tarnovecky, (in Germany), wrote Jan. 21, 1955 that he had the opportunity to talk with a Greek, Alexis Georgiades, a man of 68, who had the ill fortune of spending 18 years in the concentration camp of Vorkuta but succeeded with the aid of the Greek embassy in getting abroad. He said that more than a half million exiles were working in the camps of Vorkuta and that the majority were Ukrainians from all parts of Ukraine. Despite the terroristic regime of the camp the spirit of resistance dominated. He said that the Western Ukrainians rigidly maintained their Eastern Catholicism and constantly greeted one another with "Glory to Jesus Christ." A prisoner after the expiration of his sentence was not free to return home but was compelled to live in the Vorkuta district as a "freely hired laborer." In this position Georgiades was able to communicate with the Greek ambassador in Moscow and to obtain liberty.

In the same vein is the article of the *New York Herald Tribune* of February 6. A young American, John H. Noble, whom the Bolsheviks released after 9 1/2 years in the concentration camps tells that the concentration camp in Vorkuta is largely filled with Ukrainians, especially from Western Ukraine. In this camp is His Excellency Joseph Slipy, Metropolitan of Lviv and Halych and Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which was forcibly liquidated by the Bolsheviks in 1945-7.

THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK RESISTANCE IN UKRAINE IS STILL ACTIVE

Many agents of the Soviet secret police who have fled to the west, unani- mously declared that there is still a strong anti-Bolshevik underground in Ukraine. This is also shown by the unexplained constant propaganda of the Soviet press and radio to the effect that the Ukrainians are an independent people bound with the Russian people by a voluntary union; and also by the fact that Moscow is externally making one concession after another to Ukraine.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN THE KOLKHOZES OF WESTERN UKRAINE.

The *Pravda Ukrainy* on February 5 reported that in the region of Pomoryany, district of Lviv, on the Shevchenko Kolkhoz there had been proven an organized resistance of the heads and officials of the kolkhozes against the new forced labor imposed upon the peasants. The head of the kolkhoz, Malomuzh, lost his leading position for he was removed from the control "by the decision of the meetings of the members of the kolkhoz" and the new administration was filled with Communists from the regional Communist organization.

THE SENDING OF YOUNG UKRAINIANS TO THE VIRGIN LANDS IN KAZAKHSTAN CONTINUES

According to a report of the *Prykarpatska Pravda* in January 1955 new parties of young people from Stanyslaviv, Lviv and the regions of Lutsk and Kivertsy, i.e. the chief cities of Western Ukraine, were constantly sent to the virgin lands in Kazakhstan. About 1000 young men and women were sent from Lviv district and 200 from the district of Stanyslaviv, of course not of their own will.

THE FATE OF PAVLO GOYDYCH, BISHOP OF PRYASHIV.

Msgr. Pavlo Goydych, Ukrainian bishop of Pryashiv in Slovakia who was arrested by the Czechoslovak Communist government at the orders of Moscow in 1950 and sentenced in 1951 to life imprisonment "for spying for the Vatican" is very ill. He has been released and is now taking a cure in the Tatras. The bishop is 67 years old.

II. IN THE FREE WORLD—OUTSIDE UKRAINE.

CELEBRATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROCLAMATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF UKRAINE IN THE UNITED STATES.

The celebration this year of the 37th anniversary of the Proclamation of the Independence of Ukraine on January 22, 1918 was celebrated on an especially extensive scale in all centres in the USA where Ukrainians are living. The Day of the Proclamation of the Independence of Ukraine (January 22, 1918) is also the Day of the Unification of all Ukrainian lands in the United Ukrainian Democratic Republic which occurred on January 22, 1919.

This year the session of the U.S. House of Representatives on Jan. 20 was opened with a prayer by Archbishop Ioan Teodorovych, head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA, and the next day the meeting of the Senate was opened by Rev. N. Kohut, Provincial of the Basilian Fathers in the USA, also with a prayer for America and the liberation of Ukraine.

The Governors of the states of New York and New Jersey proclaimed Jan. 22 the Day of Ukrainian Independence; so did the Mayors of the cities of New York, Chicago, Jersey City, Newark, New Haven and others. On the City Halls of New York, Newark, Jersey City and New Haven the blue and yellow banner of independent Ukraine was flown beside the American flag.

In the Senate, Senators Herbert Lehman and Irving Ives in consideration of the Day of Ukrainian Independence made speeches on the sacred right of the Ukrainian people to be an independent nation. Congressman Alvin M. Bentley spoke at the formal Ukrainian gathering in Detroit as did Mayor Martin H. Kennelly of Chicago. The American press of the large cities and the local press printed articles on the national celebration of the Ukrainians.

THE CELEBRATION OF EPISCOPAL CONSECRATION OF ARCHBISHOP IVAN BUCHKO

The 25th anniversary of the consecration of Archbishop Ivan Buchko, the only living hierarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which was liquidated by the Bolsheviks, was commemorated solemnly by the Ukrainian colonies in the

emigration in Great Britain, Germany, Belgium and on a special scale in France. The Ukrainians in Paris prepared a special meeting arranged on the initiative of the Shevchenko Scientific Society whose President, Volodymyr Kubiyovych, delivered the chief address.

Archbishop Ivan Buchko, the assistant bishop of Andriy Sheptytsky the Metropolitan of Lviv, happened to be in 1939 outside of Ukraine, making a visitation of the Ukrainian Catholic congregations in South America and could not return home. He is now performing the duties of Apostolic Visitor to the Ukrainians in Western Europe.

GEN. FRANCO OF SPAIN HAS RECEIVED THE PRESIDENT OF THE
ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS.

In the first half of February, Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, visited Spain and was received in a special audience by General Franco. Jaroslav Stetsko spoke in Ukrainian to the Ukrainian underground over the Radio Nacional de Espana, Madrid and his words were broadcast to Ukraine. He had a series of interviews with the journalists of Madrid.

Jaroslav Stetsko was the premier of the short lived government of Ukraine, proclaimed June 30, 1941 in Lviv by the Ukrainian Revolutionary Underground, but was shortly thereafter arrested by the Nazis. The arrest of the government led to the formation of the Ukrainian Resistance in Ukraine, which fought against the Nazis then and still against the Bolsheviks.

THE CONFERENCE OF INDEPENDENT ASSOCIATION OF STUDENTS
OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE USSR IN NATIONAL
QUESTIONS

On March 4-6 there was held in Munich the First Conference of Students of the National Problems in the USSR. It was organized by the Independent Association of the Theory and Practice of the USSR in National Questions, the head of which is Prof. Y. Boyko. The new association is an institution of Ukrainian scholars, historians, sociologists and economists, chiefly emigres from Eastern Ukraine, and was formed in the summer of 1954 to study the national problems of the USSR independently of non-Ukrainian researchers.

At the conference there was a series of lectures and discussions on the subject of the Soviet national policy toward Ukraine and the other non-Russian peoples of the USSR.

CONTEMPORARY UKRAINE IN THE FRAME OF THE EUROPEAN EAST.

Contemporary Ukraine in the European East was the subject of a study week in Louvain, Belgium. By the joint efforts of the old Catholic University in Louvain and the Ukrainian Free University in Munich there was held February 7-11 inclusive a Week of Ukrainian Studies under the patronage of the Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop for the Ukrainians in Western Europe, Msgr. Ivan Buchko, and the Rector of the University in Louvain Msgr. Van Vaienberg.

Ukrainian and Belgian professors spoke. For the Ukrainians, Rector Ivan Mirchuk spoke on the "European Significance of Ukraine"; Alexander Shulhyn, "The Ukrainian People between the East and the West"; George Studynsky:

"Economic Elements of Ukraine and the Standard of Living of its Population;" Alexander Kulchytsky: "The Soviet Conception of Man and the Ukrainian Psychology"; Rev. Ivan Leskovych: "Christianity in Contemporary Ukraine", and Roman Yakemchuk, "Ukraine on the Basis of Diplomatic Relations."

The following Belgian professors spoke: Prof. G. Leclerc; "The Value of Nationalities"; L. Duprie, "The Wellbeing and Economic Progress in connection with the relationship in Eastern Europe"; P. de Visser, "The Juridical Independence of the Ukrainian State"; F. Gregoire; "The Sources of Marxist Atheism"; Rev. R. Van Kovelar: "Christianity in Eastern Europe."

REPRINTING OF THE LITERARY WORKS OF UKRAINIAN WRITERS LIQUIDATED BY THE BOLSHEVIKS

Works of prominent Ukrainian writers which have been banned in Soviet Ukraine are being reprinted in the United States thanks to the aid of the East European Fund of the Ford Foundation and the Ukrainian learned societies in the emigration: the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and the American branch of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York. Four volumes, *The City of Pidmohylny*, *The Builder of the Ship of Yanovsky*, *The Poems of Osmachka* and the *Poems of Malaniuk*, have already appeared.

The works of the writer Yuri Klen banned in Soviet Ukraine will be published in a complete edition in Toronto, Canada. A special society has been formed for the purpose.

EXHIBITIONS OF UKRAINIAN PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURE IN EUROPE

In the well known Parisian gallery ZAC in the quarter of St. Germain there was arranged in December, 1954 an exhibition of the works of the Ukrainian painters, M. Krychevsky and Burachok. The exhibition was a great success and the works were favorably received by the art critics of Paris. They greeted with especial warmth the *Venetian Aquarelles* of Krychevsky, who painted the large *Coronation of King Danylo* for the Church of St. Volodymyr in Paris.

The *Manchester Guardian* reported an exhibition of the works of the Ukrainian sculptor Hryhori Kruk in the London Gallery of Arts. The art reporters gave a favorable verdict on his works.

A UKRAINIAN FILM PRODUCER IS HONORED.

In the autumn international film festival in Venice the film *Hurricane over Genoa* received an award. It was produced by Edward Dmytryk. The Parisian journal *Arts* speaking of it gave some details on the life of Dmytryk and said that he was an American of Ukrainian origin. He was born in Canada in 1908. At one time a congressional committee accused him of pro-Communist work, but new careful studies cleared him of the charges and rehabilitated him as a loyal American.

N. D. Ch.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE FORMATION OF THE SOVIET UNION. COMMUNISM AND NATIONALISM 1917-1923, by Richard Pipes. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, pp. 355.

In the already large literature on the Bolshevik revolution, the authors have either omitted the question of the movements for national liberation in the Russian Revolution or have touched upon it only in passing. They have relied upon the one-sided statements of the Russian anti-Bolshevik sources or even more upon the Bolshevik sources, but these for foreign propaganda have constantly emphasized that Communism has solved not only the social problems but also the nationality problem.

Dr. Pipes in the beginning of his work gives a survey of the nationality problem in Russia before the revolution of 1917. He shows that the multinational Russian empire included many nationalities and that in modern times the national consciousness of the oppressed peoples had reawakened and that their political aspirations were growing, especially in the case of the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, the Turkic peoples of Central Asia, the Ural and Volga sections, the peoples of the Caucasus, etc.

On the basis of the Russian census of 1897 he estimates that the Russian empire contained about 60% of non-Russians; there was a large number of representatives of the non-Russian peoples in the first Russian Duma of 1905.

The author makes an important statement, when he says that the revolution in basic Russia had a different character than in the territories of the non-Russian peoples. In Russia the class and social movements gained the supremacy while in the lands of the non-Russian peoples movements for national liberation took the first place, although under the general influence of the revolutionary slogans and as a result of political and national and social oppression, they were also tinged with radical social efforts, often not to allow themselves to be overwhelmed by the extreme slogans of Bolshevik propaganda and the military pressure and terror of the red guards.

Dr. Pipes reviews in chronological and geographical order the events which led to the disintegration of the Russian empire and the development on its territory of the new republics of Ukraine and Byelorussia and he gives in detail the progress of the movement for liberation among the Mohammedan peoples; the arising of the Bashkir, Kirghiz, Turkestan, and Tatar republics, the Transcaucasian federation and also their gradual defeat by the Bolsheviks. In analyzing the methods of the Bolshevik success, the author has tried to present clearly the development of the complicated relations and the reasons which facilitated the Bolshevik victory over the movements for national liberation. Unfortunately we must regret that in his work he has not touched even briefly upon the mistakes and the failure of the Western world to pay attention to the events of the time and the successes of the Bolsheviks chiefly in connection with the nationality problems.

The author correctly evaluates the phenomena of the decline of revolutionary ardor and he shows that in every case the decisive factor was not the dialectic scheme of disintegrating the national movements from within (as the Bolshevik sources and in their wake some Western authors claim) but the red army, its merciless terror, and the centralizing goal, set from above, of the Russian Communist Party (RKP) and its fundamental imperialistic base, the Russian Soc. Fed. Republic (R.S.F.S.R.).

The author also shows the opportunistic role of the Russian colonial bureaucracy and also the Russian workers in the lands of the non-Russian nationalities who in their imperial Russian chauvinism cooperated at once with the Bolsheviks against the local population.

Some of his digressions into the history of the non-Russian peoples are not entirely correct. For example, he states: (p.9) "The Ukrainians and Byelorussians (22.3 and 5.8 millions respectively in 1897) descended from the Eastern Slav tribes which had been separated from the main body of Russians as a result of the Mongolian invasions and Polish-Lithuanian conquest of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries." This is scarcely historically credible and true.

In his account of the Ukrainian movements for liberation he uses Ukrainian historical material and has presented in general objectively the period of the Central Rada and the German-Austrian occupation of Ukraine, but he has a generally negative attitude toward the period of the Directory. On the whole he has passed over with the term of "chaos" the critical years of the war with the Bolsheviks, 1919 and 1920, when the Bolsheviks were near to stretching out their hand to the Communist revolutions in the West and when the war in Ukraine was to a large, if not decisive, degree the barrier to their breaking through to the West (p. 142-3).

In describing the Directory (p.144) the author gives material of its opponents (thus such an objective observer as A.O. Margolin is cited only with a note which the author treats with unbelief!). The role and influence of the Riflemen of the Sich in these struggles are depicted not on the basis of the work of Prof. Reshetar, even though it is mentioned in the bibliography.

The interest of scientific objectivity demands a more detailed study of this period and now it is the more easy since the historian has sufficient perspective, the experience of the so-called popular fronts and the new example of such successful weapons used by the Bolsheviks as provocation, the art of producing "chaos" in the rear of the enemy, etc..

In summing up his observation on the Ukrainian movement for liberation (pp. 149-50) he objectively completes his general description. In only one expression—favorable generally—that the Ukrainian leaders after the fall of the Provisional Government overestimated their own strength and did not establish good relations with the Russian democratic groups, the author does not indicate these clearly and speaks of them only in general terms. They did not exist. Russian anti-Communist democracy was powerless.

Despite these modest criticisms of the work of Dr. Pipes, we consider it as a valuable step in studies on the history of Bolshevik imperialism.

The author has made serious attempts to collect and to use competently and objectively a very large bibliography. He has given a clear bird's eye view of such a broad and complicated problem as the origin of the USSR. We must emphasize with special gratitude the scientific deserts of the author for his book

which like that of Reshetar calls attention to one of the most important aspects of the revolution, the efforts of the non-Russian peoples for liberation, a fact important not only for history but for the actual conditions of our own days and a field only a few years ago a *terra incognita* in America.

Chicago

DR. E. VYTANOVYCH

THE IMPACT OF RUSSIAN CULTURE ON SOVIET COMMUNISM, by Dinko Tomasic, *The Free Press*, Glencoe, Illinois, 1953.

This remarkable study is deserving of careful reading and thought on the part of anyone seriously interested in the real nature of Russian Communism. It is recommended especially to those who superficially view Communism as some sort of ideology that somehow and under unexplained, mysterious circumstances implanted itself in Russia. The author dispels this view quickly, and demonstrates with careful scholarship the highly receptive Russian environment for what, rather inaccurately and erroneously, has come to be known as international communism. This work is unquestionably a marked contribution to our sociological and institutional knowledge and understanding of what is really that Russian cultural totalitarianism that manifests itself in the political totalitarianism of modern Muscovy.

The major institutional facets of Russian Communism are clearly shown as continuous products of the dark Russian past with scarcely any relationship to Marxism and systematic communist theory. After going through this learned work the reader cannot avoid the inescapable conclusion that the Marxist ideology professed by Moscow is mere babble within the empire and a means of deceiving the free world. The author reveals with outstanding clarity the institutional precedents to the prominent features of contemporary Russian totalitarianism which, as in the past, certifies itself by some source of ideological authority. The real, existential aspects of Russian Communism come brutally to the fore only after the imperialist enslavement of some non-Russian nation. Complete Russification and genocide were started in much the same pattern and by the same methods as in the Muscovy of the past.

On several historical points the author is obviously mistaken, largely because of his admitted dependence on the works of Vernadsky. He writes, for example, of "Russian society" in the 9th century, although the term Russian itself did not actually come into use until the 18th century. In another section he soundly observes that "the Ukrainian family is the basis of the Ukrainian democracy" (p. 35); yet, with reference to the same early period he confuses his terminology, not to mention the uninformed reader, by speaking of "The old Russian Chronicle of Kiev (12th century)" (p. 33). However, aside from these early historical criticisms, once he plunges into the period of modern history, where, curiously, these points of unfortunate confusion are spontaneously resolved by his ready acceptance of established national distinctions between Ukrainians and Russians, his presentation is sound and thoroughly convincing.

He analyzes in great detail the Mongol traditions of the Muscovites and, as the author well shows, these go a long way in explaining the non-European character of Russian Communism. The typical Messianic obsession of the Muscovites, both past and present, receives full treatment in a coherent and intelligible analysis of its striking compatibility with the ideology of communism. "Expansion, greatness of the state, ideas of grandeur and Messianic ideas of world redemption or world

domination. . . This tendency toward exhibitionism and ideas of greatness was manifested also in the glorification of Russia, and the belief in the sacredness of its exalted mission in the world" (p. 75).

Among many other penetrating insights into the real nature of Russian Communism is the author's observation on Russian racism. As he puts it, "Perhaps the most significant aspect of this self-deification is found in the systematic endeavors of Bolshevik leaders to emphasize the superior qualities of the Great Russian people as compared to other peoples of the Soviet Union. The Great Russians form less than half of the population of the Soviet Union, but they are the dominant nation in the state. The top Party bodies and the government and the managerial hierarchies, are overwhelmingly composed of the Great Russians or of the non-Russians who have been thoroughly Russified" (p. 214). Specific facts supporting this observation are overwhelming.

It is hoped that this work is only the beginning of productive American research into the institutional pathology of Russian totalitarianism which colors even the thinking of numerous anti-communist Russian emigres whose disservice to our knowledge of the Soviet Union and its many nations is becoming increasingly appreciated in many circles and institutions. This book spells out in flesh and bone the real content of Russian Communism against a background of historical development without which an understanding of this phenomenon is impossible.

Georgetown University

LEV E. DOBRIANSKY.

ADDRESS at Radcliffe College, by George F. Kennan. The Congressional Record, June 22, 1954, Washington.

It is perhaps no wonder that Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas should sponsor the addresses of Mr. Kennan in the official record of our Government. In their vague and confused views they stand as two of a kind. For the one the fight against Communism is reduced almost to the naive program of Point Four; for the other, it is this and mere containment, patience, while the enemy prepares himself for greater and more decisive aggressions, and philosophical hope that something will work to our advantage in one way or another. This address is made up largely of such homiletics.

First, Mr. Kennan lets it be known that he is not an alarmist, the apt implication being that those who disagree with his fantastic notions are. Of course, non-alarmism is a quality of several states of mind. Then he proceeds to tell his audience that he has never been too anxious over our conflict with "the Soviet power."

Second, Mr. Kennan shows also a non-anxiety toward the communist conspiracy and its subversive dealings in this country. He declares, "We ought not to forget that we have witnessed in these recent months the spectacle of many millions of Americans unable to put in its place and to assess with any degree of balance and equanimity the time-honored and unexceptional phenomenon of foreign political activity, intrigue, and espionage in our midst — phenomenon which no great power has ever been spared throughout the course of human history, and from which surely no other great power is immune today." One need only read James Burnham's *The Web of Subversion* to recognize just who has lost, if ever he had, his balance and equanimity for there is an important distinction to be drawn between the activity of paid espionage and the mass "legal" subversion pursued by the communists.

THE MIND OF MODERN RUSSIA By Hans Kohn, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N.J., 1955. P. 281.

Hans Koch, the most prominent expert in the United States on the nationality problems of Eastern Europe has published a new book on the same subject, *The Mind of Modern Russia*. The table of contents shows that it treats not only the mind of modern Russians but also the opinions of other Slavic authors on modern Russia. In the foreword the author rightly remarks that "*The Union of Soviet Republics, ruled from the Kremlin, in the heart of Moscow, cannot be understood without a knowledge of the political and social thought of its predecessors.*" This statement is especially important because the amateur researchers on the USSR in this country are too often inclined, under the influence of Russian propaganda to dissociate the present Soviet Russian regime from the Russian historical past, although this connection is clear for such Russian authorities as Berdyaev, G. Fedotov and Peter Struve.

The volume of Hans Koch is a series of selected quotations with introductory remarks by the author. He has skilfully chosen them from Russian and non-Russian thinkers and writers who have discussed the role of the Russian Empire in the world.

Chronologically the author gives us the opinions about Russia expressed by Chaadaev, Pogodin, Tyutchev, Khomyakov and Aksakov, who represent the conservative camp of Russian writers in the first half of the 19th century. In the opinion of the Russian Panslavists, the Russian autocracy had a special God-given destiny for the Russian God-chosen people to save mankind. If we compare these mystical thoughts of the reactionaries of the middle of the 19th century with the beliefs of the Russian Communists of our own times, that they have to reform the human race from the headquarters of world Communism in Moscow, we will have the proof that Russian Communism has deep roots in the Russian past. The camouflage for this Russian domination of the world was formerly Panslavic ideas; now it is Communism.

The author also shows how the outstanding leaders of the other Slav peoples vigorously rejected these ambitions of Moscow. The book contains quotations from Mickiewicz and especially Havlíček, the forerunner of Thomas G. Masaryk as a creator of the Czech democratic mind.

Mickiewicz tried to substitute for Russian messianism a similar Polish messianism. Havlíček criticizes both. He refuses to accept any special role for the Russians or Poles in the Slavic world. In 1846 he showed that the struggle between Poland and Russia was an immoral struggle for the skins of the third East European people, the Ukrainians. "I turn now to the most important part of my discussion," he wrote "to the condition which really decides the whole nature of the panslavism. That is the relationship among Russians, Ukrainians and Poles. . . First Kiev and the Ukrainians ruled; there the first great power rose, so that it seemed that Poland and present-day Russia would be incorporated in it. Soon however the great empire of Vladimir fell and with it the prospects of independence for the Ukrainians. . . I soon recognized that Peter is like Paul, Russia like Poland. . . We must not look on the Russian-Polish relations with such a blind eye as the greater part of Europe does; we should not think of an innocent lamb and a wolf, but know that there wolf meets wolf and we shall say later that the lamb among them is the Ukrainian. . . The Ukraine is the apple of discord which fate threw between those two nations" (p.87).

The Russian thinkers of the later part of the 19th century are sharply divided between the followers of Russian messianism as represented by Dostoyevsky and Danilevsky and the progressives as Belinsky, Chernyshevsky, Herzen and Bakunin. The most sympathetic figure among the Russian progressives is Herzen, a real liberal and a fighter for the freedom of his country against the reactionaries as well as the left terrorists. Herzen realizes the one truth that the Russian people are unable to win their own freedom, if they deny freedom to the non-Russian peoples, especially the Ukrainians and the Poles. Herzen declares that the Ukrainian people have a full right to be independent. The attitude of Russians toward the Ukrainian people will decide what the Ukrainians will choose: to be independent or in a free federation with Russia. The Westerner Solovyev stands with his universal ideas between the ultranationalist school of Dostoyevsky and the Communist Lenin. Thinkers of our time, Berdyaev and Fedotov, conclude the volume.

This work is a very valuable addition to the American literature on the Soviet Union. The author has expertly chosen the most typical representatives of the modern Russian mind. His introductions are thoroughly objective; he does not tell us to accept his opinions, and in presenting his quotations, he recommends to the reader to understand the mind of the writers by their own reading and to draw their own conclusions.

In our opinion the most interesting selection is the opinion of Havlíček on Russia, Poland and Ukraine. This talented Czech author more than one hundred years ago (1846), understood clearly the truth about Russia, Poland and Ukraine, and to-day, a century later the majority of the professors of European history in American colleges have not yet learned this and so too some times the kinsmen of Havlíček.

N. CHUBATY

SOVIET EMPIRE. THE TURKS OF CENTRAL ASIA AND STALINISM. By Olaf Caroe. London, Macmillan, 1953. 300 p. \$5.

This is the latest history of the Turkic peoples of Central Asia and especially the history of their conquest by Russia. While Western scholars usually look at these Asiatic peoples as the former conquerors of a great part of Europe, it is interesting to meet in this work something from the other point of view, i. e. from the East. The author, himself of Turkic origin, has spent almost his entire life on the Indian-Afghan border. He has a good knowledge of the Turkish and Russian languages, and a good command of the sources, sees the problems, studies them seriously and analyzes them on the whole correctly.

The period between the October Revolution and the strengthening of the Soviet government in Central Asia was filled with battles against the manifestations of local nationalism. The author warmly mentions the outstanding leaders of the Turkish peoples of this period as Mustapha Chokay and Zeki Velidi Tagan. It is also worthy of note what interest Turkey which had been defeated in the World War I showed in the fate of the eastern Turks by sending to them Enver Pasha to support the Basmach movement against the Bolsheviks.

After the definite domination by the Bolsheviks of the former Turkestan, here began the well thought-out efforts of the Bolsheviks to strengthen themselves in the conquered land. One of the first of these was the division of the entire territory into several national districts, which in the course of some ten years

became one after the other Soviet republics. The author naturally refers to the formation of the five Central Asian republics but he cannot deny that the Tadzhiks, who speak Persian have little in common with the Kirghiz from whom they also separated the Kazakhs, an unfortunate people who suffered under the Bolsheviks during collectivization a massacre not smaller than did the Ukrainian people. The fact is that the most cultured and also the richest people in this area, the Uzbeks, differ in language, customs and history from the Turkmens, who are the smallest in the Soviet state and party machinery.

Then comes the most interesting part of the book; the depiction of the systematic methods by which the Bolsheviks broke all these freedom-loving peoples and subdued them. The author places first the violent russification, carried on consistently. Among these are the Russian colonization, the occupation of all the leading posts by Russians, the compulsory study of the Russian language in the schools and the separation of the eastern Turks from any influences but Russian. The abolition and banning of the Arabic script and its replacement by Latin was very shortlived. It cut the Moslem youth off from the written Arabic script of the older literature, especially the religious, but it gave the possibility of reading the new books published in the Latin alphabet in Turkey by Kemal Ataturk, when these works reached Central Asia. So in the 1930's there was made a further change; the introduction of the Russian script for the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmen and Tadzhik languages and all other dialects.

In his patriotic and intelligible aversion to the newcomers from the west, the author does not note one important fact. He more than once groups together Russians and Ukrainians as Slavic peoples who are coming to the lands of Central Asia, settling among the local Turkic population and forcing it slowly from its native lands. He does not even mention that the Ukrainians in Kazakhstan and the other Central Asiatic republics did not leave their beautiful native land of their own accord to settle in the steppes and sands of Kazakhstan. The author does not know or is silent about the fact that the policy of Moscow, both tsarist and Bolshevik, is against their Ukrainian neighbors, was and is as ruthless and savage to them as to the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

It is also unjust in our opinion to give in the statistical tables the entire Slavic population of Central Asia under the heading "Russians" (excluding the Ukrainians). The linguistic map of Central Asia prepared by Dr. Stefan Wurm of Vienna University and printed at the end of the book gives correctly in accordance with the situation the 16 linguistic areas in Kazakhstan in which the Slavs predominate. Eight are inhabited by Russians and eight by Ukrainians.

The book of Olaf Caroe on the Soviet policy in Central Asia deserves especial attention in the light of the events of the last years: the communizing of their great neighbor in the East-China and the withdrawal of England from India, which is now separated only by the weak state of Afghanistan from the Soviet Central Asia.

YURI FEDYNSKY.

THE HISTORICAL PATH OF ORTHODOXY. A. Shneman. Chekhov Publishing House New York, 1954. P. 388 (in Russian).

The author gives us in this interesting book a synthesis of Orthodoxy from the Apostolic times to the present. He treats at especial length the origin and characteristic features of Slavic Orthodoxy and dwells chiefly on the historical development of Russian Orthodoxy.

During the period of the General Councils (4—9th cent.) recognized by both the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches, the author acknowledges that the leadership of the Roman Popes in matters of faith and even of church discipline was acknowledged also in the east. From his Orthodox point of view, he draws the conclusion that the Catholic Church changed the dogmas of faith, although he admits that the Eastern Church treated these questions not as differences of faith. The differences between the Churches of the east and west developed in a political and cultural field. Even the division of the Churches under Cerularius in 1054 had as its basis not the differences in faith but the ambitions of the Patriarchs of the East and West, which even the Byzantine emperors could not overcome.

The author treats in more detail the beginning of Slavic Christianity and asserts that the missionary activity of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, although organized by the Byzantine Church, was under the protection of Rome.

The author describes impartially the formation of the Bulgarian Church and its efforts to secure its independence from the Byzantine Patriarchate; as a result the Bulgarian Church wavered between Rome and Byzantium in its efforts to be autocephalous.

The most interesting section is that on Christianity in Russia, in which the author like the old Russian advocates of unity includes Ukraine. He does not recognize any special religious character of the Ukrainian people and his book does not show definitely that he recognizes their existence as a people.

He indulges in superlatives in speaking of Kievan Christianity; he emphasizes its deep Christian spirit which was superior to national passions. He recognizes the truly religious spirit of the church literature of Kievan Rus'-Ukraine, the height of its theology, its spirit of freedom and the chivalrous character of the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign*. All were the fruits of the independence of the Church from the state.

He declares that none of these qualities existed in the Russian Church of the Moscow period, for the Church was entirely in the service of Moscow imperialism, often contrary to Christian morality and the self respect of the spiritual authority. Conditions were no better in the Russian Church of the imperial period.

The author despite himself proves these two facts of the higher inspired Kievan and the lower Moscow Christianity, but why does he not make clear, although the answer is evident, that they were Churches of two different peoples? The first was the Church of the freedom-loving Ukrainian people, the second the Church of the Russian people who paid a high price—religious decay—for their empire.

The author looks at the Church Union in Ukraine through the eyes of the old Russian historians as a Polish intrigue, although he cannot explain why the entire hierarchy followed the path and the Greek Catholicism became anti-Polish.

The author treats the Ukrainian Orthodoxy of the time of Petro Mohyla little differently from the Union. He sees in it the same Latin heresies and for him the *Catechism of the Orthodox Faith* by Peter Mohyla is almost a textbook of the Catholic Faith.

The work is written in an interesting manner and we must admit that the author has boldly set forth those arguments of an opponent which lead the reader to independent thought with results often contrary to those which the author himself reaches.

UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF UKRAINE," Special Report, No. 4. Select Committee on Communist Aggression, House of Representatives, 83d Congress, Wash., D.C., 1955.

The recent contributions to the thinking and understanding of Americans on the subject of aggressive Russian Communism by the Select House Committee on Communist Aggression will certainly in short time make themselves felt in all of our institutions. Under the able leadership of the Honorable Charles J. Kersten of Wisconsin and with the scientific resources of Georgetown University, the Committee has produced an impressive series of studies covering every captive non-Russian nation in Europe, including the ones in the Soviet Union itself. This special report on Ukraine, the largest of the non-Russian nations, is an important part of this valuable series which should be extensively used in every American institution of learning.

Following the standard format of the series, the report presents a readable, scientific account of the history of the Ukrainian nation since the ninth century. Its major stress is, of course, on the period since 1917, when Ukraine, along with other non-Russian nations in the Russian Empire, prepared for its independent statehood in the face of the first aggressions committed by Russian Communism. Every paramount event and episode in the struggle of the Ukrainian nation against imperialist Moscow receives expert treatment in this comprehensive study.

The chief value of the study is its official demolition of the many myths that have been circulated in this country regarding the Soviet Union. For some time, the communists in the United States circulated the myth of harmony and bliss among the various nations in the U.S.S.R. and paid tribute to Stalin, the self-appointed expert on the so-called "nationalities problem," for this alleged political accomplishment. At the same time, many insular Russian emigres, much like the Grand Duke Alexander as quoted below, continued to obscurantize American knowledge of this area by brazenly denying the very existence of Ukraine and the other non-Russian nations under the misleading name of Russia. The net effect of both campaigns was American public disinformation which obviously conduces only to the advantage of Moscow. Fortunately, this disadvantageous effect is now being substantially offset by this priceless contribution of a unique congressional committee.

After reading this factually-packed study, the average student in our high school or college would find himself prepared to detect the motives and the distortions of the myth-churners. For example, if he were confronted by a passage such as the one that follows, he would avoid the pitfalls of understanding into which it leads. "When in early spring of 1920 I saw the headlines of the French newspapers announcing the triumphal march of Pilsudsky through the wheat fields of southwestern Russia, something snapped inside me and I forgot that

scarcely a year had passed since the assassination of my brothers. All I could think was: 'The Poles are about to take Kieff! The perennial enemies of Russia are about to cut off the Empire from its western borders! I dared not declare myself, but listening to the nonsensical chatter of the refugees and looking at their faces lit with smiles, with every drop of my blood I wished victory to the Red Army' (*Always a Grand Duke*, Alexander, Grand Duke of Russia, 1933, pp. 128-29). The historical scene was the fight of the independent Ukrainian National Republic for its life. The quoted passage is a common case in the political pathology of Russia's empire builders, whether white or red.

"INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS OF THE U.S.S.R.," eighth interim report of hearings. Select Committee on Communist Aggression, House of Representatives, 83d Congress, Wash., D.C., 1954.

Much of the factual basis for part of the special report above was provided by this well ordered volume of hearings. Another source, residing in the committee's official record for possible future publication, is a mass of depositions and testimonies containing valuable data and material on this subject of the Russian Communist occupation of Ukraine.

These hearings cover every essential aspect of Russian Communist tyranny in Ukraine. In most instances they are eye-witness reports on the tragedies investigated, drawn from carefully screened people in all walks of life. To the lasting credit of this unprecedented congressional committee, the procedures employed in ferreting out all the basic information were scientific in every respect, and made possible a mine of assembled data that could fill countless white books on the Soviet Union. The committee has provided a storehouse of intellectual weapons available for effective use against the U.S.S.R. in the United Nations and throughout the free world. In throwing aside the intellectual iron curtain that for so long has hidden the tragedies and struggles of the captive non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, notably the Ukrainian, the Kersten Committee has truly performed an invaluable service to the freedom cause of the non-communist world. Significantly, in no other free country has this been done in the proportions that it has been done here. Its profound service in deepening the faith and adherence of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians and others in the ideals for which America stands, goes virtually without saying.

"SUMMARY REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON COMMUNIST AGGRESSION." House of Representatives, 83rd Congress, Washington, D. C., 1954.

In its summary report the Kersten Committee methodically presents its basic findings, a number of conclusive recommendations, a concise description of the pattern of Communist aggression, certain founded generalizations on spheres of life under Communist tyranny, and a novel and well prepared table of Communist aggression. The perspective of the summary is a historically sound one, showing that Communist aggression commenced immediately after World War I and not, as so many people mistakenly believe, at the start of World War II. Its specific recommendations range from the withdrawal of diplomatic recognition of communist-dominated states to the concrete adoption of a dynamic policy of liberation. For a general, balanced view of the undertaking of this remarkable committee, in

effect, to see the picture of the march of communist aggression since 1917 in its totality, this report is really preliminary reading to the other brilliant productions of this leading congressional committee on communism.

"KERSTEN IS GOING TO WAR," a commentary. *Izvestia*, Moscow, January 7, 1955.

It was most comforting for those aiding the efforts of the Kersten Committee to witness the degree to which Moscow was discomfited by the published truths of the committee's reports. The official organ of the Soviet Government launches a strong attack on the reports in this commentary. Whoever wrote this, which is supposed to exude humor based on a tale about refrigerators, must possess a Russian Arctic temperament. As could be expected, the alleged argumentation is all extraneous and vehemence of disjointed expression is its paramount feature. For instance, we read, "From May to August of last year, this suspicious Committee, headed by its no less suspicious chief, travelled all over Europe in order to recruit all sorts of human dregs, emigrant scum, criminals who have fled the countries of the democratic camp, and form out of them a legion of spies and diversionists." How this matches the committee's purpose and function in Europe to conduct hearings is in defiance of human reason; but, then, how much of this can one find on Animal Farm.

"200,000,000 SLAVES", by David Lawrence. U.S. News and World Report, Wash., D.C., February 18, 1955.

Assessing the general political and economic situation in the Soviet Union, this renowned columnist holds to the belief that the U.S.S.R. is on the road to a major revolution. The dismissal of Malenkov he views as a major sign of weakness in the dictatorship, and he enumerates other sources of weakness. One of the major ones is the centrifugal force represented by the majority non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. As he puts it, "Inside the Soviet Union are more than a score of major nationalities. There are only about 80,000,000 Russians. The other nationalities—around 120,000,000 persons—have little feeling of patriotism about anything Russian. The so-called 'Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' is a paper description of a loose federation held together only by the iron hand of the dictatorship group."

Despite the fact that Mr. Lawrence certainly views the situation in its proper factual light, we can only hope that it is "the iron hand of the dictatorship group" alone that makes the difference. A careful study of the formation and development of the Soviet Union discloses no substantial evidence of any kind that there is any Russian opposition to the Moscow dictatorship, save, perhaps, that of the Siberyaks in Soviet Asia. Preceded by numerous other declarations of like kind, on July 12, 1953 *Izvestia* emphasized that "The decisive role belongs to the great Russian people. The Russian people have earned this right as an outstanding, leading nationality of the U.S.S.R." The *New York Times*, in an editorial on "Ukrainian Anniversary," published on May 31, 1954, pointed out that "... the reality today is Kremlin oppression and Russification of the Ukraine". In short, to ignore the base of the dictatorship group is to expose ourselves to a grave naivete in our conduct toward the Soviet Union. This intellectual recognition of the historical totalitarian complex of Russian institutions does not preclude, of course, any determined effort on our part to wean the average Russian from supporting the

Moscow regime, but not with a compromise of principle and charitable justice toward other enslaved peoples.

"COMMUNISM'S FOREMOST ENEMIES", a commentary. *Freedom's Facts Against Communism*, Wash., D.C., February, 1955.

Starting from the All-Union Soviet Writers' Congress in Moscow in December 1954, this stimulating publication of the All-American Conference to Combat Communism shows that the two foremost enemies of communism are "cosmopolitanism" and "bourgeois nationalism". Translating these Soviet concepts into English, the editor accurately defines the former as free individual expression and the latter as national patriotism—"the simple love of one's own country". Moreover, he correctly states that of the two, "nationalism is by far the Red's most dangerous foe", and describes Moscow's conquest and domination of the non-Russian nations back in 1917-20. "The Ukraine, Byelorussia and Georgia took the brunt of this drive to destroy nationalism and replace it with Soviet patriotism".

The ideological weapon for the eventual demise of aggressive Communism is enlightened nationalism, a weapon that the United States still has to make effective use of, especially in connection with the non-Russian nations in the USSR. As pointed out in the preceding issue of this publication, under the editorial caption, "Troubles In the Soviet Bloc", "Refugees report that underground movements exist in Poland, Lithuania, the Ukraine, Slovakia, Hungary and Rumania, where national pride as well as hate of communism motivates their fight against the communist tyranny".

"THREE DESIGNS FOR CHECKMATING COMMUNISM", by William Henry Chamberlin. *The Russian Review*, New York, January 1955.

Considering what are deemed as three designs for checkmating communism, the writer rejects the policy of containment for one of liberation. But, in contrast to the logical and precise thinking of Professor James Burnham on the subject, the reasoning of this author appears quite weak as to the meaning of the liberation policy and the implied scope of its application. One design, toward which the writer leans, is that pursued by the National Committee for Free Europe, for which liberation means only part of Europe, namely up to Medika, an obscure West Ukrainian village bordering Communist Poland. The second design is that of the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism which, according to the writer, interprets the liberation goal as merely driving "a wedge between the peoples of the Soviet Union and their Communist rulers". The third design of the American liberation policy is portrayed as the rearmament of Germany.

If one has carefully studied Burnham's unsurpassed work on this subject, "Containment or Liberation?", he cannot but be impressed by the acute shortcomings of each of these designs. In fact, there is valid rational ground to doubt their liberationist character. None in actuality engenders real political warfare on the terrain of the communist empire. The communist consolidation program goes on virtually untouched by the activities of any of these groups or designs. For an effective program of liberation one can do well to read Burnham's masterpiece and the recommendations of the House Select Committee on Communist Aggression. At least true to our traditions and moral precepts, the principle of liberation is upheld by both in its intrinsic universal character.

L. E. D.

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