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**UKRAINIAN  
REVIEW**



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# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

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**A Quarterly Magazine**

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**Prof. Dr. V. Derzhavyn, Prof. Dr. V. Oreletsky,**

**and**

**Mrs. Slava Stetzko**

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Rostyslav Yendyk

## THE ERA BEFORE SHEVCHENKO

The true significance of the personality of Taras Shevchenko for the rebirth of Ukraine can only be realized if one considers the history of a hundred years — namely the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. And in this respect not only the standard of Ukrainian literature, but also that of the entire political life must be taken into account. For the Ukrainians have good reason to call Shevchenko their prophet. By this they wish to emphasize that he guided the whole nation onto new paths and opened up new prospects to it. Seen from this aspect, the 19th century, to the Ukrainians, is the Shevchenko century, in which all the important events in their intellectual world seemed to derive their origin from him.

The threshold between the 18th and 19th century is the zero point in Ukraine's political defeat. The alliance between the great Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Moscow had already reached its conclusion, that is to say, Russia had realised her plan to incorporate the allied independent state of Ukraine in her own territory. In the field of religion this plan was achieved by the annulment of the autonomous rights of the Ukrainian Church in 1685, by the prohibition to print Ukrainian books in 1720, by the abolition of the Hetmanate in 1764 and by the annihilation of the Cossack Sich in 1775.

These facts indicate the culmination of the Russian subjugation of Ukraine and also the grim fight that claimed countless victims; they are proof of Russian ruthlessness and brutality, which is not even paralleled in the conflicts between the West European states.

In this respect it suffices to mention the petition of the North Ukrainian aristocracy in 1767, in which they asked the Tsarina to permit the election of a new Hetman in Ukraine. In answer to this request, the Russian Governor-General, Peter Rumyantsev, dismissed all those concerned from their positions, sentenced them to big fines, and later had them arrested and tried before a court martial. Some of them were sentenced to death, whilst others were exiled to Siberia for the rest of their lives. Such a violent reaction to a petition to the Tsarina shows only too clearly how impossible it was to preserve national rights by legal means.

But illegal means, too, were equally unsuccessful. We should like to quote as a further example the mission of Vasyl Kapnist to Prussia, where he was to try to gain support for the national fight of Ukraine against Moscow. His mission was in keeping with the traditional policy of the Ukrainian Hetmans and was based on the following conviction: the Ukrainian question is an international European problem. The freedom of Ukraine can be attained by making use of the favourable international position of that country in the alliance with other anti-Russian states. This same conviction was also held by the greatest Hetmans, as for instance Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Petro Doroshenko, Ivan Mazepa and Philip Orlyk. It was therefore neither strange to the Cossack nobility nor to their descendants at the end of the 18th century.

Vasyl Kapnist arrived in Berlin in April 1791 and informed the Prussian Minister, Count Hertzberg, that the Ukrainians were being driven to despair by Russian tyranny and that they were anxious to know whether, in the event of a war on the part of Prussia against Russia (*dans lequel cas ils tâcheraient de secouer le joug Russe*), they could count on the support of the Prussian King. Kapnist's mission failed, for Prussia, instead of conducting a war against Russia, got involved in a war with revolutionary France, in which Russia assumed the role of an ally.

Vasyl Kapnist's efforts in this respect and his diplomatic mission did not, however, come to light and he neither paid with his life nor with deportation to Siberia. That is to say, the idea of the political independence of Ukraine was at that time only upheld and fostered by those who held the same political opinion, in clans and families. This does not, however, mean that this idea gradually ceased to exist. The best proof that this was not the case was the friendly attitude of the population towards the French army under Marshal Davoust after the occupation of Mohyliv during Napoleon's campaign in 1812. The inhabitants of the said town were convinced that the time had now come for them to declare themselves against Moscow. What was more, the then Archbishop Varlaam Chychatsky mentioned the Emperor Napoleon in services and prayers and thus recognized the new state order. It was stressed in the official report of the French army that Chychatsky was "un Ukrainien d'origine."

The "Istoriya Russiv" ("History of the Rus People"), whose author has never been discovered, is also a written document and proof of the vitality of the potential state idea of Ukraine. This work was in circulation throughout the entire country and revealed the heroic and great past of Ukraine. "Istoriya Russiv" had an enormous influence on the assessment of historical events in the relations between Ukraine and Moscow; it preserved the continuity of the tradition of Ukrainian sovereignty at least in the hearts and minds of all those who read this work, and its fervent patriotism and the fact that it stressed the characteristic features of the Ukrainian people and their political aspirations provided later historians and writers with a large number of themes.



The fact that the author has continued to remain unknown up to the present day is, incidentally, proof that he was obliged to conceal his identity so as not to become a victim of persecution by the Russian government.

On the whole, the attempts of the Russian government to russify Ukraine only achieved a limited or, at most, an outward degree of success amongst the aristocracy and the wealthy bourgeoisie. They did not affect the masses. The peasantry continued to live as it had always done; it still observed old customs and traditions and sang its own songs and the Cossack "Dumy" or ballads. Thus, the national and inherent substance of Ukraine remained untouched and in the course of time also permeated progressive society. The nobility, whose sons studied abroad and adopted new ideas of freedom, likewise absorbed this national substance.

The living Ukrainian language first appeared in works of a humorous character. This, incidentally, is not entirely an innovation, for it had already appeared in earlier centuries in the interludes, spoken or enacted by students, in the puppet-shows performed at Christmas. For this reason it is, therefore, not surprising that the first literary work which in 1798 ushered in the new era of Ukrainian literature was a travesty of Virgil's "Aeneid," written by Ivan Kotlyarevsky. Kotlyarevsky is not by any means the only writer of this era, but he certainly is the greatest amongst his contemporaries. It can hardly be assumed that Kotlyarevsky intentionally used the language of the people in his work. Since it was written with great talent and the ancient Roman theme was given Ukrainian colouring, it encouraged other writers to follow in the author's footsteps and thus open up a new path not only in Ukrainian literature but also in the entire Ukrainian intellectual world. Kotlyarevsky's "Aeneid" became so popular that it was soon the talk of the whole country. Indeed, even Napoleon took it with him when he retreated after his unsuccessful campaign against Moscow.

Kotlyarevsky was followed by a number of authors who intentionally wrote their works in their native Ukrainian language in order to create an independent Ukrainian literature and rouse the nation from its historical slumbers. Lyric poems, dramas and prose works, artistic novels and stories, which even today still retain their literary value, now began to appear. The romantic writers who furthered the cult of the past played a particularly significant part; the elevation of the language of the masses to a literary language, love of this language and of the nation, — all this was fostered and strengthened during the first decades of the 19th century. All that was needed was a genius who would complete and perfect these earliest beginnings and thus prevent them from being crushed anew by Russian tyranny.

If we can regard all these writers as regional writers, as Professor Volodymyr Derzhavyn rightly affirms, then Shevchenko stands out above them like the Italian poet Dante.

The entire achievement and talent of Shevchenko, on the one hand, bring the earliest beginnings of a new era in Ukrainian literature to a close, but, at the same time, usher in a new era which expresses the highest social and political ideals. These ideals are so noble that they can be accepted as valid for the whole of mankind. In Shevchenko all the yearning of historical and present-day Ukraine is concentrated to such an extent that the written word is synonymous with the deed. And in this respect Shevchenko is an unusual writer. Many themes of the history of Ukraine are reflected in his works; he enriches and ennobles the national philosophy of life of the people and moulds the spirit of the nation. His ardent words in his literary legacy — "Arise and rend your chains asunder!" — resound in the hearts of millions and are so powerful that, no human power can destroy them. This is the reason why the highest title which a people can give its poet was bestowed on him, — that of the national prophet.

**D. Doroshenko**

## TARAS SHEVCHENKO—THE NATIONAL POET OF UKRAINE

Shevchenko's poetical works exercised a powerful influence on Ukrainian literature and the Ukrainian national movement. A. Grigoriev, the well known Russian literary critic, called Shevchenko "the last bard and the first great poet of a great new Slavonic literature." These words convey some idea of the place that Shevchenko occupies in Ukrainian literature. On the other hand, the well-known Ukrainian writer and scholar, P. Kulish, speaking at the burial of the poet, said: "all that is really noble in Ukraine will gather under the banner of Shevchenko."

His volume of verse, the *Kobzar*, has been, since its first appearance, the most widely read book in Ukraine. It is a kind of national Gospel. The memory of the poet is the object of exceptional veneration, and the day of his death (which coincides with his birthday) has ever since been celebrated as a national holiday.

The grave of the poet is an object of pious pilgrimages. As early as 1876, Emile Durand, a French scholar visiting Ukraine, wrote: (In the *'Revue des deux Mondes'*)

"The grave of the poet is never solitary. As soon as the first sunbeams in the spring have melted the snow that covers the country, pilgrims of a new fashion, merry lay pilgrims, come from all sides and stop at the foot of the barrow. They make their meals in the open air sitting on the grass, recite and sing the poems of the poet according to their free fancy. It would be impossible to find elsewhere a poet to whom the almost illiterate crowd would thus render homage such as is usually reserved for sanctuaries or saints."

This homage has increased considerably since then. The popularity of Shevchenko and his influence is not limited to his native country. In 1860, his poems were translated into Russian by the best Russian poets. Several new editions and translations have since appeared, not only in Russian, but also in Polish, Bulgarian, Serbian, Czech and other languages. Bulgarian literature especially was influenced to a considerable degree by the poetical work of Shevchenko. The Bulgarians had fought so long for their national independence that they, more than others, found sympathy with his ideas of national independence.

Besides the translations into Slavonic languages, there are also those in French, German, English, Italian, Swedish. In England there appeared in the Westminster Review (1880) a biography of Shevchenko, and in 1911 a collection of Shevchenko's poems in a beautiful translation by E. L. Voynich, with a biography of the poet, was produced. A. J. Hunter published in Winnipeg, in 1922, a volume of his excellent translations of Shevchenko's poems with biographical fragments; and in 1933 there appeared, also in Winnipeg, a volume of Ukrainian Songs and Lyrics, translated by Honore Ewach, which contains half a dozen of Shevchenko's short lyrical poems.

The name of Shevchenko is to his countrymen a symbol of national sentiment and of aspirations to national independence. Likewise, his work is for a foreigner who would wish to know the life, the soul and the spirit of the Ukrainian people, a true mirror which marvellously reflects the spiritual image of Ukraine.

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### MARTYRDOM OF UKRAINIAN CHURCHES DESCRIBED IN A NEW UCCA BOOK

The fate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church is described in great detail in a new book published by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA). The book, entitled, Persecution and Destruction of the Ukrainian Church by the Russian Bolsheviks, was written by Dr. Gregory Luznycky, noted Ukrainian authority on church history and author of several books on the history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and presently on the editorial board of America, Ukrainian Catholic daily appearing in Philadelphia.

The book is subdivided into four principal chapters: a) "The Origin and Traits of the Russian Church"; b) "The Bloody Persecution of the Ukrainian Church under the Czarist Regime"; c) "Martyrdom and Liquidation of Ukrainian Orthodox Church by the Russian Bolsheviks" and d) "Martyrdom and Liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by the Russian Bolsheviks."

The book by Dr. Luznycky, which contains also 34 illustrations of Ukrainian churchmen and churches, will be a much-needed source for those who are interested in the religious policy of the Soviet government.

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**D. Horniatkevych**

## **SHEVCHENKO THE PAINTER**

It is a well-known fact that Taras Shevchenko was not only the greatest Ukrainian poet but also a talented painter. Indeed, he studied at the Petersburg Academy of Arts with considerable success. At that time the following outstanding artists held professorships at the Academy: Alexis Venezianov, Karl Briullov, Alexander Sauerweid, Feodor Bruni (his real name was Felice), Peter Bassin and Alexis Markov. Other teachers at the Academy in those days were the sculptors Count Feodor Tolstoy, Pavel Utkin, Ivan Vitali and Baron Peter Klodt von Jurgensburg, as well as the engraver Friedrich Jordan.

In his work "Shevchenko the Painter"<sup>1)</sup> Prof. Dmytro Antonovych has given a fairly detailed account of Venezianov's connections with Shevchenko. He points out quite rightly that as a teacher Venezianov could not compete with the young and talented professor Briullov; only a limited number of students attended his classes; those who wished to learn more, and they included Shevchenko, the Ukrainian Mokrytsky and, in all probability, Soshenko, too, preferred Briullov as their teacher.

Venezianov was, however, deeply moved by the hard fate of the serf Shevchenko; on the latter's behalf he got in touch with the landowner Engelhardt, whose serf Shevchenko was, and did not allow himself to be discouraged by the fact that the landowner frequently kept him waiting for hours on end in his ante-chamber. Venezianov's sentimentality and his lyric nature were, of course, — even in those days — closely bound up with his out-of-date form of artistic expression; hence he was no longer able to arouse the enthusiasm of the students with his paintings. He was thus obliged to make way for the masters of a new school — Briullov, Bruni, Tolstoy and Bassin.

Shevchenko's main teacher was Karl Briullov. He was indeed a noble-minded man, — a man of rare qualities. And Shevchenko had the highest admiration and esteem for him. For Briullov was not only his benefactor, not only a model professor, but also his teacher and his best friend. It is therefore not surprising that Shevchenko was influenced by him. And proof of this influence can be seen not merely in the fact that he copied some of Briullov's paintings, for the students were frequently entrusted with the execution of such copies, but in the fact that Shevchenko's earlier paintings undeniably reflect the creative talent of his teacher.





Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861)



**Taras Shevchenko: Self-portrait. 1843**

The Ukrainian poet admired Briullov so greatly that he simply refused to recognize any rival talent. In his diary of July 10, 1857, he compares two sketches of "The Last Day of Pompeii" by Briullov with some sketches by Bruni with obvious disparagement. However, it is an established fact that Shevchenko soon afterwards became more closely connected with Bruni, when, in 1860, that is already after he had received his academic title, he completed a very beautiful and expressive etching of Bruni.

Shevchenko has left no reminiscences on Bassin; hence one can assume that in all probability he had no personal connection or contact with Bassin.

Although Shevchenko's attitude was negative rather than positive to Professor of batalistic painting, Sauerweid, he nevertheless studied batalistic painting under him. This can be seen from his diploma, in which it is stated that he was awarded a silver medal for his work in the field of historical and portrait painting. Incidentally, all students had to attend this course in order to complete their studies and training in art. Proof that Shevchenko also attended this course is a portrait of Sauerweid,<sup>2)</sup> which Shevchenko painted in 1843, that is to say at a time when, by reason of the regulations of the Academy, he was obliged to attend the school of historical painting.

In all probability Shevchenko had no direct contact with the professors of sculpture. In his diary he only mentions Utkin occasionally, whilst his attitude towards Baron Klodt was critical on account of the latter's Krylov monument.

Shevchenko's last professor towards the end of his studies, when he was already preparing himself for the examination competition in order to gain his academic title, was the russified German engraver Friedrich Jordan. Jordan was known for his amazing industry and perseverance. For instance, he worked on the engraving of a copy of Raphael's "Transfiguration of Christ" for 15 years. Although he lived to be eighty-three, his works only number about seventy-five. But his technical talent was undoubtedly great, for Shevchenko, who certainly was exacting, called him an outstanding artist. For Jordan, in a class which lasted an hour, would demonstrate all the latest methods of etching in aquatint. Jordan expressed his willingness to help Shevchenko in every way that he could. And it is highly probable that Shevchenko at that time was about to complete his last work at the Academy, prior to receiving a title, under Jordan, for there is an entry in his diary (of April 24, 1858) to the effect that he has to go and see future professor, Jordan.<sup>3)</sup>

Of the professors of the theoretical sciences, Shevchenko mentions the Secretary of the Academy, Vasyl Hryhorovych, a Ukrainian by birth, who at that time held lectures on the "Theory of the Arts," that is to say on aesthetics. In his diary of July 5, 1857, he writes as follows: "In spite of my sincere love of all that is beautiful in art and in Nature, I have a strong antipathy against all the philosophies and

aesthetics. I owe this feeling in the first place to Galich<sup>4)</sup> and to a great extent to the esteemed Vasyl Ivanovych Hryhorovych, who formerly delivered lectures to us on the theory of the arts, in which the principle was stressed — think as much as possible and criticize as little as possible." Later, in his exile, Shevchenko changed his aesthetic philosophy of life under the influence of the Polish theoretician Libelt, who emphasized the contrast between the creative power of imagination and reasoned abstraction. It is, incidentally, an established fact that Hryhorovych was also one of Shevchenko's benefactors who helped him to become freed from serfdom.

Of the other professors of the auxiliary sciences, only the following are named in the jubilee edition of the Academy of Arts: Apollo Shchedrin, who was in charge of the head professorship for the theory of architecture, and Ilya Buyalsky, who from 1830 onwards lectured on anatomy. During the summer months, Buyalsky illustrated his lectures with drawings and special sculptures, whereas during the winter his lectures took the form of object-lessons with the aid of actual anatomical specimens supplied by the Faculty of Medicine. The President of the Academy, Olenin, in all probability held lectures himself on archaeology; he has left a number of works on this subject to posterity. The professor who lectured on the art of perspective was Maksim Vorobyov, whose book "Linear Perspective" was described by Shevchenko as "outstanding and excellent."

The names of a number of persons who occupy a place of honour in Ukrainian culture are closely bound up with the Academy of Arts in Petersburg, as, for instance, Lysenko, Levytsky, Borovykovsky, Martos, Shevchenko, Gue, Slaktion, Martynovych, Vasylykivsky, Samokysha, Krasytzky, Narbut and, lastly, Ilya Repin. In our opinion it is not so much the attitude of Russian science to the national affinity of the Ukrainian artists, whom it is often wont to appropriate for itself, that is of importance; for without doubt the Ukrainian artists clearly professed their affinity with Ukrainian culture and no one ventures to dispute this. What is of far greater importance in this connection is the fact that all these artists of the Academy were awarded the highest prizes, gold and silver medals and scholarships for research studies abroad, and that some of them actually received professorships, in one case even the office of rector, at the said Academy. Their work was thus attended by the highest success.

### Criteria in assessing the artistic legacy of Shevchenko

Shevchenko's achievements in the field of painting aroused and still arouse considerable interest on the part of research scholars. Incidentally, a record number (10) of monographs on this subject in the Ukrainian language has been written. In addition, two monographs were published in Russian, as well as countless articles in Ukrainian, Polish and German.



At the same time, various peculiar views were erroneously held on the subject of Shevchenko's artistic creativeness, since it was not always rightly understood by research scholars and, indeed, even interpreted falsely. We are referring in this respect, above all, to the academician Fedir Korsh and to the Ukrainian writer and poet Ivan Franko. The latter in his dedication on the occasion of the birth-centenary of Shevchenko expressed the following opinion: "...He was an unschooled layman and led professors and scholars onto new, enlightened and free paths."<sup>5</sup>) Fortunately, Franko only chose these words for effect and in order to stress the greatness of the poet.

Another question which has given rise to some discussion is that of the influence of Briullov and Rembrandt on Shevchenko's work in the field of painting. The third question concerns the position occupied by Shevchenko in the sphere of Ukrainian and European art.

The doubts entertained by the academician Korsh with regard to Shevchenko's education have long since been refuted. This question was dealt with in a convincing way by the Ukrainian writer Bohdan Lepky in his monograph "Shevchenko on Art" (Salzwedel 1920). The article "The Petersburg Academy of Arts in the Days of Taras Shevchenko" by Damian Horniatkevych, which was published in the first issue of "Shevchenko," edited by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UWAN), USA, 1952, pp. 11-21, can be regarded as a supplement to Lepky's excellent elucidation. Nowadays this question can be regarded as an attempt at a naive and superfluous apologia. For Shevchenko achieved his high standard of education at the Petersburg Academy of Arts, and he later perfected it still further by his own work in the field of the history of art, archaeology and literature, which in view of his brilliance was an easy matter for him and one that was crowned with far greater success than the efforts and achievements of average specialists and research scholars.

As regards the influence of Briullov and, indirectly, of Rembrandt on Shevchenko's graphic works and paintings, this question has been carefully examined by the outstanding research scholars of his artistic legacy, namely Oleksiy Novytsky, Kost' Shyroky, Dmytro Antonovych and Volodymyr Sichynsky. They agree in their views, namely that Shevchenko was only temporarily influenced by these two great masters of painting. Briullov's influence on Shevchenko was, in the first place, sentimental and sensitive in character and then passed into the sphere of purely artistic means. We should at this point like to stress the fact that Briullov helped Shevchenko in an almost unparalleled manner; it is therefore not surprising that Shevchenko felt in his inmost heart that he wanted to show his gratitude to his teacher. We have, unfortunately, no biographical data to enable us to ascertain what Briullov's attitude was towards his other pupils, that is to say whether his exceptional solicitude for Shevchenko was characteristic of his personality, or whether there was some other aim behind it. It is, however, safe to affirm that Briullov assessed and appreciated Shevchenko's intellectual qualities in a fitting manner, for he saw fit

to include him in the group of his closest friends and intimates. Shevchenko was full of praise and admiration for Briullov. No doubt, Briullov with his extraordinary pedagogical talent was, in fact, outstanding amongst the professors of the Petersburg Academy of Arts at that time; and it therefore seems quite natural that a large number of his pupils imitated this master both in technical and colourist respect and also as regards composition. This influence is expressed in the paintings produced by Shevchenko during the first period of his creative activity.

In the subsequent years, however, Shevchenko freed himself from this dependence, — to begin with, in his themes, and, later, too, in his technique. In his diary of July 1, 1857, Shevchenko gives clear proof of his complete rebirth and, at the same time, of his complete independence as an artist and poet whilst he was still studying under Briullov, when he says: "I lived in his (Briullov's, — translator's note) quarters, or, rather, in his studio. And what did I do there? What did I occupy myself with in this shrine? It is perhaps difficult to guess... In those days I composed Ukrainian poems, which burdened my poor soul so heavily. In the presence of his wonderful works, I dreamt and pondered, whilst, at the same time, my blind Kobzar (bard) and the wayward and courageous Haydamaks were being created in my heart. In the dusk of his beautifully appointed and luxurious study, which reminded one of the hot and wild steppes on the River Dnipro, the martyred shadows of our unfortunate Hetmans passed before my inward eye. In all its splendour, in all its chaste and melancholy beauty, my lovely, my unhappy Ukraine appeared in my imagination... And I felt I could not turn away my mental gaze from this magic splendour that is so dear to us. It was a spiritual call and nothing else!"

(To be continued)

#### NOTES

1) Dmytro Antonovych: *Taras Shevchenko yak maliar* ("Taras Shevchenko the Painter"). Complete edition of Shevchenko's Works, Vol. XII, Lviv 1937, p. 63 at seq.

2) This portrait, incidentally, as far as its composition is concerned, is not without faults, as if Shevchenko only painted Sauerweid's head from life, whereas the figure itself and even the hands (too short in proportion to the head) were completed from memory. On the other hand, the figure of a soldier with a horse in the genre that is so typical of the batalistic school, corroborates the fact that Shevchenko was well acquainted with this study.

3) It is a pity that Jordan does not mention Shevchenko in his memoirs, seeing that he has recorded numerous details about that other world-famous Ukrainian, Gogol, and various other prominent personalities.

4) Alexander Galich, Russian philosopher, an adherent of the German philosopher Schelling, and the author of the work "Opyt teorii izyashchnago" ("Practical Experience of the Theory of the Beautiful").

5) "Ukrainische Rundschau," Vienna 1914, Jubilee Edition. Dedicated by Ivan Franko, p. 89.



**Taras Shevchenko: A Family.**



**Taras Shevchenko: A Blind Bandurist.**



V. Swoboda

University of London

## SHEVCHENKO AND CENSORSHIP

Among the great poets in modern literature, hardly any attracted the unwelcome attentions of a censor's pencil more readily and extensively than did Shevchenko. Various articles have been written on the subject, but they remain in the obscurity of inaccessible publications, often deal with only one facet or one period of the matter, and, having been published many years ago, are no longer up to date.<sup>1</sup>

Within the limits of the space of the present article, an attempt will be made to establish the chief facts of the case and to trace the factors, trends and causations discernible behind the vagaries of the censor's hand. This survey will not be concerned with Shevchenko's works published outside Russia, since they have not been touched there by censorship proper. It will also leave aside everything except his poetry; in other words, it will deal with the vicissitudes of *Kobzar*, as Shevchenko's collected poetry is traditionally called.

The first edition of *Kobzar* (St. Petersburg, 1840) comprised eight poems, three of which had censor's cuts. It would be difficult, for reasons of space, to quote in full all the passages cut out, so numerous

1. P. Stebnyts'ky, 'Povnyy "Kobzar" v Rosiyi,' *Literaturno-Naukovyy Vistnyk*, 1914, 2, pp. 277-9; eiusd., "Kobzar" pid sudom,' *VUAN, Zapysky Istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu*, IV (1923), Kiev, 1923, pp. 36-48; O. Lotots'ky, 'Yak poyavylosya povne vydannya "Kobzarya",' *Tryzub*, 1926, 23, pp. 4-12; M. Voznyak, 'Z pryvodu dvadtsyatylyttya "Kobzarya" v redaktsiyi V. Domanyts'koho,' *Za sto lit*, V, Kharkiv-Kiev, 1930, pp. 272-304; V. Danilov, 'Tsenzurnaya istoriya "Kobzarya",' *Nachala*, 1922, 2; I. Ayzenshtok, 'Sud'ba literaturnogo nasledstva T. H. Shevchenko,' *Literaturnoye nasledstvo*, XIX-XXI, Moscow, 1935, pp. 419-84; M. Novyts'ky, 'Shevchenko v protsesi 1847 r. i Shevchenkovi papery,' *Ukrayina*, 1925, 1-2, Kiev, pp. 51-99; P. Zaytsev, 'Redaguvannya tekstu Shevchenkovykh poeziy,' 'Pershi try "Kobzari",' *Zhandayms'ka otsinka politychnoho znachynnya pershoho "Kobzaria"*, T. Shevchenko, *Povne vydannya tvoriv*, II, Warsaw, 1934, pp. 211-8, 229-49; eiusd., 'Tekst poeziy Shevchenka vid 1843 r. do zaslannya,' op. cit., III, Warsaw, 1935, pp. 265-9; eiusd., 'Tekst poeziy, napysanykh Shevchenkom na zaslanni,' op. cit., IV, Warsaw, 1937, pp. 341-8; O. Lotots'ky, 'Poeziyi T. Shevchenka pid rosiys'koyu tsenzuroyu,' vol. cit., pp. 370-90; Ye. Krotevych, 'Pershe povne vydannya "Kobzarya" v Rosiyi,' *Literaturna hazeta*, Kiev, 21 February 1961, No. 15, p. 2.

are they, as will be seen later; instead, their chief ideas will be briefly indicated, with line references which will enable the reader to locate the passages in a full edition.<sup>2</sup>

In "Do Osnov'yanenka," in the first cut passage (ll. 26-44) the poet laments that "freedom will not return, nor will the Zaporozhians; the Hetmans will not rise again... [Ukraine], an orphan, in rags, weeps by the Dnieper... The enemy alone rejoices..." Then he complains about his surroundings: "What is more, it's Muscovy, strangers are around me" (ll. 62-3); "[It is hard] to live with enemies! I, too, perhaps, [would struggle if I had the strength]" (ll. 69-70).<sup>3</sup> Similar sentiments were found to be objectionable in "Tarasova nich": "We shall never forget the Cossack glory! O Ukraine, my dear mother! when I think of your fate my heart weeps!... Where are freedom, banners, Hetmans?... Heathens rule the Cossack children... Weep, O Cossack children, such is your fate!" (ll. 15-40); "the Cossack recalls the Hetmanate, recalls it and weeps!" (ll. 139-40).<sup>4</sup>

The cuts in "Kateryna"<sup>5</sup> are of a different character. The story is of a girl seduced and abandoned by a Russian officer, and here the censor suppressed the poet's digressions consisting of warnings to his readers against a similar fate (ll. 460-7) and an indication that such unfortunate happenings are not infrequent (ll. 533-43). The cause of the cut of ll. 544-54 was apparently in the two lines mentioning "the oak trees from the Hetmanate" and "a pond, captive under ice" (l). The ban of ll. 97-8 was obviously due to a misunderstanding: the lines apply to the heroine of the poem and her son, while the censor must have misconstrued them as alluding to Jesus and Mary.

A number of Shevchenko's other poems appeared in print up to 1844; among these, the cut in "Utoplennia" is noteworthy where the poet apostrophizes the evil mother who cruelly ill-treats her child (ll. 90-93): apparently the censor applied it to the Tsar's ill-treatment of Ukraine!

2. Line references are given after the Academy edition: T. Shevchenko, *Povno zibrannya tvoriv v desyaty tomakh*, I, II, Kiev, 1939. An identical reference system is adopted in T. Shevchenko, *Song out of Darkness. Selected poems. Translated from Ukrainian by Vera Rich*, London, 1961. This system does not always coincide with the one found in T. Shevchenko, *Povne vydannia tvoriv*, II-IV, Warsaw, 1934-7.

3. In the above quotation, the phrases within square brackets were not cut by the censor, but are quoted in order to indicate the context of the cuts. An English version of this poem can be found in: T. Shevchenko, *The Poet of Ukraine. Selected Poems. Translated with an Introduction by C. A. Manning*, Jersey City, N.J., 1945, pp. 78-81 ("To Osnov'yanenka").

4. A third cut of several lines (conventionally placed as ll. 69-72) has never been restored. An English translation of this poem ("The Night of Taras") is in Vera Rich's selection *Song out of Darkness* (cf. footnote 2 *supra*).

5. Cf. Manning's translation, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-108.

## II

Most of the poems written between 1843 and 1847 were not meant for publication under the censorship conditions prevailing under Nicholas I; they circulated, however, in manuscript copies among Shevchenko's friends and a wider public. When Shevchenko was arrested in 1847 as a member of the secret Brotherhood of Cyril and Methodius, it was those poems and not his membership of the Brotherhood which provided the chief grounds for the indictment. He was accused of having incited in his poems dissatisfaction with the enslavement of Ukraine and of having suggested that Ukraine's happiness could be achieved only through independence. Shevchenko was sentenced on 30 May 1847<sup>5a</sup> to punitive military service of no fixed term in the Central Asian deserts, with a ban on writing and sketching imposed personally by Nicholas.

On 19 June 1847, the Minister for Internal Affairs, Count Perovsky, issued a directive that by special decree *Kobzar* was banned and withdrawn from sale. At the same time, the Minister of Education ordered the Censorship Department not to permit any future re-printing of the book.<sup>6</sup>

Thus the Russian authorities summarily disposed of Shevchenko's poetry which, although previously passed by the censorship, was now known to them to have great popularity amongst, and influence upon, all Ukrainians. The ban lasted during the whole of Shevchenko's long exile. Even after the death of Nicholas I in 1855, he was excluded from the general accession amnesty; undaunted, the poet's friends continued their untiring efforts to obtain his pardon, which they finally secured after another two years' perseverance.

On his arrival in St. Petersburg in March 1858, a free man again after ten long years of silence, Shevchenko immediately started his attempts to get the censorship's permission to re-publish his *Kobzar* and *Haydamaky* as Volume I of his collected poetry. Since the new reign of Alexander II was supposed to be more liberal than that of Nicholas I, Shevchenko hoped that the new censorship would at least be no harsher to him than that of the preceding reign which permitted the publication of his poetry, though with some cuts, in 1840-44. After lengthy formalities, permission was granted in November 1859; the title *Poetry, Vol. I* was banned (the original title, *Kobzar*, had to stay), and some previously published poems suffered further cuts. Thus, "Dumy moyi,"<sup>7</sup> complete in the 1840 and 1844 editions of *Kobzar*, had to be printed in the 1860 edition without ll. 28-100 (leaving only two-fifths of the original length!). The censor apparently

5a. Unless otherwise stated, all dates are in the old style.

6. *Russkaya Starina*, Vol. 64, St. Petersburg, 1889, pp. 367-8 (the date quoted in this periodical, 19 June 1846, is obviously due to a slip).

7. "O my thoughts, my heartfelt thoughts" in V. Rich's translation.

found inadmissible the references to "the Cossack freedom" "which has passed away," in place of which now "hovers the Black Eagle" of Imperial Russia, a "foreign country" to the poet. "Haydamaky," which had suffered only a little in the 1841 separate edition, was now heavily curtailed: the dedication<sup>7a</sup> (ll. 1-268) and the prose parts (footnotes and two postscripts) were removed. The poetic dedication outlines Shevchenko's attitude to history, gives his *profession de foi* as a Ukrainian poet, and vividly depicts his creative processes. Pan-Slavist sentiments in the first prose postscript, reminiscent of the ideas of the Brotherhood of Cyril and Methodius, may have caused the suppression of the prose parts. Several poems appeared for the first time in this edition; among these, the group "Davydovi psalmy" lost a number of lines (75-7, 81-4, 104, 141-2, 233-4). Most of these lines could be interpreted as anti-tsarist, though the poems are paraphrases of several Psalms; e.g. "It is hard to live in fetters! Rise, O God, and help us to rise once more against the tormentor" (ll. 82-4); "The tsars, the slaves are equal sons before God" (ll. 141-2).

This edition was the last one to appear before the poet's death a year later, on 10 March 1861 (new style). The unpublished heritage (far larger than his published poetry) left by Shevchenko was gradually finding its way into print; among the first was "Stoyit' v seli Subotovi" in the journal *Osnova* (which in 1861-2 published a number of Shevchenko's poems). This short poem of 48 lines lost six (ll. 11-12, 19-20, 27-8); it contains a scathing condemnation of the 1654 treaty of union between Ukraine and Russia, and of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'ky who concluded it on behalf of Ukraine. The result of the treaty, says Shevchenko in the banned lines, was that "The Muscovites stripped [Ukraine] of everything they saw"; "You have ruined the poor orphan Ukrainel!" — the poet addresses Bohdan; and now "Catherine's bastards have swarmed upon Ukraine like locusts."

### III

The forty-five years between Shevchenko's death and 1906 saw a gradual introduction into print of most of his extant poems. The editors often used only imperfect copies which, in order to forestall the censor, they sometimes disfigured or cut, more or less severely, but they did not always succeed in their purpose. Several editions of *Kobzar* of various sizes appeared, as well as many separate editions of one or more poems. It is difficult to establish the full extent of the censorship's close interest in the poet, for many editions, as well as the archives of the former Department of Censorship, are virtually inaccessible.

Fortunately, however, some comments on Shevchenko's poems made by officials of that Department which relate to the period in

7a. Translated by Manning, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-16.

question have been published by Jeremiah Ayzenshtok,<sup>8</sup> and they show clearly what was regarded by them as subversive and dangerous to the safety and integrity of the empire. Extremely characteristic of these comments is the report of a censor, Smirnov, to the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee with reference to the 1867 *Kobzar* (Kozhan-chikov's edition):

The subject of Shevchenko's songs is exclusively his native Ukraine. He recalls with particular sympathy the past times of Cossack freedom, he laments the fall of this freedom, the burdens of serfdom (all his poems refer to the times before 19 February 1861) and curses the tyranny of the Polish landowners. The poet dwells exclusively upon the gloomy side of the life of Little Russia. Therefore, as regards censorship, the passages to be disapproved of are those apparently arousing a striving towards separatism by the comparison of the pitiful later condition of Little Russia with her former one, before the fusion with Russia; likewise, the passages which speak with bitterness of the cruelty of the landowners together with the sufferings of the serfs caused by that cruelty. But all these passages do not constitute a sufficient cause for instituting proceedings against the book, both because Shevchenko's songs are only sad recollections without any tendentiousness, and because since 19 February 1861 the condition of the peasants in the South-Western Region has changed completely, and Shevchenko's elegies can only create the impression of traditions. At its price (1 rouble 25 copecks) the book can be accessible only to the wealthy who know perhaps more about Little Russia's fate than can be learnt from Shevchenko's elegies.<sup>9</sup>

From among the numerous instances of censorship interference of this period, only a few typical ones will be mentioned here. Thus, in 1891 Shevchenko's poem "Ivan Pidkova"<sup>10</sup> was banned, the Censorship Committee having decided that the publication of this poem, "all permeated by regret for Ukraine's loss of independence, is extremely undesirable." Because of its small size and low price (perhaps a copeck or two), the poem published as a small booklet would "undoubtedly have had the widest circulation and could arouse the most dangerous memories in the masses of the people."<sup>11</sup> At the same time, banning "Kateryna" as a separate booklet, the Committee added a general rider: "Shevchenko's Ukrainophile trends are only too well known, as also is his influence on the Little Russians in the separatist sense, wherefore, in the Committee's opinion, it is more advisable not to permit any new publications of small booklets, similar to the one under consideration, containing tendentious works by this writer."<sup>12</sup>

8. Op. cit. (cf. footnote 1 supra).

9. The minutes of the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee of 4 January 1867, p. 1, as quoted by Ayzenshtok, op. cit., p. 438.

10. Cf. Manning's translation, op. cit., pp. 81-3.

11. "Delo Glavnogo upravleniya po delam pechati 1890-1891 gg., No. 28, ch. IV, l. 302," as quoted by Ayzenshtok, op. cit., p. 444.

12. "Delo..., ll. 320-321," loc. cit.

In 1896, a censor, Kossovich, reported on a new cheap edition of *Kobzar*:

After tens of thousands of copies of *Kobzar* have succeeded in finding their way to the readership of the Little Russian public, it would of course not be very convenient at present to treat with suitable severity the contents of the whole collection under consideration, if only because Shevchenko's name has become too well known far beyond the borders of the Empire. But everything has its limits. It is not allowable that malicious sallies, openly insulting to the honour of Russia, should be camouflaged by the cult of a famous writer, for, after all, no one, whoever he may be, can be permitted to state boldly in print that a time will come when Ukraine will arise, will come to life again.

Suggesting the banning of fifteen passages, he continues:

The most compelling reason for the urgently necessary exclusion of the above-indicated passages may be said to be chiefly the unusual cheapness (35 copecks) and the rapid spread of Shevchenko's collection of poems, the reprinting of which is proposed, for it is hardly convenient to encourage a wide distribution of *Kobzar* in its original form.

The St. Petersburg Committee added to this:

The speedy distribution alone of the cheap edition of *Kobzar*, sold out within two years although the circle of those reading Little Russian works is relatively limited, speaks for the fact that Shevchenko's ideas about the free Ukraine, about her oppression, find ready acceptance.<sup>13</sup>

Two booklets: one with "Nevol'nyk," another containing several poems ("Ivan Pidkova," "Tarasova nich," "Hamaliya,"<sup>14</sup> "Chernets" etc.) were banned in 1900 because "(1) the poems contained in the manuscript are of a tendentious Ukrainophile tone and (2) the small size of the manuscript and its apparent cheapness give rise to the assumption that it is meant for wide circulation among the Little Russian common people."<sup>15</sup>

#### IV

The revolution of 1905 brought with it a great relaxation of the censorship, and its permission to publish Shevchenko's complete poetical works without any cuts was obtained by the November of that year. The same revolution opened to research the doors of the archives of the Third Department (secret police) in which Shevchenko's poetry, both clandestine and otherwise, all carefully written down in albums<sup>16</sup> in full and definitive versions, had been concealed for nearly sixty years since his arrest in 1847.

13. "Delo... 1896-1898 gg., No. 31, ll. 20-26, 70-71," *ibid.*, pp. 444-5.

14. Cf. V. Rich's translation, *op. cit.*

15. "Delo... 1900-1902 gg., No. 6, ll. 158, 232-3, 258," as quoted by Ayzenshtok, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

16. The most important of these albums had the title "Three years."



For the first time, forty-five years after the poet's death, a complete edition of his poems, without any cuts or omissions whatsoever, became at long last possible. Such an edition, including practically the whole of Shevchenko's extant poetry, was prepared by V. M. Domanyts'ky and published by two Ukrainian societies late in 1906.<sup>17</sup> Its 10,000 copies were sold out within three months,<sup>18</sup> and another two improved editions followed in 1908 and 1910.<sup>19</sup> Late in 1910, a reprint of the last edition appeared, but its new publisher, V. I. Yakovenko, anticipating trouble with the censorship, cautiously substituted in it the appropriate number of dots for the word "tsar" in many poems.<sup>20</sup> Hardly had the distribution of this reprint begun when, in January 1911, the Censorship Committee seized it (or declared it seized), together with the two previous full editions of 1908-10, and proceedings were instituted against both publishers under the provisions of the Articles 73, 74, and 127 of the Penal Code,<sup>21</sup> the fact that the original 1907 edition had the censorship's permission of 25 November 1905 being disregarded. The reaction had set in.

The censorship banned 104 pages, and the publishers soon re-issued the heavily cut *Kobzar* in 1911, and then in 1913.<sup>22</sup>

17. T. Shevchenko, *Kobzar*, publ. by Obshchestvo imeni T. H. Shevchenka dlya vspomoshchestvovaniya nuzhdayushchimsya vospitannikam vysshikh uchebnykh zavedeniy S. Peterburga, urozhentsam Yuzhnoy Rossii, and Blagotvoritel'noye obshchestvo izdaniya obshchepoleznykh i deshevykh knig, St. Petersburg, 1907, XVI+636 pp.

18. P. Stebnyts'ky, "Kobzar" pid sudom' (cf. footnote 1 supra), p. 37.

19. *Kobzar*,<sup>2</sup> by the same publishers (footnote 17 supra), St. Petersburg, 1908, XXXII+613 pp.; another version of the same edition published in the same year, XX+635 pp.; *Kobzar*,<sup>3</sup> publ. by V. I. Yakovenko, [St. Petersburg,] 1910, XXIX+600 pp. (cf. T. Shevchenko, *Povne vydannya tvoriv*, XVI, Warsaw, 1939, pp. 158ff., Nos. 378-9, 385). This edition was reprinted without the poem "Mariya," by another publisher under the title *Kobzar*, *Sobraniye sochineniy*, I, II, [St. Petersburg, 1911,] (5)+128 pp., (5)+134-303 pp. (cf. loc. cit., Nos. 407-8).

20. *Tvory v dvokh tomakh*. I, *Kobzar*, St. Petersburg, 1911, XXXI+600 pp.; see pp. 244, 519, 572-4 etc.

21. Stebnyts'ky, op. cit., p. 40. Ye. Krotevych (op. cit.) mentions the Articles 73 (blasphemy), 74 (contempt of the tsar), and 128 (call to insurrection).

22. *Tvory...* (as in footnote 20 supra), XXXI+600 pp., but there are large gaps in the pagination; another issue of the same edition as *Kobzar*, St. Petersburg, 1911, XXVIII+600 pp.; pagination amended in *Tvory*, I, *Kobzar*, St. Petersburg, 1913, XXVI+560 pp. In 1914, it was reprinted by L. N. Rotenberg with the same cuts as in Yakovenko's 1911 and 1913 editions (*Povnyy zbirnyk tvoriv*, Katerynoslav, 1914, XXIII+703 pp.). The same seems to be true of the reprints by the publishing company "Krynysya": *Kobzar*, Kiev, 1914, VIII+644 pp. and another issue with XXXVI+652 pp. No information has been obtained concerning the make-up of the editions published by Kholmushin (*Kobzar*, St. Petersburg, 1911, 602+VI pp.; another issue, 570+VI pp.; reprinted in 1912 and 1914) (cf. *Povne vydannya tvoriv*, loc. cit., Nos. 429, 406, 445, 489, 459-60, 404-5, 430, 467).

Six poems were removed altogether; among them were the anti-monastic "Himn chernychyy," the anti-clerical "Svite yasnyy" and the deeply religious (although it departs from the accepted Christian doctrine) "Mariya";<sup>23</sup> the other three poems: "I Arkhymed i Galiley," "Saul," "Yurodyvyy" are strongly anti-monarchic and anti-tsarist. Another fifteen poems were cut more or less drastically. The longest of the partial cuts were those in the poem "Son" (1844),<sup>24</sup> the same poem which in 1847 had been the chief cause for Nicholas's wrath, and for which Shevchenko paid such a heavy price. The two cuts of 235 lines (ll. 286-488, 540-71) contain a satirical description of the court of Nicholas I and of the royal couple, as well as a violent invective against Peter I and Catherine II whom Shevchenko accuses of destroying Ukraine. The souls of a Hetman (Polubotok) and of the Cossacks on whose bones Peter built his capital are made to express similar feelings in the first of these passages. The cuts largely coincide with the parts which attracted the particular attention of the Third Department in 1847 (ll. 312-87, 412-88 and 517-79 are scored off by them in the manuscript confiscated at the time of Shevchenko's arrest).

Another poem with considerable cuts was "Velykyy l'okh,"<sup>25</sup> which lost 89 lines (ll. 70-133, 154-66, 204-6, 275-6, 293-300).<sup>26</sup> The first passage (the speech of the Second Soul) shows the poet's sympathy with Mazeppa's cause against Peter I; in the second banned passage Catherine II is called "Ukraine's fierce enemy, a hungry she-wolf." In the last one, the present policy of the Russian government towards Ukraine is concisely outlined: "Soon they'll print an ukase: 'By God's mercy, both you and everything else belong to Us, whether usable or not!'"

It would take too long to quote or describe in detail the contents of all the cuts in the other thirteen poems; therefore little more than a list of banned lines is given below, while for details the reader is referred to full editions of the poems themselves. Most of these banned passages are anti-tsarist and anti-monarchical ("Staren'ka sestro Apollona [Tsari]," ll. 13-20, 214-30; "Slava," ll. 18-23; "Ya ne nezduzhayu, nivroku," ll. 9-21; "Vo ludeyi, vo dni ony," ll. 35-45; "Osiyi,

23. "Mary" in Manning's translation, op. cit., pp. 190-211.

24. "The Dream" in the translation of V. Rich, op. cit.

25. "The Great Vault" *ibid.*

26. These cuts are found in Yakovenko's 1913 and Rotenberg's 1914 editions (cf. footnote 22 *supra*). The decision of the Senate (cf. p. 21 and footnote 32 *infra*) did not, however, require the cut of ll. 275-6.

hlava XIV,"<sup>27</sup> ll. 54-70; "Molytva," ll. 1-3, 10-12, 34-5, 52-3; "Khocha lezhachoho y ne byut'," ll. 10-15; "O lyudy, lyudy neboraky," l. 23; "Yakos' to yduchy unochi,"<sup>28</sup> ll. 4-11; "Buvaly voyny," ll. 9-24). The passage in "Kholodnyy yar"<sup>29</sup> (ll. 41-52) is anti-imperialist, and an even stronger indictment of Russian imperialism is found in "Kavkaz"<sup>30</sup> (ll. 38-56, 156-60), where anti-monarchical and anti-clerical sentiments are voiced as well (ll. 97-101), the latter also being strong in the banned passage of "Neofity"<sup>31</sup> (ll. 56-60).

In the summer of 1912, the Law Court stopped the proceedings against the publishers, but upheld the decision of the Censorship Committee of January 1911. The publishers appealed to the Senate, but their appeal was disallowed on 18 December 1912, and the verdict of the Court confirmed. Seven months later, on 30 July 1913, the Censorship Committee ordered the seizure of the first full edition of 1907, that very edition the printing of which had been permitted by the same Committee on 25 November 1905. Finally, the Press Department on 9 September 1913 circularized the complete list of the titles of the banned poems with the first and last lines of the passages which were to be excluded.<sup>32</sup>

All the editions of *Kobzar* referred to above, published after the Censorship Committee's decision of January 1911, have cuts in full compliance with this decision and with the list just mentioned;<sup>33</sup> there is, however, at least one edition which is radically different in this respect, but the history of this edition seems so far to have attracted no particular attention. The edition in question was published by F. A. Iohanson late in 1911<sup>34</sup> when the full editions were either sold out

27. "Hosea, Chapter XIV (Imitation)" in Manning's translation, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-13, reprinted in J. Bojko, T. Shevchenko and West European Literature, London, 1956, pp. 63-4.

28. "Once I was walking" in the translation of V. Rich, *op. cit.*

29. "The Cold Ravine" *ibid.*

30. "The Caucasus" *ibid.*

31. "The Neophytes" *ibid.*

32. "Kopiya s tsirkulyara Glavnogo Upravleniya po delam pechaty ot 9 sentyabrya 1913 g. No. 12,395," Sanktpeterburgskiy Gubernskiy Vedomosti, 30 October 1913; reprinted in P. Stebnyts'ky, "Kobzar" pid sudom, VUAN, Zapysky Istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu, IV, Kiev, 1923, pp. 42-3, and also in O. Lotots'ky, Poeziyi T. Shevchenka pid rosiys'koyu tsenzuroyu, in T. Shevchenko, Povne vydannya tvoriv, IV, Warsaw, 1937, pp. 388-90.

33. There is, however, no information on Kholmushin's edition (cf. footnote 22 *supra*).

34. *Kobzar*. Tvory, Kiev — St. Petersburg — Odessa, 1912, 622 cols.; another edition by the same publisher (St. Petersburg, 1912, III+628 pp.; cf. *Povne vydannya tvoriv*, XVI, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 440-1) has not been accessible.

(1907) or seized (1908, 1910, 1911),<sup>35</sup> while Yakovenko's first edition with censorship cuts (1911)<sup>36</sup> was the only one available in bookshops. The publishers of Iohanson's edition explained their decision to publish it by the fact that Yakovenko's edition was too expensive for a wide circle of readers. Due to the censorship conditions, fourteen poems were deleted originally,<sup>37</sup> while some poems were cut.<sup>38</sup> But unfortunately, the preface continues, due to the same conditions it has become necessary to delete ten more poems.<sup>39</sup> Thus, in fact, all the twenty-one poems which by its decision of January 1911 the Censorship Committee banned either completely or in part, even if only one line, disappeared completely in Iohanson's edition; moreover, another three poems, untouched by the Committee's decision, suffered as well: "Stoyit' v seli Subotovi" (cf. p. 16 *supra*) and "Rozryta mohyla"<sup>40</sup> in full, and the second and third stanzas of "Zapovit"<sup>41</sup> (ll. 9-24).

It is difficult to say whether the original removal of the fourteen poems was done in compliance with the demand of the censor<sup>42</sup> or in order to anticipate his demand; but it is obvious that it was he who demanded the cut of the next ten poems, and it is also obvious that he would have demanded the cut of the first fourteen had they been presented to him. The censor's motive for mutilating *Kobzar*, on this occasion much more drastically than the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee treated all the other editions, may have been preserved in his official records, but so far these have remained unpublished. However, if one recalls the apparent liberality of pre-1905 censors towards an expensive *Kobzar* for the wealthy, contrasted with their uncompromising hostility to a cheaply produced version, and particularly to small booklets with only a poem or two which the masses of the people could easily afford (cf. section III *supra*), then the censor's severity towards Iohanson's cheap edition for the Ukrainian masses becomes understandable.

(To be continued)

35. Cf. footnotes 17, 19, 20 *supra*.

36. Cf. footnote 22.

37. They include the six poems enumerated above as removed altogether from the Yakovenko edition (p. 20 *supra*), and also "Staren'ka sestro Apollona [Tsari]," "Ya ne nezdzhayu, nivroku," "Osiyi, hlava XIV," "Molytva," "Khocha lezhachoho y ne b'yut'," "O lyudy lyudy neboraky," "Yakos' to yduchy unochi," "Buvaly voyny."

38. "Son" (1847), ll. 44, 59, 85, 88-90; "Podrazhaniye lyezekiylu" l. 50; and possibly some of the ten poems mentioned next.

39. Edition quoted first in footnote 34, "Publishers' Preface."

40. "The Plundered Grave" in V. Rich's translation, *op. cit.*

41. "Testament" *ibid.*

42. Possibly in Kiev, since the book was printed in that city.

Taras Shevchenko

## SELECTED POEMS

translated by Vera Rich

(These poems, which have been specially translated for the Centenary of the Death of Taras Shevchenko, form only a small part of the selection of the poet's work, which will be published later this year under the title **SONG OUT OF DARKNESS**, by the Mitre Press).

### B E W I T C H E D

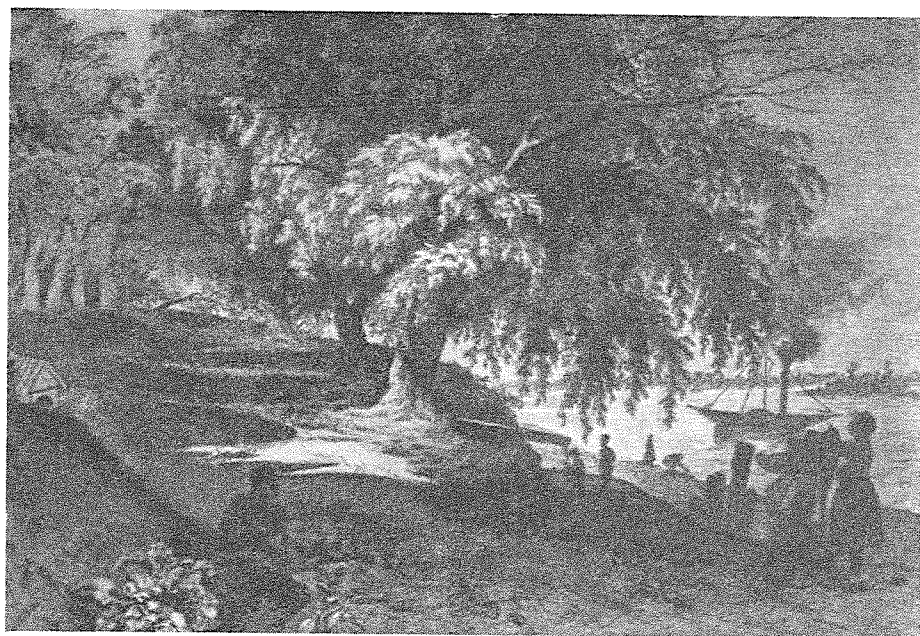
This is the earliest known of Shevchenko's poems, and shows strong influence of the Romantic supernatural ballads popular in Europe at the time. The Rusalky are, in Ukrainian folk-lore, water-spirits, the souls of girl-babies dying before baptism, who, at full moon, come out from the water and, if they meet a human being, pinch and tickle him to death.

Roaring and groaning, the wide Dniro,  
An angry wind howls through the night,  
Bowing and bending the high willows,  
And raising waves to mountain heights.  
And, at this time, the moon's pale beams  
Peeped here and there between the clouds,  
Like a small boat on the blue sea,  
Now rising up, now sinking down.  
Still the third cock-crow was not crowed,  
And not a creature chanced to speak,  
Only owls hooting in the grove,  
And now and then the ash-tree creaked.

Such a night, beneath the mountain,  
There, beside the spinney  
Which shows black against the water,  
Something white is glimmering.  
Maybe a rusalka-baby,  
Wandering by stealth,  
Seeks her mother or a lad  
To tickle him to death.

It is no rusalka roaming,  
 But a young girl wandering,  
 And she does not know, herself,  
 Spell-bound, what she's doing.  
 Thus the old wise-woman made it,  
 So to ease her grieving,  
 That, by wandering at night,  
 Do you see, while sleeping,  
 She could seek the Cossack who  
 Left her last year — he promised  
 That he would return to her,  
 But probably he perished!  
 Not with a silk kerchief have  
 The Cossack's eyes been swathed,  
 Not by her caressing tears  
 Were his fair cheeks bathed:  
 On a foreign field, an eagle  
 Plucked his eyes away,  
 And the wolves devoured his flesh —  
 Such must be his fate!  
 In vain the young girl waits for him,  
 Every night, in vain;  
 The dark-browed youth will not return  
 Nor greet her once again.  
 He will not have her long plait loosened,  
 Nor her kerchief tied;  
 Not in a bed, but in her coffin  
 Shall the orphan lie!

Such is her fortune... O God of all mercy,  
 Why dost Thou punish a maiden so young?  
 Because the poor child came to love so sincerely  
 The Cossack's dark eyes? Ah, forgive her this wrong!  
 When then should she love? Without father or mother,  
 Alone, like a bird on a far distant shore,  
 She is so young — O send her good fortune,  
 Or strangers will mock her and laugh her to scorn.  
 Is the dove to be blamed that she loves her heart's darling?  
 Is he to be blamed that the hawk comes to slay?  
 Grieving and cooing and weary of living,  
 She flies all around, seeks him lost from the way.  
 Fortunate bird, she can soar high above,  
 Can wing up to God and implore for her dear.  
 But whom, then, O whom, can the orphan approach,  
 And who is to tell her, who knows where her love  
 Is passing the night? Is he in a dark grove?  
 Does he water his horse in the Danube's swift stream?  
 Or perhaps there's another, another he loves,  
 And she, the dark-browed, is a past, faded dream?



**Taras Shevchenko: Evening beside the Dnipro.**





**Taras Shevchenko: A Kirghiz Girl.**

If she were but given the wings of an eagle,  
 She would find her beloved beyond the blue waves,  
 In life she would love him and strangle her rival,  
 And if he were dead, she would share the same grave.  
 Not so the heart loves as to share with another,  
 Nor is it content with what God has to give,  
 Not wishing to live and not wishing to sorrow,  
 "Sorrow," says thought, overwhelming with grief.  
 Such is Thy will, then, O God, good and great,  
 Such is her fortune, such is her fate.

So still she walks, she speaks no sound,  
 The Dnipro flows on silently,  
 The wind has scattered the black clouds,  
 And lain to rest beside the sea.  
 And from the sky, the moon is pouring  
 Its light upon the grove and water,  
 And all is resting quietly...  
 But see! From out the Dnipro's tide,  
 Little children, laughing there.  
 "Come, let us sun ourselves!" they cry,  
 "Our sun is up!" (No clothes they wear,  
 But braids of sedge, for they are girls).

"Are you all here?" the mother calls.  
 "Come, let us look for supper.  
 Let us play and sport together!  
 Sing a little song together!"

"Whisht! Whisht!  
 Will o'the wisp!

Mother gave me life — once born,  
 Unbaptized, she laid me down.

Moon above,  
 Dearest dove,

Come and sup with us tonight:  
 In the reeds a Cossack lies,  
 In the reeds and sedge, a silver  
 Ring is shining on his finger;  
 Young he is, with fine dark eyebrows,  
 We found him yesterday in the oakgrove.  
 Shine upon the open field  
 So that we may sport at will,  
 While the witches are still flying,  
 Till the morning cocks are crying,  
 Shine for us... Look, something goes  
 Moving there beneath the oak!

Whisht! Whisht!  
 Will o'the wisp!

Mother gave me life — once born,  
Unbaptized, she laid me down."

The unbaptized babes shrieked with laughter,  
The grove replied; wild shrieks abound,  
Like the fierce Horde hell-bent on slaughter.  
Rush to the oak... and not a sound...  
The unbaptized stop in their tracks,  
They look! there something glimmers,  
Some creature climbing in the tree  
To the topmost limit.  
See, it is that self-same girl  
Who, in her sleep, would wander;  
Such is the bewitching spell  
That the witch laid on her!  
On a slender topmost branch  
She stood... her heart was dwinning.  
She looked round, searching on all sides...  
Then down she started climbing.  
Round the oak, rusalka-babies  
Waiting, held their breath,  
Seized her as she came, poor soul,  
And tickled her to death.  
Long, indeed, they gazed upon her,  
Wondering at her beauty...  
The third cock-crow rang — at once  
They splashed into the water.

The skylark trilled its melody  
Soaring ever up,  
The cuckoo called its plaintive call  
Sitting in the oak,  
The nightingale burst into song,  
It echoed through the spinney,  
Behind the hills — a rosy blush,  
The ploughman starts his singing.  
The grove is black against the water  
Where the Poles once crossed,  
Above the Dnipro, the high mounds  
With bluish light are touched,  
A rustle passes through the grove,  
Sets dense osiers whispering;  
There beneath the oak she lies,  
By the footpath, sleeping.  
Sound she sleeps, quite deaf, it seems,  
To the cuckoo calling,  
Does not count how long she'll live...  
Sound asleep she's fallen.

In the meanwhile, from the oakgrove  
 Comes a Cossack riding,  
 Under him, the raven horse  
 Can hardly move with tiredness.  
 "I am weary, my old friend,  
 But we shall rest today:  
 There's a cottage where a girl  
 Will open us the gate.  
 Or, perhaps, it is, already,  
 Opened to another...  
 Good horse — faster! good horse — faster!  
 Hurry, hurry homewards!"  
 But the raven horse is weary,  
 On he walks, half-falling,  
 Near the Cossack's heart, it seems  
 There's an adder crawling.  
 "Look, it is our leafy oak-tree...  
 There she is! Dear God!  
 See, she fell asleep while waiting,  
 Ah, my grey-winged dove!"  
 He left the horse and rushed towards her:  
 "O my God, my God!"  
 He calls her name and kisses her...  
 But it does no good.  
 "Why, then have they parted us,  
 Me from you?" He broke  
 Into frenzied laughs, and dashed  
 His head against the oak!  
 The girls go out to reap the rye,  
 And, as girls do, they started singing,  
 How mothers bid their sons "good-bye,"  
 How, in the night, the tartar's fighting.  
 They go... beneath an oak, new-green,  
 A tired horse is standing by,  
 And near the horse, a handsome young  
 Cossack and a young girl lie.  
 Curious, (it must be told),  
 They tiptoe near to frighten them,  
 But when they saw that he was killed,  
 In sudden fear, they turned to run.  
 All her young friends gathered round,  
 In girlish teardrops bathed,  
 All his comrades gathered round,  
 And started digging graves.  
 The priests came with the holy banners,  
 All the bells were tolling,

The whole village watched the funeral,  
 As is our tradition.  
 There beside the road, they raised  
 Twin mounds among the rye.  
 There was no-one there to ask  
 How it was they died.  
 A maple and a fir they planted  
 Over the young lad,  
 And a bright-flowered guelder-rose  
 At the maiden's head.  
 Here the cuckoo often flies,  
 To call above them still;  
 Here the nightingale will fly,  
 Each night, to sing his fill,  
 Sings to his heart's content, and carols  
 Till the moon has risen,  
 Till, again, rusalka-babies  
 Steal out from the river.

1838

St. Petersburg.

## HAMALIYA

The events described in this poem have no definite historical foundation, in the sense that no Otaman of the Cossacks by the name of Hamaliya is known. However, at the period in question, (16-17th centuries), the Cossacks are known to have made expeditions into Turkish territory, and even as far as the Bosphorus, and in this sense the poem is founded on the general historical traditions of the period.

"Ah, there comes, there comes nor wind nor a wave  
 From our Ukraina!  
 Whether they are in council, how to face the Turk —  
 We hear not in this far region!  
 Ah, blow, wind, blow, far over the sea,  
 From the Great Meadow coming,  
 Come, dry our tears, drown the clanking of chains,  
 And scatter our longing.  
 Ah, dance, then, dance, thou azure-blue sea  
 Under boats where are sailing  
 The Cossacks, (only their caps to be seen),  
 To this shore to save us.

Ah, God our God! Even if not for us, —  
 From Ukraine do Thou bear them:  
 We shall hear their glory, the Cossack glory,  
 Shall hear it and perish."

Thus in Scutari the Cossacks were singing,  
 They sang, the poor souls, and fast their tears flowed,  
 The Cossack tears flowed, and spoke of their yearning,  
 Till Bosphorus trembled, for he, since his birth,  
 Had never yet heard the weeping of Cossacks;  
 Like a grey bull he quivered throughout his wide girth,  
 Sending the waves rolling far, far away,  
 Over his ribs and to the blue sea.  
 And roaring the words of the Bosphorus, the sea drove  
 His message to Lyman, and Lyman to Dniro  
 Over its waves passed the sorrowing speech.

Our mighty grandsire roared with laughter,  
 Till his moustaches flowed with spume.  
 "Asleep? Or listening, Brother-Meadow?  
 Sister-Khortytsya?"

Echoes boomed  
 From Meadow and Isle:  
 "I hear, I hear!"

Boats swarmed the Dniro in a throng,  
 The Cossacks sang a rousing song:

"The Turkish dame out yonder has  
 A house with fine wood floor,  
 Hey! Hey! Sea, dance and play!  
 Roar! Tear the cliffs away!  
 We'll go as guests, for sure!

The Turkish dame has in her pockets  
 Thalers bright and ducats.

Not to pick her pockets, no, —  
 But to knife and burn we go,  
 And to free our brothers!

The Turkish dame has janissaries,  
 A pasha on a couch.

Ho! Ho! At the foe!  
 Qualm or quaver we don't know!  
 Glory and freedom's ours!"

Thus they sing while sailing on;  
 The sea the wild wind hears,  
 Hamaliya in the prow  
 Directs them how to steer,

"Hamaliya! Valour's fleeing!  
The sea has grown enraged!"  
"It shall not scare us!"

And they hid

Beyond the mountain waves.

In the harem, in paradise, slumbers Byzantium,  
Scutari is slumbering; Bosphorus seethes,  
Groaning and howling as it were a mad thing,  
Wishing to rouse Byzantium from dreams.  
"Rouse them not, Bosphorus, else you'll be mourning!  
All your white ribs I shall choke up with sand,  
I shall bury in mud!" the blue sea is roaring.  
"Do you not know what guests to the land  
Of the Sultan I'm carrying?"

Thus the sea grumbled,

(The bold long-mustached Slavs it loved dearly indeed).  
Bosphorus took heed. The Turkish dame slumbered,  
In the harem, the laggardly Sultan still dreamed.  
In Scutari alone, in the prison, are awake  
The poor Cossack lads. What are they watching for?  
From their fetters they pray in words simple and straight,  
And the roaring waves roll to the far, further shore.

"O God all-merciful of Ukraine!  
Let not in foreign parts as slaves  
Free Cossacks thus to perish, for  
'Twere shame both now and evermore  
To rise up from a foreign grave,  
Come to Thy Judgement, just and right,  
With hands in irons, and in the sight  
Of all to stand in chains and fetters  
Is shame for Cossacks!..."

— "Slash and smite!

Strike the faithless unbeliever!"  
Beyond the wall.

Whose is that cry?

"Hamaliya! Valour's fleeing!  
Scutari is enraged."  
"Slash and smite." From the fort  
He shouts in answer straight.

With cannon all Scutari's roaring,  
The foemen wildly roar and rage,  
Reckless the Cossack host charge forward,  
And janissaries tumble slain.



Hamaliya revels wildly  
Through Scutari's hell,  
Tears the dungeon open wide,  
Rends the chains himself.  
"Fly forth, grey hawks, to the bazaar,  
To take your share of wealth!"

The falcon chicks all started, for  
So long it was they might  
Not hear this Christian language spoken...  
And old mother night  
Started too, she had not seen  
The Cossacks pay the score.  
Do not fear — but look upon  
The Cossack feast! Though all  
Is murky like a common night  
Yet this is no small feast.  
Not robbers these, who silently  
With Hamaliya eat  
Fat without mutton.

"Let us have  
Some light, boys!" And the flames  
Mount cloud-high, with high-masted ships  
Scutari is ablaze.  
Now Byzantium blinked her eyes,  
Roused herself from sleep,  
Quickly sailed to bring them aid,  
Sailed and gnashed her teeth.

Byzantium roars and rages wildly,  
And with her hands she grasps the shore,  
Grasps, yells and rises — and once more  
In blood upon the knives grows silent.  
Scutari's like all hell ablaze,  
Through the bazaars spilt blood is snaking,  
To swell broad Bosphorus's waves  
Like dark birds in the wood this day,  
The Cossacks fly from place to place,  
Not a soul who can escape them,  
The fire-hard ones, no flame can scathe them.  
They tear the walls down; in their caps  
The Cossacks bear off silver, gold,  
Carry it off and fill the boats.

Scutari burns, the work dies down  
The lads assembled, gathered round,  
Lit their pipes there at the blaze,  
To the boats! And they set out,  
Shearing the red mountain-waves.

They sail, as if they came from home,  
 As if they sailed for pleasure,  
 And as they sail, as is their way,  
 The Cossacks sing together:

"Our good captain, Hamaliya,  
 — Bold and brave is he,  
 Gathered up his lads, departed  
 Off across the sea,  
 Off across the sea,  
 Famous he would be,  
 And from Turkish slavery, his  
 Brethren he would free.  
 Hamaliya to Scutari  
 Sailed across the water, —  
 Brother Cossacks sat in prison,  
 Waiting Turkish torture.  
 'Brothers,' Hamaliya shouted,  
 'We shall live this day, —  
 We shall live, drink wine, and we  
 Shall janissaries slay,  
 On our barracks, carpets, velvets,  
 For a roof we'll lay!  
 Zaporozhians went a-reaping,  
 Flew into the meadow,  
 Reaped the rye and stacked the stooks,  
 And they sang together:  
 'Glory to you, Hamaliya,  
 All the wide world over,  
 All the wide world over,  
 All through Ukraina,  
 For you'd not let your comrades perish  
 In a foreign region!'

They sail on singing; Hamaliya  
 There behind them, bold, he sails,  
 As an eagle guards his eaglets,  
 The wind blows from the Dardanelles,  
 But Byzantium's not pursuing:  
 She fears the Monk might be returning  
 To light Galata's fires once more,  
 Or Hetman Ivan Pidkova call  
 Them out to sea again to skirmish.

They sail on...

From behind the waves, and I on the shore  
 Sun paints the waves with red,  
 Before them stretches the kind sea,  
 It murmurs and resounds:

"Hamaliya! Winds blow freely!  
 Soon our own sea again!"  
 And they hid beyond the waves,  
 Behind the living mountains.

1842

St. Petersburg.

## CHYHYRYN

Chyhyryn is a town on the river Tyasmyn in the Cherkassy region. It was adopted as military capital by Hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyj (1648-1657) and remained the capital until the fall of Hetman Doroshenko (1676). In 1678 its formidable fortress was destroyed during the Turkish siege.

Chyhyryn, O Chyhyryn!  
 All things must come to naught  
 On earth, and now thy holy glory  
 Is borne like a mote  
 Upon the cold blast of the winds,  
 Lost in the cloud. There fly  
 Year after year above the earth,  
 Dniro itself runs dry,  
 The gravemounds crumble into dust,  
 The lofty mounds, thy erstwhile  
 Glory; — and of thee, thyself,  
 Thou dotard, old and feeble,  
 No-one will even say a word,  
 No-one will point the place  
 Where thou once didst stand, nor why;  
 Not even in jest would say  
 Why with the Poles did we once fight?  
 Engage the Horde with slashing knives?  
 Why did we harrow with our pikes  
 Muscovite ribs? There once we sowed,  
 And well we watered with red blood,  
 With sabres harrowed what was sown.  
 But in that field what crop has grown?  
 Rue, rue has grown,  
 And choked our freedom down.

And I, on thy ruins, demented, remain  
 And uselessly pour out my tears. But Ukraine  
 Has fallen asleep, mould-grown, covered in weeds,  
 Set her heart there to rot in the mud, in a puddle,  
 Let in poisonous snakes to a tree-trunk's cold hollow,  
 To her children a hope in the steppe she bequeathed,  
 But that hope...  
 The wind scattered over the plain,  
 The waves swept it over the seas,

Then let the wind bear all away  
 In its untrammelled flight,  
 And let the heart then weep and pray:  
 On this earth — holy right!

Chyhyryn, O Chyhyryn,  
 Thou alone my friend!  
 Thou wast robbed of all while sleeping:  
 Forestland and steppe  
 And all Ukraine! Sleep on then, swathed  
 By Jewry, till the sun  
 Rises, till these foolish lads,  
 The Hetmans, are full-grown.

Having said my prayers, I too  
 Would sleep, but my cursed thoughts  
 Struggle to set my soul afire,  
 Strive to rend my heart,  
 Do not rend, thoughts, do not burn!  
 I shall bring back, maybe,  
 My truth, all fortuneless, my words  
 Spoken quietly;  
 Perhaps, indeed, I yet may forge  
 A new blade from it, make a  
 Keen new share for the old plough,  
 And, sweating out the acres,  
 Maybe I'll plough that fallow land,  
 And on the fallow, there  
 I shall scatter all my tears,  
 Sow my heartfelt tears.  
 Maybe they will shoot and grow  
 Into two-edged blades  
 That will cleave the evil, rotten  
 Sickly heart, will drain  
 From it all the poisoned blood,  
 And in its place will pour  
 Into it living Cossack blood,  
 Holy, clean and pure.

Maybe, maybe... and there between,  
 Between the knives will grow  
 The periwinkle and the rue,  
 And words, forgotten now,  
 My own words, gentle-voiced and sad,  
 Quiet and God-fearing,  
 Will be remembered, and a girl's heart,  
 Tremulous and timid,  
 Will quiver like a little fish,  
 And she will remember  
 Me too, then... O my words, my tears,  
 O thou that art my heaven!

Sleep, Chyhyryn, and let thy children  
 Under foemen perish!  
 Sleep on, O Hetman, till there rise  
 In this world truth and justice.

19.II.1844  
 Moscow.

### TESTAMENT

When I die, high on an ancient  
 Mound lay me to rest,  
 There in my own dear Ukraine,  
 Amid the boundless steppes,  
 There, whence can be seen steep cliffs,  
 River, wide-skirted cornland,  
 There where one can hear the mighty  
 Dniπρο wildly roaring,

Until it carries from Ukraine  
 To the blue sea the blood  
 Of foemen — at that hour I'll leave  
 Cornland and hills for good —  
 Leave all behind, soar up until  
 Before the throne of God  
 I'll make my prayer. For, till that hour,  
 I shall know naught of God!

Lay me there to rest — then rise,  
 Rend your chains asunder,  
 And with foemen's evil blood  
 Sprinkle freedom over!  
 Then, in that great family,  
 — A family new and free,  
 Do not forget, in kind, quiet words,  
 To say a prayer for me.

25.XII.1845.  
 Pereyaslav.

### THE THREE PATHWAYS

Once three pathways, broad and wide,  
Met upon the plain;  
Into foreign parts, three brothers  
Set out from Ukraine.  
And they left an aged mother,  
And one left a wife,  
One a sister, and the youngest  
Left his chosen bride.

The old mother planted three  
Ash-trees in the meadow,  
And her son's wife planted there  
A poplar tall and slender,  
And the sister planted three  
Maples by the valley,  
And a guelder-rose was planted  
By the young fiancée.

But the ash-trees did not root,  
And the poplar withered,  
The three maples withered up,  
The guelder-rose has wilted,  
The three brothers do not come...  
Their mother weeps them still,  
And the wife weeps with her children  
In a house grown chill.  
The sister weeps, she goes to seek  
Her brothers among strangers...  
And the young bride? In her coffin  
Quietly they laid her...

The three brothers do not come,  
They roam the world, forlorn,  
And three pathways, broad and wide  
Are overgrown with thorns.

May 1847.

St. Petersburg, in the fortress.

\* \* \*

Drowsy waves, sky unwashed and dirty,  
 And on the bank and out beyond,  
 The rushes sway without a wind  
 As they were drunken... God of mercy!  
 Is it still long I must endure,  
 Here, in this prison that holds sure  
 Though lockless, by this worthless sea,  
 This weary life? It does not speak,  
 The yellowed grass, but silent, sways  
 As if alive, across the plain.  
 To speak the truth is not its task...  
 And there is no-one else to ask.

1848.

Kos-Aral

(Translation reprinted by courtesy of the  
 New Poet Magazine.)

### NOTES

#### BEWITCHED.

- line 9 **Third cock-crow:** according to folk-tradition, the cock crows three times in the night, at 2.00, 4.00 and 6.00 a.m. It is at third cock-crow that supernatural beings must vanish from the earth. (cf., for example, the Tale of the Three Lucky Heirs, in Grimms' Fairy Tales.)
- 33 **Silk kerchief.** When a young Cossack departed on an expedition, his mother or sweetheart would give him a kerchief of red silk. If he should die while on his travels, his companions would cover his eyes with this kerchief before burial.
- 38 **A foreign field:** this is a literal translation of the Ukrainian "Na chuzhomu poli." It is a lucky coincidence that, since Rupert Brooke's *Soldier*, English has possessed the identical idiom, with almost identical connotations.
- 45 **Her long plait... her kerchief.** Formerly, it was the custom for Ukrainian girls, before marriage, to wear their hair in a long plait. Married women, on the other hand, wore their hair "up," and covered with a kerchief in public. The ceremonial unplaiting of the bride's hair and the tying of her kerchief were, therefore, part of the traditional wedding customs.
- 91 **The mother.** It is not clear who "the mother" is. It has been plausibly suggested that Shevchenko visualises her as the spirit of a girl who has drowned herself for love, (a figure who occurs several times in his poetry), and who has, so to speak, "adopted" the Rusalka-babies. She is not part of the general folk-lore concerning Rusalky.
- 95 **Whisht! Whisht!...** laid me down. These four lines are the traditional song of the Rusalky. A literal, word by word translation of the first two lines would be meaningless in English. The rendering given here, which is very close to the spirit of the original, was suggested by Professor Paul Yuzyk, of the University of Manitoba.



- 119 The Horde: i.e. the Tartars.  
 144 Sitting in the oak. This is a mistake: — the cuckoo "singeth as she flies."  
 159 How long she'll live... It was a superstition common to many parts of Europe that one could find out how many years one would live by counting how many times the cuckoo called. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch refers to this as a Cornish belief in *The Ship of Stars*.

### HAMALIYA.

- line 5 The Great Meadow — a broad low-lying area of land on the left bank of the lower Dnipro, used as a Cossack encampment.  
 26 Lyman. The estuary of the Dnipro.  
 28 Grandsire. The Dnipro. The "moustaches" are the famous rapids, "beyond" which lived the Zaporozhian Cossacks.  
 31 Khortytaya. A island in the Dnipro, where the first Zaporozhian Sich was established.  
 36 "The Turkish Dame," i.e. Turkey.  
 176 The Monk. Hetman Petro Konashevych-Sahaydachnyj (1614-1622). Among other exploits against the Turks, he burned Galata, a suburb of Constantinople.  
 178 Hetman Ivan Pidkova. Ivan Pidkova lived in the second half of the 16th Century, and, although a Cossack leader, was not, in fact, a Hetman. He went campaigning in Turkey and Moldavia, but whether he went to Constantinople is not known. However, it seems likely that Shevchenko knew of some tradition that Pidkova did raid Constantinople, since he refers to it both here and in his earlier poem *Ivan Pidkova*.

### CHYHYRYN.

- 20 Some texts read "The Tartars' ribs."  
 83-84 These lines are ambiguous: They could equally well be translated "Let the children of thy foemen perish." The reader should choose the rendering which seems to suit best the context of the poem.

### A NOTE ON THE TRANSLATIONS.

The present translations reproduce the verse form of the original, and are line-for-line. The original rhyme-scheme is adhered to, although often a full-rhyme in the original can only be rendered by a half-rhyme in English. Tricks of style, such as internal rhyme, and the occasional or ambiguous construction (e.g. *Hamaliya* 1.52, ll. 181-182), are, in general reproduced. The comparative lack of end-stopping is characteristic of Shevchenko, as is also the use of rhymes of the type glimmer — limit, where the stressed syllable rhymes and the unstressed does not. The text used is that of the Kyiv 1938 edition. Where alternative readings exist, these have been noted.

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Jaroslav Stetzko

## SPIRITUAL REBIRTH OF THE OCCIDENT

### The Renaissance of the Heroic Age of the Militant Ukrainian Underground

In these times of moral subversion and loss of faith, in which material and transient things and the comforts of life are the main aim of man's struggle, and eternal, ideal and immortal things are forgotten, in which the grim realities of life fail to penetrate man's consciousness, the younger generation is confronted by the duty of emphasizing and realizing other values, the perpetual values, those which constitute the very essence of life. It is above all the special task of this generation to stress the values of the nation, — the nation as the synthesis of the living, the dead and those as yet unborn.

The nation is not only something created by Nature but also the expression of the Divine Will in the vast plan of the world order. As Herder once said, the nations are God's thoughts. To serve a nation, is to serve a higher power, namely God.

One's fatherland is where there are graves, that is to say, there where the noblest sons and daughters of the country have in the course of centuries sacrificed their lives for the fatherland.

In Ukraine it is a time-honoured custom to set up graves and cairns in memory and in honour of those who gave their lives for the great future of their people. In doing so, they set posterity a noble example. The Russians, however, level down all these graves and cairns in order to destroy the memory of such heroes. The essential difference between the Ukrainians and the Russians is marked by a profound symbolism: the Ukrainians cherish the memory of these heroes in legends and their deeds live on in the hearts of the people; the Russians, on the other hand, try to obliterate all illustrious names from the memory of this people.

In every nation there are great men with this attitude to life. Their deeds are determined by the sacred flame of a noble idea and by the aim of a life of hardship and danger. It was not hedonistic egoism that constituted the essence of their life, but national consciousness and their idealism. Heroes do not live in the present but in the future, for which they sacrifice themselves.

But if youth wishes to accept these deeds and this attitude to life, it must have a different attitude to its surroundings than the average citizen usually has. It must stress other values in its life and must be prepared to fight for them so that they may be realized. A fundamental change in the values of life and a different hierarchy of values must assert itself once more in the world of today, so that the world of freedom may be victorious in the fight against the world of tyranny. The consciousness of the younger generation must be imbued with this idea and its moral experiences must be determined by ideological and not by material things.

Youth must be inspired by what is great and sublime, noble and altruistic, heroic and ideal, which must spur on youth still more, even though it may seem unattainable. The search for truth, freedom to search and willingness to sacrifice oneself, — these are typical characteristics of youth. These spiritual forces cannot be exterminated in young souls, and for this reason we must also be convinced that Russian tyranny with its hypocritical Communist faith has not succeeded behind the Iron Curtain in destroying the living soul and eternal longing of youth for truth and freedom, for free creativeness and self-expression in deeds, which is so typical of youth. Youth has always rebelled against what is only average, against the cult of the average man in the street; it has always been inspired by heroes and martyrs, by geniuses and prophets. Nothing seems unattainable to youth since it does not measure its ideals by the standards of actual possibilities.

The youth of a nation that is torn by misgivings and doubts and by the relativity of values, that is sceptical about its own strength and regards the trivial daily routine as the starting-point for its wishes, is, indeed, in a sad state. It must negate this commonplace reality if it is contradictory to what is ideal. By sheer will-power youth must attain what seems unattainable and as soon as it has done so, must regard this as something that is past and must strive still further to achieve new aims and new ideals.

For these aims it must stake everything, — all personal wishes and aims, all comforts in life and even itself. For it is not life that is the highest value of mankind, but the fulfilment of one's duty towards one's native country. The honour and the fame of the people, national pride and the dignity of man, — these are the values which youth must ever have in mind.

Lao Tze said that those who die for an idea will live for ever. But how many people are there today who would like to live according to this motto of the Chinese sage? We must have before us the prototype of a man of heroic spirit, for he alone can symbolize the future in this superhuman struggle with the forces of the Russian Antichrist.

Most of us here in the Occident feel that we seriously lack the conviction of Lao Tze. This does not, however, mean that such conviction does not exist in the Europe of today. It has been reborn

and has developed in the underground movements in East Europe, especially in Ukraine. Regardless of any idealistic outlook on life in the philosophical sense and of Christian idealism in the sense of metaphysical expressions of faith, the majority of society in the West nowadays, in its daily life, pursues the cult of materialism, of personal ease and comfort, of material profit more than anything else, and of money, above all; it does not live for some higher idea which would open up new idealistic horizons to it.

Here in the West we are living in a hedonistic age, in spite of the fact that in East Europe the new foundations for the heroic age have already been established in the underground movements. The five hundred Ukrainian women in the Russian concentration camp in Kingiri who tried to hold up the Russian tanks and went to their death singing patriotic revolutionary songs, are equally as heroic in their age as the outstanding figures of the heroic age in the history of Sparta or of Rome in the days of Mucius Scevola.

The Russian Bolshevik imperium is carrying out a terrible aggression; but in spite of this fact, we see in the West a paralysis of its will to act, an ideological and moral marasmus, and contentedness with its own way of life; the main aim is to achieve an ever greater accumulation of material goods, which result in the depreciation of moral and intellectual values.

Instead of propagating the idea of sacrifice and heroism for one's own people in the press, on the radio and television, however, emphasis is placed on sybaritism, gangsterism and the cult of material profit as an aim in itself. Even the heroic deeds which the soldiers of the Western peoples did for their native country in the last world war have been forgotten. In this way, too, forces of evil are aiming to effect the infiltration of the slogan — "better red than dead"! Can the younger generation grow to maturity on a basis such as this? If it is fed with such nonsensical ideas, is it capable of taking up the fight against the brutal tyrants of Russia? These insidious methods result in mass-hypnosis and cover up the real state of affairs behind the Iron Curtain, — in Ukraine and Hungary, in the concentration camps of Siberia and Kazakhstan.

Why are not the heroic fight of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), for example in World War II, on two fronts at the same time, or the heroic deeds of the commanders of the insurgents, or the life of the anti-Communist revolutionaries of East Europe featured in films, for instance? Why are not the mass crimes of Khrushchov, the greatest gangster of today, exposed, instead of talking about sympathy with traitors of the Rosenberg type, with the "daring feats" of Al Capone and the "heroism" of the Spanish Reds? The Communist gangsters, their collaborators and various Russophiles, that is to say the supporters of Russian imperialism, which aims to bring about the destruction of the culture of the whole of mankind, are given a better reception in the political and intellectual life of the Occident than are

the uncompromising fighters against Russian tyranny. These fighters were never collaborators of Russia. They at all times fought against Red Russia, even in the days of their complete isolation. It has been affirmed that they are too radical (and rightly so!), too nationalistic, although they are persons of principle, character and sound ideas. They languished in Russian and Nazi prisons.

In order to be regarded as "progressive" nowadays, it seems one must have sat at a conference table with the Kremlin gangsters or their quislings at least once in one's life.

The citadel of the old materialist Russian world — Moscow — is today stretching out its arms like a cuttle-fish to seize the organism of the Occident and is permeating the latter with its lying ideas in order to win over friends in the moral marasmus there. The task of these supporters of Moscow is then to pave the way for the Communist plague amongst their own people. Russia's strength lies in the moral weakness of Western society.

In the meantime, however, a new world is coming into existence in the form of the underground movements of East Europe. But just as the heathens two thousand years ago did not see the star of Bethlehem because they did not believe in the possibility of a new and better world, so, too, the present knights of the Occident, since they do not possess the weapons of the spirit and of noble ideas, fail to perceive the shining islands of the fighting peoples in East Europe, who will destroy the Bastille of hollow, Russian materialist tyranny from within. Out of the heroic effort of these peoples there will arise a new heroic culture and new historic perspectives for mankind in this heroic age. These perspectives are entirely the opposite of those of the hedonistic age. They are the national idea and the national principle for a new and promising world action against the Russian realm of despotism and the world colonial imperium, — the idea of militant Christianity against militant atheism, of freedom of the individual against despotism and slavery, of justice against injustice, of the cross and the sword against the passivity of evil, — in other words, not the spirit of those who, for fear of losing the least possible advantage, risk the loss of the noble idea of a world crusade against the Russian Antichrist. There is no *modus vivendi* between Russian materialist Messianism with its slaves and the national Christian way of life of the freedom-loving nationalism that has been reborn.

In its fight against Russia, Ukraine has hoisted the flag of the national and Christian uncompromising idea. As formerly, today, too, it opposes the Russian motto of "rob what has been robbed" with the watchword "liberate our brothers, win fame, and defend religious faith and the fatherland." The Occident must realize that in this fight its cause, too, is at issue.

Heroism, such as is found in militant Ukraine, or an easy life, such as the majority of Western society leads, — this is the alternative which today confronts youth. One must not merely think in terms of the

poor peasants' and workers' cottages in East Europe, the barracks of the concentration camps, or the huts of the deportees in Kazakhstan; it is not the outward show in life which proves the spiritual value of man, but the sacrifices that he makes for his native country, — this heroism and martyrdom so far unheard of in the history of the world. And youth must allow itself to be influenced by them so that it may become stern, hard and brave and may recognize and stress the values of the spirit, of ethics, of faith and of the national idea.

It was in the stable in Bethlehem that the fate of man's salvation was determined. The present fight against the Russian Antichrist will not be decided in the pompous buildings of 5th Avenue, where Ukraine and the peoples subjugated by Russia are disregarded, but in the huts of the peasants and workers, in the barracks of the concentration camps, where young people long for freedom and are preparing for the last great fight against tyranny.

In the fight against Russian despotism the greatest strategist of the national insurgent fight during the past decades, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), General Roman Shukhevych (Taras Chuprynka), has done the free world a far greater service than, for instance, the successful politicians of the West, such as Roosevelt, who allowed Russia to establish herself in the heart of Europe. And we Ukrainians are proud of such achievements. Like Benjamin Franklin, we, too, rightly say: "Our cause is the cause of all mankind. Our enemy, the demon of destruction and slavery — Russia — has become the enemy of all freedom-loving peoples."

In these troubled times we must renounce the desire for peace and quiet and personal happiness. There is a Chinese proverb which says: "In order to live in peace and quiet, one must be blind and dumb." And what of personal happiness? As Drummond says: "A noble heart is never completely happy if his neighbour is not happy." Those who are inspired by this idea will only find peace and quiet for their conscience if they fight for this idea. The more unattainable an ideal is, the greater must be the effort and the stronger the will, a superhuman will. The lower the spiritual and moral level about us falls, the more powerful must the inner fire of the idea burn in the heart of youth and the stronger must its faith be in the truth of this idea. Without a firm faith in the idea, there can be no victory. Without the longing for what is noble and heroic, one cannot follow in the footsteps of heroes. An anti-materialist and anti-hedonistic revolution of the soul and of moral principles is the precondition for heroic striving.

In its insatiable urge to acquire material things, the weary world fails to hear the subterranean thunder of the new world, which is coming into being in the underground movements of Ukraine and other peoples of East Europe. Those who are subjugated long for what is ideal, for justice, and this their longing is insatiable. All that remains to them in the fight against the armed tyrants is their faith in a higher justice and in God's just punishment in the future. "Victory is only

bestowed on him who can also smile in suffering," says the Ukrainian poetess, O. Teliha.

The occupant is forced to supply the subjugated peoples, too, with weapons. But they will use them against him in order to be able to realize the rights of their native country in the end. The Ukrainian freedom fighter and political thinker, Mikhnovsky, on one occasion rightly said: "What belongs to us by right, we shall take, if needs be, by force." Man never tires if he has a firm faith and is fighting for the victory of an idea. Superfluity in life results in satiation and weariness, in the decay of morals and in doubts. Those who are subjugated have no doubts for the faith in their hearts is invincible.

The darkness of Russian slavery threatens the whole world. The younger generation must be prepared to assume most of the responsibility for the future. But is youth prepared to do so? Again and again it seems imperative to warn those who believe in the possibility of a coexistence with the Russian Antichrist. There can be no compromise in this fight. It must be a fight conducted in every field against Russia until every trace of the peoples' prison, the Russian imperium, is wiped out. The Ukrainian revolutionaries will not rest until the Russian tyrants and the hangman of Ukraine, N. S. Khrushchov, have been destroyed. It is not merely a fight for freedom but a fight for the right of the subjugated peoples to lead their own free life on their own native soil. There can be no freedom without their own government. Their own power is the state.

### LIST OF WORLD'S NATIONS WITH WHOM UKRAINE MAINTAINED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

No.	Nation	Year*	No.	Nation	Year*
1.	Austro-Hungary	1918	19.	League of Nations	1920
2.	Argentina	1921	20.	Latvia	1920
3.	Azerbaidzhan	1918	21.	Lithuania	1918
4.	Belgium	1919	22.	Netherlands	1919
5.	Bulgaria	1918	23.	North Caucasus Mt. Republic	1919
6.	Czechoslovakia	1919	24.	Norway	1919
7.	Denmark	1919	25.	Persia (Iran)	1918
8.	Don-State	1918	26.	Poland	1918
9.	Estonia	1919	27.	Rumania	1918
10.	Finland	1918	28.	Siberia	1918
11.	France	1917	29.	Soviet Russia	1917
12.	Georgia	1918	30.	Spain	1918
13.	Germany	1918	31.	Sweden	1918
14.	Great Britain	1917	32.	Switzerland	1918
15.	Greece	1919	33.	Turkey	1918
16.	Hungary	1918	34.	Vatican (The Holy See)	1919
17.	Italy	1919	35.	White-Ruthenia (Byelorussia)	1918
18.	Kuban Region	1918			

(\*) Year of establishment of diplomatic relations.



A. Furman (Germany)

## BEHIND THE BARBED WIRE

### Ukrainian-Russian Relations in the Concentration Camps from 1945—1955\*)

#### I

An important question which obtrudes itself when discussing the above subject is, — did the Ukrainian internees talk about the "collective blame" on the part of the Russians? One only needs recall the early post-war years in West Germany and the re-education efforts which were at that time assiduously carried out by the Allies. An important part of this re-education was the theory of the "collective blame" of the Germans.

This theory was a favourite one in particular amongst the German Marxists and the disguised Communists.

Unfortunately, these elements found favour in the eyes of the Allies, at least until 1949. The latter, however, then realized their mistake; for these constant attempts to foul their own nest, the infamous condemnation of all national values and traditions, and the negation of national consciousness and patriotism were sooner or later bound to drive the entire German people into the arms of Russian Bolshevism. Today, one no longer talks about the "collective blame."

But what about the Russians? Were the Ukrainians not justified, for really concrete reasons, in talking about a "collective blame" on the part of the Russian people? Hitler's "thousand-year Reich" only lasted twelve years. However dreadful the crimes committed by the Nazis during this period may have been, they only caused fear and terror amongst half a generation.

But the "Third Rome" has already existed for more than five hundred years. Five hundred years of human history are filled with unparalleled atrocities which were and are committed by Russians, in the name of Russia and "in honour of Russia." For five hundred years the Russian people have tolerated and supported a ruthless barbarization, compared to which the machinations of the ancient

\*) The author, a German, spent 10 years in Russian concentration camps. —  
The Editor.

despots seem like harmless pranks! The guilt of the Russian people in this respect is monstrous and beyond all comparison, and, however drastic such a statement may sound, is beyond all atonement.

But though it may seem incomprehensible, — the Ukrainians in the concentration camps never talked of a Russian "collective blame." In no resolution, in no appeal by the underground front, in no strike slogans and in no appeal to start an insurrection were these words ever used. And there was a good reason for this. In the first place, the crimes committed by the Russians and in the name of Russia were known to every Ukrainian. And, of course, they were known to the Russians, too. It was not necessary to launch a special propaganda campaign amongst the prisoners in the concentration camps in order to spread these facts, which, in any case, spoke for themselves.

In addition, millions of Ukrainians, prisoners and deportees, were eyewitnesses of one of the greatest crimes in Russian history: namely the colonial imperialistic campaign of subjugation launched by Stalin, a campaign which was directed above all against the Ukrainians, against Ukrainian independence and freedom, a campaign which the West erroneously called "Stalinism." As if this campaign of subjugation would have been any milder if Lenin, Trotsky, a Tsar or even Vlasov had been the Russian ruler instead of Stalin! The millions of Ukrainians behind barbed wire and in exile were the most concrete proof of the criminal character of the Russian clique of rulers.

In any case, what advantage would the Ukrainians have derived from propagating the "collective blame" of the Russians? In other words, would the open and secret propagation of the Russian "collective blame" in any way have facilitated or augmented the fight of the Ukrainian underground front in Vorkuta and in other regions in which concentration camps were located? No! The Ukrainian underground front was practical-minded and thought in terms of the tactical aim.

During the years 1945 to 1955, the tactical aim was the ideological, political and military mobilization of the bulk of the Ukrainian prisoners for the purpose of local riots, the aim of which was to increase the self-confidence of the prisoners, to undermine production, to cause alarm amongst the secret police and, lastly, to draw the attention of the public all over the world to the underground front.

The most important methods of this mobilisation campaign were from the outset the destruction of the Fifth Column in the camps (informers, brigade-members, pro-Russian elements), mass sabotage, attacks on leading men of the secret police and their henchmen, the setting up of a unified front consisting of all the non-Russian nationalities, general strikes and armed insurrection.

Neither time nor means were available for large-scale propaganda campaigns and the human sacrifices involved in that case would have been in vain. Such campaigns would not have been worth-while. The enemy's front could only be shaken by means of violent action which had been carefully planned and organized. The aim to be achieved was therefore not a revolution in words, but a revolution of clenched fists.

## II

Russians behind barbed wire? Yes, there was such a thing, too. There were also Russians behind the barbed wire that had been put up to protect the "Russian fatherland" against its enemies. These Russians were comparatively few and did not number millions like the Ukrainians. Only about ten per cent of the internees in the concentration camps were Russians. But these Russian prisoners did not constitute a solid bloc or front as the Ukrainians did. The Russians are guided by two opposing instincts: the herd instinct which precludes all individuality, and, on the other hand, crass individualism, which negates all community, every form of charity to one's fellow men and brotherhood. Both these instincts have something in common. They are definitely anti-social, amoral and inhuman. They are a reversion to the primitiveness of man of the Stone Age, who acted according to the brutal and natural law, — if you do not want to be my brother, I shall crack your skull!

The Russian prisoners were divided up into small and entirely insignificant groups, which played no part at all in the riots. With or without the ten per cent of Russian prisoners, the courageous riots after the war were exclusively the work of the Ukrainians and the non-Russian national groups that were their allies.

From the sociological, ideological and political point of view, the said ten per cent reflected the true position of the Russian element today.

Leninists, Trotskyists and other supporters of former Communist Party leaders, who had been liquidated by Stalin, constituted one of the many splinter groups amongst the Russian prisoners. In former times, before they were sentenced to imprisonment, they all held leading positions in the Party and the state. In camp they naturally tried to get to the top again. They were only too willing to take on higher posts there in order to give concrete proof of their "spirit of atonement." As informers, brigadiers and barrack commanders they quite openly co-operated with the secret police and for this reason were hated like poison and also persecuted by the rest of the prisoners.

Shortly before the big riot in the summer of 1953, the illegal camp tribunals, which for the most part consisted of Ukrainians, sentenced many of them to death and executed this sentence.

In all fairness we must admit that the rest of the Russian prisoners refused to have anything to do with these vile elements.

The White Russian "liberation" general, Vlasov, was liquidated by the Red Russian "liberators," and the major part of the officers' corps of the ROA perished with him. A large number of his men, however, were interned in Vorkuta, and I knew many of them personally. Their fate as human beings was indeed tragic.

Their political fate, on the other hand, was not without a certain grim, humorous touch. Many of these Vlasov men had been staunch soldiers of the Red Army until 1941 or 1942. And then something entirely incomprehensible happened, as far as they were concerned, —

under the deadly blows of the German troops, the "invincible" Red Army was put to rout and millions of soldiers of this army were taken prisoners-of-war by the Germans.

In despair at the degrading and inhuman conditions in camp, in anger at the treachery of the Party, embittered at the thought of having lived a life of falsehood, and also by reason of desire for adventure and admiration for the military feats of the Germans, many of these former staunch soldiers of the Red Army became staunch anti-Red Army soldiers.

And then the Nazi regime collapsed and with it the illusions harboured by Vlasov's men. In Vorkuta they now had plenty of time to bewail their lot. In fact, the main occupation of the Vlasov men consisted in constant laments and complaints and, in keeping with the old Russian custom, they "scourged" their Russian souls and cursed the whole world. No, the Vlasov men were never an active element in the prisoners' underground front. They were nothing but a part of the past. They hardly played any part at all (with the exception of a few courageous ones) in the riots and strikes; and, incidentally, they were hostile towards the Ukrainians. But their opposition was no great obstacle to the Ukrainians, for they were too few in number; they had no supporters, no guiding principle and no power.

In addition to the Trotskyists and Vlasov men, there was also a third Russian group, which, compared to the two afore-said groups, played an even more insignificant part in the prisoners' underground front, for the simple reason that they upheld no political opinion whatever, let alone a programme. I have called them a group, but it would probably be more correct to describe them as a "black crowd," a crowd that was not united and had no leader.

This "crowd" consisted of all the criminal elements, including the members of the notorious Russian gangster organization "Black Cat," who during the war had carried on their criminal activity behind the fighting lines and had then continued to exist in the camps, at least until 1949, when they were exterminated by the underground front. Thieves, swindlers, pimps and card-sharpers likewise belonged to the "black crowd."

The "black crowd" also included amongst its supporters men of the lower ranks of the Vlasov army, namely the so-called auxiliary volunteers, who had served voluntarily in purely German units of the German army, as well as collaborators, who had hired their services as officials or informers to the Germans, Roumanians or Hungarians, and, lastly, some unfortunate workers from East Europe employed as slave labour in Germany and prisoners-of-war who — in many cases, but not always — had been forced to work in the German armament industry against their will.

The members of the "black crowd" were always intent upon securing their release from the camp as soon as possible by fulfilling the quota of work set and by acting as petty informers on every possible

occasion. They had no scruples about betraying their comrades. In fact, their motto was: "The main thing is that I manage to get out of here as fast as possible, — all the others can go to hell!"

Were they inferior beings? In the biological sense, most certainly not, but in the moral sense, definitely yes! They never took part in political discussion with the Ukrainians because they were simply not capable of doing so. They had had practically no education; they lived in a world of resentment and reactionary prejudices, in a world of ridiculous chauvinism and egoism. They were slaves, in the truest sense of the word, — slaves in spirit and mentality.

Like the Vlasov supporters and Trotskyists, however, they always had the same answer ready for one political question: all Ukrainians were their arch-enemies! In addition to their brutal anti-Germanism and anti-Semitism, they were above all possessed of a boundless antipathy against anything Ukrainian and this aversion predominated in their thoughts and in their conversation. "The confounded Fritzes, the confounded Jews, the confounded Ukrainians!" — they would repeat again and again with something akin to fanaticism.

Finally, mention must also be made of another group of Russian prisoners which, though it was very small, played a certain part among the bulk of the Russian prisoners. I am referring to the Russian aristocrats, former guards officers and leaders of the White guards regiments, from the Far East, where until 1945 they had lived under Japanese protection. I knew two of these prisoners personally — Prince Ukhtomsky and Prince Rozhdestvensky.

"Living corpses of the past," — was what the secret police called them contemptuously. And that was what they actually were in the political sense. They were still convinced tsarists and always maintained an attitude of opposition and contempt towards the rest of the Russians. They always kept aloof and stressed the fact that they were aristocrats; there was something both arrogant and fatalistic about their behaviour.

They were aristocrats not so much as regards the views which they held, but, rather, as far as their relations to the other prisoners were concerned. For they never took part in the strikes and riots; and they kept just as aloof from the men of the secret police as they did from the Ukrainian underground fighters. Fatalism masked their arrogance, which was probably inborn, their misanthropy and their tsarist snobbishness. From the moral point of view, they conducted themselves in an exemplary manner. Not one of them would have dreamt of securing their release from camp by acting as an informer, brigadier or collaborator.

And yet, they had something in common with the remainder of their fellow-countrymen, the Stalinists, Trotskyists, Vlasov men and the gangsters, — and that was their "Great Russian" chauvinism, their conception of the Russians as superior beings, and, above all, their hatred of the Ukrainian national revolutionaries. They were primarily Russians — and only in the second place, Communists and tsarists. As regards the question of the preservation of the Muscovite

colonial imperium, there were in this respect no progressive and no reactionary Russians, — but only Russians. Whenever the subject of Russia was brought up, they were all of the same opinion. It must be defended against all "separatists," "traitors" and "national fascists"!

Moscow behind barbed wire was exactly the same as Moscow outside barbed wire, — the old, eternal Muscovy, brutal, sadistic, aggressive, atheistic, arrogant and barbarous.

### III

Torn between stupid fatalism, passivity, objectionable servility and treachery, the Russians went their own way, their Russian way, in the inferno of the Russian concentration camps. And whenever, in spite of this fact, they succeeded in advancing to leading positions in the insurgent front, this usually occurred to the disadvantage of the insurgents.

This was for instance the case in Kingir in 1954. The Russian representative in the central strike committee there (a former Vlasov officer and Russian tank officer who had several decorations and had belonged to the Occupation forces in the East Zone, who, even though his political course was wrong and his decisions were disastrous, most certainly showed a great deal of courage and daring) prevented the bold and promising plan put forward by the Ukrainian representatives in the strike committee from being carried out. The Ukrainians were in favour of concentrating their forces and effecting a break-through out of the camp, which was encircled, liberating the surrounding camps, disarming the garrisons and advancing towards Dzheskazgan, in order to join forces there with the strikers who numbered several thousands. This would have been the signal for a general armed insurrection throughout Kazakhstan. The opportunity for a surprise onslaught would have been extremely favourable. Everyone was eager to abandon the nerve-racking defensive and go over to an open and bold offensive at last!

When the Russians voted against this plan because it did not seem practicable to them ("too utopian") and even threatened to break off the general strike, the Ukrainians withdrew their plan, — but solely for reasons of solidarity, for they did not want to disintegrate the united front, in this case the united front with the Russians, too. The break-through was not effected, and a week later the MGB units attacked. Thus ended the riot of Kingir, in which 500 Ukrainian heroes were massacred.

An armed national revolution and the complete liquidation of the Russian Bolshevik colonial imperium were the aims which the Ukrainian insurgent prisoners had set themselves. They planned not only to eliminate the Communist dictatorship and to exterminate the exploiting and parasite class, but also to destroy Russian colonialism. For the main source of all misery all inhumanity was — and still is — Russian colonialism.

The Russians, on the other hand, were only willing to consider the elimination of the Communist regime as a last extremity ("anti-Communist social revolution"), but the Russian colonial empire was to continue to exist! However anti-Communist the Russians might behave, they still remained the old arch-reactionaries, the old colonialists and imperialists at heart. Like the chameleon, they changed their colour from one moment to another; one day they were red, next day they were black, and the day after, they were red again; but the fundamental essence of their character always remained the same. Behind their multi-coloured skin, they were always one-coloured, out-and-out colonialists.

I clearly recall a violent discussion in a strike committee to which I belonged in the summer of 1953 as representative of the German prisoners. The question at issue on this occasion was not a tactical problem, but a matter of principle, namely the strategical aim which we, the 300,000 prisoners of Vorkuta, had set ourselves. We were all of the same unanimous opinion, with the exception of one group, which violently opposed our plan, — the Russians! They, too, had gone on strike, but they only aimed to achieve a "social progress" by their measure. "Down with Communism, long live eternal Russia!" — was their chauvinistic slogan. In fact, they quite openly admitted that they would rather suffer under Communism for another hundred years than experience the disintegration of the Russian empire!

A split ensued in the committee. And this in its turn led to the isolation of the Russians, for there was no one who would have agreed with their imperialistic point of view. A Ukrainian strike-leader gave them a fitting answer. "We cannot join forces with you," he said; "You have no right to call yourselves anti-Communists. Communism is a crime and so, too, is colonialism. Both of them must vanish... You call yourselves revolutionaries and freedom-fighters, just as the Decembrists, anarchists and "Kadety" (liberals) once called themselves freedom-fighters, too. But the freedom that you meant, was our slavery! 'Social progress' on the corpses of murdered Ukrainians and Caucasians... Freedom for the Russian people, but subjugation for our peoples, occupation and exploitation!... The Tsar, Bakunin, Kerensky, Lenin, Vlasov — they are all part of the same morass, — one and the same clique, one of the same gang of colonialists and imperialists. It is a perpetual disgrace to the Russian people that they have never produced a statesman, priest, poet or philosopher who has hurled the dreadful truth in their face; no Russian has ever demanded that his people should depart from their course of national subjugation! Not one! No, you and we have nothing whatever in common... there is only one relation between Kyiv and Moscow — and that is conflict. And we shall go on fighting in this conflict until there is a Ukrainian Kyiv, a Latvian Riga and a Georgian Tiflis again! This is the course that we shall pursue."

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## DOCUMENTS OF INDEPENDENCE

(Below we publish translations of a number of documents illustrating the period of independence of Ukraine proclaimed 43 years ago on 22nd January, 1918.)

### THE FOURTH UNIVERSAL OF JANUARY 22, 1918

proclaiming

### UKRAINE A SOVEREIGN STATE

#### People of Ukraine:

Through your efforts, will and word, a FREE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC has been established on Ukrainian soil. At long last the visionary dream of your fathers, fighters for freedom and human rights, has been realized. But the freedom of Ukraine was born in a very difficult hour. Four years of war have weakened our nation, factories do not produce, production has slowed down, communications are damaged, currency is being devaluated — we stand on the brink of famine...

Meanwhile the Soviet of the People's Commissars, the St. Petersburg Government, in order to annihilate the free Ukrainian Republic has declared war on Ukraine sending its troops to our land... The same St. Petersburg Government of People's Commissars is purposely delaying the peace; what is more it is calling for a new war, defining it as a "holy war..."

We, the Ukrainian Central Rada, cannot agree to that, and will not support any wars, for the Ukrainian people want peace, and a democratic peace should come as soon as possible.

In order that neither the Russians nor any other Government should hinder Ukraine in its task of establishing the desired peace, in order that the country may be brought back to normal, to creative work, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, proclaim to the citizens of Ukraine the following:

As from today the Ukrainian National Republic becomes an independent, free and sovereign state of the Ukrainian People.

We want to live in peace and friendship with all the neighbouring states, such as Russia, Poland, Austria, Roumania, Turkey and others. But not one of these states can interfere with the affairs of the free Ukrainian Republic... In the free Ukrainian National Republic all the nationalities enjoy the privilege of personal autonomy granted to them by law on January 9, 1918...

UKRAINIAN CENTRAL RADA

Kyiv, January 22, 1918.



**DE FACTO RECOGNITION OF UKRAINE  
BY FRANCE AND BRITAIN**

**French Military Mission  
in Russia  
Front S. E.**

Kyiv, December 5-18, 1917

The Allied Powers have not yet arrived at an official decision regarding Ukraine, but I have already been charged with transmitting to M. Choulguine the sympathy of the Allies with the efforts of the Ukrainian Government to establish order, to reconstitute a resistance force, and to remain true to the Allies.

I had believed it my duty not to wait for an official order and to ask you to grant me an audience so that no precious time may be lost and so that we may not be caught unawares if the moment of action comes, and, consequently, to prepare the material for a possible discussion of the financial and technical help which the Allies could give to Ukraine to help it in its gigantic project of organization and reestablishment.

I am happy to have taken this initiative, for yesterday I received the order to invite you, in view of a financial and technical help which France may give to Ukraine, to specify and send to the French Embassy, as soon as possible, the prospective program of the Ukrainian Government and its relative needs.

Judging by this step which I am undertaking on my own you may realize that the sympathy of France with regard to you is both real and positive.

**Tabouis**

**EMISSARY OF THE REPUBLIC OF FRANCE**

Kyiv, December 21, 1917  
January 3, 1918

**The Secretary General  
of Foreign Affairs  
of the Republic of Ukraine.**

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

I have the honour to inform your Government of the Republic of Ukraine that the Government of the Republic of France has appointed me as Emissary of the Republic of France to the Government of the Republic of Ukraine.

I would like to inquire about the day and the hour when an interview could be granted to me with the chief of the Government in order that I may pay my respects and present my credentials.

Please be assured, Mr. Secretary General, of my highest regards.

**Tabouis**

## REPRESENTATIVE OF GREAT BRITAIN

January, 1918

His Excellency  
the President of the Council of Ministers  
of the Ukrainian National Republic.

Excellency:

I have the honour to inform you that the Government of His Majesty Britannic has appointed me, by telegraph, as the only Representative of Great Britain in Ukraine.

My Government has charged me with the pleasant duty of assuring you of our good-will. It is ready to support with all its strength the Ukrainian Government in all its efforts to establish and maintain order and good government, and to stand against the Central Powers, enemies of democracy and humanity.

On my part, Mr. President, I have the honour to assure you of my complete devotion to the realization of our common ideals.

Picton Bagge

Representative of Great Britain  
in Ukraine

## DE JURE RECOGNITION OF UKRAINE BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

On December 17, 1917, the Central Rada of the Ukrainian National Republic received the following telegram in Kyiv:

"In view of the interests of unity and brotherhood of the workers and the exploited masses in their fight for socialism, in view of the recognition of these principles by numerous resolutions of the executive organs of the revolutionary-democratic Soviet, especially the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, the socialist government of Russia, "Soviet of the People's Commissars," once again reiterates the right to self-determination of all nations subjugated by the tsars and the Russian bourgeoisie, including the rights of these nations to a complete separation from Russia. Therefore we, the Soviet of the People's Commissars, recognize the Ukrainian National Republic's right to a complete separation from Russia or to an agreement with the Russian Republic on a federative or other basis. All that pertains to the national rights and national independence of the Ukrainian people, we, the Soviet of the People's Commissars, herewith recognize fully, without restrictions or conditions..."

Soviet of the People's Commissars:

Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin)

Chairman

Leo Trotsky

Foreign Affairs Commissar

## PEACE TREATY

### BETWEEN UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC ON THE ONE HAND AND GERMANY, AUSTRO-HUNGARY, BULGARIA AND TURKEY ON THE OTHER

Because the Ukrainian people in the course of the present war has proclaimed its independence and expressed its willingness to return to the state of peace with all the nations who are in a state of war with Russia, the Government of Germany, Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey have decided to sign a peace treaty with the Government of the Ukrainian National Republic, thus taking the first step toward a lasting world peace, honourable to all, which is to end all the horrors of war and also to establish friendly relations between peoples in political, judicial, economical and cultural fields. To do this, the following representatives of the following national governments have met at BREST LITOVSK:

For the Government of the Ukrainian National Republic, the members of the Ukrainian Central Rada: Mr. Alexander Sevriuk, Mr. Mykola Lubynskyj and Mr. Mykola Levytskyj;

For the Government of Germany, its Secretary of State Richard von Kuhlmann;

For the Government of Austro-Hungary, its Secretary of State Ottocar Graf Tschernin von und zu Chudenitz;

For the Government of Bulgaria, its President, Minister Dr. Basil Radoslavov, Congressman Andrew Toshev, Congressman Ivan Stoyanovich, Col. Peter Ganchev and Dr. Theodor Anastasov;

For the Government of Turkey, its Secretary of State Ahmed Nessimi Bey, Mr. Ibrahim Hakki Pasha and Gen. Ahmed Itsuet Pasha;

and after the presentation of their credentials which were acknowledged, they all agreed to the following:

#### Article I

The Ukrainian National Republic on the one hand and Germany, Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey on the other, declare the end of war between those nations. Participants of this treaty agree to live in peace and friendship among themselves.

#### Article II

1) The frontier between the Ukrainian National Republic and Austro-Hungary, inasmuch as the two states have a common border, will be the same one which existed between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Russia prior to the war.

2) Further north the frontier of the Ukrainian National Republic will begin at Tarnohrad and proceeds through Bilhoray-Shchebreshyn-Krasnostav-Puhachiv-Radyn-Mezhyriche-Sarnaky-Melnyk-Vyhonsk — Lytovsk-Pruzhany-Lake Vyhonsk. Detailed establishment of the frontier will be conducted by a special commission which is to consider the ethnographic background and the desires of the local population.

3) In case of the eventual border of the Ukrainian National Republic with any nation, other than the parties to the peace treaty, the problem will be separately discussed and agreed upon.

### Article III

Withdrawal from the occupied territory will begin immediately after ratification of this treaty. The manner of withdrawal and transfer of authorities is to be agreed upon by the representatives of the interested parties.

### Article IV

Diplomatic and consular relations between the participants of the treaty will begin immediately after the ratification of this peace treaty...

This treaty was prepared in five copies in BREST LITOVSK on February 9, 1918, and signed by all the participants mentioned above and also by the representative of the German Armed Forces, Chief of Staff — Eastern Front: Major-General Hoffmann.

## UKRAINE AND THE U.S.A.

On January 9, 1918, American Ambassador Francis reported the following to the Secretary of State:

"Beginning to think separate peace improbable perhaps impossible and inclined to recommend simultaneous recognition of Finland, Ukraine, Siberia, perhaps Don Cossack Province and Soviet de facto governments..."\*\*)

\*\*\*) Ibid, Vol. I., p. 336.

On January 11, 1918, acting Secretary of State Polk answered the diplomatic note presented by French Ambassador Jusserand as follows:

"In reply I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that this government is giving careful consideration to the whole situation, but as yet has reached no determination as to acknowledging separate governments in Russia."\*\*\*)

\*\*\*) Ibid, Vol. II., p. 655.

## MESSAGE OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL TO PRESIDENT WILSON

On October 15, 1918, the Ukrainian National Council sent the following message to President Wilson through the American Minister, Mr. Stovall:

"Ukrainian National Council just founded in Switzerland of representatives of almost all political parties of Ukraine for the defense of Ukrainian national and democratic cause abroad formulates its best wishes to you, Mr. President. It relies entirely on the basis of your program in which it sees the best guarantee for the continued free existence of the independent Ukrainian state. We are sure that the entire Ukrainian people is at one with us in placing its entire confidence in your defense of our independence before our enemies. Ukraine does not wish to encroach upon the rights of other people. Her only wish is that all the territories populated by our race, including Eastern Galicia and Bukovina now oppressed by the Austrians, be reunited under a free and independent government entering as a member into the society of nations.

(Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918, Russia, Vol. 11, U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 697.)

## COPY OF THE CREDENTIALS OF CHRISTIAN G. RAKOVSKY TO THE ARMISTICE TALKS

The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic has delegated on April 27, of this year, Comrade Christian G. Rakovsky as its representative to the armistice talks beginning on May 22 of this year in Kyiv with the representatives of Ukraine authorized to conduct the peace talks between the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic and Ukraine and also to sign all the documents of the talks and the peace treaty.

Moscow, the Kremlin, May 25, 1918.

No. 3019

Chairman of the Central Executive Committee  
**Sverdlov**

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars  
**Ulyanov (Lenin)**

Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars  
**Karakhan**

Executive of the Council of People's Commissars  
**Bonch-Bruyevich**

### TSAR FERDINAND OF BULGARIA TO THE HETMAN OF UKRAINE PAVLO SKOROPADSKY\*)

My dear and great friend,

Desiring very much to strengthen friendly relations between Bulgaria and Ukraine, which fortunately have already been established, I have decided to appoint as Ambassador extraordinary and authorized Minister to Your Majesty, Dr. Ivan Shishmanov, professor of the university of Sofia, former minister of education, decorated for his distinguished services with the Cross of the National Order and the Cross of the Tsar's Order of His Holiness Alexander. I have advised him to see to it that he deserves Your Majesty's respect and trust; as I know his abilities and devotion to me, I am certain he will comply fully to my satisfaction and carry out the assignment given to him. Being assured in that I ask Your Majesty, Hetman, kindly to accept the credentials of Ambassador Shishmanov and also to trust every word he will have the honour to transmit You in my name. Particularly, please accept my best wishes for Your Majesty and wishes for Ukraine's glory and happiness. With the expression of my deep respect and hearty friendship for Your Majesty, I remain a true friend,

**Ferdinand**  
Tsar of Bulgaria

### REGIONAL COUNCIL OF THE KINGDOM OF POLAND TO THE HETMAN OF UKRAINE

Your Majesty, Hetman, Distinguished Friend,

With the aim of establishing as soon as possible the relations of Poland with the great state of Ukraine, and with the hope that the two great nations, devoted to the good of their people, will live in peace and friendship, we have decided to appoint Mr. Stanislaw Wankowicz as Ambassador extraordinary and authorized Minister to Your Majesty. The experience and character with which our Ambassador extraordinary is equipped, make it possible for us to hope that Your Majesty will respectfully accept him.

We kindly ask Your Majesty to trust all the statements which Mr. Stanislaw Wankowicz will make in our name and most of all when he will assure You of our stable feelings of respect and friendship. In conveying to you the expression of our high esteem and loyal friendship, we pray to God that He may keep Your Majesty in His Holy and Almighty care.

Given at the King's Palace in Warsaw on November 26, 1918.

Signed: Alexander Kakowski, Jozef Ostrowski, Zdzislaw Lubomirski,  
Janusz Radziwill — Minister of Interior.

\*) The letter was transmitted by Dr. Shishmanov to the Hetman on August 1, 1918 in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine.

## DECREE ON UKRAINIAN CITIZENSHIP

signed by the Hetman on July 2, 1918.

The Council of Ministers has agreed and the Hetman has approved the following Decree of citizenship in Ukraine:

1. Under the term "citizen of Ukraine" it is understood that such an individual has legally accepted the rights and the duties of the Ukrainian citizen.

2. The citizen of Ukraine is not allowed to be simultaneously a citizen or subject of another country.

3. Political rights of Ukraine in their entirety, including the active and passive rights to participate in elections to public and legal institutions and also the right to governmental civil service belong to the citizens of Ukraine only, but they also carry the responsibility of caring for the good of Ukraine and, if necessary, of sacrificing their own lives for her.

**Remark:** State and civil jobs are available to aliens only on the basis of a special law...

4. All Russian citizens residing in Ukraine at the time this decree is issued are automatically given the rights of the Ukrainian citizen. Any person desiring to retain their former citizenship should report to the local authorities within one month after this decree has been published in order to be registered on a roster for aliens and subjects of a foreign country.

5. Anyone born in Ukraine having a permanent residence abroad has a legal right to Ukrainian citizenship providing that a request for citizenship is submitted within one year after reaching the age of maturity...

## THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

"I promise and swear always to be loyal to the Ukrainian State as my own motherland, to defend the interest of the State and, with all my strength, to help in its glory and prosperity, for this even unsparing of my own life.

I promise and swear not to recognize any country except the Ukrainian State as my motherland, loyally to do all the duties of its citizens, to subordinate myself to its Government and duly established authorities, always keeping in mind that the good and the development of my motherland must be above my personal interests."

O. Orlykovsky

## Ukraine's Diplomatic Relations with The Byzantine Patriarchate

In sending its embassy to Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire in 1919, Kyiv counted on this embassy fulfilling a double function. It was to be an embassy not only to the Sultans of Turkey but also to the Patriarchate in Fenari (a district of Byzantium in which all the buildings of the government and the Patriarchate were located).

As the representative of his country, the Ukrainian ambassador had entirely different tasks to fulfil in the Moslem and in the Christian world. And it was for this reason that Ukraine sent its most capable men to the Bosphorus, and indeed they were highly esteemed by both rulers, that is to say by the Sultan and the Patriarch, as well as by all the Mediterranean countries whose representatives resided here and each in his own way represented the interests of his country.

It is the aim of this article to give an account of the relations of the Ukrainian ambassador to the Head of the Orthodox Church. This Byzantine Patriarch was the supreme head of the entire Orthodox world, for since the Byzantine era he had always possessed supreme moral and historical authority.

The establishment of a permanent mission to the Byzantine Patriarchate was of particular importance to Ukraine, for the country was for the most part Orthodox and at that time, 1919/1920, was undergoing a transition, namely from a Church dependent on Moscow to an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church.

After the Ukrainian Orthodox Church had seceded from the Church of Moscow it sought legal recognition on the part of the Byzantine Patriarchate. In other words, our relations to Fenari were not only of a religious but also of a political nature, since the question at issue was the recognition of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church by all the other autocephalous churches of Europe and the Orient.

From the internal political point of view, the recognition of our Church, in particular of the Orthodox Church, was always of primary importance to Ukraine, for the Ukrainian Church, quite apart from its rites, was always closely bound up with the historical and cultural events of the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian Church was always an important part of Ukrainian history.

The subjugation of our Church by Moscow in the 17th century and the suppression of its independence had as their aim the subjugation of Ukraine herself. By making the Ukrainian Church dependent on Moscow, the latter not only gained control of the Church but also of the social and cultural life of the entire nation which developed freely by the side of the ecclesiastical administration and, in fact, could only exist with the help of the Church. For this reason the



restoration of the Ukrainian state in 1918 was to call the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church into being once more. By a decree of January 1, 1919, the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church was proclaimed independent of the Moscow Patriarchate. The Ukrainian government accepted the resolution of the orthodox regarding the secession of the Ukrainian Church from the Moscow Church and officially acknowledged this resolution.

Two authorities on the history of our Church and of the entire Eastern Church who played an important part in effecting the restoration of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church, namely, Prof. O. Lototsky and Prof. F. Matushevsky, were in the spring of 1919, accredited ambassadors of the Ukrainian government. Lototsky was appointed ambassador to the Turkish court and the See of the Patriarch, whilst Matushevsky became ambassador to the Greek court in Athens.

As ambassadors in the two Orthodox centres, both of them, as is known, carried out their functions and tasks extremely skilfully. It was not easy for Ukrainian ambassadors to represent the interests of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in view of the influence which the Russian Orthodox Church had exerted for hundreds of years. The latter succeeded in implanting the opinion that its own view on the history of the East European Orthodox Church was an inalterable truth, even though this historical "truth" contained many misrepresentations of historical facts and concealed those events which were of great historical importance in the history of the Church of the individual East European peoples. In other words, it needed considerable skill and great tact, as well as resoluteness, on the part of the Ukrainian ambassadors to the Constantinople Patriarchate and to the Greek court in Athens to reveal the truth about ecclesiastical conditions, and in this respect the Russian distortions of truth had first of all to be refuted. For this reason, the Ukrainian ambassador to Constantinople, who aimed to persuade the Patriarchate of Constantinople to recognize the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, had also to see to it that the truth was known as regards the existence of Ukraine as a separate entity of East Europe prior to its annexation by Moscow. Under its old historical name of Rus, Ukraine constituted a state which was independent and in which there already existed an Autocephalous Church. As early as 1051 a Ukrainian, Metropolitan Ilarion, was appointed supreme head of this Church. From 1686, when the Ukrainian Church was forcibly united with the Russian Church, until 1919, the Ukrainian Church gradually lost all the special characteristics which distinguished it from the Muscovite Church.

Naturally, the decree of January 1, 1919, met with considerable opposition on the part of the Russian hierarchy in Ukraine, not to mention the wrath on the part of the Russian Orthodox hierarchy in Moscow. After Bolshevik troops occupied the Ukrainian territories, the Russian Patriarchate abolished the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church and subordinated it to its authority.

It was therefore only natural that Russian circles — both ecclesiastical and political — adopted a hostile attitude towards a restoration of the independence of the Ukrainian Church. And Russian circles abroad likewise adopted the same attitude.

\* \* \*

The Ukrainian ambassador to Constantinople, O. Lototsky, was obliged to advocate recognition of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church for canonical reasons. The official authorities of the Patriarchate were extremely conservative as regards ecclesiastical administration and were averse to any changes in this sphere. Moreover, the Patriarch Germanos at that time was not in Constantinople. He had been forced to renounce his office as Patriarch by the victor powers of the Entente on account of his pro-German sympathies. And he was held, as it were, in custody on an island near Constantinople. Meanwhile, Metropolitan Doroteos deputized for him in Constantinople.

In addition, the insecure political position of Ukraine made it difficult to gain recognition for the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. As a result of the victories of the White Russian army on the Soviet front, both Europe and the Patriarchate might rise to power again. And even at that time the leading officials of the Patriarchate in Fenari already dreaded the White Russian circles in Constantinople; indeed, at that time important representatives of the White Russian army and of Russian political life constantly visited Constantinople and also Fenari. It was feared they would seek revenge. Moreover, the representatives of the Entente powers in Constantinople were pro-Russian in their attitude and were greatly influenced by the Russian circles there. Wherever possible they hampered not only the progress of the Ukrainian government but also all diplomatic activity on the part of other non-Russian states which had risen up out of the ruins of the former Russian imperium.

For this reason, the Ukrainian embassy had to set about its efforts to get the independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church recognized very carefully and in this respect was obliged to take the interests of the Patriarchate into account. It must be borne in mind that the competent authorities of the Patriarchate in Fenari were not likely to be in a hurry to issue a document proclaiming the recognition of the independence of the Ukrainian Church and of any other Church, even if they had a certain amount of freedom of action as regards recognizing the Ukrainian Church. The Patriarchate, incidentally, had previously refused to recognize the independence not only of the Bulgarian, Serbian and Georgian Churches but also of the Greek Church related to these in Greece itself.

It was only by presenting the actual facts to Constantinople that the Patriarchate could be forced to realize the true position of the Ukrainian Church as regards its administrative and canonical structure, not to mention the fact that the Russian Church as an instrument of imperialist policy supported the independence of the Orthodox Church

in Poland and even the independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Poland. Such was the situation in 1921.

We consider ourselves justified in affirming that there is not the slightest hope of the Russian Patriarchate ever recognizing the independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

Accordingly, the official regulation of the relations of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church to the Supreme Patriarchate in Constantinople in the years 1919/1920 was only partly successful and only after long negotiations which had already begun on January 15, 1919, when the Ukrainian embassy in Constantinople filed an official petition for recognition of the Ukrainian Church. The following reply was received to this petition from Fenari (not dated):

"In answer to the dispatch of January 15, 1919, the Holy Synod expresses its deep affection and maternal sympathy to the Ukrainian government and thus to the pious Ukrainian people for the sufferings they were obliged to endure during the war. We offer our sincerest thanks to God Almighty and Merciful, to Our Lord Jesus Christ, for having preserved the Ukrainian people from injury and harm and for having kept them free from all evil.

Referring to the request of Your Excellency, the Holy Synod is bound to ascertain, in keeping with the tradition prescribed by history, that Ukraine from the ecclesiastical point of view was free and independent for many years, that it later, in the year 1686, as a result of unfavourable circumstances, was subordinated to the Russian Church, a fact which however does not deprive either the resolution of the Ukrainian people as regards the restoration of their independence, or the justified request of Your Excellency of any historical and canonical basis.

The Holy Synod is therefore convinced that there are no obstacles in this respect which might cause it to withhold its approval of the said well-founded request; in such case, however, the necessary canonical forms must be observed, that is to say the forms which have always been observed so far. These forms would be, firstly, independence; secondly, a petition by the Ukrainian government and the Ukrainian Church in the matter in question, to be addressed to the Church on which they were in some way or other dependent, and, thirdly, the presence of the Supreme Patriarch, which is absolutely imperative in order to give an act of this kind official dignity and validity.

Merely the fact that the three aforesaid canonical forms do not apply in this case prevents the Holy Synod from giving its approval to this petition, even though it is logical and justified.

If Your Excellency would deign to wait some time until a Patriarch has been elected, the Holy Synod considers it possible that the favourable circumstances will then be present which are absolutely imperative for the observance of the aforesaid forms which are now lacking, in which case the request of Your Excellency will then no doubt be satisfied completely.

In this confident hope, the Holy Synod addresses itself in deep affection to its beloved and pious children of the Ukrainian Church, like a mother in her affection for her son; it greets them and is grateful to them and is happy that they will remain firmly united in faith, hope and charity until such time as Our Lord has restored our Church, that they will refuse to heed the deceitful sermons of the propaganda of other religious confessions, and that they will subordinate themselves to those who have been destined and chosen by fate to lead and guide them in religious, ecclesiastical and every other respect.

May the Peace and Blessing of Our Lord be with Your Excellency and the entire Ukrainian pious people always."

This reply by no means satisfied the demands of the embassy and for this reason the latter did not accept it. After renewed negotiations, the Patriarchate on March 20, 1920, sent the following note, which was accepted by both parties. It was worded:

"In reply to the note of Your Excellency of January 15, 1919, we have the honour to inform you as follows, in keeping with the resolution of the Synod in this respect:

As we already informed Your Excellency, our beloved Mr. O. Lototsky, it was not possible, for canonical reasons, that is on account of the vacancy of the See of the Patriarch, for the Holy Synod to reach a final decision as regards the request voiced by your Embassy. In giving you this reply, we wish to express the profound love and devotion of the Mother Church for the pious Ukrainian people. We confidently hope that the high government to which the Ukrainian people are subordinated will continue to adhere to the paternal Orthodox faith and are convinced that your request will be realized in keeping with the sacred canons and rules of the Church.

We give Your Excellency, all the members of the government, as well as the entire Ukrainian people the blessing of the Mother of the great Christian Church and pray for the Grace of Our Lord for the success of your efforts. I shall ardently pray to God for the welfare of Your Excellency and remain

Your humble servant,

The Deputy for the See of the Supreme Patriarchate,

**Doroteos**

March 9, 1920."

This note from the Patriarchate, as O. Lototsky assumes, seemed most appropriate for the time and circumstances concerned. It made the Ukrainian question public and became the "starting-point for further negotiations under more favourable circumstances."

The fact that the Ukrainian ambassador was prepared to accept this note moved Metropolitan Doroteus to tears; full of joy he embraced the Ukrainian ambassador and kissed him.

\* \* \*

Note: We have referred in this article to the information published by Prof. O. Lototsky in Warsaw in 1939 in the work "Constantinople," Vol. XI, Bk. 5, pp. 98-99.

## NONE WILL BE FREE UNTIL ALL ARE FREE

by Frank A. Sedita (Mayor of the City of Buffalo)

On January 22, 1961, the Ukrainian community in Buffalo, together with other American citizens, celebrated the 43rd anniversary of Ukrainian Independence. The main speaker on this occasion was the Mayor of Buffalo, Frank A. Sedita. He appealed to Americans to declare their solidarity with the noble ideals of the Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko, whose 100th anniversary falls this year. In order to honour the poet in a fitting way, Mayor Sedita declared 1961 the Shevchenko Year in Buffalo. On this occasion he issued a special proclamation to the effect that January 22nd be observed as Ukrainian Independence Day.

Below we are publishing the speech delivered by Mayor Frank A. Sedita.

The Ukrainian nation stands as an ancient symbol of the deadly struggle between the forces of human freedom and those of despotism and human slavery. Over the centuries the people of that land have fought off the barbarians coming from the north and the east. She has long been a prize sought by the greedy and the aggressor. Her vast expanse of rich and fertile lands as well as her great natural resources have tempted the tyrant and laid upon her several centuries of foreign occupation.

But Ukraine has produced inspiring sons and daughters in every generation whose rare gifts and dedication have preserved the spirit of national life and culture. The true measure of that spirit may be seen in the fact that several centuries of efforts by the Muscovites to remake the Ukrainians into obedient Russians have met with dismal failure. More than that, this long series of Russian abuses and crimes have served to sharpen the national spirit of Ukraine, to make her people more resourceful and determined to maintain their distinct identity.

March 10, 1961, marks the 100th Anniversary of the death of one such son of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko. Shevchenko was a gifted poet and artist whose immortal pen gave expression to the yearnings of his people for freedom. It is significant that he immortalised George Washington, the father of our country, in the language of his beloved Ukraine. Despite the censorship of the Tsars, Shevchenko was keenly aware of the unique political developments taking place in the United States of America. To him Washington was the symbol of a political

system befitting the dignity of man, a hope for oppressed nations, a manner of living which would fulfil the aspirations of his people. It is equally significant to note that no Russian poet or writer of that era paid public heed to George Washington, despite the fact that their freedom of expression was much greater than that allowed Shevchenko. The reason is both deep and self-evident. It is found in the age-old spirit of the Ukrainian people, a spirit which sets them apart from all that is Russian.

The Congress of the United States took official recognition of the place in history won by Shevchenko by authorizing the erection of a statue of that gallant man in our nation's Capital. This year will witness the completion of the project, to mark the 100th Anniversary of his death. A century will have passed since his pen was stilled but the time has won him a place among those few whose names shall live forever.

It was men and women like Taras Shevchenko who brought about the dismemberment of the Russian Empire in the 1917-18 period. The spirit of national independence was rampant throughout the Empire. Nations long submerged by Russian imperialism rose up to keep their appointment with destiny. Ukraine was in the vanguard of this tidal wave movement. A constituent assembly of the Ukrainian Nation proclaimed independence on January 22, 1918, an action which reflected the will of the people concerned.

Let us not forget that many other nations long submerged by imperial Russia declared their national independence during the same period; Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Cossackia and Idel-Ural. Poland, suffering division and occupation by both imperial Russia and imperial Germany, cast off both oppressors and regained her national independence. Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Czecho-Slovakia, and Yugoslavia entered the family of independent nations shortly thereafter. How bright the picture was for freedom's cause at this juncture of history. But not for long.

The Russian nation, having no aspirations for national independence, was soon taken over by a handful of Bolshevik conspirators. Then a new war started, a war against the newly independent, non-Russian nations. That was the beginning of the war in which we and all other free nations were marked out for destruction. Ukraine was a victim of that first stage of the war in which we are now actively engaged — a war by the Russian Communists against all existing forms of civilization. During the course of 40 odd years no less than 20 once free and independent nations have fallen under the control of this new imperialism, this new colonialism.

For all too long our Department of State has engaged in a false distinction between the first victims of this conspiracy and those who fell victims in somewhat recent years. All the non-Russian nations now under the heel of Moscow are equal victims of the new colonialism. The only difference between them is the point of time — the length of

time they have been suffering in new Russian Prison House of nations. Action by the 83rd Congress in passing Public Law 86-90 was intended to put a stop to this false distinction. All these nations are captive nations. None will be free until all are free. This is the nature of the struggle in which we are engaged. President John F. Kennedy has made it clear that the world cannot exist half slave and half free. It is time that our foreign policy expressed this analysis by actions calculated to bring about the peaceful dismemberment of the Russian Communist Empire.

This task will not be easy. Our allies behind the Russian Iron Curtain, the captive nations, were sorely disappointed by our failure to support the freedom revolts in East Germany in 1953, in Poland in 1956 and then the full-blown Hungarian Freedom Revolution of October 1956. Much of our prestige on both sides of the Iron Curtain was lost when we turned our backs on these historic opportunities. There is an urgent need to win back the confidence of our natural allies behind the Iron Curtain. This should be a first priority task of the Kennedy administration. I am confident that it will be.

There are many signs that all is not well in the Kremlin. Just a few days ago Khrushchov was complaining about the crop failures in Ukraine and, as usual, singled out the scapegoats for this failure. If there is a failure, it results from the persistent efforts of the Ukrainian people to overload the Russians with internal problems. Food shortages stir widespread discontent among the people. Since Ukraine is the breadbasket of the empire, this discontent can be of major significance in slowing down the Russian plans for world conquest. However, we must also be on guard against a second Russian, man-made famine in Ukraine such as was perpetrated in the winter of 1932-33. It is possible that the national spirit in Ukraine has reached such a heat that Moscow will resort to another crime against humanity in an effort to prevent a revolution. Khrushchov was a direct co-conspirator in the man-made famine of 1932-33 and he would not be above a repeat performance.

Our thoughts today naturally turn to the tragic events which crushed the full flower of Ukrainian independence. Thereby we learn the lesson that it is impossible to meet the threat of Russian imperialism without a superior national defense preparedness program. But we can learn a good deal more. Here are some of the lessons we must never forget:

1. We must not forget that Soviet Russia recognized the independence of Ukraine and surrendered all future claims on the territory of Ukraine. This was accomplished by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918. Before one year had elapsed the Russians had broken this treaty and were engaged in armed aggression against Ukraine. Treaties mean nothing to the Russians. They are but scraps of paper to be ignored at the opportune moment. The United States will receive the same treatment on any treaty or agreement entered into with the Russian Communists.

2. We must not forget that this treatment of Ukraine by the Russians established the pattern of armed aggression and occupation which has been used to destroy the national independence of all the Captive Nations. This same pattern of infiltration, deceit, terror and armed invasion is held in readiness for every nation of the world. The United States is no exception. We are marked out for conquest and it is time that we began to take political action against the Russians consistent with this clear and present danger.

3. We must not forget that we must move rapidly to restore a new unity among all nations and peoples dedicated to freedom's cause. This new unity must begin here in the United States. Petty differences and selfish interests must be put aside. Dedication and a willingness to sacrifice must replace the aimless drift which has characterized our foreign policy in recent years. Once we have made it clear that our over-riding national objective is the defeat of the international communist conspiracy, our friends and allies on both sides of the Iron Curtain will rally to the cause. We will then be on the road to peace with justice. Only thus can war be avoided.

4. We must not forget that peaceful co-existence is the road to peaceful surrender. Summitry, journeys to understanding and personal diplomacy are a poor substitute for political action against an enemy who has publicly announced his intention to "bury us." We must accept the reality that the only sound basis for our new foreign policy is the peaceful dismemberment of the Russian Communist Empire. This is the only answer we can give to the enemy who now stands at our gates.

During this centennial year of the death of Taras Shevchenko, a great champion of freedom, we must find some way to honour his memory in our community life. Observances will be held and I look forward to taking part in them. Perhaps a way can be found to memorialize the name of this patriot in the public life of our community. You have the assurance of my support in advancing such a worthy undertaking.

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### UKRAINIAN PROTEST IN BONN

A strong Ukrainian protest was handed the German authorities in Bonn. Former Prime Minister of the Free Ukraine, Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, strongly protested allegation of the Attorney General accusing Ukrainian nationalists of atrocities in Lviv soon after the outbreak of the German-Russian war in 1941. Summing up the evidence against the former Minister for Refugees, Dr. Oberlander, accused in said atrocities, the Attorney General

cleared the accused by stating that it is possible that "certain groups of Ukrainians are guilty of mentioned crimes."

Mr. Stetzko firmly rejected German allegations, stating that there are many witnesses in the West who could testify that during his government's activities no atrocities against certain segments of the population in Ukraine took place.



Rostyslaw Jendyk

## The Public Prosecutor in The Role of Defence Lawyer and Judge

### The German "love of Jews" and Ukrainian "anti-Semitism"

Relations between Ukrainians and Jews are marred again and again by reproaches on both sides. The Ukrainians reproach the Jews with inciting anti-Ukrainian campaigns all over the world, whilst the Jews accuse the Ukrainians of anti-Semitism.

The well-known Jewish scholar and politician of the Jewish organization "Bnei Brist" and member of the department for the research of Ukrainian-Jewish relations at the Ukrainian Free Academy, Dr. Josef Lichten, says that "myths and superstitions," whose origins go back a long way and which could so far not be abolished, play an important part as regards these mutual reproaches. We should like to add that for two important reasons these two concepts — myths and superstitions — still exist today: 1) The Jews are not thoroughly acquainted with Ukrainian history and cannot therefore understand the liberation movement of the Ukrainian people. 2) The free and objective conditions under which the true character of the representatives of both peoples could have revealed itself are lacking, or, in other words, the Ukrainian state in which there can be no room for anti-Semitism is lacking. This is seen most clearly from the work of another Jew, Prof. S. I. Goldelmann, in which he praises the Jewish autonomy in Ukraine during the years 1917 to 1920 as the first of its kind in the world.

The fact that they have no fundamental state laws of their own has prevented the Ukrainians from authoritatively combatting not only the superstitions of the Jews but also those of foreign peoples. The Ukrainians are in a very unhappy position, since not only the Jews but also other people reproach them with anti-Semitism. And this reproach is all the harder to bear when it comes from an entirely unexpected quarter, namely from the Germans.

We are referring to the notorious case in connection with Prof. Dr. Theodor Oberländer, whom the Bolsheviks accused of having carried out pogroms in Lviv. The representatives of the Ukrainian emigrants were on the side of Oberländer, since this matter concerned not only him but also the Ukrainian people.

But the big surprise came when Oberländer's reputation was whitewashed and the Ukrainians were accused of being anti-Semites!

On September 26, 1960, the legal press department of the County Court in Bonn published a statement regarding the charge filed against Prof. Oberländer. He had been reproached with having taken part in mass pogroms against the Jews in Lviv between June 24th and July 15th, 1941. The preamble to this statement was worded as follows:

"Since the contents of the motion for prosecution are directed not only against the two officers of the "Nightingale" battalion who are mentioned by name, Dr. Oberländer and Dr. Herzner, but also against the entire unit, which is charged with having taking part in the mass murder of inhabitants of Lviv, I instituted investigatory proceedings, file No. 8 Js 344/59, against the members of the "Nightingale" battalion. In these proceedings events in Lviv prior to and after the occupation of the town by German troops (on June 30, 1941) were clarified on the strength of detailed and extensive investigations. Testimony was taken from German members of the "Nightingale" battalion (officers, non-commissioned officers and men); numerous witnesses from Germany and abroad were interrogated, and original pictorial documents were produced as evidence. In addition, all the publications on the period in question and the data of the Allied Military Court in Nuremberg in the so-called military group trial against Ohlendorf and others were also used as evidence."

In this investigation the events in Lviv prior to and after the occupation of the town by the German forces on June 30, 1941, were reconstructed on the strength of careful and extensive research. Those members of the "Nightingale" battalion whose names could be ascertained, etc., were interrogated."

As regards this preamble, no fault can be found with it. It defines the nature of the charge, enumerates all the persons involved and lists the means used by the public prosecutor to clarify the charge. In clarifying the facts of the case, however, reproaches are already raised against the Ukrainians. But on the strength of their experience in similar causes, the latter know how to reply to these reproaches.

When the tsarist Russian regime prevailed in Ukraine, the black Russian gangs organized pogroms on numerous occasions. No one in the free world, however, accuses the Russians of these crimes, but instead, the Ukrainian people! Later, the Nazi regime assumed power and set itself the aim of exterminating all Jews. Once again, the Ukrainians are accused of crimes which were committed on their soil by another people. Is the fact that Ukrainian territory was used to commit such crimes sufficient reason to bring forward such a serious charge against its inhabitants? Surely a strange logic!

Let us first of all consider the reproaches contained in the arguments advanced by the public prosecutor:

"During the period from June 24th to June 27th, that is to say during the days prior to the occupation of the town by German troops, whose first fighting units did not enter the town until the early morning hours of June 30, 1941, countless prisoners, above all

Ukrainian nationalists, in the prisons in Lviv, whose exact number is not known but, on the strength of reliable sources, can be estimated at about three thousand, were killed. There is clear evidence that the German army and other military or political detachments or authorities, either consisting of Germans or under German leadership, and in particular the "Nightingale" battalion, were not responsible for these mass murders."

What strikes one most about this statement on the part of the public prosecutor is the fact that the names of the perpetrators of these crimes — the Russian Bolsheviks — are not mentioned at all. One may, of course, say that it is self-evident! But if this euphemism is introduced with regard to facts, why then is it omitted completely from what are purely assumptions? It is omitted for fear of "annoying" Moscow and in order to leave more scope for assumptions by producing inaccurate data when clarifying subsequent events.

But to continue the statement by the public prosecutor!

"Immediately after the occupation of the town of Lviv by German troops, a pogrom that was instigated by members of various national Ukrainian movements was carried out by part of the Ukrainian population of the town against the Jews living there and resulted not only in serious cases of ill-treatment but also in the murder of countless former Jewish citizens of Lviv. According to statements made by former inhabitants of Lviv and in particular by numerous witnesses affected by the pogrom, who are now living in Israel, members of the German army did not take part in the atrocities against the Jews, which lasted until about July 3, 1941. According to the investigations undertaken, however, it is not out of the question that Ukrainian members of the "Nightingale" battalion, whose names cannot be ascertained, of their own accord and unknown to and against the explicit orders of the commander of the battalion, Dr. Herzner, and the liaison officer, Dr. Oberländer, took part in acts of ill-treatment and murder in the course of the pogrom against the Jews."

We should like to stress most emphatically that no Ukrainians either organized or carried out any anti-Semitic pogroms. If the public prosecutor had stated definitely — and the witnesses undoubtedly testified to this fact — that the murder of over 3,000 Ukrainian nationalists in the prisons of Lviv was committed by the NKVD, the defamations and accusations put forward by Moscow against Oberländer and the "Nightingale" battalion would have appeared in a very different light.

Moscow did not impute the pogroms against the Jews at the beginning of July, 1941, to Oberländer and the "Nightingale" battalion so much as, rather, the murder of prisoners in the prisons, a crime which it, that is the NKVD, committed itself. Why did the public prosecutor only take the Jews in particular into account? Why did he overlook the thousands of Ukrainian, Polish and Jewish

prisoners who were murdered by the NKVD? One might possibly understand and perhaps partly justify his attitude if these NKVD men and their henchmen had been seized and punished on the spot for their atrocious crimes by the relatives of the persons who had been murdered. But there is no foundation for the statement that that was precisely what happened.

In those dreadful days, the inhabitants of Lviv were fully occupied with the terrible task of trying to trace their relatives and friends amongst the persons who had been murdered, and were neither psychologically nor objectively in a position to harbour thoughts of revenge. The entire town was overwhelmed by sorrow and despair at the atrocities that had been committed.

Moreover, it can hardly be assumed that the average citizen would have attempted to carry out anti-Semitic pogroms at a time when the entire town was occupied by German soldiers. In any case, the Jews did not show themselves in the streets at all at that time. And when they did, namely after the Bolshevik soldiers had left the town and the Soviet civilians employed in the administration, including countless Jews, had begun to trek eastwards in the hope of getting through between the fighting divisions, they were not attacked in any way by the population of Lviv. We repeat, — the mass murders occurred prior to and during the retreat of the Bolshevik soldiers, and there was no power which could have prevented any pogroms.

The author of this article arrived in Lviv on July 11th or 12th, 1941, and was particularly interested in learning the truth about any pogroms that might have taken place. He came to Lviv because he had talked to an acquaintance on July 1st, that is to say twenty-four hours after the town of Lviv had been occupied by German troops. The said acquaintance, who was with the government in German-occupied Poland, told him about pogroms in Lviv. From this it can be seen that the Nazis in Cracow were planning pogroms; and from the statements of the public prosecutor it is obvious that various pogroms were also carried out at the beginning of July. On the other hand, however, the author, on arriving in Lviv, heard nothing about any pogroms from his Jewish friends and acquaintances and, in particular, nothing about any pogroms which had allegedly been carried out by the Ukrainians, although, according to the statements of the public prosecutor, these pogroms lasted three or four days. Obviously this is a case of activity on the part of the Gestapo and the Security Service in Lviv; and on the strength of the testimony given by his German witnesses, the German public prosecutor must be well aware of this fact. But if he ascertained that pogroms against the Jews occurred in Lviv at the time in question, then he must put them down to the Nazi police organs which arrived in Lviv immediately after the first German troops; how could one assume that the gentlemen of the Gestapo waited for three or four days, after the proclamation of the independent state of Ukraine on June 30, 1941, before travelling from Cracow to Lviv! No, they travelled to Lviv at once;

and, as can be surmised from the statements of public prosecutor, they liquidated the Jews there as they did elsewhere in Europe. They did so more or less openly. And precisely these "heroic deeds" on the part of the Gestapo are blamed on the Ukrainians by the public prosecutor. It does indeed seem strange that the Gestapo, which had been operating in Lviv since July 1st, should have left the Jews in peace and, what is more, allegedly protected them from the Ukrainians who organized pogroms against them! Certainly, very strange! To judge from the statements of the public prosecutor, it looks as though the Gestapo first had to learn how to murder from the Ukrainians.

If the public prosecutor affirms that pogroms took place at the beginning of July, how does he come to assume that they were carried out by "members of various national Ukrainian movements"? The Ukrainians were already fighting the Polish occupants, who had deprived them of all national and human rights, before the war. But they never fought the Jews, for the latter were in the same position as themselves and were frequently the target of excesses on the part of Polish student organizations.

Lviv was a town in which the Polish element was already very much in evidence. Why then did the public prosecutor exclude the Poles from responsibility for the atrocities? Why this chemical, national discrimination of the anti-Semites? In favour of the Germans, the Poles or the Jews? If one considers the actual facts in this light, then one can hardly talk about objectivity. And, in any case, what is meant by the vague term "movements"? Does it refer to the Ukrainian Catholics, the socialists, the Ukrainian national democrats, or the Ukrainian nationalists? Certainly, most peculiar! Not a single Ukrainian party — from the nationalists to the socialists — had any anti-Semitic principles in their programme, hence such "movements" are entirely out of the question. And revenge for the murders committed in the Lviv prisons is likewise out of the question. Contrary to the Nazi theories about the Jewish character of Bolshevism, the Ukrainians were the first to affirm as early as the 1920's and also at the time in question, and they still do so today, that Bolshevism is not a Jewish, but a Russian phenomenon, though its early development was strongly influenced by Jews. Moreover, the inhabitants of Ukrainian Galicia, — Jews, Poles and Ukrainians — definitely drew a distinction between "Jews" and "Hebrews," that is to say, between the local Jews and the Soviet Jews, as can also be seen from the well-known story "History of a Jew." From this point of view, too, there could be no pogroms for reasons of revenge or retaliation.

The statement that it was not the German soldiers of the "Nightingale" but only the Ukrainian members of this battalion who took part in the pogroms, likewise sounds most subjective and fantastic. They were all soldiers in the same uniform; they were all under the same command; they were all bound by the same discipline. Why should one then suddenly differentiate between them? Did these soldiers have their nationality marked on their foreheads? Or was

Lieutenant Oberländer perhaps the commander of a gang which carried out raids arbitrarily? If that was the case, then let him speak up, for, seen in the light of common sense, Oberländer and his soldiers constituted an indivisible unit. It would be contradictory to assume otherwise, just as the idea of a differentiation is contradictory. Furthermore, the Ukrainian soldiers of the "Nightingale" battalion were **political soldiers with no anti-Semitic training. The Germans, on the other hand, had this training from pre-war days.** For this reason alone, one cannot impute the pogroms to a few hundred Ukrainians and leave out thousands of Germans.

The public prosecutor likewise affirms:

"The pogrom carried out by the Ukrainian population against the Lviv Jews was followed by a mass-arrest campaign, which was carried out at the orders of the commander of military service group C, SS head group leader Dr. Rasch, who was directly under the authority of the "Chief of the Security Police and Security Service." This campaign was directed, according to previously drawn up plans, against the Jewish inhabitants of Lviv, against the members and supporters of the Communist Party and against a number of members of the Polish intelligentsia, in particular against certain professors at Lviv university."

The public prosecutor then adds:

"These mass-arrests were carried out with the help of the Ukrainian militia, which consisted of members of various national Ukrainian resistance groups. The "Nightingale" battalion was not used in this arrest campaign."

Omitting the public prosecutor's repetition with regard to the Ukrainian character of the pogroms, let us consider the second repetition, — the statement about the political character of the Ukrainian militia and its identification with the revolutionary resistance of the Ukrainian people against the occupants. Here, too, we find a contradiction, namely in the words "with the help of," that is to say the collaboration of the revolutionaries and the occupants; for the Nazis behaved as occupants on entering Lviv. In addition, only those who wanted to serve in the police force enlisted with it voluntarily. As when he previously mentioned the "movements," so, too, when he now mentions the militia, the public prosecutor clearly intends to connect the Ukrainians not only with the pogroms but also with the arrests carried out by the Gestapo and the Security Service. As an eyewitness, I can testify that the two or three campaigns which I saw myself at the beginning of July were carried out exclusively by the Gestapo men and their agents. I can remember this so clearly since this was the first time in all my life that I witnessed a macabre scene in the heart of the town, — a Jewess, whose face was marked by death.

The later role of the Ukrainian militia was no better and no worse than that of the Polish militia, but much better than that of the Jewish militia. In this connection, the fact must be borne in mind

that the Ukrainian Metropolitan, Count Andreas Sheptytzky, openly protested against the anti-Semitic pogroms of the Gestapo; the Polish Archbishop, Cardinal Sapieha, however, did not protest against them.

Another small detail also strikes us with regard to the way in which the pogroms and arrests are linked up with each other. It looks as though the spontaneous reactions of the Ukrainians were only curbed by the "lawful arrests" carried out by the Gestapo and the Security Service; if this had not happened, then further pogroms would no doubt have occurred! Why then was the Ukrainian militia included at all? Could the previously drawn up plans not have been realized without the help of this militia?! Such precise detail seems to us to be too intentional.

The concluding statements of the public prosecutor are entirely in keeping with the premisses:

"I have therefore withdrawn the charge against the German members of the "Nightingale" battalion who are still alive and whose names could be ascertained — the commander of the battalion, Lieutenant Dr. Herzner, named as one of the accused, died in Hohen-Lychen on September 3, 1942 — since there is no reason to suspect them of having committed the crime in question. Thus, there is also no reason to suspect Bundestag deputy Prof. Dr. Oberländer of having committed the crime in question and accordingly no reason for the German Bundestag to pass a decision regarding suspension of his immunity. I have likewise withdrawn the charge against Prof. Dr. Oberländer."

"I have withdrawn the charge of participation in acts of murder brought against suspected Ukrainian members of the "Nightingale" battalion, whose names were not known, since the perpetrators could not be ascertained."

Thus, one person — Oberländer — is acquitted and the entire Ukrainian people condemned... since the names of those suspected of the crimes in question could not be ascertained! And this, without interrogating witnesses of all three nationalities in Lviv, — for the public prosecutor's statement only mentions the Jews and the Poles in this connection and does not mention the number of crimes, the names of the persons concerned or even the circumstances under which the crimes were committed, as for instance absence from duty or without good reason on the part of members of the "Nightingale" battalion during the days in question, etc.

In order to be objective, however, and on the strength of our talks with high officials of the government of German-occupied Poland in Cracow, as well as on the strength of the testimony given by Jewish inhabitants of Lviv before the public prosecutor in Bonn with regard to the pogroms that occurred after the occupation of Lviv, we are willing to admit that, apart from the murders committed by the Gestapo at that time, various attacks on individual Jews were also carried out, mainly by the rabble of Lviv who were influenced by Nazi agents. This rabble even included Jews. This statement will not seem strange to anyone who can recall the rabble of Lviv, for the

criminals of that town were international. Nineteen years later, these individual cases of assault and robbery have now become notorious as pogroms!

The hope of the Ukrainians that the reproaches directed against the Ukrainian people on account of anti-Semitism would cease or, at least, diminish as a result of the Oberländer affair, has not been fulfilled.

The public prosecutor, on the one hand, assumed the role of a lawyer, and, on the other, that of a judge.

Relations between the Ukrainian and German people are not as friendly as they might be. It is, indeed, regrettable that the statements of the public prosecutor have not helped to improve them.

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### THE LETTER OF PROTEST AGAINST BONN ALLEGATIONS

The Federal Minister of Justice  
Dr. Fritz Schäffer,  
German Federal Ministry of Justice,  
Bonn, Germany.

Dear Sir,

The Federal Government Bulletin No. 181 of September 27, 1960, published the decision of the Head Public Prosecutor in Bonn on the case of Federal Minister Oberländer.

As Prime Minister of Ukraine in 1941, who took over the Ukrainian government at the time of the entry of the German troops in Lviv, may I be permitted to make the following comments on the statements of the Head Public Prosecutor:

It is not true that the Ukrainian population at that time organized mass pogroms against the Jews, as the Public Prosecutor affirms on the strength of onesided information supplied by witnesses now living in Israel.

It is strange that the Public Prosecutor did not take the testimony of any Ukrainians in this matter but only obtained onesided information. I and various prominent Ukrainians, who are now living in exile as emigrants, were not interrogated by the Public Prosecutor. Apparently he no longer regards the principle — *audiatur et altera pars* — as valid. Even in totalitarian regimes attempts are at least occasionally made to observe this principle, if only for appearance's sake.

All the Ukrainians and their friends in the free world indignantly refute the accusations made against the innocent Ukrainian population by the German Head Public Prosecutor.

It is likewise untrue that "acts of maltreatment and acts of murder" were perpetrated by Ukrainian members of the "Nightingale" battalion against Jews. It is indeed astounding that the Public Prosecutor tries to blame the crimes committed at that time by the Gestapo and the



SD against the Jews on the Ukrainian population and on the Ukrainian members of the "Nightingale" battalion. That the actual facts were not investigated and interpreted objectively can be seen from the statements by the Public Prosecutor about the murder of 3,000 Ukrainian nationalists in the prisons of Lviv prior to the entry of the German troops there, for the Public Prosecutor had not the courage to mention the murderers by name; they were the NKVD and Khrushchov personally, who as Russian governor of Ukraine issued orders for the mass murder of the Ukrainian political prisoners.

It is extremely regrettable that the Public Prosecutor in Bonn seeks to exonerate Federal Minister Oberländer — who, incidentally, at the time in question always behaved correctly and decently towards the Ukrainians and other non-Germans — in this way.

The attempt to make out that the mass murder of the Jews was started by the Ukrainians and only later carried out by the SD and the Gestapo with the help of the Ukrainian militia is absurd; the reason given is unfounded and invented, since in this respect only one-sided testimony has been taken into account.

The International Commission in The Hague, which has investigated the Oberländer case, interrogated numerous witnesses and published their testimony in a book, which certainly makes one doubt the correctness of the statements made by the Public Prosecutor in Bonn. The Ukrainians have done their utmost to refute the Russian defamatory accusations against Federal Minister Oberländer and the "Nightingale" battalion and to prove that they are entirely unfounded.

The Public Prosecutor has thrust the entire blame onto the Ukrainians — which is bound to suit the Russians, — no doubt on the assumption that the Ukrainians would not be in a position to defend themselves in a Western court.

But it is an established fact that, next to the Jews, there were most victims amongst the Ukrainians as a result of German acts of reprisal. In spite of this fact, however, they have not brought forward a world-wide accusation against the German people, since such a step would undermine the front against their common enemy, Russian imperialism.

By his unfounded accusation, however, the Public Prosecutor is now forcing the Ukrainian population to tear open old wounds and, like the Jews who were persecuted, to stir up the past and remind the Western world once more of the Hitler regime in Ukraine. And if this is now being done, we are not to blame.

For many years myself a prisoner in the German concentration camp in Sachsenhausen, I voice our protest against the accusations directed against the Ukrainians of mass murder of the Jews, on behalf of other Ukrainian prisoners in German concentration camps, too.

I take the liberty of asking you to express your opinion on the statements made by the Public Prosecutor.

Yours respectfully,

Jaroslaw Stetzko,

Former Prime Minister of Free Ukraine.

## Eisenhower and Kennedy congratulate Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

### PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S TELEGRAM TO THE UCCA ON ITS 20th ANNIVERSARY

"It is a privilege to join in the observance of the twentieth anniversary of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

"America owes much to the patriotism, skills, and enterprising spirit of her citizens of Ukrainian origin. The Free World owes much to all men and women who hold high the banners of liberty and work to advance the rights of humanity in every land."

Dwight D. Eisenhower

### PRESIDENT-ELECT JOHN F. KENNEDY'S LETTER TO THE UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

October 29, 1960.

I welcome this opportunity to express my congratulations to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America on the occasion of this 20th anniversary. Ukrainians in America today have a special reason to treasure freedom. Moreover, there is a striking parallel between the inspirational struggle for freedom by the 45 million Ukrainians now held captive in the Communist empire and the struggle for independence and freedom of the many other non-Russian nations.

This past summer I had the pleasure of meeting with your Executive Director, Stephan J. Jarema at Hyannisport. I stated to him at that time that I deplored the monolith term often used by the Republican Administration in Washington, "Soviet Nation" or "Soviet people." In essence, it is contrary to the captive nations week resolution enacted last year. Its use implies that we condone the status quo of the Communist take-over of all the captive nations behind the Iron Curtain. I stated then, and I do now, that I adhere to the statement as contained in the Democratic Platform: "we will never surrender positions which are essential to the defense of freedom nor will we abandon people who are now behind the Iron Curtain through any formal approval of the status quo."

We can be thankful for organizations such as yours, ever aware of the Communists' ways of propaganda so that our nation will ever be alert to the dangers of Communism, whatever form it may take.

With best wishes and kindest regards,

Sincerely,

John F. Kennedy

# RUSSIAN COLONIALISM UNDER ATTACK

Interview with President-Elect

**JOHN F. KENNEDY**

The elected President of the USA, former Senator John F. Kennedy, was asked several questions in October 1960 bearing on the captive nations and Cuba by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee.

**Question:** As the Chief Executive, would you take steps to formulate and execute a policy toward the freedom of the dozen captive non-Russian nations in the USSR-

**Kennedy:** My many statements on the freedom of all peoples and nations should indicate that we cannot afford to overlook any. If you would consult the Congressional Record as far back as 1953 (Aug. 4), you will find that I have supported ideas of freedom relating to Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, Armenia, and other captive nations. Then, as now, I have been of the firm conviction that we must do everything possible to keep alive the spirit of independence and freedom of these nations. Moreover, with regard to these non-Russian nations in the USSR, let me stress again, as I did in my letter to you of October 29 (in which I congratulated one of your organizations on its 20th anniversary), that I deplore the monolith term often used by the Republican Administration in Washington, "Soviet nation," or "Soviet people." In essence, it is contrary to the Captive Nations Week Resolution enacted last year.

**Question:** Are you satisfied with the operations of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in relation to the captive nations, particularly those in the USSR? If not, what changes will you propose?

**Kennedy:** I believe much more could be done to put our message across to all the captive nations. If I am elected, this problem will be carefully studied and the necessary changes will be effected.

**Question:** Are you for a firm policy and action now in regard to Cuba, designed to stave off the poisonous effects of the coming Khrushchev visit? What specifically do you propose?

**Kennedy:** I am for a firm policy in regard to Cuba, and my recent speeches disclose what we should do now: we can constantly express our friendship for the Cuban people and our determination that they will again be free; we must firmly resist further Communist encroachment in this hemisphere, working through a strengthened organization of the American States to encourage those liberty-loving Cubans who are leading the resistance to Castro; and we must make it clear to Mr. Castro once and for all that we will defend our Naval Base at Guantanamo under all circumstances.

(Published in "America," Philadelphia, Nov. 10, 1960)

## INVESTIGATION OF RUSSIAN COLONIALISM DEMANDED

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, speaking for over 2,000,000 American citizens of Ukrainian descent and background, submitted a memorandum to the United Nations General Assembly, XVth Session.

In view of the persistent attempts of Premier Khrushchov and his communist puppets in the United Nations to investigate Western colonialism as a pretext to advance their communist expansion and aggression, the Ukrainian Congress Committee proposes at the United Nations General Assembly Session the following:

(1) To call for a full-scale United Nations investigation into Russian Communist aggression against Ukraine and all other formerly independent non-Russian nations now held in bondage both within and outside the Soviet Union;

(2) To demand free elections under United Nations supervision in Ukraine and in all other captive nations, which would allow the non-Russian people of these countries to make their choice between freedom and independence on the one hand and Russian colonial subjugation on the other;

(3) To propose to the United Nations General Assembly to adopt a resolution calling for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and political police from Ukraine and to return all Ukrainian political deportees and exiles from Siberia to Ukraine, and allow them to resume their lives under a system of freedom and democratic government, elected by the free and unfettered people of Ukraine.

They appeal to bring up the matter of Russian colonialism and domination of Ukraine for a thorough and exhaustive discussion in the United Nations. In doing so the Charter of the United Nations would be upheld, which calls for the protection of the fundamental rights of men and women everywhere and of all nations, large and small. These rights have been grossly and brazenly violated in Ukraine by the Soviet government, a member of the United Nations. The Soviet Union should be exposed in the United Nations as a violator of the U.N. Charter and the jailer of the captive nations, in defiance of the will and desire of these nations.

Because of these crimes against the Ukrainian people committed by the Soviet government under the leadership of Premier Khrushchov, the UCCA asked to challenge the good faith and moral right of Mr. Khrushchov in his role of "liberator" of the African and Asian peoples. The United Nations and humanity at large stand to win a great moral victory if the present Russian colonialism is brought up for investigation at the current XVth Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

## NUEREMBERG JUDGE CONDEMS RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

**Editor's Note:** Following are excerpts from a speech by Michael A. Musmanno, Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and Trial Judge at Nüremberg, delivered at the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America Branch banquet held on Sunday, December 4, 1960, at the Roosevelt Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Khrushchov has uttered countless words, and his country has committed countless deeds, of unmitigated hypocrisy, but nothing can surpass the revolting two-facedness of Russia's resolution before the United Nations calling for the ending of "colonialism." Russia holds in chains of slavery 22 separate nations, containing 114 million people, and yet it has the effrontery to speak of colonies flying the flags of other nations.

In the 22 nations held in a vise of iron by Russia, the people know nothing of free elections and individual political liberty. And yet, the Soviet Union representative at the United Nations had the supreme brazenry yesterday to attack the United States on its relationship with Puerto Rico where the people enjoy maximum freedom in choosing their own governor and legislature and are otherwise unrestricted in the development of their own economic and political destiny.

I am happy that Pittsburgh is host to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America Branch which today celebrates the 20th anniversary of its formation. I am sure that Ukraine, a beautiful land of 45,000,000 people with a history, literature and culture all its own, will yet fly its own flag, and we should encourage the Ukrainians in their legitimate, patriotic aspirations.

The so-called invincibility of the Soviet Union is a myth because no nation can be stronger, in the long run, than the will of its collective people. Since there are more non-Russians than Russians in the Soviet Union, the day is bound to come when these enslaved peoples will break their chains.

A spider is no stronger than the web over which it operates. As soon as its web is broken, the spider is cornered into helplessness. And so, if these captive nations would rebel, Russia would be as powerless as a spider with its legs but off and no longer would it be able to terrorize, as it does now, almost one-third of the world's population.

The Congress of the United States has recognized the plight of Russia's captive nations and has offered them the moral support of our nation. We are proud indeed to have as a guest in our city the man who drafted the "Captive Nations Week Resolution" adopted by Congress in 1959, the distinguished Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor at Georgetown University.

I trust that the people of the United States will continue to offer prayers for the liberation of the 114 million people wearing the chains of the Soviet imperialistic domination and that, imperialistic colonialism, in its true sense of oppression, and not as defined by Khrushchov, who seems to have a dictionary of his own, will end.

## FREE CHINA'S SPOKESMAN UNMASKS RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

### Parallel between Tsarist and Bolshevik Empires

"With Mr. Khrushchov as our authority, we can conclude that Russia, at least up to the Revolution of 1917, had a colonial empire, differing but little from the other colonial empires of the world. What he called 'border lands,' 'held together only by bayonets and subjugation' included Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Bessarabia, Ukraine, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Eastern Siberia and parts of Manchuria. They covered 15 million square kilometres of land, or about 70 per cent of the total area of the Russian Empire. That is the heritage left by Tsarist Russia to Soviet Russia. The all-important question is: 'What has the Soviet Union done with this heritage?'"

So spoke Ambassador Tingfu F. Tsiang, Representative of the Chinese Delegation, during the debate on colonialism at the U.N. General Assembly session on December 5, 1960. He gave an excellent analysis of the growth of the Russian empire under the Tsarist system, with especial emphasis on the Russian drive of conquest in Asia.

In stressing the uninterrupted tradition of Russia as an empire, either under the Tsarist or the Bolsheviks, Ambassador Tsiang continued:

"At the time of the Revolution of 1917, all former colonial areas of Russia rose in revolt and declared their independence. Some succeeded, some failed. Finland, under Marshal Mannerheim, won her war of independence which was sanctified by the treaty of October 14, 1920. Likewise Poland, under Marshal Pilsudski, by the treaty of February 22, August 11 and July 12. But not the other colonial areas. Ukrainian independence was suppressed in August 1920, Georgian independence in February 1921, Central Asian independence through a long campaign that lasted from 1922 to 1924..."

Speaking on the policies of the Kremlin in the non-Russian republics, Ambassador Tsiang said:

"Or let us take Ukraine. According to official Soviet statistics, the population of the Ukrainian Republic is 2.8 times less than that of the population of the Russian Republic, but the number of students in higher schools in Ukraine is 3.6 times less than in the Russian Republic; the number of books and journals per year is more than 10 times less in Ukraine than in the Russian Republic, and the number of issues of newspapers per year is 7 times less. There was a time when the culture of Ukraine was ahead of the culture of Russia. One cannot possibly argue that the present state of Ukrainian culture is due to its old backwardness."

## UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA COMMENDS AND THANKS CHINESE DELEGATION TO UN

NEW YORK — Here is the text of the telegram sent by the Executive Board of the UCCA to the chairman of the Chinese delegation in the United Nations:

The Honourable Tingfu F. Tsiang  
Chairman, Chinese Delegation to U.N.  
Empire State Building,  
New York City.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America representing over two million American citizens of Ukrainian background commends and congratulates you for your defense of enslaved Ukraine in your penetrating and hard-hitting address before the United Nations General Assembly on October sixth. You were undeniably correct in characterizing the Soviet Union as the greatest colonial Empire today, where millions of non-Russian nations of Europe and Asia suffer unspeakable misery. National, religious and political persecution and outright genocide are perpetrated by the Russian communist regime directed from Moscow. We hope that all non-communist members of the United Nations will follow your courageous example by stressing the enslavement of many peoples by Khrushchov and his puppets. Our organization owes you deep gratification and recognition for raising the problem of enslaved Ukraine at the United Nations General Assembly.

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America

## HANDS OFF WESTERN UKRAINE!

### STATEMENT BY THE UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA WITH REGARD TO THE RESOLUTION OF THE POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS CONCERNING THE WESTERN UKRAINIAN TERRITORIES

At its monthly session, held on Friday, October 7, 1960, the Executive Board of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America unanimously adopted the following statement:

1. At its fifth quadrennial convention, held from September 30 to October 2, 1960 in Chicago, Ill., the Polish American Congress adopted a resolution which stated as follows:

"The Polish American Congress will not cease in its efforts to restore to Poland the frontiers of 1939 in the East and that such Polish bastions as Lwow and Wilno can again be returned to the motherly bosom. The Polish Eastern territories were forcibly transferred to Soviet tyranny, depopulated through mass deportations and finally ceded to the Communists by the Yalta agreement against the will of the population and without the consent of the legal Polish Government..."

The resolution appealed to the Western powers to declare themselves in favour of the restitution of the Eastern provinces as a "rightful possession of the Polish people, a fact which has been documented by the Treaty of Riga in 1921."

2. The Executive Board of the UCCA deeply deplores these unwise and provocative statements of the Polish American Congress and protests against what seems to be a new imperialistic venture, which is being inspired by the Polish American organization claiming the representation of supposedly democratic-minded American citizens.

3. The Executive Board of the UCCA recalls once again that Western Ukraine was always, is at present and will always remain an integral part of the Ukrainian ethnographic territory, which was seized centuries ago by the Polish kings and subjugated to the harsh rule of exploitation and national and religious persecution. On November 1, 1918, the overwhelming majority of Western Ukraine's population rose against the foreign rule and proclaimed the Western Ukrainian National Republic, which was united on January 22, 1919, with the Ukrainian National Republic in Kiev. The reborn Poland, following its traditional pattern, attacked the young Ukrainian democratic republic at the time when it was engaged in a death-or-life struggle against the Bolsheviks in the east. The Polish army conquered Western Ukraine at the end of 1919, only because it was equipped and armed by the Allies who provided military aid to Poland in the belief that Poland was fighting against the Bolsheviks. From 1920 to 1939 Polish misrule in Western Ukraine was marked by constant "pacifications" of the Ukrainian people, brutal colonization of Ukrainian lands and systematic destruction of the Ukrainian national, cultural and religious life. It is recalled that President Roosevelt himself flatly denied any right of Poland to these Ukrainian territories, when he stated:

"The peoples there are predominantly White Russian and Ukrainian. They are not Polish, to a very great majority."

4. The Executive Board of the UCCA is firmly convinced that the resolution of the Polish American Congress with respect to the Ukrainian territory now inhabited overwhelmingly by Ukrainians will benefit neither the Polish nor the Ukrainian people, nor will it help U.S. foreign policy and the cause of universal peace and freedom. The only one power which stands to win from this irresponsible reverie of the Polish American Congress is the Soviet Union and its general strategy for global conquest. On the basis of reliable information we know that the Polish people, ruthlessly oppressed by the communist regime of Warsaw, would not like to contemplate another imperialistic adventure, but would rather prefer to live in freedom and justice and in peaceful relations with the Ukrainians and other neighbours.

5. The Executive Board of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America unanimously decided to transmit this statement to the Polish American Congress and to release it to the press as well.

**Executive Board**  
**Ukrainian Congress Committee of America**



## SHEVCHENKO STATUE IN WASHINGTON

**The Congress of the U. S. A. has passed the following**

**PUBLIC LAW 86-749**

**Authorizing the erection of a statue of Taras Shevchenko on public grounds in the District of Columbia.**

Whereas throughout Eastern Europe, in the last century and this, the name and works of Taras Shevchenko brilliantly reflected the aspiration of man for personal liberty and national independence; and

Whereas Shevchenko, the poet laureate of Ukraine, was openly inspired by our great American tradition to fight against the imperialist and colonial occupation of his native land; and

Whereas in many parts of the free world observances of the Shevchenko centennial will be held during 1961 in honour of this immortal champion of liberty; and

Whereas in our moral capacity as free men in an independent Nation it behooves us to symbolize tangibly the inseparable spiritual ties bound in the writings of Shevchenko between our country and the forty million Ukrainian nation: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) any association or committee organized for such purpose within two years from the date of the enactment of this joint resolution is hereby authorized to place on land owned by the United States in the District of Columbia a statue of the Ukrainian poet and national leader, Taras Shevchenko.

(b) The authority granted by subsection (a) of this section shall cease to exist, unless within five years after the date of enactment of this joint resolution (1) the erection of the statue is begun, and (2) the association or committee certifies to the Secretary of the Interior the amount of funds available for the purpose of the completion of the statue and the Secretary determines that such funds are adequate for such purpose.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to select an appropriate site upon which to erect the statue authorized in the first section. The choice of the site and design and plans for such statue shall be subject to the approval of the Commission on Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission.

H.J. Res. 311 (86th Cong.)

Approved September 13, 1960.

## UKRAINIAN ART EXHIBITION IN DETROIT

The exhibition which closed on October 2nd in Detroit was more comprehensive and of greater significance than any other exhibition arranged by Ukrainian artists' organizations so far in America, Canada and Europe. For two weeks Ukrainian and foreign visitors had an opportunity to gain at least a brief insight into Ukrainian art in exile. We use the word "opportunity," since it will probably be difficult to find another opportunity when about 80 artists from six countries of two continents have a chance to exhibit their works under such favourable conditions as were the case on this occasion, thanks to the efforts of a group of Ukrainian art-lovers and of the chairman Mrs. Maria Beck, President of the Town Council of Detroit. The fact that Ukrainian art was for the first time represented by such a large number of works, which appealed to us in particular by reason of their colourful variety and free and forceful expression, and that each artist was able to preserve and give expression to his individuality, philosophy of life and free will in his works is of especial significance.

One of the reasons why this exhibition can be regarded as so important is that new emigrants from every social class in Ukraine, which is now subjugated by the enemy, and also old emigrants, who came to the West decades ago, took part in it. No less important, too, is the fact that, in addition to these two generations, a third generation also had an opportunity on this occasion to exhibit its works, — namely the youngest representatives of Ukrainian art, whose works are characterized by their new outlook on life. What is most important, however, is the common affinity which is based on the conviction that the essential precondition for an artistic creation of an individual or national character is free creation, which is not enforced by anyone but is achieved in harmony with one's own conscience and convictions.

If this fact is taken into account or accepted as a precondition, then it can certainly be affirmed that the exhibition of Ukrainian art in Detroit has fulfilled its task as a survey of the free creation of Ukrainian emigrant artists. And, since it was held at the same time as the so-called "Decade of Ukrainian Literature and Art" in Moscow, it has also fulfilled its political task, even though this aspect was not stressed so very much in the Detroit exhibition. But it has nevertheless contributed its share in this respect. The Ukrainian art represented by emigrant artists at the Detroit exhibition certainly enjoyed more appreciation and prestige than the exhibition shown in Moscow, which, according to the Kremlin, represented the art of the Ukrainian people. We are well aware of the fact that the art of a people is not assessed according to the number of works or artists, but by works and artists that are moulded and formed by the peculiar features and character of the culture of this people, its outlook on life and its guiding ideas, — forms of expression by means of which the artists reveals himself in his works.

If we assess these two exhibitions according to the works exhibited (we have already seen some of the works exhibited in Moscow reproduced in the Soviet press or at previous exhibitions of so-called "Soviet art" in Canada, namely in Montreal and Toronto), we can safely affirm that all the works displayed at the Moscow exhibition (even if they numbered thousands) represent only one style: that of socialist realism, that is to say, photographic naturalism, which serves the purposes of Moscow's propaganda. Nor was there in this exhibition the least indication of any other style which, from the beginning of our century onwards, found its expression in various colours and forms as a reflection of the art of modern man. But the exhibition in Detroit, as an exhibition of Ukrainian art in the free world, showed this expression of Ukrainian culture, whose forms do not conform to Moscow's standards and are persecuted and prohibited in Ukraine.

At the same time and in keeping with the principle — free creation for the artist, a number of works in which technical and artistic problems were unduly emphasized were also exhibited in Detroit; just as if one were watching someone swimming in strange water and were enthusiastic about the technical side of this achievement alone; but the achievements of this theory were not yet applied in an effort to attain a concrete aim. There were also works on exhibition by artists whose style is not prohibited in Ukraine; a mode of expression which gives little indication of the national individual character, like every artistic imitation, — the art of socialist realism, the art of the end of the 19th century, which was not in the least related to the national traditions of the majority of peoples (including the Ukrainian people), but was nevertheless international by reason of its expression, since it was definitely objective. The art of our epoch is definitely subjective, since the individual philosophy of life of the artist is expressed in his works and style; and in this way, national characteristics, too, are sharply outlined. The art of no other people in the world reveals such radical and revolutionary forms of artistic expression, which we have witnessed since the Christian revolution which spread from Asia Minor to ancient Europe and to the Mediterranean countries.

Realistic classicism in sculpture as in static art, in architecture as in the compromises between heaven, earth and hell in the philosophy of life of man was dealt destructive blows, — the divine triumphed over the earthly element, the creative over the destructive element, and the spiritual over the material. This led to the art of the great determination, an art characterized by clear outlines, — the art of a definite philosophy of life. As proof of the victory of Christian culture over the world of antiquity, the Gothic and Byzantine styles continued to be the expression of Christian art. Our epoch and, in fact, the essential character of the first part of the 20th century are marked by a revolutionary subjectivism. The difference between the Christian revolution and our century lies solely in the fact that Christianity asserted itself as a faith whereas our intuition and individual feeling of our own freedom and also in the fact that the

representatives of this revolution are only revolutionaries as regards certain trends in the philosophy of life and the universe. They stand for certain artistic problems, but they do not fight for the entire philosophy of life of their epoch and of the epoch which will subsequently and logically follow in the development process as a revelation of the universal ideas of the peoples in the advanced stage, which is today characterized by a marked individualism.

In connection with the individualism in art, we are now witnessing various different trends, which are the result of the various individual solutions of artistic problems; they began with impressionism and cubism; these were followed by expressionism and abstract art and, subsequently, by primitivism and surrealism; nowadays, we succeed in setting up a synthesis derived from the past traditions of our national culture and in achieving an organic unity between this synthesis and the new elements of our epoch.

This last trend, like all other forms of artistic expression, was represented at the exhibition of Ukrainian art in Detroit; it demonstrated the creative evolution of the Ukrainian artists with regard not only to the traditions of our culture, but also to the entire development of the nation, a development which we can also observe in the case of other peoples of the free world, namely in their manifold forms of artistic expression.

In addition to the art of painting, the art of sculpture, which was represented at the exhibition by numerous artists, not only gave an interesting impression of the works that were marked by a strong individuality, but also provided a survey in retrospect of different artistic trends through the medium of various sculptures in the classical style.

Graphic art was not represented so extensively in the exhibition, but at least it gave an impressive survey of this extremely popular art, which in Ukraine abounds in traditions and even today constitutes a national artistic value.

In their trend, the paintings on exhibition belonged to the realistic school and were even more varied in style than was indicated in the catalogue.

Even connoisseurs could be well satisfied with the exhibition; in addition to works by one of the greatest artist of our day, Oleksander Arkhipenko, one of the first revolutionaries in the fine arts and the greatest revolutionary next to Picasso, and works by the famous colourist in France, Oleksa Hryshchenko, a landscape-painter who specializes in South Sea landscapes and scenes of the sunny coasts of Italy, France and Spain, the works of Peter Kholodny, Mykola Butovych, Halyna Mazeppa, Hryhoriy Kruk, Severyn Borachok, and Mykhaylo Cheresniiovsky, too, revealed not only great individual talent but also national Ukrainian forms of artistic expression.

Visitors to the exhibition thus had an opportunity to become familiar with Ukrainian painting and its trends, its relations to the art of painting of other peoples, and the features which are a characteristic quality of Ukrainian art.

## BOOK REVIEW

## MARX VERSUS RUSSIA

**The Russian Urge to Expansion and the Policy of the Western Powers.**

Reports by Karl Marx as European Correspondent of the

"New York Daily Tribune." Seewald Verlag, 1960.

The publication of this book is a political event of considerable significance, for it thoroughly destroys the Kremlin legend about Karl Marx as the champion of the Russian claim to leadership. It is hardly surprising that these brilliant reports — published here for the first time in German — which Karl Marx wrote during the years 1853 to 1856 for the "New York Daily Tribune" from his exile in London and which even today are a rarity in Western libraries and archives, have so far been omitted from all Soviet editions of Marx's works.

In these reports Karl Marx exposes the ideologically tinged expansion urge as a constant that has always existed in Russian policy: **"What has changed? Nothing at all! Russia's policy is unchangeable. Russia's methods, tactics and manoeuvres may change; but the lodestar of Russian policy — world domination — is a fixed star."**

It is obvious that it is all the same whether the tsar is called Alexander, Nicholas, Kerensky, Stalin or Khrushchov; and that the secular aim does not change, whether the Russian annexation aims were embellished in tsarist days with the watchword of the "protection" of the Christianity of the Eastern Church or the Slav peoples, or whether they are camouflaged by the Soviet regime with the social slogan of the liberation of the world from the "capitalistic yoke." In Karl Marx's opinion the following equation holds good: Russia = absolutism = world enslavement = world peoples' prison (the West = revolution = free democracy).

No art of interpretation, however skilful, can obliterate the sensational disclosure that in Marx's opinion the dialectics between Russia and the West come before those between capital and work and that, however critical his attitude may be, his sympathies are clearly with the West. It is precisely in assessing the constants of Russian policy that Karl Marx, long since endowed with an aura of infallibility by the Communist rulers, agrees with such outstanding political thinkers as the French Liberal Alexis de Tocqueville, the Royalist Marquis de Custine, the Spanish Conservative Donoso Cortés, or the Ukrainian nationalist theoretician D. Donzov. The picture of Marx which the Kremlin has, with a certain degree of success, suggested to the world is thus a fake. In the said book Karl Marx gives the reader of today a political lecture which is in every respect remarkable and still applicable.

We have selected some of his many brilliant formulations. He writes, for instance:

...**"Pan-Slavism is a form of Russian imperialism — it is not a movement that strives for national independence, but a movement**

which, directed against Europe, would destroy all that history has created throughout thousands of years. This could not be achieved without eradicating Hungary, Turkey and major part of Germany from the map."

..."There is only one way of dealing with a power like Russia and that is by fearlessness."

"The system of intimidation is less expensive than actual warfare."

"Russia only hands the Western diplomats so many notes — like throwing bones to a dog — in order to give them some harmless pleasure whilst she herself uses this opportunity to gain more time."

"Inasmuch as Russia counts on the cowardice and fear of the Western powers, she intimidates Europe and asserts her demands as far as possible in order to pretend later that she is generous since she contents herself with more immediate aims."

In these reports Karl Marx already recognized the enormous dynamic force of the huge Russian empire over a hundred years ago with regard to the Turkish question and, with prophetic vision, warned against the dangers which would arise for Europe in this respect.

However decisive the break of 1917 may have been in the social structure of Russia, the aims of conquest and lust of annexation of Russian foreign policy have remained the same, quite irrespective of which slogan Russia uses in order to camouflage her policy of conquest. The fact that the views and opinions on this subject, which today are more topical and applicable than ever, originate from Karl Marx, the prophet of Communism, makes them all the more interesting to the reader of today.

Thus, Karl Marx affirms:

"Russia fears the revolution which is bound to follow any general war on the continent more than the Sultan fears an aggression on the part of the Tsar. If the other powers remain firm, Russia will most certainly withdraw discreetly."

It is a mistake to assume that political propaganda is an invention of our day. Karl Marx proves convincingly that the methods which are practised to perfection by the Soviet regime of present-day Russia were by no means unknown to the Russia of his day.

Just as Khrushchov juggles with the spectre of the Stalinists or Mao's world-conquest aims in order to deceive the West, so, too, the tsars in former times tried out the same methods. Marx writes as follows:

"With all due respect to this famous Old Russian Party, I know from various well-informed Russians — themselves of the aristocracy — with whom I frequently associated in Paris, that it has long since died out and is only resurrected to a sham existence occasionally, when the Tsar needs a bogey to force Western Europe into passive patience as regards his arrogant claim. Hence the resurrection of a Menshikov and his fitting appearance in the fairytale-like, old Russian style."

The poor Tsar is allegedly peace-loving, but Menshikov is the warmonger! Just as today Khrushchov is allegedly the peacemaker,

whilst the evil Molotov from time to time appears on the scene as a warmonger in order to intimidate the West and force it to yield to peace-loving Khrushchov so that the "evil Stalinists" will not come into power!

The following statement by Marx surely reminds one of the analogous Russian policy of today!

... "It must be stressed that Besika Bay is 150 miles away from Constantinople. The Tsar claims the right to occupy Turkish territories, but forbids England and France to navigate in neutral waters without his special permission. He extols his own generous patience with which he allowed the Sublime Porte a completely free choice as to the form in which it will renounce its sovereignty."

... "The Tsar regrets that the West does not recognize the harmless character of Russia's religious protectorate in foreign countries."

Karl Marx gives us an excellent survey of Russia's policy during the last fifty years before the Crimean War and of the traditional political maxims of the Russian empire which go back a long way in history. It is a historical and political exposé which certainly does credit to his sharp analytical reasoning powers and, on the other hand, also to his gift of synthesis. As nowadays, much time and energy was in those days wasted in futile conferences...

... "After this first triumph (the removal from office of the Serbian Minister Garaschanin), Russia now insists that all anti-Russian officers shall be excluded from service..." — to quote Marx once more.

Is not Russia doing the same thing nowadays in demanding the dismissal of anti-Russian Ministers in the Western Cabinets?

After a short survey of the methods and principles of Russian policy, the validity of which is still apparent in our day, Karl Marx gives an outline of the old Russian tactics of promises, political pledges and tricks and intimidation. In this connection he exhorts the Western powers to be on their guard and gives a very apt description of the potential strength which lies in the diversity of Europe.

### The Russian policy of intimidation

Marx affirms that the idea of the diplomatic superiority of the Russians only owes its effectiveness to the ingenuousness and timidity of the Western nations and that it is just as much an error to believe in Russia's superior military strength. He writes:

... "The Tsar relied to the end on the intimidation of Turkey and the powers that supported it, namely France and England, as an adequate means of making them accept his demands."

... "Menshikov's appearance and behaviour in Constantinople were simply those of a tyrant. The proclamations by Nesselrode were the threats of a tyrant." (Exactly like Khrushchov's behaviour in the United Nations!)

... "There is only one way of dealing with a power like Russia and that is by fearlessness."

... "In this way the Western powers have with every step shown their fear of Russia, a fear on which, as we know, the Tsar and his advisers have always relied. They have been intimidated and accordingly have done their best to cause precisely the very evil of which they were so afraid."

... "The prestige of Russian diplomacy and the renown of Russia's military strength can be maintained far more easily in peace than in war."

... "The system of intimidation is far less expensive than actual warfare."

... "The work of the Russian incursions in Europe will then be once again limited to her diplomacy and intrigues, carried out, on the one hand, by unscrupulous arrogance, and supported, on the other hand, by weakness and faintheartedness."

These facts as affirmed by Marx surely remind one of the entire Russian policy today and of the attitude of the West towards present-day Russia!

It will be impossible to foresee what central position Constantinople will occupy in Russia's foreign policy, — so Marx affirms. Without wishing to exaggerate the analogy, we should like to add that here we have a clear parallel to the position of Berlin in the present conflict between Russia and the West.

The course of events in history has shown how very right Karl Marx was with his analysis of relations between Russia and Austria and how justified his warnings to the West, unfortunately unheeded by the latter, were. Since the system of the balance of power in Central and East Europe has meanwhile been destroyed to the advantage of Russia, Marx's apostrophe to the "Germans in Russian service who are hankering after war" assumes a new and highly topical significance in view of the over-zealous governors of Russia in the present Soviet Zone of Germany.

Karl Marx's sympathies in the dramatic conflict between Russia and the West, which has been smouldering for so long, are clearly with the West. In spite of this fact, or, to be more exact, precisely because of this fact, he frequently criticizes the policy of the Western powers extremely sharply. In his opinion the governments of the West are either too foolish or too trusting to see through the perfidious Russian game of intrigue, or they let themselves be impressed by the Russian major power, or else they are so unscrupulous that they play off each other against each other and in this way assist Russia. Thus the West, whose victory Karl Marx sincerely and profoundly desires, finds in him a relentless but clear-sighted critic, who teaches us a historical lesson which is most topical and opens our eyes to the limits of "coexistence."

Marx writes:

... "The Russian bear will certainly be capable of anything as long as he knows that the other animals with which he is dealing are not capable of anything."



In the terminology of our day, one might, in fact, describe Karl Marx as the "warmonger" in the Western camp. He heaps sarcastic reproaches on the Western governments and, in particular, on the British government, to the effect that they passively accept Russia's violations of rights and even try to persuade their allies, the Turks, to offer Russia an armistice which is only likely to be of advantage to the latter country.

He says:

... "The only chance which now remains is that the war should at last cease to be a **onesided** affair..."

With regard to the Prussian and Austrian policy of neutrality of that time, he affirms:

"The efforts of Russian policy are in the first place directed towards securing the neutrality of the German states and preventing them from forming an alliance with the Western powers." And here there is a striking analogy to the NATO of today.

In his reports Karl Marx uses the language which one would expect rather of a dictator in the golden age of militarism. One of his biographers, Leopold Schwarzschild, has, indeed, rather aptly called him "The red Prussian."

Marx further maintains:

... "Europe may be rotten, but a war should have roused the healthy elements. A war should have called forth some latent forces; and surely 250 million people should have sufficient courage to start a decent fight."

Pan-Slavism — a form of Russian expansionism — as a political force has lost none of its significance and is still on occasion produced out of the ideological armoury by the Soviet Russians. Karl Marx has rightly assessed its dynamic power and has explicitly stressed the danger for Europe which may arise out of it.

Nicholas I and then Alexander II simply threatened Austria with it; for instance, Alexander II sent a telegram to the Austrian Emperor. And, as Marx says:

... "Alexander II will set himself up at the head of the Pan-Slavist movement and will change his title of Emperor of all Russians to that of Emperor of all Slavs."

... "It is the first step — so Marx affirms — towards transferring the war to the entire continent and openly giving it a European character."

... "It is no longer a question of who rules in Constantinople but of who rules over all Europe."

... "Pan-Slavism has nowadays been transformed from a conviction into a political programme, or, rather, into a political threat, which is supported by 800,000 bayonets."

Karl Marx gives us an extremely critical survey of England's policy with regard to Russia and the response with which it meets in the English press, — indeed, one could almost say a final settling up.

He goes on to maintain:

**"Every form of insurgent and irregular warfare against a powerful regular army nowadays needs the support of a regular army, if it is to be successful."**

And as regards the fighting strength of the Russian army, he writes: "It cannot be denied that precisely at a time when Russian influence on European politics was stronger than ever, the actual efficiency of the Russian army by no means justified such a political position."

Karl Marx was undoubtedly an authority on Russia. But since he, too, like so many other Western politicians, scholars and statesmen, was influenced by Russian historiographers, he interpreted the founding of the Kyiv principality quite falsely and described it as a Russian state. The Kyivan principality was a Ukrainian state and not Russia!

Ukraine was closely connected with Greek and Byzantine culture, and Marx's view, namely that Russia's culture was of Greek and Byzantine origin, is incorrect, since the Russians for hundreds of years were more influenced by the Mongols. As the capital of the Ukrainian state, Kyiv was the centre of Greek and Roman culture in the East; Moscow was fundamentally the opposite of the Ukrainian, that is the Occidental and Greek way of thinking, and constantly combatted the latter.

The fact that Pan-Slavism was and is a form of Russian imperialism, has been rightly recognized by Marx. But he is wrong in believing that all the Slav people were enthusiastic about Pan-Slavism. On the contrary, the Poles, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Slovaks, and Croats, who all belong to the Slav race, were always opposed to Pan-Slavism since they were Russia's enemies. If some of the intellectuals amongst the Czech or Serb people were in favour of Pan-Slavism, then it was only because the Serbs or the Czechs erroneously hoped that the Russians would support them in their fight for independence. But they were deceived again and again by the Russians. Incidentally, just as there is no Pan-Germanism, so, too, there is no such thing as Pan-Slavism, — that is to say, as an organic, racially binding idea. For hundreds of years, Germanic England was the arch enemy of Germanic Germany. Germanic Denmark and Norway, for instance, were hostile to Germanic Germany. Wars were not conducted for racial reasons, but for national imperialist reasons. That is why Russian imperialism resorts to all kinds of camouflages in order to have a sham reason for new conquests.

Various ideas which Marx formulates must be rectified, as for example the fact that he uses one term only to designate the entire southern territory of the Russian imperium from the Don to the Dniester and from the Don to the Niemen, — namely New Russia or West Russia. It is perfectly obvious that what is meant here is the territory of the Ukrainian nation.

Marx also refuses to recognize the Byelorussian nation, and this is, indeed, a grave error on his part in his reports.

In correcting Marx on these various points, we should however like to recommend our readers most warmly to read this edition.

S. St.

**BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN****NEW "SOCIETY" FORMED**

The "Radyanska Kultura" of October 9, 1960, published a report by the RATAU Press Agency on the foundation of a society for cultural relations with Ukrainians abroad:

"A meeting of representatives of social organizations, which was devoted to the foundation of a society for cultural relations with Ukrainians abroad, was held in Kyiv. The author, J. K. Smolytch, held an address on behalf of the group of initiators of this society. In addition, speeches were also made by the member of the Writer's Union of Ukraine, the writer M. M. Kazanivsky, the "hero of socialist work," steel-worker P. S. Makhota, the chairman of the Artist's Union of Ukraine in Transcarpathia, the artist B. I. Svyda, the "hero of socialist work," kolkhoz supervisor M. I. Kovalenko, and the chairman of the presidium of the Union of Soviet Composers of Ukraine, the composer K. F. Dankevytch. All the speakers supported the idea of founding a society in Ukraine which would aim to strengthen cultural relations with our Ukrainian brothers abroad and would help them to understand the character of the workers in Ukraine better and more thoroughly. The meeting elected the presidium of this society. J. K. Smolytch was elected chairman of the presidium of the society for cultural relations with Ukrainians abroad."

It can thus be seen from the above that Bolshevism is once again trying to infiltrate into Ukrainian emigrant circles.

\* \* \*

**REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE ON  
"QUESTION OF PUBLIC LAW AND  
ORDER" AGAINST THE OUN  
AND UPA**

In its edition of September 29th and October 2nd, 1960, the paper "Robitnytcha Hazeta" published re-

ports on the republican conference which was held to discuss the question of a greater contribution on the part of society towards the strengthening of the socialist "law and order." Leading representatives of the Party and State apparatus, of the Komsomol and the trade unions, public prosecutors from every district, representatives of the regional courts, of the people's militia and of the local courts took part in the conference. It was opened by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, I. P. Kazanets. The guests included the Chief Public Prosecutor of the Soviet Union, R. A. Rudenko, and the head of a department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, M. R. Mironov. It was ascertained that on the whole there had been an improvement in the sector of public law and order since the 21st Party Congress. It was further stressed that the most important problem at present was to intensify the fight against idlers and to combat by every possible means those elements who were leading a parasitic existence.

The real aim of the conference was, of course, to decide the new methods to be adopted in order to combat the Ukrainian revolutionary and national liberation organizations of the OUN and UPA.

**UKRAINIAN-CHINESE RELATIONS**

The poems of Shevchenko and works by Panas Myrny, Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky, O. Korniytchuk and other Ukrainian writers are said to have been published in the Chinese language.

Numerous Chinese have recently been studying at Kyiv University. They were welcomed in an address in Chinese by a Kyiv woman-student, Tamara Glavak, who affirmed that relations between all the students at Kyiv University were extremely friendly, irrespective of their different nationalities.

### "BROCKHAUS" CRITICISED

The theoretical Party organ of the Communist Party of Ukraine, "Communist of Ukraine," in its edition No. 10 of October, 1960, published a lengthy article by V. Kostenko and D. Pohrebynsky, in which the German encyclopedia "Big Brockhaus" is referred to as an "ideological weapon of the West German revanchists." This article must be regarded as a serious attempt to convince the public in Ukraine of the fact that the "spirit of revanchism" and the hostile attitude of certain circles in the German Federal Republic towards Ukraine are also making themselves felt in scientific reference works, including such works as the "Big Brockhaus," for instance, which has existed for 155 years.

The "Communist of Ukraine" affirms that the article in the "Brockhaus" encyclopedia on Soviet Ukraine could be taken as a typical example of the attitude of the "reactionaries in Bonn" towards Soviet Ukraine. It is pointed out that although Soviet Ukraine is one of the largest states in Europe, only one-fifth of the space devoted to Spain and one-third of the lines devoted to Turkey is assigned to it in the "Brockhaus." The "Communist of Ukraine" then stresses that the authors are simply not interested in the fact that both Spain and Turkey are far behind Ukraine as regards their population, development of economy and science and their culture.

The paper sharply criticizes the allegedly unscientific attitude of the "Brockhaus" and its glaring ignorance as regards questions pertaining to Ukrainian culture. It points out that no mention whatever is made in the encyclopedia of the fact that Ukraine possesses an Academy of Sciences, and goes on to affirm that the article on the well-known Bohomolets serum makes no reference at all to the fact that the inventor of this serum is a Ukrainian scientist and for many years the President of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S. S. R.

According to the "Communist of Ukraine," other data on other Ukrainian representatives of culture and science, works and inventions are known all over the world, is also missing from the "Brockhaus."

The conclusion drawn by the said article in the "Communist of Ukraine" is that the "Brockhaus" encyclopedia in a weapon of the German "revanchists," who regard everything from the standpoint of "Great German" chauvinism and whose attitude towards the Ukrainian people has not changed. They do their utmost to conceal the economic, cultural and scientific level of Ukraine's development in order to keep Western readers in ignorance!

### PRODUCTION FAILURES

The following excerpts are taken from an article which was published in the "Radyanska Ukrayina."

During the first nine months of 1960, the industry of the Ukrainian S. S. R. did not fulfil the quotas for the production of sulphuric acid, chemical and oil apparatuses, electric motors of more than 100 kilowatts, gas turbines, omnibuses, excavators, washing and sewing machines.

There was still a great deal of waste, amounting to 5 to 14 per cent of production, in the paper factories in Ukraine. Ukraine has a good raw material basis of its own for the paper industry, which must be developed still further. At present, raw materials are in part being imported into Ukraine from other republics. Experience has shown that various waste material of the timber industry could also be used for the paper industry. Various annuals, as well as straw and waste flax fibres could also be used, but this has not been the case so far in the Ukrainian factories. There are good prospects, too, as regards the utilization of reeds. As yet, not enough cutting machines for reeds are being used in the Danube delta and in the regions at the mouth of the Dnieper and Dniester.



## UKRAINIANS IN THE FREE WORLD

### **CREATION OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC EXARCHATE IN FRANCE**

His Holiness Pope John XXIII has set up two Church jurisdictions in France, for the Byzantine and the Armenian Rites. He appointed two new bishops to serve as Ordinaries of the new Sees.

Father Vladimir Malanchuk, C.C.C.R., superior of the Ukrainian vice-province of the Redemptorists in Canada and a member of the Association of the Ukrainian Catholic Press, was named Titular Bishop of Epiphania in Syria and Apostolic Exarch of the new Apostolic Exarchate for Ukrainian Catholics of the Byzantine Rite living in France.

Father Garabed Amadouni, a monk of the Order of Mechitarists of Venice, was appointed Apostolic Exarch for Armenian Rite Catholics living in France. Father Amadouni, a consultant of the Pontifical Commission for the Codification of Oriental Canon Law, was elevated to the titular Diocese of Amathus in Cyprus.

All Eastern Rite Catholics in France had been under the jurisdiction of His Eminence Maurice Cardinal Feltin, Archbishop of Paris since 1954, when Pope Pius XII set up an Ordinariat for them and named Cardinal Feltin the Ordinary.

### **DR. KUCHEREPA HEADS CANADIAN NATO DELEGATION**

Dr. John Kucherepa, Canadian Member of Parliament for Toronto's High Park constituency, who is of Ukrainian origin, headed Canada's delegation to the sixth annual parliamentary conference of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The other members of the Canadian delegation were parliamentarians from all that country's national political parties, Liberal, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) as well as

the government party which is the Progressive-Conservative and of which Dr. Kucherepa is a member.

### **UKRAINIAN PRINCESS, FRENCH QUEEN — HONOURED**

On October 23, 1960, planned for a longer period of time, the celebrations on behalf of Ukrainian Princess Anne Yaroslavna, were initiated in the French city Sanlis (40 miles from Paris, 7000 inhabitants) by Ukrainians residing in France. The celebrations, approved by the Ukrainian Catholic Vicariate in France, began with the Holy Mass celebrated by Very Rev. M. Van de Male, Very Rev. J. Bachynsky and Rev. K. Moskalyk. The priests were assisted by Rev. M. Lewynetz, Chancellor of the Vicariate.

Participating in the celebrations were Ukrainians from Paris and many other cities, commemorating the daughter of the Ukrainian Prince Yaroslav Mudry, Anne, who on May 14th, 1049, at the age of 25, became the wife of the French King Henry II. Queen Anne, fulfilling her promise to build a monastery if God blesses her with a male heir, founded 900 years ago a monastery and built a church in Sanlis, which has become one of the most beloved French pilgrimage places.

The celebrations included the seminary Students' concert and the speech by the President of the Ukrainian Christian Movement, Prof. Dr. Volodymyr Yaniv.

Special events took place at the statue of Ukrainian Princess and French Queen, who was beloved by her subjects and who 900 years ago brought closer France and Ukraine, two contemporary strong nations.

Ukrainian celebrations commemorating Princess Anne corrected Russian views that French Queen, wife of King Henry II, was of Russian descent.

*The*  
**UKRAINIAN  
REVIEW**



**II**

**LONDON**  
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# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

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## 1941 - 1961

### Independence of Ukraine a Condition of Lasting World Peace

Anniversary of June 30, 1941

The date of June 30 is of a special importance for the Ukrainians throughout the world. On that day in 1941 in Lviv the Ukrainian Liberation Movement issued a Declaration of Independence of Ukraine and Ukrainian National Government was established.

This action came after the German-Soviet war was started on June 22, 1941, and the Red Army, pressed by the overwhelming German forces, was in full retreat. The Ukrainian political leaders decided to take advantage of the confusion and demoralization of the Soviet armed forces and the underground units of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) were ordered to seize control of all important cities and regions in Ukraine. The idea was to put the German Government before an accomplished fact and to force the Germans to disclose their policy in respect to Ukraine and other East European nations.

The Germans, however, were not willing to respect the wishes of nations subjugated by Russia. They started war in order to obtain new lands for colonization and came as conquerors not liberators. The formation of the Ukrainian National Government and spontaneous organization of the Ukrainian administration in the country freed from the Russian yoke was met with the swift reaction of Gestapo which arrested the members of the Ukrainian Government including Prime-Minister Y. Stetzko and the O.U.N. Leader S. Bandera, and started action against the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian independence was shortlived, but the Germans did not achieve their objective in the struggle with the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. It went again underground and the conqueror faced a well organized armed resistance of the people who demonstrated not only their willingness to be free, but also their readiness to fight for their freedom and independence. After the collapse of German invaders Ukrainians continued their fight against Russian oppressors.

The Second World War did not bring freedom for Ukrainian and other East European peoples. New peoples were conquered by the Russian imperialists and the Western world faces now a challenge which has no comparison in the history of mankind.

The Ukrainian nation continues the fight for freedom and independence in a belief that the ultimate objective of this great struggle will be achieved in the future.

On this occasion the Ukrainians throughout the world appeal to the free world for support and understanding. Today the struggle waged by the Ukrainian nation is a part of world-wide struggle with the Russian totalitarian menace and, helping the struggle of Ukraine and other enslaved nations, the Western world helps itself.

Only the liberation of all enslaved peoples within the Soviet Russian bloc will bring lasting peace all over the world.

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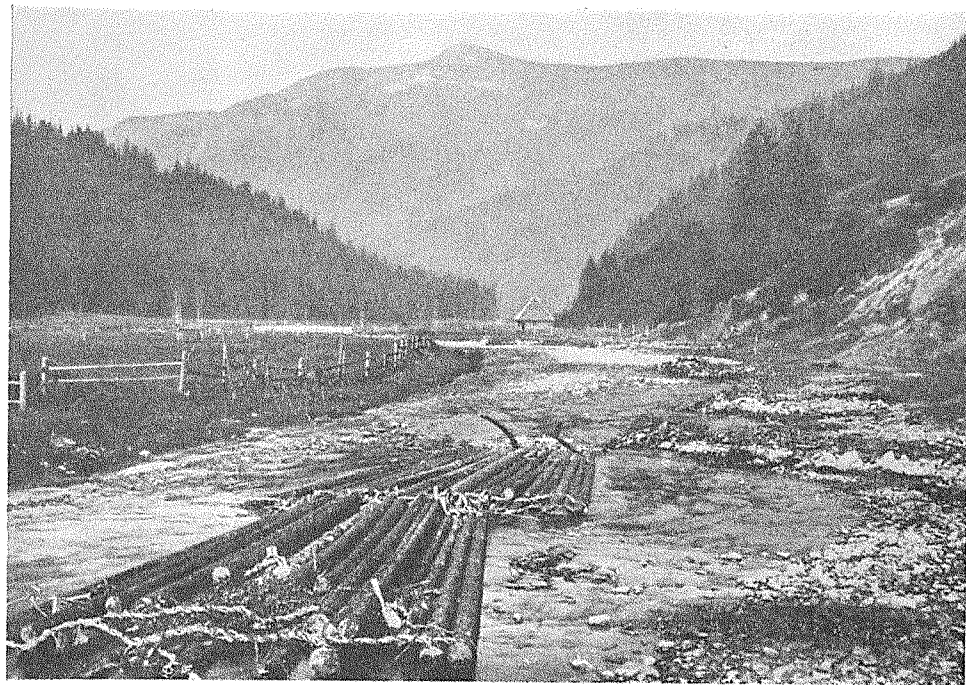
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The Germans, however, were not willing to respect the wishes of nations misjudged by Russia. They started war in order to obtain new lands for colonization and came as conquerors not liberators. The formation of the Ukrainian National Government and spontaneous organization of the Ukrainian administration in the country freed from the Russian yoke was met with the swift reaction of Europe which arrested the members of the Ukrainian Government including Minister Y. Stetsko and the O.U.N. leader S. Bandura, and started action against the Ukrainian people.

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Opera House in Lviv.



The River Cheremosh in the Ukrainian Carpathians.

## SITUATION BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN AND LIBERATION POLICY

### L. Khrushchov's world strategy

In taking over the power in the Communist Russian empire, shaken by the death of the tyrannical dictator, Stalin, the new Bolshevik leadership, headed by Khrushchov, was forced to play for time in order to consolidate this power and to prevent the disruption of the empire under the pressure of internal revolutionary forces and outside opposition. For this reason the new leadership carried out reorganization of the system in its various spheres to cut out glaring inefficiency which was retarding the Soviet Union and undermining its strength vis-a-vis the Western powers, above all in the economic sphere. To give itself the time, to confuse both the West and the subjugated peoples all this drive towards consolidation of the power of the Russian dictator was accompanied by propaganda suggestions about a campaign against "Stalinism" and about "humanization" of the system. The operation was carried out in a certain analogy to Lenin's introduction of the so-called New Economic Policy in 1921, which had also been designed to preserve the system in accordance with the motto, "One step backwards, two steps forwards."

The events in Berlin in June 1953, the suppression of the Ukrainian risings in the concentration camps in the middle 1950's and in Hungary in 1956, the condemnation of Pasternak and many other occurrences bear witness to the fact that the basic determination of the Kremlin rulers to maintain its dictatorial regime and tyrannical occupation of enslaved countries has not been changed.

Likewise, in foreign policy the aim of the Russian Communist imperialists to undermine, subvert and finally to overcome and conquer the Free World does not in the least differ from the aims pursued by Lenin and Stalin. More than that, Khrushchov has introduced more skilful and flexible tactics in Moscow's dealings with the Free World in trying to subvert it by riding the crest of the anti-colonial movements in Asia and Africa as well as revolutionary movements in Latin America. His propaganda has achieved considerable success in presenting Russia to the world as an alleged champion of the formerly colonial peoples, and the U.S.A. as the arch-enemy of national and social freedom.

This propaganda is given additional gloss by the exaggerated claims concerning Russian economic achievements and technical feats, such as the launching of the manned space ship. The basic fact remains, however, that the entire economy of the Russian Bolshevik empire is geared to military production and continues to be as much, or even more centralised, as it used to be under Stalin. The recent so-called decentralisation of the industrial management in the USSR by the creation of regional economic councils is only propagandist decentralisation. In fact it is an even greater centralisation, for the heads of the individual economic areas enjoy the powers of Ministers of the USSR and are Moscow's local lieutenants as regards economic management, only nominally responsible to the so-called Republican Governments.

The widely propagandised easing of the Stalinist terror regime has in fact consisted merely in doing away with the most absurd abuses, but in fact the rights of the individual and of the particular nations are as deprived of guarantees as they used to be under Stalin.

In its propaganda offensive against the Free World Moscow makes wide use of the slogans of "co-existence" and "general and complete disarmament." The aim of this campaign is to disarm the West psychologically and materially, to increase the relative strength of the Russian Empire, to leave the latter free to subvert the Free World at ease, without having to deal with stiff resistance. The same aim is served by Moscow's repeated announcements about the alleged cuts in the number of armed forces in the USSR and the "satellites." Even admitting that some cuts have been made to ease the shortage of manpower in economy, the fact remains that the Soviet army and the armies of the "satellite" States are being feverishly modernised and armed with the most deadly weapons.

The Soviet strategical planning envisages an equal balance between the nuclear forces and the conventional forces held in constant readiness while diplomacy, political subversion, propaganda and revolutionary forces abroad are doing their work in spreading Russian influence and undermining the Free World. The widely reported alleged differences of opinion between Moscow and the Chinese Communists as regards the world strategy of Communism concern only minor points of emphasis and are not of any fundamental importance. While the Chinese Communists are more frank in proclaiming their strategy, Moscow sees the value of carefully masking her intentions with such soft words as "co-existence," "disarmament" etc. in order not to alarm the rest of the world to greater resistance.

## II. Moscow's policy of enslavement

For varying periods of time many once free nations have been kept in abject slavery by the tyrannical regime of the terror invented by Lenin, developed by Stalin and perfected by Khrushchov. The aim of this all-pervasive and diabolically calculated terror is to crush the human dignity of the individual, deny him free will and choice, and make him a completely obedient cog in the huge machine of the State



aiming at total aggrandisement of the power of the Russian Communist rulers throughout the world. The Bolshevik ideology is inseparably intertwined with Russian chauvinism which sees in the Bolshevik system the most suitable instrument for world domination by Russia. Internationalism of the Russian rulers is only a propaganda slogan convenient for winning supporters abroad and for confusing and silencing the opposition of the non-Russians in the Communist Russian empire.

While appearing to support the nationalist movements in Asia, Africa, Latin America etc., Moscow cruelly and ruthlessly annihilates any nationalist strivings in her own sphere of domination. The propaganda façade of national republics, autonomous republics, "people's democracies" etc. serves to camouflage persistent efforts carried out systematically by Moscow to uproot and eradicate the slightest signs of political, cultural and economic autonomy of the enslaved nations. This is carried out not only by way of reducing the powers of the local national administrative units to the ridiculous minimum, but by way of physically destroying the whole leading strata of the population of the enslaved nations, and sometimes even of the entire peoples, as witness the fate of the Crimean Tatars, Chechens, Ingushes, Kalmyks, Karachays and Volga Germans, without mentioning the countless millions of Ukrainians murdered and starved to death. The cultures of the enslaved peoples are systematically distorted out of recognition by persistent Russification. They are hampered in their development and atrophy in order to leave the ground free for the spread of the allegedly "higher" and "progressive" Russian culture.

In fact the aim of the Russian Bolsheviks is merely a different version of the arch-reactionary policy of the Russian Tsars which strived to Russify all the subject peoples, to erase their individuality and to increase the power of the Russian nation as the main support of their aggressive policies, and plans for world domination.

The insidious inculcation of the Russian version of Marxism, the merciless fight against all other ideologies and faiths, the perfidious fight against religion of every denomination, the glorification of all things Russian and the denigration and calumny of the histories, cultures and nationalist movements of the peoples enslaved by Russia — all are designed to make the enslaved peoples absolutely obedient tools in the hands of Russian imperialism.

The resistance of the enslaved nations has forced the Russian rulers to beat tactical retreats from time to time only to go over to attack as soon as the moment appeared opportune to wipe out the elite of any particular enslaved nation. Taking the example of Ukraine we can trace in recent years both an intensification of the resistance offered by the Ukrainian Nation to the policies of the Russian rulers, and on the other hand a ruthless persistence on the part of Moscow in combating that resistance.



The numerous risings in the concentration camps — such as occurred in Vorkuta in 1953, and in Kingir, Norylsk, Karaganda, Taishet and others in subsequent years — were organised in the main by Ukrainian nationalist prisoners, and these risings were crushed mercilessly, though subsequently the internal regime in the camps was somewhat eased. Recent pronouncements of the Communist Party on the propaganda fight against religion and nationalism bear witness to the fact that these ideas are still very much alive and gaining supporters among the masses of the enslaved peoples. In this connection we have to view the efforts of the Bolsheviks to disrupt and demoralise Ukrainian emigré community in the Free World, who are looked upon by the Ukrainian Nation as the true representatives of the aspirations of the Ukrainian people.

For this reason Moscow has been sending its agents to murder Ukrainian leaders in the Free World. And the latest example is the murder by poison in Munich, in October 1959, of the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera. Moreover, captured Ukrainian resistance members are sometimes forced under torture to broadcast appeals to the Ukrainian emigrés denigrating the Ukrainian nationalist movement. Thereby the Russian rulers hope to demoralise the Ukrainian emigration and to reduce its activity. Should they succeed in it, the focus of hopes of the enslaved Ukrainian Nation for eventual liberation would vanish, and Moscow would be enabled to deal so much easier with the resistance in Ukraine.

### III. Mistakes of Western policy

The main allies of Moscow in the Free World have for 43 years been widespread complacency and ignorance as regards the threat of Communist Russian imperialism to the freedom of the rest of the world. Had the Western powers shown enough resoluteness and given sufficient support to the popular movements opposing Bolshevism, such as for instance the forces of the Ukrainian independent State, during the revolution in 1917-1920, the evil that now threatens the world would have been easily crushed. The admission of the representatives of the Russian Communist tyranny to the League of Nations in the 1930's and to the United Nations during the Second World War was another cardinal mistake.

The support given to Russia during the last war, without demanding any guarantees for human freedom in return, is now avenging itself on the Western allies. The handing over of half of Europe by President Roosevelt to Stalin's mercies, the unnecessary involvement of Russia in the war against Japan, the irresolute support of the anti-Communist forces in China and other Asian countries as well as Cuba helped to spread Moscow's tyranny over huge areas and hundreds of millions of people. For the last decade or so, since the West decided to defend itself by pursuing the so-called policy of "containment," the advance of Bolshevik influence in the world has been slowed down to a certain extent, but so far, there is little prospect that the

tide will recede. The main reason for this is that the strategy of the West was purely a defensive one while the strategy of Moscow was a persistently offensive one. No one can remotely hope to win a battle if he constantly remains in the defensive.

The basic reason for the passive defensive attitude of the West and lack of political initiative is the prevalent absorption with immediate material things of life and consequent isolationism, and lack of sufficient faith in the mission of the Free World to spread the respect for higher ideals, for human dignity, freedom throughout the globe.

One of the necessary conditions for ensuring the true dignity of man, his freedom and well-being, as well as international co-operation is the respect for just national aspirations of the nations of the world. While this is being increasingly recognised with regard to the formerly colonial peoples in Asia and Africa, the potentialities of this idea with regard to combating the threat of Communist Russian imperialism is still far from being generally recognised.

Moscow's aggressive policies are often regarded as an expression of some faceless "international Communism," instead of treating it as the most perfidious and refined form of Russian chauvinism and imperialism. For this reason the potentialities of the revolutionary nationalist movements of the nations enslaved by Russia are still not recognised, their representatives are silenced. These forces which are of great potential value to the cause of defence of freedom in the world are not taken into account in the strategy of the Free World, and the U.S.A. in particular, as the leading power and bastion of the Free World.

While Moscow is permitted to appear in the role of a defender of colonial peoples in Asia and Africa and even in Latin America, the West is reluctant to raise sufficiently resolutely the problem of the enslaved peoples in the colonial Russian Communist Empire. This is not only apparent in the forum of the United Nations, and at various international Conferences, but also in the so-called psychological warfare carried out by the West against the Kremlin.

The Western broadcasts to the countries behind the Iron Curtain are still excessively polite to the Russians, and deal with this problem only in very vague terms. Semi-private organisations charged with propaganda warfare, such as the so-called American Committee for Liberation engaged in broadcasts to the nations enslaved in the Soviet Union, do not mention the aspirations of these peoples to national independence, and seem to favour the maintenance of Russian domination over these peoples even after the eventual abolition of the Communist system.

Ukrainian and many other nationalist organisations representing the aspirations of the peoples enslaved by Russian Communism are deprived of the dynamic opportunities to broadcast to those peoples and intensify their resistance and liberation struggle. While the field of subversion and penetration is open for the Soviet propaganda in the West, the latter is afraid of hurting delicate Russian susceptibilities.

In short, the West fails to make use of the obvious weakness of the Communist Russian system, namely the disruptive tendencies of the national independence movements directed against Russian colonialism and domination.

#### IV. Our suggestions for a policy of liberation

Although, on its taking over of the Administration, the Republican Government of the USA proclaimed a policy of liberation, in fact the old policy of "containment" was pursued in practice. As has been stated above, despite a partial success in stemming the advance of Moscow's influence in the world, the victory of the Free World over Russian expansionism is as remote as ever. To bring it nearer it is necessary first of all to work out a strategy of liberation, taking into account all the forces that are capable of undermining the Russian Communist empire and accelerate the fall of Bolshevism.

For this purpose the following tasks have to be accomplished:

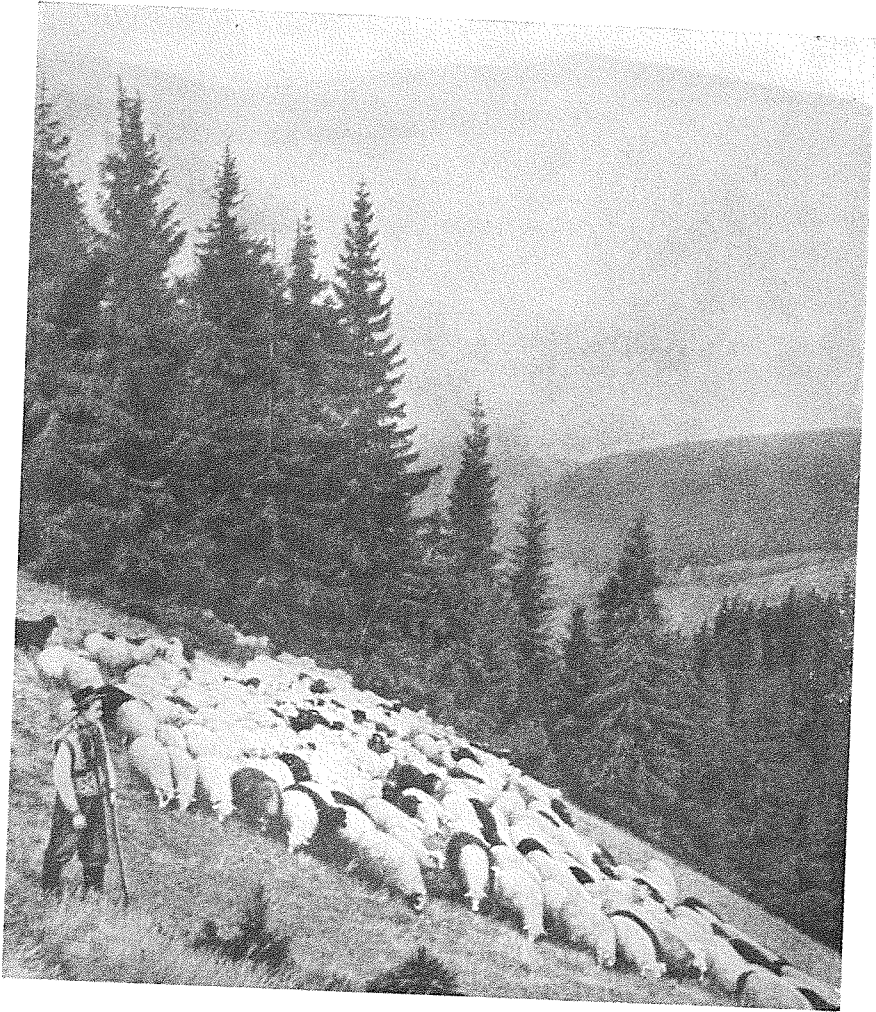
The Free World has to recognise that a just world order can be based only on the basis of free and independent national States assuring fundamental freedoms for the individual and social justice. These national States must be organically grown and based on all that is best in national traditions, and no artificial systems for which they are not psychologically prepared must be imposed on them.

The above principle must be recognised to apply in equal measure to all the nations on both sides of the Iron Curtain, including the many peoples at present enslaved in the Russian colonial empire, above all in the U.S.S.R.

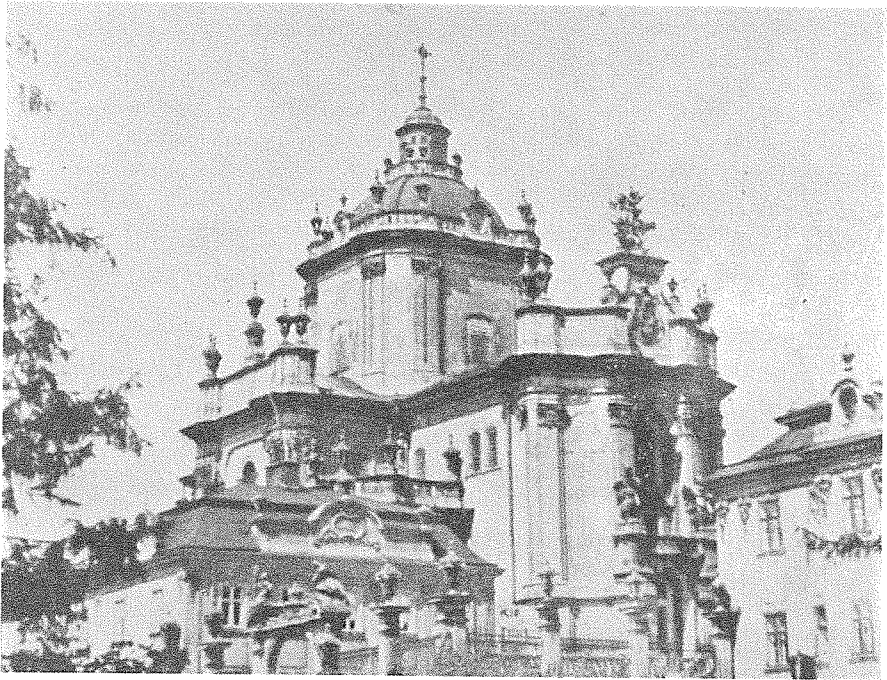
It ought to be recognised that the most dynamic formative political forces in the world today are the national liberation movements based on the just aspirations to national freedom and independence within rightful ethnic frontiers, and that these forces are the most potent forces opposing Russian Communist imperialism within the Soviet Russian empire capable of disrupting it, given favourable conditions.

The Free World has to recognise the seriousness of the threat of Russian Communist expansionism and the insufficiency of the "policy of containment" to check it, and the necessity to work out an all-embracing global policy of liberation, aiming at complete defeat of Russian communist imperialism and the establishment of a new world order based on free and independent national States of all the peoples of the world.

To carry out in practice the above task, a centre of strategical planning and direction of the determined long-term offensive against Moscow's imperialism has to be set up. It ought to include, besides the representatives of the Free Nations, also the representatives of the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain, and facilities should be placed at the disposal of the recognised representatives of the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain to carry out their political, propagandist and militant tasks.



A Ukrainian Hutsul shepherd in the Eastern Carpathians.



**St. George's Cathedral in Lviv.**

Jaroslav Stetzko

## THE LONGING FOR ETERNAL VALUES

### RELIGIOUS UNDERGROUND IN UKRAINE

For forty years the diabolical system of Bolshevism has been endeavouring to eradicate from the human soul faith in God, the longing for eternal values, for absolute truth and for a deeper meaning of life than the one preached by dialectical materialism. But it is inborn in human nature to put its creative powers in intellectual, social and cultural respect to the test in every way.

Man is only really free if he can dispose freely of material goods, too, that is to say if he has free choice. And the essence of this freedom includes the possibility of being able to engage in free activity and to make a free decision. This possibility of a choice between alternatives is thus characteristic of the free will of every individual.

In its diabolical presumptuousness, Russian Messianism — Bolshevism — does not hesitate to defy the divine teachings of Christ and also human nature. It does its utmost to eradicate completely from the human soul all religious and national elements, the personal characteristics of the individual, his ties with old-established traditions, as well as his longing to be independent in his decisions and to be able to dispose at his own free discretion of his own person, his material and intellectual achievements.

The dynamic character of Ukrainian Christianity constitutes the main obstacle to the intellectual enslavement of Ukraine by materialistic Russia, whose passive and superficial Christianity in the past helped on the victory of anti-Christian Bolshevism, which is organically allied to the Russian mentality and cannot therefore be regarded as an imported product of Western Communism, — a fact which, incidentally, was admitted and explained at length by the Russian Christian philosopher N. Berdyaev in his works "The New Middle Ages" and "The Meaning of Communism."

The enemy knows only too well who it is who is digging the pit he will fall into. For this reason he has launched a fierce attack on liberation nationalism, that is to say on the predominating idea of our age, on heroic Christianity, this ever dynamic and elementary force of the intellectual and moral rebirth of men and, indeed, of whole peoples.

These two forces behind the Iron Curtain, which are so closely allied to each other, represent a deadly danger to the Bolshevik

rulers, to the imperium and to its ideological, materialistic and atheistic foundations. The Russian Bolsheviks even admit this in their publications. The fact that the Red Russians are forced to try to combat the ideas which inspire the individual peoples is clear proof that the activity of the national, religious, cultural and social underground movements in their various forms has assumed a dangerous character. This circumstance could no longer be concealed and the Russians have thus been obliged to try to combat it systematically. But one can neither hide a vulnerable spot nor get rid of it. And it is this vulnerable spot which will eventually cause the downfall of the imperium of the Antichrist.

### The failure of militant atheism

Even the revival of the state-controlled Russian "Orthodox" Church is nothing but proof of the failure of godless Bolshevism in its anti-Christian fight. Nor can this be altered by the fact that Bolshevism is doing its utmost to use this new type of state-controlled orthodoxy, in keeping with the example set by the tsars, for the purposes of Russian imperialism and Messianism (according to the motto: "Moscow is a third Rome and there can never be a fourth!"). In spite of all this, however, the "opium for the people" (religion), which has allegedly been eradicated completely, can not be destroyed in the human soul; on the contrary, what disappears from the human soul is the dialectical materialism that was to take the place of religious metaphysics and philosophy. As Moscow does not want to admit the rapid growth of religiousness above all among the subjugated peoples, such as Ukraine, Lithuania, etc., in the form of their true Churches, which are steadily increasing in strength, namely the Autocephalous Orthodox or Catholic Churches, which are not dependent on the "all-Russian" so-called Patriarch (and which in the underground are developing their authority that has not been broken), the Bolshevik press is resorting to attacks directed against "Jehovah's Witnesses" as the most dangerous "confession," since it is the one which can most easily be accused of American agent activity, dependence on American funds and connections with American tourists, etc. The fact that the Soviet press constantly sounds the alarm and, after an alleged triumph of Marxism and "enlightened" atheism for the past forty years is still obliged to stress the "untenableness" of "religious prejudices" is undoubtedly proof of the intensification of religious feeling, which is above all in evidence to a large extent amongst the younger generation.

The paper "Izvestiya" of September 16, 1960, published a reply to "Uncle Matviy," who wrote a letter to the Soviet press, in which he condemned a mother who abandoned her child in order to lead a more comfortable life. He wrote as follows: "It is undoubtedly a base trick. But what is the cause for such behaviour. Materialism alone is to blame. A religious person, — that is to say a really religious person

and not the type of person about whom the papers write in order to make people turn away from religion (the writer is most certainly referring to the state-controlled orthodoxy of the Russian "Patriarchate." — The author.), would never have allowed themselves to be carried away to such an extent. But what can the materialists do in such a cause? If someone has already been born with negative qualities, what ideas must he adopt in order to change his ways? Religion is the only idea that can influence the human soul. And many examples of this can be seen in our everyday life. If one is a convinced materialist, one regards oneself as a product of various chemical processes, that is to say that one should enjoy life to the full. Think logically, comrades! In the Bible man's godless attitude — "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we shall die" — is already reproved."

The said "Uncle Matviy" circulated his letters by the dozen until he was finally caught...

The Russian rulers are greatly disquieted that the nationalists circulate anti-atheistic and anti-Bolshevist leaflets, which very often have only been written on a typewriter and are left lying about intentionally in railway compartments and pushed through letter-boxes. In this connection the journal "Voprosy Filosofiyi" ("Problems of Philosophy"), No. 8/60, writes as follows: "From the ideological point of view those persons must be exposed who are seeking to mislead the Soviet people by writing anonymous letters and secretly smuggling anti-Soviet literature into letter-boxes."

In another Soviet paper of May last year, mention was made of a letter by a man of the name of Yuriy Kuleshiv, who "affirms in all seriousness that no one except God could have created man"; Kuleshiv is of the opinion that everyone "should go back to the Christian faith..."

The Soviet press also refers to the printing in secret of prayer-books and other religious writings. From our own sources we have learnt of secret religious messengers who "with their staff in their hand" wander from village to village and from town to town proclaiming the Word of God...

We frequently hear reports to the effect that agents of the Russian secret police inform the "refractory" Ukrainian Catholic priests, who have remained loyal to their Church and its hierarchy and who after their return from exile continue to fulfil their priestly duties in secret, that they can continue their religious activity, but on one condition, namely that they must subordinate themselves to the Russian "Patriarchate," otherwise they will be banished to Siberia again. Such threats have, however, failed to impress the said priests. One could quote many other causes in the religious activity of the two Ukrainian Churches and many other examples of the intrepidity and steadfastness of their priests who refuse to allow their spirit to be broken by the threats of godless Moscow.

The paper "Young Communist," No. 11, 1960, published a statement by a mother who said that she sent her children to church so that "religion would help her to bring up her children to be honest, decent-living beings." Seeing that their father had been killed during



the war, she would not have been able on her own to bring her children up to be modest and hard-working, had not her faith in God helped her...

The fight for the soul of the individual and, above all, for the soul of youth is being continued with the greatest possible intensity. Moscow is doing its utmost to delude the youth of the subjugated peoples with a vision of Communism (which actually is already very faded). Moscow is endeavouring to prove to this youth the "objective truth" of dialectical materialism, but obviously without success, for no doctrine is more unscientific than this dialectical materialism. And youth, incidentally, longs for the eternal, divine and transcendent values, which do not belong to this world...

### **The victory of the "remnants" of the past**

The Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, S. Pavlov, recently sounded the alarm: "It has been ascertained recently that religion and its servants are the active instigators of the bourgeois ideology in the villages..." The "Izvestiya" of October 6, 1960, and other Soviet papers try to divert the attention of the population from the Catholic and Orthodox underground Church. They attack, above all, sects of every kind, since they found it easiest to affirm of these sects that they allegedly entertain relations with the United States of America, in order to be able to attack religion as a whole from the secular point of view, for the "ideologists of Jehovah's Witnesses are the American imperialists." The Soviet press likewise attacks the sects of the Mennonites, the "Seventh Day Adventists" and many others, which they accuse either of collaboration with the Nazis, or of espionage activity on behalf of the Americans. The press launches these attacks because Moscow is unable to combat successfully the ideological and religious re-awakening and rebirth of Christianity.

All this proves the complete failure of militant atheism on the one hand, and an increasingly intensive search for eternal values on the part of man, who constantly longs for God, on the other. Forty years of godless Russian tyranny have not succeeded in eradicating from the human soul what has been inborn in it for thousands of years, namely the longing for eternal truth and what is good.

The "Young Communist," No. 10, 1960, for instance writes as follows: "The young people who have been infected by the remnants of the past must be re-educated." But it is not worth the effort! Not only the human but even the diabolical force cannot succeed in obliterating what is divine in the human soul. God created man in his own image. In view of this, how futile and base the efforts of the Russian satraps in this connection seem! Foreign tourists reported that a group of active members of the Komsomol forced their way into St. Volodymyr's Cathedral in Kyiv during the Easter Mass in 1960 and tried to interrupt the service by making a noise and bawling. On the other hand, it is an established fact that in 1955 five hundred Ukrainian women in the concentration camp in Kingiri (Kazakhstan),

who, assuming that their courageous and defenceless action would deter the Russian hangmen from slaughtering their insurgent fellow-prisoners, threw themselves in front of the tanks of the Russian atheists and were crushed to death, sang religious and patriotic songs during this massacre. These brave women remind one of the early converted Christians, who, whilst they were being torn to pieces by wild animals in the forum of the Roman Colosseum, sang hymns in praise of Christ.

In its edition of June 3, 1960, the "Izvestiya" mentioned a religious underground centre in Irkutsk which was extending its activity to the whole of Siberia. The said press organ also reported that this centre possessed underground printing offices and disseminated a propaganda which affirmed that people should leave the collectives without delay and should not take part in the elections held by the godless (the Soviets). Such are the tasks that are set the orthodox believers. According to reports by foreigners who have been released from Soviet concentration camps, the Ukrainians constitute about 40 per cent of the total number of prisoners and persons exiled to Siberia, whereas the Russians only constitute 8 to 10 per cent (and the majority of these are criminal prisoners). There can likewise be no doubt about the fact that it is precisely the Catholic and Orthodox Ukrainians who are the driving force of the religious rebirth in Siberia.

The religious underground movement in the Baltic countries, too, is constantly growing. The journal "Ogonyok" of September 25, 1960, reported that there were two secret Catholic convents in Kaunas in Lithuania. "In these convents," so the periodical wrote, "there were icons of the 'Crucifixion' in every cell... Amongst the two dozen 'Brides of Christ' there were two laboratory assistants of the medical school, a nurse from the local hospital, two students from the college of technology... Their wages and scholarship money were handed over to the Mother Superior. The nuns are not allowed to have any possessions of their own. Theatres, cinemas, clubs and places of amusement — the 'internees' are deprived of all these things since they are regarded as 'sinful.' The strict rules of these convents demand that the members should take the vow of eternal virginity. Very often these fanatics try to convert their colleagues at the medical school and college of technology to their faith."

### What is the real purpose of life?

As can be seen from the above facts, neither Communist propaganda nor re-education in the spirit of Marxism have succeeded in achieving any results in this respect. In its victorious advance Christianity is bursting asunder the fetters with which the Russian atheists are trying to chain the soul of the subjugated peoples. The most important point in this respect is that the younger generation is adhering to the Christian faith and is courageously defending its ideals. The youth of the subjugated countries, which is being tormented by state-controlled education and training in the spirit of materialism, longs

for higher ideals and seeks the purpose of its life not in everyday and material things but in eternal values and ideals.

Writing to the Soviet press, Valentyna Zarytska affirms: "Frequently in the evenings I ponder on the question of what the real purpose of life is. Everyone must have some aim in mind. We see no aim before us. In short, we long for a life full of fierce and ardent enthusiasm. But we do not feel such enthusiasm. Can there be such a thing in our day as fierce and ardent enthusiasm?... You will retort, — uncultivated virgin regions, — the cultivation of Siberia. But there, too, the new settlers become old settlers and their life becomes stereotyped and monotonous..."

Another periodical publishes the following letter: "I am interested in the question as to why man lives at all? He eats, sleeps and works. Why does he do all this? Should one swim against the current? But it is boring always to swim with the current!... How can one find out what is the real purpose of life?..."

The answer to these profound questions which occupy the minds of the people behind the Iron Curtain has been simplified most crudely by Khrushchov in his ruthlessly empirical attitude, inasmuch as he promised a "piece of meat" as an addition to the Communist ideology, or constantly repeated: "We must 'catch up with and overtake' America in the production of material goods."

There is something more than tragicomic about the huge propaganda slogans "Catch up with and overtake America," which one sees on the walls of wretched hovels, where large families live in one tiny room.

In any case, this demand can never be realized in the USSR, nor can it be an incentive in the life of persons who are seeking the way to God and to eternal values and not solely the way to acquire American refrigerators, television sets, luxury cars and other transient comforts of our life in this world. All the propaganda about "sputniks" and "luniks" has prompted youth to turn its thoughts towards divine and eternal values and to ask with ever-growing insistence: "What is the origin of the cosmos? How did man originate? Who created this fly which, even though it is so tiny, has a life of its own and flies about in space?"

As a result of technical achievements and nuclear physics, man again and again recognizes the eternal values and the eternal power of God, the Creator of this world. The "sputniks" and the "luniks" and even the "landing" of human beings on Mars or on the moon are by no means a guarantee for the superiority and predominance of some social economic order or other, or of a certain philosophy, but on the contrary are further proof, and so far perhaps the most effective proof, of the existence of the secret of the universe and of God.

And, incidentally, the grandiose development of nuclear science and the growing interest of youth in this field is no proof that the latter has abandoned its idealist and philosophical attitude or has lost interest in metaphysics. In ancient times attempts were made to discover the divine secret of the universe at least to a small extent through the philosophy of Socrates, Plato, Aristotles and Kant, or

the philosophical ideas of Thomas of Aquino which were based on the divine revelation. Nowadays, nuclear fission, the research of thermo-nuclear energy and of world space constitute youth's approach to a further recognition of the divine by the discovery of new laws and of new wonders of God's world order. Just as in former times it was, above all, the humanistic scholars who showed those who thirsted for knowledge the approach to a recognition of the secrets of the universe, it is now nuclear physics and medical science which guide youth in its search for truth to the divine mystery of the universe and of creation.

Methods change with the times. Tomorrow, the king of sciences, philosophy, will take the place of nuclear physics and medical science in this respect. But be that as it may, — until the end of the world man will continue to seek to discover the original phenomenon of human existence and the fundamental secret of the divine order of the world.

The younger generation behind the Iron Curtain does not accept the technical achievements of the Soviet Union (and most of them have been stolen from the West or accomplished to a considerable extent by Ukrainian inventors, as for instance Kapytsia, under Russian threats) as proof of the "superiority of Communism over capitalism," but regards them as the solution of one more of the countless secrets of the universe which corroborate the antithesis of atheism, namely the divine Omnipotence, which has created all things out of nothing and by its own will. Thus, though the "sputniks" and "luniks" draw the attention of the people subjugated in the USSR to the heavens in a physical sense, this nevertheless also occurs from the philosophical and transcendental aspect, too; and this indeed means the acceleration of the end of godless Bolshevism. The "metaphysics of Communism" have long been moribund in the collective soul of the younger generation of the enslaved peoples and the mysticism of the Russian mission is regarded as something alien by this youth. The "older Russian brother who makes the rest of the world happy" and the "piece of meat as an addition to the theory of Communism," — all this is unequalled cynicism. The "piece of meat" and "more butter" — slogans which Khrushchov on one occasion, in one of his fierce speeches, hurled at the leftist extremists — cannot take the place of the search for eternal truth, for the cause of our existence. In the subjugated countries Communism has proved a complete failure in ideological respect; all that has remained is a bogey and the inquisitional methods of the Soviet secret police.

For this reason the Russian periodical "Literature and Life" expresses considerable alarm and affirms that a "hard fight is being conducted." "This fight seems to be much harder than we imagine..." Which is undoubtedly true, for no one has ever won the fight against the Christian faith. And this also applies to satanic Moscow!

Some time ago, the prominent Ukrainian ideologist, Prof. Dr. Dmytro Donzov, wrote about the journeyings of an unknown apostle of God's teachings through Ukraine, about the significance of certain

"rumours," about mysterious incidents in Ukraine and about mysticism in the life of the Ukrainian people, — a life that is one constant fight and struggle.

American authors wrote about a "miracle in the concentration camp in Vorkuta." MVD agents tried to force some Ukrainian Catholic nuns, who had been abducted to this camp in the Arctic Circle, to work for the atheistic occupation regime. The nuns refused to do so. By way of punishment they were then forced to endure the icy Siberian cold without clothes for three whole days and, at the same time, cold water was poured over them. The nuns prayed and sang hymns and survived these inhuman tortures. The MVD hangmen were so disturbed by this miracle that they eventually took the nuns back to their barracks and did not molest them again.

This miracle in Vorkuta is merely a premonitory sign of an approaching new divine order, which will be built on the ruins of the godless Russian colonial imperium.

"Rumours" about the end of the world, mysterious heralds — "those with a pilgrim's staff," as they are called in Ukraine, mystic happenings, — all this directs the attention of the population to something that is exactly the opposite of transitoriness. The sect of "Jehovah's Witnesses," which of all sects talks most about the end of the world, owes its popularity mainly to the mystic nature of its "prophecies." Various versions of apocryphal Bible stories are told and rumours of various miracles are circulating.

We have received a number of authentic reports about the circulation of pastoral letters written by the interned Ukrainian Catholic hierarchs and about the heroic attitude of that martyr, Metropolitan Dr. Joseph Slipyj; an ascetic in the truest sense, he refused all help (parcels from abroad) and alleviation of his lot as a prisoner, since he did not want to live under better conditions than his faithful flock. His attitude and his unbroken spirit can indeed be compared to the spiritual courage of the priests of the early Christians. Surely all this is proof of the complete failure of militant Bolshevik atheism?

Religion and militant Christianity is, above all, alive amongst the peoples who have been subjugated, humiliated and deprived of all their national and human rights. The journal "Komsomolsskaya Pravda" wrote ironically about "living apostles." At the same time, it exhorted the population to combat the "incredible rumours" which are circulating in the enslaved countries and in particular in Ukraine (in Mykolayiv and Odessa, for instance). One of these rumour alleges that girls who wear red coats should be killed.

These and similar rumours are being circulated orally from house to house and from place to place. They give rise to a feeling of alarm, tension and expectation of something unknown. The hysteria frequently occasioned by "sputniks" and "luniks" is by no means proof of enthusiasm about the "Communist achievements," but rather the expression of the feeling that prevails amongst the population, namely that something mysterious will happen in the near future.

In its edition of October 6, 1960, "Izvestiya" reported that religiousness had increased to immense proportions in the region of Krasnodar. It accused the orthodox faithful of acting as henchmen to the "fascist occupants, of anti-Soviet subversive activity, of violation of the Soviet legislation, of criminal offences" etc. Since Soviet Russian propaganda, however, designates every patriotic deed that is performed by a member of an enslaved people and not of the ruling Russian people as activity on behalf of the "fascists and Americans" or as a crime, it is quite obvious that religious feeling and patriotism go hand in hand. A woman teacher recently wrote in the "Teachers' Newspaper" that she had read a notice in the press to the effect that "some people had broken with religion." "Why," she asked, "does the press never report that someone has gone back to Christianity and why does it never say for what reasons the person in question has begun to believe in God again..."

### St. Sophia versus the Kremlin

The Bolshevik atheists who ridicule religious mysticism as "superstition and prejudice" are themselves obliged to capitulate before it. Unintentionally they espouse this cause themselves, for they are incapable of exterminating the longing in man's soul for all that lies beyond this world, for what is shrouded in mystery, — the longing to understand the secret of our existence on earth. For this reason the notorious "dedication of youth" has been introduced in the Soviet Zone of Germany.

The paper "Soviet Estonia" in its edition No. 132 propagates a "Komsomol marriage ceremony" instead of a solemnization in a church, and a kind of "summer days" for youth instead of baptism; it advocates a kind of code of "Soviet customs," to be worked out and published in a compilation. It is not so long ago since Bormann and other blasphemers adopted a similar procedure under the banner of the "swastika." They presented newly married couples with a copy of Hitler's "Mein Kampf" instead of with a Bible and propagated senseless "old Germanic customs"; these also included the blasphemous obituary speech made by Hitler at the grave of religious-minded Hindenburg, which ended with the old Germanic words "enter Valhalla..." Why should thousands of "pilgrims to the Kremlin" pray to the mummies of Lenin and Stalin in the Moscow mausoleum, — the two biggest hangmen, murderers of peoples and persecutors of Christians ever heard of in the history of the world, if people have no longing for mysticism?

The "Literaturnaya Gazeta" ("Literary Gazette") of October 15, 1960, complains that the orthodox faithful with ever-increasing conspiracy are holding secret meetings in the forests. Such epithets as "Christ-sellers," etc., which are applied to those who are dissatisfied with and opposed to the regime, are certainly in strange taste. They are used to designate those persons who establish contact with foreign tourists and give them pictures and similar things as presents. Other

contemptuous designations are also used, as for instance "Nibocho," which is applied to those persons who "are neither in favour of God nor the Devil" because they have apparently been disappointed by dialectical materialism and therefore seek truth outside the Communist Party. The press of the Soviet Union, which is centrally and strictly controlled by the Russians, likewise talks about "political vagabonds," who seek a "higher life," as well as about "preachers of free life," who carry on "senseless conversations about a fusion with Nature" and "boast of their theory of a higher form of life."

These comments refer to the philosophically minded young people of Krasnoyarsk. The organ of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Ukraine reports from the town of Kryvvy Rih that five young engineers held secret meetings on the banks of the River Saksahan in order to discuss rumours from abroad and news items broadcast by foreign stations. With considerable indignation the press quotes a remark made by one of these young people who are searching for truth, namely that he "had not been by any means profoundly moved by the flight of the cosmic rocket." There can be no denying the fact that the fiercest attacks on the part of the atheists of the Kremlin are directed against Christian Ukraine, that is against a country whose eternal city Kyiv from time immemorial was the symbol and the centre of Christian culture in East Europe. As a symbol of faith in God, Kyiv to an ever-increasing degree has become a fortress against Moscow, the symbol of militant atheism and the capital of the Antichrist.

It is precisely Ukraine that is putting up the fiercest resistance against Russian aggression in the national, religious and social sphere. But here, too, Ukraine is being robbed in a shameful manner inasmuch as its efforts in the fight against the Antichrist are ascribed to the advocates of atheism, the Russians. Every endeavour is made to conceal the heroic Christianity of Ukraine from the free world. None of the Ukrainian bishops broke down during their imprisonment. They all sacrificed their life courageously and worthily for Christ, and those who are still alive are still languishing, unbroken in spirit, in Soviet concentration camps. But no mention whatever is made of these facts. Under the tortures inflicted by the police the Ukrainian Metropolitans Joseph Slipyj and Vasyl Lypkivskyj were not in the least broken spiritually. The free world, however, seeks refuge in a strange silence as regards the martyrdom of these intrepid Ukrainian ecclesiastical dignitaries.

"Their weakness was once their misfortune"; but now the Ukrainians are once more being ignored by public opinion the world over on account of their unbroken spirit with regard to the sufferings inflicted on them. For if the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan Slipyj had given in to the vile rulers of the Kremlin after all the cruel tortures he suffered, the latter would most certainly have staged a public trial against him in Kyiv. And in that case the world press would have reported on a "sensation in Kyiv." In default of this fact, however, "in all tongues, all keep the silence..." as the greatest Ukrainian

poet, Taras Shevchenko (who died in 1861), once said so aptly. The greatest martyr for the cause of the Christian faith and loyalty to the Apostolic See in our day has so far not even been considered worthy of the title of Cardinal. It is indeed tragic that political motives are decisive in such a cause. But apparently one has to put up with such a state of affairs in the world. In any case, Ukraine serves God the Almighty and it is of little consequence whether it receives transient worldly decorations or not.

The strikes on the part of workers in Ukraine (Mykolayiv, Kherson, Odessa), the riots of the Ukrainian prisoners in the Soviet concentration camps, the miracle which happened in the concentration camp in Vorkuta, the martyrdom of the five hundred Ukrainian women in the camp in Kingiri, the Light of Christ in the underground movement in Ukraine, the whole-hearted resistance against Bolshevism, and the leading part of Kyiv in the anti-Bolshevist fight, — all this is put down to the credit of the "Russian" resistance, that is of the Russian people, by the Russian Whites living abroad and by various of their Western allies of all kinds of political colour. The Russian people are allegedly to fulfil a "new mission" in the world, as was explicitly stressed by Berdyaev and his adherents: the mission of a representative of regenerated Christianity, though the hangmen of this people have exterminated and are still exterminating the noblest representatives of Christianity. What a distortion of history! But in the West and, in fact, even in Jesuit circles there are still people who believe or feign belief in the Christian mission of the Russians.

In the meantime the Red Russians are doing their utmost to eliminate from the soul of the peoples as fast as possible faith in God and religious and national traditions. And the Ukrainians "are being robbed of their ideas and deeds for the simple reason" that Ukraine "at the moment of its rebirth is to stand before the world completely bare" (T. Shevchenko). Hence its noble deeds are ascribed to the "suffering Russian people," that is to the very people who produced Lenin, the creator of Bolshevism.

The organized insurrections and strikes in Ukraine (in Sniatyn, Kremenchuk, and recently in Mykolayiv, Odessa and Kryvyy Rih), the revolts in the concentration camps in Norylsk, Mordovia, Karaganda, Temir Tau, Vorkuta, Taishet and Kingiri (1953, 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1959) were all carried out by Ukrainian nationalists; the religious, political and social resistance organized by deported Ukrainians and other non-Russians in Leningrad and Irkutsk, — all these incidents are ascribed to the Russian people by the white Russians in exile. Their press has published articles and reports on these incidents as alleged proof of the resistance of the Russian people.

Countess Sophia Perovska (related to the family of the last Ukrainian Hetman Rozumovsky), Zheliabov, Kybalchych, and Hrynevetsky, that is to say the greatest revolutionary figures of the anti-tsarist past, the Volhynian regiment in Petrograd, which was the first to help overthrow the tsarist regime in 1917, and even the first



"Titoist"\*), — they were all of them Ukrainians. But what has the world to say on this point?

We, however, are firmly convinced that "the first shall be the last and the last shall be the first..." All the more so, as these "last," as far as their spirit, their heroism and their moral attitude are concerned, are by no means the last. Robbed of all their services to God, they are solely represented as such by part of the mendacious world.

### The ideological downfall of Marxism

The Soviet Russian journal "Ogonyok" recently sounded the alarm because religiousness is steadily growing amongst the young people of Lithuania. In the town of Birzhay, for instance, a priest "organized" a Catholic "club" for children in his house. This "club" was attended by twenty children from the local school. After they had been "re-educated" accordingly, all these began to attend church as "zealous believers."

Similar conditions prevail in the Caucasus, where the Bolsheviks are carrying on an equally intensive atheistic propaganda and resort to every possible means in order to achieve their aim in this respect. They arrange atheistic exhibitions, special film shows, broadcasts programmes, print atheistic articles in the press, hold lectures and meetings in the same spirit, and force the population to work on holidays in order to prevent them from devoting any time to religion. But all these efforts on the part of the Red Russians will prove futile.

In the Soviet Russian journal "Rodina" ("The Fatherland"), No. 4, VII-VIII, 1960, a woman-writer called Markova published a review of the film "Ivanna," which is full of blasphemous hatred directed against the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and its late Metropolitan Count Andreas Sheptytsky. As in the Caucasus, so, too, in Ukraine, a foul campaign of militant atheism has recently been launched with the intention of bringing discredit upon the Church in the eyes of the faithful by defamations and lies. If the "out-of-date" is already past and done with, then one does not need to conduct vile and defamatory propaganda against it. Nor is it necessary to represent the Metropolitan, a servant of God, who is to be canonized by the Vatican in the near future, as a "German collaborator and informer" and to direct the film against the Christian faith which is already "dead." In her review F. Markova stresses above all the revenge which the Metropolitan allegedly took on a woman partisan. She had refused to continue to serve the Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalists" and the priests who were nothing but "German collaborators." When she realized the "true" character of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, she joined the Reds and helped them to liberate three hundred prisoners-of-war from a German prison camp. Allegedly by a cunning trick, the Metropolitan, with the help of her father who was also a priest,\*\*

\*) The first "Titoist," M. Skrypnyk, deputy Prime Minister of Soviet Ukraine, who out of protest against the Russification of Ukraine committed suicide.

\*\*) The Catholic priests of the Eastern Church are allowed to marry.

succeeded in handing her over to the German occupation forces. When she was already standing on the gallows with the noose round her neck, she begged that her hands be freed from the fetters. Then "in a rage she tears her chain from her neck and with obvious contempt throws the cross on it onto the ground."

"This final and highly dramatic scene in the film leaves a deep impression on the beholder. It is permeated with great optimism and reveals all the greatness and spiritual strength of a person who sacrifices his or her life for their own people," — with these words the godless Markova ends her review of the Russian film "Ivanna," which was produced specially for Ukraine.

The author of the scenario is the Russian V. Belyayev, who, together with Mykhaylo Rudnytsky, on a previous occasion already published a libellous attack on the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and, above all, on its Metropolitan Count Andreas Sheptytsky.

As was announced by the Soviet press, Inna Burduchenko, the actress who played the part of the heroine in "Ivanna," was burnt to death in an accident whilst shooting her next film. This piece of news was soon common knowledge in Ukraine. And the Ukrainian people regard the tragic death of the actress as God's punishment for her blasphemy and contempt of the cross.

"For practically two years Klevtsiv was forced by circumstances to be active in the remote and sinister underground," so the "Izvestiya" and other Soviet press organs wrote. "Imagine a small and damp mud-hut, which he burrowed out of the ground with the perseverance of a beaver..." Klevtsiv printed leaflets, he travelled as a courier with "holy instructions," broke with his family and became the "pioneer of a secret religious sect," which successfully developed its activity in Siberia. It can be assumed that this "sect" was an Orthodox or Catholic community consisting of prisoners exiled to Siberia, which would be far more difficult to combat than any other sect.

With such reports as these, the Bolsheviks themselves answer the question as to whether such films as for instance "Ivanna" are likely to be a success in Ukraine (which "supplies" 40 per cent of the deportees, totalling 17 million, in the prison camps).

And in Turkestan, too, Comrade Mukhitdinov, a humble and loyal servant of Moscow, will not be able to replace the profound mysticism of Islam and the Turkestanians' faith in God by "cotton festivals" ("Pakhta Bairami").

Moscow is obliged to admit the ideological downfall of Marxism and dialectical materialism, as well as the enormous growth of religiousness amongst the population. The underground process of fermentation must indeed be powerful if even the Soviet press sees itself obliged to polemicize with the orthodox faithful by publicly attacking them. This would hardly be necessary if there were only a few isolated cases of religiousness amongst the people.

The future world will belong not to the godless Russians, but to the militant freedom-loving nationalism of the subjugated people, which is based on heroic Christianity.

Jaroslaw Stetzko

## SOMNOLENT WESTERN ELITE

European ideas are penetrating to new continents, and a new world revolution is taking place before our very eyes. The first great European revolution on a global scale occurred 500 years ago, when European explorers conquered new continents and peoples, races, religions and cultures met. European ideas remained victorious for the European mind was inspired by the immanent spirit of expansion of Europe, its creative boom, its faith in its cultural mission and by the crusades with "cross and sword." Now, however, West Europe is steadily losing the prestige of its world position, for it has betrayed its ideals. The old ideals of the Occident are experiencing a rebirth in other parts of Europe and in other continents.

The West Europe of former times is atrophying in intellectual and political respect before our very eyes; it puts the ideals of cosmopolitanism, of the "little man," of materialism and hedonism, and personal interests before the common good, and the comfort of civilization before creative, cultural activity. It is turning its back on its former ideals, those ideals which are often reborn again amidst hardships, suffering, hunger and need.

The present ideals of West Europe are for instance expressed in such watchwords as: "Better a living coward than a dead hero!", "Better Red than dead," etc. The Occident is in danger of losing its freedom. For there can be no freedom if it is not defended courageously. Cowardice is a renunciation of experiencing and defending this freedom in keeping with one's own human dignity. The courageous enjoy more freedom since they risk more for it. But, unfortunately, the courageous have become rare in the free Europe of today. Nowadays little effort is made to elevate one's own nation in a general respect and to see the purpose and pleasure of our life in work and creative activity. On the contrary, the general idea is to work as little as possible. No one has ever died for the cause of a "six-hour working day" or an afternoon rest ("siesta"). But thousands and millions have died for the noble idea of their native country, or for the victory of Christian and religious truth on earth, or for social justice.

Life on this earth begins to get boring when one reflects that the aim in life of the individual is the latest model in motor cars, the latest furniture, the latest type of television set, a monthly rise in wages, extra pay for holidays, or an extra month's wage at the end of the year. Yes, life is boring if there is no pleasure in creative work, but only an effort on the part of the present "citizen" of the free world to acquire material profit and to lead a life of comfort and

ease. Revolts, insurrections and resurrections do at least indicate that elsewhere people long for something else apart from such material comforts; they may be inspired by a good or a bad idea, but at least it is an idea.

On account of their horrors, wars no doubt seem to mankind to be a doom and a damnation. But wars in the old days of chivalry were always a trial by fire (and they will continue to be so), in which character was moulded and which brought forth heroes; the ideal overcomes the material, the everlasting the transitory, and the feeling of community overcomes egoism. And in this way myth and legends are created about persons of superhuman greatness, that is to say, not about the "little" or average man, but about outstanding persons. In pursuit of a higher standard of living and greater comforts of life, people are so dazzled by wealth that they forget that the sword of Damocles is hanging over their heads: the Antichrist of Moscow is attacking the world. In ancient times the Crusaders of the Occident, headed by Richard Coeur-de-Lion, conducted their campaigns against the unbelieving, and Peter the Hermit of Amiens exhorted all Europe to defend the Christian faith. Today, the European "knights" are even afraid to designate the enemy by his name; indeed, they even prefer a coexistence of the Christian faith with the Antichrist in order to avoid any risk to their hedonic way of life. Times and people have changed...

True patriotism and a fervent and enlightened freedom-loving nationalism stirred the people to great deeds and set the spirit of self-sacrifice and the fundamental principle of the common good above egoism. Priests and patriots, as for instance Cardinal Mercier, gave the soldiers their blessing when they marched against the invader; they exhorted them to fight under the banner of Christ against the enemies of their native country. Nor did this fighting spirit degenerate in any way when the national and the religious ideas were linked together and when man was regarded as being created in God's divine image. The degeneration which occurred during the Nazi era, which was the result of the negation of Christianity and its principles in the life of the individual and of the peoples, enabled the forces of evil to demoralize the Occident and to degrade the sincerest idea of our day, — the national liberation idea, the idea of enlightened, freedom-loving nationalism.

Thanks to its loyalty to national and Christian traditions, the Occident remained steadfast. But the forces of evil are endeavouring to replace both the national and the Christian idea by cosmopolitanism and religious indifferentism. In this connection they seek to depreciate freedom-loving nationalism, which is based on Christianity, as a reactionary and untimely phenomenon. The Occident has allegedly survived the historical stage of nationalism as an unavoidable evil, and for this reason it is now time to pay homage to the "higher" supranational and extra-national ideals, the "united Europe of Cudenhove-Calergi." And in Calergi's opinion, Europe ends where,

at a favourable opportunity, the invasion of the barbarous Russian occupants comes to a halt, so that — heaven forbid — Moscow should not be annoyed by a possible shifting of the frontiers of Europe, for example as far as the Caucasus. From the point of view of the forces of evil, it is not worth-while sacrificing one's life for such a "reactionary" ideal as the fatherland, and patriotism resulting from one's service to God and faith in higher, spiritual ideals should be regarded solely as an indication of backwardness. Religious faith, enthusiasm, productive ardour, the negation of egoism and egotism in everyday life, of comforts and sensual pleasures, every apotheosis of the heroic fight for God and the fatherland, are ridiculed by these forces. Heroic deeds, the mysticism of life and the fight, the training of the younger generation according to the ideals and in the spirit of the Cossack and UPA fighters in Ukraine, in the spirit of the immortal Ukrainian heroes Shcherbak or Danylyshyn, General Chuprynka or of the Ukrainian head of state S. Petlyura, according to the ideals of the Ukrainian Archbishops, the martyrs Lypkivsky and Sheptytsky, and the famous Ukrainian freedom fighter and literary scholar S. Yefremov, and many others, are allegedly nothing but a sign of hopeless backwardness. On the other hand, however, the mysticism of Communism, of the "great Russian people who crushed Hitler's hordes," the mysticism of the Red partisans, of the "last decisive battle," of the "daring deeds" of the soldiers of the Red Army in the "wars of the fatherland," of the Red spies and agents, the mysticism of the militant atheists, who even defy God, the apotheosis of that child Judas, Pavlik Morozov, who denounced his own father, the "martyrdom" of Lumumba, of Rosenberg and of other Abels, the blackening of Mobutu's courage as "brigandism," — all this is allegedly a sign of progressiveness, which is worthy of enthusiasm and emulation, since it is a vision of the future of our world.

A considerable proportion of the intellectual elite of the Occident is abandoning the ideals which once made the West great and strong.

#### **The second world revolution**

In the meantime, however, distant continents, numerous newly founded states and regenerated peoples, races and cultures are being inspired by the revolutionary ideas of the Occident. World-embracing, freedom-loving, enlightened nationalism is becoming the banner of our day and the most truly progressive and just idea of the present. In the West religious indifferentism prevails, whilst behind the Iron Curtain a militant Christianity is becoming the idea of the intellectual, moral and national rebirth of millions of subjugated persons. The vanguard of this rebirth movement by no means consists of the aged, but, on the contrary, of young persons, of the revolutionary youth. A youth that "has seen nothing but Communism," for it was born in the darkest age in the history of the world, under Bolshevism, in the Red Russian prison of peoples. And yet it has by no means lost its conception of what is eternal, everlasting and divine.

"Liberty, equality and fraternity" — were the watchwords of French democratic nationalism, which kindled the great French Revolution

and with the help of which Napoleon was victorious on many battlefields in numerous countries. The idea of "la patrie" of Robespierre and Saint-Just, who were both "incorruptibles," and the idea of the equality of all individuals inspired all those who, as natives of the French colonies, learnt the essence of the conception "la patrie" and of the watchwords of the French Revolution at the Sorbonne in Paris. The French empire was disintegrated by Rousseau, by the Encyclopedists, by Danton, Marat, Robespierre, Saint-Just and Napoleon, since the French Revolution disarmed French imperialism in ideological respect. For according to their ideas, the inhabitants of the Ivory Coast, Algeria or Madagascar had the same right to freedom and independence as the inhabitants of "eternal France."

The impact of two opposite ideas, — the imperial idea, which in essence discriminates between individuals (since it even discriminates in the case of the subjugated nation), and the national patriotic idea, led to a victory of the latter in the "Union Française," too, as a result of the universal aspect of human rights which was stressed by the French Revolution. The Union became a community of free peoples with equal rights. And hence the convulsions which the empire is undergoing...

Congolese General Mobutu is rendering "eternal Europe" a far greater service than the white traitor to Europe, Thorez, or the coexistentialist B. Russell, inasmuch as Mobutu is attacking the Russian Fifth Column in a grim fight.

The aristocratic, democratic and traditional nationalism of Albion, which in Oxford, Cambridge and all its other universities trained the elite for its colonies in the spirit of British universal ideas, made the evolution from a colonial empire to a "Commonwealth" of free peoples with equal rights an almost painless affair and, in fact, carried this out with admirable skill. We witnessed a triumph of the ideas of the Occident in what was yesterday still the greatest empire in the world, with the help of the political elite of the liberated peoples, an elite that was trained according to Western example.

West Europe abdicated from its position as a world power. But its successor (as far as fulfilling the same function is concerned), the United States of America, or, to be more exact, that part of the political and cultural elite of the USA which has remained faithful to the ideals of ancient and Christian Europe, defends the eternal ideals of the Occident. Hence the frontiers of Europe are not geographical in character, but extend as far as men sacrifice their lives for the victory of European ideas, venerate these ideas and serve them. Thus the Australians, the Mobutus in the dark continent, are for instance defending European ideals when they set up a front against Bolshevism, whereas white men such as Cyrus Eaton, Sartre, Picasso, Togliatti and many others betray these ideals.

In the concentration camps of Kingir, Vorkuta, in the taigas and tundras of Siberia, the self-sacrifice of the insurgent Ukrainian prisoners represents a far greater service to Europe than the activity of some

of the European parliaments, which are so fond of imitating Khrushchov's coexistence smile. The ideas of militant, freedom-loving, enlightened nationalism are far more comprehensible to the New World; for although these ideas originated in the Old World, the latter has renounced them and thus itself. The ideas of freedom-loving nationalism are taking whole continents and the countries of the future, America, East Europe, Asia and Africa, by storm. Meanwhile in the official West — as regards the peoples subjugated by Russia — respect of the individual and of human dignity, the freedom of the spirit of enterprise, the creativeness of the individual, dynamic Christianity, and liberation nationalism as European revolutionary and anti-Communist factors behind the Iron Curtain, are ignored or disparaged in a reprehensible way.

Zenon Karbovysh

## CURIOUS FACTS ABOUT THE COLD WAR

In this barbarous world of ours man longs for the ideals of Christ. In the underground movement in Ukraine the Christian faith, for which people yearn so much in this age of evil, violence, murder, torture, falsehood, and terrorism and tyranny such as never before existed in the history of mankind, is experiencing a rebirth. Regrettably, however, the Western world completely ignores this mighty underground movement in Ukraine and other subjugated countries. On the contrary, it plays up to the supporters and imitators of Tito and Gomulka, to the Communist "opposition" and to "potential National Communists." The West endeavours to convince the genuine godless Marxists that Bolshevism is not genuine Marxism; at the same time, however, it never occurs to the West to support the uncompromising fighters against militant Bolshevism and for Christian faith in Ukraine and elsewhere. There is not a single broadcasting station in the territory of the Western Major Powers which would ever think of addressing a message in a national and Christian spirit to the peoples enslaved by Moscow.

Those who wish to "correct" Bolshevism are not concerned with the welfare of freedom-loving mankind, but, on the contrary, are furthering an even more successful dissemination of Bolshevism in the world. In spite of this, the West shows considerable interest in these persons and tries to curry favour with them, instead of according this favour to those who, on grounds of principle, oppose both Bolshevism and also Russian imperialism in every form. The advocates of the Russian imperium in this era of the decay of all other empires, as well as the Bolshevik collaborators, who thanks to their participation in the "people's fronts" have enabled the Red Russians to deceive the world (as if the Russian Red Army had occupied the countries in question in accordance with the wish of the "democratic groups"!); have, by reason of the will of official circles in the West, become the

"spokesmen" of the peoples enslaved by Bolshevism. Surely a curious fact, which is unprecedented in the history of mankind.

Moreover, the Russians with their usual mendacity affirm that in every country in which Communism has assumed power, it did so at the explicit wish of the people in question. But these Red Russians trip up on their lies. For the Communist parties in all the subjugated countries are over-enthusiastic in their praise of the services of the Red Army, to which they owe the introduction of the Communist regime in their countries. Thus, they admit that Communism is nothing but an imported product. Tito, too, admits that the Russian Red Army helped him to assume power in Yugoslavia. Where, therefore, is this "will of the masses," who allegedly introduced "socialism" into their country themselves?! The pride of the "elder brother" dictates that the Russian should ignore all reproaches regarding the forcible introduction of Communism in Ukraine, Hungary, Bulgaria, Slovakia or other countries and should call a spade a spade!

It is a futile undertaking to repeat all these truths to those who are in charge of government affairs in the West. Neither the fact that one was imprisoned for years in Nazi concentration camps and one's health and vitality were impaired, nor the fact that one is a national freedom fighter and a Christian, are of any avail: one is stamped as a "Nazi" for the rest of one's life. One can produce proof galore that the fight in Ukraine is waged under the banner of freedom-loving, enlightened nationalism and Christianity and that hence one is justified in demanding that the West should support Ukraine and those who have never betrayed these ideals but have suffered and fought for them and even today still continue this fight, — all these arguments will fall on deaf ears.

But in spite of this depressing state of affairs, it is precisely the national liberation idea, the yearning for eternal and divine values, the fight for freedom of the individual and the peoples, for social justice, for creative freedom, for the ownership of private property by the working man as the basis for his genuine independence, the fearless fight of youth against the doctrine forced on it by those in power, and the searching of youth for truth, which will destroy the realm of tyranny.

### **Who was responsible for the revolt in the concentration camp of Vorkuta?**

The Russian imperialists of "white" trend are now also beginning to adopt some of the above-mentioned ideas, although they were still advocates of "corrected" Marxism yesterday. Their organ "Posev" (No. 40/60), for instance, writes as follows:

"The plans of the government are opposed by our entire Christian culture, historical traditions of the past, the yearnings and hopes of the nation and, last but not least, by man's nature. The living and active forces of our society not only oppose the intentions of the government, but also attack them, since they



regard the fight for the liberation of the individual as their aim and mission. The fight for man's soul constitutes the main tenor, the meaning and essence of all ideological and political campaigns which are carried on nowadays."

Until recently the Russian exile solidarists never as much as mentioned Christianity, but propagated a "corrected Marxism" of the type advocated by Khokhlov. Now, Khokhlov himself, at a conference of the solidarists, talks about the fight under the banner of God! Was it not the Khokhlovs of the GPU, NKVD and MVD who murdered countless innocent persons?! Was this done in the name of Christ?

From "corrected Marxism" via "general humane humanism" to Christianity! A long path, but one travelled at great speed by the advocates of the Russian imperium! But this is not the end! The "white" Russian imperialists are now already advocating private ownership of production means, national traditions, as well as the affinity with the monuments of "our history," "old churches and edifices, fortresses and museums," etc. All this, however, on one condition, — namely that the "green mountains of the national resorts of the Caucasus, the Carpathians, the Urals and of the Altai Mountains, which, since there is no owner, are turning into dismal, bare, grey crags," should remain the property of a "better" lord and master (i.e. the Russian solidarists) for all time. For, allegedly, there are no enslaved peoples in the Russian imperium; in fact, there is no Russian imperium at all, but only one indivisible "Mother Russia."

The Russian imperialists on principle used certain watchwords and in this way sought to conceal their true character. Just as Lenin in former times talked about the "self-determination of the peoples," including their "secession from Russia," so, too, the Russian organization of solidarists, the NTS, today preaches a "general humane humanism" and even a "Christian culture" on the basis of coexistence and harmony, as advocated by the emigrant Russian philosopher Berdyaev. The NTS also talks about the liquidation of the collectives, just as the Bolsheviks once talked about the partition of the large estates and then forced the Ukrainian farmers whom they had deceived to join the collectives. The NTS people also talk about the "soul of the individual," but this soul may not evince any national feelings except Russian ones. They also talk about national traditions, but they only mean Russian ones. Whenever the Russian solidarists mention any tradition belonging to the subjugated peoples, they put down the achievements of the latter's fight against Bolshevism to the account of the Russian people.

Hence, the NTS people call themselves "Christians, nationalist solidarists, humanists and advocates of private property, champions of human rights," and similar names; in reality, however, their aim is what was once expressed so aptly by the greatest Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko: "from Moldavia to Finland in all tongues, all keep the silence of happy contentment." Precisely these Russian solidarists and "worshippers of Christ," who refuse to admit the existence of the individual peoples within the USSR, are preparing

this new paradise! But, at the same time, they threaten to join forces with Khrushchov in a common front of the Russian people if the West should refuse to guarantee the inviolability of the imperial frontiers of the Russian prison of peoples. And these "solidarists" write as follows in the above-mentioned periodical "Posev" (No. 41/60):

"The Russian people demand a guarantee for the inviolability of the Russian frontiers once the revolution has been effected. Already before the last world war the Russian people expected this guarantee... The statutes of a Russian student underground organization in Moscow demanded, as their first point, an immediate guarantee for the inviolability of the Russian frontiers after the revolution had been carried out. During the last world war, too, the soldiers of the Soviet army did their utmost to establish this claim. Up to the outbreak of the October revolution, complete equality of rights was enjoyed by all the peoples who inhabited Russia. The NTS organization can have nothing in common with those who long for the disintegration of Russia."

Then why so much empty talk about "general humane humanism," "Christian culture," "freedom of the individual" and "man's soul," etc.?

Russia continues to remain unchanged in its mendacity, immeasurable rapacity and terrorism!

Heine once said that the chief ally of the Devil was the liberal intellectual who does not believe in the Devil. One might well say the same thing of the NTS organization, which bases its programme for the preservation of the Russian prison of peoples on the "liberal" traditions of tsarist Russia, which carried out countless massacres amongst the enslaved peoples. The NTS in no way differs from the Communist Party of the so-called Soviet Union. The NTS solidarists are, in fact, even more reactionary, for they do not even admit the existence of the individual peoples in the Red Russian imperium, a fact which the Communist Party of the USSR does not venture to deny, at least not on paper. The difference between the NTS and the Communist Party of the USSR is the same as that between Peter I and Lenin, or between Maljuta Skuratov and Yezhov. History repeats itself!

The NTS is thus trying in vain to put down the facts of the resistance in Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Lithuania and Estonia, etc., to its own account. And the Russian solidarists are trying in vain to ascribe the organization of the revolts in the concentration camps of Vorkuta or Temir Tau to themselves or to the Russians (as is affirmed in "Posev," No. 47/60).

This naive attempt to adorn oneself in the eyes of the world with borrowed plumes is futile. Sooner or later the world will see through this Russian ruse... No one in the world has ever heard anything about armed insurgent resistance against Communism in the Russian ethnographical territory. But the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), on the other hand, has become known all over the world!

the new paradigm but at the same time they threaten to join forces with Khrushchev in a common front of the Russian people if the West should refuse to guarantee the inviolability of the imperial frontiers of the Russian people. And these "solidarity" write as follows in the above-mentioned periodical "Pravda" (4/60):

Theodore Mackiw

The Russian people demand a guarantee for the inviolability of the Russian frontiers once the revolution has been effected. Already before the last world war the Russian people expected this guarantee. The status of a Russian subject underwent an

## **Taras Shevchenko a Champion of Freedom**

**For the 100th Anniversary of his death, March 10, 1861**

On March 10, 1961, the Ukrainian people commemorate the 100th Anniversary of the death of their greatest poet, patriot and champion in their struggle for freedom, Taras Shevchenko.

Shevchenko's significance and importance is comparable with that of Dante for Italy, Goethe or Schiller for Germany, Shakespeare for England, Hugo for France and Mickiewicz for Poland. Shevchenko, the most popular poet in Ukrainian literature, is the best known figure in modern Ukrainian history, and a symbol of the struggle for freedom in Ukraine.

In order to better understand Shevchenko's significance, let us briefly analyse the historical and political backgrounds of his time.

After the battle of Poltava (July 7, 1709) a wave of terrible persecution was inaugurated in Ukraine by the Russian Tsar Peter I. He systematically took measures to destroy the political rights of Ukraine. (Before 1709 Ukraine had an autonomy under the protectorate of Muscovy, a condition which at that time was quite common, even for such countries as Holland under Spain 1559-1648, Prussia under Poland 1525-1660, and Livonia under Sweden 1648-1721.) In 1713 by order of Peter I, Ukraine became known as "Little Russia," and the name Ukraine was prohibited from being used. "Little Russia" was designed to make the Russian empire synonymous with the Russian people. Under such conditions (as often happens in the history of many nations), the majority of the Ukrainian nobility gradually became Russified and the Ukrainian people soon lost their leadership. Later measures of repressions were systematically introduced to eliminate the privileges of the autonomous status, and what the Tsar was unable to finish, due to his sudden death in 1725, was continued by the Tsarina Catherine II. In 1765 she finally abolished the autonomy of Ukraine, and in 1792 issued a decree whereby peasants virtually became the property of the nobility, who were thus privileged to do whatever they wished with their subjects. They made the peasants submit to intolerable working conditions, sold them like animals, and treated or even killed them without recourse to justice.

It was among such conditions that Taras Shevchenko was born in Moryntsi, on March 9, 1814. He was the son of a comparatively well-educated Ukrainian peasant, but nevertheless, Taras Shevchenko was a serf to a Russian nobleman of German origin, Paul Engelhardt. Shevchenko's life was very hard. At the age of twelve, when his father died, he became an orphan, his mother having died three years previously. Young Shevchenko was interested in painting, but his attempts to study with various local painters were unsuccessful. He became a page in Engelhardt's mansion, performing the most menial duties; however, this gave him the opportunity to study the many works of art belonging to his master and to copy them. When Engelhardt discovered what the page was doing, he had the boy soundly flogged; but, recognizing his talent and pleased to have educated serfs on his estate, he sent Shevchenko to school, first in Warsaw and then in St. Petersburg.

At St. Petersburg he became acquainted with the Ukrainian artist Soshenko, who introduced him to Karl P. Bryulov, the most fashionable painter of his day, known for his masterpiece "The Last Days of Pompeii." Bryulov took a personal interest in the young serf and wanted him admitted to the Academy of Arts, but due to his serfdom, this was prohibited. Engelhardt finally decided to set a supposedly presumptuous price for Shevchenko's freedom, but Bryulov, determined to free him, succeeded in painting a picture of the Russian poet, Vasily Zhukovsky and selling it at a lottery for a sizeable sum of 2,000 rubles. At the age of twenty-four, on April 22, 1838 Shevchenko became a free man and was admitted to study at the Academy of Arts in Petersburg.

Although his talent as a painter was worthy of winning him a gold medal, however, his poems entitled "Kobzar," (which may be translated into English as "Songs of a Bard") made Shevchenko a famous poet, a national hero, and a champion for freedom and liberty. "Kobzar" was published for the first time in 1840.

As a student of the Academy of Arts, after his first visit to Ukraine in 1843, Shevchenko had an opportunity to see the misery and the social evils of the Russian regime, under which the Ukrainian people had to live. Risking his personal liberty and career, Shevchenko wrote a strong protest, choosing the form of a satirical poem, entitled "Dream" (July 8, 1844). In this poem the author exposed various types of selfish and unpatriotic people, bitterly criticized the autocratic regime of the Tsar and the feudal landlords, who exercised practically unlimited power over their serfs. The whole poem was an attack upon the injustice and despotism of the Tsar, the Tsar's family and in general upon Russian domination in Ukraine.

Shevchenko graduated from the Academy of Arts on March 22, 1845. The next day, he left Petersburg for Ukraine. Travelling during the summer of 1845 around the country, painting the monuments and studying the Ukrainian past, Shevchenko had an opportunity to see the hardship, the oppression and the subjugation of the Ukrainian

people under the despotism of Tsar Nicholas I. Although any attempt to express criticism, or to request for reform at the time of this despotic rule was subject to severe punishment, Shevchenko was neither afraid nor did he hesitate to protest and to express his bitter indignation at the denial to the Ukrainian people of the human rights of liberty and independence.

At that time Shevchenko wrote many revolutionary poems; to mention a few: "Heretic or Jan Hus — a message to famous P. Shafarik," (Oct. 20, 1845); "The Slave," (Oct. 16, 1845); "The Great Vault," (Oct. 21, 1845); "Caucasus" (Nov. 18, 1845); "The Epistle to my dead, living and unborn countrymen in the Ukraine and outside the Ukraine," (Dec. 14, 1845); and "The Testament," (Dec. 25, 1845); and others.

In "The Great Vault," a curious, but effective mystical poem, Shevchenko exposed by means of several symbols the internal disunity as well as the foreign interference and oppression that led Ukraine to her present tragic situation, and condemned Russian subjugation. Furthermore, the author declared war upon the enemies of Ukraine, and analyzing the present situation, Shevchenko expressed his confidence that there would be a better future for the Ukrainian people.

In the poem "The Slave," Shevchenko describing a love story, pointed out how the Russians destroyed the Zaporogian Sich, the stronghold of the Ukrainian autonomy. At the same time the author did not hesitate to expose the servility of some Ukrainian noblemen to the Tsarina Catherine II.

In the "Epistle," Shevchenko outlined Ukrainian history and gave an analysis of the character of the Ukrainian people. In this poem the author bitterly exposed those Ukrainians, who sought personal advantages by Russianizing themselves. To them Shevchenko called:

"...Come to your senses, brutes,  
Oh, demented children!..."

"...Love with a sincere heart

The majestic ruin..."

"...In one's own house — one's own truth,

And power, and freedom!..."

"...Slaves, door-mats, Moscow's dirt,

And Warsaw's dust are your lords..."

Shevchenko urged that serfdom be abolished, and affirmed that all men should live in brotherhood. Those who were opposed to doing so, — so warned Shevchenko — would be destroyed by the coming revolution, which would be directed by the people against traitors. Furthermore, the author exposed selfishness, saying that in the past the Ukrainian leaders fought not for Ukraine, but rather for themselves. Therefore Shevchenko recommended a serious study, a real friendship and "then the shame will be forgotten... and a new glory will arise, the glory of a free Ukraine..."

"The Testament" is one of the most famous of Shevchenko's poems and has been accepted as the program for the liberation of the Ukraine. Here Shevchenko urged the Ukrainian people to "rise boldly, break in twain your fetters, and with foul blood of enemies sprinkle well your freedom!..."

Shevchenko, however, did not confine himself to the topic of Ukrainian history. He also devoted his attention to the elimination of the evils everywhere. He hated and exposed injustice, cruelty and despotism everywhere. In his poem "Jan Hus," Shevchenko condemned injustice and praised the great Czech patriot Jan Hus, who was born 1369 and who died at the stake at Constance (1415) for his religious and political beliefs. He dedicated this poem to the brilliant Czech scholar and leader Paul Shafarik (1795-1861). In this dedication Shevchenko expressed the idea of the St. Cyril and Methodius Society for a free Slavic peoples' federation. This dedication was an answer to Pushkin's poem "To the slanderers of Russia," in which the great Russian poet demanded the necessity of all the Slavic peoples being under Russian leadership.

In another of his poems, "Caucasus," dedicated to his friend, Yakiv de Balmen, Shevchenko expressed his friendship and admiration for the people of the Caucasus, who were fighting for their liberty against Russia. Shevchenko strongly opposed the so-called blessings of Russian civilization, which actually would bring them to serfdom and despotism.

This gives Shevchenko's poetry a broad human significance. He declared war upon all tyrants, he condemned injustice and despotism everywhere, and therefore in his poetry not only local and individual, but also universal elements can be found.

Shevchenko not only wrote openly on what he believed, but he also actively participated in organizing the Society of St. Cyril and Methodius, whose aim was to propagate the idea of a federation of all the Slavic peoples.

Unfortunately this society was denounced by a Russian student, O. Petrov, to the authorities, who immediately suppressed it. On April 5, 1847, Shevchenko was arrested, sentenced to become a soldier and deported to a remote area of Eastern Russia. There he was personally forbidden by the Tsar to continue his writing and painting. To cite an example of the status of soldiers in those days, signs could be found in public places stating, "Entrance of dogs and soldiers strictly prohibited."

This exile lasted ten years. Upon the death of the Tsar Nicholas I (1855) and the accession to power of Alexander II, influential friends of Shevchenko (among them Count Tolstoy) interceded for his liberation. Not until 1859 was he allowed to visit Ukraine for the first time in twelve years. However, poor health resulting from the harsh conditions of his imprisonment led to his death on March 10, 1861, at 47 years of age, just a few days before the abolition of serfdom by the Tsar (March 19, 1861). His body was later transferred from Petersburg to Ukraine where his burial place became a famous national shrine.

It was a sad life for Shevchenko. Out of his forty-seven years, he had been in serfdom for twenty-four, in the army ten, and under police supervision for four. There were only nine years in which he could feel himself a free man to come and go as he wished. Yet despite all the obstacles he had to face, he had succeeded in gaining recognition for Ukrainian literature. He was a leader and prophet in awakening people from their dreams. His poems show the suffering of his people and their constant struggle against oppression. Ukraine was always foremost in his thoughts.

He accomplished amazing facts even though he had few opportunities for formal education. He took the Ukrainian language and by the force of his genius made it into a language capable of expressing the most refined emotions and fully adequate to all the needs of modern literature. Probably none of his contemporaries believed more firmly or voiced more clearly an unyielding and uncompromising belief that democracy, truth and freedom would win the day. No one worked harder or suffered more to bring this about.

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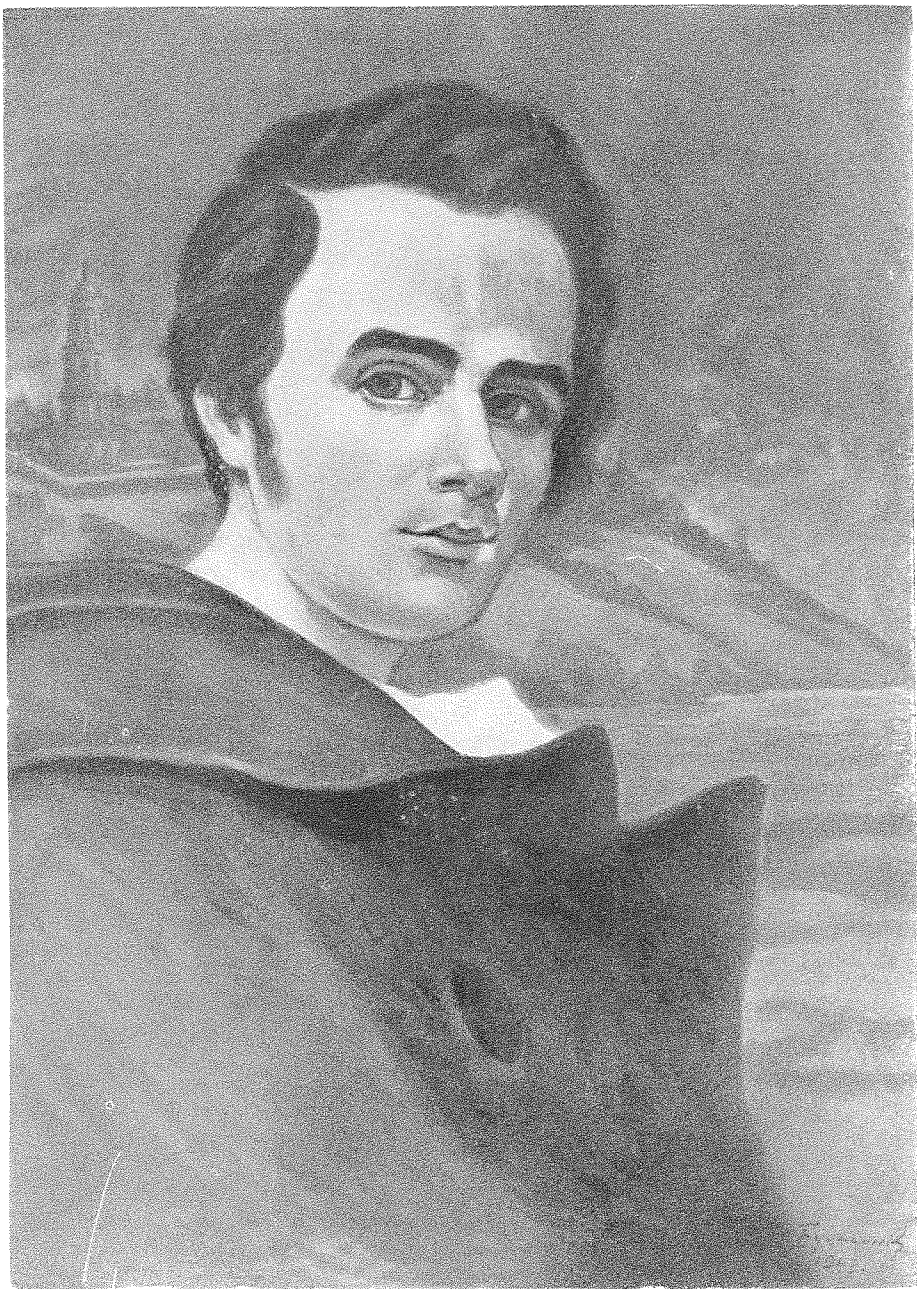
T. Shevchenko, *Kobzar*, Kyiv—Leipzig 1918.

## SHEVCHENKO'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

### A Letter to the Editor of the journal "Narodnoye Chteniye"

I approve wholeheartedly of your wish to make the readers of the "N.Ch." acquainted with the life-story of men who have emerged from and risen above the obscure and illiterate masses of the common people on the strength of their abilities and achievements. Accounts of this kind, so it seems to me, might help to make many persons conscious of their human worth and dignity, — without which consciousness a general progress in the lower classes of the population of Russia appears to my mind to be impossible. My own fate, recounted in the light of truth, might prompt not only the common man but also those to whom he is completely subordinated to profound reflection, which would undoubtedly prove of benefit to both parties. And this is the reason why I have decided to reveal some of the sad facts of my life to the public. I should like to relate the story of my life complete in every detail, as for instance the late S. T. Aksakov has done in his description of his childhood and youth, all the more so since the story of my life is part of the story of my native country. But I have not the energy to go into every detail. This can only be done by a person who has attained spiritual tranquillity and, in the manner of his equals, has become reconciled to the outward circumstances of life. All that I can do to comply with your wish would





**Yuliy Butsmainuk: Portrait of Taras Shevchenko.**





**Taras Shevchenko: Self-portrait.**

be to give you a brief account of the true facts of my life. After you have read these lines I trust that those feelings which oppress and burden my heart and soul will seem comprehensible to you.

I am the son of the serf Hryhoriy Shevchenko and was born on February 25th (March 9th), 1814, in the village of Kyrylivka in the district of Zvenyhorod (province of Kyiv) on the estate of the lord of the manor. In my eighth year I lost my father and mother and found lodging with the parish verger as a serving-boy.

The relations between such serving-boys and the verger are the same as those between children apprenticed by their parents or by the authorities to a trade and their masters. The control of the master over them has no limits, — they are his serfs. These serving-boys have to do all the household tasks and fulfil all sorts of wishes on the part of the master of the house and the members of his household. I leave it to your imagination to visualize all the tasks for which the verger could use me — and he was a vile drunkard — and all that I was obliged to endure and do with the utmost servility, whilst I had not a soul in the world who cared what happened to me. But be that as it may, in the course of two hard years in the so-called school run by the verger I got through the first spelling-book and arithmetic book and, finally, also through the psalter. At the end of my schooling the verger got me to read the psalter for the souls of dead peasants in his stead and graciously gave me every tenth copeck — to encourage me, as it were. My assistance enabled my ill-humoured teacher to devote himself to an even greater extent than hitherto to his favourite occupation, together with his friend Yona Lymar, so that on returning from my noble deeds as a prayer-leader, I always found the two of them in a drunken stupor. The verger treated both me and also the rest of the pupils equally cruelly and we all hated him like poison.

His senseless ill-will towards us made us crafty and vindictive in our dealings with him. Whenever we had a chance, we deceived him and played all sorts of tricks on him. This first despot whom I encountered filled me with disgust and contempt for the rest of my life against every form of violation of one human being by another. My childish heart was wounded millions of times by the excesses of such despotic training, and dealt with this situation in the manner usually adopted by defenceless human beings, once their patience is finally exhausted, — namely by revenge and flight. One day, when I found him in a state of drunken insensibility, I used his own weapon, the birch, against him and, as far as my childish strength permitted, paid him back for all the cruelty he had inflicted on me.

Of all the possessions of this drunken verger the most costly to me seemed to be a small book illustrated with pictures, including engravings, which were, it is true, somewhat crude. Perhaps I was not aware of committing a sin, or else I could not resist the temptation to appropriate this treasure; I stole it and fled to the little town of Lysyanka that same night.

There I found a new teacher in the person of a deacon, who was also a painter; but I soon discovered that his way of living and his

habits were no different from those of my former master. For three days I patiently toiled and slaved, carrying buckets of water from the River Tykych up the hill and crushing copper paint on an iron slab. On the fourth day my patience was at an end and I fled to the village of Tarasivka, to a verger who was also a painter and who had made a name for himself in the neighbourhood on the strength of his paintings of the martyrs Nikita and Ivan Voyin (the warrior). It was to this painter that I now turned with the firm determination to endure all the trials and troubles inflicted by fate which, in those days, seemed to me to be inseparably bound up with the study of art. But, alas! He looked at my left hand carefully and then refused my request most vigorously. To my intense dismay, he impressed on me that I was no good for any occupation, not even for the shoemaker's or cooper's trade.

Thus, all my hopes of ever establishing a closer, though only modest contact with the art of painting were shattered, and, downcast and heavy-hearted, I went back to my native village. I now pictured to myself a modest lot in life, which my imagination in its childish simplicity, however, visualized as fascinating and attractive as possible; I longed, as Homer says, to become the shepherd of innocent flocks and saw myself strolling leisurely behind them, reading the beautiful little picture-book that I had stolen. But this dream, too, failed to materialize. The lord of the manor, who had just inherited the estate, took a fancy to the sharp little boy and the latter exchanged his rags for a jacket and a pair of trousers of denim and became a servant-boy.

This type of valet was invented by the "civilizers" of Ukraine beyond the Dnipro, the Poles. The landowners of the other nationalities copied and even today still follow their example as regards this institution, which is undoubtedly a sensible one. The task of training a perfect lackey in this former Cossack territory is about equal to the task of taming the swift reindeer in Lapland to man's will. In the past the Polish landowners kept these so-called "Kozachky" not only as lackeys, but also employed them as musicians and dancers. To amuse their lords and masters, these young Cossacks played merry songs, more often than not somewhat indecent, of the type created by the popular muse on the occasion of carefree festivities, and at a sign from their master bent their knees and performed a kind of quick dance. The modern representatives of the lower Polish nobility, proud of their education, call this a patronage over the Ukrainian national element, in which their ancestors had already excelled. My master, by origin a Russified German, regarded the matter purely from the practical point of view and established his patronage over my people in his own way, inasmuch as he assigned me to a corner of the ante-chamber and instructed me to stay there motionless and silent, so that I should always be ready on hand whenever he called to me to hand him his pipe or pour out a glass of water for him. As a result of my untamable nature I soon disobeyed his orders, and either sang sanctimonious Haydamaky songs in an audible voice, or

else secretly copied the paintings of the old Russian school which adorned the walls. For this purpose I used a pencil which — and I admit this without any pangs of conscience — I had stolen from the office.

My master was a very active person; he was constantly travelling, either to Kyiv, to Vilna or to Petersburg, and on all these occasions I was forced to accompany him, so that there should always be someone ready on hand in the ante-chamber to serve him, handing him his pipe and similar tasks, whenever he commanded.

I cannot affirm that in those days I regarded my position as a burden; it is only now that I think of this period with horror and it seems like a wild nightmare to me. — When travelling with my master from one inn to another, I used every favourable opportunity to steal a woodcut and in this way acquired a valuable collection. My special favourites were such legendary or historical heroes as for instance Solovey the Highwayman, Kulnev, Kutuzov, the Cossack Platov and many others. Incidentally, it was not the collector's urge which prompted me to steal these woodcuts, but the insatiable desire to execute faithful copies of these works.

One day during my stay in Vilna (it was December 6, 1829), my master and his wife had gone to a ball, a so-called reunion of land-owners, held in celebration of the birthday of Tsar Nicholas I. At night, when all was silent in the house, I lit a candle in my lonely room, spread out all my stolen treasures, and, selecting the Cossack Platov, set about industriously copying this work. I did not notice the hours pass. I was just about to begin copying the Cossack children playing around the mighty hooves of the magnificent horse, when the door opened behind me and my master, who had returned from the ball, entered. Beside himself with anger, he seized me by the ears and proceeded to box them soundly, — not on account of my attempts at art, — oh no! (he paid no attention to them) — but because I might well have set not only the house but also the whole town on fire. Next day he ordered the coachman to birch me soundly, a task which was carried out most diligently.

In the spring of 1832 I reached the age of 18. Since the hopes which had been set on my suitability as a lackey had failed to materialize, my master eventually complied with my ceaseless requests and hired me by contract for four years to a guild master for all types of painting, a certain Shirayev in Petersburg. — Shirayev combined all the qualities of the Spartan verger, of the deacon who was a painter, and of the palmist; but regardless of the authority which emanated from this threefold genius, I used to go to the Petersburg Summer Gardens (Letniy Sad) in the light spring evenings and draw the statues which adorned this symmetrical creation of Peter the Great.

On one of these occasions I made the acquaintance of the artist Ivan Maksymovych Soshenko, with whom I am still on friendly and brotherly terms. Following Soshenko's advice, I now began to try my hand at water-colours of Nature. For my numerous and very daubed first attempts I used another fellow-countryman and friend as

a model, — Ivan Nechyporenko, who was descended from the Cossacks and was also in the service of my master, the landowner. One day my master noticed one of my works in Nechyporenko's room and he took such a fancy to it that he employed me to paint portraits of his lady-favourites, for which he now and again gave me a silver rouble. In 1837 Soshenko presented me to the Secretary of the Academy of Arts, V. Y. Hryhorovych, with the request that he should try to liberate me from my unhappy lot.

Hryhorovych passed on this request to V. A. Zhukovsky;\* the latter began to negotiate with my master and asked K. P. Briullov to paint a portrait of himself, with the intention of using it as a lottery prize. The great Briullov immediately complied with this request and soon completed the portrait of Zhukovsky. With the help of Count Velehorsky, Zhukovsky then arranged a lottery with prizes to the value of 2,500 roubles, and on April 22, 1838, my freedom was bought for this price. From then onwards, I began to attend the courses at the Academy of Arts and was soon one of Briullov's favourite pupils and companions. In 1844 I attained the title of a "free artist."

As regards my first literary attempts, all I can say is that they began in the said gardens in Petersburg in star-lit nights. The shy Ukrainian muse for a long time resisted my soul which had gone astray in the village school, in the ante-chamber on the estate, in the inns, and in the town-houses of my master; but when the breath of freedom restored to my feelings that purity which they had possessed during my early childhood in the straw-thatched house of my parents, this muse clasped me in her arms far away from home. Of my first insignificant efforts which came into being in Petersburg Summer Gardens, only the ballad "Prychynna" ("The Bewitched") was printed. I am loth to say anything about when and under what circumstances my subsequent literary works were created. The brief story of my life, which I have related in its bare details in order to oblige you, claimed a dearer price from me than, I must admit, I had expected. How many dark and lost years! And what have I ultimately managed to obtain from fate as a result of all my efforts. Merely to be alive! Merely to have gained a dreadful insight into the past years of my life. It is dreadful, indeed all the more dreadful to me, since my own brothers and sisters — whom I had not the heart to mention in my narrative — are to this day still serfs. Yes, sir, serfs to this day!

Yours faithfully, etc.

T. Shevchenko

February 18th, 1860.

\* V. A. Zhukovsky (1783-1852), the outstanding romanticist and hitherto unsurpassed ballad poet of Russian literature. He translated poems by Goethe, Schiller, Uhland, Byron, Moore and other poets into Russian in a masterly way and thus introduced a new and stimulating element into the literature of his nation. He enjoyed considerable prestige in Petersburg as the tutor of Tsar Alexander II. — The Editor.

D. Horniatkevych

## SHEVCHENKO THE PAINTER

### (Conclusion)

A more profound analysis of the spiritual values of these two prominent artists — Briullov and Shevchenko, of those values which constitute part of their philosophy of life, reveals that a fundamental difference exists between them; whereas Briullov was a pessimist, Shevchenko was by nature definitely an optimist. This seems all the stranger to us, since Briullov had been greatly favoured by fortune; he could certainly consider himself lucky, for his life was, one might well say, a bed of roses. Briullov never encountered material or professional difficulties. In the midst of his creative activity he was crowned with laurels and earned the highest esteem and admiration of his contemporaries. His pessimism was obviously the result of an incurable disease, namely pulmonary tuberculosis, which can be regarded as the main cause of his dramatic moods and, moreover, of his personal tragedy. Shevchenko, who in the course of his life suffered terrible hardship and was dealt one cruel blow after another by fate, was the exact opposite of Briullov. Never once was he spiritually broken; he drew spiritual vitality from his love of highest ideals, in which he firmly believed and which he served in faithful devotion and loyalty.

P. V. Delarov<sup>6</sup> has given us an excellent characterization of Briullov: "Briullov, like most of the prominent personalities of those days, was, not only as a man, but also as an artist in his works, a typical rationalist, a person who had no illusions and who was inclined towards reflection: he neither believed in any national affinity of man, nor in the organic affinity of the individual with his fellow-countrymen, nor in the past and the unchangeability of historical forms that have ever come into being. Nor did he believe in the immutability of the forms of life of today and tomorrow, nor in the historic future of his people, nor in the future of the soul after death."

Characterizing the stormy events of the 18th century and of the first quarter of the 19th century, which were to have such a lasting influence on the cultural life of Europe, Delarov points out that lack of faith resulted in these events... This lack of faith in the solid nature of the foundations created by history is even reflected in the choice of themes found in paintings of this era. The art of painting as a whole occupies itself almost exclusively with the depiction of catastrophes and of those moments which immediately precede or

<sup>6</sup> P. V. Delarov: "Karl Briullov i yego znachenije v istorii zhivopisi — Iskustvo i khudozhestvennaya promyshlennost," 1899, vip. 15, pp. 126-27. (P. V. Delarov: "Karl Briullov and His Significant Place in the History of Painting," Art and Applied Art, 1899, Edition 15, pp. 126-127).

follow such catastrophes. The same mood of catastrophe — and the author is in all probability entirely ignorant of its connection with the spirit of his times — constitutes the essence of the themes of Briullov's paintings in those rare cases in which he was able to choose them himself. This mood of catastrophe is of a general character in the "Last Day of Pompeii"; it is, so to speak, collective or private, or individual, as for instance in "Ines da Castro," or even of universal dimensions, as in the sketch "Ruinous Time."

Delarov, moreover, draws attention to the fact that Briullov, in keeping with his nature, was more of a sculptor in painting than a painter. He had less feeling for colour than for lines and forms; in other words, colour was not his strong point. He felt more at home with the water colour technique than with oil painting. Indeed, he quite candidly admitted on various occasions that he could not deal with his subject satisfactorily in the evening light. He nearly destroyed his "Versavije" in the evening light because he found it so difficult to reproduce the colour of the female form faithfully. As a rule his task was finished once he had sketched his subject in pencil. And this fact is significant, for it proves beyond all doubt that Briullov saw the whole of Nature in lines and forms, whereas his colours did not express purely optical visions, the true contours and chance characteristics of his subject completely. For this reason all Briullov's paintings are without exception paintings of the Italian schools and in essence bas-reliefs. And in order to comprehend their real artistic value they should be regarded from this point of view. One will then notice the almost complete lack of detail in the first outline, the lack of depth in further outlines and neglect of the harmony of colours; one will be unpleasantly struck by the lack of nuances in the colours, by the sharpness of contours, by the complete disregard of space effects, and, what is more, one will be obliged to ascertain a certain rigid arrangement of folds of robes, for instance, and even gross errors as far as perspectives are concerned. The ancient Greek and Roman world was the only one in which Briullov felt at home. He did not feel drawn to the Romanticists because of his aversion to all that was mysterious, dreamy, mediaeval and Germanic and likewise because of his balanced disposition and the part which an inclination to meditation and disciplined thought played in it. All he borrowed from the Romanticists was their love of fiery red colouring, in which they revelled.

It is interesting to compare this characterization of Briullov, which on the whole is excellent, with Oleksiy Novytsky's characterization of Shevchenko.<sup>7</sup> Briullov is an epic poet, whereas Shevchenko is a lyric poet. Briullov is definitely a pessimist, whereas Shevchenko contemplates Nature, life and man's ways calmly. His work is permeated with "calm sadness," "tearful joy" and the "great poetry of suffering."

In the early years of his artistic creativeness Shevchenko borrowed the preference for red colours, in addition to his technique, from

<sup>7</sup> Oleksiy Novytsky: "Taras Shevchenko yak maliar," Lviv-Moskva, 1914, Zbirnyk Istorychno-filosofichnoyi Sektsiyi NTSh u Lvovi ("Taras Shevchenko the Painter," Lviv-Moscow 1914, Compilation of the Historical-Philosophical Department of the Shevchenko Scientific Society NTSh in Lviv), p. 11.

Briullov; and many of his poetic works are imbued with these warm, harmonious colours.

It was no one other than Kost Shyroky who sharply defined the extent of Briullov's influence on Shevchenko when he divided Shevchenko's work into two periods: the first period until his exile, which clearly reveals Briullov's great influence, and the second period in which he undoubtedly emancipates himself completely from this influence.<sup>8</sup> As regards Shevchenko's imitation of Rembrandt in his drawings and paintings, this is already apparent in his self-portrait with candle, which he completed in colour whilst he was still studying and repeated in water-colours in 1860. Nor does this influence diminish in his later works. On the contrary, it gradually affects his poetry, too, as Prof. Kost Kysilevsky very convincingly proves in his article "Artistic Light and Shade in Shevchenko's Poetry."<sup>9</sup>

There can be no doubt about the fact that Shevchenko's talent as a painter enriched his poetic creativeness. Most of his poems contain beautiful descriptions of Nature and, very often, onomatopoeic, musical effects such as one does not even find in the greatest of European poets, who, incidentally, were not painters.

Shevchenko's artistic works, which number over a thousand, are manifold in every respect and certainly deserve especial attention. It is, of course, particularly interesting to note that the poet was forbidden to paint, a fact confirmed officially by Tsar Nicholas I who signed a decree to this effect. This prohibition to a very large extent hampered Shevchenko's artistic creativeness during his exile, both as regards quantity and quality, since he could under these circumstances only paint fragments and, more often than not, was obliged to abandon his work in this field completely. No other European artist has ever worked under such conditions.

As far as the subject of his paintings are concerned, they can be divided into the following categories: 1) portraits, 2) landscapes, 3) historical scenes, 4) subjects connected with the traditions and customs of the Ukrainian people, 5) religious compositions, 6) architectural monuments, 7) two cycles: a) "Picturesque Ukraine" and b) "The Parable of the Prodigal Son," and 8) illustrations. In technique, Shevchenko's works are outstanding. He mastered every technique in painting and sketching easily and skilfully, — oil and water colours, crayoning and etching. He also tried his hand at sculpturing.

On the strength of the above facts, we should at this point like to discuss in brief the part played by Shevchenko in the development of Ukrainian painting.

8) Kost Shyroky: K. Briullov i T. Shevchenko. "Ukrainskaya Zhizn" "K. Briullov and T. Shevchenko," published in the journal "Ukrainskaya Zhizn", Moscow, 1913, No. 2, p. 58.

9) Dr. Kost Kysilevsky: Maliarski svitlotini v Shevchenkovi poeziyi ("Artistic Light and Shade in Shevchenko's Poetry"). Published in "Kyiv," Philadelphia, 1951, No. 2, pp. 80-84.



Shevchenko made his appearance in the history of Ukrainian art in the middle of the 19th century. His predecessors were Antin Losenko (1737-1773), Dmytro Levytsky (1735-1822) and Volodymyr Borovykovsky (1757-1825). Their artistic creativeness was limited mainly to the religious genre and portraits. Levytsky and Borovykovsky left to posterity a number of very fine portraits, which were in keeping with the style of their epoch, neo-classicism. Their works can undoubtedly be compared to those of other prominent masters of European painting at that time, as for instance Gainsborough, Vigée Lebrun and others. In the field of religious subjects the work of Berevykovsky represents one of the greatest achievements in this genre of Ukrainian painting up to that time. Moreover, his works contained a profound spiritual meaning.

In his portrait painting Shevchenko links up with the works of Levytsky and Borovykovsky, but whereas these two artists pay especial attention in their works to form and effective expression, Shevchenko reveals a different trend; his portraits are in the nature of psychological studies. The attractive pose or the smile which play so important a role in the works of Levytsky and Borovykovsky, are almost non-existent in Shevchenko's portraits. He endeavours to give the features and, in particular, the eyes of the subject most expression. This is especially noticeable in the portraits of Barbara Reprina and Feodor Bruni. Even in the effective portrait of Princess Keykuvata, in which to a certain extent the tradition of Borovykovsky is apparent, the artist concentrates his attention on the composition of the head and the expression of the eyes, whilst the elegant coiffure and the light shawl draped over it are merely decorative accessories. Shevchenko developed an extraordinary skill in his portraits. He needed a relatively short time, very often only a few days, in order to complete a portrait. This fact was extremely fortunate, since it enabled him occasionally to devote himself to the painting of portraits during his exile. His superiors on rare occasions gave him permission to do so, since they wished to help him in his artistic work in this way, and for this favour they received their own portraits from him. Throughout the 19th century historical painting was regarded as the greatest achievement in this art. The painter of historical subjects had to a certain extent to be an all-round person; he had to be acquainted with the latest technical achievements, and, in addition, he had to be an outstanding portrait and landscape painter, very often a mural painter, too, and also an authority on history. The European academies of the 19th century were proud of their teachers of historical painting. To mention but a few famous names in this field, — Mariano Fortuni in Spain, Ernest Meissonier in France, Karl Piloty in Germany, Hans Makarth in Austria, Vaclav Brozik in Bohemia, Jan Matejko in Poland, and Vasiliy Vereshchagin in Russia. In view of such demands, the genre of portrait painting was underestimated somewhat, whilst the study of landscape painting was of secondary rather than of independent importance.

Shevchenko, who was trained in the good traditions of European painting and above all as a pupil of Briullov and Sauerweid, was greatly interested in historical subjects and during his academic studies already tried his skill in this genre. His works in this field include his water-colour "Presents in Chyhyryn," his composition "Death of Bohdan Khmelnytsky" in two variants, as well as some crayon drawings of the same subject, and, in addition, "Death of Mazeppa" — a crayon drawing entitled "Mazeppa Dying, by his side Charles XII," and "Mazeppa and Voynarovsky," also a crayon drawing. As can be seen from the catalogue pertaining to the second part of "Picturesque Ukraine," the continuation of this cycle was to consist of a whole series of paintings with historical subjects, as for instance "Ivan Pidkova in Lviv," "Pavlo Polubotok in Petersburg" and "Semen Paliy in Siberia." Shevchenko's compositions "Presents in Chyhyryn" and the "Death of Bohdan Khmelnytsky" attest to his serious efforts and intentions to devote himself even more thoroughly to historical painting. True, there are certain faults as regards technique and composition in these two works, but they nevertheless clearly reveal his serious attitude towards his subject and his endeavour to reproduce a profoundly moving atmosphere. Practically all these works were completed whilst Shevchenko was still studying at the academy, a fact which certainly justifies one in assuming that he might well have produced a whole series of outstanding works in this field. Shevchenko introduced historical painting in Ukraine, and he deserves special credit in the history of Ukrainian painting for his initiative in this respect.

In the field of Ukrainian painting which had as its subject the traditions and customs of the Ukrainian people, Shevchenko is likewise an innovator. Traditions and customs as the subject of paintings had already become popular in Holland towards the end of the Renaissance period (the typical representative of this genre was Pieter Brueghel), and in the baroque era this genre also spread to Spain (here the representatives were Jusepe Ribera and Bartolomé Murillo). Brueghel depicted peasant life from the humorous aspect and sometimes, too, with a touch of grotesqueness. In his paintings the peasant frequently personified something repugnant. A peculiar opinion prevailed at that time, namely that even Nature could not be a source of actual beauty. The Spanish painters were far more openminded in their attitude towards the life of the peasantry. Ribera is a realist and is neither malicious nor ironical; he understood the difficult conditions under which his fellow-men were obliged to live, since he, too, had had a hard life in his younger years. In Murillo's paintings, too, there is no trace of sarcasm or irony; they are replaced by love of humanity and by emphasis on all that is good and beautiful. The 19th century brought a complete change in the views held with regard to the part played by the peasantry in society. This subject was taken up in particular by the French painters of this era, above all by Jules Breton and the group of artists known as the Barbizons, who included Théodore Rousseau (1812-67), Jean Millet (1814-75) and various

other well-known painters. In the village of Barbizon near Fontainebleau a school of painters was formed by a number of artists who had decided to escape from the noisy, turbulent city and seek idyllic peace, sincere human beings and the truth in the heart of Nature. In the course of time these artists created a new trend in art, namely impressionism, which played so important a part in fostering new artistic values. In their works the Barbizons glorified the labour of the peasant, revealed his unspoiled and sincere soul and expressed their gratitude to him for his heavy daily toil. Naturally, this trend in painting could only develop in Western but not in Eastern Europe, where at that time the peasants were still completely enslaved as serfs. This was, therefore, a subject in painting which was unpopular in the East.

Shevchenko was the first artist not only in Ukraine but also one of the first artists in the Russian empire as a whole to break this passive silence regarding the subject of the lot of the peasantry. In his paintings he depicted their life as it really was, and he concealed neither their faults nor their good qualities. In doing so, he revealed a general and not a narrow-minded national interest. During his exile he manifested the same sympathy for the Ukrainians and the Kazakhs; he was interested in their work, he portrayed them in their daily toil and labour; and from the point of view of subject and ideology, he is in this respect close to the French Barbizons.

Shevchenko's artistic creativeness was, however, most prolific in the genre of landscape painting. In 1914 Oleksiy Novytsky, the famous Shevchenko research scholar, gave the number of landscapes by the artist, which he knew existed at that time, as 311, as compared to the total 651 works of art by Shevchenko.<sup>10</sup> Since then all Shevchenko's works of art have been registered anew, and as they number over a thousand, it can be assumed that the artist produced considerably more landscapes than the figure given above. Both in his poems and in his artistic compositions Shevchenko expressed his great love of Nature, which he glorified and depicted. His description of Nature in his poems are as rich and as frequent as those in his paintings. In view of the fact that comparatively little significance was attached to the studies connected with the paintings of landscapes in the art academies in those days, Shevchenko sought to intensify his knowledge in this respect himself. Nor could he have learnt either the art of drawing landscapes or technique from any of his professors at that time. It was the landscape of Ukraine itself which taught him, for he understood its moods and reproduced them in his works in a strange and characteristic way. Indeed, herein lies the true merit of Shevchenko's landscapes. They also reveal a characteristic trait of his: he does not lose his way amidst too many details; he treats the landscape extensively and boldly. A closer study of his paintings reveals that he was in advance of his epoch, for there is definitely a breath of impressionism in them. If one recalls that the word "impressionism"

<sup>10</sup> O. Novytsky: *Taras Shevchenko yak maliar*. Lviv, 1914 ("Taras Shevchenko the Painter," Lviv, 1914), p. 67.

only appeared in art terminology for the first time in 1871 on the occasion of the opening of an exhibition in Paris and the fact that Zola defended the modernists of those days in 1866, then it becomes apparent that Shevchenko showed considerable daring in his artistic achievement.

And the educational value of the first of Shevchenko's two cycles, namely his "Picturesque Ukraine," cannot be rated highly enough, even though it encountered many difficulties. It was only later that the significance of this work was realized. Shevchenko's perseverance in completing this cycle of paintings adds to its value.

As regards the contents and the trend of the second cycle, "The Parable of the Prodigal Son," it was, in my opinion, also intended to be a protest against the social confusion that prevailed in Russia, since it reflects many of the artist's experiences in exile and is eloquent proof of the consequences of the dreadful demoralization and tragic conditions which he saw there and under which he was obliged to live.

The political trend of both these cycles is perfectly obvious. On the one hand, Shevchenko showed the beholder sunny Ukraine in its past and in the traditions and customs of his day from a didactic point of view, whilst, on the other hand, he set up a violent contrast to this first cycle in his second cycle, with its depressing contents. And these contents were based on the evil social conditions in Russia, which the Ukrainian poet had seen with his own eyes.

In discussing the characteristic features of Shevchenko's paintings which have a religious subject, we must in the first place consider the features of the style of this epoch in which these works were created. Shevchenko's work as a painter verges on two trends in art, namely classicism and romanticism. As regards his religious subjects, Shevchenko was influenced in formal respect by Briullov, the representative of classicism. Part of Briullov's artistic legacy is closely bound up with religious subjects. In 1836 the works connected with the decoration of the Kazan Cathedral in St. Petersburg were completed. The highlight of these works was a large painting by Briullov, "The Assumption," which was completed in the same year. This painting is undoubtedly very impressive. Critics in those days were full of praise for the icons, but the work is nevertheless in its character only an imitation of a work with the same subject by the well known French painter Pierre Prud'hon.

In addition to the "Assumption," Briullov also painted the picture "The Crucifixion" and several other works as decoration for various churches. Like a number of admirers of Briullov, Shevchenko, too, expressed his appreciation of these works. Whether he realized Briullov's spiritual dependence on Prud'hon, at least in this field of his work, can no longer be ascertained. But if one compares Briullov's and Shevchenko's religious paintings, one is bound to reach the conclusion that Shevchenko's work in this genre was independent and reveals no servile dependence on the works of his teacher. A predominant feature of practically all Shevchenko's works in this field is the contrast between light and shade: "The Crucifixion," "The

Assumption," "The Death of St. Andrew the Apostle" and "Peter the Apostle in Prison" have a dark background, which enabled the artist to create the impression of a vision of the persons whom he depicts. True, Shevchenko did not create as many works in this genre as in other fields of art, but this by no means implies that he devoted less care to his religious compositions. Incidentally, it is an established fact that he produced more religious paintings than are now in existence, for many of them, namely those which he completed for the church on the estate of the Lyzohub family, were destroyed by fire. During his exile, too, Shevchenko wished to devote himself to the painting of religious subjects, and the commander of the fortress of Novopetrovsk, Iraklii Uzkov, made every effort to obtain official permission for him to paint a picture for the altar of the church there. But the military command in Orenburg withheld this permission.

Shevchenko painted all his icons realistically. The Byzantine style was alien to him and he regarded it somewhat contemptuously as ugly. His negative attitude towards purely Byzantine forms was in keeping with the spirit of the times: artists wished to liberate themselves from the limitations in style imposed upon them by traditions. Prince Grigoriy Gagarin, a well known artist and archeologist, upon his appointment as Vice-President of the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg (1860) first persuaded the official authorities to found a museum for religious antique art as part of the Academy. The exhibits acquired by him resulted in an extensive study of Byzantine iconology.

Shevchenko's paintings and sketches depicting monuments of architecture are today of great documentary value to us. Such historical buildings as for instance the ruined palace of the Ukrainian Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky in Subotiv, the house of the outstanding Ukrainian writer and poet, Ivan Kotlyarevsky, who can be regarded as the father of modern Ukrainian literature, in Poltava, the church of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky in Subotiv, with the open portal which was later spoilt by an annexe, the churches of Kyiv, Poltava and Pereyaslav and, above all, those buildings which no longer exist, are of immeasurable value for research in this field.

On the whole Shevchenko's artistic works are extremely varied and, at the same time, profound in content. As an artist, he distinguished himself by his great intuition. And it was this intuition which helped him not only to combine the outstanding achievements of the past centuries with the demands of his day, but also to discover new values, which two decades later were established by West European painters in the field of impressionism and plein-air painting and which initiated a new trend in art. In this way Shevchenko extended the scope of art, which in his day was still confined by narrow limits, and anticipated its future development. But the most important quality of his work is its genuine, national, Ukrainian character, which is in evidence in particular in his historical subjects and in his treatment of the traditions and customs of the Ukrainian people. Thanks to Shevchenko's efforts, a new epoch was created in the history of Ukrainian art. And herein lies Shevchenko's great service to his native Ukraine.

### Shevchenko's cycle "The Parable of the Prodigal Son"

Before we deal with this subject, we should like to point out that the authorities on Ukrainian art have very aptly characterized Shevchenko's congeniality of mind as a painter and poet as follows: the artist complemented the poet and vice versa; the poetic and artistic creativeness of Shevchenko never clashed. His versatile genius has confronted research scholars with numerous complicated questions, which they have not always been able to answer correctly. I do not, however, intend at this point to refute such a statement for instance as that made by Antonovych, namely that Shevchenko can be compared to Michelangelo; for if one wishes to seek analogies to Shevchenko's rise to fame, one does not need to go back centuries and centuries. The Slav world has produced another great poet and painter in one person, the Pole Stanislaw Wyspianski. Inspired by love and sorrow for their native country, they both created their literary and artistic masterpieces, whilst in their inmost heart they set their greatest hope and their unswerving faith in the immortality of their nations and in their cultural and historical mission. In this connection, however, it must be stressed that Shevchenko has ceased to be a purely Ukrainian poet, for he already belongs to European literature, whereas Wyspianski has remained a purely Polish poet, for his symbolism and his mysticism will always be incomprehensible to non-Poles.

Upon analysing Shevchenko's paintings, the question is bound to obtrude itself as to whether some of his works reflect the philosophy of life of both the poet and the artist. This is not apparent in his portraits. His landscapes, on the other hand, are far more valuable in this respect. But the most valuable of his works are his two cycles, "The Parable of the Prodigal Son" and "Picturesque Ukraine," even though they were not completed.

"Picturesque Ukraine" was produced during the years 1841-1844, that is to say towards the end of his studies at the Academy of Arts, whilst the "Parable of the Prodigal Son" was created during the years 1856 and 1857, that is to say before his exile was over.

The idea of painting a series of pictures with one and the same subject was a very old one. The oldest example of such cycles were the pictures of the lives of the saints and the sufferings of Christ which were painted for churches. The arts, that is to say painting and sculpture are of necessity limited to the depiction of a single moment, namely a kind of culminating point in some action or other, the magic transformation of a vision. It is only a series of paintings that can supplement the contents and evoke more profound feelings in our imagination. In the 18th century Hogarth, Goya, Chodowiecki and others already painted such cycles with one subject.

Shevchenko chose as his subject that of one of the most beautiful parables of Christ, the "Parable of the Prodigal Son." There can be no doubt about the fact that Shevchenko must have begun working on this cycle during the winter of 1856-57, for on May 10, 1857 he

already informed Bronislaw Zaleski that he had finished 8 paintings of the "Parable." According to another letter to Zaleski, dated June 26, 1857, the work was to consist of 12 paintings. It was Shevchenko's intention to extend and publish the "Parable" in the form of a complete album at a later date. In his letter of May 10, 1857 to Zaleski, he wrote: "In painting the "Prodigal Son" I mixed bistre with Indian ink which then resulted in a sepia colour. I have already completed 8 paintings. I could not start on the first four scenes owing to lack of models. I need a Russian merchant, but I cannot get hold of one here. I have therefore postponed this until I arrive in Moscow or Petersburg."

The main difficulty in assessing the value of the "Parable of the Prodigal Son" lies in the fact that Shevchenko, unfortunately, did not complete this cycle as intended. When he returned from exile his first enthusiasm had waned; he devoted himself to the graphic arts but no longer mentioned his "Prodigal Son." Thus, he has only left eight paintings of this cycle to posterity. These paintings depict the path of the sinister hero from misdeeds and crimes to his ultimate punishment; the prologue is, however, missing, for the author had not even composed one. Shevchenko's "Prodigal Son" is, rather, a lonely person who sins against himself and assumes the full responsibility for his deeds himself. True, the first part of the tragedy is missing, but this hardly strikes the beholder as a fault, since the separate scenes form a sequence and a compact whole.

Incidentally, it was not easy to discover these eight paintings. After Shevchenko's death they were located in three different places; only one of the paintings was preserved in Ukraine, namely in the Chernyihiv Tarnovski Museum, whilst the rest were in the possession of three Russian collectors in Petersburg and Moscow. In his monograph on Shevchenko, the academician Novytsky listed these paintings as follows: 1) the prodigal son loses at cards; 2) a scene in the tavern; 3) the drunkard; 4) a scene in the cemetery; 5) murder; 6) in fetters; 7) punishment by birching; and 8) flogged in fetters.

Owing to lack of space we cannot discuss the individual scenes in detail; we should, however, like to mention that they have been dealt with at some length by Novytsky and Antonovych. We should moreover like to point out that Shevchenko's encounter with the usual type of criminals, with whom political prisoners were not as a rule confined, was bound to cause an even greater reaction of disgust and opposition on his part against the Russian social order. To Shevchenko these prisoners were a result of the disastrous internal conditions in Russia, which were based on dreadful subjugation, mendacity and distrust of one's fellow-citizens. The system of despotism had resulted in a system of crime.

In all probability one can assume that it was this encounter with these prisoners, their tales and an understanding of their psychological attitude, that prompted Shevchenko to paint his "Parable of the Prodigal Son." The latter was not merely the sum of his experiences



in exile and not merely a revelation of the terrible state of affairs which Shevchenko himself had personally observed and had been forced to endure, but, at the same time, was also intended as a protest against the social order in Russia. Finally, mention should also be made of Shevchenko's statement that the scene of the first part of the "Parable" was to be set in the house of a Russian merchant, which indicates that the beginning of this cycle was definitely connected with Russia and that Shevchenko had also planned the concluding scenes. Similar subjects have also been dealt with in his literary works, as for instance in the "Soldier's Well" — and by the soldier, the Ukrainian masses mean a Russian, and hence in Ukrainian this poem is called "Moskaleva Krynytsia," that is "The Russian Well"; further, in the prose work "Varnak." Towards the end of his exile he wrote "Yurodyvyy" ("The Holy Fool") and "Neofity" ("The Neophytes").

The sinister heroes of this series of poems by Shevchenko are prompted by various motives: some of them are influenced by vile and pathological instincts, as for instance in the second version of "Moskaleva Krynytsia," whilst others wish to punish the crimes of the brutal landowners, as in "Varnak." But all these persons have, at least, still a little faith, which in the end redeems them.

What could be more of a contrast to the "Parable of the Prodigal Son" than Shevchenko's first cycle "Picturesque Ukraine," which he thought out with so much affection and intended to plan on so large a scale. His album, which appeared in 1844, contains the following water-colours: 1) "The Trial," 2) "Presents in Chyhyryn," 3) "Starosty" ("The Matchmakers"), 4) "A Fairytale," 5) "The Vydubitsky Monastery," and 6) "Kyiv." At the same time, the catalogue published for advertisement purposes announced the following series: 1) The landscapes of Chyhyryn, Subotiv, Baturyn and the Church of the Holy Virgin in the main seat of residence of the Zaporozhian Cossack "Sich"; 2) "The Funeral of a Young Girl," "For seven years the Salt-carrier went to the Don to fetch salt" (based on an old folksong), "Perezva"<sup>11</sup>, and "Obzhynky" ("Harvest Festival"); and 3) "Ivan Pidkova in Lviv," "Sava Chalyy," "Pavlo Polubotok in Petersburg," and "Semen Paliy in Siberia." Other series were to include all that is dear to the hearts of the Ukrainians, — churches, fortresses, graves, scenes depicting Ukrainian customs, illustrations of Ukrainian folk-songs, and, lastly, historical events since Gedymin and up to the disastrous internal strife artificially fomented in Ukraine by Moscow and known in the vernacular as the "ruin" (in the second half of the 17th century).

As a result of serfdom in Ukraine it was impossible for such a social class to develop there, which would have been in a position to commit the crimes depicted by Shevchenko in his "Parable of the Prodigal Son." Novytsky points out very aptly that similar types of human beings are to be found in Russian literature: Dostoyevsky in

<sup>11</sup>) Wedding custom in Ukraine: after the wedding-night the young couple visit the bridegroom's parents accompanied by a band and the wedding guests.



his "Zapiski iz mertvogo doma" ("House of the Dead") depicts the same type of criminals as Shevchenko, and similar pathological types are also to be found in the "Brothers Karamazov."

The "Parable of the Prodigal Son" is by no means fiction illustrated in the style of Hogarth, but is a courageous exposure of evil, without oblique hints and probably without any symbols. It is not out of the question that Shevchenko, had he dealt with this subject at a later date, would have endowed it with a more epic and more carefully selected form. But precisely the fact that this was Shevchenko's first attempt which was based on his studies of the same models, who were the tragic heroes of evil and of all kinds of misdeeds, makes it all the more convincing, since it thus has a certain documentary value.

The question inevitably obtrudes itself as to whose literary or artistic works so clearly reflects a national philosophy of life as these two cycles by Shevchenko. And one is bound to think of Hohol (Gogol) in this respect and his "Taras Bulba," his "Inspector General" and his "Dead Souls." But "The Inspector General" and "Dead Souls" are merely satires and by no means an open protest against traditional tyranny in Russia. The first great artist after Shevchenko who ventured to utter an equally vigorous protest was Illya Ripyn.<sup>12</sup> His works, too, clearly reflect his philosophy of life; he depicted, on the one hand, such scenes of misery and terror as, for instance, "The Vagabonds" and "Ivan the Terrible," and, on the other hand, "The Zaporozhian Cossacks write to the Sultan," "Sadko," "Dosvitky" (evening assembly of the youth of the village) and "It was unexpected." This latter work in particular is a kind of national confession on the part of Ripyn. Here he depicts a scene showing the return of a political prisoner from exile. In answer to the question of the beholder as to who this exile is and why he was exiled, Ripyn gives an extremely discreet yet eloquent reply: on the wall in the picture there is a portrait of Shevchenko and next to it a portrait of the famous Ukrainian poet and writer Panteleymon Kulish (died in 1895).

Ripyn then painted a portrait of Vasyl Tarnavsky posted at a Cossack cannon and subsequently completed a portrait of Shevchenko for Kaniv, that is to say for a room dedicated to the memory of the poet on the Chernecha Hora (Monk's Hill), southeast of the Ukrainian capital Kyiv, where Shevchenko was buried. In addition, Ripyn likewise designed a monument of Shevchenko (in 1908) with an epitaph, in which he glorified the poet and our "beautiful Ukraine." For it was none other than Shevchenko who had stirred Ripyn's national consciousness as a Ukrainian.

<sup>12</sup>) The transcription of the surname Ripyn has been the subject of controversy amongst Ukrainian linguists. Allegedly the name should be spelt Repin and not Ripyn. One must, however, take into account the fact that Ripyn was wont to spell his name with a Russian letter which corresponds to the Ukrainian "i." Hence it is obvious that the name should be written Ripyn and not Repin.

Y. Onyshchuk

## Spiritual Foundation of Russian Communism

The problem of the real essence of Russian Communism remains still the number one question under discussion in the Western World today. Many books, magazine and newspaper articles have been written about it. There is one common thing significant in all these writings: the majority of the Western authors approach this subject in a very abstract and theoretical way. They understand Russian Communism as an ideology, religion, economic system, created and developed by Karl Marx and his followers. They look upon Moscow as upon an executor of this ideology, religion, system of life and a carrier of this Marxian, international idea. Basically, this is the official outlook of the Western World on the essence of Russian Communism.

The West fights Communism back by hammering continuously that this idea, ideology, system of life, are bad; it is anti-religious, atheistic, dictatorial and inhuman; it is an enemy of the economic progress of people. In the fight with Communism so many problems of various categories — moral, legal, religious, economical — are taken into consideration that instead of clarifying the matter the whole problem is complicated and obscured even more.

By encountering Communism only as an idea — in a very abstract and theoretical field — the West is missing the real issue. It cannot see that this Communism is merely a continuation of the old Russian imperialism operating now under the cover of international slogans. Such a misunderstanding of Communism and of the methods of fighting it by the Western World leads to prejudices and mistakes in the practical politics of the West.

When we speak about the Russians we have in mind a nation or race that is only a part of the population of the Soviet Union; not the whole population of about 216 million on the huge territory of the whole Soviet Union, in Europe and in Asia. The Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic, a national territory of the Russians, is only one of the fifteen Soviet Republics of the Soviet Union. But even the whole territory of this Russian S.F.S.R. is not a national territory of the Russians. In this R.S.F.S.R. there have been incorporated many separate nationalities, living in twelve Autonomous Soviet Republics, six Autonomous Regions, ten National Districts, six Territories and many Regions, on their own ethnographical and national territory. Without these non-Russian territories with a non-

Russian population the real Russian ethnographical territory of the R.S.F.S.R. would be limited to only a minor part of the total territory of the Soviet Union. As the Soviet statistics regarding the population in the Soviet Union are unreliable, and especially the figures of the number of Russians, we may rather accept the estimates that Russians are actually in a minority in the Soviet Union.

Thus, when talking about the Russians, we have in mind only the "Russians" as a racial and national entity, and not the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Armenians, Georgians, and other peoples, living in their own National Republics, Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions, National Districts, etc. of the Soviet Union. All these nations are different from the Russians in all respects. They hate Russian domination; they want to be free; their way of life is completely individualistic and democratic; not like Russian — communistic and autocratic. That is the most essential difference between the Russians and the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union.

There is a common belief in the Western World that the Russians always wanted to have a democratic form of government and that Communism took over Russia only because of an international intrigue. The reasoning is then, in the Western World, that we should help those Russians in their strive for democracy. Yes, there have been some Russians that were in favour of a democratic government in Russia. But the fact is that the Russians — or Muscovites as they called themselves up to the end of 17th century — in their psychological structure have always been communists, centuries and centuries before the communistic idea of Karl Marx was created and developed.

The Russian communistic idea has nothing in common with the communistic idea of Karl Marx. That has been stated many times by innumerable defectors of Communism. They came to understand that the Russians had their own type of communism, their own, national communism, and this communism was in existence in Russia since the beginnings of the Russian nation. The Russians have accepted Marxian Communism only to have a better opportunity for subjugating the whole world under the pretext of an international idea.

If one wants to understand a nation — one has to study the psychology of the people and the character of the nation. Emil Ludwig, German-born writer, in his article about Germany in the February 1938 issue of the "Atlantic Monthly," warned the world that in order to understand Hitler's ideas and actions, the Western World had to study the psychology of the German people. The same warnings were heard from others that understood the German problem. The West has also always misunderstood Russia and the Russians. The Westerners used to treat Russians as Westerners, as people with the mentality of Westerners. That resulted in the Western World misjudging the Russians and their intentions.

The real intentions of the Russian leaders at the time of the Tsars were always so skilfully distorted that the world had a wrong picture of Russia. A Frenchman, the Marquis de Custine, travelling in Russia in the first half of the last century, came to the conclusion that foreigners who wrote on Russia helped the Russians in deceiving the world. This statement has the same value in today's conditions: there are in the Western World, writers on Russia who continue deceiving the world. Some are doing this with full knowledge that they are helping Russia destroy the world; others because of their ignorance.

A French historian Germain de Lagny complained about this ignorance more than a hundred years ago. In his work "The Knout and the Russians"<sup>1</sup> he wrote: "There exists, with regard to this country, a profound state of ignorance, kept up by books written in a spirit of complaisance, and in which fiction has almost invariably usurped the place of truth."

Another French historian, A. Leroy-Beaulieu, began his monumental work about Russia<sup>2</sup> with a similar statement: "Ignorance of all that is foreign has always been one of France's chief blemishes, one of the chief causes of her disaster."

The same situation existed in the Anglo-Saxon world; Emile Joseph Dillon was one of the best informed people about Russia. In his youth he studied in Russia and lived there permanently, as a professor of the Universities, during the reign of the last three Tsars. In his book about the Russians<sup>3</sup> and in innumerable articles for British magazines, under a pseudonym, he was trying to give correct information about Russian matters, but he felt completely helpless in his task. He saw public opinion, not only in France but also in Great Britain, misled by Russian propaganda. Wishful thinking also contributed to the adulation of everything Russian.

A. Leroy-Beaulieu in the preface to the American edition of his work on Russia warned the public opinion by saying: "One thing I cannot too much impress on my readers, and that is that we are not justified, we Westerners, in applying to Russia the same notions and the same rules as to Europe or America. To do so, would be the height of ignorance and unfairness. Yet this is the very error into which most foreigners fall. They suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the geographers, who assure them that Europe expands to the flat-topped ridge of the Ural and to the peak-crowned steppes of the Caucasus. All this college ballast must be thrown overboard, these conventional limits be done away with... If one would really understand Russia, one should, to look after her, recede some three or four centuries into the past."<sup>4</sup>

Further on, A. Leroy-Beaulieu interpreted his standpoint as follows: "The past everywhere shows through the present. All the institutions, all the characteristics peculiar to Russia, all that makes her different from Western Europe, has deep roots which must be exposed to the light, or the trouble under which she labors will remain incomprehensible... As is the case with all states,... the present Russia is the

outcome of her past, and the one is not to be understood without the other."<sup>5</sup>

One of the best experts on Russia and Communism, Jan Kucharszewski, in his monumental work, a seven volume classic under the title "From White Tsardom to Red," published in Warsaw, Poland, in the years 1923-35, stressed that Russian Communism had a deep foundation in Russian history and that it was not imposed by a numerically insignificant minority. Neither was it a foreign intrigue. Therefore, in his opinion, the West should not accept the persuasion of the foreign emigrants from Russia that the communistic system in Russia was only a transitory creation. He kept proving throughout his work that the new system came into being as a result of centuries of the historical life of Russians; it has a deep historical and internal foundation.

This way of thinking was shared by many other experts on Russia and Communism. One of the famous Russian thinkers of this century, Nicholas A. Berdyaev, in his works "The Origin of Russian Communism"<sup>6</sup> and "The Russian Idea"<sup>7</sup> stressed these aspects even more than any other thinker. He pointed out that Russian Communism was a genuine Russian national idea, which in the West was, unfortunately, not believed, and that the Communist International was only the means for Russian Communism to fulfil this national idea of imperial conquest. Berdyaev compared Russian Communism to Fascism; it had all the external attributes: the leader, state totalitarianism, state capitalism and militarized youth.

The Russians throughout their own history — since the beginning of the Muscovite nation in the 12th century at the upper Volga and Oka — were always communists in their whole psychology. They were always inclined towards dictatorial power, which was evident in the family life and in the formation of their government. Baron Sigismund von Herberstein, Ambassador of the Kaiser to the Russian Tsar wrote in his *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, in 1549, about the Russians that "this people enjoyed slavery more than freedom."<sup>8</sup> For the Russians themselves the situation of today in the Soviet Union is only a logical consequence of their historical life, their whole psychology as people.

Nevertheless, contrary to the writings of the best experts on Russia and Communism there still prevails a view that communism has always been strange to the Russian mentality and that the Russians are democratically minded. These opinions in the West are prejudices, just as the common belief that the Russians are Slavs is untrue. Russian historians, Karamzin, V. Klyuchevsky, N. Pokrovsky and others, established a long time ago that the Russians started to come into being as a separate national entity only since the 12th century at the upper Volga and Oka; they called themselves Muscovites. Racially they were a mixture of some Slavs with nomadic Finnish tribes, mostly Chud and Mordvines.

V. Klyuchevsky in his 5-volume history of Russia described how the Slavs came into contact with Finnish tribes and he summarized that "from that encounter there came a three-way mixture: 1) religious, which became a basis for a mythological outlook on the world by the Great Russian, 2) tribal, from which an anthropological type of Great Russian emerged, and 3) social which in the composition of the population of the Upper Volga gave a decided superiority to the peasant classes."<sup>9</sup> The most characteristic feature of this Finnish population was that there was no social differentiation noticeable, "no indication of division between upper and lower classes: all this population seemed to be an entirely uniform peasant mass."<sup>10</sup>

We do not want to elaborate the first two statements of Klyuchevsky, about religious background and characteristics of the Russian mentality in this field, and about the racial origin of the Russians that created a separate anthropological type. But we wish to dwell on the social aspect of the Russian mentality that emerged from this racial mixture.

There remains the undeniable historical fact that the Russians, from the beginning of their history were always in their psychological composition, communists; their whole life was characterized by collectivism, communism.

In 1843 a German economist August Franz Ludwig Maria von Haxthausen came to Russia on the invitation of the Tsar Nicholas I to study the agricultural laws of the country. This economist had also done similar studies for Germany. In 1847 he published his Russian findings,<sup>11</sup> and it was then that the Western world learned about communism existing in Russia already for centuries before Karl Marx.

In Western Europe private property was the basis of the structure of society. Russia, on the other hand, since the beginning of her history was communistic minded and practised communism in the communistic land ownership called by the Russians "Mir."

A. Leroy-Beaulieu wrote in his work on Russia about the Russian collectivism: "Collective property as it is in use among the peasantry, while it now strikes us as Russia's most prominent feature, was one of the last things perceived by Western Europe."<sup>12</sup> He characterized this institution in a very precise way: "Mir is wholly Russian, wholly national, which is a rare thing in Russia. It is not, like so many other institutions of the empire, a copy or an imitation... The commune was born and grew up on the spot. It is, properly speaking, and setting autocracy apart, the only indigenous institution, the only living tradition that the Russian people can boast... This commune was not constructed by the law; it is anterior to all law-making, and the law has nothing to do with it, except recognizing it and registering its existence... Far older than serfdom, it resisted and survived it... Serfdom did not destroy the mir."<sup>13</sup> The author comes to a conclusion that "In Russia the commune, thus preserved in its ancient form, may be said to be the primary tissue-cell, the initial monad of the nation."<sup>14</sup>

A. Leroy-Beaulieu found the Russian family a common prototype for the village commune (mir) and the Tsar's autocracy. "State,

commune, family, came to be considered as three successive links in one and the same chain — three links fashioned out of the same metal, on the same pattern, and differing only in size. The commune is nothing but the enlarged family, while the state — or more correctly, the nation — is only the reunion of all the communes forming one vast family;... whose father or head is the Tsar... The sovereign's authority is unlimited — like the father's. This autocracy is only a prolongation of paternal authority."<sup>15</sup>

Another Westerner, Dr. Georg Brandes, Danish writer, made the same observations while travelling in 1887 all over Russia with lectures on the invitation of the Russian Authors' Association in St. Petersburg.<sup>16</sup> He wondered about this communistic system of ownership of the soil of the Russian "moujik." He noticed the unlimited authority of the father of the family and he characterized the "mir" as being "only the larger family, as the state is only the union of all the municipalities into one great family, whose father is the Tsar... The power of the Tsar and the ownership of land in common — are the two fundamental principles which distinguish the Russian people from all others."<sup>17</sup>

Dr. Howard P. Kennard, an Englishman, writing a book about the Russian peasant based on his long stay in Russia,<sup>18</sup> described the way of life of the members of the "mir." Each family in the communes was allotted a piece of land, which had to be worked on in accordance with the instruction of the commune. But this land was not owned by the family; it was given to it only for temporary use until the next redistribution of the land. The commune had a dictatorial power over all members of the commune; the whole family was responsible for any act of any of her members.

The strict policy of the "Mir" against the peasants is learned from another Englishman, D. Mackenzie Wallace, who spent five years (1870-75) in Russia and who wrote a two-volume book about Russia. He noticed that no peasant could leave the village without consent of the commune. He had to obtain a written permission, which served him as a passport during his absence. If any member of the commune got money somewhere, he had to contribute a certain portion of it to the commune.<sup>19</sup>

The "mir" was always a very strict organization of a social order in Russia. There are many comments on the almighty "mir." Sergey Kravchinsky, a Russian, known in the Western Europe as Stepniak, wrote in one of his books about the "mir": "With no trace of hierarchy or distinction of ranks, it is wielding an authority so extensive that in its own sphere of action it might be called unlimited."<sup>20</sup>

Another Russian, N. P. Semenov, in his work "The Liberation of the Peasantry in the Reign of the Emperor Alexander III" (St. Petersburg, 1894) described in a very interesting way how the decisions of the "mir" were achieved. There was only one decision: unanimous. If there were at the meeting any members of the commune that had some other idea about the matter under discussion, the meeting was

considered incomplete and a failure. Semenov says that "Peasants do not understand decision by majority vote. They know in each case there can only be one proper decision; it should belong to the most clever of all. To find the truth, all members are supposed to join, and if the solution is found all the members have to comply with it. As a consequence, a member who is in disagreement with the general consent has only one solution — to leave the "mir," which means that he will not be a member of the village any more." That is the explanation of the Russian democracy as it has been interpreted in the "mir," the nucleus of the communistic system.

The Russians themselves were always enthusiastic about the "mir" institution. Constantin Aksakov (Complete Collection of Works, 1889) said that the communistic mir was an ideal for all other people and a basis of the future. This institution was "a national institution that permeates through the whole of Russian history." He felt that it defended Russia from capitalism and its other consequences.

Grigoriy Aleksinsky, ex-deputy of the Russian parliament, writing about Russia, was of the opinion that the social organization of the Russians was always of a communal character. The Russian family was always communistic and it was a communism of production and consumption. The Russian peasants owned the soil collectively. They worked on it collectively, and they lived collectively in communal houses. They also held their meadows, aviaries and fisheries in common.<sup>21</sup>

But the West is still wondering how it could have happened that the Russians came under the communist dictatorship. Even today there is a common belief that the Russian moujik was a martyr on the altar of the democratic way of life. We are sometimes moved to pathetic utterances about "the poor victims of communism." Nevertheless the Russians — but not all other nations of the Soviet Union — have a system of social life that has been created over the centuries, voluntarily adopted by them and defended. Stepniak quotes Prince Vasilchikov from his study of the history of Russian agrarian legislation saying that the word "property" has been coined by Russians just recently as there was no term for expression of the idea of property over the land in the usual sense of the word.<sup>22</sup> Stepniak in his book about the Russian peasantry comes to the conclusion that the Russian moujik had "a perfect abhorrence of the idea of private property in land."<sup>23</sup>

N. Berdyaev in his "Nouveau Moyen Age," writing about Russian psychology, pointed out that the Russian did not consider private property sacred. For the Russian it seemed to be morally wrong to own something. Even the Russian landowner had in his Russian mentality always some doubts whether he owned his land by right. Therefore almost all Russians regarded European society as sinful.

On reading "The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians" of A. Leroy-Beaulieu, we may better understand the backstage of the whole Emancipation of the Serfs in Russia, the revolutionary movement



until the outbreak of both revolutions, Socialist and Communist, and we may understand better the essence and aims of Communism and the role of Russia in it.

At the end of the first volume on Russia, A. Leroy-Beaulieu wrote: "Through the communal system Russia was inoculated with communism...; that, thanks to the mir, it circulates, unbeknown to herself, in her veins and in the blood. Will this virus, at this dose, remain for ever harmless? Will it prove a preservative against contagion from abroad, or will it, on the contrary, call up someday, in the social organism, unexpected disorders and serious disturbances? Time will show."<sup>24</sup> Do we need to add anything in order to prove why Communism was victorious in Russia in 1917?

The Russian peasant always felt that the Russian commune — mir — was the best social institution for him, a truly national one; the Russian intellectuals looked admiringly upon the moujik as the creator of a new order. Therefore, when it came to the Emancipation of the Serfs, the situation in the communes did not change. As A. Leroy-Beaulieu said, "The Emancipation Act, while endowing the moujik with land, practically left him very much where he was in the time of serfdom... Such, from time immemorial, has been the form of land tenure in use amidst the peasants of Muscovy... The Emancipation has not changed it."<sup>25</sup> And Stepniak commented in this respect: "The Government listened to wiser counsel, offered by local communes as to a natural and long established institution standing ready on hand and existing throughout the country."<sup>26</sup>

Stepniak pointed out that the Russian Government quite sincerely intended to help the peasants, not only morally but also economically, but it failed because this was "the new economic system, quite oposed to the traditions and ideals of the Russian peasantry, and which has been forced on them by the Act of Emancipation."<sup>27</sup> The Russian peasant did not want to live the life of the non-Russians. He did not want to live the life of an individualistic person. Twenty-eight years after the emancipation from serfdom Dr. G. Brandes found that the mir was still firmly preserved in the middle of Russia. In the Moscow district since 1861 of 74,480 farms, only nineteen have abandoned communistic ownership.<sup>28</sup> G. Alexinsky stated that at the beginning of the twentieth century about 80% of the peasant's land still belonged to communes.<sup>29</sup> Up to the revolution in 1917 the Russian peasants in Russia proper preferred to live in communes. Even the almost 5/6th of all the peasant-owned land was in communes (Tyumen, *Ot Revolutsii k Revolutsii*, Leningrad, 1925., p. 14.).

Nothing helped to persuade the Russian peasant to quit the communes and to live an individualistic life. William English Walling spent two years in Russia (1905-6) and in those years wrote many articles for the American magazines. In his book about Russia<sup>30</sup> he stressed as a characteristic of the Russians that they were interested in economic equality, but not in private property; they wanted to see private property abolished for ever. Nobody should own an acre in

fee simple; even the right of use, possession, was to be restricted. There was a common conviction in Russia that Russia would keep common property as the basis of Russian agriculture and of Russian society; the peasant party in the Duma was in favour of communism being preserved. Therefore W. E. Walling felt that Russia would some day apply those principles to her land as the peasant institution, the commune — the mir — had provided the basis for the future Russian State.<sup>31</sup>

The Russian Government realized that the Russian agrarian commune was an institution that held back the economic development of the country. The colonists in Russia were living under better economic conditions than the Russian peasant in the communes, because of the individualism of the colonists; therefore Minister Stolypin, by a decree proclaimed in 1906, ordered the dissolution of the communes. In May 1907 he told the Duma, while defending his position, that the Government's intention was to protect the diligent and capable people against the lazy and stupid; the Government wanted to help the enterprising and strong and not the drunken lazybones that were hiding behind diligent people of the communes.

Despite Stolypin's proclamation everything remained the same in the peasant communes, with the exception that the worst elements of the communes sold their shares to other members and went to cities, creating a city proletariat there. Their whole psychology, centered on the communal way of life, contributed to the Russian communist revolution in 1917.

An Italian statesman of the last century, Camilo Cavour, was prophetic when he saw Russia revolutionizing the whole world with her system of "mir."

The spiritual foundations of Russian Communism were established in the psychology of the Russian people in the beginning of her history and were in existence during the whole historical life of Russia. The findings we have made here, backed by illustrative quotations from different sources, should be sufficient for us to come to the following conclusions:

1) Russian Communism is not a doctrine of Karl Marx imposed upon the Russian people. It is older than the idea of communism developed by Karl Marx. Communism existed amongst the Russians since the beginning of their own — Muscovite and later Russian — history when they became a racial mixture of Finnish tribes with some Slavic elements;

2) The Russian communistic idea — their own national idea — has been alive in the Russian agrarian communes — mir — since the formation of the Muscovite nation. The Russian intelligentsia was proud of this unique institution of the Russians and believed it to be victorious in the world. The peasants and the so-called "socialist intelligentsia" were always against the liquidation of the communes; the acceptance of the communistic system after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 was not a strange thing to them. The Russians

proper did not notice any change in their social structure in Russia, especially in the agricultural sector. All other nations in the former Tsarist Russia have always been opposed to Russian Communism which is only a new expression of historical Russian imperialism.

9) The Russian Communists in using the ideological communistic slogans of Karl Marx want to deceive the world with the help of an international idea that, as any other idea, could be made acceptable to all other nations in the world. They want to realize their own national — Russian, and not Communist or Soviet — ambitions. We should be fully aware of this disguised Russian Imperialism and expose it to the world as such.

### NOTES

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- 22) Stepniak, op. cit., pp. 11-12.
- 23) Stepniak, op. cit., pp. 239.

- 24) A. Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.*, V. I., p. 578.
- 25) *Ibid.*, p. 474.
- 26) Stepniak, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
- 27) Stepniak, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
- 28) G. Brandes, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- 29) G. Aleksinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
- 30) W. E. Walling, *Russia's Message, the True Import of the Revolution*. New York, Doubleday, 1908.
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**K. Kazdoba (Australia)**

## EASTER IN THE NORTH

Easter Eve's night. Divine service in our native church, which we emigrants had built on Australian soil. At midnight from the lips of the priest echoed the proclamation "Christ is risen." "Indeed He is risen" answered the parishioners. And as I, together with others said these sacred words, in front of me rose a picture in far away Northern Russia, of our peasants tormented to death by hard labour in deep snow, by frost, hunger and need, and our first Easter Eve's night in exile in 1930. For one second it seemed to me, that I was standing in the labour hut and around me were other walking skeletons, and we are whispering a prayer, while tears stream down our faces. Repetition of the words "Christ is risen" by the priest, brought me back to reality and at that moment I decided to write of the fate of the Ukrainian peasants under the Bolshevik regime, during the time known as "collectivization."

### Sentence

One day in March in 1930, after eight months imprisonment in Pervomaysk, my father and I were summoned from our cell to appear before the superintendent of the jail, with all our belongings. This summons was the first during the eight months that we had been in jail. We were conducted down a long corridor by two sentries. I walked abreast of my father and glanced at him from time to time, hoping to discover from him where we were being led to. But my father walked as in a dream, his eyes staring in front of him. Deep

in my heart stirred a tiny hope that we might be set free, and my thoughts already flew homewards. We were led to an iron door. The sentry ordered us to leave our belongings in the corridor. The first sentry opened the door and ordered us to enter. In the room, at a table sat two employees of G.P.U. One of them took a paper from a folder and read: "Prokhor Serhiyovych Kazdoba, born in 1867 in the village of Harbuzynka of the Yelizavetgrad district and Kherson province, and his son Kuzma Prokhorovych Kazdoba born in 1907 on the farm estate Novyy Stavok belonging to Harbuzynka village council, Yelizavetgrad district, Kherson province!" After looking keenly at us, he took the folder and went into an adjacent room. The guards ordered us to stand with our faces to the wall and to keep our hands behind us. In this fashion we stood for about an hour.

At last the doors of the adjacent room opened and we were ordered to enter. This room was larger, with leather covered walls and a carpet on the floor. Above a large table hung the pictures of Lenin and Stalin. At the table sat an official of the G.P.U. In front of him was a folder. At the side of the table sat the official of the G.P.U. who had brought in the folder and another person in civilian clothes who read out: "Prokhor Kazdoba and his son Kuzma Kazdoba?" Father replied "Yes." Then the civilian ordered father to step nearer to the table and to hold his hands behind him. I stood behind my father. The senior official of the G.P.U. asked father "Are you counter-revolutionary?" Father was silent. Then he asked again angrily: "Are you a counter-revolutionary?" But father did not answer, only moved his head. Then the official asked whether my father was arrested in 1920 by CHEKA. Father replied: "Yes." "In January 1921 you were brought before the Tribunal Court in Bratske, for taking part in the revolutionary activities against the Soviet regime and were sentenced by the Tribunal to death." The Tribunal changed the death sentence to 10 years imprisonment in Odessa's jail with confiscation of all property." Father again replied "Yes." "In 1923 you were released from jail owing to an amnesty. In 1924, together with your family, you were deprived of civil rights. In August 1929 you were arrested by G.P.U. and confined in Pervomaysk prison." Father acknowledged these facts. I, standing behind him, saw that his calloused hands trembled from nervous tension. Then the official ordered me to stand beside my father and said to me: "In 1924 you were deprived of civil rights, in July 1929 you were refused enrolment in the Red Army, as being politically unreliable and in August 1929 were arrested with your father and imprisoned." I agreed and the official passed the folder to the civilian, who began to read: "By the sentence of the Pervomaysk District Closed Court as politically and socially dangerous persons, proved by their taking part in 1918-1919 rebellion against the Soviet Power, Prokhor Kazdoba and his son Kuzma Kazdoba are sentenced to deportation for life into "special camps" in remote parts of the U.S.S.R. All property belonging to Prokhor Kazdoba becomes the State's." Father addressed the senior G.P.U.

official in a nervous voice: "What are you exiling my son for? He is young and is not guilty of anything. Allot me the hardest penalty but spare my son." I glanced at my father and shuddered. His eyes were flashing with fury, his face was tense. He took a step nearer to the table but the guards held him back and we were led away. We were not taken back to our cell but into the prison yard. We were ordered to join a group of about thirty peasants under arrest. Then the guards led us through the prison gates to where eight carts were waiting for us, guarded by soldiers of the Red Army, militia and Komsomol members of Blahodatny district. These new guards took us over following the prison's roster. We were seated in the carts and then driven through the streets of Pervomaysk. On each side of the carts rode armed militia and Komsomol\* members. People from their houses and passers-by watched us. Many women waved their white headclothes in farewell and wept. Frightened girls gave us covert glances but some of the men hurried past us averting their eyes.

### On the Bandurka Railway Station

We were driven eastwards, past the station Pidhorodne to a small station in the steppe, Bandurka, which was situated over 16 km. from Pervomaysk. The wheels sank deep into the black soil, sodden with melting snow, making it difficult for the horses to move. But still it was easier for them than for us. I sat in deep thought, still hearing the cruel words of the sentence. O, God, how terrible it was for me. I was driven from my native country by armed force, with no opportunity even to take leave of those dearest to me — my sisters Oksana and Lydia, my brother Mykhajlo and their children, my other relatives and friends. My thoughts turned to a little grave in a small steppe cemetery, where lay in eternal sleep my dear mother and second brother, Polikarp. I wanted to stand at their graves and tell them of my misery, of my banishment for life, caused by the same hand which had brought about their early deaths.

I looked for the last time on our steppes, where my childhood and youth had been passed. The spring sun and melting snow on the fields somehow raised my spirits. For a moment I seemed to forget my cruel fate and rejoiced, after eight months imprisonment, to be able to breathe in the fresh air. My father was silent, he did not speak once during the journey, he was lost in thought. I tried to rouse him, but he did not appear to hear me. Three elderly peasants, from somewhere near Pervomaysk, who were on our cart were overcome with grief. Two of them were crying, the third, the youngest let his eyes wander across the steppe whilst he talked incessantly about his son Mykola. After about three hours, we arrived at the station Bandurka. The horror that I saw there made me regret our jail, however wretched it had been.

(\*) Young Communist League.

The station was enclosed by barbed wire. We were taken over by new guards and led behind the wire. There stood a train of 15 goods carriages, guarded by Russian G.P.U. from the North, as the Russian occupants had no confidence in Soviet Ukrainian G.P.U., they had to send their own. G.P.U., militia and Komsomol members from time to time brought here cartloads of arrested peasants and their families. Barefooted and clad in rags, they were cast out into the snow. There were elderly, middle-aged and young people, children and even infants. Some of the women had families of five or six children, the eldest would be no more than 13 or 14 years. Some families were without fathers, they having been arrested earlier. Under foot the snow was mixed with humus forming a spring mud. Mothers held in their arms the youngest children, the rest stood in that swamp, their feet, their hands and their faces blue with cold. They gathered around their mothers and held onto the rags, which the Muscovite invaders had given them instead of their own clothes. These little prisoners dragged at their mothers and cried: "Mother, mother, let us go home. I am cold and my head is aching. Mother, mother, I am hungry." Some of the mothers lost all self-control and tore at their rags and their hair. Others cried and lamented, begging God to take them and their children from this world of misery.

Our group from the jail was kept apart. I was examining those who had been brought earlier when suddenly my heart stood still. In the crowd was my sister Anna alongside her husband Cheremukha, from the village Harbuzynka. She held in her arms the baby twins Olga and Nadia; the eldest Maria, who was fourteen, and Andriy stood by her. They were all crying and looking in our direction. The two eldest, Maria and Andriy, began to walk towards us but the guards turned them back. I pointed them out to my father. He rushed forward but the guard intervened and father, pale as death, came to a halt. Motionless, as a statue, he kept looking at his daughter and grandchildren. The blood vessels on his forehead and hands were swollen. It was the first time in my life that I had seen my father in such a condition. I tried to speak to him, but he appeared not to hear me. At last he cried out: "Oh, God, what were the children taken for? They are too little to be guilty of anything. Lord, take pity on the children."

The guards ordered our party to close in on the carriages and in doing so we came closer to the crowd of arrested peasants, only about twenty steps separated us. My eyes from time to time found among them relatives and friends. In the crowd stood Trokhym Kazdoba from Blahodatna, my father's youngest brother, who was nearly sixty. I saw friends from the villages Blahodatna, Harbuzynka, Konstantynivka, Marianivka, Mykolayivka, and from estates Shkur-lativ, Druha Mykolayivka, Novyy Fontan and Metelytski. I saw Roman Skoryk and his son Gregory, Moysey Lytvynenko, and son Panteley-mon, Lukian Pyshenin with two sons — Dmytro and Mykhailo, Vasyl Dashko, Fedir Serdiuk, Fedir Zubenko, Hryhoriy Pleskaniuk with

two sons Mykola and Peter, Vasyl Koval, Afanasiy Oplachko, Victor Buhay, Andrew Cheremukha, Yosyp Salohor with his brother Zotiv, Drahan, Zekoba with his son Leonid, Skrepyl, Maksiutenko and many others. They all were there with their families.

In the meantime the sons of Muscovy in the uniforms of the G.P.U. had received more loads of arrested Ukrainian families. Finally they closed the gates and began counting off 50-60 people and locking them into the dirty, damp railway carriages. In these on both sides were built plank-beds. In the middle of the carriage stood a stove but there was no trace of firewood. Just then my sister Anna walked up the plank, leading to the carriage, with her six children. She carried two in her arms and the other four walked behind her. They were crying bitterly and waving with their little hands to us. At last the turn came for me and my father. Ours was the fourth carriage from where my sister was with her children. Father did not take his eyes off their carriage. He twice tried to approach it, but each time the guards turned him back. Then father approached an official of G.P.U. but the latter brutally rejected his request. The G.P.U. official called our names according to a roster. Father with his head bowed, walked up the plank. Then I was called. Walking up the plank, I took leave in my heart of the azure sky, of my native land. Once more glanced around me, my eyes met those of my eldest brother Mykhailo, who was standing on the other side of the barbed wire fence. He was crying and waving to me. I stood still and waved back. "Get on" yelled the guard and with a blow on my shoulders from his rifle butt he forced me into the carriage. Here I leaned on the stone and cried bitterly, as if sensing that I would never see Mykhailo again. And so it happened. Half a year later my brother with his wife and three children, Ivan one year, Mykhailo, three, and Joheph, five years, were exiled to remote Siberia. After seven years of forced labour he died in 1937 in Stalinsk (earlier known as Novo-Kuznetsk).

My father standing beside me asked me why I was crying. It was my first breakdown in all the eight months of our imprisonment. The guard began to close the doors of our carriages. We all pushed towards the door to take a last look at the rays of the setting sun, at our sky and our land. Then it grew dark in the carriage and only the clattering of the locks was heard. For a while deep silence reigned in the carriage, broken only by the weeping of the children. Underneath the carriage, around it and on top we could hear the guards. We heard some official in charge give orders about shooting on sight. Then the shrill whistle of the train sounded above us. The carriage jerked and slowly began to move. Something ached inside us, we all kneeled in prayer, begging God to help us sometimes to return to our country, even if only to die. After a while my father raised himself from his knees and stood beside me. His tears rolled down my face: "My son, now their victory over us is complete," he said and tightly pressed my head to his breast. In July 1932 my father died in jail in Vologda.



The wheels of the train turned, carrying their miserable load onwards, to what fresh horror?

### The Journey to the North

Our train had been travelling for two or three hours, but my father and I were still standing by the iron stove. Near us stood two peasants, who had been taken from the jail with us. They were also without families. We four were pushed into the carriage later, after the families had taken over all the available plank beds. We only knew three families here: Roman Skoryk, a distant relative of my father, from the village of Harbuzynka, Hryhoriy Pleskaniuk and Fedir Zubenko from the village Marianivka. They told us in detail of the liquidation activities: that the arrests were made at night, the G.P.U. and militia taking all the clothes, leaving only the rags. If there were no rags, the arrested people were given some and ordered to put them on. In one hour, they were taken to Blahodatna. To this place families with children were brought from all the district. They were kept in locked schools and large farm buildings which had been confiscated earlier. There was such a shortage of space that one could not lie down. Thus sitting on the floor they spent one week there on bread and water. Skoryk, Zubenko and Pleskaniuk spoke with gratitude about the peasants of Blahodatna who frequently brought some food for all the arrested. The children especially were helped by having some cooked food. I listened to them, but still had in mind my sister Anna with her baby twins and the four older ones around her. The mothers and children exhausted by the events of this dreadful day slept at last. We also felt great weariness and crept under the shelves to rest having eaten nothing all day. Some families had with them some nourishment but the majority did not have even a piece of bread. Lying on the filthy floor under the shelvings, my father could not sleep for a long while. He was heart-broken about the six grandchildren on the train, also about those grandchildren who were still at home. His son, my brother Mykhailo whom I mentioned earlier, had three children all under the age of five years, his daughter and my sister Oksana had two daughters and one son about ten. At any time they too might be exiled. To the back of our train were attached two big sleeping carriages for armed guards and G.P.U. officials. They were heavily armed, having even machine-guns.

We travelled all night very quickly without stopping. The first morning of our journey came and daylight began to creep through the cracks in the doors and the sides of the carriage. I crept from underneath the plank beds. Mothers sat on the bunks and cried. They needed warm water to wash their babies and their clothes. However there was no water in the carriage. In the middle of the carriage stood a bucket covered with a linen sheet, as toilet. One bucket for 58 people including children. From early in the morning there was a queue for it. Some of the young girls crept into the corners of the

carriage and bitterly wept, as they did not have the courage to come near the bucket. Some time before midday the transport was stopped in an isolated spot. We each received a portion of bread, about 10 ozs., and a bucket of water per carriage. The water was more important than bread. Then the transport moved on. Evening came and still we travelled. The bucket was overflowing and the floor was covered with human excrements. At last the transport stopped again in a lonely spot. The guards opened the door and ordered us to empty the waste bucket. The second night passed as the first. And the second day of the journey differed in nothing from the first. Tears did not dry on the faces of the mothers and children. We travelled all the time behind locked doors. Once every 24 hours we were each issued with a piece of bread and a bucket of water per carriage. The waste bucket was emptied out at isolated spots, apart from this no one was allowed to leave the carriage.

After four days we reached Moscow, the capital of this red inferno. Here the snow still covered the ground and one could still feel the morning frost. Our transport was directed to a remote goods station. In our carriage some babies had become sick. The mothers tearfully begged the guards for medical help or drugs. Their requests were turned down with oaths. In Moscow we were given soup from salted putrified fish and a small piece of dark bread per person. Besides water, we also received some firewood. The guards informed us that we were nearing colder areas. Then the train moved off again to the North.

### The Death of a Baby

The sick babies lay on the plank bed, breathing deeply. Their faces were red from fever and their lips were dry. Their mothers sat beside them in despair. Thus passed one night. In the morning one of the two babies died. The little body lay motionless on the bunk. The young parents did not cry any more. From time to time only their shoulders trembled convulsively. It was their first child. We were all grief-stricken and no one spoke in the carriage. The presence of the dead body frightened the rest of the children, who tried to hide behind their parents.

Late in the morning our transport stopped in a forest. Again followed the same procedure: emptying of the buckets, rationing bread, fish and water. The two men who emptied the bucket were ordered to remove the dead baby. I will never forget this removal of the dead body and the grief of the parents.

My father lay most of the time underneath the bunk. He told me that he did not have the strength to look at the sick children deprived of any help.

"It is the same in all carriages. Oh, Lord! Anna and her babies perhaps," and he stopped. Later he tried to persuade me not to despair about our circumstances for we did not know what lay ahead of us.

Two days had passed since we left the capital of the U.S.S.R. We stopped in Yaroslavl. The last two days and nights were the hardest. The air in the carriage was foul. After the soup, made from salted fish, thirst tormented us but there was no water. The majority of the children contracted diarrhoea. The parents again sought medical help, but their request was rejected.

Again the train was stopped, not in a station but on the track, on a high embankment not far from a bridge across the River Volga. The doors were opened for handing out our bread and water. The temperature outside was about 25°C below freezing point. Looking down the embankment we could see people crossing the frozen river by horse sledges and on foot. They were all warmly clad in sheepskin coats, felt boots and warm caps. Anxiously we looked at each other; where were we being taken in our light attire and with our sick children? Fear of the unknown gripped us. The doors were again closed, the bolts clattered and our train moved off further into the North. It moved very slowly because of the snowdrifts. Next day after Yaroslavl, we stopped at a small crossing in a forest. For the first time in our journey we received 15 whole uncut 2 lb. loaves of bread per carriage, also half a herring per person and the usual bucket of water. As the transport moved slowly northwards we could feel the bitter cold creeping in. We stopped again in Danilov. When the doors were opened by the guards we saw the Northern winter — the snow was very deep and a sharp frost prevailed. Here we received bread, but this time were not issued with water.

### They Wanted Snow — Got Bullets

After Danilov we passed through a dense endless forest. After a while we stopped at a clearing. The doors were opened and we were ordered to empty the bucket. We all were thirsty, the mothers and children begged for some snow. The younger people taking advantage of the fact that the men with the bucket had not returned, jumped from the carriage with bowls and buckets. Not less than fifty of the young men tried to fill their vessels with snow in the vicinity of the train. Just as I also moved to do the same, shots were fired behind us, but we did not think that they were being fired at us. But as the bullets whistled past me I looked up and saw the guards running from the last two carriages and shooting at us. In the carriage women screamed.

"Kuzma, help me!" I turned. It was Peter Pleskaniuk, my friend from the village Marianivka. A bullet had pierced his chest. His blood marked the snow with dark red spots. But at that moment we thought only of saving our own lives. I sprang to the door of the carriage. Someone's strong hands snatched me and lifted me, like a small child, into the carriage. It was my father. To our carriage came running a dishevelled drunken guard. He fired two more bullets into the carriage but they went above us. The doors were slammed, the bolts clicked and the train rolled away.

We felt as if only death lay before us, and fear lay upon us. The tragic despair of Peter Pleskaniuk's parents, his brother Mykola and sister Raya moved us all.

We left behind us on the snow not only young Pleskaniuk but also wounded men from other carriages. My father begged me to be more careful in the future and I said to him: "Father, I would never have thought that you were so strong." My father looked at me and said: "That was a different strength — that of a parent." And he placed his hand on my shoulders. The further we went North, the less the doors were opened and water issued. Hunger and thirst tormented not only the children, but also us adults. Another two-year old child died from diarrhoea. The body was carried out somewhere in the forest. All the mothers cried, even some of the fathers.

In other carriages people were going through the same agony. And what of the other numerous transports directed by G.P.U. from Ukraine to the far North, to Ural, Siberia and Kazakhstan?

### The Night of Separation

One late evening our train stopped. Through the gaps in the carriage we could see that we were in a large goods station. We sat silently in the dark. Only the sick children's cries and heavy breathing broke the silence. After midnight movement was heard near the train. Suddenly the doors were opened, letting in the cold wind and frost. At the door appeared two G.P.U. officials. One of them held a piece of paper and he turned to us: "In half an hour everybody is to be ready for detainment. Mothers are to take their children with them." Then he went away, leaving the other in the doorway. From him we learned that we were in Vologda. After a while the first official returned and announced that we would be called according to a roster and the person called had to come out immediately. Men over 60 and boys of 15-16 had to stand on the right, women, girls and children on the left and all other men from 17 to 60 had to remain inside the carriage.

My father was over sixty, so he had to go out and I had to remain inside. My father turned to me: "My son, this is a hard moment. We are being separated. But I believe that we shall see each other again. Keep well and do not forget me."

The old men and boys were called out first. My father's turn came. We heard: "Prokhor Kazdoba." Father made the sign of the cross over me and said: "I leave you to the care of the Almighty. Keep well and do not forget your old father." He kissed my forehead and quietly walked down the plank. He turned to the left and walked briskly along the train. Standing near the door of the carriage, I could not understand where he had gone. But fifteen minutes later I saw him again. He was returning to the group of elderly people. I was appalled. He was in his summer jacket with some sort of a scarf around his neck. I called out: "Father, you'll die of cold. Where is your sheepskin coat?" "I found Anna and covered the children with

it," he retorted. Behind me someone called out, "Catch Prokhor!" and over my head a coat was flung. Father picked it up from the snow and called out: "Thank you Roman!" I turned and saw Roman Skoryk behind me. When he had seen my father in his suit only, he had snatched his overcoat from the plank bed and thrown it to father, leaving himself his old sheepskin coat only.

During the calling out of old men and young boys, women were bidding good-bye to their husbands and elder sons and the children to their fathers and brothers. In the carriage there was crying and screaming of women and children. Then the women's and children's turn came to leave. The women took off their warmer clothes and put them on the children, especially the sick ones. Then they proceeded to leave the carriage, into the snow and frost. The majority of them were dressed in spring clothes and light shoes. Many children had rags wound around their feet. Many of the mothers were very lightly dressed as they had given most of their clothes to the children. There were also women of over 60 years of age.

When the G.P.U. had finished calling out the people from the carriages, there were not less than 1500 people on the snow. The majority of them were children. In the confusion many children and mothers lost each other and these were screaming and waiting. Then numerous horse-sledges arrived. The mothers and children were placed on them and were immediately driven away. Many families were separated in this confusion, the cries and screaming became louder, mixed with the oaths and shouts of the guards.

The older men and younger boys were formed into a marching group and under G.P.U. guards and militia were walked off somewhere into the forest.

We, remaining, sat in the locked carriages. I cannot express in words my suffering during those moments. I felt that my mind would not be able to endure it, that I would go insane.

### We Are Disembarked

In our carriage there were left 18 men. Among them were Roman Skoryk, who was separated from his wife Lukeria, his son Hryhoriy and his daughter Vira, and Fedir Zubenko, also separated from his wife and his only son, a small boy. Both were in despair. "Oh, Lord! Why are we punished? Why are the children taken away from us? What will become of them?" They could not find peace in the carriage. They either lay down on the berths or got up again.

At dawn 25 men and older boys from other carriages were added to us. We were given a piece of bread each and some warm water and once again our transport moved on northwards. I lay down on the plank bed where my father had lain. To me it was sacred. I felt very lonely. Suddenly my thoughts flew home to the wide steppes of Kherson. I saw myself with my father, walking across the wide green corn fields and father was saying to me: My son, these are your fields, when you grow up you will replace me. Remember, the soil

needs a peasant's sweat. But for your hard work, the fields will repay you, they will give you a good harvest. And for us peasants a good harvest is the hope and joy of our lives. My childish heart was filled with joy by the green fields with many bright flowers. I was happy and joyful, when my father said that all this was mine. He was happy too. While walking, he held my hand, the hand of his youngest son. He knew that I would support him in his old age.

With a sudden jerk the train stopped. The picture of my happy childhood days vanished. I opened my eyes to dread reality. I was lying on the planks of a prisoners' carriage on the tenth day of a journey to an unknown destination. I visualized my father and heard his last words of farewell: "Keep well my son, do not forget me." I covered my eyes with my hands and cried: "Oh Lord! How can I help him?"

I was ready to break under the strain. It was stifling under those planks, so I crawled into the middle of the carriage. At that moment there was a knock on the door and from outside an order for detainment was given. At last we had arrived somewhere. After a while voices were heard outside the carriage, prisoners were evidently being unloaded from other carriages.

Then came our turn. We heard the rattling of the lock, the doors were flung open and three people appeared, of whom one was in G.P.U. uniform and two were in civilian clothes. But the latter were also G.P.U. officials, judging by their healthy faces and good clothes. One of the civilians held a piece of paper in his hand from which he called our names.

We came out from the carriage into God's daylight. It was a wonderful day, the sun showed it was midday. Not far from our carriages stood four horse-sledges and several militia. We were ordered to assemble in groups of ten beside each horse-sledge. Later the men from three more carriages were disembarked, making about 150 of us from four carriages. We evidently belonged to a second party, the transport had eight carriages, and the first party must have been already directed somewhere while we were still locked up in the carriages. The station of our detainment was Vozhega on the railway line Vologda — Archangel.

Near the sledges we were checked again and handed over to the militia who began to arrange us into a marching column. But before we were marched off a one horse-sledge drew up, in which a uniformed G.P.U. official stood. On his tabs were two stripes of distinction. The militia and the guards stood at attention. The big "fish" after some words with the G.P.U. men turned to us slaves and addressed us as "Special Settlers." Thus we learned what we had become. "According to the plan of appropriate authority, you have been brought here from the Ukraine as enemies of the Soviet Government. The Northern country has taken pity on you and received you. You must justify yourselves through work. The Soviet Government does not punish you, but trains you to become worthy citizens. You will work in the forest and belong to the Mishutino forestry on the River Yemba."

Further, we learned from this Soviet official that our working week would be 6 days of ten hours each day, and Mondays would be our rest days. Our work would be without pay, as all the cleared forest was to be used for building "Special Settlements." These settlements would be built in time by us and would become our permanent places of residence, to which our families would be brought.

"You are under the orders of G.P.U.," continued the official "and must carry out all the instructions of the commanding officer. Those of you who do not carry out orders will be severely punished. Those who attempt flight will be imprisoned. You will receive your food through the commanding officer of the special settlements." At the end the official repeated loudly and clearly: "You are under the command of G.P.U. and are 'Special Settlers'." We all stood there as if rooted to the spot. The words "permanent place of settlement" rang a death knell in our ears and with it all hope vanished.

### Marching to Our Destination

Before us lay 100 km. to be made on foot. We marched in double file, with two of the sledges with militia at the head of the column and two at the rear, on each of which was a huge dog.

We marched through Vozhega. It was a small community with 40-50 houses, most of them on the Eastern side of the railway track. Vozhega was a district centre of executives of G.P.U. and militia. Before the headquarters of militia we were stopped for a short time, the commander of the militia and about twenty of his men walked along our column, looking closely at us.

Then our column moved eastwards by a narrow snow-covered path, through a pine and fir forest. In the forest the snow was about 2 metres deep. Luckily for us there was no big frost. I marched beside Roman Skaryk. The sun set but we still marched, weary, with lagging steps.

It was almost dark when we came to a small village of about twenty cottages in a forest clearing. We were ordered to stop and wait in the street. Someone touched my shoulder. I turned and saw my uncle Trofym Kazdoba. I was overjoyed to see him. He told me that he had noticed me at the station but had not been able to approach me as he was in the back part of the column.

We were ordered to form groups of ten for distribution for our night's rest. In my group of ten there were besides my uncle and myself, Roman Skoryk, Afanasiy Oplachko, Fedir Zubenko, my uncle's friends from Blahodatnyy, Vasyl Verbyn, Mykhailo Priatko, Lapyn and two more, whose names I do not remember. The guard took us to a poor householder, who was told that he was responsible for us till the morning. We received 300 grams of bread and half a fish with plenty of warm water. After supper we longed for a good rest in the warm cottage, after such a long journey in the crowded goods train. Our host told us to lie on the boards, five persons on each. No one

understood what he meant by boards or where we should find them. Our host repeated his request but no one moved. At last my uncle asked him what the boards were. The host pointed to two large boards near the ceiling. If ones sat on them one's head would touch the ceiling. After this explanation we climbed up a ladder to these boards. The host explained that when the temperature fell to 45-50°C below zero, he took the cow and his horse into the room and the family slept on these boards as it was warmer there.

We lay down on these bare boards and being exhausted soon fell asleep. But we did not sleep for long. We all woke up more or less at the same time because something was biting us. It proved to be bed bugs, so we did not rest well that night.

In the morning we finished our bread with warm water and then by order of the guards moved on. This time I walked with my uncle. The weather was calm and there was only a slight frost. We walked the whole day without any rest and were more tired than the day before. In the evening we came to a village of about 30-40 houses. The inhabitants of this village were not pleased to see us. We were again grouped in tens and taken to the houses. This time my group was taken to a better family. The owner told us that the country was poor, that the only vegetables grown were potatoes and even of potatoes they did not have enough, that no wheat grew there, that many people had never seen white bread, that sugar, salt, tea and tobacco could be obtained only with difficulty, the same also applying to clothes, which were home-woven.

He told us also that the poor local inhabitants were troubled by the coming of new settlers, because the shortage of food would be greater.

In the evening we again received some bread and half a fish per person. There was plenty of water. The owner told us to sleep on the floor. The night passed quietly as we were not troubled by bed bugs.

The third day of our marching did not differ in any way from the first two. In the evening we again stopped in a village. We were ordered to be ready for further marching at daybreak, so that we might reach Mishutino forest centre — our working point in daylight.

The fourth day of marching completely exhausted us. Our feet almost refused to move. But we comforted ourselves with the thought that it was the last day of our marching and that we would then be able to rest.

Towards the evening we approached the village Mishutino. Here we were met by the commanding officer and G.P.U. men. He looked at us, at our light torn attire and asked how we hoped to work in the forest in winter clothed thus. These were the first humane words we had heard from an official. Someone answered that we had not thought about this as we had been brought by force.

We were billeted with villagers as before. During the distribution of bread the guards informed us that in the morning we would be



moved to a camp about 15 km. from there. There we should live and from there we should be marched to lumber-cutting work.

### At Our Destination

Next morning, the fifth day of marching, we were gathered near the forestry headquarters, and after being given the usual bread and half a fish we were divided into two groups. The group where I, my uncle, Roman Skoryk, and friends were was sent into the forest first. We crossed the River Yemba which flowed into the Voga, a tributary of Northern Dvina. About 8 km. from the "camp" we turned from the road into a narrow path, covered with snow through which we frequently fell.

In the afternoon we came to an old wooden hut. This was our "special camp." It was covered with snow so deep that the windows could not be seen and only the upper part of the door appeared above the snow. We cleared the snow from the windows and the door and were then admitted into this hut one by one. My turn came also. I saw a small corridor with three doors, one on the right, one on the left and one at the end. A militia official instructed me to go through the left door and I entered a low room with two rows of wooden bunks on one side of it, on which we were ordered to sit side by side. When the first part of the hut was filled, the official admitted people into the other part. Each part of this barrack had a little window. In the middle of the hut stood a clay stove, about 1.5 m. long, 1 m. high and 1 m. wide. Above the stove hung a tin cover. In two corners of the ceiling were two outlets of about 15-25 cm. for smoke. When the fire burned in the stove, the smoke collected near the ceiling and went out by these two holes. This was a "Russian black stove." A quarter of the walls and the ceiling were covered with soot, like the inside of a chimney.

We made a fire, which burned through the night, warming us and drying our rags. I slept on the upper bunk and above me stood a cloud of smoke. The boards were covered with dry moss, which smelt mouldy. Our two militia guards remained in the corridor.

In the morning of the next day arrived "comrade" Krylov, the G.P.U. commander, and five armed guards, to remind us once more that we were under G.P.U. command and would be responsible to him for breaking any regulations. He also introduced us to the timetable of our working day. We had to get up at 5 a.m., march to working points and begin work at 6 a.m. Have our lunch between 12-1 and work further till 6 p.m. At 7 p.m. we would be supplied with food and checked through and at 10 p.m. retire for the night. During our stay in the hut and during work we were guarded by two militiamen. At work we were to be under brigadiers, which were selected by the G.P.U. When we were in the hut we would be permitted to walk out from it to a distance of 50 paces only, beyond that was a prohibited zone.

After this the commander read out our rations: For a day's work a special settler would receive 450 gms. (1 lb.) of bread, 40 gms.

(1½ ozs.) of peeled grain, 40 gms. (1½ ozs.) of fish, 5 gms. (1/5 oz.) of sugar and 7 gms. (¼ oz.) of salt.

We were divided into groups of 15 and were given tools for felling trees.

### The Dread Slavery

That afternoon, without being given any food we were driven to working points. The brigadier went on skis, ahead of us. We however dragged on through the deep snow. Some had wound rags around their shoes, many had torn boots through which the snow penetrated. After an hour we stopped in a dense pine-fir forest. We began to work. First we cleared the snow from the trees, then cut the tall pines and firs which fell into the deep snow. We cut off the branches, removed the bark and stacked the trunks into piles. The branches and smaller wood were cut for firewood. There was no set amount of work that we had to do but we worked very hard.

In such a way began our slavery. We thanked God that the frost was not too severe, otherwise, badly clothed and exhausted through malnutrition, as we were, we would not have come through this ordeal. In addition, tormenting thoughts about our families and their fate never left us.

The armed brigadiers demanded from us thorough work. Two guards walked from one group to other, watching us and on the alert for any attempts at flight. But both they and we knew that any attempts of flight at this time of the year were impossible. The forest paths and the whole forest were covered with snow and any roads through it were guarded by militia and Komsomol members.

When at 7 p.m. we returned to our cold hut we hurried to start a fire. The ceiling, black with soot, filled us with disgust. There were always evening and morning roll-calls as in a prison. Of our daily food supply: the bread was ropy, the grain was of bad quality, the 40 gm. of salted dried local fish was often decomposed. The sugar was always brown, the 5 gm. did not fill one teaspoon. The piece of salt was of a grey colour.

When we left for work it was still dark and when we returned from work the dusk had set in.

### The Easter Divine Service

So came Easter-time — in the far North, in exile. Palm Sunday was very hard for us. Heavy snow was falling incessantly, covering us in the forest, making our hard work more difficult. Then came Good Friday and Easter Sunday. We returned from work physically exhausted and depressed. After the evening roll-call we all resolved not to go to work the next day, Easter Sunday. Whatever should happen to us for this defiance, we were prepared to meet, but we all wished to observe Christ's Resurrection Day. It was certain that for not going to work our daily rations would be withheld.

After the hard day's work I soon fell asleep. But later I felt somebody waking me up, and opening my eyes I saw my uncle Trofym. "Get up, Kuzma," he said in a trembling voice. "Judging by the stars it is near midnight — the time of Christ's Resurrection."

There was stillness in the hut. I could hardly hear the words from the Bible that someone was reading. I caught the familiar odour of burning wax candles, which woke in me nostalgic memories about beautiful Easter-time at home. I raised myself on my elbows and looked around our hut. Three small candles were burning in the middle of the room, around them were gathered about half of us, the rest were joining them. I rose and stood with them. One of us, Zotiv read almost in a whisper from a small Bible, which he had with the candles from home.\* We all stood and prayed, while tears rolled down our faces. We were no longer people who lived in Ukrainian villages and farms. In the dim light we looked more like phantoms: dark, thin, tired and in rags. Having read the Bible, Zotiv took out of his bag a big swede, peeled it, cut it into small pieces and placed them on the end of the boards. Then after reading a few more passages from the Bible, he uttered three times in a whisper: "Christ is Risen!" "He is risen indeed!" We answered, choking back our tears. Then Zotiv shared with each of us a piece of swede.\*\*

### The Begging Expedition

After this "divine service" nobody slept any more. Dmytro Pyshenin, about my age, Vasyl Koval, about 40-45 years, and I resolved to go to the Church of Troitsk near Mishutino, about 17 km. from us. I cannot remember the date of this Easter, but I think it was in the last weeks of April, as during the day the snow began to thaw.

The night was clear and starry. The forest ground was covered deep and white. Tall pines wrapped in white frost looked like standing giants in winding sheets. We shuddered and quickened our steps. We thought: in the church we will meet people who believe in God and will help us fight against death which began to tread already on our heels. We did not think only about ourselves. We had seen in the hut the desperate looks of men into whose faces death had already looked.

When we had been walking for some time, quiet snow began to fall and covered us quickly. In the village Mishutino was centred the district militia, here also lived the commander-in-charge, Krylov. Beside Komsomol members other members of the local village government kept watch for any "special settlers." For stopping any of us they received rewards of tobacco, tea and sugar. We knew that all the paths and roads from the forest led to the village and would be

\*) He was a reliable peasant about 50-55 years old, blind in one eye. He had lived on a farm at Kamino-potik on the River Mertvovod, about 10 km. from my home.

\*\*) Which took the place of our traditional Easter cake: "Paska."

watched. So about 4 km. from Mishutino we turned to the left in order to bypass the village and circled around it in deep snow. This bypassing took away all our remaining strength and we even thought of turning back. But mercifully, we discovered a narrow sledge path from somebody's backyard to the pastures. Following it we bypassed the hunters of men. We had about 2 km. left to go to the church but our feet refused to serve us. So we decided to rest, but as we were about to sit down on the snow, behind us in the direction of the village about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of km., two shots were fired followed by shouting of which we could not understand the words. Our nerves were taut, fear gave our feet strength to go further.

We began to think that we had walked for too long and that we might be lost. We walked a little further and then suddenly we were filled with joy, for before us was the Church of Troitsk. Happily we entered the churchyard. For one second I imagined that I was home again, entering our church. There was no one in the yard, the sledges alone indicated that people were inside the church.

We walked up the stone steps towards the door. When we opened it, warmth embraced us. We entered. In front of us was a second door which was half open. There was light in the church and we could hear a faint singing. We entered the church. Here, peacefully burning, were oil lamps and some candles. The people were praying. A small choir of elderly people were singing. The people paid no attention to us, as they were facing the altar.

So after ten months imprisonment I found myself in a church again. I looked at the people. They were dressed in their clean holiday clothes, their faces shone with joy. Vasyl Koval, standing beside me began to sob like a child. I looked at him and began to tremble. I knew him from home, he lived about 3 km. from us in the village Mykolaivka. He had been a prosperous, physically strong and happy man. But at that moment, beside me, stood a miserable, exhausted creature, his eyes deeply sunk in his head, his face unshaven, his coat patched, his feet wrapped in rags and two bags over his shoulder.

Standing there we bowed our heads not having the courage to stretch our hands to beg. An old woman approached me first and gave her offering. She advised us to go outside into the yard and wait for the people to come out, who would give us something. Thus we did. We stood near the steps and stretched out our hands. As they came out, the people gave us bread, small cakes and cooked meat, those who lived nearby brought us bottles of milk. At dawn our bags were filled and in front of us was still more milk and bread. The people began to walk away, we also started on our way back to the hut, when a militia officer appeared and wanted to arrest us. Two of the local people came to our help. They addressed the officer: "Leave them, Kovka! They come from the same country as our grandfathers. They are not doing any harm. They are only asking for bread. Look at them!" So the officer let us go in peace. These two villagers advised us to return by a different route, which by-passed

Mishutino. I could not understand what they meant by saying that we came from the same country as their grandfathers. Unless these had been deported from Ukraine during the Tsar's reign.

In the churchyard remained a number of elderly women, who looked at us with tear-filled eyes. Our problem was how to take with us the rest of the bread and milk. Two old women approached us and one of them said to us: "Wait here, you will be given some more bags." They asked us where we came from, why we had been brought here, whether we had any families and where they were. We placed our offerings in the bags, thanked God and these people and went on our way.

Soon we reached a dense pine forest and filled our lungs with early morning air, smelling pleasantly of pine. Above the forest the sun was shining and everything indicated the approach of spring. The sun's rays fell kindly down on us — three beggars. We kept eating bread all the time. We were aware that after a long time of hunger it was dangerous to eat so much and kept reminding each other of this, but we could not control ourselves.

After having satisfied our hunger with blessed bread and milk, we felt very tired and stopped in a small clearing, with haystacks, to rest. We lit a fire, spread some dry hay and sat down on it. We felt drowsy. However suddenly a crackling of undergrowth in the forest aroused us; into the clearing, not far from us walked a big bear. For a moment he looked in our direction. Frozen with fear, we did not move. The bear after a while turned round and went quietly back into the forest.

We rested for a little while longer, then put out the fire and went on by a snow-wet path. Shortly after noon we reached our prison. Anxiety began to mount, we assumed that the commanding officer and militia already knew of our absence. With such thoughts we reached the hut. Our friends were sitting in the sun, near the hut, looking for lice in their rags, which flourished in our underwear and filthy rags. We discovered that the commanding officer had not appeared yet and the brigadiers had returned to Mishutino. There also had been no roll-call as no one had left the bunks. All had refused to go to work as they wanted to celebrate Easter Sunday. As punishment the militia did not give out our daily rations.

When we entered the hut, nearly half the people followed us, begging with their eyes. I gave all my alms to my uncle Trofym and collapsing on my bunk fell asleep. At ten o'clock in the evening I was woken up for the roll-call. My head ached, my body did not seem to belong to me and my feet refused to support me.

After roll-call my uncle informed me that all the alms were divided among our inmates; each received a piece of bread and a small piece of meat. I dropped again into my bunk of mouldy moss, it comforted me like my mother's bed in my childhood. I slept till the morning of Easter Monday.

This Monday came like all the other Mondays, our rest day, free from work. At seven o'clock in the evening we received our rations. Many consumed theirs before reaching their bunks.

Tuesday awaited us with its hard labour — all day without a piece of bread. We rose with the thoughts: what awaited us for our refusal to work on Sunday?

At six o'clock, the commanding officer Krylov appeared. His shouts and cursing of God and religious observance of rites nearly deafened us. Then full of rage he asked us why we had not appeared at work. We did not answer. This further enraged him, but we remained silent. A militia officer answered for us, that our refusal to work had been because of Easter Sunday. This brought further shouts from Krylov, that religion and its rites were merely narcotics and were quite without meaning and stupid; and threatened that should we refuse again to work, he would punish us twice as severely.

We were then driven into the forest. Again stretched before us unending days of ceaseless labour. There was no hope left to us, our doom was sealed.

#### **OBITUARY**

### **PROFESSOR IVAN MIRCHUK**

On May 2nd, 1961, Professor Dr. Ivan Mirchuk, the Rector of the Ukrainian Free University, passed away in Munich in his 70th year.

The deceased was a member of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, a member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and chairman of the history and philosophy section of the Society, a member of the Académie Internationale Libre des Sciences et des Lettres in Paris, a corresponding member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, a member of the Academia del Mediterraneo in Rome, a member of the Kant Society, a member of the German Society for European Studies, a member of the curatorial board of the East European Institute in Munich and former principal of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin.

The funeral took place on Saturday, May 6, 1961, at Haidhausen Cemetery, Munich.

His Excellency the Apostolic Exarch Platon Kornyljak officiated at the requiem mass which was held at 9 a.m. on May 6, 1961, at Haidhausen Church, Munich.

V. Oreletsky

## The Tenth Anniversary of the Death of Professor Dmytro Doroshenko

Ten years ago, on March 19, 1951, Professor Dmytro Doroshenko passed away in Munich. His death was a great loss both to his Ukrainian fellow-countrymen and to his friends and professional colleagues in other countries of Europe and America, but especially to Ukrainian culture. The deceased came of an old Ukrainian Hetman family who gave the Ukrainian people such an outstanding ruler as Hetman Petro Rodoshenko (in the 17th century), at a time of great chaos and confusion, the result of Russian interference in the internal affairs of the Ukrainian sovereign Cossack state.

Although Doroshenko was born in the territory of the Russian imperium, namely in Vilna, in 1882, he felt prompted to visit the West Ukrainian capital Lviv (Lemberg), which under the old Austrian regime enjoyed relatively more freedom compared to Russian despotism, in order to attend the lectures of the famous Ukrainian historian Mykhaylo Hrushevsky and of the greatest West Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko in 1904. During the years which he spent in Kyiv (1906-1909) Doroshenko was increasingly active as a publicist and as a lecturer. Prior to this date he had already contributed articles to the Ukrainian periodicals in the literary and scientific sphere, "Ukrainskiy Vestnik" and "Literaturno-Naukovyy Vistnyk." Soon he began to write for the Ukrainian journal "Stara Ukrayina," too. When he moved to the Central Ukrainian town of Katerynoslav, where he had received an appointment as teacher of history at the commercial college there, he used this opportunity to cooperate with the historical commission (Research Scholars' Archives Commission) of Katerynoslav and up to the outbreak of the first world war occupied himself intensively with unpublished historical sources preserved in the archives there.

The war brought Professor Doroshenko many anxieties. The countries which belonged to Austria-Hungary, namely Galicia, Bukovina and Carpatho-Ukraine (at that time usually designated as Karpatska Rus), became the theatre of the war between Russia and the Central European powers, Austria-Hungary and Germany. Solicitude for the welfare of the Ukrainian refugees became the special task and cause of the young Ukrainian scholar and his patriotic and active wife, Natalia (who now lives in Munich). After the advance of the forces of the Central European powers into Ukraine, a Ukrainian state was

established under Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky and Doroshenko was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. In this post he organized the diplomatic service of the young Ukrainian state most successfully.

After the withdrawal of the Central European powers from Ukraine, Doroshenko was in 1919 appointed professor of history at the newly founded university in Kamianets-Podilsky, but as a result of subsequent warlike events he did not hold this post long.

It was in exile that his untiring activity in the field of research and learning actually began. In 1921 he was appointed professor at the Ukrainian university in Prague, which was founded in 1921, and at the Czech University there. Subsequently he became head of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin; a few years later, he was appointed professor at the Polish university in Warsaw, and finally he held lectures on Ukrainian history at the Ukrainian university in Munich. Professor Doroshenko was also a corresponding member of the School of Slavonic Studies and East European Studies of the University of London. In exile he was elected President of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, to which prominent Ukrainian scholars all over the free world, including the USA, belong. Professor Doroshenko was likewise a member in ordinary of the Ukrainian Shevchenko Scientific Society, which has similar tasks to those of the Academy of Sciences. In 1945, accompanied by his wife, his loyal and courageous helpmate, he went to Canada, where for several years he held an appointment at the University of Winnipeg. The constant upsets and privations which he had suffered as an exile, in particular after World War II, had however undermined his health to such an extent that he returned to Europe, first to France and then to Germany, a sick man. Medical cures proved of no avail, and he died soon after his return.

In spite of all these privations and upheavals in his life, he has left a truly amazing number of scientific works to posterity. The articles and essays that he wrote number over a thousand. Many of them have not yet been published.

Most of Doroshenko's scientific works deal with the history of Ukraine. Mention must in the first place be made of his general work on Ukrainian history entitled "Narys ukrayinskoyi istoriyi" ("Account of the History of Ukraine"), in two volumes, published by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw 1932-1933, and of his "History of Ukraine," Edmonton 1939, as well as his "Istoriya Ukrayiny 1917-1923" ("History of Ukraine 1917-1923"), two volumes, Uzhorod 1930-1932, which contains many of his own experiences. His book on Ukrainian historiography, "Ohlyand ukrayinskoyi istoriohrafiyi," which presents a clear survey of Ukrainian historiography and was published in Prague in 1923, is especially valuable. One outstanding quality which all these works have in common is Doroshenko's excellent knowledge of historical sources and his astounding familiarity with special scientific literature in this field. And his works have the further advantage that their author had personally experienced Ukrainian history for half a century in his practical and political work.



It is to Professor Doroshenko that we also owe much detailed research on Ukrainian history, as for instance the historical research on the district of Chernyhiiv, with which the history of the Doroshenko family was closely connected, or on the district of Katerynoslav, where the deceased was for a time a teacher. Incidentally, until 1775 the seat of the famous Ukrainian military organization of the Zaporozhian Sich, which to some extent resembled the Order of the Knights of Malta, was located south of the important Central Ukrainian town of Katerynoslav. And it was here that the big revolt of 1648 against Poland and the subsequent lengthy Polish-Ukrainian war (1648-1654) broke out.

In addition to the above-mentioned general surveys of Ukrainian history, Doroshenko also wrote several monographs, such as those on his prominent ancestor Hetman Petro Doroshenko, Prince N. Repnin, the governor-general of Ukraine under Nicholas I (published in 1930), the Ukrainian historians M. Kostomariv and V. Antonovych, as well as on the Ukrainian writer P. Kulish. He also rendered Slav studies and research a great service with his exhaustive appreciation of the poetic works of P. Kulish and T. Shevchenko. In his treatise "Die Ukraine und ihre Geschichte im Lichte der westeuropäischen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts" — "Ukraine and its History in the Light of the West European Literature of the 18th Century" (Treatises of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, Berlin, Vol. I, 1927), he dealt in detail with Ukraine's relations to West Europe.

Doroshenko also occupied himself with ecclesiastical history, in particular with reference to Ukraine. He deals with the old opposition between Byzantium and Rome unbiassedly and objectively. He devotes due attention to the question of a union. In his opinion the Eastern Church is not only a great dogmatical but also a national factor and power. The decay of the Ukrainian state also paralyses the development of the Ukrainian Church and it thus passes into foreign hands. The monasteries and religious literature are ruthlessly russified. But the young intelligentsia only establishes contact again with the Church that has been lost, slowly and by degrees. Doroshenko holds the view that the Church must be regenerated by the Ukrainian peasantry: beginning with Hryhoriy Kvitka-Osnovianenko, the "religious-minded personalities" increase in number and include M. Kostomariv, Kulish and Shevchenko. True, the latter is opposed to the "regimented priesthood," but at heart he is profoundly pious, as can be seen from his talented paintings.

Doroshenko's final chapters on the national rebirth of the Church in 1915-1918 and on the religion of the Ukrainians in dispersion are based on a careful study of sources and on his own observations. His most outstanding work in this field is "The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the Past and Present of the Ukrainian People," which was published in 1940.

Professor Doroshenko also wrote a work on the Slav world in three volumes, to which he devoted great care.



Reception for the delegates to the 7th Conference of the APACL at the Manila Junior Chamber of Commerce. The speaker: U.S. Senator Thomas J. Dodd.



Delegates to the 7th Conference of the APACL listening to the speeches.

He wrote his articles, essays and several of his books on Ukrainian history and literature in various languages, as for instance English, German, French, Italian, Czech, Swedish and other languages.

Professor Doroshenko was not only a Ukrainian historian, publicist and literary research scholar, but also one of the leading Ukrainian sociologists. His activity was bound to extend to other scientific fields, for during the past fifty years and in particular after the proclamation of the Ukrainian state in 1917 (respectively 1918) there was a great scarcity of intellectual specialists.

He is indeed a Titan of the creative spirit of Ukraine, and hence it is impossible to do him full justice in so short an article as this. We shall, however, discuss his work and his talent in detail at a later date, for in reviewing the history of Ukraine during the past fifty years it is impossible to overlook such an outstanding figure as his. Professor Doroshenko's name will occupy a fitting place of honour in the annals of Ukrainian history.

His death at a comparatively early age has been an irreplaceable loss to Ukrainian research.

May his memory live on!

## THE 7th CONFERENCE OF THE ASIAN PEOPLES' ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE IN MANILA

The 7th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) opened at the Conference Hall of the St. Thomas University in Manila on 2nd May, 1961. Over 1,500 representatives of various walks of life, including members of the Philippine Government, Church hierarchy headed by Cardinal Santos, as well as members of the diplomatic and consular corps were present.

The Conference was addressed by President of the Philippines Carlos Garcia, Vice-President, Ministers of Foreign Affairs and National Defence, the C.-in-C. of the Philippine Army, US Senator Thomas Dodd, US Ambassador to Manila J. D. Hickerson, National Chinese Ambassador Mao Lan Tuan, heads of all the delegations, including the President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, former Head of the Provisional Ukrainian Government Jaroslaw Stetzko.

The Conference functioned in plenary sessions and five commissions. Delegates of the A.B.N. took part in the work of the commission for the preparation of declarations and resolutions in which a Philippine delegate presided. During many discussions, receptions arranged in honour of the delegates, or at audiences (among others, with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, Felixberto Serrano and the Chinese Ambassador), the delegation of the A.B.N. had an opportunity to state the views of the A.B.N. and of the Ukrainian national liberation movement on problems of world politics.

Up to the Conference the APACL had member organizations in Australia, Burma, China, Hong Kong, Iran, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Macao, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Ryukyus, Singapore, Thailand, Turkey, Vietnam. The 7th Conference was attended also by observers from Ceylon, North Borneo, Congo (Leopoldville), Congo (Brazzaville), Libya, Madagascar, Morocco, USA, France, and Lebanon. Owing to various difficulties observers from India, Indonesia and Liberia did not arrive. The Conference amended the Charter so that the observers of particular peoples present at the Conference became members of the APACL. The following international organizations participated in the Conference as observers: Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), American-Asian Organization for Educational Exchange (AAEE), International Committee for Information and Social Activity (CIAS), Free Front, International Committee on Political Warfare of the Soviets and Assembly of Captive European Nations (ACEN). The Russian NTS was not present at the Conference.

The US delegation which was headed by Senator Thomas Dodd included also Dr. James Burnham, Mr. David N. Rowe, Mr. William Glenn, Mr. Davis Martin, Mr. Donovan Yeuell and others. The Australian delegation was headed by Senator Branson and Mr. S. Falkinder, M.P.

Professor Dr. Tetzuzo Watanabe, the head of the Japanese delegation, was elected President of the APACL. He succeeded the Philippine Senator R. Bagatsing. Professor Watanabe is also President of the Free Asia Association and President of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce.

The 7th Conference of the APACL adopted a number of resolutions and a declaration concerning the general world situation, particularly in Asia, concerning the famine in China, concerning Laos, North Vietnam, Korea and Tibet, against the policy of co-existence, appeasement and neutralism. Special attention was devoted to the problems of the national-liberation, anti-imperialist and anti-Communist revolutionary struggle of the nations enslaved by Russian colonialism in the USSR, as well as in the so-called "Satellite States." The Conference of the APACL unanimously expressed its support for the idea of national State independence of the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism, naming among them Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Belorussia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Poland and others. The Conference called upon the peoples of the Free World to give an active support to the peoples enslaved by Bolshevism in their struggle for freedom and national independence.

Thus the 7th Conference of the APACL has joined the front of the struggle against Russian colonialism, declaring itself in favour of the dissolution of the Russian empire, the last colonial empire in the world.

The Russian NTS and its "fellow-traveller" ACEN suffered another defeat.



## **THE SEVENTH CONFERENCE**

of the

**ASIAN PEOPLES' ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE (APACL)**

Manila, Philippines. May 2-5, 1961.

### **RESOLUTION ON GIVING SUPPORT TO ENSLAVED PEOPLES IN THEIR MOVEMENT FOR THE STRUGGLE OF FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE**

#### **The Seventh Conference of the APACL**

Recognizing that the only effective way open to the free world to arrest infiltration and subversive activities of the Communist bloc lies in giving encouragement to the enslaved peoples shut behind the Iron Curtain in their anti-Communist national revolutions so as to bring about the overthrow of the tyrannical Communist regimes from within and thus thoroughly root out Communist intrigue of infiltration and subversive activities;

Noting the preliminary good results achieved in the movement which has been pushed forward by the League over the years in support of the struggle for freedom by the enslaved peoples and realizing that to meet the new situation resulting from the growing intensity of struggle against Communism and Russian imperialism by the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain, there is an urgent necessity to step up this movement;

#### **RESOLVES:**

(1) To pledge anew the determination of the League to give support to the enslaved peoples in their fight for freedom and national independence and to firmly oppose any attempt to fall to the Communist intrigue of "peaceful coexistence" and to recognize the fruits of Communist aggression;

(2) To appeal to various democratic countries of the free world to announce a policy of liberation of the enslaved peoples, to give aid to the exile organizations of the peoples of the captive nations, to provide political asylum to the peoples of the captive nations who have fled for freedom, and to accord instant recognition to any anti-Communist regime;

(3) To step up radio broadcasts and all other forms of publicity by disseminating progressive conditions of the free world, its faith in freedom and its determination to give help to enslaved peoples in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, so as to encourage the enslaved peoples in their struggle for freedom and national independence;

(4) To step up contacts and cooperation with all those civic bodies and organizations of the world in support of the enslaved peoples

so as to unite their efforts for the promotion of solidarity of all anti-Communist forces of the world in support of the enslaved peoples;

(5) To expand the scope of the "Freedom Day," a day celebrated each year in commemoration of the regaining of freedom by 22,000 Chinese and Korean anti-Communist POWs on January 23, 1954, and also the captive nations week sponsored by the U.S. Government; and declare this day and this week separately as a day and week for collective action in support of the enslaved peoples in their struggle for freedom and national independence so as to enhance the political and social impact of this movement;

(6) That all member-units of the League should urge all governments and peoples concerned not to take any action which may dampen the ardour in the struggle for freedom and independence by the enslaved peoples and instead, to give them spiritual encouragement and material help;

(7) That the member-unit of the League should do everything possible to expand the scope of the movement in support of the enslaved peoples in their struggle for freedom and national independence and exchange materials and views among them from time to time.

### **DECLARATION OF THE SEVENTH CONFERENCE of THE ASIAN PEOPLES' ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE**

The Seventh Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, attended by delegates from Australia, Burma, Republic of China, Hongkong, Iran, Japan, Jordan, Republic of Korea, Macao, Malaya, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Ryukyus, Singapore, Thailand, Turkey, and Republic of Vietnam, and by observers from Ceylon, India, Indonesia, North Borneo, Saudi Arabia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Liberia, Madagascar, Morocco, United States of America, France, Lebanon, Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and other International Organizations, and held in Manila, Republic of the Philippines, May 2-5, 1961, expresses deep appreciation for the warm hospitality shown the participants by the Philippine Government and people and the Philippine Chapter of the League. The Conference also pays its respect to President Carlos P. Garcia for his leadership of the Philippine people in their defense of freedom and democracy...

Communism is the common enemy of the free world, and to cope with such a hostile force it is essential to give up all ideas of compromise and appeasement to strengthen unity among the free peoples, and to cooperate in the anti-Communist struggle. In particular, we appeal to the United States as leader of the free world to take a firm stand and not to permit further territorial gains by Communism. It is, at the same time, incumbent upon the Asian, African, and Australian peoples to close ranks and work for their own freedom and security.

Considering the present international situation, we set forth the following suggestions and recommendations for the consideration of the peoples and governments of the free world:

...Second, we should firmly uphold the national independence and territorial integrity of Laos, oppose any attempts to divide the country or to permit the Pathet Lao to take part in any coalition government, and call upon the United States and other free world countries to take a firm stand at the forthcoming Geneva Conference. We call upon the SEATO Powers and all free countries of Asia to render effective assistance to Laos if that threatened country cannot be saved by other means...

Fifth, we consider the Chinese Communists to be Russian puppets who, already condemned by the United Nations as aggressors, are imposing a tyrannical system of "people's communes" on the Chinese people of the mainland and reducing them to starvation, and who are actively intensifying their infiltration and subversive activities in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. To admit such a regime to the United Nations would run counter to the purposes and spirit of the UN Charter and would paralyse or destroy the international organization created to maintain world peace and justice. Recognizing the Government of the Republic of China to be the only legitimate government representing the Chinese people, we firmly oppose both the admission of the Chinese Communists to the United Nations and the so-called "two China" proposal. We pledge our full support to the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Vietnam in their applications for UN membership...

Finally, we call upon the governments and peoples of the free world to give more assistance to the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain in their fight for freedom and national independence, to proclaim a policy of liberation for the enslaved peoples, to support organizations formed by escapees from the enslaved nations, to give political asylum to refugees choosing freedom, and to grant immediate recognition and assistance to anti-Communist regimes that may be set up behind the Iron Curtain.

### The Seventh Conference of the APACL

Noting that since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian Communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of all the free peoples of the world;

Calling attention to the fact that these policies have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, Bulgaria, East Germany, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Cossacks, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others;



Realizing that these submerged nations look to the Free World as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, and other religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties;

Aware that it is vital to the security of the Free World that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive;

Certain that the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace;

#### RESOLVES:

(1) To express its solidarity with the captive nations struggling for their liberation from Communist domination, and to condemn Soviet Russian colonialism in all its forms and implications;

(2) To urge the governments of free countries to insist firmly in the United Nations and elsewhere on the right of self-determination and national independence of all nations and peoples subjugated by world Communism directed by Moscow and Peiping;

(3) To call upon the free world to defend itself and free the enslaved through the mounting of a common and united effort, this to be brought about by the collaboration of all freedom-loving organizations and individuals without regard to any other differences or difficulties between their peoples;

(4) To assure that this League shall constantly strive for the freedom and independence of all peoples and nations throughout the world, supporting such movements until national enslavement has been terminated for all time.

#### BOOK REVIEW

**Gerald Reitlinger: The House Built On Sand. The Conflicts of German Policy in Russia 1939-1945.** Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 20, New Bond Street, London, 1960. 459 pp.

This work, which is based on extensive research and contains a number of documents produced at the Nuremberg Trials, completes the author's trilogy, of which the other two books are entitled "The Final Solution," a standard work on the extermination of the Jews by Hitler, and "The SS, Alibi of a Nation."

According to the opinion which the author expresses in "The House Built on Sand," Hitler invaded Russia in the first place to crush Communism and, secondly, to gain living space for Germany's colonial expansion. After 1941, as the chance of victory became less and less, these two aims became opposed. This conflict of aims is, indeed, the subject of the book. Reitlinger traces the development of Hitler's plans for the annihilation of "whole political classes" through the

issuing of the notorious "Kommissarbefehl" ("Commissar order"), including the fate that befell prisoners-of-war (especially during the first months of World War II), partisans and slave workers. He stresses the failure of the Nazi politicians to make any real use of the anti-Russian attitude of the peoples enslaved by Moscow, in particular the Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians. The opposing personalities of Alfred Rosenberg and the brutal Reichs Commissar of Ukraine receive dramatic treatment in the book. Two chapters deal in detail with the Nazi policy in Ukraine during the German occupation of that country.

On page 170 Reitlinger points out that the Germans were afraid of the Ukrainians crossing the former Soviet border into the Reichs Commissariat Ukraine because of their strong national feeling and intellectual level. According to the author, the Reichs Commissar of Ukraine, Erich Koch, declared that whenever he encountered an intelligent Ukrainian, he felt bound to shoot him. But in spite of Koch's precautionary measures, the Galician Ukrainians succeeded in penetrating former Soviet Ukraine. And when the Germans lost the goodwill of the Ukrainian population, many members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) infiltrated the German-controlled Ukrainian militia, who now set up independent units and held vast areas which extended to the outskirts of the Ukrainian towns. As the author stresses, "the blustering Erich Koch was powerless against the traffic, for the Ukrainians were now looking to the heroes who, once before in their history, had fought the Germans and the Russians at the same time" (ibid.).

On the same page, Reitlinger emphasizes the fact that in July 1943 the Ukrainian supporters of Bandera were fighting the Germans and the Russians, as well as the Poles.

He further points out that the policy adopted by Koch was in line with some of Hitler's ideas, which Koch studied very carefully. On October 17, 1941, for instance, Hitler said that Ukraine should be colonized by foreigners. He envisaged twenty million foreign inhabitants in twenty years time. The German and West European colonies should be placed in a wide semi-circle extending from Kherson on the Black Sea to the Pripet Marshes. In this way the Poles would be isolated from the eastern Slav world (p. 193).

Chapter six, "Ukraine — the Ill-fare State," gives an account of the constant struggle between the Reichs Minister for the occupied territories of the Soviet Union, Alfred Rosenberg, and the Reichs Commissar of Ukraine, Erich Koch. According to the author, Rosenberg wished to establish an autonomous Ukrainian state, but Koch opposed him since Ukraine was to become a German colony. Hitler fully approved of all the measures taken in this direction by Koch. In fact, Hitler in the autumn of 1941 told Bormann that education and health services would be a great mistake in Ukraine. The Ukrainians should be taught that Berlin was the capital of Germany and they should be able to read the German road signs, but nothing more. They should

be not registered, but, rather, the reverse. The Ukrainians could be left to crowd into their kraals outside the handsome new German towns (p. 199).

Page 200 contains the following passage: "...The substance of Hitler's remarks was conveyed by Bormann to Rosenberg in the form of 'Eight principles for the government of the Eastern Territories.'" As summarized in the "Main Section Politics," the first part reads as follows:

"The Slavs are to work for us. In so far as we do not need them, they may die. Therefore compulsory vaccinations and German health services are superfluous. The fertility of the Slavs is undesirable. They may use contraceptives and practise abortion, the more the better. Education is dangerous. It is sufficient if they can count up to a hundred. At best an education is admissible which produces useful servants for us. Every educated person is a future enemy. Religion we leave to them as a means of diversion. As to food, they are not to get more than necessary. We are the masters, we come first."

And it was in this spirit that the entire Nazi policy of extermination of the Ukrainians and other Slavs was applied by the former Austro-German corporal and his colleagues. In view of these facts, the position of Rosenberg in his capacity as Nazi Minister for the occupied East European territories was very difficult, for there was nothing he could do to alleviate the precarious situation of the Ukrainian population under the Nazi occupation regime. Not only was no member of the Ministry run by Rosenberg allowed in Ukraine, but Koch even forbade his own staff to visit Rosenberg's Ministry when on leave. Even Rosenberg himself was prevented from entering Ukraine by Koch. Rosenberg was thus virtually cut off from all communication with Ukraine by Koch (see for instance pp. 204-205). In this struggle between Koch and Rosenberg over Ukraine, the latter was naturally unsuccessful, for Koch was backed up by Hitler himself and by the latter's right-hand men, above all by Goering, Himmler, Bormann, Sauckel and other prominent Nazi leaders.

In view of these facts, it was therefore not surprising, as indeed Reitlinger stresses on page 221 of his book, that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the famous UPA, which was at war with Russia and Germany at the same time, rose to importance as a third force and factor in Ukraine.

Hitler's policy with regard to the peoples of the Soviet Union — "slay them, enslave them, deport them, exploit them" — as proclaimed by him in June 1941, later led to the collapse of the German armies in East Europe and subsequently in the West, too (see for example the author's comments on p. 359).

Apart from a few distortions and malicious comments by the author on certain political events in Ukraine and the European East, this book is nevertheless well worth reading. The author stresses here that the Ukrainians were afraid of being treated like the Jews, a state of affairs which would later have led to their extermination by the Nazis.

W. Iwonivsky

**Juan Nestro Castro: LOS ESPANOLES EN LA URSS.** ("The Spanish in the USSR.") Talleres Graficos Escelicer, S. A. Canvias 38. Madrid 1959. 366 pp.

The young author of this book was a soldier in the Spanish Blue Division, which during World War II, together with other anti-Russian detachments, fought against the Russian Communist troops in the USSR. With a certain grim humour he describes the unbearable and inhuman conditions in the Soviet Union, which the Spanish Division, too, had to endure. Without glossing over the false policy that was pursued in the territories of the USSR that were occupied by the German forces, the author describes the tedious and slow advance of the Blue Division into the interior of the USSR, the severe Russian climate and the inhuman way in which Spanish prisoners-of-war were treated by the brutal Red Russian rulers.

The author reveals a sharp sense of discernment when describing the great antagonism between the Ukrainians and the Russians. The Ukrainians have always been hostile to the Red Russian Communist regime, for Ukraine never wanted to be united to Russia, but wished to lead its own independent state existence. This dislike of the Russians on the part of the Ukrainians is based on a centuries-old animosity between the two peoples. Even though the Moscow rulers endeavour to cover up the present tension between the Ukrainians and the Russians, the hatred of the former against the latter is clearly evident under the Soviet Russian regime. The author of the book under review is certainly well-disposed towards the Ukrainians, as can be seen from certain passages in his work, because of their humanity, intelligence and kindness.

The Spaniards are very much taken with the most important town in Ukraine, Odessa, although Kyiv is the official capital. What struck them most in Odessa was the attire of the inhabitants, which was in no way different from that worn by Europeans, — which is not the case in the interior of Russia. Thanks to the commander of the camp, Karatchenko, who was a Ukrainian, the Spanish prisoners-of-war were allowed to go sightseeing in Odessa (pp. 221, 227 and 228). For, as the author stresses, to be a Ukrainian is a guarantee of humanity, even though Karatchenko was a Communist (p. 234). Incidentally, the Spaniards were struck by the fact that in his first speech to them, this kindly young captain admitted that he was not a politician, but added that he was obliged to fulfil his duty as camp commander and hoped that the Spaniards would show their understanding in this respect. Thanks to his initiative, conditions in this camp were better and the prisoners received larger food rations than elsewhere. But the author is afraid that on various occasions the Spanish prisoners-of-war abused the kindness of this Ukrainian in Soviet uniform (pp. 236-237).

On pages 228 and 229 Nestro Castro describes the sad fate of the Ukrainians under the Russian tsars and under the Russian Communist regime. As an example he quotes the lot of a group of Ukrainian

girls: the young women are forced to do the heaviest kind of work and are treated like animals by their Russian woman-superior, Galya, who looks hale and hearty and well-preserved (since she need do no physical work). It is not surprising that the Ukrainian women, who are the same age as their Russian superior, look worn out and much older than she does. The author adds that for reasons of security the Russian secret police could not allow Ukrainian women to supervise female working gangs, but were bound to appoint Russian women, who were more ruthless and inhuman, for this job.

In the opinion of the author the Ukrainians are true Europeans, a fact which he says is in evidence in Odessa, which is in no way Asiatic or Oriental like most Russian towns.

South Ukraine with its moderate climate reminds the Spaniards of their distant native country, where people are as happy-natured and as fond of expressing their feelings in music as the Ukrainians are.

Very aptly this young Spanish author characterizes the vast difference between the unfriendly northern inhabitants of Russia and the hospitable and humane Ukrainians, who, he stresses, are not capable of brutality and atrocities.

The book, which is lavishly illustrated, is full of dramatic suspense and makes enjoyable reading, all the more so as it is written with considerable humour, in spite of all the hardships which the Spaniards were obliged to endure in the USSR. It is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to the history of World War II and, above all, sheds an interesting light on the reasons which prompted the young Spaniards of the Blue Division to go to the East in order to fight against Russian Communist imperialism.

V. Chernivchanyn

**Yar Slavutych. CONVERSATIONAL UKRAINIAN, II.** Edmonton, Winnipeg: Gateway Publishers Ltd. VIII, 369-610 pages. \$3.50.

This textbook is a continuation of Professor Slavutych's *Conversational Ukrainian, I*, published in May 1959 and intended for use in high school, colleges, and for self-study. The first volume of *Conversational Ukrainian*, containing fifty lessons, has been very well received as can be seen from a large number of favourable reviews in the press and professional journal (see *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 1960, No. 1, and *The Modern Language Journal*, January and April issues, 1960).

Both volumes, as the author expresses in his Foreword to Volume I, are based on three fundamental ideas: (1) to present the contemporary Ukrainian language as it is used in everyday conversation; (2) to give the student a concise knowledge of Ukraine, its geography, history and culture as well as its language; (3) to give some information about Ukrainians who live in Canada and in the United States of America.

Although the author reduced the number of lessons in his second volume from fifty to twenty-five (lessons 51 to 75), as originally planned, he has succeeded in attaining the above-mentioned aims. These lessons systematically cover a wide field of essential information about Ukraine's territory, population, history, language, folklore, literature, civilization, and culture in general.

Two lessons cover a general survey of Ukrainian history from the early beginnings to the present. In his introduction to the three lessons dealing with the historical aspect of language, Professor Slavutych outlines briefly the relationship among the Indo-European languages, and of Slavic language in particular, defining thus the position of the Ukrainian language in the latter's family group. These lessons cover the history of the language from the eleventh century to the present, listing some important early Ukrainian linguistic works and giving samples of the language through the centuries of its development. At the same time he presents the status of the language under foreign domination, and explains in the conclusion the principal differences between the orthography established by the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1929 and the modified one by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1946 (second edition, 1960).

Professor Slavutych dedicates five lessons to an excellent survey of Ukrainian literature. He paid proper attention to *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* and to major literary figures, with some brief selections of their works. Most informative are Slavutych's lessons on the historical development of educational institutions, agriculture, industry, transportation, sports, and foreign culture relations of the Ukraine. The final few lessons present some samples of the styles of technical, business, and legal language.

Each lesson of *Conversational Ukrainian* generally consists of the following parts: (a) a Ukrainian dialogue on the main topic of the lesson with the English translation, (b) the reading text, (c) a brief Ukrainian anecdote or a poem, (d) idiomatic expressions, (e) grammar, (f) homework consisting of translation exercises from English into Ukrainian and questions in Ukrainian to be answered by the student, and (g) vocabulary. Each verb is presented in both its imperfective and perfective aspects and is fully conjugated. Each noun is given its nominative singular and plural forms. All Ukrainian words in the textbook are correctly stressed. To it is added a list of Ukrainian-English grammatical terms, an index to the grammar, and an index of words. The two volumes of *Conversational Ukrainian* give the student a vocabulary of slightly over four thousand Ukrainian words.

The great merit of Slavutych's textbook can be seen in the systematic presentation of carefully selected material in a crisp and flawless Ukrainian literary language. This textbook is by far the best of its kind ever to appear in the western hemisphere. Moreover, from the comparable textbooks of any Slavic language. *Conversational Ukrainian* comparable textbook of any Slavic language. *Conversational Ukrainian* will impart to the student both a systematic approach to the language and encyclopedic information on Ukrainian culture.

Both volumes of this textbook have been adopted by the Department of Education in Alberta for use in the senior grades of provincial high schools, as well as by a number of colleges and universities where instruction of Ukrainian is offered.

**O. Starchuk**

University of Alberta

**Guillaume Le Vasseur Sieur De Beauplan; A Description of Ukraine,** folio, three maps. New York: Organization for the Defence of Four Freedoms of Ukraine, Inc. I-XIII 445-481 pages of the original English translation.

The work was originally published in French in 1651, enlarged and twice republished later. Its first English translation appeared in 1704.

The value of Beauplan's work had been recognized for a long time. This is an authentic study of the seventeenth century Ukrainians, their manners and customs and military successes in wars with both Poles and Turks. Beauplan especially praises the Zaporozhian Kozaks, "great lovers of liberty, without which they do not desire to live."

Beauplan should be called one of the first professional geographers of Ukraine. His maps and descriptions of the Dnipro with its tributaries are very accurate. He even tried to inquire into the history of Ukrainians, but was informed that "the great and bloody wars which have always harassed their country from end to end had not spared their libraries" (p. 449). Anyhow, he distinguishes Ukraine from the neighbouring Poland and Muscovy, though he dates the Tatar invasion, which ruined the Kievan Empire, some four centuries earlier than it actually happened.

The supplementary chapter, A Description of Crim Tartary, extends the information about Ukrainians and their communities in the Crimea.

The book comprises also Bohdan Krawciw's detailed study of Beauplan's maps.

**S. S.**

**Our new contributor:**

Mr. Yaroslav Onyshchuk, born in Western Ukraine, obtained a degree in law at the University of Lviv in 1932. Owing to discrimination against Ukrainian lawyers in Polish-occupied Western Ukraine, Mr. Onyshchuk became a journalist and an editor of the newspaper "Ukrayins'ki Visti" in Lviv. At present he lives in Toronto, Canada, and contributes articles to the Ukrainian newspaper "Homin Ukrayiny" published there. His article which we publish in the present issue was read at a session of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Toronto.



*The*  
**UKRAINIAN  
REVIEW**



**III**

**LONDON**  
**1 9 6 1**

## **The Statement by the Leadership of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (Units Abroad) For Foreign Press**

The report about the discovery of the murderer of Stepan Bandera, the Leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, tore the mask off the face of the organisers of the assassination.

The Bolshevik agent of the K.G.B. (the Soviet State Security Committee) Bohdan Stashynsky, received the instructions to carry out the assassination directly from the Headquarters of the K.G.B. in Moscow. At that time, Alexander Shelepin was Chairman of the State Security Committee at the Council of Ministers of the USSR. There is no doubt that the plans of the secret murder were known to and approved by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Nikita Khrushchev, to whom the chief of the K.G.B. is subordinated. The fact that Stashynsky was personally presented with an Order of the Red Banner by A. Shelepin in reward for the carrying out of the assassination is a proof that the official Soviet quarters evaluate the carrying out of the political murder of the Leaders of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement as deserving merit and assign an award for it.

Before the world the Bolsheviks make an attempt to appear as the protagonists of the liberation of the Asian and African peoples from colonialism. Among the nations occupied by the Russian colonialists, on the other hand, the Bolsheviks suppress by means of the most cruel and cunning methods the slightest strivings of these peoples for liberation. The Communist Party awarded A. Shelepin for his part in the acceleration of the Russification processes and the deportations of the millions of young non-Russians to the so-called virgin lands of Kazakhstan, Siberia and the Far East by upgrading him from the First Secretary of the Komsomol (the League of the Communist Youth) of the Soviet Union to the supreme chief of State Security Committee. As a reward for the crushing of the national-liberation movements of the nations enslaved by the Red Moscow, and, among other things, for the organising of the secret murder of the Leader of the liberation movement, Stepan Bandera, the recent 22nd Congress of the CPSU raised A. Shelepin in rank by electing him Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, i.e. making him one of the nine supreme dictators of the Soviet Union.

The discovery of those guilty of the murder of Stepan Bandera confirms that:

— Khrushchev's policy with regard to the enslaved peoples is a continuation of Stalin's policy of annihilation of non-Russian nationalities;

(Continued on inside of the back cover)

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**and**

**Mrs. Slava Stetzko**

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**Niko Nakashidze**

## THE WEST ON THE DEFENSIVE

For years the Western powers entertained fond hopes that the differences between themselves and the Russian Communist bloc could be settled by negotiations. They believed in the possibility of solving world problems in this way. They were of the opinion that international agreements and principles were also regarded as valid by Moscow, too, and that it would act accordingly. According to the statutes of the UNO, the application of violence in international disputes is prohibited.

But Moscow acted in keeping with its own principles and traditional Russian methods. It began to assert its claims in its own characteristic manner.

At Moscow's command the Soviet-occupied Zone of Germany was suddenly hermetically isolated from the free world on August 13th, and prison-walls and concentration-camp barbed wire fences were erected along the frontier. With Russian Communist brutality the West was confronted with the accomplished fact. Meanwhile Russian, Polish, Czech and German Soviet zone troops, with a total strength of 600,000, have now been concentrated along the frontier under the pretext of "manoeuvres." It is obvious why these measures have been taken. If the West does not comply with Moscow's demands, it will once more be confronted with an accomplished fact: West Berlin and the routes of access to it will also be cut off and isolated.

The 22nd Communist Party Congress was opened with considerable pomp in Moscow. Khrushchov has promised the peoples subjugated by Russia that in a few years the Soviet Union will have overtaken the Western powers in economic respect and at the same time will



have increased its standard of living considerably. He also affirmed at the Congress that the Soviet Union and the East bloc states were by far superior to the West as regards military strength. He is intentionally deceiving the people of the Soviet Union! But that does not worry him unduly, for he knows that by the time the promised paradise begins in the Soviet Union he will no longer be alive, but will be toiling in the hell of the devil's kolkhoz and will thus have escaped earthly judgment.

Regardless of the protests voiced by the civilized countries, Moscow continues its nuclear tests. Piece by piece it is grabbing the territory of the West and is constantly advancing.

And what is the West doing in all this?

The Western countries content themselves with conferences and go on vacillating. They try to console themselves with Khrushchov's statement that the Soviet Union will not fix the time-limit for its ultimate demands as the end of the year if the West signifies its willingness to negotiate. But the West does not seem to take a serious view of the fact that Khrushchov will continue to assert his demands unabated.

In the midst of these critical times the UNO apparently could find nothing better to do than to send its troops to the Congo and subject the territory of Katanga to the so-called Central Government and forcibly impose foreign rule on the people there against their will. In this respect the UNO committed a flagrant breach of its statutes, for the people of Katanga were not even conceded the right of referendum, let alone the right of self-determination. And the manner in which some of the UNO troops conducted themselves was a disgrace to the civilized free world.

Whereas the UNO on the one hand resorts to such violent measures, which are, incidentally, a gross contradiction of its statutes, on the other hand, however, it makes no attempt to put a stop to the brutal terrorist regime inflicted by the Russian colonial imperium on the peoples that it has subjugated. Nor does it use any opportunity which may present itself to expose Moscow's cruel despotic rule over the peoples.

In August this year Moscow sent a written request to the UNO demanding that the debate on the right of self-determination of the colonial peoples should be put on the agenda of the UNO plenary assembly as soon as possible. In this request the problem of the right of self-determination of the colonial peoples is described as being of the greatest urgency and significance; the decision of the UNO last year is stressed and a rapid end of colonialism is demanded.

What would have been easier than to take up this request from the Russians, to defy this impudence on their part, to expose them as the only colonial empire in the world, to demand the liberation of the peoples subjugated by Russia, and in this way get a stranglehold on them and deal them a violent blow?

But nothing of the sort was done. Russia must not be annoyed, and it seemed more important to the free world to restore order in the Congo!

Moscow is not only systematically carrying out its political and military offensive, but it is also letting its Fifth Column work for it very astutely in the Western countries. The misunderstandings which have arisen recently between the Western allies are the work of this Fifth Column. They publish falsified news items and reports in the press which create a feeling of uneasiness and sow discontent. Pro-Russian and pro-Communist circles in the West are strong, and they succeed in arousing a feeling of fear and panic amongst the people. The work of this Fifth Column is facilitated inasmuch as it appeals to the primitive instincts in mankind; it stresses that man's prosperity would be destroyed should fascists and reactionaries gain the upper hand, and that it would be foolish to expose the world to destruction merely for the sake of some national remnants, or some territories. But people overlook the fact that the Russians themselves by "peaceful means" are subjecting more and more territories, peoples and individuals to their brutal power and in this way are enslaving these peoples and leading them towards their national ruin.

And the attitude of the Germans in this respect is strangest of all. No attempt has as yet been made to exhort the whole people to be prepared to do their utmost for the defence of the freedom and liberation of the occupied territories. So far nothing has been done to mobilize the potential of the entire nation and to go over to a revolutionary fight. Germany has gone on hoping and expecting that the solution of the German problem would somehow be possible and that an understanding would somehow be reached with Moscow.

It is not so long since one of the leading German social democrats, M. Wehner, in a speech which he held in Berlin asked Moscow whether it did not care a straw for the right of self-determination of the Germans!

M. Wehner was formerly a Communist and for many years a functionary in Moscow. Surely he knows how Moscow has dealt with and has treated other peoples. Or is he of the opinion that the Germans are more privileged than other peoples, or that Moscow regards them as higher beings and will treat them differently? Such an idea is naive, to say the least. It is therefore not surprising that the Germans themselves were taken by surprise by the Soviet blockade action of August 13th and waited to see how the other countries would react. In fact, they are still waiting!

The fact must also be mentioned at this point that the Baltic politicians in exile who have joined the ACEN are of the opinion that the Baltic peoples are more privileged from the point of view of international law than other non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. This idea is not only illogical from the national and political point of view, but also an entirely false speculation. In the first place, the

Moreover, there is the possibility of Russia, if forced by certain circumstances, renouncing the Black Sea territories, but never the Baltic Sea. For this reason the Russian empire must be conquered. Only when it ceases to exist, will all the countries in its sphere of influence become free. Neither the German occupied territories, nor the Baltic countries, nor the satellite countries are more privileged or are in a more favourable position than the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. None of them can expect to be treated well by Moscow. Only in a joint fight can they attain freedom.

The first step to take is to mobilize the subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain. One must appeal to them and must promise them the restoration of their national states.

The Americans, however, must take the lead in the offensive in the psychological war, and must expose Russian colonialism. In the UNO they must accuse the Russians of crimes against the peoples before the whole world and must consistently demand the liberation of the peoples subjugated by the Russians. For, with the help of these peoples the free world will be victorious over Russian Communist power.

was not sent to anyone who had been involved in the investigation of the 1968 election. The only person who had been involved in the investigation of the 1968 election was the person who had been involved in the investigation of the 1968 election.



Arthur Maloney, M.P.

Canada

## THE CHALLENGE OF OUR AGE

EXCERPTS FROM THE ADDRESS AT THE ST. DUNSTAN'S  
UNIVERSITY, CHARLOTTETOWN, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND,  
CANADA

...A university inevitably reflects the civilisation of which it is a part. It holds a mirror to the World. If it be not a place of light, liberty and learning, it but manifests the darkness and doubt which imbue the times. A university is the essence of variety, encompassing the diversities of society itself. Yet it is — as I have said — a place of unity too.

This unity derives from the Christian tradition of Western civilization, whose preservation and ennoblement is the fundamental task of the university. The Christian ethic is the touchstone of this unity. Thus is it also with our society at large. Just as the life and purpose of the university are threatened by the secularization of education so is our civilization menaced by the secularization of Western culture.

We live in an age of progress and crisis. The progress is material; the crisis is spiritual. Man has always had difficulty perceiving the true trend of history beneath the surface phenomena of his time. Yet who among us can doubt that the great life force of history is the revolution of freedom and the evolution of man's soul? Today we are reaching quite literally for the stars and our times are described as the Age of Space. Our knowledge of the cosmos grows. How fares our understanding and exploration of the spirit whose reaches yet surpass the infinities of space? Sought we Heaven as we seek the heavens, we might then be better men.

The essential fact of our Western society is that in its institutional organization we have given expression to Christian morality from whence we derive our sense of the dignity of man, our concepts of justice, freedom and the social order. The scientific and economic apostasies have tended to obscure and to belittle the relevancy of the Christian ethic.

In its defection from its spiritual and moral inheritance, Western society finds itself confronted by an ideology. Within itself, our society too often confronts the Christian tradition with massive indifference, if not hostility. We are wracked by doubts and apprehensions. We sense the conflict — but are uneasy about our capacities to do battle. We speak of gaps — the missile gap, the scientific gap, the educational gap. What we do not speak enough about is our spiritual gap. We seek to mobilize our resources for the conflict; our dollars, our production, our know-how. Do we also seek to enlist our spiritual resources? Our moral values? Our Christian convictions? Our ethical energies upon which our culture, our political and social institutions are founded.

Western civilization has been for some time now slowly slipping from the spiritual and religious foundations upon which it rests. We feel a vast and pervasive inward unease at this process. We find that the devotion of our energies to the economic, scientific and materialistic organization of society has brought neither the security to the person or the surcease to the spirit which we seek. Instead we find our civilization imperilled everywhere and the path of human progress beset by a destructive and godless philosophy.

Our Western democracies nonetheless remain essentially Christian communities. Our failure is the failure to proclaim this fact and to inform our actions with the spirit of our religious and cultural heritage. This is the challenge: to rediscover and reassert our spiritual, moral and ethical values. Upon none does the challenge fall more heavily than upon our institutions of higher learning.

The decisive moments of history are brief. None of us can fail to realize that we are living through one of history's great climacterics. These are days in which the whole destiny of mankind may be changed. Who is to say at what point the ultimate crisis may come? We must therefore ask ourselves how much time we have left. Have we enough?

We know the outward enemy: the materialistic forces of Communist totalitarianism. We know how formidable is the foe. No one can doubt the ruthless ambition and intense dynamic of imperialistic Communism. No one can doubt the stakes: the peace of the world and human progress. We know well the threat to freedom that is at issue in the clash of ideals and ideologies. Make no mistake about it. It is not alone the supremacy of weapons that will determine the outcome but the supremacy of ideals as well.

On the one hand there is the Communist ideal — the ideal of dialectical materialism which shapes the Communist's interpretation of history and of human behaviour. The Communist sees materialism as a great dynamic force, sees himself as riding the crest of the tide of history, speeding the thrust of an inevitable movement. He has the confidence of ultimate victory.

To us the materialistic description of human history is a barren and arid doctrine, its message a message of despair, debasing human motivation. Our danger is that we ape it.

The Christian ideal — the root force of Western civilization — holds out to man something more than the satisfaction of his material needs. It offers him the development of his whole personality. It does not seek to subordinate him to the inevitability of history but proclaims his will and spirit to influence his environment. It elevates the individual not the state. It springs from an ancient tradition and presents a balanced structure of beliefs, ideas and practices. The Christian ideal of freedom and human personal responsibility, of justice and democracy, has been an expansive force throughout history and has provided a dynamic that has left no part of the world untouched.

One of the great strengths of the Christian tradition has been the adaptability and diversity of the institutions to which it has given rise. The danger is that we should forfeit this quality in our heritage before the onslaught of the enemy. For it is one of our greatest hopes in the battle for men's minds and souls.

All civilizations have been faced at times by mortal perils but none has surrendered to external pressure alone. There is, therefore, a second, inward adversary. Western civilization is as likely to perish from erosion from within as from encroachment from without. The adversary of apathy and indifference is equally dangerous for it is hidden and insidious.

It is one of the ironies of our society in these times that science and technology, which have made it possible for the first time to release the masses of mankind from the burdens of want, should also have produced not only the threat of world destruction but also men so satisfied with the gratifications of this life that they are not inspired to defend or to serve truth, justice and freedom.

Professor C. A. Siepmann of the American Civil Liberties Union recently referred to the new type of human being that we were breeding as the man with an empty mind and a hollow heart. The empty mind cannot oppose Communist dogmas with the reasoned argument of free men; the hollow heart faced with the dangers of our age cannot match the Communist assurance of victory.

Civilizations, like human beings, are shaped by their own character. Just as there can be no future for our way of life in fear, neither can we have any hope without faith. Our faith is at once our greatest shield and our greatest sword against the godless doctrine of Communism. We must rediscover it and reassert it. We must show that our Christian faith is a valiant one. Ours is a militant faith; we must be prepared to defend it; we must also be prepared to carry its banners into the lists of battle...

The masters of Moscow and Peking make no secret of their lust for world domination. They exercise their sovereignty over a third of

this earth's peoples and hold sway over as much of its land mass. They would engulf all mankind in their grasp. The hot breath of their admitted ambitions touches us everywhere and it has the odour of conquest. They assert the doom of our way of life with strident arrogance. In peaceful competition they will "bury us."

We can never argue that we were not forewarned. But, forewarned, are we forearmed? What is the strength of our resolve? How do we respond?

Across much of our free world the insolent claims of Communism seem to induce a mood of vacillation, of indecision and uncertainty, even of resignation and withdrawal. Before the ugly ambitions of the Sino-Soviets the voices of the faint of heart are heard urging us to ban the bomb, to disarm unilaterally, even to submit to Communist tyranny rather than endure the chaos and havoc that would follow a nuclear war. They would have us abandon our American ally by withdrawing from Norad, they would have us desert our European allies by withdrawing from NATO. Though they do not say so, they preach the policy of pacifism and neutralism — the ancient fallacies of escapism.

Quaking before the world of reality, trembling before the prospect of ultimate struggle, these visionless men seek to equate the United States and the U.S.S.R. and thus to excuse themselves from their obligations in this mortal strife by condemning all power — regardless of its source or its objective. Their voices are to be found among those subscribing to that newly developed and fashionable concept of Anti-Americanism which seeks a hearing from Canadians under the guise of some newly acquired nationalism. Theirs are the voices that would have us disagree with the United States solely for the sake of disagreeing in a misguided attempt to impress the rest of the world with a spirit of independence.

Fortunately, though articulate, such persons are in the minority in our land. I do not believe for one moment that Canadians, who have laid down their lives before in defense of causes in which they believed, will accept these views. In this troubled age, we must see with a clear eye. Let none mistake the choice. The soft, and insidious lure of withdrawal offers naught but surrender. We must stand with our allies, stout, resolute and strong of heart, against the Communist foe.

If we are to prevail over the forces of evil which threaten us, we must answer the call of sacrifice, for sacrifice it will mean. In the practical sense this is the message I convey to you today.

For most of us, the sacrifice will mean the forfeiture of some material comfort. Permit me to pose this question. Today in Canada we spend less than 1% of our national budget for foreign economic aid. What — then — to defray the cost of a vastly more massive program of aid if that is our duty in the struggle for the survival of our way of life or the cost that would be incurred if we were to spend larger sums on our defense?...

Western man is today confronted by a total challenge. Our political leadership will be required to give a total response...

We live in an age in which, as Dr. Cyril James has asserted, knowledge is cumulative and transferrable. None can doubt that the less advanced countries of the world will mature and achieve higher standards of living, at whatever cost. We of the West accept the moral obligation to assist them in the pursuit of this objective. The question we must ask is whether we are equally willing and prepared to assist them in their quest for spiritual and moral fulfilment...

No war was ever won, not even this peculiar "war of peace," by the maintenance of a defensive position. Western society and the Christian Church are in desperate need of a sense of mission. If this is no time for pacifism and neutralism in the military and political sense, it is even less so in the ideological sense. We of the West must state in positive terms our aims, our policies, our vision for mankind. And we must be prepared to crusade for them.

We must prepare ourselves to submit to every hardship of whatever kind — be it human suffering or even loss of life itself and we will do all this rather than submit to the tyranny of Communism or surrender in the face of all its threats — no matter how aggressive their nature may be.

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## 1941—1961

### A HISTORICAL PARALLEL

Twenty years ago, at the time when across the entire Eastern Europe, between the Baltic and the Black Sea roared the gigantic battle between the two greatest tyrannies of modern times, Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia, the radio station in Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine, seized by Ukrainian nationalist insurgents broadcast on 30th June 1941 a proclamation which began with the following words: "By the will of the Ukrainian People, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, proclaims the restoration of the Ukrainian State for which entire generations of the best sons of Ukraine have given their lives."

Thus began another chapter in the history of the Ukrainian nation's fight for freedom and national independence, a chapter telling the story of an unparalleled heroic struggle against the overwhelming forces of two most ruthless oppressor states in our epoch. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists which for more than a decade was preparing the Ukrainian people to an armed uprising against all alien powers occupying Ukraine, and above all against the most perfidious inhuman regime of the Red Russian aggressors, decided to seize the slender opportunity which was provided by the confusion of the war between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia, to try to win independence for the downtrodden Ukrainian people. An assembly of Ukrainian political leaders of various parties in Lviv appointed a Provisional Government of Ukraine headed by Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko. This Government received widespread enthusiastic support among the great majority of the Ukrainian population whom the news about the restoration of the Ukrainian State reached. The Proclamation was welcomed by the two greatest Church leaders of Ukraine, the Catholic Metropolitan Archbishop Andrew Sheptytsky, and the Ukrainian Orthodox Bishop Polikarp who subsequently became the head of the the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Both of them issued pastoral letters imploring divine blessing on the restored Ukrainian State. All over the Ukrainian territory from which the Red Russian troops had escaped, local Ukrainian administration was set up and the proclamation of the restoration of the Ukrainian Independent State was repeated at mass public rallies. The joy of expected national revival was mixed



**Stepan Bandera as a young boy**



**Stepan Bandera in the final years of his life**



however with deep sorrow of mourning for countless thousands of relatives and friends, political prisoners, bestially murdered by the Russian occupation authorities in Ukraine headed by Khrushchov at the order of Stalin. The sight of huge mass graves discovered in the prison yards in every town in Western Ukraine evoked in every Ukrainian's heart a profound desire to avenge the death of one's dearest relatives and friends and not to rest until the criminal Russian Communist imperialism would be abolished once and for ever. Unfortunately, the Russian oppression in Ukraine was soon replaced by the brutal Nazi German occupation which refused to recognise any rights of Ukraine to liberty. Hitler's Gestapo arrested all the leaders of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and members of the Provisional Government who did not manage to escape and go underground, and imprisoned them in the concentration camps in Germany. Many were shot without trial. Ukraine was dismembered and its biggest part was put under the blood-thirsty rule of Reichskommissar Erich Koch. A wave of resentment and protest against the German rule began to rise in Ukraine. From small partisan detachments the large Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the command of general Taras Chuprynka was formed late in 1942. It fought under the slogans of Ukrainian independence against the German occupation. Later, after the return of the Red Russian Army, the UPA fought against the Russian domination in Ukraine for several years long after the war in the West ended. And although Moscow has succeeded in suppressing large-scale open resistance in Ukraine, discontent with the Russian rule in Ukraine has remained profound and this presents a favourable soil for the existence of an underground aiming at the revolutionary overthrow of the present oppressive system and the restoration of Ukrainian independence. Numerous risings and strikes in the concentration camps in Siberia and Kazakhstan since Stalin's death bear witness to this fact.

The West faces today the threat presented by the huge Communist slave empire ruled from Moscow in the interests of Russian world power. This threat must not be underestimated. The Free World must be as full of resolve to defend the freedom of mankind as the Communists are full of the determination to destroy human dignity and liberty. The leaders of the West must take into account the potential forces within the Communist Russian slave empire which are capable of undermining it from within and thus help the West to get rid of the present threat and avoid world nuclear catastrophe. The first place among these anti-Communist forces as regards their strength belongs to the Ukrainian national liberation movement which is engaged in a life and death struggle against the diabolic Russian Communist domination. If the West ignores the Ukrainian aspirations to national independence, as did Hitler in 1941 confident in the strength of his army, if the West does not soon come in its own interests to the support of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, its difficulties in resisting

Russian aggressiveness will increase constantly, and it will lose the chance to win the bitter fight with the Kremlin dictators. The tremendous strategic and economic importance of Ukraine to the Soviet empire is widely known and hardly needs to be restated. To support Ukraine's fight for freedom means in the most literal sense to fight for the very survival of the entire Free World. Hitler's failure to respect Ukrainian aspirations sealed his fate in Eastern Europe. It is possible to solve the present conflict in the world in the interests of the Free World only if Ukraine's aspirations to liberty are taken into account. Let us hope that the statesmen of the West are farsighted enough to make that vital provision in their policies.

Whatever the situation the Ukrainian nation is determined to fight for its freedom until final victory is achieved.

## ACT OF PROCLAMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE

1. By the will of the Ukrainian people, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera proclaims the restoration of the Ukrainian State, for which entire generations of the best sons of Ukraine have given their lives.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which under the direction of its creator and leader Yevhen Konovalets during the past decades of blood-stained Muscovite-Bolshevik subjugation carried on a subborn struggle for freedom, calls upon the entire Ukrainian people not to lay down its arms until a Sovereign Ukrainian State is formed in all the Ukrainian lands.

The sovereign Ukrainian government assures the Ukrainian people of law and order, multi-sided development of all its forces, and satisfaction of its demands.

2. In the western lands of Ukraine a Ukrainian government is created which will be subordinated to a Ukrainian national administration to be created in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv.

3. The Ukrainian national-revolutionary army, which is being created on Ukrainian soil, will continue to fight against the Muscovite occupation for a Sovereign All-Ukrainian State and a new, just order in the whole world.

Long live the Sovereign Ukrainian State!

Long live the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists!

Long live the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists —  
**STEPAN BANDERA!**

The City of Lviv, June 30, 1941, 8 p.m.

Head of the National Congress

**Jaroslav Stetzko**

# THE O.U.N. AND GERMANY IN WORLD WAR II

## Excerpts from the Resolutions of the Congresses and Conferences of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists

### Manifesto (December 1940):

"We Ukrainians raise our banner for the fight for freedom of the peoples and of the individual."

"We are fighting

for the dignity and the freedom of the individual;  
for the right to express one's own convictions openly;  
for the freedom of all religions;  
for complete freedom of conscience."

### Resolutions of the Second Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (April 1941):

1) "...The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) will do its utmost to continue the revolutionary fight for the liberation of the Ukrainian people, irrespective of all territorial changes which may occur in the region of East Europe.

2) The way to achieve our aim is the Ukrainian revolution in the Russian imperium — the USSR, coupled with the fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Russia, — under the motto "Freedom for peoples and for individuals."

3) The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists sets itself at the head of these Ukrainian revolutionary trends and works hand in hand with these revolutionary movements of the peoples subjugated by Russia and with the states which aim to bring about a complete disintegration of the USSR. The Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists regards as allies of Ukraine all those states, political groups and forces which are interested in the disintegration of the USSR and in the setting up of a Ukrainian Sovereign United State which is not dependent on any other country. The relations of the OUN to other states and political movements are determined by their anti-Russian attitude and not by any ideological political agreement with the Ukrainian national movement.

8) For the setting up of a common front of the anti-Russian revolutionary fight for freedom, the political expediency above all, and not the philosophical, ideological and programme differences, is decisive.

20) The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in the West Ukrainian border regions (Lemky, Cholm) is endeavouring to intensify the Ukrainian character of these territories by means of measures which are in keeping with the situation and are politically expedient, and to incorporate these territories in the Ukrainian and not in the Polish state.

21) In Carpatho-Ukraine the OUN is endeavouring to further the political strength of the Ukrainian people and to incorporate Carpatho-Ukraine in the Ukrainian state."

### Political Directives (May 1941):

III/4 "The fundamental precondition of any alliance is the recognition and consideration on the part of these states of the sovereignty and integration of all the territories of Ukraine, as well as a truly positive attitude towards the Ukrainian state. The basis for a permanent relation between the allies shall be the joint fight against Bolshevik Russia, together with the mutual advantage of the political, military and economic co-operation of the allies.

III/5 The further relations of Ukraine to these states will depend upon how they respect and regard the rights and vital problems of Ukraine.

IV/8 In the event of fighting forces of states which are hostile to the idea of the Ukrainian state entering Ukraine, our fight will enter upon a new phase.

V/2 In this respect it is not the aim of the OUN to hold a monopolized position in this stage, or to hold the initiative and the conducting of the fight for freedom and the essential factors connected with establishing the state solely in its own hands."

### Resolutions of the 2nd Conference of the OUN (April 1942):

V) "...We regard the liberal-capitalist, totalitarian, Communist and national-socialist system as definitely unsuitable for the new Ukrainian order, for the Ukrainian state, which is to develop out of a purely Ukrainian wish in the form of a Ukrainian natiocracy (the rule of the nation in its own state), is more progressive than all other systems."

### XXVI) Attitude towards the Poles:

"We are in favour of an easing of tension in Polish-Ukrainian relations in the present international situation and in the war on the basis of independent states and recognition of the constitutional state of the Ukrainian people in the territory of Western Ukraine."

### **Resolutions of the 1st Conference of the Subjugated Peoples of East Europe and Asia (November 1943)**

2) "Both fighting imperiums refuse to allow the people the right to free political and cultural development in independent national states and bring political, social and cultural enslavement to all the peoples in the form of the "New Europe" of Hitlerism or of the "Bolshevist USSR."

#### **Final Resolutions**

1) "The Conference of the Subjugated Peoples of East Europe and Asia welcomes the heroic fight of the peoples of West and Central Europe against German imperialism and declares its unlimited political solidarity with this fight."

**Dr. D. Donzov**

## **Who were the Spiritual Fathers of the October Revolution?**

**(Or, The Russians About Themselves)**

Below, we publish an interesting contribution to the characterization of the mentality of those Russian forces which in their overwhelming majority called the Russian revolution of 1917 into being. The well-known Ukrainian political thinker, Dr. Dmytro Donzov, has occupied himself intensely with this question and has sent us this short survey for publication purposes. In order not to detract "the colour" from this article and at the request of the author, we are publishing it in its original form and unabbreviated. — The Editor.

\* \* \*

More than forty years ago I advanced the theory that the so-called "big October revolution" originated in the minds of certain persons who were mentally depraved. This theory of mine, which in those days was considered heretical, is now being advanced by none other than the famous Russian author and holder of the Nobel Prize, I. A. Bunin, in a book which I shall discuss below. And this means that the Russians are now beginning to talk about themselves.

In his book "Vospominaniya" ("Memoirs") Bunin presents the reader with a whole gallery of intellectual instigators of Bolshevism in the Russian literary "brotherhood" at the end of the 19th and beginn-

ing of the 20th century. Whereas Lenin and the Russian social democratic revolutionary party endowed Bolshevism with its theories, ideas, political aim, ideology and tactics, it was Tolstoy, Chekhov, Andreyev, Mayakovsky, Blok and their like who imbued this treacherous and perverse idea with an evil soul, which made it dynamic and caused it to infect a huge proportion of the Russian intellectuals. All the idols of these intellectuals are branded by Bunin as cretins, whose names "adorn" the pantheon of Russian literature and culture. Bunin adds that in the course of his life he was obliged to entertain close contacts with these cretins, whereby he ascertained that some of them "were really monstrous, especially when this or that form of cretinism in them was combined with some kind of talent, with certain historical faculties. 'I was — so Bunin continues — a contemporary of those cretins whose names have gone down in the annals of the history of the world, that is to say, the names of those 'great geniuses of mankind' who destroyed whole states and murdered millions of people."

S. Yesenin?... "A curly-headed drunkard, who captivated Russia with his tender, depressing lyrics and whom A. Blok characterized as follows": "Yesenin is truly gifted as regards banality and blasphemy." He is a poet who shouted as loudly as he could: "I will tear out God's beard. I pray to him with the 'Matershchina' (a vile Russian curse which is an insult to all maternal feelings)"! And this depraved creature gave his friend (Marienhof) confidential advice as to how to become a popular poet in Russia; one must pretend to be a clown! "For clowns are very popular with our people!" In Paris Yesenin dressed almost like a circus clown, and "all the people (emigrants) were delighted with me and said, oh, how lovely, how ingenious!"... "I was dragged from salon to salon and I sang disgusting (obscene) songs." Bunin adds: "And behind all this, behind this masquerade, there was an uncontrollable desire to make a career for himself, an insatiable conceit and lust of fame, and, last but not least, considerable impudence."

And the second "genius" and friend of Yesenin, namely Marienhof, was simply "an adventurer, a big rogue, who wrote poems about the Holy Virgin which were the vilest thing imaginable and as far as their blasphemy was concerned were as infamous as those on the same subject by Babel (a Jew), likewise one of the "stars" of Soviet Russian "poetry." But at that time the intellectual upper class in Russia set all "its hopes on the rabble," the "fierce champion of freedom and a glorious future."

The same tone was expressed in the poems of Minskiy and Balmont, as well as of Briussov, who, to begin with, was a "decadent," later became a monarchist Slavophile and a patriot during the first world war, and finally sang the praises of Lenin. "He pretended to be a demon and a magician"...

And L. Andreyev? — "He lied in every form of pathos." He expected the Bolshevik revolution to create a "new Russia and a new earth."

And what of Balmont? — A man with a "naive smile" and with a "certain devilish mendacity," in which "charm and the wild impetuosity of a vagabond were combined."

A. N. Tolstoy, who glorified Stalin, was at first amazed at the "vagabond" literature of the "new Russia" and at the "insolence and ignorance of the new contemporary authors"... On this point A. Blok commented: "Our literary milieu stinks... They are all to a certain extent bordering on insanity, they are, as it were, diseased and at variance with themselves... His hooliganism completely spoils A. Tolstoy." Bunin expresses an interesting opinion regarding V. Briussov: "A protruding lower jaw, Asiatic features," really typically Russian. A. Chekhov writes about Gorky as follows: "A lot of pompous words, rubbish." As regards the self-important braggarts who were typical of this era, the so-called "decadents," Chekhov has the following comment to make: "They are not 'decadents,' they are merely good-for-nothings!" In addition, there were also the "futurists" and "symbolists," such as — to quote Bunin — the "sodomite Kuzmin with his bald scalp, his painted face, like the corpse of a prostitute... They were all hysterical, mad from birth, insane... A strange medley of diseased and abnormal beings in some form or other"...

To mention some others in the gallery of Bunin, — the bard of Death and his father, the Devil, — **Sologub**, the fiery **Chulkov**, and the impetuous **Volynsky**... Bunin makes a similar comment on Gorky as he does on Briussov: "A braggart, an actor, with Mongol features and a protruding jaw." And how many more abnormal persons were there?! The impetuous drunkard Balmont, who became a sex maniac before he died; the morphium addict and sadist, Briussov; A. Blok's grandfather died in a mental home and his mother was a patient in one for a time. Blok himself suffered from a serious psychosis.

Many of them hated Christ. Gorky ironically called Christ a "big pedant." But how close was Gorky in his opinion in this respect to Demian Biedny, Mayakovsky and A. Blok? Babel undoubtedly belonged to the worst scum and blasphemers... The following are typical lines by M. Voloshin: "We put Jesus on the cross, sitting on his legs with his cap stuck on his head insolently, and we took hold of Barabbas' arm and walked along Tversky Boulevard with him"... "A mental asylum beyond all doubt" is Bunin's comment on this.

And all these bards of the people sometimes called a janitor "rabble" when they got into a rage (as for instance Balmont). As Bunin points out, they were none of them well-disposed towards non-Russians and treated the latter arrogantly.

Chaos predominated in their minds and hence a medley of opposing ideas was inevitable. Chekhov, for instance, sometimes affirmed with

great conviction: "We shall most certainly live on after death. There is definitely such a thing as immortality"... On another occasion, however, he emphatically declared that to believe in a life after death was sheer nonsense and superstition... The only principle to which he adhered (like all the other maniacs) was his firm belief in the Russian horde. A liberal, anti-tsarist, pacifist and "kindly humanist," Chekhov affirmed in 1904 that though Japan was a "wonderful country," it would nevertheless most certainly be conquered and crushed by Russia. He revealed the same lustful rapacity of a murderer as did A. Blok... In every case we find this same, typical, spiritual variance. Bunin pointed out to one such person: "You yourselves affirm that the people are dying of starvation, that Russia is heading for ruin, and that it is ruled by a government of darkness; but what is going on in the meantime in your circles in Moscow and Petersburg? You are incessantly indulging in carousals, day and night you revel in festivities, one all-Russian celebration is held after another, one premiere after another in some theatre or other; you rush along to the "Yar" and the "Strielna" (night-clubs on the outskirts of the town). And one photograph after another is taken of these "geniuses" who are in love with themselves! And masquerades are held — in the style of the "common people," and short coats (reaching to the knees), called "Paddyovki," are worn, and silk shirts ("kosovorotki") and scarlet braces"... "Epatez le bourgeois! These people even invent their biographies to make them in keeping with proletarians and vagabonds. For instance, the Brockhaus Encyclopedia states that Gorky "came of a middle-class family and that his father was the manager of a big shipping firm, whereas he himself modelled his life on that of a vagabond." And in this case, too, Bunin again comments: "He had a protruding Tatar jaw." There were more of such braggarts and clowns, both as regards speech and dress, amongst the literary "geniuses" of those days, or, as they were called, the "Podmaksymki" ("sub-maxims"), after their prototype Maxim Gorky.

The following comment is made on Kuprin: "What a lot of the Tatar there was in him!" On his mother's side he was probably of Tatar descent. In any case "Kuprin was very proud of his Tatar origin." This was characterized by his passionate outbursts of emotion and his constantly changing moods, — that is the same spiritual variance found in his contemporaries. "In Odessa he is merely interested in fishermen and circus wrestlers... He was a drunkard all his life"...

Similar behaviour was also evinced by the notorious Petrashevsky, to whose revolutionary "coterie" Dostoyevsky also belonged. It was Petrashevsky's theory that "every object can be regarded from twenty different aspects." On one occasion he entered the Kazan Sobor (the Cathedral in Petersburg) disguised as a female, mingled with the womenfolk and pretended to pray piously until his rough features attracted the attention of those next to him... and also of the police.



As Bunin points out, Ertel, the contemporary Russian author of German origin, "severely censured the Russian intelligentsia." He affirmed that the obsession of the said writers was merely a "nervous titillation" without any true ideal conviction behind it... "Despotism is indeed bitter," so Ertel complained, "but it is no less bitter if practised by a Fedor (a rogue) and not by a Pobyedonostsev (a minister of the Tsar). For I can well imagine what chaos all these Fedors would cause if they assumed Pobyedonostsev's office." This is indeed demonstrated by the contemporary Fedors and Nikitas of the Russian Bolshevik revolution, in which Ertel was only inclined to see the uproar of gangs of robbers.

But Ertel also had a far profounder insight: he censured not only the instigators, but also the Russian people themselves. Although he regarded them as "unhappy," he nevertheless also viewed them as "extremely vile, barbarous and, above all, mendacious savages," — in fact, as barbarians.

One of these barbarians was the poet M. Voloshin, who sought to prove that in every one of us, even in a murderer or in a cretin, there is "a suffering seraph" (according to this theory, in Khrushchov, too?)! Meanwhile he sang the praises in his "poems" of the mass murders carried out at the orders of the Cheka, the Red Russian secret police. Here, again, we find the same characteristics as in his other contemporaries; his bombastic piety was feigned, as was his pathos, too. "It was all the worse since he did not look like a monster; he was simply a fat-bellied, curly-headed aesthete, a ceaseless prattler and a big glutton"...

And what of Stalin's court bard, — A. Tolstoy? He was an unusually amoral person and a "cynic"; prior to the revolution and as an exile "he borrowed money from persons who were rich and in their absence then branded them as rabble. It is interesting to note that they all knew this and forgave him. He was a big glutton and he was always playing a part," — he constantly imposed on people. As a true cynic, he ridiculed himself — in private — and other Russian writers: "Who is not a swindler nowadays," he reflected. "One is a symbolist, the other is a Marxist, a third is a futurist, and a fourth is allegedly a former tramp... They all wear disguises! Mayakovsky wears a yellow blouse, such as women wear; Andreyev and Chaliapin wear "paddyovki," the short coats worn by peasants, and Russian shirts hanging over their trousers down to their knees, Blok wears a velvet blouse and his hair long and curly... They are all swindlers!" As for A. Tolstoy himself, he possessed a "gallery of his ancestors," which he had bought in the bazaar not far from Sukharev Tower in Moscow.

Commenting on Blok's "Scythians," Bunin remarks: "They are not original; the self-praise of the "Scythians" is our old, traditional Russian boasting — 'we shall cover them up with our caps'!" (in

other words, — we represent an overwhelming, infinite mass). Bunin adds: "Blok composed his poem at the moment when the 'overwhelming mass' of the Scythians deserted the front in a panic." A. Tolstoy, too, fled (from the Bolsheviks), from the "damned rogues in the Kremlin," as he called the Kremlin rulers at that time. "I would now be prepared to kiss the boots of any Tsar," he affirmed in confidence and fled to Paris. And later he returned to Moscow as a convert "to kiss the boots" of Stalin.

Mayakovsky behaved in the same way, save that "he excelled all the others by far in his shamelessness." During the first world war he was a patriot and adherent of the Tsar, but after the October revolution in 1917 he sang the praises of the Bolsheviks, "in keeping with his evil, malicious criminal nature." One of the staunchest defenders of this Bolshevik hooligan in poetry is R. Jakobson, who was born in Russia, was at first professor in Prague, subsequently in New York and finally at Harvard University, as Bunin points out.

Such is the gallery of these obsessed, who imbued the Bolshevik revolution with their devilish soul, as Bunin aptly remarks. What is most interesting, however, is that Bunin was by no means on hostile terms with them; he was constantly in their company, he was good friends and on an intimate footing with many of them. They may have disgusted him, but only to a certain degree. Bunin was simply capable of probing deeper into the devilish souls of the spiritual instigators of the "great Russian revolution," — this clique of persons who were spiritually depraved.

If we sum up the sharp-sighted observations made by Bunin, we arrive at the following picture of the spiritual fathers of the Russian October revolution: they constituted a society of cretins, destroyers, blasphemers, rogues, clowns, braggarts, insolent creatures, barbarians and "tramps," who were possessed of diabolical mendacity and paranoia. To this coterie also belonged decadents, hysterics, mental defectives from birth, persons who were insane, psychopaths and cynics, with nomadic traits not only physically but also spiritually. And this entire coterie, according to its own admission, constituted the intellectual vanguard of the "new Russia," — which some cretins in the West admire!

They were the same "demons" that Pushkin visualized, that Dostoyevsky saw in flesh and blood, and that Muscovy (ethnic Russia) in our era has turned loose on Europe in the persons of Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchov (and their "sputniks" — Trotsky-Bronstein, "Mychailyk" Khatayevich, Kaganovich, Ehrenburg, etc.) in order to crush Europe under the heel of the modern Genghis Khan hordes.

A clique of persons with the souls of gangsters presumed the right to "liberate" the world and "to make it healthy"... Persons who had no opinion of their own became the heralds and champions of social political ideas in their country... People who alternately licked the

boots of first one tyrant and then of another had the insolence to pose as "champions for the freedom" of the people... People who treated all non-Russians ("inorodtsy") with arrogance boasted that they were the "liberators" of the enslaved peoples. And regardless of all this, all "progressive" Russia believed in the mission of these depraved persons, and, unfortunately, the "progressive" element of the West European intellectuals nowadays still believes in this mission.

What is the reason behind this mystery? What gave this depraved clique its dynamic power? Where did these persons, who, as Bunin proves, never had any permanent and fixed ideas since they were constantly changing them according to whether the Tsar was "black" or "red," derive this dynamic power from?

Not a single idea on their official banner was in keeping with their convictions. The watchwords which "adorned" these banners were nothing but the same foolish masquerade of which all the Maxim Gorky's and their adherents seemed so proud. But just as under every mask there is concealed the true and unchangeable physiognomy of its wearer, so, too, under the constantly changing masks of tsarism, orthodoxy, so-called democracy, of the Slavophil element, or of Marxism-Leninism, there was always the unchangeable physiognomy of the Muscovite monster, which remained the same under Peter I or Nikita I, under Dostoyevsky or Mayakovsky. And this inner physiognomy, the soul of this beast of prey, in spite of its constant changes, was inspired by one belief alone: the belief in its one and sole "God." And it was precisely this belief which endowed all these depraved persons with their dynamic power.

What sort of a belief was it? And what sort of a "God"? V. Solovyov had already defined this "God", — namely the Russian Muscovite horde (which Solovyov calls the "state" or "imperium"). This belief on the part of the Muscovites, so the same author wrote, "knew no atheists." And this was the principle to which all Russians, regardless of their spiritual variance and hypocrisy, adhered. And what of the "patriotism" of this horde? It is based on the dynamic force of a gang of robbers and murderers, which was organized in the "state" of Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great Hangman, and Nikita the Murderer. The "patriotism" of the uncurbed horde is expressed in the attractive idea of murdering and robbing civilized peoples. If this plan fails to materialize, then all that is noble and beautiful is ruthlessly destroyed. Such is the "poetry" of murdering and robbing! And it is precisely this "poetry" that is in evidence in the works of Blok and Mayakovsky, in the short stories of Gorky, in the novels and the "Journal of an Author" of Dostoyevsky. This is the Messianism of a Genghis Khan and his satraps and other henchmen, or of the Pobyedonostsevs (as Ertel remarked in this connection), or of the common "Fedors," Suvorovs or Malinovskys, or Zhukovs, Serovs, of Maluta Skuratovs, the head of the Cheka in the days of

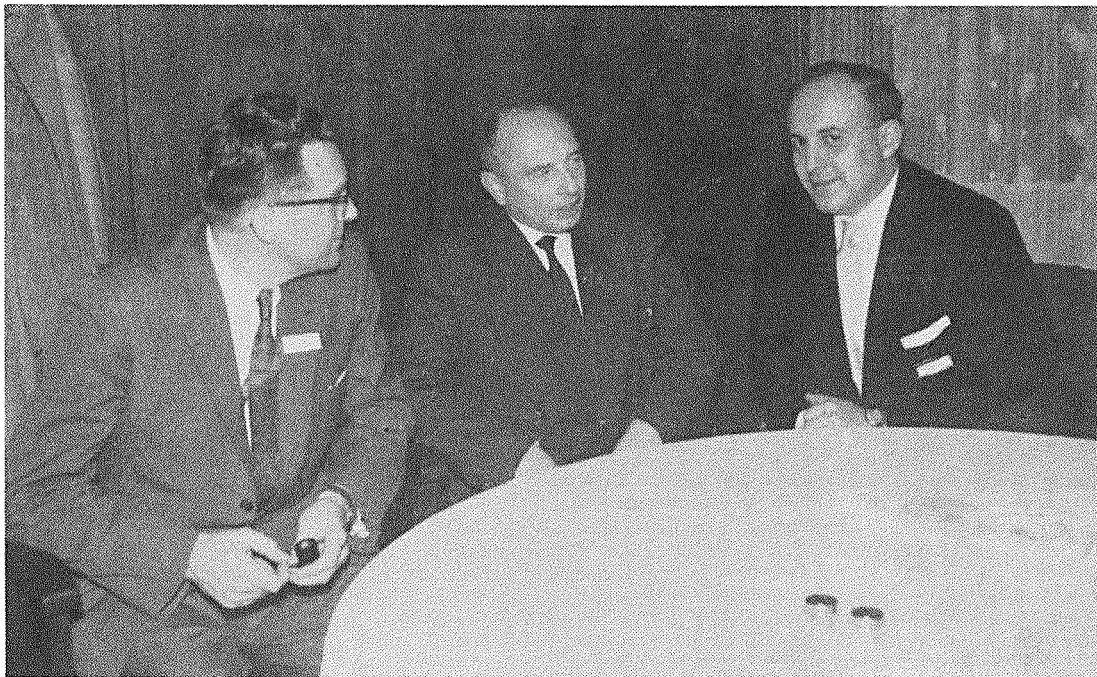
Ivan the Terrible, — and in every case it is alike. It is the Messianism of those who do not happen to hold the reins of government in Russia at the moment. They are the pick of the Russian people, a people who, according to Gorky, are "cruel" and, according to Ertel, "evil, savage and mendacious" as only a barbarous people can be. Under the influence of vodka the Russian will become sentimental and give you his last shirt, — only to strangle you an hour later because his mood has suddenly changed. This action may sometimes be due to his "immense love" for you, as the "slit-eyed Asiatics" of Blok ("The Scythians") prove; they love Europe to such an extent that they cannot resist crushing Europe with their "heavy, loving paws." Similar behaviour was evinced by Stenka Razin, the notorious Volga pirate of the 17th century, who crushed his Persian princess to his breast and then dropped her overboard into the fierce waters of the Volga and, at the same time, commanded his men "to perform a wild dance for the peace of her soul." A confused mixture of dancing and mass for the dead, love and murder, truth and falsehood, good and evil, Christ and Antichrist, — and, as the predominant factor, the principle of the "chosen people," to whom all other peoples must subordinate themselves.

But this diabolical cancan on the part of the Russians is rapidly heading for disaster. And even the Russians are beginning to be aware of this fact. Indeed, they are already beginning to dread the day of judgment, which, they fear, is not far off and on which not only their leaders but also all the Russian people will be punished for all the evil, all the crimes, atrocities and acts of violence that have been committed by them, and for all the bloodshed that they have caused and are still causing, since for centuries they have been possessed of a diabolical, messianistic fury and are, in fact, still possessed of it today.

Thus, the journal "Novoye Ruskoye Slovo", edited by the well-known Russian patriot and Ukrainophobe, Weinbaum, published an article by T. I. Illina entitled "The Russian People and Their Fate." In it, the authoress affirms that the West is turning its back on the monstrous imperium, whose claws threaten to crush Poland, Czechoslovakia and half Germany and are reaching out towards Japan, America and Africa. She then raises the question as to whether the Russian people themselves are not to blame for all the terrors of Bolshevism, for, apart from the persons interned in the concentration camps, there is a whole staff of persons in the service of these camps. Who liquidated the republics and the autonomous regions? None other than the Soviet citizens, that is to say, the Russians, too. Who furnishes the Bolshevik party functionaries, overseers, teachers? Who constitutes the MGB detachments and the huge army of the Soviet Russian secret police? Who saw to it that Khrushchov obtained the Soviet Russian atomic weapons? Are not all these persons one people? They are all Russians like we are. They are doing their active share to help the



Stepan Bandera in 1941



**Stepan Bandera with members of the Canadian Parliament**

Red Kremlin to enslave vast territories. They are the persons who are spreading the Soviet hypnosis beyond the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. And it is due to these Russians that the propaganda directed towards "friendship" with Moscow is inspired with the Soviet hypnosis... The day of atonement will come and we, the Russians, will not be forgiven for these our victories... We Russians, including the emigrants, too, — for our guilt will be immeasurable... Those alive today must never for an instant forget their responsibility, for no one of the entire Russian people will be able to shirk this responsibility if the Soviet regime does not collapse at the will of the Russian people." The Russians, who feel that the day of the historical nemesis is approaching, have every reason to be afraid. But the few Russians who at last seem to realize the situation are not stirred by pangs of conscience! No, they are merely afraid of what will happen to their monstrous imperium. For if Bolshevism should collapse — whether at the instigation of the Russian people or not, — then the same old tune will be played again. At the instigation of the leaders of the next "new Russia," an attempt will again be made to liquidate by fire and sword all those republics which try to detach themselves from Moscow. For the insatiable wolf, as Bunin so aptly demonstrates, never changes his nature. The only way of bringing the wolf "to his senses" is to deal with him by applying violence and in the same manner that Europe dealt with other Asiatic barbarians who advanced upon us en masse in order to destroy our civilization.

A few Russians, panic-stricken, are at last now beginning to realize that the main weapon of the Russians — falsehood and deception — is already ceasing to be effective.

That Russian Messianism is the Messianism of a barbarous horde and is furthered by the Russian people (as the West is already inclined to assume) and that it cannot be liquidated by making one pact after another but only by a big expenditure of force, — these are the two truths which are now causing alarm in the hearts of some few Russians and are prompting certain circles in the West to reconcile themselves to the idea that a conflict between the West and the East is inevitable.

Canadian West. We shall never know what strange con- influences, human and divine, physical and spiritual, launed the small spark which the reading of that letter ignited in the mind of Ivan Pylypiv into the glory of the contribution of the men and women of the Ukraine to Canadian nationalism and nationality. He came to settle a small hamlet in Alberta, which was the cradle of Ukrainian settlement in the West. It was in the Beaver Creek district near Hinton, forty miles west of Edmonton, to which family after family from Nedyiv had followed Ivan Pylypiv and his family. In 1891 Ivan Pylypiv and his neighbor Wasyli Elnick arrived in this lone and lonely town where of what is today the fourth largest element in Canadian nationality — the 500,000 Canadians who claim descent from the Ukraine, who have become part of the very fabric of Canadianism.



The Right Honourable  
John G. Diefenbaker, Q.C., M.P.,  
The Prime Minister of Canada

## "THE U.S.S.R. IS THE GREATEST COLONIAL POWER"

NOTES OF SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA,  
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN G. DIEFENBAKER, Q.C., M.P.,  
ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN CANADIAN  
SETTLEMENT IN CANADA AND IN COMMEMORATION TO  
TARAS SHEVCHENKO, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA, JULY 9th, 1961.

**Seventy Years of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada**

The event we are celebrating today is much more than an anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. It is a significant event in the history of Canadian nationhood.

Seventy years ago a letter reached the old Ukrainian village of Nebyliv from the young province of Manitoba in the far-away Canadian West. We shall never know what strange combination of influences, human and divine, physical and spiritual, fanned the small spark, which the reading of that letter ignited in the mind of Ivan Pylypiv, into the glory of the contribution of the men and women of the Ukraine to Canadian nationhood and nationality. He came to Star, a small hamlet in Alberta, which was the cradle of Ukrainian settlement in the West. It was in the Beaver Creek district near Bruderheim, forty miles west of Edmonton, to which family after family from Nebyliv had followed Ivan Pylypiv and his family.

In 1891 Ivan Pylypiv and his neighbour Wasyl Eleniak arrived in this city, lone and lonely forerunners of what is today the fourth largest element in Canadian nationality — the 500,000 Canadians who claim descent from the Ukraine, who have become part of the very fabric of Canadianism.



If any doubt that statement, let him try to imagine the garden of Canadianism without its rich undertones and brilliant overtones of the flowers of the Ukraine that are to be seen in every part of the garden in each of our ten provinces.

I liken Canada to a garden in this respect because it fits the picture as I see it so much better than most other metaphors. A mosaic is a static thing with each element separate and divided from the others. Canada is not that kind of country. Neither is it a "melting pot" in which the individuality of each element is destroyed in order to produce a new and totally different element.

It is rather a garden into which have been transplanted the hardest and brightest flowers from many lands, each retaining in its new environment the best of the qualities for which it was loved and prized in its native land. Yet each adapts itself to the new soil and climate, meanwhile blending its beauty with that of its new neighbours to create a new and different garden.

Just as a Canadian garden is different from an English garden, and a prairie garden is different from a British Columbia garden, so Canada, not in its elements, but in its special blend of many elements, differs from any other country in the world and thus asserts a vibrant Canadian nationhood.

There are gathered here a few of the many Canadians whose lives and achievements remind us of the vigour of this new nationality. It would be unwise to single out even a few because it would involve the hopeless task of selecting one or two, at the most, of the leaders in the Canadian professional, political, business and rural life.

Here are gathered representatives of the early settlers. Their success was of a kind that cannot be measured in terms of money, or university degrees, or scientific or cultural achievements. They were successful without knowledge of the language of specialized skills of the new country; without implements, tools or capital; with the most elementary educational facilities or the spiritual sustenance of their own churches, they took root upon a soil that was usually far from the best, where there were hills, valleys and bluffs, and indeed often already rejected by others. On that soil, they established pioneer homesteads and cultural communities.

The hardships of those early years can only be fully realized by those who saw and experienced them at first hand. I came to the West when the early settlers of the Ukrainian and many other races were showing the indomitable courage, persistence and endurance that is today legendary.

The brave Ukrainian womenfolk deserve special mention. They not only helped to clear the bush and plough the fields, but also wove their own cloth, symbolizing as they intertwined the thread of the warp with the thread of the woof, the role they and their menfolk and children were playing in the creation of a new Canadianism.

Canadians of Ukrainian descent have become an essential part of the fabric of Canadianism which has developed over these same seventy years that we recall on this occasion. It is a Canadianism which while upholding the Constitutional rights of the British and French in their entirety, is a blend in terms of full equality of many racial and national stocks, fused by a common geography, economy, standard of living and social and political institutions, Canadian in their development if not in origin; Canadian in their application to every citizen regardless of race, creed or social status.

I can think of no better proof of the reality of the influence of Ukrainian tradition in the Canadian fabric than the part played by Canadians of Ukrainian origin in Canadian public life. Every race and nation seems to have its own special genius. If I were asked to define the Ukrainian genius in terms of Canadian experience, I would most certainly relate it to participation in public affairs. I speak not only of the limited area of public life we call politics, but also many other spheres of public service including the field of education and the noble profession of teaching.

To play a vital role in the making and administering of laws at every level of government and in the guidance of young people in their formative years constitutes a superlative degree — a contribution to the very soul of nationhood. I need prove to none in this audience the extent of Canadian leadership in these fields which has been contributed by Canadians of Ukrainian origin.

In 1913, a clear statement of Ukrainian Canadian credo was embodied in a Resolution at a meeting at Chipman in the first pioneer homeland of Ukrainian Canadians. It read:

"Resolved, that, while we are proud of the country of our birth, and desire to keep before us its highest ideals, we recognize that in this, our adopted country, we citizens are accorded all the rights and privileges of Canadian citizenship and that we believe it to be our duty to work in harmony with all our fellow citizens to build up a united and prosperous nation without distinction of race and creed."

Since that time no less than 64 representatives of the Ukrainian tradition in Canada have become members of Canadian Parliaments and Legislatures, both federally and provincially.

I would mention Michael Luchkovich, the first Member of the House of Commons of Ukrainian origin, and the Honourable Michael Starr, the first Privy Councillor; Honourable John Yaremko; the Honourable A. Kuziak, and there are many others who have distinguished and are distinguishing themselves and their heritage in the public life of this country.

Two have become Senators — the Honourable William Wall of this city and the Honourable John Hnatyshyn — the latter a perfect example of the Ukrainian pioneer spirit in that he was born in the

Ukraine, raised on a Saskatchewan farm, became a country school teacher and took an active part in politics and his chosen profession — the law.

From the earliest days, the pioneer Ukrainian settlers held the teaching profession in special regard. The reasons for that are well known to all here. I have mentioned the cultural attainments of the old Kingdom of Kiev of a thousand years ago. The culture of the Ukraine has, more perhaps than anything else, kept alive the spirit of Ukrainian love of freedom and liberty which today shines more brightly than at any time in its history.

The love of letters, so instinctive in all who have been nurtured in the Ukrainian tradition, has been carried over to the new land in most remarkable fashion. I saw the other day an estimate that since the days of the first pioneers some 130 Ukrainian language periodicals have been published in Canada. All have not of course continued to this day — with the number being some thirty today — by far the highest in any language other than English and French.

The Ukrainian has made an impressive contribution to agriculture. I refer particularly to Red Fife Wheat, originally from the rich soil of the Ukrainian homeland from which Marquis and most other successful strains have been produced.

In the past ten years, Canadian farmers of Ukrainian origin have won many international awards for grain products. Hardly a year passes but some new name is added to the list of those who have achieved great things in farming.

The relatively high proportion of Canadian agricultural scientists of national and international renown has often been noted. Mention need only be made of such names as Pavlychenko, Cherevyk, Hlynka, to indicate the stature that has been attained.

### The Ukrainian Struggle for Freedom

The history of the Ukraine is one of the longest and most stirring epics in the long story of the fight of a people for ethnic survival, self-determination and individual liberty.

People of British and French origin are inclined to forget at times that the battle for individual and group liberties has been won and lost many times in many lands. In Britain and France, and indeed in Canada and the United States, progress towards national sovereignty and individual rights under the rule of law has generally been a steady progress in one direction.

In other countries of which the Ukraine is one of the supreme examples, freedom, both national and individual, has been a fitful thing to be enjoyed and rejoiced in for a short time, only to be snatched away and lost for years, even for centuries. It is for this

reason, perhaps, that Ukrainians can claim precedent as the world's most persistent fighters for freedom. The harsh yoke of the Tartar, Turk, Pole, Muscovite and Austrian conquerors failed to crush the spirit of the Ukraine. Every device of suppression and extermination of nationhood was directed toward this end for century after century with only one result — the continued survival and revival of the flame of freedom in the hearts of the people of the Ukraine — today, in spite of all persecutions and extermination attempts, numbering well over forty million.

As I read this thrilling and often heartrending story, I wonder how the Ukrainian race and nation has survived. There is no simple answer, but in the long historic background there is the hand of a Divine Providence preserving an amazing people for eventual deliverance and restoration to their rightful place among the nations of the world. If I did not believe that, I would not believe that the establishment of Ukrainian nationhood according to the freely expressed wishes of the Ukrainian people will take place in God's good time.

The road to freedom for the Ukraine has been one of advance by uncertain and faltering steps. Emperor Yaroslav ushered in a Golden Age in the year 1019 A.D. After the Tartar invasion, the Western Ukraine rose again under King Daniel of Galicia to commence that long struggle crowned with success for a few short years in the Western Ukrainian Republic of Galicia and Bukovina of 1918 and the Ukrainian National Republic with which it was united until the curtain fell again on Ukrainian independence. From those days dates the Ukrainian Declaration of Independence of January 22nd, 1918, — a date never to be forgotten by Ukrainians everywhere — a date to be laid forever on the conscience of the Free World.

When will freedom come? Professor Paul Yuzyk of the University of Manitoba, who has done so much for the cause of Ukrainian culture and nationalism, has written these words:

"The solution of the Ukrainian problem is bound up with the collapse of the Communist dictatorship in Russia and the ultimate triumph of liberty and democracy on the other side of the Iron Curtain."

Here in Canada, half a million Canadians of Ukrainian origin enjoy the rights and privileges of Freedom and Democracy. In this, I know, you find satisfaction and happiness, but it is always tinged with a fierce sadness because of the plight of those of your blood who are oppressed and persecuted for their love of liberty. It is to your great credit that one of the tasks you have set yourselves is to keep sirens sounding to warn the nations of the dangers of appeasement, complacency or false security in the face of the monster menace of International Communism.

### The Need for Western Strength and Unity

The meeting in Vienna early in June of President Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchov showed that the Soviet attitude on all the major international problems is unbending.

No one expected a reversal of Soviet policy. The free nations have learned from long experience to be realistic in dealing with the Communists. But there was a widespread hope that Mr. Khrushchov, who has talked so much about peace, might at least on this occasion show a willingness to compromise.

Let us look at the record:

(1) In Laos the Communists profess to be supporting neutrality and independence but in fact are making it difficult for the International Supervisory Commission to secure those objectives.

(2) Three years of work on a Treaty designed to end the testing of nuclear weapons has apparently come to nothing because the Soviet Union refuses to allow an effective system for inspecting possible violations.

(3) The Soviet leaders have recently adopted a new principle of a three-headed administration which they are seeking to establish in all international bodies in which they are participating. This principle is put forward in the form of a demand that the three main groups of nations in the world — Western, Communist block and neutral countries — should have equal representation and that they should agree on all courses of action.

Consider what this means. It means that the Soviet Union cannot tolerate the idea of an impartial international civil service. It means that there is a Soviet threat to the effective existence of the United Nations. It means that the Soviet Union has put itself deliberately into a position to assert its veto on any form of international action that might not be to its liking.

Because of this new Soviet approach, the outlook for progress on disarmament is discouraging, although bilateral talks between the United States and the U.S.S.R. have taken place in Washington and further talks are in prospect.

On disarmament the Canadian Government has played a prominent role and the Secretary of State for External Affairs has not ceased to advocate keeping the way open for serious negotiation. These efforts will not be discontinued.

Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that the problem of disarmament has defied solution down through the centuries, and that there can never be effective disarmament in the absence of mutual trust and agreed measures of inspection. The Communist leaders, by their suspicion of Western motives, and by their thirst for world

supremacy, are making a mockery of the hopes of mutual trust. By their intransigence they have stifled the chances of agreement on measures of inspection either with regard to nuclear weapons testing or in the more general field of disarmament.

In these circumstances, I believe in the necessity for unremitting concentration on Western defence and Western unity and co-operation in the political and economic fields.

The need for Western co-operation is apparent in view of the situation in Berlin. In the past three years Mr. Khrushchov has issued many dire warnings about Berlin, but this time it appears that he intends to precipitate a political crisis. He says that he intends to sign a Peace Treaty with East Germany before the end of this year.

The Soviet leaders should not underestimate the determination of the West to maintain the freedom of the people of West Berlin. Marxist doctrine teaches that the forces of history are on the side of the Communists. This gives them a feeling of confidence which could lead them to unwise courses.

For the West it will be of paramount importance to avoid the pitfalls both of weakness and unreasonable rigidity. We need to be strong and unhesitating in our defence of essential Western rights and obligations. We need at the same time to maintain a calm judgment so that we will not overlook possibilities of compromise which without amounting to appeasement might nonetheless contribute to peace.

Those who have lived through two terrible world wars are acutely conscious of one important fact. It is that neither of these wars might have started had the aggressors known the real strength and the will to resist of those they sought to conquer and enslave.

We must not forget this important lesson of the past. In this age when mankind has a greater capacity than ever before to destroy itself, the only guarantee of peace in the absence of an acceptable worldwide disarmament agreement, is found in the manifest determination of free countries to unite their defence efforts in a common front as a warning of the disastrous consequences which will befall an aggressor.

In these days there is no room for neutralism. It is not a time for separating ourselves from our partners. Canada's policy is to work in concert with its friends and allies for the preservation of peace and security in freedom. This policy is soundly based on Canadian considerations, Canadian values, and Canadian interests, the greatest of which apart from freedom itself is peace.

### Freedom for Ukraine

At the United Nations last September Mr. Khrushchov dealt with colonialism. He condemned foreign yokes and colonial bondage, conveniently forgetting that the U.S.S.R. is the greatest colonial power

in the world today. Mr. Khrushchov at the United Nations used these words:

"It has been and always will be our stand that the peoples of Africa, like those of other continents striving for their liberation from the colonial yoke, should establish order in their countries of their own will and choice..."

Mr. Khrushchov stated later:

"Complete and final elimination of the colonial regime in all its forms and manifestations has been prompted by the entire course of the world history in the last decades..."

How does he apply that to the Ukraine? And to Hungary, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania and other countries under Soviet domination? Why does he deny them free choice to determine the kind of governments they have the right to ask for?

He should be constantly reminded of these statements he made at the United Nations — that subjugated nations should have the right to achieve their destiny by their own will and choice. I say to Mr. Khrushchov, give the Ukraine and the other subjugated countries the right to free elections to determine the kind of government the people desire.

Since 1945 many of the nations that are now independent autonomous nations and members of the United Nations were formerly colonies of either the United Kingdom or France, and since the war fourteen colonies, protectorates and the like, comprising 500 million people within the Commonwealth, have achieved independence, as have seventeen colonial areas given their freedom by the Republic of France.

None of the post-war colonies of the U.S.S.R. has been freed. Hungary tried.

The latest example of Soviet obstructionism occurred on Friday when the Soviet Union in the Security Council, by means of its veto, prevented the adoption of a British resolution that the United Nations Security Council should guarantee the independence of Kuwait.

The U.S.S.R., the leading agent of colonial subjugation in the modern world, continues to pose as the advocate and champion of the emerging peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In this way the Communists extend their influence and domination.

**Volodymyr Maksymovych**

## **THE SHEVCHENKO CENTENNIAL**

**The Works and Life of the greatest Ukrainian Poet and Freedom-Fighter**

March 10, 1961, marked the hundredth anniversary of the death of the greatest Ukrainian poet. For many years this day has been observed by Ukrainians in the free world and in Ukraine itself. This year special celebrations have been held by the free Ukrainians and by the people of Soviet Ukraine to mark the Shevchenko Centennial.

Wherein lies the special significance of the greatest of all Ukrainian poets? He has become the symbol of the fate of the Ukrainian people, just as Homer and Virgil symbolized Greece and the Roman Empire respectively. The observance of the anniversary of his death reminds the Ukrainians of the works which he wrote for his people. His poems, imbued with a perennial spirit, are still alive; many of them have become folksongs, and his "Testament" is the second national anthem of Ukraine.

The independence of Ukraine diminished as a result of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, which was concluded by Hetman Khmelnytsky with Moscow in 1654, and was limited very considerably after the war of liberation was lost by Hetman Mazeppa (battle of Poltava in 1709). In 1764 the Empress Catherine II abolished the Ukrainian Hetmanate and in 1775 destroyed the Sich (fortress) of the Zaporozhian Cossacks. In 1783 the Russians introduced serfdom in Ukraine.

Even the story of Shevchenko's life seems to personify the historical fate of the Ukrainian nation. For this reason we should like to mention in brief the most important events in his life, a knowledge of which is essential if we are to understand the poet completely.

Taras Shevchenko was born on March 9, 1814, as the son of a serf. How unhappy life must have been as the child of a serf in the era of grim tsarist despotism, of the cruel social pressure of Russian serfdom, of the ruthless subjugation of the Ukrainian people, whose intellectual upper class had for the most part become the victims of the principle of allegiance and in whose masses national consciousness had practically died out after fighting for their freedom and independence for hundreds of years. In addition, circumstances at home were most unhappy and



he was frequently beaten and ill-treated most cruelly by his stepmother. Thus, young Taras in turn was a shepherd and swine-herd in the village, a kitchen-boy and a painter's apprentice until, at the age of sixteen, he became servant-boy in the ante-chamber of the lord of the manor, a Mr. Engelhardt. In the course of this occupation he got to know various large, fine towns such as Vilno, Warsaw and Petersburg. His obvious talent at drawing eventually prompted his master to allow him to learn painting as an apprentice to various professional painters in Warsaw and Petersburg. In the latter town young Shevchenko made the acquaintance of various well-known Ukrainian and Russian writers and artists, thanks to whose efforts he was eventually freed from serfdom in 1838.

At the age of twenty-four, as a free man and student at the Academy of Arts in Petersburg, he became a voracious reader of countless new books, — Schiller, Goethe, Byron, Dickens, Balzac, Polish and Russian authors and also scientific works. Through Russian and in particular Polish literature he became acquainted with West European trends and aims, which he later re-shaped in his poetic enthusiasm and with intuitive genius used in his own development as a poet. The next nine years (1838-1847) were relatively the happiest ones in his life. The only thing that distressed him at this time was the thought of his relatives and his native country languishing under the Russian yoke of enslavement and subjugation.

In April 1847 he was arrested on account of his membership of a political organization, the so-called "Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius." He was then sentenced to ten years' exile in Siberia as a common soldier and was strictly prohibited from writing and painting. This sentence changed the fate of the poet in a tragic way. Though unbroken in spirit, he was completely broken physically, and after his release in 1857 he only lived another four years. He was not allowed to return to his native Ukraine and died in Petersburg on March 10, 1861. His body was taken to Ukraine and, in keeping with his wish, he lies buried in his native Ukrainian soil, on the bank of the Dnipro, beneath a hill close to Kaniv.

His earliest poems were written in the 1830's. The first edition, entitled "Kobzar" ("The Bard") and published in Petersburg in 1840, immediately made him famous. His works had a far-reaching and epochal effect, in the truest sense, on his contemporaries. "Shevchenko's muse," so the famous Ukrainian historian Mykola Kostomarov says, "tore apart the curtain over the national life of Ukraine, and it was dreadful, sweet and painful alike to gaze in that direction. It was as if it had opened a subterranean dungeon that had been locked and barred with many bolts and locks, and had suddenly let in the dazzling sunlight and a fresh breeze." Shevchenko's poems were assessed negatively by the well-known Russian critic Belinsky.

At the beginning of his poetic activity Shevchenko was inspired by the glorious days of the Ukrainian Cossacks and their brave crusades;

he longed for the illustrious times of the great Ukrainian Hetmans. In his poem "Ivan Pidkova" the poet yearningly recalls the days when "the cannon thundered in Ukraine" and the Zaporozhian Cossacks "knew how to rule." They were not afraid of the stormy waves of the Black Sea; singing their songs, they crossed the sea to attack Constantinople and free their brothers in Christ from the Turkish yoke. All that remains of this glorious past are graves, which whisper with the wind about olden times. Shevchenko sings of the graves and ruins of the past as if they were living witnesses of the struggles and victories of the Ukrainian people. The past, in his opinion, teaches a lesson for the present, for the fight against those who have enslaved Ukraine. In his greatest poem "The Haydamaky" (1841) Shevchenko created an outstanding epic, whose chief hero is the immortal people who in 1768 fought against the Polish nobility for their independence. In the poem "The Blind Man," which depicts the last years of the Hetmanate and the destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich in 1775, the poet describes the new order as follows: "How the Russians destroyed the Sich, how they stole the silver, gold and candles of the Holy Virgin! The Poles also stole everything and they drank blood, but the Russians even placed the breath of God in fetters!"

An element of anger predominates in the rebel romanticist Taras Shevchenko. Contents and form in his earliest poetic works reveal the romanticist in him. The language of Ukrainian national poetry seems to have come naturally to him. His rhythm is manifold, and his rhymes are entirely different to those of earlier Ukrainian poets. Shevchenko disregards the strict rhythm of classical poetry. Like the German romanticists, he uses both rhymed and blank verse. His poetry is far more melodious than that of any earlier or later Ukrainian poets. The expressions he uses when depicting tsars and other despots are intentionally vulgar.

The steppes and the sea, but mostly the steppes swept by the wind and likened to the waves of the sea, graves which contain the glorious past of Ukraine, and stormy nights ("The waters of the Dnipro moan") are the most frequent themes of his poems. And the persons for whom he shows a preference, — a singer who plays the bandura, a Cossack as a freedom-fighter, a peasant as a potential Cossack, a girl, and a mother, who bewails the fate of her children, an oppressor of the people (usually a foreigner), — all these themes and persons were derived by the poet from the people or from his own experiences in life. But in his works they became symbols and pictures of Ukraine.

In 1843 and 1845 Shevchenko visited his native country Ukraine and his relatives there. His fellow-countrymen hailed him not only as a poet but also as a national prophet. But his heart was filled with sorrow when he saw the hardships endured by his family and the entire nation under the yoke of serfdom. He no longer saw merely the illustrious past but also the faults and mistakes committed by the Hetmans. And in his great sorrow at the cruel enslavement of his native

country, he now unjustly judged Hetman Khmelnytsky, whom he thereafter could never forgive for having concluded the disastrous treaty of Pereyaslav with the Tsar in 1654.

"So deeply, so fervently do I love my Ukraine," he says on one occasion, "that I would sell my soul for its sake and would even curse God." His poems are imbued with a spiritual fire and passion, with love, hatred, despair, sorrow, joy and a heavenly ecstasy; and all this on account of his native country, his dearly beloved Ukraine, to which nothing else on earth can be compared. Hence his historical poems were able to rouse the people of Ukraine out of their long spiritual torpor and to stir their national consciousness. It was Shevchenko above all who taught the Ukrainian people to know and to love the history of their country.

The poems which Shevchenko wrote after his visit to Ukraine are most significant for Ukrainian national life. Their titles are "A Dream," "The Caucasus," "The Epistle" and "The Great Vault." These poems express Shevchenko's violent protest against the national and social subjugation of Ukraine.

"A Dream," which was written in 1844, is a political satire and depicts an imaginary journey made by the poet from Kyiv to Petersburg. He wrote it whilst the impressions of his visit to Ukraine were still fresh in his mind. The poet is transported over the snow-bound countryside, where prisoners are toiling in gold-mines. Then he flies over Moscow and stops in Petersburg. On his way to the palace of the Tsar, he encounters some of his fellow-countrymen, but they already speak Russian. At the court of the Tsar he sees more vile renegades, who are helping the Russians to rule in Ukraine and to martyr Mother Ukraine; he also witnesses horrible cases of slavery and humiliation in the presence of the Tsar. He sees the Tsar and the Tsarina and ridicules them. Then he looks round the capital and recalls how many Cossacks died in building it. He comes to the monument of Peter I, who seems to be stretching out his hand as if to conquer the whole world. This monument was set up by Catherine II. "Now I know," says the poet, "he was the first who crucified our Ukraine, and she was the second who destroyed it. Hangmen, hangmen, cannibals!"

The poet seems to hear the voice of Hetman Polubotok, whom the Tsar Peter I let starve to death in prison because he had demanded freedom for Ukraine. He hears the song of the birds and it seems like the groans of the souls of the Cossacks who perished when the marshes on which the Russian capital was built were drained. "A Dream" is undoubtedly Shevchenko's best political poem and faithfully depicts the political situation in Ukraine.

The idea for "A Dream," which he took from Mickiewicz, was developed by Shevchenko on broader and bolder lines. He surpasses the Polish poet in the manifold character of his monumental picture

of the Russian realm, in the sharpness of his satire and in his uncompromising attitude towards the entire Russian world. It can be affirmed for certain that Shevchenko further developed the revolutionary themes of romanticism and endowed them with an intensity of aims.

In the poem "The Caucasus" (1844) Shevchenko unsparingly criticizes the Russian "prison of nations" and expresses his views on Russia's war with the Circassians in the years 1843 to 1859. The Promethean spirit is always powerful enough for him to assert his divine rights, as the poet tells us in the opening lines of this poem:

"From the dawn of the world  
The eagle tortures Prometheus:  
Every day pierces his breast  
Tears out the heart..."

The poet firmly believes in a happier future and in the right of existence of his native country, as whose spokesman Prometheus makes himself heard again and again. Shevchenko criticizes the hypocrisy of Russian bureaucracy and also Russian culture which only erects prisons and seeks to conceal robbery and bloodshed by fancy watchwords.

In probably no other literature of Europe does one find a poet for whom his native country and its fate was such an all-embracing subject of his whole life and work, as was the case with Shevchenko. His spirit changed the Ukrainians, for he breathed a new soul into the dead body of the oppressed nation. Whatever has been undertaken in the cause of the liberation of the nation by the Ukrainians since his death, has been done in his name. The entire Ukrainian national activity in the 19th and 20th centuries was and is influenced by his famous poem "The Epistle" (1845); he dedicated it "to my dead and living and as yet unborn fellow-countrymen at home and outside Ukraine." In this poem he protests against serfdom and exhorts the Ukrainians to love and help their "youngest brother," the peasant and the worker. He admonishes his fellow-countrymen to develop and foster their national culture instead of accepting foreign watchwords and ideas automatically and without criticism. The Ukrainians must get to know their language and history, since national culture can only be built up on its own foundations. On the strength of these noble ideas, his "Epistle" paved the way for the national rebirth of the Ukrainian people.

In his political poems "The Plundered Grave" (1843) and "The Great Vault" (1845) he again passionately demanded the liberation of Ukraine from the Russian yoke and, in doing so, criticized Hetman Khmelnytsky on account of the treaty of Pereyaslav.

In his songs, ballads and epics based on national poetry, Shevchenko was the advocate of the serfs. He was the first outstanding poet in world literature who faithfully depicted the peasant in various situations in life and revealed the whole gamut of his feelings.

By the 1840's the poet was at the height of his spiritual development. But his arrest in April 1847 and the subsequent exile imposed on him for ten whole years were a tragedy. In spite of this, Shevchenko never lost faith in his people and in their future. His sound optimism prevailed again and again ("Life is so hard on this earth, but we cling to it so dearly"). He opposed the physical violence of the despots with his spiritual strength. Again and again, even in the cruel years of his exile, he found in the thought of Ukraine a comfort and consolation which prevented him from despairing completely. In 1847 he wrote in a poem to his friends:

Endure the pain  
And think of your brothers in fetters  
And love Ukraine always.  
O love her... In spite of fate  
In the last dread hour  
Pray God for Ukraine!"

The Bible, which Shevchenko knew thoroughly, was the source of his wisdom and philosophy of life and of many of the poems which still move us so deeply by their expressiveness. He was also influenced by old Ukrainian epics, ballads and folksongs, as well as by the classical literature of other peoples, with which he felt an ever stronger affinity during the last years of his life.

Of his tenderest lyrics (often of autobiographical character) which he composed secretly whilst a prisoner, "Dumy" ("Pensive Thoughts") made most impression. It reminds one somewhat of Ovid's "Tristia," but it contains a greater wealth of feeling than the work of the Roman poet. The thought of his native country helps this great martyr to endure the sufferings of imprisonment; and even his wish to die pales before the hope of seeing his native country once more. But the fate of his country moves him more than his own fate:

"One only thing I cannot bear:  
To know my land, that was beguiled  
Into a death-trap with a lie,  
Trampled and ruined and defiled...  
Ah, but I care, dear God; I care!"

It is difficult to exhaust all the poet's noble thoughts, his tranquil and idyllic pictures of human happiness ("Evening," "Till now I dreamt..."), his insight into the psychology of man and his pictures of Nature. In his lyrical poems he describes his great yearning for the beautiful villages, green steppes, blue-tinged mountains, and pleasant meadows and fields of Ukraine, and his greatest wish is to see his beautiful native country once more.

During his imprisonment in the years 1850 to 1857, the strict prohibition enforced on him made it impossible for him to write anything in the Ukrainian language. He was only allowed to write in

Russian during these years. And so he composed stories in Russian. But he had not a very high opinion of them and in 1857 he made up his mind to burn them.

Even after ten years of exile he did not alter his hostile attitude towards Russian tsarism and its methods of administration. ("I suffer but I have no regrets.") On his release from captivity in 1857 he again attacked tsarism in his poem "The Neophytes." He describes the persecution of the Christians by Nero; but by Nero he means all the despots who crush the idea of freedom. A Christian patrician dies as a martyr for the Christian faith. His mother, however, does not curse those who have persecuted and tortured him, but forgives them. The despot Nero is likewise forgiven and this is his greatest punishment. And this is where the poet reveals his own spiritual greatness.

After his release, the poet does not dwell on the past history of his people; he only sees the present and the future. And the present was a sad one. In his poem "The Plundered Grave" (1843) he had already written: "My dream-world, my home, my Ukraine! Why, Mother Ukraine, did they ravage you?" This question is as justified today as it was in Shevchenko's day, save that the red tsars nowadays are perhaps even more ruthless in ravaging than Peter, Catherine, or Nicholas were. In his poem "A Dream" Shevchenko talks about the thousands and thousands of Ukrainians whom Tsar Peter I let perish when Petersburg was built; in our age millions of Ukrainians have been and still are starved to death by the Soviet tsars, or murdered by the NKVD. We can compare the tragic picture which Shevchenko gives us of the life of the serfs to the misery and possibly even greater enslavement of the whole of Ukraine today.

Again and again Shevchenko exhorts the Ukrainians to recall incidents in their history in order to realize their national strength and continue the fight for freedom. Though he highly esteems cultural and creative activity, the highest thing in his opinion is the defensive activity of the freedom-fighters. In his immortal poem "Testament," which can be regarded as a political legacy and which he wrote in 1845, he already exhorted his fellow-countrymen:

"Lay me there to rest — then rise,  
Rend your chains asunder,  
And with foemen's evil blood  
Sprinkle freedom over!"

As if he foresaw the future of his nation, he exhorted his people on every occasion to fight. And he constantly prophesied the collapse of tsarism. In one of his poems written in 1858, for instance, he says:

"No longer wait for freedom,  
For she sleeps, — thanks to Tsar Nicholas;  
And to see sick freedom wake again,  
Our people in all haste must whet

longer be enemies or enemies of enemies  
 Their axes and their hatchets  
 And rouse her from her slumbers."

Whet axes and hatchets, and soak the soil of new freedom with the enemy's blood, — this is the commandment of the Ukrainian prophet. And it is a commandment that still holds good for the Ukrainians today, since the despotism of the Russian tsars has been "worthily" superseded by the tyranny of Russian Bolshevism. For in view of the terrorism of Russian Bolshevism, which is an instrument of Russian chauvinism and imperialism, all the evil and all the atrocities which Shevchenko depicts in his poems still have a dreadful reality even today.

Not only is Shevchenko the national poet of Ukraine, but he also belongs to European literature. In his poems he expresses not only Ukrainian but also general thoughts which could occupy anyone, anywhere in the world. In "The Maid" he praises a mother, who in her devoted love and self-sacrifice is truly heroic. The tragic experience of a mother is the theme of his poem "The Owl." In the poems "The Neophytes" and "Maria" he depicts the noble ideal of mother-love.

Originally a romanticist, the injustice which he had experienced personally caused him to go over to a fierce protest against every form of national and social pressure. His ideal is "truth," not only in the philosophical but also in the religious sense. His weapons are words and poetry. And he never forgets that tyrants are only powerful because slaves obey them, either unconsciously or because they are afraid. But he believes in the victory of truth; and he believes in the advent of a new Washington. "Truth will be victorious" is the leitmotif of his poetry. "Fight and you will be victorious" — is the language of his poetry and of his life. Shevchenko was a zealous apostle of political freedom. He resorts to subtle irony, ruthless sarcasm and angry indignation in order to bring disrepute upon a system of coercion and lawlessness. An educated person will undoubtedly recognize the picture of the country, about which Shevchenko says:

"From the Moldavian to the Finn  
 Silence is held in every tongue. —  
 All quite content..."

It is the picture of tsarist Russia in the 19th century, and it might equally well be a picture of the present so-called Soviet Union. Shevchenko's thoughts on God, truth and freedom are axioms and inseparable. In "The Caucasus" for instance, he writes:

"Truth will be victorious, freedom will be victorious,  
 And all peoples will bow to Thee in eternity."

The world, which has been exploited to the utmost, must be regenerated, and the poet already visualizes the ideal order in which man's happiest dreams will be fulfilled. In his poem "Archimedes and Galileo" (1860), he says: "In the regenerated world there will no

longer be enemies or adversaries, but only sons and mothers and human beings will live there."

In such simple, beautiful and human words Shevchenko expressed his ideal. His thoughts and his artistic genius have made him one of the great men in the history of mankind and have earned him a place amongst the noblest poets of the world.

#### OPENING ADDRESS BY DR. NESTOR PROCYK

at the

**Concert in honour of Taras H. Shevchenko, Kleinhaus Music Hall,  
Buffalo, N.Y.**

The greatness of Taras Shevchenko could not be measured, of course, by the few lines afforded to him in the Encyclopedia Britannica nor by the complete omission of his name in the Encyclopedia Americana. His greatness and genius can and will be measured by the electrifying influence his life and his work exercised upon the millions of Ukrainians of his and following him generations now and for centuries to come. His greatness can be measured, further, by the impact of his ideas upon the neighbouring nations, and — most of all! — it can be judged by the fact that his and our enemies — the Russian imperialists and colonizers — against whom he so gallantly fought in his life and in his writing, even those feel forced nowadays to recognize Shevchenko and to honour him. Though in their own distorted manner. Finally his greatness may be estimated by the fact that today — one century after Shevchenko's death — his spirit is not only "still alive" but continues to inflame millions, while the stature of Shevchenko himself continues to be a living and ever brighter torch of freedom for the Ukrainians as well as for all those who do know and do understand Taras Shevchenko. For, Shevchenko's ideas, expressed more than a century ago, were never more vital in a world-wide application than they are now. What Shevchenko lived for, fought for with pen and with word, what he suffered for was a free world with social and political justice for all nations and men, a world without the oppressed and without the oppressor or as he put it: "Without a slave and without a master!"

Thus, we Ukrainians in America are very proud that we could bring Shevchenko's spirit from our beloved home-land — Ukraine into this great land of the free and the brave. For, there is no country in which his spirit and ideals could fit in any better.

On the other hand, I am certain that all good Americans, after having learned to know and to understand the greatness and philanthropic genius of Taras Shevchenko, will be equally proud to have the name of this great Ukrainian among American names such as Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln or any of those, who gloriously — each in his own way — fought revolutions for freedom and liberties and for the way of life we are enjoying in this land today.



## NEW TRANSLATIONS OF UKRAINIAN POETRY

by Vera Rich

**Pavlo Fylypovych (1891-1934).**

Look, look on boundless fields, unploughed, unarmed;  
The distance holds a threat of frowning clouds,  
Winds carry past the challenge of alarm —  
The frenzied maddened winds and days of blood.

Not now the first year since the gods have vanished,  
And only people and the dead remain.  
They chew and weep: "O help us in our anguish!  
Let us sleep in the coffin free from pain!"  
I am distraught. Deep pity troubles me,  
But solace conquered my vain agony,  
— I feel no passion for a past day's worth,

For from my dreams I never will recoil  
Not part: — man takes his stand on the black soil,  
Proud as the sky and mighty as the earth.

**Emma Andiyevs'ka (b. 1931).**

One day far back I lost my face in stone,  
Yet sometimes stone will blossom into life  
One day. And night will summon home —  
To harvest-time.

Then let the stars in hands grown old  
Lie trembling. Stars that know no sorrow.  
And space is falling upon shoulders  
So slowly,  
As if enchanted by its falling.

Ivan Franko (1856-1916).

O heart of woman! Are you wintry ice  
Or fragrant, lovely blossom of the spring?  
Or the moon's radiance? All-destroying fires,  
Dread to behold? Or peaceful dreams that sing

Of innocence? A battle-flag that beckons  
To victory? Do you give birth, O tell,  
To thorns or roses? Angel from the heavens,  
Or a fierce demon from the depths of hell?

What makes you throb with life? What is your love?  
In what do you believe? Your wish? Your aim?  
Where fickle and where steadfast? Speak and prove!

You are an ocean to allure and drown,  
A paradise — won at the price of chains,  
Summer — you warm and thundering strike us down.

For from my dreams I never will recoil  
Not part; — men takes his stand on the black soil  
Proud as the sky and mighty as the earth.

One day far back I lost my face in stone.  
Yet sometimes stone will blossom into life  
One day. And night will summon home —  
To harvest-time.

Then let the stars in hands grown old  
Lie trembling. Stars that know no sorrow.  
And space is falling upon shoulders

**Editor's Note.** The above poems have been reprinted from the **Collected Poems** 1961, edited by William G. Smith, The Venture Press.

is proof of these ideas. They became more convincing in the sixteenth century when Ivan IV in 1547 assumed the title of Tsar (Cæsar) as the permanent and official title of the head of the Muscovite state.

### **Borys Krupnycky;**

Just as the Soviet government of today announces that the universal and ecumenical Slavonic and purely national (Muscovite) — priority of importance being given to those national programmes — so also in the sixteenth century, and particularly at the time of Ivan IV, the rulers of Moscow were particularly careful to base their regime on suitable principles. For this purpose a number of legends were created in order to strengthen the idea that Tsar's power was given him by the "space of God".

The idea of the Third Rome which was spread at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century by Philothéas, a Greek monk, in the history of the world as the Third Rome, with the significant function of being an independent centre of all Slavonic and Orthodox states, and indeed of Christianity as a whole.

Philothéas addressed an appeal to the Grand Prince of Moscow as the protector of the Orthodox Church in the following words: "Know, God-testing Tsar, that all the realms of loyal advocates to

We cannot deny that writers of Russian history have been absolutely consistent in their approach to their subject. Historical research has kept to a way of its own; it pursued — and still pursues — its own peculiar methods with, one might say, innate and traditional obstinacy.

Russian historians usually regard the period of the Kyiv Rus' as the beginning of the "Russian" state. This conception is clearest in Karamzin's "History of the Russian Empire" and it was taken over by the entire school of Russian historiography, even by the old school of Ukrainian historical research. Karamzin's theory is based on a gradual transition from one centre to another. After an introduction dealing with prehistoric times in Eastern Europe, Karamzin takes Kyiv as the first centre of the Russian state, which, according to him, shifted later to Vladimir on the Klyazma, then to Moscow, and finally to St. Petersburg. Between the epochs of Moscow and St. Petersburg the history of the Tsars of Moscow was transformed into the history of the Russian empire.

P. Milyukov stated half a century ago in his famous book, "Movements in Russian Historic Thought" (1898) that there was nothing new in Karamzin's views. They were merely a repetition of those put forward by Muscovite writers in the sixteenth century and by Russian historians in the eighteenth century (e. g. Tatishchev), views based on the idea that the Tsars of Moscow were genealogically the heirs of the spiritual world of Byzantium, while Moscow had assumed sovereignty in the rôle of a Third Rome.

The marriage in the fifteenth century of Ivan III with Sophia Paleologue, the niece of the last Byzantine Emperor, Constantine XII, and the consequent introduction of Byzantine methods of administration

is proof of these ideas. They became more convincing in the sixteenth century when Ivan IV in 1547 assumed the title of Tsar (Caesar) as the permanent and official title of the head of the Muscovite state.

Just as the Soviet government of today announces programmes that are universal and ecclesiastic, Slavonic and purely national (Muscovite) — priority of importance being given to those national programmes — so also in the sixteenth century, and particularly at the time of Ivan IV, the rulers of Moscow were particularly careful to base their regime on suitable principles. For this purpose a number of legends were created in order to strengthen the idea that Tsar's power was given him by the "grace of God."

The idea of the Third Rome which was spread at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century by Philotheus, a monk, illustrates Moscow's ingenuity of invention. It proclaimed Moscow's mission in the history of the world as the Third Rome, with the significant function of being the only independent centre of all Slavonic and Orthodox states, and indeed, of Christianity as a whole.

Philotheus addressed an appeal to the Grand Prince of Moscow as the protector of the Orthodox Church in the following words "Know, God-fearing Tsar, that all the realms of loyal adherents to the true Christian emperor... Do not, O Tsar, break the commandments laid down by Thy forefathers, Constantine the Great, Volodymyr the Blessed and the great Yaroslav, chosen by God, and the other blessed saints from whom Thou art descended... Hear, therefore, O God-fearing Tsar, that all Christian kingdoms are united in Thine empire, that the First and the Second Rome have fallen, that the Third Rome stands, and there will be no Fourth. According to the great and holy scholars, none will inherit Thy Christian empire..."

But all these claims on the inheritance of the Empire of Byzantium had to be substantiated. Ivan IV's marriage with Sophia Paleologue was not sufficient to create a solid tradition. Convincing arguments, above all with reference to Kyiv, were still lacking. So Kyiv was given prominence in the legend of Moscow's messianic mission. It became a convenient starting-point for the history of Eastern Europe, and Muscovy made strenuous efforts to link its history with that of Kyiv. Ivan III laid claim to the title of ruler of all Russia, though the largest and the core areas of ancient "Rus'" were certainly not under his dominion. Muscovite rulers after him constantly renewed their claims to the South, to Kyiv. Philotheus deliberately refers to his Tsar's forefathers, putting Constantine of Byzantium, and Volodymyr and Yaroslav of Kyiv on the same footing: "their roots are thine" (i. e. the Muscovite Grand Prince's). When Ivan IV was crowned emperor, the patriarch of Constantinople sent him a charter that confirmed his legal right as heir of Anna, wife of Volodymyr the Great. Moreover, the legend of Monomakh's coronation insignia, which were said to have been sent to Prince Volodymyr Monomakh by Emperor Constantine Monomakh and which had been used when Volodymyr was crowned

by the Greek Metropolitan, was additional proof that the Tsars of Moscow were heirs of the Emperor of Byzantium. A legend proving the descent of the princes of Moscow from Prus, the brother of the Emperor Augustus, goes still further — "and the fourteenth descendant of Prus — the great ruler Ruryk." In the reign of Ivan IV this story crops up even in diplomatic negotiations with the Polish ambassador.

Kyiv, then, played an important part in the history of the idea of the Third Rome; that was probably why Russian historians clung so firmly to Kyiv as the starting point for a systematic history of Russia. Perhaps it explains their ceaseless efforts to connect Kyiv and Moscow.

Kyiv's past is rich in the myths a state requires as a back-ground for its foundation. Only in connection with Kyiv could Moscow surround its Tsars with an atmosphere of mysticism. Without Kyiv it lost all claim to world power and sank to a modest principality enabled by a happy lot (not by the grace of God) and by the adaptability of its Grand Prince to achieve prominence, and unite under its dominion large areas in Eastern Europe.

We do not wish to prove here that the idea of the Third Rome is to be found in every important work of Russian history. Older historians certainly were influenced by it. It is important to note that this idea penetrated into the heart of the theory of Russian history and that it provided a basis for Russia's faith in her future, in her mission and right to put her stamp on the world, for her belief, indeed, in her right to lead the world. Even if this idea was not clearly expressed, it operated subconsciously and lent Russian historical research a certain complexion, even when historians were not much interested in theories that had led them to believe in Russia as a leader of the world.

It is clear that Kyiv's importance for Moscow was neither economic nor geographic, but rather as the source of its "legend," of its ideological background, of which the idea of the Third Rome is a significant part. Consciously or unconsciously, Russians regarded Kyiv as the ideological and genealogical link between the Second and the Third Rome. Pogodin, one of Moscow's historians presented the two capitals as indissolubly connected. In 1856 he published the theory that Great Russians lived in Kyiv district in the 10-12th centuries, where they had settled before the Tatar invasion, being replaced later by the forbears of the Ukrainians of today who came from the Carpathians. A. Sobolevsky went still further when he assured that Great Russians lived in Kyiv till almost the sixteenth century.

Russian historians were too much impressed by this theory of mass settlement by Great Russians to abandon it. Variants appeared not only in S. Solovyov's works, but in books by historians nearer to us, such as Klyuchevsky and Platonov, although the theory had long been proved untenable both by Ukrainian and by Great Russian scholars (Golubyov, Vladimirsky-Budanov). The well-known Kyiv historian O. Antonovych, in particular, furnished convincing proof that the indigenous population of Kyiv did not migrate north to be replaced

by settlers from Galicia, for, in reality, there was no movement of the Kyiv population after the victories of Batu.

Michael Hrushevsky marks a turning point in the research of Ukrainian and Russian history. In 1904 he published in Volume 1 of the "Slavonic Studies," issued by the Academy of Science in Petersburg, an article entitled "The Usual Scheme of Russian History and the Question of the Rational Structure of the History of the Eastern Slavs."

This study emphasizes the weaknesses of the scheme generally accepted in Russia and the error of connecting the history of South Ukrainian tribes in Kyiv district, their social and political system, their law and culture, with the Great Principality of Moscow from the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, as if the latter were a continuation of the Kyiv period.

Hrushevsky maintains that the Kyiv state with its law and culture was a Ukrainian phenomenon, while Vladimir-Muscovy was created by Great Russians. The latter was not the continuation of the former, which gave way in the 13th century to the Galician-Volhynian epoch and in the centuries after that to the Lithuanian-Polish period. Vladimir-Muscovy was neither the heir nor the successor to the Kyiv state; it sprang from its own roots, and its relation to the Kyiv state may be compared with that of the Roman empire to its Gallic provinces rather than to a sequence of periods in the political and cultural life of France.

One of M. Hrushevsky's main arguments, therefore, against the traditional periods into which Russian history is divided is that the history of the Great Russian people is deprived of a proper beginning by having its first manifestations of cultural and political life prefaced by the Kyiv state. The whole development of the Great Russian people remains obscure, because no attempt is made to reveal its history before the middle of the 13th century. The fiction of the "Kyiv Period" does not permit an adequate presentation of the history of the Great Russian people. Thanks to M. Hrushevsky's work, it thus becomes clear for the first time that the traditional Russian scheme of history, the "Usual Scheme," is in need of reform. As a rule, no one contradicts the assumption that the princes of Kyiv migrated north and there transplanted to the soil of Great Russia the social and political forms, the law and culture that were the fruit of Kyiv's past. Russian historians simply incorporate all these in the background of the Great Russian people without studying how they were taken over and transformed. Students of Russian history and law ought to try to reveal their geographical origins and their first growth. But little has been done in this direction. The picture of Kyiv as the "mother of the towns of Russia" was too fascinating and the town probably played a subconscious, but important, part as an intermediary between the Second and the Third Rome<sup>1</sup>). Hrushevsky's criticism of the "Usual

1) In referring here to this side of Russian ideology, we must not forget influences from Asia. The Tatars played an important part in the life of Moscow which was a mosaic of influences from Asia, Byzantium and nomadic tribes.



Stepan Bandera addressing a meeting in 1958 at the grave of Yevhen Konovalets murdered by a Russian secret agent in Rotterdam, Holand, on 23rd May 1938.



The funeral of Stepan Bandera



Scheme" found an echo in the logical conclusions drawn from it by O. Presnyakov, the well-known Russian historian and a pupil of Platonov's.

Signs of this influence were apparent in his study: "The Prince's Position in Ancient Rus'", but they were much more prominent in his main work, "The Formation of the Great Russian State. Outlines of the History of the 13th-15th centuries" which appeared in Petersburg in 1918. Setting out from the necessity of distinguishing clearly between North and South, Presnyakov presents us here with a picture of the "Great Russian state," "From the Rostov area of the 12th century to the principality of Vladimir-Suzdal, in the 14th and 15th centuries, which included all the separate principalities. Presnyakov refutes Pogodin's theory and its variants presented by Klyuchevsky and other Russian historians. He proves that Princes Yuriy Dolgoruky and Andrey Bogolyubsky, who are generally regarded as the organizers of the Rostov-Suzdal area, did not find these such primitive social and cultural conditions as is usually assumed. This area had already been colonized by Slavs, so there could be no question of a mass immigration of settlers from Ukraine in the 12th century. The Great Russian people had organized its own life and was developing its own state with increased energy by the end of the 13th century<sup>2)</sup>).

In 1929 M. Lyubavsky, one of the most eminent research scholars in the history of Lithuania-Ukraine and Russia, published in Leningrad an important book entitled "The Development of the Main State Territories of the Russian People, Settlement and Amalgamation of the Centre." This is an examination of the process of colonization which led to the settlement of the centre of Great Russia today and to the growth of the Russian people. The author utilizes historical and geographic material to give an exact picture of the gradual settlement of the country by Slav colonists, mostly from the areas of Novgorod, Krivichi and Vyatichi tribes, and the basin of the upper Volga and Oka; he also traces the growth of the Muscovite principality and its expansion up to the beginning of the 16th century. Picheta, too, writing from the Byelorussian standpoint in his study entitled "Current Problems of Byelorussian History," showed his approval of Hrushevsky's views by making them the basis of the history of various East Slav nationalities.

It seemed as if Presnyakov and Lyubavsky, under Hrushevsky's influence, had made the first move to revise the "Usual Scheme." At least, there were signs in their work that they recognized the fact that Great Russia had gone its own way, not continuing the development of the Kyiv State, but running parallel to it. It appeared, too, that modern Russian historians would follow them, partly at least. But the danger of such an approach became obvious to the Soviets when they came to power. Moscow again annexed the Kyiv Period and we find that Presnyakov, in his university lectures on Russian history

<sup>2)</sup> Without examining Presnyakov's argument more closely, we must leave the question of the extent of this Slav colonization in the North open. Was it not a Slav trickle in the immense Finnish ocean?

which were published in the Twenties, had to return to the path of the "Usual Scheme," Kyiv-Vladimir-Moscow-Petersburg. The old scheme, therefore, still held for the East, and the power of Great Russia gained the upper hand. After a period of uncertainty, Soviet Russia (Pokrovsky) expressed its claim to all centres, not excluding Kyiv. At the same time, Ukraine and its history, like Byelorussia and other non-Russian nationalities, were pushed on to a local and provincial line, in disregard of the Soviet Constitution with its federal principles and its recognition *de jure* of the various federal republics. The unsatisfactory "Scheme" and its confused representation of Russian history (three Russian peoples), the Russian state and the Great Russian people continued to exist.

In reality, the method used by Russian historians to study the historical process radiated from certain centres. In addition to the First, Second and Third Rome which voluntarily passed on ideology, power and importance to each other, there was also a system of consecutive East European centres — Kyiv-Vladimir-Moscow-Petersburg-Moscow, which followed one another. This creation of an unbroken succession of centres led inevitably to a levelling of national differences in favour of the Russian state and the Great Russian people, for the Ukrainian and the Byelorussian nationalities were now included in the All-Russian people, a pure invention. That is why the history of Ukraine is merely an episode for Russian historians when they unroll the history of the Russian (East Slav) nation and state, while Byelorussia has no place at all in the plan of Russian history.

This scheme of centres meant in reality one centre to which the entire historical development is related. The First Rome and the Second Rome, for instance, were important for Muscovy only inasmuch as they formed the basis for the Third Rome; they had both decayed, but the Third Rome is to last for ever. Moscow was obviously such a centre, so it is natural that Russian historians should have grouped the territories, first of Russian, and later of non-Russian peoples round Moscow, regarding their complete subordination as the foundation of its existence.

In this way the idea of centralization grew, the pet theory of Russian historians who followed the footsteps of ancient scholars. In dealing with Eastern Europe they observed certain traditional limits; they were hypnotized by the constantly recurring image of Moscow as the Third Rome. Thanks to this constant consideration of an antiquated plan, the area under study automatically grew smaller. Russia as a territory (Eastern Europe) was neglected. Russia as a Great Power, in possession of  $\frac{1}{6}$  of the area of the globe had no exact knowledge, from the historical and geographical-historical points of view, of either its provinces or its frontiers, a fact that can easily be confirmed by anyone who looks at the historical teaching of Klyuchevsky or Platonov. This narrowness of vision was all too clearly felt in the works of historians who were in the habit of making Russian history revolve round one central point, or of reconstructing it

artificially along those lines. It appeared as if writers of history deliberately closed their eyes, so as not to see the local factors of territory which played an important, often a decisive part in the history of Russia, and still more in the history of Eastern Europe. That is why Russian historical research has clung to centralist theories and why none of its exponents expresses autonomous or federal ideas in connection with non-Russian territories.

It is not strange that for some time it should have been Ukrainians who represented these ideas in the East, men like Kostomarov, Antonovych and Drahomanov. The territorial school in Ukraine — if it may be called so — has almost a monopoly in the study of Ukrainian, and partly Byelorussian territories under the Grand Princes. This school, under the leadership of V. Antonovych, produced a number of scholars, such as M. Hrushevsky, O. Hrushevsky, Bahaliy, Holubynsky, Dovnar-Zapolsky, W. Laskoronsky, Danylevych, M. Dashkevych, N. Molchanivsky, etc., who concerned themselves above all with the areas of Siversk, Chernyhiiv, Volhynia, Podolia, Kyiv, Smolensk, Polotsk, Pereyaslav, Kholm, Turov-Pinsk, etc. V. Antonovych's successor in the Chair of History at Kyiv University, M. Dovnar-Zapolsky, revealed peculiar territorial features in his researches in special areas, though he was more concerned with the economic history of special districts or places in ancient Muscovy, seldom in Ukraine. But the Kyiv School, a number of young scholars trained at Kyiv University, devoted its attention mainly to Ukraine.

In archaeology, too, territorial research achieved results, it started with the publication of archaeological maps of separate districts, such as Kyiv and Volhynia (V. Antonovych), Kharkiv (D. Bahaliy), and Podolia (J. Sicinsky). This work was carried on by M. Hrushevsky, who began under the Soviet regime to publish a series of historical monographs, such as "Kyiv and its Surroundings" (1926), "Chernyhiiv and the North Left Bank Ukraine" (1928). Russian historical research was not interested in the study of separate districts, for there seemed no necessity for going beyond the limits of the centres. It was quite indifferent towards the history of individual areas within the sphere of interest of the Russian state. It is true that studies of various districts were made (Novgorod, Pskov, Siberia etc.) but these went their own way, or they were carried out from the standpoint of a centre and their perspective was consequently narrow and false. Students of localities with an autonomous program, such as Shapov in Siberia, for example, were persecuted.

The study of Russian history pursued its centralist theories, having no intention of deviating from its "Usual Scheme" although it had been changed in the course of time. There was a reason for this preference for the "Usual Scheme." Russian historians sanctioned the character of the historical process in Russia, formed as it was by force. They accepted the centralist system with its amalgamation of territories round a Muscovite centre. For them, as we said already, the Kyiv Period was a convenient starting-point which a Great Power

could not dispense with. The idea of the Third Rome was one of the main planks in their platform as it was a question of the universal messianic mission of the Russian people. They had no use for cooperation, voluntary union, federation and freedom; their standard was subordination, adaptation to the needs of one centre, even when the victims of such adaptation were nations and peoples who became more convinced as time went on that the Russian state was a dungeon for the peoples who had the misfortune to be within its sphere of influence. This one-sidedness, this narrow conception of the state was, and still is, a danger for the historical development of Russia itself. Nor can a careful consideration leave any doubt that the same one-sidedness was also influenced by the idea of the Third Rome which had taken deep root in the hearts of Orthodox Russians.

In time the picture formed of Eastern Europe by Russia was taken over by Central and Western Europe. This was made possible by the cooperation of Slav Russophiles, the Czechs at their head, and also by the fact that it was impossible for students of European history to form an independent notion of the historical process in Russia, or to dispense with Karamzin, Solovyov, Klyuchevsky and Platonov. Thus, scholars of reputation, like Schieman and Stählin, and a number of men who are supposed to be specialists in the history of Eastern Europe continued to use the traditional, Russian scheme, even after the Soviets renewed it, and historians in Western Europe followed their example. European historiography today is unable to free itself from this conservative attitude, which, moreover, is influenced to no slight degree by Soviet propaganda.

Professor O. Ohloblyn

## The Theory of Moscow as the Third Rome in the 16th and 17th Centuries

### I

"The Third Rome — that is the key that allows us to understand the life of the Russian people throughout some centuries of its history." In these words, E. Denisoff, a famous scholar, accurately characterizes the value and content of the Third Rome; it was not only an official doctrine held by the state of Muscovy and its Church; it also became a national idea of the Russian people, the expression of its belief in Russia's messianic calling. Without it, the history of the Russian people would be a closed book for us.

Although the idea of Moscow as a Third Rome had long been known and treated in various books that were published between 1850 and 1860, it was only towards the end of the 19th century that

historians began to take a scientific interest in the problems connected with this theory.

The first important scientific study was a monograph by V. Malinin, entitled "Philotheus, the Monk of the Eleazar Monastery, and his Epistles" (Kyiv 1901). Up till the present time no other book has been published dealing with the person of Philotheus, a monk from Pskov, living towards the end of the 15th century and in the beginning of the 16th, and with his conception of Third Rome. Malinin collected and conscientiously studied the comprehensive documentary material (also in manuscript) connected with the biography of Philotheus, the history of his works, the analysis of his literary production and his main ideas. But Malinin's work is founded in the main on historical and literary research and does not sufficiently illuminate the historical origin of the theory of the Third Rome.

This theory was treated more intensively in German scientific literature. "Moscow, the Third Rome" (Hamburg 1929) by Hildegard Schäder was an interesting attempt to trace not only the development of this theory (although the author does not avoid that question), but also its historical and literary sources. The materials used by the author and her conclusions about the preliminary history of the theory of Moscow as the Third Rome are of particular interest. She rightly traces them to the ideology of the first Bulgarian empire.

No new special studies followed the researches conducted by Malinin and H. Schäder into problems connected with Moscow's claim to be the Third Rome. During the last decade, however, mention began to be made of this theory within the Soviet Union and beyond its frontiers. One of the most interesting publications on the subject was written by N. S. Chayev, a Russian historian, entitled "Moscow, the Third Rome in the political practice of Muscovite rulers in the 16th century," which appeared in 1945 under the auspices of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Another important contribution was made by Elie Denisoff, a Russian by birth and an eminent West European scholar ("*Aux origines de l'Eglise Russe Autocéphale*" — *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, Vol. XIII, 1947). Both authors, attacking the problem from different sides, connect the development (in the case of Denisoff, also the origin) of the theory of the Third Rome with the cultural (Denisoff) and the political (Chayev) relations between Moscow (the Third Rome) and the Vatican (the First Rome). For Denisoff, the idea of the Third Rome originated in the influence exercised by the Catholic West on Russian culture and in the general ideas prevailing in Church and State at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th. Chayev, on the other hand, regarded the development of this idea and its transformation into a constitutional principle in the 16th century as one of Moscow's weapons in its ideological war against the West, and, in particular, against Rome and the Holy Roman Empire. We must, however, admit that scientific research has not pronounced the last word on this matter. Ukrainian historians, for instance, have not yet given proof of any interest in the theory of the Third Rome, although, from the middle of the 17th

century on, it has had such momentous influence on the history of Ukraine. The problem of the historical origin of this theory is one which must attract Ukrainian scholars more than any others.

## II

The idea of the Third Rome first found expression in some "Epistles" written by Philotheus, the Starets, a monk belonging to the Eleazar monastery in Pskov in the first quarter of the 16th century.

Philotheus, whose secular name is unknown was born near Pskov about the middle of the 15th century. We have no accurate information either about his youth or his studies, but it is obvious from his writings that he was a man of education and on a level with the more notable representatives of learning at that time. He was probably attracted to the Eleazar Monastery, a celebrated centre of ecclesiastical and cultural life in Pskov, by his interest in books and learning. Here he remained till his death about 1540 and we know that he was for some time abbot of the monastery.

Philotheus' cultural and political ideas derived from the influence of Novgorod and Moscow, two rival states.

Novgorod's cultural tradition, founded on influences from the Europe of the Renaissance, impressed Philotheus. But, being a true son of Pskov he could not then sympathize with Novgorod politics and was forced to turn to Moscow which compelled his admiration and involuntary enthusiasm, feelings that were perhaps also mingled with fear of an attack from Moscow, once the "liberty" of Novgorod had been liquidated.

Through it all, Philotheus remained a genuine Pskov patriot. When Moscow employed strategy and force in 1510 to put an end to the independence of Pskov, Philotheus risked his personal security and made every attempt to alleviate the sufferings of the Pskov citizens which were caused by Muscovite tyranny and, in particular, by the confiscation of property and mass deportations. He applied to Vasil III, Grand Prince of Muscovy and he did succeed in helping his countrymen.

The literary heritage of Philotheus is not great, but he certainly wrote more than we can judge today. We can divide his work, mostly "Epistles" written to different persons on different occasions, into 3 groups: 1) "Epistles" written ad hoc, dealing with concrete events of the time (3 "Circulars"); 2) "Epistles" dealing mainly with theories (4 "Epistles") among which is that addressed in 1524 to Michael Mysiur-Munekhin against star-reading and Latinists containing a finished statement of his theory of the Third Rome; 3) "Epistles" dealing mainly with political and ecclesiastical problems (3 "Epistles"), including that to the "Tsar Ivan Vasil'yevich" and to the Grand Prince Vasiliy Ivanovich, in which the idea of a Third Rome first finds expression.

Various scholars also ascribe other works to Philotheus. According to O. Shakhmatov, he edited "Russian Chronograph" in 1512. But

further research must establish with the help of the study of manuscripts, whether he actually wrote more.

If we consider Philotheus' literary output and the world of ideas he lived in, we are driven to conclude that he was one of the leading figures in church and literary circles in Pskov. Like its predecessor, the Novgorod ecclesiastical and literary circle, connected with the name of Gennadiy (Gonsov), Archbishop of Novgorod, Philotheus' circle combined local (Pskov) cultural interests with efforts at reconciliation and co-operation with Moscow. It acquired not only cultural, but also political lustre from the important personalities who were its members, men like Dmitriy Gerasimov, a well-known Moscow diplomat at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th, or the "German," Nikolay Bulev (Bülów), maestro Nicolo Lubacense, "professore di medicina e di astrologia e di tutte le scienze fondatissime," or the famous Maksim Grek, or Michael Mysiur-Munekhin from Moscow. Contact with this circle helped to shape Philotheus' historical theories (on which his ideas of the Divine Right that protects a Chosen People and a privileged state are based) and his political doctrines, the most striking of which is the conception of the Third Rome.

This last idea was expressed for the first time in the Epistle Philotheus addressed to the "Tsar Ivan Vasil'yevich," which we think was written early in 1505 to Grand Prince Ivan III. But this contains as yet no mention of Moscow as the Third Rome.

Later, about 1510-1511, Philotheus repeated this favourite idea of his in an "Epistle" to Grand Prince Vasilii III. This contains an expression of the complete idea, but not yet a clear and convincing form, which we find only in the "Epistle" to Mysiur-Munekhin, probably written about 1524. Here Philotheus writes: "...all Christian states have found their end, and have been absorbed, in accordance with the writings of the Prophets, in the one and only empire of our Sovereign, i. e. in the Russian empire. The First and the Second Rome have fallen, and now the Third stands. There will never be a Fourth."

These words became the classic formulation of the Muscovite theory of the Third Rome.

For some time the idea of the Third Rome expressed by Philotheus in his "Epistles" remained his own private theory and was not officially recognized either by the Church of Moscow or its government. Later in the 16th century, however, the conception assumed a prominent place in the life of both Church and State.

The transformation of a private idea into a political principle of the Muscovite tsars was effected by the Muscovite Church under Ivan the Terrible (1533-1584) and in particular by Metropolitan Makariy (1542-1563), its most eminent representative. Makariy's name is closely associated with the growth of the Muscovite State into the empire of the Tsars, the marriage of Tsar Ivan IV, the Church synods

of 1547 and 1548, the "Stoglav"<sup>1)</sup> in 1551 and with such unique writings (hagiographical, genealogical, and historical) as: "Chetyi-Minei"<sup>2)</sup>, "Stepennaya Kniga"<sup>3)</sup> and "Tsarstvennaya Kniga"<sup>4)</sup> and with the codification of the chronicles and other documents. Inspired by the spirit of the Third Rome, Makariy and his literary colleagues formulated the conception of Moscow as a central power and of "Russian" history, the history of the "Russian church" and of the dynasty of the Tsars of Moscow as the direct and lawful successors of the Byzantine Empire, its Church and its ruling house.

But Philotheus' conception of the Third Rome demanded more authoritative and historical guarantees than Byzantium could then provide. The Muscovite scholars of the 16th century thought it necessary to find a direct link between Moscow and the original Rome, which was still recognized head of the Universal Church. So, in the "Stepennaya Kniga" we find a popular presentation of the legend (created in the first quarter of the 16th century) that the family of the Muscovite Tsars was directly descended from Prus, a legendary brother of the Roman emperor Augustus. This provided a historical foundation for the theory of the Third Rome launched as an ecclesiastical and political doctrine by the Pskov monk in the middle of the 16th century and thus transformed into an official principle of the Muscovite Tsars.

The creation of the Patriarchate of Moscow in 1589 gave this theory the authority not only of the Muscovite Church but also of the universal Orthodox Church. Philotheus' conception of the Third Rome was quoted almost literally in the "Ulozhennaya Gramota"<sup>5)</sup> of 1589 and even put into the mouth of Jeremy, the Patriarch of Constantinople who signed this charter. From then on, this idea was officially recognized as a principle of Church and State in the Muscovite empire that was familiar to all. Even though it suffered an eclipse in the early 17th century when the power of Moscow declined, it did not disappear, and its influence on politics at the time of the first Romanovs cannot be questioned.

In the 17th century the theory of the Third Rome revived in connection with the success of Moscow's policy in the south, particularly in Ukraine. Under Patriarch Nikon, the Church of Moscow reached its zenith and the heights of its power as an influence on both domestic and foreign policy.

The renaissance of the Ukrainian state under Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1648-1657) and the new situation thus caused both in church and state endangered the theory of the Third Rome. The liberation of a new Ruthenian Orthodox state, whose church was

1) Resolutions passed by the Church Synod of 1551 in the Muscovite State.

2) The lives of the saints, arranged as a monthly diary.

3) A book containing the genealogy of the Muscovite dynasty and important events in the history of Church and State.

4) Compilation of historical events connected with the Tsar's family.

5) The Foundation Charter of the Patriarchate of Moscow.



under the Patriarch of Constantinople could not be recognized by those for whom a Fourth Rome was an impossibility; leading circles connected with the Second Rome — the Greek Orthodox clergy — realized the significance of this antagonism, and gave Khmelnytsky much moral and political support. An echo of this conflict of ideas between the Third and the Second Rome is to be found in the well-known discussion between Arsen Sukhanov, the Moscow abbot, and Greek churchmen (represented by Paisius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem and his learned colleagues) about the priority of the Church of Moscow. The Treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654 and later the subjugation of the Ukrainian Church to the Patriarch of Moscow assured a monopoly in Eastern Europe for the Third Rome.

This victory was also largely the result of the fact that the broad masses of the population of the Muscovite State, quite apart from any social, political, ecclesiastic or cultural deviations, had adopted the idea of the Third Rome. It is significant that even supporters of the opposition in the Church never ceased to preach the theory of the Third Rome to the masses. We find the idea expressed in writings by many so-called Old Believers in the second half of the 17th century (Protopop Avvakum, Nikita Dobrinin, Pop Lazar, Deacon Fedor, the monks Sergius and Abraham, the so-called "Solovetskaya Chelobitnaya" etc.). That the name of Philotheus was known to the Old Believers is obvious from the fact that they canonized him, although he was not regarded as a saint by the Church itself.

The idea of the Third Rome was differently interpreted by official circles in the Church and State and by these sectarians. The former laid emphasis on the rôle of Moscow as the Third Rome, while the latter stressed the impossibility of a Fourth Rome. Both, however, were united by a deep, mystical belief in Moscow as the Third and last Rome.

Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries the messianic idea of the Third Rome developed to become the foundation of Moscow's national life, one of the ruling principles of its contemporary and future policy.

**Professor N. Vasilenko-Polonska**

## **The Evolution of the Theory "Moscow—the Third Rome" during the 18th and 19th Centuries**

I wrote I rather partly parody with the title "The theory "Moscow — the Third Rome" assumed its definite form at the end of the 17th century, when it crystalized out of the tradition handed down from Byzantium according to which the emperor's power came to him from God. Moscow was to take the place of the

First and the Second Rome (Constantinople) and thus become the center of Orthodox Europe, with the Tsar as the sole Orthodox monarch. Hence the repeated attempts to gain a controlling influence over the East and Constantinople were closely linked with similar attempts to unite all Orthodox people. The struggle for power between emperor and Church reflected itself in two different conceptions, one of which, the "idea of symphony," or "God's wise union" of Tsar and Patriarch, was devised by Patriarch Nikon, while the Greek Paisius Ligarid formulated the idea of a complete subjection of the Church under the power of the Tsar.

## II

The Russian Imperium set an end to the traditions of Muscovite Tsarism; however, the concept of the Third Rome on the basis of imperialism survived and, in the atmosphere of St. Petersburg, assumed new aspects. At the time of Peter I the doctrine of the Tsar being "God's Own Monarch" was abolished, however the phrases "According to the principle that the power has been bestowed upon Us by the Almighty" and "In the provinces which the Almighty subjected to Our Supremacy" were retained. The power of the Tsar was to be "secularized."

The ideologist of Peter's reformatons was the Metropolitan of Novgorod, Theophan Prokopovych, a Ukrainian by birth. In his treatise "The Truth of the Monarch's Will" he stated that the power is given to the monarch not only by God, but also through the choice of the people (according to Hobbes's theory). Nevertheless the monarch is responsible for his actions to God only, and nobody has the right to limit his power. This was a plain justification for absolutism and despotism.

In his "Historical Treatise" Th. Prokopovych claimed that the monarch is free to act as he pleases, and that his authority cannot be limited either by the Church or by ethical principles. It is self-evident that such conception of the monarchical power brought forth — as its logical result — the complete subjection of the Church.

Patriarch Nikon's theory did not appeal to Peter I. He feared that the patriarchal throne might be occupied by a person of a strong individuality who would refuse to be subjected to the Tsar. Consequently he began the struggle against the Patriarchate: In 1694 he abolished the traditional procession which usually took place on the last Sunday before Easter. It was one of its symbolic features that during this procession the Patriarch sat on an ass that the Tsar had to conduct through the streets.

In the same year Peter I wrote a rather nasty parody with the title "The Synod of the Biggest Blasphemers and Drunkards" in which he scoffed at Patriarch and Pope alike. At the head of this "Synod" stood the "Princely Pope," the "Patriarch of Bratislava," and a "conclave" of cardinals, bishops and archimandrites. All the high

dignitaries of the state appeared in this parody, the Tsar himself had been given the rôle of a deacon; it is not yet decided whether this was accidental, or done with deliberation. In any case it should be noted that in the hierarchy of the Church the function of a deacon was held by the Emperor of Byzantium.

After the death of Patriarch Adrian in 1701 Peter I did not permit a successor to be elected, but appointed Stephan Yavorsky to the position of a "governor."

The Patriarchate was finally abolished in 1721, and its place taken by the "Holy Synod" which was composed of metropolitans and bishops (its first head was Stephan Yavorsky, his deputy Theophan Prokopovich). In reality this "Holy Synod" was a secular institution established on the lines of other "Collegiates." Its actual agent, the "Highest Procurator," was a secular employee appointed by the emperor who in this manner brought the entire Church under his control. The monasteries — formerly shelters to the ascetics — had to render service to the state, and a strict supervision was exercised upon them.

Thus it cannot be denied that during the rule of Peter I the Church in Russia lost its former significance: from being an independent institution it was converted into an organ of the Tsar's political ambitions.

The Tsar had become the actual head of the Church — exercising full control over it, instead of being merely its supporter. For two centuries Peter's reformatory measures weighed down upon the Russian Church, which was oppressed by his "Ecclesiastical Regulations" and transformed into a pliable tool in the hands of the Tsar.

### III

The theory of Moscow as the Third Rome took an unexpected turn during the rule of Empress Catherine. Never before had the Russian state displayed so much concern for the control of the Near East, and never had there been such a complete consonance between very concrete imperialistic ambitions and the mystic day-dreams of the Third Rome, as in the last quarter of the 18th century. This phenomenon found its expression in the "Greek Project" by which Russia claimed sovereignty over the Black Sea with all its bays and Constantinople for the end of re-establishing the old Byzantine Imperium.

After the termination of the Russian-Turkish War (1769-1774) vast areas from the Sea of Azov to the Boh (Southern Bug) were annexed by the Russian Imperium. The Greeks who had risen up against the Turks were offered settlement on the shores of the Sea of Azov, and from their ranks the "Army of Albania" was recruited. In 1783 the Khanate was abolished in the Crimea, and the peninsula — under the name of Tauria — fell to Russia. The towns founded in the newly annexed territories of the southern Ukraine and Tauria

were given Greek names such as Sebastopol, Olbiopol, Mariupol, Sympheropol, Cherson, Nikopol and others. Catherine's powerful governor, the Duke Potemkin, more than anybody else advocated the "Greek Project"; it had been his idea to transfer the center of the Imperium to the south and have Katerynoslav enter into competition with St. Petersburg. When in 1787 Catherine II visited the southern Ukraine and the Crimea, she noticed in Cherson a triumphal arch which bore the inscription "The Way to Constantinople." She referred to this slogan when later on her trip — during a conversation with Joseph II — she defined the spheres of influence in Europe: Austria was to take Italy with Rome, Russia Constantinople. From then on, Russia adopted a new political course by trying to get into closer touch with Austria and paying increasing attention to the Balkans and Turkey.

Catherine's actions bear witness to the fact that she, too, believed that the Church was to be subjected to the power of the monarch; thus she secularized the possessions of the monasteries. When the Metropolitan Arseniy Matsiyevych dared to protest against the secularization, he was taken prisoner by the Synod upon Catherine's demand. As official reason for such imprisonment served the significant fact that Catherine had found in many passages of Arseniy's "Statements" insulting interpretations of words taken from the Holy Script. Though the members of the Synod themselves had not come upon such interpretations, Catherine succeeded in forcing her opinion upon them. Thus she interfered with the authority of the Church even in a question of a purely religious character.

During the rule of Paul I, the Theory of the Third Rome reappeared, this time in a more mystical form. Paul did not display much interest in the "Greek Project," but strove for ecclesiastical power. At his coronation he appeared in the garb of the Byzantine emperors and proclaimed himself publicly as the head of the Church. He even wanted to celebrate Mass, and have his ministers confess their sins to him. And it was only because of the fact that he was married twice that he could not realize his plans, as the Orthodox Church does not permit its priests a second marriage.

His wish to be the head of the Orthodox Church did not interfere with Paul's enthusiasm for Catholicism. In his capacity as successor to the throne he paid a visit to the Pope, and when the First Rome fell (1798) he asked the Pope to come to Russia. It is possible that in the fancy of this most peculiar of all monarchs of the 18th century his veneration for the Pope blended with the idea of the Third Rome, for "the Second Rome fell, as did the First Rome; the Third Rome will last forever."

The attitude of Paul I assumed with reference to the Maltese Order is also worth mentioning: He offered the order considerable subsidies and thus enabled it to establish a number of monasteries in Russia; he even dreamt of uniting all states under the Maltese Cross. And when in 1798 the French occupied Malta, he was made "Grand Master" of the order.

## IV

At the time of Alexander I the theory of the Third Rome again assumed new aspects. At a conference with Napoleon in Tilsit in 1809, Alexander suggested to Napoleon the following division of the world: Napoleon was to get Syria, the Levant States, Smyrna and Salonika; Alexander claimed the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. Later, in Erfurt, he hoped to win Constantinople for Russia; however, he had to be content with Walachia and Moldavia. The victory over Napoleon and the triumphant entry into Paris found mystical explanations in Russia. The theory of the Third Rome was called back to life, and was firmly linked with the doctrine of Russia's unconquerable power and its leadership in the world. At the Vienna Conference the Holy Alliance — which was supposed to rule Europe — was called into existence. Protestant Prussia, Catholic Austria and Orthodox Russia were its supporting pillars. The Holy Alliance, however, did not give Russia any advantages: for years it conveyed her policy into channels which were opposed to Catherine's "Greek Project." Thus, when the Greeks rebelled against the Turks, Russia was not able to render them assistance in spite of the fact that the revolt agreed with her plans; but according to the policy of the Holy Alliance, Russia should have quelled the rebellion.

During the rule of Nicholas I the question of the supremacy over Constantinople was to become the cardinal problem of Russia's policy. Nicholas promised England that she would get Egypt (that then belonged to Turkey) on condition that she assisted Russia in defeating Turkey and conquering Constantinople. When in spite of his promises he did not find allies, Nicholas was not discouraged: he demanded from the sultan the protectorate over Turkey's orthodox population. And when the sultan did not yield to this demand, Nicholas waged a "holy war" against the halfmoon in 1853, 400 years after the fall of Constantinople. In this war — it was called the Crimean — Turkey had England, France, Austria and Sardinia on its side, so that it succeeded in defeating Russia. Yet again the theory of the Third Rome had not been realized.

## V

At the beginning of the 19th century the theory of the Third Rome which hitherto had been the domain of the leading circles (rulers and statesmen) extended its influence and infiltrated into the broad masses of the people. This was the more easy as it fell in with the principles of the strengthening of the Orthodox Church, the idealization of the past, and the deepening of the belief in the God-sent Messianism of the Russian people. The opposition against the West with its rationalism, its atheism and its revolutions increased, and the idea of "God's Own People" whose high vocation was to unite all Slavs and bring peace to all peoples was disseminated and found nation-wide echo. In the

phrase: "Autocracy, the Orthodox Church, and the Russian People" the old theory of the Third Rome found a new form of expression. The autocratic power of the Tsar increased, Russian imperialism grew, and the church more and more became a political tool of the government. The idea of the Third Rome in the 19th century grew into 1) a strong Pan-Slavist movement which aimed at uniting all Slav nations under the leadership of Russia, and 2) the Slavophile movement which separated the East from the West.

The absolutism of the 19th century returned to mystical forms which found excellent interpretation by Gogol: "The monarch is anointed by God, he is God's image... The power of the monarch is to be absolute; the fates of millions of subjects are a heavy burden upon his shoulders. He is responsible to God for his people, and this frees him from any responsibility towards men..." Thus the conception of the Tsar as "God's Own Monarch" of the 17th century experienced a revival with Gogol.

During the second half of the 19th century Slavophilism regained considerable strength. It was a reaction upon the liberal currents around 1860, the revolutionary ideas that infiltrated from the West. Never before had the conception of the Third Rome been expressed as clearly as in this epoch which was marked by the struggle of two political currents against each other: conservatism and liberalism. The newspaper "Moscow News" (Moskovskiye Vedomosti) was the organ of the conservatives; and in this capacity its editor M. Katkov and a group of publicists proclaimed the slogan of: "Autocracy, the Orthodox Church, and the People." One of the most outstanding advocates of the idea of the Third Rome in the second half of the 19th century was Konstantin Leontiev: "Russian Tsarism," he wrote, "reached a higher level than Byzantine Tsarism ever did... for it is inherited and patriarchal. Byzantinism has shown us our historical rôle in the world, which lies in the determination of the Eastern problems." It is characteristic of the Slavophiles that they liked to bring out the differences between St. Petersburg and Moscow: "Moscow grew out of Constantinople, it has a higher culture than St. Petersburg, for its culture developed organically, and it will survive that of St. Petersburg..." Here we find the ideologies of the Slavophiles, and we find — above all — the basic conception of the theory of the Third Rome. "Russia," Leontiev wrote, "is a special body politic that has not yet found its peculiar style."

The last quarter of the 19th century bears the traces of the activities of the outstanding politician K. Pobiedonostsev. He was a professor and the teacher of Tsar Alexander III, upon whom he exercised a very great influence, and at the same time Principal Procurator of the Holy Synod. He was the central figure of the Russia of that time. He used his immense influence to strengthen the idea of absolutism. "Autocracy," he wrote, "is Divine Service. The Tsar is the great fighter who carries all the troubles of the people... Autocracy is the tool by means of

which higher ideals may be attained. Only through complete subjection is the people able to assist the Tsar in his struggle."

The Messianism of the Third Rome found a remarkable echo in literature. One of its best advocates was Dostoyevsky; in his "Demons" he has one of his heroes, Shatov, say the following: "there is only one people in the world that is 'God's Own'... This people is God's Body." And further: "I believe in Russia... I believe in Christ's Body. I believe in Christ's Revival in Russia!"

The Slavophiles Khomyakov, Kireyevsky and Dostoyevsky derived this Messianism not only from the influence of the Orthodox Church, but also from the hostile attitude against Catholicism. Russia realized that her power and at the same time the power of the Third Rome depended upon her supremacy over Constantinople; thus she continued craving for Constantinople in spite of the fact that the Crimean War (1853-55) had been a failure.

Dostoyevsky wrote in his "Diary of a Writer" in 1876: "Constantinople should be ours — if not now, then later."

The advocate of the Third Rome saw their theory prosper when during the national movements in 1876 innumerable masses of volunteers from different Russian towns marched to the Balkans in order to assist their "Slav Brothers" in their fight against the Turks. In 1877 Russia declared war on the Turks, and the new hope that maybe this time it would be possible to subject Constantinople made all Russian hearts beat faster. Dostoyevsky wrote: "This will decide the future of Europe... from the East there will come the new word that will save the world." Convinced of a favourable outcome of the war, he already formed plans how to divide the world. Germany was in his eye's Russia's only natural ally. Thus the two big nations — by forming a union — would bring salvation to the world. However, the European states took sides with Turkey, as they had done in former times, and Russia had to be content to get Transcaucasia, and acknowledge Bulgaria's and Roumania's independence.

However, Russia did not part with her ambitions — in 1882 Leontiev pointed out the necessity for Russia to conquer Constantinople. He planned — much like Dostoyevsky — a union between Russia and Germany. Constantinople was to be the capital of a powerful Greek-Slav alliance which was to be linked to Russia and her capital — Moscow or Kyiv — by the person of its leader.

Never before had the theory of the Third Rome been thus clearly defined. Though Leontiev's plans were not realized, they marked Russia's policy for years, for until the revolution in 1917 her diplomats continued to give special consideration to the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles.

As to the evolution of the idea of the Third Rome in the 18th century, there is one feature deserving to be specified: the subjection of the church under the power of the Tsar. The steady development of this peculiar trait could be observed through the centuries. In the

middle of the 19th century a member of the Slavophiles — Ivan Aksakov — severely criticized the state of affairs as it was: the church government had degenerated into a purely administrative staff that ruled the church like any secular institution. The church itself had given up its genuine character and became a tool of the Russian Imperium, governed solely by the Synod. The Orthodox Church was deprived of God's spirit, but it possessed all privileges and enjoyed the protection of the state that at the same time persecuted the other confessions (The Union, the Protestant Movement). Though persons who discontinued membership with the Orthodox Church were punished like criminals, a final split within the church could not be averted. There was discontentment among the people, and the establishing of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church in 1921 was only the natural issue of such development.

The last quarter of the 19th century was influenced by the activity of the outstanding philosopher Vladimir Solovyov, a Ukrainian by birth. Solovyov was a Pan-Slavist, and unlike Dostoyevsky and Leontiev he believed in the advantages of a union between the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches; on the other hand, he was against the "Second Rome"-Byzantium. He believed in the theory of the Third Rome which he considered not an antithesis of the First Rome, but a synthesis of the First and the Second Rome. Though in the course of three centuries the theory of the Third Rome had passed through various processes of evolution, a leading thought can be followed through all the phases of its development. This leading idea was one of the most important contributions towards a strengthening of absolutism. In the 20th century this absolutist regime produced such anachronisms that even Pobiedonostsev was terrified when he became conscious of this development. After he had read Schilder's "Paul I" he discovered many traits which the beginning of the 20th century and his own epoch had in common: all of them bore witness to the development of absolutism into despotism.

Russia had waged wars on behalf of her imperialism, and made immense sacrifices. Caesaropapism had brought about the complete subjection of the church under the supremacy of the state. It had deprived the church of its own, peculiar spiritual life and of many of its believers. The Messianism of the Russian people had degenerated into an unlimited Chauvinism that brought in its train severe sufferings to all peoples that belonged to the Russian Imperium — such as the Ukraine. These were the actual fruits which the theory of the Third Rome had brought forth on the territories ruled by Moscow and St. Petersburg.

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V. Hryshko

## The Historical and Legal Basis of the Theory of the Third Rome

### I

A circular letter addressed by Philotheus to Mysiur-Munekhin, the Muscovite governor, contains a precise statement of Moscow's claim to be the Third Rome. According to many Muscovite sources it runs: "...All Christian states have come to an end and have been absorbed, as was written by the prophets, in the one and only empire of Our Lord, i. e. in the Russian empire. The First Rome and the Second have fallen, and the Third Rome stands; there will never be a Fourth Rome."

For some centuries Russian scientists, statesmen, politicians and even churchmen have accepted this formula as the basis for both the historical and philosophical concepts and for the concrete political programme on which Moscow's "Russian" or "All-Russian" imperialism is built.

### II

The theory of the Third Rome was based on the tradition that the historical prerogatives of the Roman Empire as a world empire were transferred by God to the Empire of Byzantium and Constantinople. After the latter's fall (1453) these prerogatives were handed over to the Empire of Muscovy and to Moscow itself as the Third Rome. Since, however, Muscovy was not connected historically with either Rome or Byzantium, Muscovite scholars turned to the history of Rus'-Ukraine and made use of the marriages between the ruling houses of Moscow and Kyiv. They began to use titles like "All Rus'." Thus Rus'-Ukraine became the chief link in the theory of Moscow's succession to the power of Rome as the rightful heir. Without Rus'-Ukraine there would have been a gap, a historical vacuum which would have destroyed the logical structure of the theory of the Third Rome. Rus'-Ukraine served as a bridge which enabled Moscow to show the connection of its princes with Byzantine dynasties and thus with the rulers of the Roman Empire. This, then, was the foundation of the theory of the Third Rome.

## III

In the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries separatist tendencies did actually appear in Muscovy, chief of these being "muscovitism," a separatist movement in politics and philosophy directed towards breaking with the Church and State of Byzantium. There are many proofs of this movement, the following being among the most striking: 1) the demonstration of the Muscovite Grand Prince Vasiliy Dmitriyevich against the Byzantine emperor when he forbade his Metropolitan to include the latter's name in the diptych, adding "We acknowledge the Church, but not the Emperor, nor do we wish to know him"... 2) The conclusions drawn by Moscow from the Florentine Union. 3) The declaration that the Metropolitan's see was independent, which was contrary to canonical law.

## IV

In later centuries Muscovite scholars, ignoring the breach between Moscow and Constantinople, created the legend of the "Byzantine inheritance" in connection with the marriage of Ivan III with Sophia Paleologue. This legend was a political instrument concocted by order of Moscow's ruling circles. It is confuted by the following historical facts: the absence of any evidence in manuscripts, the order of inheritance to the throne in Constantinople and the fact that Andrew Paleologue, Sophia's brother, twice renounced all his rights as emperor, — in 1494 in favour of Charles VIII, King of France, and in 1502 in favour of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, in addition to partially handing over his imperial rights in 1483 to Peter Manryka, Count Osorno and his heirs, the fact that, when Ivan III designated his successor in 1498, he passed over Vasiliy, Sophia's son and chose his grandson, Dmitriy, a Muscovite descendant. These are only some of the facts that refute the legend mentioned above.

## V

The competition between Moscow and Novgorod to be considered the Third Rome is interesting. Novgorod seems to have been ahead of Moscow in claiming Rome's ecclesiastical rights, literary evidence being provided by the "Legend of the White Bishop's Hood." The Epistle of Philotheus even mentioned this competition. Moscow's opposition to the "Legend of the White Bishop's Hood," which found expression in the church assemblies of Muscovy, is well known. The view in Novgorod was that Moscow was not worthy to be the site of the Third Rome, nor to discharge its functions.

## VI

The person of Volodymyr Vsevolodovych, Grand Prince of Kyiv and ancestor of the Suzdal dynasty was used to derive the genealogical connection between the rulers of Moscow and the Byzantine emperors. For this purpose, the "legend of Monomach's regalia," designated

already by Karamzin as a fairy tale, was created. According to this legend, Constantine Monomach, a Byzantine emperor, handed over the imperial insignia to Volodymyr Vsevolodovych, who in consequence was afterwards known as Volodymyr Monomach. The story was included in chronicles such as the "Stepennaya Kniga"; in order to call it to the memory of future generations, it was even carved in the door leading to the Tsar's throne in the Uspensky Monastery in Moscow. This legend of Monomach's regalia was manipulated to fit the patriarch's charter of 1561 which permitted the princes of Moscow to assume the title of Tsar.

Thus the Monomach legend, confirmed by the patriarch's forged charter, supported and sanctified by the highest representatives of the Orthodox Church, became part of the ideological foundation of the power of Muscovite Tsars. This did not satisfy Muscovite scholars, for they began to trace the genealogy of the rulers of Moscow back to the Roman Emperor Augustus. They incorporated this legend not only in the "Stepennaya Kniga" and the Chronicles, but also in the lives of St. Volodymyr and St. Olga, a proof that this arbitrary invention was accepted in both political and ecclesiastical circles.

## VII

Muscovite scholars were just as speedy in solving the problem of the superiority of the Church of Moscow over that of Byzantium. In order to do so, they appropriated the Kyiv and the Novgorod versions of the visit to those towns of the Apostle Andrew. They were thus enabled to "prove" that the Orthodox Church of Moscow was descended from Rome and to give "documentary evidence" of the "ancient supremacy" of their church in past centuries. By command of the ruling powers, the Muscovite Church was enlarged in two years when as many saints of Muscovite descent were canonized as saints of Ukrainian and Byelorussian descent had been canonized in the previous six centuries. Other measures also served to bolster up Moscow's supremacy: the "Chet'yi Minei" (lives of the saints for every day of the month) was created, bearing the name of Makariy, a Metropolitan of Moscow, and the patriarchate of Moscow was founded in 1589, contrary to the regulations of the Orthodox Church and in opposition to the patriarch of Constantinople.

## VIII

The modification of the conquest of Constantinople is characteristic for the scholars of Moscow. The Greek expression "Xanton genos" was changed first into "Russian generation" and later into "the Russian people."

## IX

The absurdity of the theory of Moscow as the Third Rome has been criticized by serious writers like Krizhanich, Solovyov, Shlyapkin and

many others. The theory of the Third Rome is a myth that was spread at a definite time, full though it is of historical and legal contradictions; based on legends and literary versions, it contains distortions and forgeries in place of legally founded facts. In spite, however, of all this variety of pseudo-historical and legal arguments, Church and State in Muscovy have created this imperialist idea in order to justify permanent aggression by the Muscovite colossus which, in violation of the eternal human values of justice, peace, morality and liberty, has succeeded in transforming Moscow into a world power that threatens humanity.

**Dr. Hans Koch**

### **The Theory of The Third Rome in The History of the Renewed Patriarchate of Moscow (1917-1952)**

#### **I**

Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century Eastern Europe had only three Churches functioning as state churches in large empires, — in Osman Turkey, Tsarist Russia and Austro-Hungary. But after the formation of national states in the course of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century, these state churches were split up and transformed into national churches; thus we find several branches of the old church — a Serbian Church, a Greek Church, a Bulgarian Church, and later, a Rumanian Church, an Albanian Church, etc.

It was possible for all these national churches to develop freely as long as the former established church of Russia was weakened and neutralized by its hopeless fight against the anti-theistic Soviet State (1917-1943).

The national churches were, however, seriously disturbed when the Soviet State entered into a concordat with the Christian Church in Russia, thus raising what had been a persecuted church to the status of a state church and an instrument of policy after the victory of the Allies (1945 et seq.).

The conditions determining this apparently inorganic policy were partly tactical (consideration for the Anglo-Saxon Allies, propaganda at home). They also corresponded to the doctrine of dialectic materialism which, in certain cases, permits "jumps," as it were, in revolution, and even a transition to "evolution."

The Eastern Church of Moscow was ready to play her part in the dangerous game which she regarded as a continuation of the old Byzantine church policy (Moscow, the Third Rome); moreover, she held it to be her first duty to conduct a Christian mission in the pagan state.

After the successes of Yalta and Potsdam this new "Sarmatian ecclesiastical axis," which came into being in the strange circumstances we have just described, has advanced in three directions: it unites the

national rump churches mentioned above under the banner of Great Russian Panslavism; it claims leadership over the whole field of the Orthodox Church; it even conducts a missionary campaign among other Christian Churches.

The Great Russian Panslav union of all Orthodox Churches in the Soviet satellite states has been successfully accomplished. All Eastern Churches, from the Baltic States to Albania, are in some way or other subordinate to the patriarchate of Moscow, attend the latter's councils, take its "Church Gazette" and follow the instructions herein, and are under the fraternal supervision of Moscow's representatives; in the case of the smaller churches, Moscow reserves the right to appoint its own bishop, and in larger churches it exercises moral pressure and strengthens its influence by promoting the use of the Russian language.

Moscow assumes leadership throughout the area of the Orthodox Church by settling disputes in an authoritarian manner (e. g. the dispute between Constantinople and Sofia), or by trying to lead the patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem (sometimes against their will), or by interfering even in the affairs of the more or less hostile Greek Church (civil war in Greece, dispute for supremacy with Constantinople).

Still more striking than Moscow's efforts to lead churches belonging to its own creed are its attempts to proselytize other Christians in the Western World. In this field of activity, the "Foreign Office of the Church," founded in 1948, pursues a twofold policy.

The oecumenical movement is decried as pan-Protestantism, the Anglican Church condemned as heterodox, while all other evangelical denominations are opposed as diluted Christianity or as Anglo-Saxon agencies.

The Orthodox Mission is still more violently antagonistic to the Roman Catholic Church. In Soviet Russia itself, this Church has been stamped out, at least physically (show trials in 1923 and later, forced migrations after World War II) while it has been robbed of all power in the satellite states (Stepinac, Mindszenty, Beran, Wyszynski). In addition, whole church provinces have been wiped out, e. g. by the so-called "voluntary reunions of 1946/48, by which the two Uniate Dioceses of Western Ukraine (4.5 million souls) and of the Rumanians in Transylvania (1.5 million souls) were transferred by a stroke of the pen from the jurisdiction of Rome and compelled by force to acknowledge the supremacy of Moscow. The patriarch of Moscow uttered not a word of protest against the forcible removal and imprisonment of a dozen bishops and several hundred priests of the Uniate Church, which was one of the results of this "Reunion."

All this is explained by the latest claim to a power which is obviously the aim of the Kremlin's ecclesiastic partner. It aspires to the leadership, not only of the Orthodox Church, but also of all Protestants and Catholics. Its slogan is "Moscow, the Third Rome, whose Patriarch is the supreme church dignitary in the entire Christian world."

Dr. Ivan Mirchuk

## The Development of the Theory of the Third Rome

### The mental and historical conditions of the theory of the Third Rome

To become familiar with the determining factors in shaping the history of Eastern Europe and thus to a great extent settling its present ideology, we must go back a long way and turn our attention to events connected with the introduction of Christianity. For it is there, and not in the 16th century that we must seek the historical and intellectual sources of the theory of the Third Rome. For reasons of politics, geography and economics it was natural that Christianity should spread to the Principality of Kyiv from Byzantium. This fact meant the transplantation to fresh soil not only of dogmas and all the rites and ceremonies of the new religion as well as its scheme of church organization, but also of legal and political ideas, in short of all the factors that go to make up culture in the widest sense of that word. In such a way the relation between Church and State with the absolute subjection of spiritual leadership to the secular power was stamped by the Greek priests, who held the reins of authority in the Kyiv hierarchy, on the consciousness of the leaders of ancient Rus and accepted automatically by them. This fact had catastrophic consequences when the country was invaded by the Tatars.

The principle of secular theocracy, which meant that the position of the Church in the State was one of subjection to the secular ruler, then spread farther north to Moscow where, mainly in consequence of the influence of the Mongolian mentality, it was considerably strengthened. A striking example of the subjection of Church and religion to the secular interests of the State may be seen in the history of the Florentine Union. This union was sabotaged for political reasons by the representative of secular power, the Grand Prince of Moscow, although its realization would not only have saved Byzantium, but would have greatly profited the Orthodox Church as well as the whole of Christendom. We find the first record of the view of secular theocracy in the famous Epistle of the monk Philotheus to Grand Prince Ivan III, a document which appears to be based on ideas of state policy, and not of religion and Christianity. Peter the Great's reforms and his synodal constitution of the Russian Orthodox Church once more confirm the subordination of the Church to the State as expressed in the Epistle of Philotheus. Subsequent rulers in Russia followed in the footsteps of the great tsar; indeed his church policy was not only continued, but even strengthened by his successors. This is clear in the formulation of the decrees issued by Paul I: "The supreme power of the ruler, which is granted him by God, is also extended to the Church. The entire clergy is obliged to obey the tsar as the elect of God and head of the Church in all religious matters and all civil affairs."

An ideological basis had now to be created for this state of affairs, which had been established with the help of physical resources. New methods were applied to proclaim Moscow's old mission to be the Third Rome, i. e. the spiritual centre of the world. It was now the task of Russia, supported by the Orthodox Church, to gather and unite all Slavs and the whole world on behalf of the great idea. Russia's mission is interpreted thus by various Slavophiles such as Kireyevsky, Khomyakov, Aksakov, Tyutchev, and by thinkers of a different stamp like Dostoyevsky and Danilevsky. Messianic revolutionaries with Herzen as their leader hold a special position in the philosophy of history in Russia.

The basic tendency in Russia's state policy developed in a fairly straight line from the 13th century to the beginning of the 20th. But it seemed to undergo a radical change with the fall of the tsars after the first World War. On the other hand, it seems feasible to regard the change of regime in the capital on the Neva — in reality merely external — as a logical consequence of conditions at that time and as necessary to save the Russian empire from dissolution; it was actually only a piece of scene-shifting, for things remained pretty much as they were.

It is again the relation between Church and State that interests us here. Russian Communism, having attained supreme power, took on the nature of a religion with its belief in dogmas and the infallibility of its head, with its strict discipline and intolerance of those who thought differently. In the early stages of its construction, before its position had been consolidated, Communism could brook no competition. This explains the destruction of churches and religious systems and of the Orthodox Church in particular, which had enjoyed special privileges as the organ of the former state. The Third Rome was replaced by the Third International with the same universal imperialist aims. But at the beginning of the Second World War the Bolsheviks changed their tactics towards the Church. In the course of two decades the Orthodox Church in Russia had been shaken to its foundations and crushed; it had almost completely lost its hierarchy, and was therefore no longer a danger for the dominant religion — Communism. Religious feelings, however, which were not satisfied by the new religion continued to exist, above all in the older generation of the people. This was a fact that had to be dealt with. A change of tactics, moreover, with the help of the Church subservient to the state, would make it possible to revive the old theory of the Third Rome and thus to pursue the party leaders' aims of world hegemony, which the Third International was unable to reach unaided. This explains why a modicum of tolerance is shown to the Russian Orthodox Church in the USSR, while the anti-Christian, and therefore anti-Orthodox attitude of Party and Government is as strong as ever. If we analyse the concessions made by both the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union and the State, we come to the conclusion that the former has suffered an enormous defeat, while the theory of the Third Rome has become a more complete and urgent reality than ever it was.

**Dr. Ivan Mirchuk**

## **THE 40-th ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN FREE UNIVERSITY (1921-1961)**

The Ukrainian Free University was founded in Vienna in January 1921, and transferred to Prague in autumn the same year, when armed resistance to Bolshevism in Ukraine decreased. It has survived the turbulent years of our people's recent history. Its activities have never been interrupted, and it is one of the oldest Ukrainian scientific institutions in exile. The UFU was unfortunately unable to celebrate its anniversary by giving Ukrainians all over the world an exhaustive review of its disturbed past, which has been closely linked with the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian people. Although our University succeeded in leaving Prague shortly before the end of World War II, there was no hope of saving its files, archives, and library. Volumes of collected scientific treatises and scientific works by its professors are, however, scattered throughout the world and bear witness to the activity of the UFU while it was in Prague. On the other hand it possesses a complete record of what it has done since it was established in Munich, all the material dealing with its teaching and administration and its publications. Together with the bulletins issued by the UFU every year and articles in the Ukrainian press and that of other countries on various events and facts in the life of the university, that material will in due time be of great service to the future historian. Our resources, however, do not at this stage allow the publication of a complete history of the UFU. For the same reason we dispensed with all jubilee ceremonies. The Senate determined to devote all the modest means at its disposal to publishing a collection of treatises by UFU professors and lecturers to mark the occasion, and thus to enrich the University's store of scientific achievements.

When a great many of our intellectuals emigrated to Vienna after the first World War they had the idea of establishing a Ukrainian university in order to meet the requirements of students who had been forced to leave their home, in many cases under arms. At the instigation of the Society of Ukrainian Writers and Journalists, the first free Ukrainian university came into being in the Austrian capital in January 1921. But Vienna did not prove a favourable location for this academic



institution, although its professorial staff included such eminent Ukrainians as Lypynskyj, Hrushevskyj, Dnistrianskyj, Kolessa, Shcherbyna, Starosolskyj, Smal-Stockyj, and others. By chance it was possible in autumn the same year to transfer the University to Prague. There is soon developed a flourishing activity, being attended by the many young Ukrainians who were living in military camps at Josefstadt and Deutsch-Gabel. By a decree of the Cabinet, the University was granted the right of asylum in Czechoslovakia; funds were put at its disposal as well as the necessary lecture rooms in the Czech University, while a number of scholarships were founded to enable Ukrainian students to take courses. Thus for the next few years the material and legal conditions for the further development of the UFU in Prague were guaranteed.

At that time Prague was the most important centre of Ukrainian political, national and literary life and came third after Kyiv and Lviv as an active centre of all Ukrainian academic activities. In consequence of the catastrophe which overtook the Ukrainian Galician Army in May 1919, some Ukrainian divisions were driven on to Czechoslovakian territory and were interned in the above-mentioned camps of Josefstadt and Deutsche Gabel. When the UFU opened, all the young men who had been gathered together in what was known as the Kraus Brigade went to Prague either to finish courses of study that had been interrupted or to start university study for the first time. They prepared themselves for the tasks awaiting them in civilian life and equipped themselves to realize the ideals they had fought for in vain. After graduating, most of them went back to become the vanguard in the work of reconstructing Ukraine's economy and to work as representatives of national consciousness. At that time our students attended lectures both at the UFU and at one of the Czech colleges. The teaching staffs of our University consisted of Ukrainian professors who had been forced for political reasons to leave their posts at Polish and Russian universities, and of scholars, who had not yet held a post. The scientific level of the staff was very high, since among the professors were prominent men like Horbachevskyj, a chemist of European reputation, Rudnyckyj, a well-known geographer, Smal-Stockyj, an eminent representative of Ukrainian philology and one of the first members of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Science in Kyiv, W. Bidnov, a Ukrainian scholar of church history, D. Antonovych, a highly respected expert in Ukrainian art, O. Kolessa, the first rector of the University, formerly Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Lviv University, D. Doroshenko, the historian of the Ukraine, S. Dnistrianskyj, an authority on civil law and a professor at Lviv University, F. Shcherbyna, a corresponding member of St. Petersburg Academy, W. Starosolskyj, our great theoretician and dialectician, O. Eichelmann, an eminent professor at Kyiv University, O. Odarchenko, formerly a professor at Warsaw in the days of the Tsars, Yakovliv, whose province was Ukrainian law and finally, younger representatives of jurisprudence like Loskyj, Lashchenko, and others.

Our scientists had the opportunity of working in institutes of the Czech University. Thus Horbachevskyj lectured at the Czech Institute of Chemistry, Rudnyckyj and Shvets, our geographers, worked in the Geographical Institute, Matushenko gave lectures on eugenics in the Institute of Biology. Lectures were well attended, not only by Ukrainians but also by other Slav nationals who had come to Prague to study.

The scientific activity of the University also found expression in its publications. These comprised two series of works: lithographed manuscripts of the lectures — to a certain extent for daily use — and printed works of greater dimensions and a more permanent character. Mention must be made here particularly of Horbachevskyj's fundamental book of reference for organic chemistry (800 pp.). It contains not only the elements of that branch of science but also — and this is of prime importance — fixed (for the first time) Ukrainian terminology for organic chemistry. Another volume of the same size on inorganic chemistry was ready for the press but was held up for lack of funds. Horbachevskyj's book was followed by Dnistrianskyj's equally important on "General Jurisprudence," also in Ukrainian. Another publication in this series was Lashchenko's "History of Ukrainian Law," the first Ukrainian book on the subject, though there may be gaps in the treatment.

The scientific publications also include volumes of collected studies, two of which were dedicated to President Masaryk. Ukrainian scholars also contributed substantially to the publications of Czech scientific institutes, scientific journals, collections of studies, etc. The Ukrainian contribution to the collection of essays by various European scholars which was dedicated to President Masaryk, was an essay in Czech and English by Prof. Mirchuk on "The Slav Elements in Masaryk's Philosophy." The scripts issued primarily for the use of students included valuable treatises on the development of Ukrainian culture, such as D. Antonovych's study on the history of Ukrainian painting. Thanks to the University and its professors, Prague became interested for the first time in the achievements of Ukrainian scholarship. On the initiative of Mykyta Shapoval, the energetic chairman of the Ukrainian Committee, a college was founded in Podebrady for the scientific study of Ukrainian Agriculture in 1922, and in 1923 the Institute of Education was opened in Prague. At the same time a centre for the study of the plastic arts was established under the leadership of D. Antonovych. Collaborators of the Ukrainian University played an important part in all these institutes and in the academic life of Ukrainians in Prague as a whole. A number of scientific societies gathered round the University, such, for instance, as the Society for History and Philology. It was founded in 1923 and more than 500 scientific lectures and five volumes of treatises by various scientists bore witness to its long and fruitful activity. There was also the Society of Ukrainian Physicians, which endeavoured with the help of scholarships to train qualified specialists in medicine. Other societies were also founded for special

branches, one, for instance, for Ukrainian engineers and one for those interested in the natural sciences, and other.

An important institute, which owed its existence to the initiative of members of the University teaching staff, above all to the devoted work of Prof. D. Antonovych, was the Museum of the Ukrainian Struggle for Liberation. The only institute to be run without help from outside, the Museum reached a high level within a few years. It collected a mass of valuable material and had a building of its own. And yet the Museum, too, was destined to suffer hard blows: although Prague was only once attacked from the air during the whole war — in a raid that was comparatively light — one of the first bombs to fall hit the Museum. Since none of its founders dreamt that the capital of Czechoslovakia would ever be occupied by the Red Army, they considered that Prague was the most suitable site for such a national institute. Some were in favour of transferring the Museum to Switzerland, but the majority decided on Prague, with the result that many valuable collections and monuments were carried off to an unknown destination in the East.

Our scientists naturally participated in various international and Slav congresses, where they showed themselves to be worthy representatives of Ukrainian scholarship and where they had an opportunity of contacting European colleagues. The record in this respect was held by Prof. Shcherbakivskyj, who in the course of his activity at the University attended fifteen congresses, where he lectured on various Ukrainian problems.

Then came the year 1939, when Czechoslovakia was occupied by the German army and what had been an independent republic became a Protectorate of the Reich. Even in those critical times the University was able to preserve its independence although it had to accept a German curator. After the collapse of the Reich in 1945 the University decided at first to remain where it was; but most of the professors and students left Prague, where they had hitherto enjoyed great hospitality, and went to Bavaria, a country that was not occupied by the Russians. Towards the end of 1945 a small group of our professors, under the leadership of Prof. Shecherbakivskyj, began to reconstruct the University in Bavaria. The project was supported by the American officials — the Department for Higher Education in the Military Government for Bavaria — as well as by the Ministry of Education in the Bavarian Government, whose head at that time was Prime Minister Dr. Ehard. It was very difficult to make a fresh start, especially since the University's future had to be build up from its own resources. Thanks, however, to the ready help of Ukrainian compatriots and to the good will of students and professors, the UFU was enabled to gradually extend its sphere of work. Our political exiles realized that not only the political factor, but also our intellectual potential, the prestige of our scholarship and culture, play an important part in the struggle for the liberation of the Ukrainian people.

The number of academic experts grew from day to day, and increasing numbers of young people flocked to our University, which was accommodated in the Versailler Schule in Munich. An administrative staff was organized and our two Faculties were able to extend their programme by engaging more lecturers, the teaching staff at that time being bigger than in the days after the First World War. The University was strengthened by the support it received from Ukrainian intellectuals from East Ukraine, most of whom had come to the American Zone. The combined staff of the two Faculties numbered 70, while in the winter term of 1947/48 almost 500 students attended our courses. The complications inherent in the situation gave our University special importance, which was illustrated by the fact that the Bavarian Government recognized the UFU officially and put its diplomas on the same level as those granted by German universities. The intention of the present article is to review in short space at its disposal the development of the UFU in Munich and to assess the result it achieved. The volume of collected scientific papers published in 1948 gives a detailed report of the organization of the University and of its activities in the first years it spent in Bavaria. This was the most fruitful period in the history of the UFU as a teaching institution, as regards the size of the staff, the number of matriculated students, the number and variety of lectures and seminars and the organization of its internal apparatus.

In 1950 our exiles began to emigrate to other countries and the wave of emigration included our professors and students. Other institutions and schools for exiles began to restrict their activity or to close down altogether. But our Senate was unable to follow their example: our University had existed too long and its importance both for foreigners and for Ukrainians was too great. In one respect the situation of the UFU in Munich was more difficult than it had ever been in Prague: up to 1945 its existence, though a modest one, was guaranteed by regular subsidies from the Czech Ministry of Education.

Thanks to its heavy matriculation roll and to the support given by international organizations like UNRRA and IRO to refugees whose financial position allowed them to study, the UFU was independent of outside help during the first years of its activity in Munich. Its finances, however, suffered from the reform of the German currency and from the dwindling receipts from students' fees. Having lost the war, and faced with economic ruin as she was, Germany was unable to finance organizations and schools for exiles. Nevertheless, the Bavarian Government, at that time under the leadership of Prime Minister Dr. Ehard, managed to grant small but regular subsidies to the Ukrainian University. At the same time Archbishop Ivan Buchko, president of the Board of the University, Apostolic Visitor of the Greek Catholic Church for Ukrainians in Western Europe, and a member of the central committee for refugees in the Vatican, began to support the University by sending monthly contributions which continue to this day. And when the critical state of the UFU's finances

become known overseas, high dignitaries of the Catholic Church and of Ukrainian institutes, and also private individuals sent help either in the form of single donations or of regular contributions. In New York the Society of the Friends of the UFU was founded under the presidency of Prof. O. Andrushkiv, and a corresponding foundation took place in Canada a little later with Dr. J. Yuzyk as president, the purpose of the organization being to put the finances of the UFU on a secure basis. Now the greatest danger has been averted, resources utilized to the full and expenses reduced to a minimum, and the UFU is maintained by Ukrainians throughout the world. It is not without interest to mention here that the UNRRA university in Munich, for instance, which had been organized with the help of the American authorities, and the Baltic university near Hamburg closed down in a very short time.

Meantime the work of the UFU was gaining increasing respect. By a decree issued on September 16, 1950 (Ref. No. XI 60710) by Dr. Hundhammer, Minister of Education, the Ukrainian Free University, its degrees and diplomas, were officially recognized by the Bavarian government. Since there is no Federal Ministry of Education the decrees of each Land Ministry of Education are valid for the whole area of the Federal Republic. In connection with the official recognition we should like to mention with gratitude the friendly attitude to our University displayed by the Prime Minister Dr. Ehard, Dr. Hundhammer, Minister of Education and K. Schwend, Chief of Bavarian Chancellery, honorary doctor of our University. We also owe much to the Department of Education in Munich Town Council and to Dr. Fingerle, its head, for their support.

In the following years work at the UFU developed along normal lines and with more than ordinary success. The Board was extended to include personalities — also non-Ukrainians — who are in sympathy with our people's efforts in the sphere of education and culture. A close contact was established between the UFU and Ukrainian professors abroad, who are always consulted even today, when important matters come up for decision. In consequence of the drop in the number of students lectures were reduced by the end of the summer term in 1956. It is interesting to note that our students' register included many foreigners — Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Russians, Turks, etc. Some who had a long period of service in various offices behind them, supplemented or finished off studies of their special subject, above all of Eastern Europe, at the UFU. Various professors and lecturers from American universities also enrolled for study. Whole generations of young Ukrainians in exile passed through the halls of our Alma Mater and after taking degrees are today active in various posts in political, social and cultural life, thus carrying on traditions of Ukrainian scholarship. From 1945 to 1956 — i. e. during the Munich period — 100 students received ordinary degrees and 150 the degree of doctor from the UFU, these figures including a number of non-Ukrainians. Our professors, lecturers and assistants, forced by the political

circumstances to seek refuge in countries all over the world and to work at foreign universities, are worthy representatives of Ukrainian scholarship also in foreign states. In 1955 ten members of the teaching staff of the UFU were working at various universities in Germany, America, Canada and Argentina.

The UFU has another important duty, namely, to supply deficiencies in the curricula of colleges in Soviet Ukraine. While these institutions offer their students training above all in technical subjects, they neglect the teaching of subjects more intimately connected with our country, subjects like history and literature and folk-lore. Almost everything is taught from the viewpoint of "relations between Russia and the Ukraine." Moreover, whole sections are omitted as "unfavourable periods" and others are altered, if not entirely distorted. What is taught in Soviet schools about the most important Ukrainian problems is anything but scientific truth and entirely in opposition to Ukrainian national interests. And what our native country when it is resurrected will demand from us exiles is that we should be able to provide experts trained in the humanities and possessing a knowledge of the Ukrainian heritage. It would be the function of the UFU to give young experts academic training in this sphere. It would also be important to prepare text-books dealing with things under the Ukrainian aspect for use in secondary and high schools in the Ukraine when Bolshevism declines. This aim has not been forgotten in the publishing programme of the UFU, although performance up to date has been meagre for financial reasons.

When our students began to emigrate overseas, the necessity arose of giving them an opportunity to complete the courses they had begun. The UFU therefore, in addition to organizing correspondence courses, set up boards of examiners in places where a substantial number of our professors had settled, for example in New York (USA), Toronto (Canada) and Sarcelles (France).

The UFU is devoting itself increasingly to scientific research and to publishing. Thus, special institutes have been established for the study of psychology, literature, and social economics, while one is devoted to research in the Black Sea area.

Many, mostly German, institutes apply to the University for information and opinions in all kinds of questions dealing with Eastern Europe. The Ministry of Education sends us students from Eastern Europe who have lost their records and papers in the war and asks the University to check their statements; a committee of examiners investigates the courses which candidates profess to have taken.

As a token of gratitude and in recognition of services rendered by Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians to the national cause of the Ukraine the University conferred honorary doctorates on the following: His Grace the Archbishop Ivan Buchko, Prof. V. Shcherbakivskyj, Prof. A. Yakovliv, Prof. M. Chubaty, Prof. I. Borshchak, Prof. G. Simpson, Prof. Kirkkonen, Prof. F. Köprülü, Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, E. O'Connor, K. Shwend, Chief of the Bavarian Chancellery,

Prof. D. Dobrianskyj, Dir. D. Halychyn, Minister Margolin of the Ukrainian Republic, Dr. P. Rohrbach, Senator A. Giannini, Dr. E. Insabato, Dr. Bernabei, Prof. Burnham, Prof. Manning, Prof. Giaferoglu, Prince Alliata, M. Feighan and E. Kersten, members of the American Congress, Prof. O. Granovskyj and Monsignore Jean.

Since unfavourable circumstances restricted its teaching and publishing activities, the UFU decided to extend its contacts with non-Ukrainian scientists by supplying foreign intellectuals with information on the problems of Eastern Europe. Our professors participated in various international congresses and scientific conferences. In recent years such conferences were held in Strassbourg, Munich, Louvain, Rome, Stuttgart, etc.

Mention must also be made of the work done by our professors at foreign universities. Prof. Andrushkiv lectures at Seton Hall University, New York, Mr. Horbach at Göttingen and Marburg, Prof. Shevelyov at Columbia University, Prof. Prizak at Hamburg University, Prof. Smal-Stockyj at Marquette University, Milwaukee; Prof. Chyzhevskyj, formerly at Harvard, now at Heidelberg University, Prof. Rudnyckyj at Manitoba University, Winnipeg, while Dr. Buchnia works at the University in Toronto. Those, of course, are merely beginnings. We have good reasons to assume that every year an increasing number of our professors and young lecturers will be found in new posts in the universities of the Western world.

In the last few years the publishing activity of the UFU has been mainly devoted to purely scientific research, the reason being, as already mentioned, the restriction of teaching as a result of the reduced number of students. This sphere of activity, however, demands substantial funds, which are unfortunately not at the University's disposal. We are referring here only to the costs of printing, since the authors pursue their research in the various branches selflessly and without fees. In spite of their sacrifices, this problem cannot be solved without substantial help from authorities and the public. In recent years, such help has greatly declined, firstly because our exiles have settled down and wish to provide themselves with normal conveniences after so many years of privation, and secondly because they are asked to contribute to too many schemes. Thus it has been possible to carry out only a fraction of our long-term publishing plans.

The following independent publications issued by the UFU are worth mentioning: The University's first collection of scientific studies to appear after the second world war (1948), which contains a number of special treatises and a history of the UFU during the first years of its activity at Munich; an encyclopedia of studies on Ukraine in English — "Ukraine and its people" with contributions from experts like Kybiyovych, Kuzela, Dyminskyj, Sadovskyj, J. Rudnyckyj and M. Antonovych. Prof. Mirchuk was the editor and the Ukrainian-American Relief Committee supported the publication financially (1949). After an interval of nine years the second volume of collected treatises appeared in connection with the 35th anniversary of the UFU.



its appearance being largely due to a subsidy granted by the German Ministry for Refugees in Bonn.

In addition to the above-mentioned books two other publications should be considered, viz., a volume entitled "The Third Rome," which contains essays by professors of the University. It was printed at the expense of His Grace the Archbishop Ivan Buchko, and a volume of studies by collaborators of the UFU which appeared towards the end of 1956 on the occasion of Pope Pius XII's eightieth birthday. The latest publications comprise a collection of studies in connection with the scientific congress at Louvain and the scientific reports of the UFU in two volumes. From 1945 till 1955 the UFU issued 36 scientific publications in all, 24 of these being entirely devoted to Ukrainian problems. Many valuable studies by our professors appeared only as scripts, an eloquent testimony to the regrettably meagre financial resources of our University. To meet the desperate lack of adequate text-books, the University issued such material as lithographed manuscripts; these comprise more than 30 scripts by authors like M. Andrusyak, O. Baraniv, G. Vashchenko, K. Kysilevskyj, P. Kovaliv, B. Krupnyckyj, A. Kulchyckyj, I. Mirchuk, L. Okinshevyich, J. Padoch, A. Perehinec, J. Rudnyckyj, J. Starosolskyj, W. Steciuk, S. Tomashivskyj, M. Chubatyj, J. Shevelyov, V. Shcherbakivskyj and O. Yurchenko.

There are also many valuable manuscripts ready for the press. In consequence of the restrictions imposed by the UFU's difficult financial position, its members also publish works in foreign languages in various reviews, such for instance as the "Slavonic Review," "Ukrainian Quarterly," "Osteuropa-Zeitschrift," "Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas," "Der europäische Osten," "The Ukrainian Review" (London), "Ucraina" (Rome), "Ukraine" (Munich), "Ukraina" (Paris), "Ucrania" (Buenos Aires), "Oriente," "Sowjetstudien," "Ukrainian Review" (Munich) and other publications in various languages issued by the Institute for the Study of the USSR. They also contribute to the various publications of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Science (UVAN), the Shevchenko Society of Learning (NTSh), etc. Some professors have also been enabled to publish their work with the help of sponsors and patrons, either through a society or a university press, a research association, or a foundation, etc.

In concluding this report we think it our duty to remember those of our colleagues — often our best — who have died before their time as a result partly of overwork or of difficult living conditions or of anxiety for the absolutely uncertain future. Among those we have lost are Dyminskyj (Regensburg), Doroshenko (Munich), Kuzela (Paris), Bileckyj (Winnipeg), Andrijevskyj (Spittal an der Drau), Baraniv (Munich), Yakovliv (New York), Shramchenko (Zürich), Krupnyckyj (Himmelpforten near Hamburg), V. Shcherbakivskyj (London), Y. Klen (Augsburg), Hlobenko (Paris), Orenchuk, Vice-Chairman of the University Board (Munich), Vietukhiv (New York) and L. Rebet



(Munich). They made valuable contributions to scholarship and we shall always honour their memory.\*)

Under the new by-laws which were approved by the University Court, the University is now supervised by a Board consisting of members of the teaching staff, one delegate from the Friends of UFU, representatives of the Bavarian Government and academic circles and of the American authorities. On the occasion of its 40th birthday the Senate of the UFU would like to take this opportunity to express its gratitude to the Board of the UFU and particularly to its chairman, His Grace the Archbishop Ivan Buchko, to his deputy, Prof. Dr. H. Rheinfelder, and to all the patrons and generous friends who by moral and material support have helped the University to discharge its duties.

The Ukrainian Free University is a unique phenomenon, an important achievement of our nation. The torch that was lit 40 years ago in Vienna by a small group of scholars and journalists, enthusiastic disciples of Ukrainian scholarship, has burnt steadily throughout the years and is still alight today. It is our sacred duty to guard the flame and to hand it down to future generations.

(\*) Since the time that the article was written its author, Professor Dr. Ivan Mirchuk, Rector of the University died in Munich on 2nd May, 1961. It has also become known that Professor Lev Rebet was murdered by a Soviet secret police agent by means of a poison gun in Munich on 12th October 1957.

## A Ukrainian Scientist Choses Freedom

Of the latest refugees from the peoples' prison of the USSR, the Ukrainian scientist Olexiy (Alexis) Holub (Golub) can be regarded as one of the most striking personalities. As is known, Holub attained his freedom under dramatic circumstances in Holland on October 8th this year. For years he and his wife had been preparing their flight. But at the last minute he was separated from his wife, for the Russian diplomats actually went to the extent of breaking down her mental resistance and forced her to return to the USSR.

Olexiy Holub is one of the most prominent Ukrainian chemists. He studied in his native town of Kyiv and began his career in the 1950's. From 1954 onwards he published articles in Ukrainian scientific journals and, above all, in the "Ukrainian Chemical Journal" published in Russian. In fact, he contributed articles to this periodical right up to his flight. As can be seen from the 1959 year-book of the Kyiv State University, O. Holub at that time lectured in organic chemistry and was in charge of the faculty of chemistry. He became known as a prominent member of various scientific conferences, and his articles were always in demand. In 1959 alone he published as many as 11 scientific treatises.

**John R. Pillion**  
House of Representatives  
Congress of the United States

## PSYCHOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE

### A DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST 98 COMMUNIST PARTIES

On June 12th, I introduced in Congress House Joint Resolution 447. This resolution calls upon Congress to recognize the existing global war being waged upon the Free World by the International Communist Conspiracy.

The resolution would not only recognize this war, but would affirmately declare war upon the 98 Communist Parties operating throughout the world. These parties are jointly and irrevocably committed to the disintegration and destruction of the Free World.

Under this resolution, the United States would call for a concerted global effort on the part of all the Free World, all nations, all religions, all unions, all free institutions, to join in countering the total Communist war.

#### Communist Internationale

No sober-thinking American, can reflect upon the past, assess the present, and look to the future, without asking this question: "If the Communist sweep continues, how long will it be — three, — ten, — fifteen years, before the United States becomes another captive nation of the Communist-Soviet empire?"

Let us look at the causes of today's crises.

The Communist Internationale was established at Moscow in the year 1919.

It wholly adopted the Marx-Lenin concept of combining all human forces into one gigantic revolutionary war. It adopted new forms of war, all on a world scale.

Ever since then, the Communist Internationale has carried on continuing campaigns of infiltration, subversion, and all other forms of revolutionary and guerilla warfare.

It has mastered the strategies and techniques of quasi-military conquest.

Today, the Communist Parties have a force of 36 million member agents distributed throughout the world.

They owe a single allegiance, not to any nation, not to any church, but solely to the Communist-Soviet Conspiracy.

## The Communist Declared War

The alliance of Communist Parties has repeatedly and openly declared its incessant war against the Free World. The Moscow Manifesto of December, 1960, pledges all these parties to an intensified offensive. Yet, the Free World simply cannot grasp the deadliness of this conflict.

Two weeks ago, Khrushchov again called for an increasing Communist effort against the United States as his major target. He knows that if the United States falls, the Free World is left defenseless.

## U.S. Losing War

In the past 20 years, this enemy has seized power in all of middle Europe, including East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania.

In Asia, the Free World has lost Red China, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Tibet.

We are now confronted with Communist-inspired crises in Berlin, in Laos, in the Congo, in British Guiana, and in every other part of the Free World.

This nation is in grave peril. The danger is today. It increases every hour, every day.

## Failure of U.S. Policies

For the past 35 years, United States policies have consistently failed to check the Communist drive. Our attitudes toward Communist nations have shifted from direct aid, to political bribery, to conciliation, negotiation and appeasement.

As a consequence, our foreign policies of containment, massive retaliation, foreign aid, summit meetings, peaceful co-existence, disarmament, have all proven to be mere figments of our own gullibility.

Underlying the record of continuing Communist victories and United States defeats, is the ignorance of the anatomy of the enemy forces.

We have failed to comprehend the magnitude, the scope, the weapons of this implacable enemy. We have failed, even, to identify the principal enemy — the 98 Communist Parties.

Cuba is a classic example of the defeatist psychosis imbedded in United States policies.

Castro had a long record as a murdering Communist agent. This was well-known to the State Department.

Yet, it was United States aid, and connivance, that delivered the Cuban people to the Communist dictatorship, — another major political crime.

The recent abortive Cuban invasion was a disgraceful fiasco.

It was ill-conceived, ill-timed, inadequately planned, under-powered. It was a successful failure.

The "tractors for prisoners" scheme proved to be another defeat, — a diplomatic misadventure.

Cuba glaringly exposes the futility of United States policies.

### Power Struggle

The Communist power struggle is, in essence, a dual war.

The major campaign is the war being waged by the 98 Communist Parties.

This is a shadowy, secretive war of geo-politics, propaganda, agitation, incitement to riot, and subversion. This is the war that we are unable to see, to understand, and to cope with.

The 98 allied Communist Parties are dominated by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

They receive their policy directives and execute the strategies issued from Moscow.

As First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchov is the Commander-in-Chief of this Communist army.

The parallel campaign in this dual war is the one being conducted by the Soviet Union and its satellite and allied nations.

This alliance of nations is dominated by the Soviet Union.

As Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchov is Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet bloc nations, and commands their military and economic power.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union conceives, plans, organizes, and coordinates the execution of the strategies and tactics of each of the 98 Communist Parties of the world.

The C.P.S.U. also conceives, plans, organizes and coordinates the military and civil actions of the Soviet Government, and of the satellite nations.

Both campaigns in this total war have one common purpose — the domination or destruction of all non-Communist nations.

The Communist Parties carry on a unilateral campaign of war.

The United States, in the meanwhile, is obsessed with a unilateral delusion that we are at peace.

### U.S. Decline — Surrender or Thermonuclear War

The steady relative decline of the strength of the Free World has resulted in our present position of extreme peril.

Khrushchov has repeatedly declared that the Soviet has a military superiority over the United States.

The choices of the Free World are steadily being narrowed down to the grim alternatives of surrender or thermonuclear war. Mr. Khrushchov keeps suggesting the possibility of a "peaceful surrender" by the United States and the Free World.

It is the responsibility of all Americans to advise Mr. Khrushchov and the Communist Party to correct their miscalculations as to the courage and the determination of the American people.

The United States will never submit to either a "peaceful" or a "non-peaceful" surrender.

The second alternative is a preventive thermonuclear war.

Neither the Soviet nor the United States can afford the devastation of a nuclear war.

### A Third Alternative — H. J. Res. 447

#### A Psychomoral Offensive

There is a third alternative. It is embodied in House Joint Resolution 447.

This resolution would realistically recognize the Communist World War.

The passage of this resolution will signal the beginning — at long last — of our offensive against the Communists.

It will be a war, not of missiles or marching soldiers. It will be, basically, a war of economic, political and psychological weapons.

We will never, however, submit to the slavery of Communist tyranny, whatever the cost may be.

This resolution would not create a new war. It recognizes an existing war.

It is not a war against any nation. It is a war against those organizations, those parties, those persons who are already waging war upon us.

Permit me to cite some of the practical results contemplated in this resolution.

First, by identifying the enemy; and by recognizing the war which the Communists are waging against us, we shall have a basis for shaping effective policies to prosecute this war.

How can we formulate effective programs to defeat an enemy if we neither specify who he is, nor acknowledge that we are at war with him?

#### U.S. Must Lead the Free World

Second, the United States cannot survive this war alone, nor can we win it alone.

The resources of all the Free World must be totally committed in this life and death struggle.

The leadership must come from the United States.

How can we expect other peoples to resist Communist threats and bribes, if we in the United States continue our policies based upon fiction and fantasy?

Third, we must face the stark reality. The Communist philosophy allows no compromise. Our domestic programs must be subordinated to, and consistent with the all-important cause of survival.

We are being warred upon. Let us declare this war. Let us win this war.

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Editors' Note. In publishing Congressman Pillion's appeal we should like to remark that we would have wished him to define more precisely the principal enemy, namely Russian imperialism camouflaged as international Communism, with conspiring agents in every country of the world.

## Ukrainian Independence Recalled in the Congress of the USA.

An excerpt from the  
Congressional Record — Senate  
(Page 17385-86)

September 7, 1961.

**Mr. Hruska.** Mr. President, two decades ago, on June 30, 1941, Ukrainian nationalism expressed itself courageously in the proclamation of the Ukrainian State. The spirit of an oppressed people, which produced this brave act, gains renewed fervor in our commemoration this year of Ukrainian Independence Day.

Among the captive nations Ukrainian holds special claims on world opinion. It is the largest of those nations forcibly assimilated by the Soviet Union, its individual character and distinctive culture systematically suppressed. The people of Ukraine met terror and brutality in their struggle to be free. The famine of the early thirties in which millions perished, the mass murders of the citizens of Vinnytsia in 1937, and the sweeping purges that came later under the personal direction of Khrushchov are only the well known repressions suffered by them.

The proclamation of independence in 1941 represented Ukrainians' defiance of two oppressors — the recent German occupation forces and the Soviet regime itself forced upon it since 1920.

That courageous stand for Ukrainian Freedom was held fast and honoured at the 10th mass rally of the Ukrainian American Youth Association conducted jointly in Ellenville, N.Y., and Chicago, Ill., on September 3 of this year. This country and liberty-loving people everywhere join these youths who demonstrate so vividly, by the loss of their native land, the Communist design for world domination.

The United States, long protector of the principle that government must guarantee the inalienable rights of man and protect the inviolability of sovereign nations, will never be reconciled to the subjugation of the Ukrainian people.

On this 20th anniversary of Ukraine's proclamation of independence, the Ukrainian American Youth Association does not stand alone. The duty to preserve its national sovereignty belongs to all free democracies. Its message of Soviet tyranny is heard by all free people. To spread this truth and to restore that freedom is the task which lies ahead.

### Book Review

**Claude J. Nordmann:** *Charles XII et l'Ukraine de Mazeppa* ("Charles XII and the Ukraine of Mazeppa's Day"). Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence R. Pichon et R. Durand-Anzias, Paris, 1958. 88 pp. + VIII.

The battle of Poltava in 1709, in which the joint Swedish and Ukrainian armies under the command of the Swedish King Charles XII

and the Ukrainian Hetman Mazeppa were defeated by the Russian Tsar Peter I, has prompted the historians of various nations and, in particular, the Swedes and Ukrainians to devote a number of works, the majority of which are monographs, to this decisive event in the Nordic War, as well as to the main participants in the war, namely Charles XII, Mazeppa, Peter I, and the Polish King Stanislaw Leszczynski. Some of these historians, as for instance Alf Aberg, the author of the monograph "I Karolinernas Spar" ("In the Footsteps of the Soldiers of Charles XII") which appeared in Stockholm in 1959, have undertaken extensive study trips to Ukraine in order to study the scene of the battle of 1709, to search through the archives and to enlist the help of the local Ukrainian population in their research on the battle of Poltava.

Mr. Nordmann has collected extensive international material (in Swedish and Ukrainian, too) on the events in Ukraine in those days, and by means of this material succeeds in giving the reader a fairly true picture of conditions in Ukraine at that time and of the role of the Hetman Ivan Mazeppa.

The author describes the depressing political situation of those days in Ukraine, where the Russians intervened in the home affairs of sovereign Ukraine, terrorized the Ukrainian population and, whenever possible resorted to bribery and corruption in order to frustrate and prevent Mazeppa's work of reconstruction. In spite of all these obstacles, however, Mazeppa endeavoured his utmost to alleviate the hard lot of Ukraine which was oppressed by the Russians. He promoted industry, handicrafts, trade, agriculture, and the export of cattle to Breslau, Leipzig, Riga, Reval and other towns in West and North Europe. Via the territory of the Zaporozhian Cossacks an exchange trade in furs and in fodder was carried on with the Crimean Tatars and with Turkey.

The Russians envied the Ukrainians their wealth and prosperity and thus aimed to incorporate Ukraine in their empire as quickly as possible.

The Russian garrisons in Ukraine were strengthened, and the Russian voivodes in the individual Ukrainian towns claimed countless rights for themselves which inevitably led to conflicts with the Ukrainian authorities.

When the Russian tsar tried to fill the officers' posts in the Ukrainian Cossack army with Russians, Mazeppa gave vent to his indignation, for in this way the Hetman was in danger of losing control over his troops. It was this measure which seems to have prompted Mazeppa to break off connections with the Russians as soon as possible, even though this involved a great risk, and to enter into an alliance with Russia's enemy, namely with the victorious Swedish general and king, Charles XII.

Charles XII wished to reinforce his army, which had suffered a certain loss in strength, in Ukraine and with the help of Ukraine. In addition,

he also hoped for support from the Crimean Tatars, who had always been hostile to Russia.

Unfortunately the situation in Ukraine at that time was somewhat confused. Not all the Ukrainians supported Mazeppa; some remained neutral, because they feared the Russians in the event of the latter's victory over the Swedes and Ukrainians. Ukraine was thus not completely armed against the Russians. It was thus necessary to turn for help to the Zaporozhian Sich, who had set up their autonomous military organization south of Poltava and Katerynoslav.

The Rada, the General Assembly of the Sich, decided in favour of Mazeppa and Charles XII and against the Russian tsar. But even the military strength of the Zaporozhian Sich could not save Charles XII and the Ukrainian Hetman Mazeppa from defeat. The Russian troops were by far superior in number to the Swedish and Ukrainian forces; there were 40,000 Russians to 22,500 Swedes and Ukrainians, and the Russians were also far better armed than their opponents. The Russians, for instance, had 132 cannon, whereas Charles XII only had 30. It was thus obvious from the outset what the issue of the battle of Poltava would be.

Mazeppa's breach with Peter I had had disastrous results for Ukraine. Most of the freedoms of Ukraine were crushed by the tsar, and the Russification of Ukraine was now accelerated.

The author of the book under review is of the opinion that Mazeppa was not to blame for the outcome of the battle of Poltava. Neither Poland nor Ukraine proved satisfactory partners for Charles XII. They solely hampered the policy and military strength of Sweden (p. 61).

After the battle of Poltava Sweden ceased to exist as a major power of Europe and in effect no longer intervened in the internal affairs of East Europe.

Mazeppa was not in a position to obtain possession of the whole of Ukraine as his great predecessor Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky had done.

The author frequently uses the old designation "Little Rus'" forced on the Ukrainians by the Russians. Of this we do not approve, for even though this designation was used in the past, the author should have avoided it, since it is regarded as insulting by the Ukrainians.

He likewise uses the Russian name for towns in Ukraine, — a fact which we also feel obliged to censure.

On the other hand, however, the author does his utmost to depict conditions in Ukraine during Mazeppa's day as they really were. It is unfortunate that the scope of his book probably did not permit him to go into more detail, for the account which he gives of certain individual incidents sometimes seems a little superficial.

W. Luzhansky



## EXTRACTS FROM SOVIET PRESS

(Editors' Note. Below we publish some extracts from Soviet press reports concerning Ukraine. They contain, of course, a number of exaggerated claims which need not be taken at their face value.)

### Science

"Fundamental Summary of the Scholarly Activities of the Academy of Sciences, Ukrainian SSR, during 1960, and Tasks for 1961. Report of the Chief Scientific Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, Ukrainian SSR, I. M. Fedorchenko at the Session of the General Meeting of the Academy of Sciences, Ukrainian SSR, of April 15, 1961," DOPOVIDI AKADEMII NAUK UKRAINS'KOI RSR, No. 5, 1961, pp. 558-581. Excerpts.

...In the field of physical and mathematical sciences...

On the problem "Nuclear Physics" (Directors: Academician of the Academy of Sciences of the UkSSR, K. D. Synel'nykov, Academician M. M. Boholiubov and Corresponding Member Acad Scien UkSSR, M. V. Pasichnyk), investigations have been conducted of atomic collisions, elastic radiation of elementary particles on the nuclei of certain elements, and nuclear spectroscopy. Theoretical investigations have been completed on collective excitations and on their effect on moments of revolution which deepen our concept of the structure of atomic nuclei.

The atomic reactor of the Institute of Physics, Acad Scien UkSSR is now being used for investigations in various branches of science; it has been put into full-scale operation in 1960.

The study of the properties of plasma wave conductors which was made under the direction of Academician Acad Scien UkSSR, A. K. Val'ter, indicates that they might be used in decelerating systems in linear accelerators...

The Physico-Technical Institute of Low Temperatures was the first in the world to observe the phenomenon of paramagnetic resonance on the electrons of conductivity of copper and aluminium.

The front of scientific research conducted by mathematicians has considerably broadened, and new scientific trends have appeared. Investigation has begun of the problem of "Biological Cybernetics," which stands on the borderline between mathematics, biology and cybernetics.

On the problem "Mathematical Physics," certain success has been achieved in the field of equations of mathematical physics, theory of differential equations, theory of the functions of the complex variable, theory of approximation of functions, etc.

During the investigation of the stability of motion of dynamic systems with a small parameter, conducted under the direction of Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the UkSSR, Iu. O. Mytropol's'kyi, results have been obtained which are of extremely important practical value, particularly in calculations of systems of automatic control...

Considerable success has been achieved by the scientific and engineering personnel of the Computing Center, which is developing the following two important problems under the direction of Corresponding Member Acad Scien UkSSR, V. M. Hlushkov: "Cybernetics," and "High Speed Mathematical Digit Computing Machine." It is particularly noteworthy that V. M. Hlushkov created the basis of the abstract theory of automata which is of great importance to the synthesis of remote control systems...

In the field of biological sciences. In 1960 the main attention was focussed on the development of theoretical and practical problems which are important to health, agriculture and industry.

On the problem "Biochemistry of the Nervous System" (scientific director: Academician O. V. Palladin) determinations have been made of the peculiarities of renovation of proteins and localization has been made of the effect of ions of calcium and magnesium on the adenosinotriphosphatase of microsomes, nuclei and mitochondria. The data obtained are of great scientific importance in the explanation of the functional role of individual structure of the nervous cell, as well as of some chemical substances which are contained in these structures, and in the detection of biochemical processes which lie at the basis of changes in the functional state of the nervous system...

Work has been completed on the mock-up model chart of the flora of the Ukrainian SSR on a scale of 1:1,000,000...

In the field of chemical and geological sciences. The Institutes of Chemical and Geological studies focussed their main attention on studying non-ferrous, rare and scattered elements, the liophilicity and stability of dispersion systems, theory of chemical structure, kinetics, ability to react, etc., as well as explanation of the laws governing the origin and distribution of mountain rocks and mineral wealth associated with them, the study of the structure of the earth's crust, conditions of formation and distribution of underground waters, etc.

An important achievement in the problem "Non-ferrous, rare and scattered elements" (Directors: Academician Acad Scien UkSSR, Iu. K. Delimars'kyi, A. K. Babko, M. P. Semenenko and V. H. Bodnarchuk) was a number of new results by the Institute of General and Inorganic Chemistry obtained on the uninterrupted technological process of separation of metals from solutions in the form of hydroxides, experimental foundation of a low-temperature lye-lime method of decomposition of aluminum raw material...

In the field of engineering sciences. The workers of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR concentrated mainly in 1960 on developing scientific fundamentals of automation and mechanization of industrial processes, raising labour efficiency, creation of new improved engineering processes, materials, machines, mechanisms and tools. The results of the investigations have broadened the scientific base of assuring a continued technical progress in a number of fields of the national economy of the country. As in previous years, great

success has been achieved in developing the problem of welding processes, their mechanization and automation (Director: Academician Acad Scien UkSSR, B. Ie. Paton)...

In the field of social sciences. Mindful of the resolution of the CC CPSU "On the Tasks of Party Propaganda under Present Conditions," last year the institutions of the Department of Social Science completed a number of measures aimed at maximum coordination of scientific research work with the practice of building of communism, elevating the role of the social sciences in the communist education of workers, stepping up of the fight against bourgeois ideology which is hostile to Marxism-Leninism, and particularly against modern revisionism and bourgeois nationalism...

The Institute of Philosophy has practically completed the collective investigation of the subject "Outline of the History of Philosophical Thought in Ukraine" (Director of the team of authors: Corresponding Member Acad Scien UkSSR, D. Kh. Ostrianin). A draft of the "Outline" is being prepared for wide discussion.

The Institute of History has completed and prepared for publication large monographs: "The Working Class of Ukraine during the Period of Rebuilding the National Economy (1921-1925)" (H. D. Didenko), "The Working Class of Ukraine in the Struggle for the Establishment of a Base of Socialist Economy (1928-1932)" (O. B. Sluts'kyi), "Formation of the Ukrainian Socialist Nation" (V. V. Rudnev), and others...

The Institute of Art, Folklore and Ethnography published and submitted to wide discussion by the scholarly community a second draft of the historical-ethnographic monograph "Ukrainians" (Vol. I). Work has been completed on the collective study "The Ukrainian Dramatic Theatre" (Vol. I, Pre-revolutionary Theatre).

In the field of juridical sciences, a large collective monograph "History of State and Law of the Ukrainian SSR (1917-1958)" and others have been completed and submitted for publication...

The Institute of History made a great contribution to the study of the history of Ukraine by publishing such collective fundamental monographic treatises, as "History of Kiev" (Vol. II, Soviet Period), and "History of the Heroic City of Sevastopol"...

In 1960, the following new institutions were established within the Academy of Sciences, UkSSR: 4 new scientific-research institutes, one institute branch, 14 new laboratories and 12 new branches; 1 institute has been reorganized as well as 11 branches and laboratories; a number of experimental bases were established, both within the Acad Scien UkSSR as well as within industrial enterprises.

In the Department of Physico-Mathematical Sciences, the Physico-Technical Institute of Low Temperatures has been established in Kharkiv, and the Institute of Semi-Conductors in Kiev; in the Department of Technical Sciences — the Institute of Problems of Radio Engineering for the purpose of considerable increase of activities in

radio engineering and radio electronics; in the Department of Chemical Sciences — the Institute of Geophysics in Kiev for the purpose of developing new and improving existing methods of geophysical research...

Work is still inadequate in the field of raising the ideological-theoretical and scientific standard activities, as a result of which serious shortcomings and errors are encountered in some of them. Thus, there are many serious errors of method in the monograph by F. P. Shevchenko "Political and Economic Relations of Ukraine with Russia in the Mid-17th Century" (Institute of History, Acad Scien UkSSR), which was published last year and which was subjected to deserving criticism on the part of the Presidium of the CC CPUkraine...

Some coordinating committees on individual problems, as, e. g., "Mathematical Physics" (Chairman — Corresponding Member Acad Scien UkSSR, Iu. O. Mytropol's'kyi), "Study of Art in the UkSSR" (Chairman — Candidate of Art Sciences, V. D. Dovzhenko) and "Law in the UkSSR" (Chairman — Academician Acad Scien UkSSR, V. M. Korets'kyi) and others were hardly active at all...

The frequency of publication of the journals "Applied Mechanics" and "Automation" was increased in 1960. A new journal, "Powder Metallurgy" began publication in 1961...

The first three volumes of the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia came out in 1960, which was an important event in the cultural life of our Republic...

According to figures for the end of 1960, there were 9,920 persons employed by the scientific institutions of the Academy, including 3,689 scientific workers, of whom 236 were doctors and 1,323 candidates of sciences. During the reporting period the number of doctors increased by 36, and of candidates of sciences by 138. The Presidium of the Acad Scien bestowed the title of Senior Scientific Worker on 133 employees...

During 1960, doctoral dissertations were successfully defended by 31 staff members, and 16 submitted their doctoral theses. During the same period 97 persons successfully defended candidates' dissertations and 55 submitted dissertations.

According to figures for January 1, 1961, there were 579 persons studying as aspirants of the Acad Scien UkSSR without holding jobs and 141 while employed in industry. In addition, there are 15 aspirants from Academies of Sciences of Union Republics studying under the aid program of our Academy.

Last year 337 young specialists were hired by the Academy, but this is only 50 per cent of the required number.

It should be noted that during the reporting year the plan of supplementing personnel of the Academy has been fulfilled in general. Nevertheless it must be taken into account that the number of doctors and candidates of sciences is quite insufficient in such specialties as: automation of industrial process, radio and engineering, smelting,

chemistry of proteins, biophysics, genetics, political economics of socialism, etc....

International scientific contacts of the Academy of Sciences, UkSSR. During 1960 international cooperation of the scholars of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences improved. Whereas 5 to 7 years ago only individual scholars from abroad visited the Academy of Sciences, Ukrainian SSR, 725 foreign scholars became acquainted with the activities of our institutions in 1960.

During the course of 1960 there were 146 foreign scientific workers and specialists studying special subjects and improving their skills in the numerous institutions of the Academy of Sciences Ukrainian SSR.

Over 100 scientific workers of the Academy of Sciences, Ukrainian SSR, were granted fellowships to study abroad.

However, it should be noted that not all foreign fellowships are beneficial to the scientific workers. Foreign trips by scientific workers of the Academy of Sciences, Ukrainian SSR, are still regarded as jaunts and are unproductive...

### Economy

Ie. Dovhopolov, "The National Economy of the Ukrainian SSR Is On the Rise," *EKONOMIKA RADIANS'KOI UKRAINY*, No. 3, May-June 1961, pp. 113-115. Excerpts.

The Statistical Bureau of the Ukrainian SSR (now the TsSU — Central Statistical Bureau) published a number of statistical books for the period between 1957 and 1960. The most clearly outstanding among them is the recently published Statistical Yearbook "Narodne hospodarstvo Ukrain's'koi RSR v 1959 rotsi" (The National Economy of the Ukrainian SSR in 1959)...

According to the results of the All-Union Census, on January 15, 1959, the population of the Republic was 41,869,000. The urban population was 46% as against 19% in 1913...

In economic power the Ukrainian SSR equals the most highly developed countries in Europe, and in some respects outranks them, as, for example, England and France in production of iron and steel. The amount of coal mined in the Ukrainian SSR is nearly three times greater than in France. According to the mean annual rate of growth of production of iron, steel, rolled steel, iron ore, petroleum, natural gas, cement, woolen goods, footwear and refined sugar, the Ukrainian SSR is far ahead of the USA. The Yearbook contains interesting material on the economic potential of the Ukrainian SSR within the national economy of the country. In 1959 Ukraine produced 52% of the Union's iron, 40% steel, 41.6% rolled steel, 80% long-haul locomotives and 68.3% refined sugar...

In 1960 industrial production in Ukraine increased by 8.4% over the 1959 figure. The highest increase was achieved by the workers of L'viv, Crimean, Zaporozhe, Kherson, Odessa and Kiev economic councils...

The Yearbook data indicate that the gross production of grain crops in all categories of farm enterprises increased from 214,085,000 quintals in 1953 to 275,170,000 quintals in 1959. During the same period the gross production of maize increased from 19,808,000 quintals to 70,537,000 quintals, or more than 3½ times.

The editors of the Yearbook devoted much space to the problem of mechanization and electrification of agriculture. The following agricultural operations were nearly completely mechanized in the Ukrainian collective farms in 1959: fallow plowing — 99.8% and autumn plowing — 99.6%. Between 1953 and 1959 the number of electrified collective farms in the Republic increased approximately by a factor of 1.9. By the end of 1959 the State farms were 95% electrified...

The production of grain, meat and milk in Ukraine in 1960 was below the planned figures. Hence the state plan of purchasing grain, milk, eggs, sugar beets and potatoes was not fulfilled...

Compared with 1956, the national income increased by 31% in the Republic, and in per capita distribution, by 25%. No capitalist country has this increase of the national income.

The real wages of the workers in the Republic increase with higher national income, and this has direct repercussions upon the increase of the consumption of food and consumer goods. Compared with 1940, the families surveyed for budget purposes increased by 1959 consumption of meat by a factor of 2.48, fish products by a factor of 1.51, milk and dairy products by a factor of 2.85 and sugar by a factor of 1.97. Consumption of the above products also considerably increased in the families of collective farm workers. The people also spent more money on industrial consumer goods.

The growing prosperity of the workers also shows in an increase of the volume of trade. Compared with 1940 the volume of trade increased by a factor of 2.77, including food products by a factor of 2.2 and other goods by a factor of 3.61...

According to the All-Union Census Ukraine now has for every 1,000 inhabitants 25 with a higher or incomplete higher education, and 99 with a secondary special or general education. During the 1959/60 school year 401,600 persons were enrolled in institutions of higher education in the Republic, and 364,500 in technical and special secondary educational institutions...

**SPEECH BY N. V. PODGORNYY, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P. OF UKRAINE, AT THE 22nd CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.S.R. PRAVDA UKRAINY, 20th October, 1961. Excerpts.**

"...The Communist Party of Ukraine has one and a half million members and candidate members of the CPSU in its ranks... Since the January 1961 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU alone nearly 20 thousand communists have been sent to the leading sectors of agricultural production; about 1,500 of them have been made collective farm chairmen...

In order to imagine the grandeur of our successes, let us recollect that before the October Revolution the Ukrainian people under the double oppression — social and national, was deprived of its own statehood. Famine, poverty and lawlessness drove the people abroad. In search of a piece of bread hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians emigrated...

Thousands of foreign tourists visit Ukraine each year. Hundreds of Ukrainian emigres have been coming here, too. On returning home from our country many of them truthfully describe how rich and happy they have seen the Ukrainian people to be. They indignantly refute the ravings of the imperialist and nationalist propaganda which asserts that the Ukrainian people, allegedly, "live in poverty as before."

The Soviet Ukraine has overtaken many capitalist countries in its development, and occupies a prominent position in the economy of the Soviet Union and of the world. The production of our Republic is exported to 61 countries.

The culture of the Ukrainian people is developing rapidly. Now there are about 13 million people in the Republic with seven-year, ten-year and higher education... The organic ties of the Ukrainian Soviet culture with the culture of the great Russian people, of all the peoples of our Motherland, are growing increasingly stronger...

From the bottom of the heart the Ukrainian people say "thank you" to the dear Communist Party, its Leninist Central Committee, thank you, Nikita Sergeyevich! Thank you for your constant attention, for your care for the good and happiness of all the Soviet people!

Comrades, from the height of our achievements it is particularly clear to each of us of what enormous importance for the life of our Party and the entire country has been the resolute routing of the anti-Party group by the Central Committee...

In this connection one cannot fail to tell about the provocative activity of Kaganovich in Ukraine. Having become the secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Ukraine in 1947, he surrounded himself with a gang of unprincipled people and toadies, destroyed the cadre devoted to the Party, hounded and terrorised the leading functionaries of the Republic. Like a veritable sadist, Kaganovich found satisfaction in the cruel treatment of the activists, of intellectuals, humiliated their human dignity, threatened them with arrests and prison. It is not by chance that even now many Party, Soviet and



creative workers call the period of Kaganovich's stay "the dark days of the Soviet Ukraine."

Kaganovich fanned the cult of Stalin's personality, cajoled before him, used his weak points for his careerist purposes, simultaneously created the cult of his own personality by depicting himself as a "leader" of the Ukrainian people. With this purpose in view articles were published in the press praising his activity in Ukraine in the 1930's, although it is known that even then he was recalled from Ukraine for having committed serious mistakes. Matters came to such a head that he demanded from the artists to paint his portrait into the already painted pictures on the occasion of the liberation of Ukraine from the German invaders, although he was in no way connected with these events. (Laughter, animation in the hall.)

Considering himself infallible, Kaganovich personally, by-passing the Central Committee, decided the most important questions in the life of the Republic, and very often wrongly at that. Being a master of intrigues and provocations, without literally having any grounds for it, he accused the leading writers of the Republic, as well as a number of leading Party functionaries, of nationalism. Following the instructions from Kaganovich, routing articles appeared in the press aimed against a number of writers devoted to the Party and the people.

However, this did not satisfy Kaganovich. He began to work for convening a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee with the agenda "The Struggle against Nationalism as the Main Danger in the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine," although in reality there was not even a whiff of this danger. For it could not be there, because, to our luck, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine had for many years been headed by the steadfast Leninist, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov, who educated the communists and the Ukrainian people in the spirit of internationalism (stormy applause) friendship of peoples, utter devotion to the great ideas of Leninism. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Comrade Khrushchov enjoyed enormous authority among the communists and the working people of Ukraine and, relying on them, he disrupted by every means the provocations on the part of Kaganovich. And if today among us, delegates to the 22nd Party Congress, there is the outstanding poet-communist, Lenin Prize-winner Maksym Tadeyevych Rylskyy, and if many other figures of Ukrainian literature continue to fight actively for the cause of the Party, they owe this to the courage and the unbending will of our Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov. (Stormy applause.)

In the conditions of the domination of the cult of Stalin this was truly a heroic struggle, the more so as in the final reckoning Kaganovich pursued the aim of compromising and doing away with the leading cadre of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and in the first place he aimed at compromising comrade N. S. Khrushchov. This is perfectly clear for us nowadays...



The Communist Party of Ukraine considers it its sacred duty to continue to educate the working people of the Republic in the spirit of socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism, to fight resolutely against the slightest symptoms of nationalism and national narrow-mindedness. We will ceaselessly strengthen, as Lenin taught us, the friendship of the Ukrainian people with the great Russian people and all the fraternal peoples of our country...

The bosses of the imperialist camp make use of every possible trick in order to denigrate our nationalities' policy, to discredit it in the eyes of the working people of the capitalist and colonial countries. In the USA, for instance, the so-called "Captive Nations' Weeks," "Days of Ukraine" etc. are staged with the blessing of the government. But all these provocative measures suffer shameful failure...

And as regards the organisers of these unwise actions, we can advise them: gentlemen, direct your efforts at the liquidation of the racial discrimination of 17 million negroes and the remnants of the indigenous Indian population in the USA itself, at the cessation of the sinister deeds of the colonialists in Africa, Asia and Latin America. However, they will hardly try to do it. Such is, after all, the wolfish nature of the imperialists..."

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Continued from inside front cover.

— the ideas of national liberation of Ukraine and other peoples enslaved by Russia is such a grave danger to Moscow that she continues to carry out terrorist actions even on the territories of the free countries;

— not only this year's Bolshevik provocations aimed at the takeover of Berlin, but also the involvement of official Soviet quarters in the organisation of political murders is a signal of warning for the naive people in the Western world that the Bolshevism under the leadership of Khrushchev has not changed and has not ceased to be an imperialistic movement which tries to bring under its domination the peoples of the Free World by means of violence, terror and cunning.

**The Leadership  
of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists  
(Units Abroad)**

*The*  
**UKRAINIAN**  
**REVIEW**



**IV**

**LONDON**  
**1 9 6 1**

# UKRAINE



## EDITORS' NOTE

Owing to technical difficulties this issue of "The Ukrainian Review" appears with slight delay. The Editors wish to ask our esteemed readers' indulgence for any inconvenience that this may have caused them.

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# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

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**and**

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## STEPAN BANDERA AND LEV REBET MURDER CASES NOW SOLVED

**Khrushchov himself gave orders that Stepan Bandera was to be murdered!**

The Ukrainian champion of freedom was poisoned at the instructions of the Soviet Russian state security service. Stalin's methods are also applied under Khrushchov.

The German police has announced that Bohdan Nikolayevich Stashynsky, a 30-year old Soviet subject, who recently fled to West Germany from the Soviet Union, has confessed to the murders, by poison, of the Ukrainian politician and head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stepan Bandera, on October 15, 1959, and of the well-known Ukrainian nationalist, Prof. Dr. Lev Rebet, on October 12, 1957. Two of the most mysterious political murders of the post-war years have now been solved by this confession, and at the same time it has become evident that the Soviet Russians will stop at nothing in order to liquidate their political enemies.

Stashynsky stated that he had worked for the Soviet security service (KGB), formerly the MVD/NKVD, from 1951 onwards, and added that he had been specially trained for his work in the Federal Republic of Germany. Under various German aliases he carried out a number of KGB commissions, in particular in Munich, in 1956 and 1957. One of his tasks, so he said, had been to watch the movements of his future victims in order to get to know their daily habits.

In the summer of 1959 Stashynsky was summoned to KGB headquarters in Moscow and received orders to murder Stepan Bandera. He was given a specially constructed "poison pistol" for this purpose. It consisted of a double-barrelled cylinder, provided with a safety catch and a trigger, and two ampules of poison could be fired with it, like bullets.

After he had tried out this poison on a dog, he received orders from the Soviet state security service to murder the Ukrainian politician, Prof. Dr. Lev Rebet. Stashynsky carried out this commission on October 12, 1957. He lay in wait for Rebet in the entrance-hall of the building where he worked, a house on the Karlsplatz in Munich. The murder of Rebet, which was carried out by means of a poison pistol that only had a single-barrelled cylinder, went off entirely according to the plans of those who had given Stashynsky his orders. Rebet was found dead on the stairs, and it was assumed that the cause of death was a heart-attack.

Exactly two years later almost to the day, Stashynsky carried out the orders of the Soviet state security service (KGB) once again and murdered Stepan Bandera with an improved type of poison pistol. After having ascertained that on this particular day Bandera was not accompanied by his usual body-guard, he lay in wait for him in the entrance-hall of the house in which Bandera had a flat, in Munich, and then fired the double-barrelled poison pistol at his face. Bandera was found dead in the entrance-hall. In this case, too, it was at first assumed that the cause of death was a heart-attack. But a subsequent post-mortem examination resulted in the suspicion that death was due to cyanide poisoning. There was, however, no evidence to prove that he had been murdered.

For having murdered Stepan Bandera, Stashynsky was decorated in Moscow at the beginning of December 1959 by the then head of the Soviet state security service (KGB), Alexander N. Shelepin, with the "Red Banner Order." On this occasion he put a personal request, which his superiors in Karlshorst and Moscow had so far refused to grant him, to Shelepin. He asked for permission to marry his fiancée, a young girl in East Berlin. The officers of the Soviet state security service had previously decided that it was by no means advisable that such an important agent and co-worker as Stashynsky should marry a German, and had pointed out to him that it would be far more advantageous for his future work abroad if he chose his wife from among the female members of the state security service, and had even put various concrete suggestions to him in this connection.

To the great surprise of all his KGB superiors present on the said occasion, state security chief Shelepin did something absolutely incredible: contrary to all KGB rules and regulations, he gave Stashynsky permission to marry his German fiancée. The wedding took place in East Berlin in April 1960.

Already one month later, the murderer Stashynsky was ordered to go to Moscow, allegedly "in order to continue his training." He had to take his wife with him, for she was to help him to improve his knowledge of German. His training only lasted until August 1960. Stashynsky was suddenly "suspended." His conversations with his wife, who was by no means pro-Soviet, had been tapped by a secret apparatus. Stashynsky was explicitly forbidden to leave Moscow and the Soviet Union. The reason given was that he had become "less objective" in his attitude towards the Soviet Union as a result of his frequent sojourns in the West. In reality his superiors no longer trusted him since he was married to a German.

When Stashynsky realized what his position was, he enlightened his wife as to his activity so far, confessed to her that he had committed two murders, and told her that he had serious doubts as to whether he had acted rightly. The two of them decided to return to East Berlin and to flee from the Soviet Union as soon as they got a chance. After numerous futile efforts Mrs. Stashynsky finally received

permission in the spring of 1961 to return to East Berlin because she was expecting her first baby. Her husband, however, was obliged to remain in Moscow.

When he received word that his son Peter had died, he was given permission to travel to East Berlin for the child's funeral. He was constantly under the surveillance of members of the state security service.

Stashynsky had only hesitantly considered his wife's frequent wish that he should abandon his activity and flee to the West with her. As he was only too well aware of the distrust with which his superiors regarded him since his marriage to a German and as he was afraid of being liquidated by the state security service because of his knowledge of the two political murders of Rebet and Bandera, Stashynsky finally agreed to his wife's plans for flight.

The day before their son's funeral they managed to shake off the men who were constantly watching their movements and succeeded in effecting a daring escape to West Berlin.

The murder of Stepan Bandera, which has now been cleared up by Stashynsky's confession, is only a link in a whole chain of political murders perpetrated against Ukrainian freedom-fighters at the orders of the Soviet state security service.

The first victim in exile of the Soviet state security service was the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian army, Simon Petlura, who from 1918 to 1921 was the Head of State of the Ukrainian Republic. Petlura was shot on the street in Paris in 1926 by the assassin Schwarzbart, who had been hired by the Soviet Russian state security service.

The second famous victim was Colonel Yevhen Konovalets, the founder and first leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and predecessor of Stepan Bandera. Colonel Konovalets was murdered in Rotterdam, Holland, in 1938 by a bomb.

The inhuman and cynical attitude with which the Soviet Russians carry out their plans to destroy their political opponents can be seen from the following account, as given by the assassin Stashynsky: in preparation for the murder of Bandera, Stashynsky was sent to Rotterdam in 1958, namely on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the murder of Colonel Konovalets, in order to become acquainted with his future victim. When he subsequently submitted his report on his observations to Moscow, Stashynsky was asked by his KGB superiors whether it had not been possible to liquidate all the prominent Ukrainian exiles assembled at Konovalets' grave at one and the same time with a bomb. When Stashynsky replied that not only Ukrainian exile politicians but also non-Ukrainians and women and children had been present at the graveside, he was told cynically: "That does not interest us in the least!"

All assurances on the part of Khrushchov and Shelepin at the 22nd Party Congress, to the effect that they had abjured all the sins of Stalin, are nothing but hypocrisy. The political murders of Rebet and Bandera clearly prove that Stalin's methods continue to be applied.



**Jaroslaw Stetzko**

## THE ROLE OF THE SUBJUGATED PEOPLES IN THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIST WORLD FIGHT

### ESSENTIAL FACTORS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

Critical Comments on the 2nd International Congress,  
"Conference on the Political Warfare of the Soviets,"  
held in Rome in November 1961.

#### 1. Khrushchov is digging his own grave

In order to be able to combat the enemy successfully in psychological warfare, it is imperative that we should be able to define him exactly so as to rightly recognize the historical processes which are taking place before our very eyes.

What is happening in the world around us? We are witnessing two opposing processes: on the one hand, the aim to form a world colonial imperium, that is to say a world Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; on the other hand, a universal fight to form national independent states. In this polarization process there is no room for a middle course. Either the national liberation idea will be victorious throughout the whole world, that is not only in the disintegrating Western imperiums through the furtherance of the former Western mother countries, but above all in the Russian prison of peoples, too, or else Russian colonialism will, for an historic period, triumph all over the world.

In this connection I wish to quote some excerpts from the new programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Paragraph 6,

— "The national liberation movement."

"The world is experiencing an epoch of stormy national liberation revolutions. The mighty wave of the national liberation revolutions is sweeping the colonial system away and is undermining the pillars of imperialism. In place of former colonies and semi-colonies, young sovereign states have been and are being created. Their peoples have entered upon a new period in their development. They are asserting themselves as creators of a new life and active participators in world

politics, as a revolutionary force which is destroying imperialism... The people of the countries that are formally independent but actually politically and economically dependent on foreign monopolies, are rising up to fight imperialism and the reactionary pro-imperialistic regime. Those peoples who have not yet cast off the fetters of colonial slavery are fighting heroically against their foreign subjugators... Political independence can only be consolidated by a people that has attained democratic rights and freedom and takes an active part in the administration of the state. The fundamental precondition for the solution of the all-national tasks is a consistent fight against imperialism...

"The imperialists are resorting to every means (colonial wars, military blocs, conspiracies, terrorism, subversion, economic pressure, bribery) in order to keep the countries which have liberated themselves under their dominion, to make their independence merely a matter of form, or to deprive them of their independence... to put tractable puppets in the leading governmental posts... Imperialism continues to be the main enemy and the main hindrance on the path to the solution of the general national tasks which confront the young sovereign states and all independent countries..."

So much for the programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

If we now add the little word "Russian" in the right place and, instead of "dependent on foreign monopolies," "dependent on Russia," we have the precise diagnosis of the world situation on the part of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

It is entirely correct that Russian imperialism is the main enemy and the main hindrance on the path to the solution of the national tasks.

It is entirely correct that the Russian imperialists resort to every means in order to subjugate the peoples.

It is entirely correct that the fundamental precondition for the solution of the world problems is a consistent fight against Russian imperialism and that the peoples who have not yet cast off the fetters of colonial slavery are fighting against the Russian subjugators.

The "Conference on the Political Warfare of the Soviets" in Rome, however, rejects a political offensive against the Russian colonial empire on the basis of acknowledgement of the national liberation idea.

There is a glaring contradiction to the excerpts quoted above in the words of Paragraph 4 of the programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which refer to combatting nationalism in the interior of the Soviet Union. Here the demand expressed is: "to combat all phenomena and remnants of every kind of nationalism and also to endeavour to bring about the liquidation of nationalist phenomena." Further, the demand is made "to overcome the trends to local patriotism and national egoism, as well as to relentlessly combat the trends to national narrow-mindedness and exclusiveness, to idealization of the past, and outmoded customs and usage."

This is additional proof of how powerful and how dangerous liberation nationalism is in the interior of the Soviet Union. (It is extremely regrettable that Mme Labin, Minister Giovanni Matteo Lombardo and other organizers of the Congress in Rome defend Russian colonialism of the NTS type.)

Russian arrogance is clearly expressed in the following paragraph of the programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

"The process at present in progress of voluntarily learning Russian, too, in addition to the mother-tongue, has a positive significance since it contributes to the exchange of ideas as well as to the fact that in this way every nation and every people becomes a participator in the cultural achievements of all the other peoples of the USSR and in world culture. The Russian language has in practice become the joint language of communication and the language of cooperation of all the peoples of the USSR."

Russian chauvinism could not have been expressed more plainly in the said programme. And it clearly transpires from the latter that the works of world culture are only made available in Russian in the USSR and in no other language.

**2. CIAS — "The National Union for Peace and Freedom" of Bonn** advocates the disintegration of the Russian imperium, and Mme Suzanne Labin and the CIAS representative for Italy, Minister Giovanni Matteo Lombardo, advocate the preservation of the Russian colonial imperium!

The National Union for Peace and Freedom, a member of the CIAS (COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL D'INFORMATION ET D'ACTION SOCIALE), under the chairmanship of Mr. Fritz Cramer, Germany, stated as follows in its official organ "Der aktuelle Osten" of October 10, 1960, namely in an excellent article by H. R. Alscher entitled "The Vulnerable Spot of the Soviet Union" (a "Comment on the Soviet Declaration on the Concession of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples"):

"Wherein lies the danger for the Soviet Union? It lies in the fact that the Soviet Union itself is a colonial empire. Its non-Russian constituent parts are striving for independence in the same way as the former colonial territories of the West have done. The consequence for the Soviet Union would be disastrous if it were to be drawn into the eddy of the liberation movement... Prime Minister Diefenbaker of Canada has undoubtedly defined the colonial character of the Soviet imperium most aptly and has thus dealt Moscow a blow in its most vulnerable spot. And this weak spot in the imperialist system of Moscow must be attacked again and again.

By doing so, a threefold aim can be achieved:

- 1) Moscow can be forced to abandon its offensive and assume a defensive position;
- 2) The developing countries can be enlightened as to the colonial and imperialist aims of Moscow's policy and can to a large extent be made immune against Communist propaganda;

- 3) The colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the Soviet imperium can be won over to resistance against Moscow's colonial rule."... "Colonialism is the vulnerable spot of the Soviet Union."

It would have been appropriate to include these views of the CIAS in the resolution of the 2nd International Congress, but this was not done, however, because Mme S. Labin and Minister Giovanni Matteo Lombardo are defenders of Russian imperialism!

Addressing the United Nations Prime Minister Diefenbaker said:

"Since the last war 17 nations have been brought to freedom by France. In the same period, 14 colonies and territories, comprising half a billion people, have achieved complete freedom in the Commonwealth.

Together, these 31 countries, most of them now members of the UN, have gained freedom through the encouragement, approval and guidance of the United Kingdom and France.

These facts of history invite comparison with the record of Soviet domination of peoples and territories, sometimes gained in the name of liberation, but always accompanied by loss of personal and political freedom... The Assembly is still concerned with the aftermath of the Hungarian uprising of 1956... How are we to reconcile that tragedy with Mr. Khrushchov's assertion a few days ago in this Assembly when he said 'It will always be the Soviet stand that countries should establish systems of their own free will and choosing'. ...What of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia? What of freedom-loving Ukrainians and other eastern European peoples? Khrushchov has said, at the same time, that the course of history indicated that the end of colonialism must come unconditionally and immediately... Then there must be no double standard in international affairs. I ask him here and now to give those nations under his domination the right of free election, to give them opportunity to determine the kind of government they want under genuinely free conditions. Then, indeed, will his words result in action carrying out the obligation of the United Nations Charter."

Khrushchov affirmed before the United Nations that ruthless subjugation prevailed in the Russian imperium of tsarist days. The present Russian imperium, however, is far larger and far more ruthless than that of tsarist days.

The official organ of the German sector of the CIAS states: "In his speech before the United Nations Khrushchov has completely corroborated our theory that the Muscovite imperium (of tsarist days) was a continental colonial imperium..." And further, "Khrushchov said: 'In accordance with the Constitution, each of our 15 Constituent Republics has the right to remain in the Union or to secede, if it wishes to do so. The fact that there are 19 Autonomous Republics, 9 Autonomous Regions and 10 National Areas makes it possible to preserve the national characteristics, the cultural peculiarities and the independent existence of every nationality and every ethnic group.' Khrushchov must indeed have taken his audience on the occasion of the said

speech for extremely naive, since he had the audacity to tell them the fairytale about the right of states, to secede from the Soviet Union. He talks as though the story of Moscow's wars of colonial conquest from 1918 to 1924 were not known to the world. He talks as though no one knew that after the collapse of tsarism in 1917 all the former colonial territories proclaimed their independence and detached themselves from Moscow, as for instance, Finland, Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkestan and even Siberia..."

The said organ, "Der aktuelle Osten," then continues: "...Colonialist from the outset, Moscow is today as imperialist as it was in the days of Ivan, Peter, Catherine, Nicholas, Lenin and Stalin. Colonialism is the leit-motif of Moscow's policy, and anti-colonialism is nothing but a diversion manoeuvre on the lines of the 'stop, thief!' method. Today, the colonial thieves are to be found not in London or Washington, but in Moscow."

In conclusion the "Aktuelle Osten" suggests that the "Declaration on the Concession of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples" submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations by Khrushchov on September 23, 1960, should be worded as follows:

"1) To all colonial peoples, dependent and non-self-governing territories (as for example, Ukraine, Turkestan, Poland and the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany), must be conceded without delay complete independence and freedom for the setting up of their own national states in keeping with the freely expressed will and wish of their peoples (the Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Poles, Germans, etc.)."

The colonial regime, colonial administration in every form (whether as a Soviet Socialist Republic, an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, a People's Republic, or a Democratic Republic, etc.) must be abolished completely in order to enable the peoples of these territories (the Latvians, Tatars, Roumanians, Mongols, Germans, etc.) to decide their fate and the form of their government themselves.

2) At the same time all the bases of colonialism on foreign territory (and also the bases of the Soviet Union in Outer Mongolia, in North Korea, in Central Germany and elsewhere) must be abolished.

3) The governments of all countries (in particular the government of the Soviet Union) are requested in all inter-state relations to strictly and faithfully observe the UNO Charter and the Declaration on the Equality and Respect of the Sovereign Rights and the Territorial Integrity of all states without exception (in particular of the states in East Europe and Southeast Europe, in the Caucasus and in Central Asia). No aspects of colonialism (nor of Soviet colonialism) shall be permitted. Nor shall any special

rights and privileges whatever of any states at the expense of other states (e.g. special rights and privileges of Soviet Russia at the expense of Poland, Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, etc.) be permitted.

The time has come to demand the complete and final liquidation of the colonial regime in every form and variation... This disgrace, this barbarism and lack of culture must definitely cease for good."

I am of the opinion that the fundamental ideas of this publication of the German sector of the CIAS and the demand that the Russian colonial imperium be disintegrated into independent national states of all the subjugated peoples — regardless of the date when they were subjugated — should be included in the resolution adopted at the 2nd International Congress in Rome in order to be used as a transition to an offensive, which promises to be successful, against Russian colonialism. This has, however, not been done, since the organizers of the Congress in Rome, Mme Suzanne Labin and Minister G. M. Lombardo, are in some way or other under an obligation to the white Russian aspirants to colonial rule.

### 3. Marx versus Russia, but Mme Suzanne Labin and Signor Lombardo in favour of Russia!

Not only Khrushchov, however, has so daringly corroborated and criticized the Russian imperialism of tsarist days and the existence of the Russian colonial imperium at that time, but Karl Marx, too, has also done so in the brilliant reports which he wrote during the years 1853 to 1856, when he was an exile in London, for the "New York Daily Tribune." (They have been published in the book "Marx versus Russia" by the Seewald Verlag, 1960.)

In an inimitable way Karl Marx in these reports exposes the ideologically tinged expansion urge as a constant that has always existed in Russia's policy: "What has changed? Nothing at all! Russia's policy is unchangeable. Russia's methods, tactics and manoeuvres may change; but the lodestar of Russian policy — world domination — is a fixed star."

Marx also exposes Pan-Slavism as a form of Russian imperialism and writes:

"...Pan-Slavism is a form of Russian imperialism — it is not a movement that strives for national independence, but a movement which, directed against Europe, would destroy all that history has created throughout thousands of years. This could not be achieved without eradicating Hungary, Turkey and a major part of Germany from the map."

"...Alexander II will set himself up at the head of the Pan-Slavist movement and will change his title of Emperor of all Russians to that of Emperor of all Slavs."

"...The Russian bear will certainly be capable of anything as long as he knows that the other animals with which he is dealing are not capable of anything."

I should also like to quote some other brilliant thoughts by Karl Marx, the great authority on Russia, since they have so far been omitted from all Soviet Russian editions of Marx's works. For it is essential that public opinion in the West should also become acquainted with the other aspect of his ideas.

"...There is only one way of dealing with a power like Russia and that is by fearlessness."

"The system of intimidation is far less expensive than actual warfare."

"Russia only hands the Western diplomats so many notes— like throwing bones to a dog — in order to give them some harmless pleasure whilst she herself uses this opportunity to gain more time."

"Inasmuch as Russia counts on the cowardice and fear of the Western powers, she intimidates Europe and asserts her demands as far as possible in order to pretend later that she is generous since she contents herself with more immediate aims."

It is obvious from these reflections alone that the main enemy is Russian imperialism and colonialism. Communism is merely an idea employed in the service of Russia, — an idea which is in keeping with the Russian mentality.

These lucid thoughts by Karl Marx are rejected by the Marx supporters, Mme Labin and Minister Lombardo, as far as combatting Russian colonialism is concerned!

#### 4. Berdyayev and Bunin identify Russian imperialism with Bolshevism.

In his work "The New Middle Ages" the Russian philosopher, N. Berdyayev, writes as follows:

"Bolshevism is in keeping with the mentality of the Russian people; it is merely an expression of the spiritual disunion of this people, of its apostasy of faith, its religious crisis, and its extreme demoralization. Bolshevik ideas are completely in keeping with Russian nihilism.

"Dostoyevsky was the prophet of the Russian revolution and he realized that socialism in Russia is a religious problem, a question of atheism, and that the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia is not concerned with politics but solely with the question of saving mankind without God.

"The Russian emigrants (NTS, — The Editor) are not sufficiently aware of the fact that in the case of the Russian problem it is by no means a question of a small group of Bolsheviks who happen to be in power and who can be overthrown, but of a new and infinitely large class of persons who have now become the rulers of the country and cannot be easily overthrown. The Communist revolution has, above all, materialized out of Russian life."

Berdyayev also deals at length and in detail with the organic connection between Russian imperialism and Bolshevism. He identifies



the latter with Russian imperialism and describes Bolshevism as the most exaggerated form of aggressive Russian annexation aims.

In his work "The Meaning and Destiny of Russian Communism," Berdyayev characterizes Bolshevism as follows:

"Bolshevism is the third form of Russian imperialism, of the Russian empire... Bolshevism is a purely national phenomenon; he who wishes to penetrate its depths must uncover the national roots of Bolshevism and must explain its origin on the strength of Russia's history."

This idea is also taken up by the famous Russian author and holder of the Nobel Prize, I. A. Bunin. In his book "Vospominaniya" ("Memoirs") he completely corroborates Berdyayev's theories, adds to them and intensifies them. In this work Bunin presents the reader with a whole gallery of intellectual instigators of Bolshevism in the Russian literary "brotherhood" at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Whereas Lenin and the Russian social democratic revolutionary party endowed Bolshevism with its theories, political aim, ideology and strategy, it was Tolstoy, Chekhov, Andreyev, Mayakovsky, Blok, Yesenin, Byedny, Gorky, Kuprin, Petrashevsky, Voloshin and their like who imbued this treacherous and perverse Bolshevik idea with an evil soul, which made it dynamic and caused it to infect a huge proportion of the Russian intellectuals.

If we sum up the sharp-sighted observations made by Bunin in his "Memoirs," we arrive at the following picture of the spiritual fathers of the Russian October revolution:

They constituted a society of destroyers, blasphemers, rogues, clowns, braggards, insolent creatures, barbarians and tramps, who were possessed of diabolical mendacity and paranoia. To this coterie — as he says — also belonged mendacious decadents, persons who were hysterical, mental defectives from birth, persons who were insane, psychopaths and cynics. And this entire coterie, according to its own admission, constituted the intellectual vanguard of the "new Russia"!

They were the same "demons" that Pushkin visualized, that Dostoyevsky saw in flesh and blood, and that Muscovy (ethnic Russia) in our era has turned loose on Europe in the person of Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchov, in order to crush Europe under the heel of the modern Genghis Khan hordes.

But what do the Frenchwoman Mme Labin and the Italian Mr. Lombardo say to these views expressed by the Russian thinkers? Are they determined to hold Karl Marx responsible for the atrocities of Lenin, Stalin, Yezhov, Yagoda and Khrushchov, or the Russian criminal tyrants as defined by Berdyayev or Bunin?

### 5. Hugh Seton-Watson on the new imperialism

The famous Frenchman, the Marquis de Custine, and the Englishman Fletcher (in the days of Theodore, son of Ivan the Terrible, that is in the 16th century) give an account of intellectual condition, or,



rather, of Bolshevism in the intellectual sense, in that era of Russian history. It is only on the strength of an historical analysis that one can rightly assess and combat the phenomenon of the present form of Russian imperialism, i.e. Bolshevism. It is erroneous to regard Communism as something that has been imported to Russia. It is, however, correct to treat it as a phenomenon of modern Russian colonialism. For this reason one must, above all, consider the national liberation idea as the permanent, explosive force in the Russian colonial imperium.

In his recent book "The New Imperialism" the famous British historian **Hugh Seton-Watson** expresses views on Russian colonialism which we also hold and affirms that as always the basic idea in the new Russian colonial empire is nationalism. He writes as follows:

"In view of the past experience of all colonial empires, and the role played by the intelligentsia in so many countries of Asia and Africa in the last decades, it would be astounding if the intelligentsia of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union were not affected by nationalism, did not cherish the hope that one day they may achieve independence."

It is indeed regrettable that the Frenchwoman Mme Labin does not identify herself with the ideas of the famous Frenchman de Custine, or of the clear-sighted Englishman Seton-Watson, with regard to the fight for freedom of the subjugated peoples, but with those of the Russian colonialists, namely the NTS, who in Hitler's day included an anti-Semitic paragraph in their programme and now want to continue subjugating other peoples.

**6. Major-General J.F.C. Fuller: "The most explosive force is in the hearts of the subjugated peoples."**

The above view was expressed by the most famous military theoretician of our day, Major-General J.F.C. Fuller. He writes as follows:

"No power the world has ever seen has been more vulnerable to internal attack than the Bolshevik Empire. It is not a national State, but a State of nationalities. As Theodore Mommsen wrote nearly a century back: "The Russian Empire is a dust-bin that is held together by the rusty hoop of Tsardom." Break that hoop and its Imperium is at an end. When last autumn the Hungarians rose against their tormentors, the shock to the Kremlin was so great, I am convinced, that had America and Great Britain flown a provisional government into Hungary, which on arrival had forthwith called upon them for military support, that rather than risk a nuclear war the Russians would have evacuated Hungary. The reason should be obvious; it is that the Kremlin is living on a volcano, and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen-bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its iron heel."

How could the free world, in view of its inferior strength as regards classical weapons, withstand a war of aggression on the part of Russia with conventional weapons, without being the first to resort to nuclear weapons, if it misses the only opportunity of destroying the Bolshevik imperium from within — namely, by supporting the national liberation revolutions?

Major-General Fuller's answer to this question is:

"Because both America and Great Britain realize that they cannot hope to rival Russian fighting man-power, they have decided to make good their deficiency in it by relying on what they call tactical nuclear weapons; in other words, less powerful nuclear weapons than atomic and hydrogen bombs, which they call strategic nuclear weapons. This is to tackle the problem the wrong way round. The correct solution is not to increase weapon power, but to reduce Russia's superiority in man-power, and so indirectly increase Western man-power. This can be done by subverting the Russian fighting forces, which are largely recruited from the subjugated peoples within the U.S.S.R. and the satellite countries. Be it remembered that during the first few months of Hitler's invasion of Russia in 1941 well over 2,000,000 prisoners were claimed by the Germans. This is an unbelievable figure until it is realized that the vast majority of these men were deserters — Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Cossacks, Tartars, Turkestanians, and other subjugated peoples. There can be no doubt that, had Hitler welcomed these droves of deserters as allies, and proclaimed that his policy was to liberate their countries, the Soviet Imperium would have collapsed through lack of fighting man-power. Instead he treated them as sub-humans, and thereby lost the war. Though nuclear weapons have their use, more especially as a threat, the surest way of overcoming the man-power of Russia is to support the national liberation revolutions, and attack the Soviets on their inner front — in Marshal Pilsudski's words: 'that most dangerous of all fronts.'

And a further question: Is it not true that the only guarantee for a lasting peace and for the security of the whole world lies in the disintegration of the Russian Imperium into independent national states for all the subjugated peoples, all the more so since Russia is the last and most terrible colonial empire in the world? For what reason is the disintegration of the British and French Empires approved of, whereas the idea that the Russian Empire should continue — at least within the frontiers of 1939 — is supported?"

To which Major-General Fuller's answer is:

"My answer to the first part of this question is — yes! To the second, that the ignorance of the Western peoples, particularly the Americans and British, is so profound that they are blind to what Russia is and always has been. This ignorance is largely due to the fact that Russia has never belonged to Europe; her civilization owes nothing to Latin culture; she never took part in the Crusades, the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Thirty Years' War, and was unaffected by the discovery of the New World and the French

Revolution. Also it is due to the secrecy in which the Muscovites have always wrapped themselves. In 1823 the Abbé de Pradt, at one time Napoleon I's ambassador at Warsaw, wrote: 'On the other side of the Vistula falls a curtain behind which it is most difficult to see clearly what is happening within the Russian Empire. In the manner of the Orient, from which it has derived its character, the Russian government is concentrated in the court of the prince: he alone speaks, writes little and publishes nothing. In a country constituted to hide everything from public knowledge, one is more or less limited to guess-work, and this limitation also applies to the Russian army... Since the days of Peter the Great, the policy of Russia has never ceased to be one of conquest; one might say that for a whole century her government has consisted in one and the same man, with one and the same idea — methodical aggrandizement.' Unfortunately, western statesmen do not read Russian history.

Since the days of Ivan III (1462-1505) Russia has been the most persistent colonizing power in the world, and unlike the British imperial system, the urge of which was mainly commercial, the Russian has always been based on subjugation and terror. These means are so antipathetic to western imperialism that western peoples fail to see them. They look upon Russia as the land of 200,000,000 Russians, whereas actually over half her population consists of non-Russians, the majority of whom are violently opposed to Russian rule. Thus, though in this age in which the self-determination of nations has become a leading political ideal, the disintegration of the British and French Empires is welcomed by the liberal-minded peoples of the West, their ignorance of Russia and her history like an iron curtain obscures from them the truth that Russia is not only the most extensive colonial empire in the world, but the most brutal since the days of the Assyrians.

Whether the dissolution of this slave empire will guarantee lasting peace is a hypothetical question which the future alone can answer; but that it will set free in all some 200,000,000 European and Asiatic peoples, and allow them to govern themselves is an uncontradictable fact. If the West really believes in freedom, then the Russian Empire must go."

Major-General Fuller has not only diagnosed the political situation correctly, but has also elaborated a military and political plan of promising results for the counter-offensive, which is above all determined by the idea of the disintegration of the Russian imperium. At the same time, he has also suggested concrete measures for the psychological and political fight, of which we should like to quote the following. In his article entitled "For What Type Of War Should The West Prepare? ". Major-General Fuller enumerates the following factors of total war: ideological war, physical warfare, the centre of gravity of a future war (in the hearts of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain), psychological use of the atomic bomb, guerilla warfare as the key problem, the vulnerable spot of the Russian imperium (the national independence idea).

He summarizes his views on political warfare as follows:

- (1) In an ideological age wars take on an ideological character.
- (2) They are conflicts between ideas in which bullets play a secondary part.
- (3) The cold war is the real war, and its aim is internal attack on the enemy.
- (4) Ideas are largely impotent unless backed by force — the threat of actual war.
- (5) The greater the threat, the more audaciously can cold war be waged, hence the importance of scientific superiority.
- (6) As this may lead to the outbreak of actual war, the West must be prepared, not only to fight it, but to convert its cold war into civil and guerilla war within the enemy's country.
- (7) These things the Western nations will never adequately do unless: (a) Western Germany is fully re-armed, and (b) unless they co-operate with the resistance movements behind the Iron Curtain.

Finally, let us remember this: In the mobile and scientific warfare of today, he who prepares for the defensive digs his own grave."

I have omitted **military** considerations and suggestions, since this is a matter for the military general staff to decide.

In an interview in "US News and World Report," Major-General J.F.C. Fuller gave the following answer to the question as to what concrete action he would recommend the Allies to take in the cold war. He said that there were vast areas in the interior of the USSR where discontent prevailed, and added that there were strong insurgent movements in all the satellite countries and in Ukraine. What was needed in the first place was an extensive and better information service. At the same time, so he stressed, an effective Western Charter with a similar psychological appeal like that of the old Communist manifesto should be proclaimed. Subsequently our work could then begin. He went on to emphasize that it would be unwise to start a revolution too soon, but said that the Allies could really give the discontented peoples hopes of freedom. It was possible to ascertain what line the respective regional conditions called for and which persons were most susceptible to our ideas of freedom. In the meantime, so he pointed out, use could be made of wireless transmitters and propaganda literature.

In his article "What The Kremlin Fears Most" he says in conclusion: "Because in the Atlantic Pact is to be found the only potential first front against Russia, so in the A.B.N., however lacking in organization, in it still is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither one without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim — not the containment of Communism, but the complete elimination of Bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world."

Neither Mme Labin nor Minister Lombardo have learnt anything at all from these profound and promising ideas on political warfare. The subjugated peoples in the USSR mean nothing at all to either Mme Labin or to Minister Lombardo, but the white Russian imperialists and the new colonial masters in East Europe, however, mean everything to them. They are not in the least interested in the national independence of Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, or Armenia, etc. They would like the Russian imperialists under the name of NTS continue to rule these countries!

#### **7. Ukrainian concentration camp prisoners' demands to the free world**

The demands put to the Western world by the Ukrainian political prisoners during the insurrection in Vorkuta in 1953, and also the demands expressed in the appeal by the Ukrainian political prisoners in Mordovia to the United Nations are in line with the suggestions made by Major-General Fuller.

In his book entitled "Vorkuta" (p. 194), which he wrote on his return from the slave camp there, Dr. J. Scholmer, a noted German doctor, enumerates the demands of the insurgent prisoners to the Western world during their riot in the camp:

1. The dropping of leaflets over all camps giving the signal to the prisoners to call a general strike.
2. The dropping of arms, radio transmitters, explosives, medical supplies and food. This is to be done not only at Vorkuta, but in all the forest camps along the railway leading southward.
3. Immediate formation by the prisoners of partisan groups who would be in a position to cut the 1,500 km. long railway line at given points.
4. Creation of a separate republic, independent of Moscow, which would embrace the whole vast forest network of European and Asiatic Russia. If the prisoners had arms, this would be quite unassailable. No tanks, aircraft or artillery can operate in this gigantic partisan terrain.
5. Intensive radio propaganda to the peoples in the Soviet Union from this independent republic with the aim of bringing about:
  - a) A peasant rising under the traditional slogan "Land for the Peasants."
  - b) A workers' rising under the slogan "Factories for the Workers."
6. Proclamation of the national independence of Ukraine, the Baltic States, Byelorussia, the peoples of Caucasia, Turkestan and the Far East.
7. Ultimate creation of conditions similar to civil war by an aggravation of the tension between the hard core of the army and the peoples of the Soviet Union."

This plan of action has been corroborated by the military theoreticians of the West through the fighting insurgents. But no mention whatever

has been made of these riots by Mme Labin, since the people concerned are Ukrainians and not NTS swindlers! Mme Labin has thus revealed the true nature of her objectivity sufficiently, and therefore does not merit any support from the freedom-loving, anti-imperialistic world!

**8. US Congress in favour of the disintegration of the Russian imperium, but Mme Labin and Minister Lombardo reject "Captive Nations Week" Resolution!**

The Congress of the United States of America has rightly comprehended and assessed the political character of the global anti-Bolshevist offensive, even though the practical policy of the State Department and of various American semi-private organizations is not in keeping with the wishes and principles of the US House of Representatives.

I was pleased to see the names of Senator Dodd, Paul Douglas and Kenneth B. Keating, who in the US Senate on June 22, 1959, recommended the famous Resolution on "Captive Nations Week" and got it unanimously adopted, on the list of persons invited by the International Invitation Committee to the Congress in Rome. Senator James O. Eastland and Congressman Walter Judd also played an active part in supporting this Resolution.

I am of the opinion that it would be appropriate for the International Congress in Rome to support this Resolution and to adopt it as a guiding principle in political warfare, that is to say in the sense of advocating the disintegration of the Russian colonial imperium. At the same time, it should be stressed that no miniature colonial empires should be allowed to exist in future in Europe. Thus, Czecho-Slovakia for instance should be dissolved and an independent Slovakia and Bohemia restored again. The same also holds good in the case of Yugoslavia, where an independent Croatia, Serbia, etc., should be set up again, seeing that such territories as Congo, Mali, Nigeria, Liberia and Katanga have been given their independence!

The text of the US Congress Resolution is worded as follows:

"Joint Resolution providing for the designation of the week following the Fourth of July as "Captive Nations Week."

WHEREAS the greatness of the United States is in a large part attributed to its having been able, through democratic process, to achieve a harmonious national unity of its peoples, even though they stem from the most diverse of racial, religious, and ethnic backgrounds; and

WHEREAS this harmonious unification of the diverse elements of our free society has led the people of the United States to possess a warm understanding and sympathy for the aspirations of peoples everywhere and to recognize the natural interdependence of the peoples and nations of the world; and

WHEREAS the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence between nations and constitutes a detriment

to the natural bonds of understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples; and

WHEREAS the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's Russian Communism has resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

WHEREAS the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, Bulgaria, East Germany, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others; and

WHEREAS these submerged nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, and other religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties; and

WHEREAS it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive; and

WHEREAS the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

WHEREAS it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such peoples through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence: Now, therefore be it

RESOLVED by the Senate and House Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, That the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation on the Fourth of July, 1959, declaring the week following such day as "Captive Nations Week" and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The President is further authorized and requested to issue a similar proclamation on each succeeding Fourth of July until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world."

In spite of the fact that Senator Dodd, the initiator of the US Congress "Captive Nations Week" Resolution, was a guest speaker in Rome, and in spite of the fact that my suggestion in this respect was accepted by acclamation at the plenary session of the Congress, under the chairmanship of the delegate of the German Federal Parliament, Neumann (CDU Party), Mme Labin and Minister Lombardo completely ignored the resolution, since Mme Labin had declared herself the "dictator" of the Congress and had appointed herself head of the resolution commission which was non-existent and had not been elected by anybody!



### 9. Liberation nationalism as the most effective weapon in the fight against the last colonial imperium in the world

As already mentioned above, Prof. Hugh Seton-Watson has rightly assessed the situation behind the Iron Curtain in his book "The New Imperialism," and Major-General J.F.C. Fuller has in an exemplary manner drawn the logical conclusions, from the practical point of view, from this situation and has set them up as guiding principles for the military and political strategy that should be followed.

So as not to miss the opportunity of establishing contact with the big, universal, national liberation movement in order to use it for its own advantage, Soviet Russia is trying to pose as the champion of the national liberation of the peoples of the Western colonial empires, which are disintegrating with the aid and consent of the mother-countries, for in the majority of cases the former ruling nation concedes independence to the former ruled and dependent peoples without war.

At the same time, however, the Russian despotic imperium is conquering and subjugating more and more peoples and countries. And the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has meanwhile issued the following proclamation:

"In many countries the liberation movement of the developing peoples is being effected under the banner of nationalism. The Marxist-Leninists distinguish between the nationalism of subjugated nations and the nationalism of subjugating nations. The nationalism of subjugated nation is democratic in its general purport and is directed against subjugation, and the Communists support this form of nationalism since it is, in their opinion, justified in a certain historical stage. Its purport is expressed in the striving of the subjugated peoples for liberation from the imperialistic yoke, for national independence and national regeneration..."

"The national states are asserting themselves more and more actively as an independent force in the world arena, and seen objectively they are essentially a progressive, revolutionary and anti-imperialistic force..."

"The days are past when imperialism was still able to make use unhindered of the masses and the material resources of these countries in the predatory wars that it had started..."

"The countries of socialism are the sincere and loyal friends of the peoples who are fighting for liberation from the imperialistic yoke or who have liberated themselves from it, and give these people their universal support. They support the abolition of every form of colonial subjugation and in every way do their share towards consolidating the sovereignty of the states which are being created out of the ruins of the colonial empires."

It is extremely regrettable that the "Conference on the Political Warfare of the Soviets" in Rome did not support the liberation nationalism of the countries in the last, most ruthless and largest colonial empire in the world. Instead of which, Mme Labin and Minister Lombardo tried to propagate the idea of non-predetermination



as regards the independence of the peoples in the USSR, as well as the idea of the preservation of the Russian imperium according to the frontiers of 1939. It looks as though the West is willing to accept the present frontiers of the Russian sphere of influence, as long as Moscow leaves it in peace.

Here and there in the West one now and again realizes the importance of nationalism in the fight against Russian imperialistic subjugation. At a press conference on August 5, 1958, President Eisenhower himself declared: "I believe in nationalism and I support it for the good of all the peoples." And Ex-President Harry S. Truman wrote in an article on August 26, 1959: "In this era of the abolition of the old colonialism and of transition to the independence and nationalism of the peoples, we must not overlook the menacing growth of a new type of colonialism, — Red, exploiting colonialism."

It would have been of decisive importance for the ideas expressed in this treatise to have been included in the resolutions of the Congress in Rome, so as to influence the public in this direction and also to launch appropriate campaigns to support the fight for freedom behind the Iron Curtain. This was not, however, done, since the organizers of the Congress, Mme Labin and Minister Lombardo, have aims in mind which are not connected with the liberation of the peoples from the Russian yoke.

In conclusion I wish to stress that we must always bear in mind the words of the British Air Vice-Marshal E.J. Kingston-McClough in his book "Global Strategy":

"The enemy here considered is not simply embodied in an ideological threat but rather it is the State called Russia, that is, Russia as a power: a Russia expanding and desiring to extend her sphere of influence: a state posing as the symbol of all manner of ideals. It is Russia as a fighting force, an organized community, and a power or state in the most autocratic and absolute sense with which we are concerned."

Mme Labin and Minister Lombardo have rendered the world fight against Bolshevism an ill service in refusing to attack Russian colonialism.

Another disappointment and another unsuccessful, negligible, non-democratic initiative on the part of the anti-Communist world league!

Moscow has no reason to be afraid of the undemocratic anti-Communists who reject the national independence of the peoples, as for instance Mme Labin, Minister Lombardo, and others. They will never succeed in rousing the enthusiasm of peoples and individuals for the fight, even though they have the necessary funds. For it is not money but ideas which are decisive in this case! And the ideas of Mme Labin and Minister Lombardo are false, and their methods are the totalitarian methods of a secretive coterie and clique which conspire with undemocratic anti-Communism behind the backs of the peoples.

**Dr. Baymirza Hayit**

**Turkestan**

## **The Origin and Development of Russian Imperialism**

### **I. Introduction**

Whereas there is plenty of material available on British, Dutch, French and Portuguese imperialism and colonialism, very little has been written about the origin and development of Russian imperialism. Those interested in this subject are obliged to search through numerous works of reference. This complex of questions is of especial interest at the moment, when Soviet Russia's lust of expansion once again seems particularly menacing. It is indeed surprising that the freedom-loving West has so far never attached any special importance to investigating and studying the origin and development of Russian imperialism, even though it has always known that Russia has for hundreds of years sought to expand its territory in every direction.

As a result of the lack of enlightenment in this decisive field, the average person in the West today does not know how to assess this Russian "gigantic power" of our day in a Soviet form.

The free world is agreed that imperialism and colonialism are outmoded. But very little is said or written — and if so then only with considerable reserve — about active Russian, i.e. Soviet imperialism. So far the Russians have to a large extent succeeded in passing off their imperialistic plans as a technical and political action necessitated by the demands of the times and in disguising their fundamental lust of expansion. The more Europe was occupied with its own problems, the more active did Russian imperialism become. The present role of the Soviet Union as a major power and as a colonial power in international politics is the result not merely of its own strength, but also of the indifference and credulity of the other powers with regard to the perpetual expansion aims firstly of the Russians and then of the Communist Soviet leaders.

The history of Russia is eloquent proof of Russian imperialism. It is absolutely essential that at the present time, when the Kremlin itself has started an offensive against imperialism and colonialism, especially in the developing countries, a critical study should be made of the origin and development of imperialism in Russia.

## II. The Development of Russian Imperialism

In the course of its history Russia has as a rule acted according to the Russian saying: "Where Russian horses leave their tracks, that is Russian soil." The transformation of other countries into "Russian soil," with which the principality of Moscow began, continued until the year 1520 under the motto "collection of Russian soil." After Moscow had annexed various independent neighbouring principalities such as Tver, Pskov and Ryazan, as well as the provinces of Great Novgorod, under this motto and had incorporated them in the principality of Moscow, it felt that it was strong enough to advance against other peoples. It can be seen from the history of Russia that the conquest of neighbouring countries from the beginning of the 16th century onwards up to the present time has always been in keeping with the Russian mentality and conduct, although some of these annexations were at first more or less only measures of security to guard against a renewed subjugation by the Tatars.

This lust of expansion is clearly evident from the following chronological list:

- 1552 Conquest of the Khanate of Kazan on the Volga
- 1556 Conquest of the Khanate of Astrakhan on the Volga delta on the Caspian Sea
- 1558 Beginning of the campaigns to conquer Siberia
- 1582 End of the conquest of Siberia as far as the River Lena
- 1654 Incorporation of part of Ukraine; beginning of the campaign against Poland
- 1667 Advance as far as the Dnieper line
- 1680 Annexation of the Kyiv region
- 1689 Advance as far as Kamchatka
- 1709 Defeat at Poltava of the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazeppa and King Charles XII of Sweden
- 1721 Conquest of Estonia and Livonia
- 1723 Incorporation of the west coast of the Caspian Sea
- 1734 Extension of Russian protectorate rule to the nomad khanates to of Kitchi-Dzu, Orta-Dzu and Ulu-Dzu between the Ural River and the Sea of Aral as far as the Syr Darya and its mouth
- 1772 Occupation of the Eastern part of White Ruthenia
- 1783 Conquest and incorporation of the Crimea
- 1793 Occupation of the Ukraine West of the Dnieper and of White Ruthenia
- 1795 Incorporation of Courland and Lithuania
- 1801 Annexation of Georgia
- 1809 Subjugation of Finland
- 1812 Annexation of Bessarabia
- 1828 Conquest and incorporation of Azerbaijan

- 1829 Annexation of the region of the Danube delta and the east coast of the Black Sea
- 1852 Beginning of the campaign against the Khanate of Kokand in Turkestan
- 1858 Incorporation of the Amur region in the Far East
- 1860 Incorporation of the Ussuri region in the Far East
- 1864 Conquest of the North Caucasus
- 1866 Beginning of the campaign against the Emirate of Bokhara in Turkestan
- 1868 Extension of protectorate rule to the Emirate of Bokhara
- 1873 Extension of protectorate rule to the Khanate of Khiva after years of war
- 1876 Abolition of the Khanate of Kokand and annexation of this territory; advance as far as the Tien-Shan mountains
- 1884 Conclusion of the campaigns of conquest in the settled territory of Turkmenistan with the occupation of the town of Merv (Mary) in Turkestan
- 1897 Conclusion of the conquest of the territory of Turkestan with the annexation of the Pamir region
- 1900 Occupation of Manchuria
- 1918 Beginning of the re-conquest campaign against the national independent Republics of Ukraine, Crimea, North Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Tatar-Bashkiria and Turkestan, which were established after the 1917 October revolution
- 1921 Conclusion of the re-conquest campaign against the national republics; invasion of Mongolia by the Red Army and proclamation of the People's Republic of Mongolia
- 1934 Conclusion of the operation by the Red Army against the national uprising in Turkestan (began in 1918)
- 1939 Annexation of the territories of West Ukraine and West White Ruthenia occupied by Poland
- 1940 March, conclusion of the campaign against Finland and annexation of the Karelo-Finnish territories
- 1940 June, re-incorporation of Bessarabia and annexation of Northern Bukovina
- 1940 Annexation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania
- 1944 Incorporation of Tuva
- 1945 Incorporation of Carpatho-Ukraine

The line of this policy is characterized still further by the following facts:

- 1945 Occupation of North Korea and proclamation of the People's Republic of Korea (North); occupation of Central Germany; August 2, 1945: annexation of the East Prussian Region (Königsberg)

- 1945 Bolshevization of East Europe by the formation of "people's to democratic" regimes (Poland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, 1948 Albania, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Bulgaria)
- 1949 Establishment of the Communist rule in China
- 1953 June 17th, suppression of workers' revolt in Berlin and in the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany
- 1954 Partition of Vietnam. Establishment of the Communist puppet regime in North Vietnam
- 1956 November 4th, suppression of the national revolt in Hungary

As a result of Russian and Soviet expansion, the Muscovite principality, which at the end of the 13th century covered an area of 16,200 square kilometres, developed into an "imperium" of about 22,430,000 sq. kilometres by the middle of the 20th century, without counting the satellite States.

This has been achieved by Russia by means of numerous wars, by skilfully playing off powers against each other, and, in addition, thanks to the weakness of Russia's neighbours.

After the revolution the Bolsheviks took over the territories of tsarist Russia that were inhabited by the subjugated peoples (with the exception of Finland and the Baltic countries), with a total area of 13.65 million sq. kilometres and a population of about 88.71 million. Soviet Russia, however, not only obtained the tsarist Russian imperium, but also extended it very considerably. During the years from 1918 to 1945, for instance, it annexed about 2.16 million sq. kilometres of territory with a population of 20.71 million. After 1945 further countries and peoples of East Europe and some countries of Asia, with a total area of about 1.1 million sq. kilometres and a population of 99.13 million, were incorporated in Moscow's sphere of influence. These figures, incidentally, do not include Communist China. At the present time the Soviet Union possesses a number of colonial countries, which have a total area of about 16.8 million sq. kilometres. The population of these colonial territories numbers more than 188 million persons, who have become the subjects of the Russian colonial power.<sup>1)</sup> Such is the alarming balance-sheet of a lust of political power and of imperialistic aims to subjugate and exploit other peoples.

Whereas the West after World War II began to de-colonize its colonial territories, Russia began a renewed colonization process. Which country will be the next victim of this imperialism cannot be foreseen.

### III. Russian Ideology as the Basis of Russian Imperialism

Russia's rulers and leaders have always been unanimously agreed on the question of their lust of conquest. The Russian desire to subjugate other peoples can be traced back a long way in the history

<sup>1)</sup> Cf. "Das Kolonialreich der Sowjetunion" in "Der aktuelle Osten," Bonn, IV, 1960, No. 5, p. 6.

of that country. In the 15th century the tsars adopted the Byzantine, i.e. Eastern Empire, double-headed eagle as the symbol of their state as a result of the marriage of Ivan III to Sophia Paleologue, the niece of the last Byzantine emperor, in 1472. They considered themselves as the successors of the Byzantine Empire. Russia wanted to keep the world in order and to set an example to other peoples; it planned to assert itself as administrator of the world. These ideas, symbolized by the adoption of the double-headed eagle of the Byzantine Empire, were not however able to effect the realization of the Russian dream of succession to the Roman Empire. For this reason another idea had to be created. Hence, in the 16th century a Russian Orthodox monk proclaimed the following dogma:

"Great Rome fell through heresy. The Second Rome (Byzantium) allied itself with the Latin nations and the Christian Church sought refuge in the Third Rome, which is the new great Russia."<sup>2)</sup>

From then onwards, the Russian intelligentsia, the clergy and the tsars were obsessed by this idea. Moscow was to become the Third Rome. The double-headed eagle, as the symbol of the power of ancient Rome, and the dogma "Moscow is the Third Rome" determined Russia's Messianistic course, which it pursued for a considerable time. From the reign of Peter I onwards, the idea of Russia's historic mission in the world was cultivated. The revolutionary and anarchist Bakunin (1814-1876) affirmed:

"The star of the revolution will rise in Moscow and it will become the lodestar of all liberated mankind."

But first of all, all the Slavs were to be united under Moscow's rule. Hence the Russians in 1857 founded a Slav Committee in Moscow, which placed Pan-Slavism in the foreground. Instead of the former idea of "collecting Russian soil," the idea on which the rulers of Russia now concentrated was the collection of all the Slavs under the protection of the Russians. The Congress of Berlin in 1878, however, put a damper on Pan-Slavism. But Russia has never completely renounced this idea. To this end Moscow, for instance, furthered the Balkan League against Turkey. This resulted in the Balkan Wars in 1912-13. Actually it was not until after World War II that the Russian Pan-Slavic ideal was realized, namely after all the Slav countries had been brought under the rule of Soviet Russia by various methods. Since 1947 a periodical "Slavyane" ("The Slavs"), which resulted out of the aim to cultivate and foster the feeling of affinity of the Slavs to the Russians, has been published in Moscow as the organ of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union.

The Russian ideology has been the basis for Russia's imperialism since the 16th century and up to the present day. The evolution of

<sup>2)</sup> For further details of the "Third Rome" dogma, see H. Schaeder, "Moskau, das dritte Rom." Studien zur Geschichte und politische Theorien in der slawischen Welt. Darmstadt 1957. Page 215, as well as "The Ukrainian Review," No. 3, 1961.

these ideas and the conquests carried out by Russia ran parallel to each other. The world of ideas of many Russians is characterized by the following fundamental ideas:

- 1) The salvation of mankind by the Russians (Russia as the saviour).
- 2) Occidental culture to be replaced by Russian culture.
- 3) The civilization of the world by the Russians.
- 4) The unification of all the peoples of the world round the Russian empire.
- 5) The domination of Europe to be effected by the collection of the Slavs.
- 6) To assert influence in Asia as a European power and in Europe as an Asian power.

Those who advocated these ideas were convinced of Russia's mission on this earth. Hence Messianism was the fundamental idea of Russian imperialism. And Messianism at all times (also during Communism) has constituted the basic principle of Russia's world policy.

The first world war and its outcome led to a renovation of all outmoded ideas in Russia. All the ideas which had held good hitherto were reformed by Bolshevism-Communism; hence the free world gradually gained the impression that Bolshevism was something completely new. Many persons seemed to think that "Bolshevism had dropped from heaven on to Russian soil." But in the West, too, certain circles began to realize that the Bolsheviks and the Russians were alike in character. For instance, the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" (of January 7, 1957) affirmed: "Soviet is also Russian!" Moreover, the Russian philosopher Nikolay Berdyayev had also written as follows about the fusion of the old Russian Messianism with Bolshevism: "Bolshevism is a Russian national phenomenon" and "In its ultimate non-secularized but undeified form Russian Messianism is now at last appearing as Bolshevism."

Classical Russian Messianism was also in evidence in the form which modern Communism assumed. As early as 1919 the Soviet government founded the 3rd (Communist) International to take the place of the "Third Rome," and endeavoured to effect the world domination of Communism with the aid of this International.

Under pressure of the Allies, Soviet Russia was obliged to dissolve this world organization on May 15, 1943. But this step was only a tactical manoeuvre on the part of the Communist leaders, for in place of the Communist International the Soviet Union on September 30, 1947, founded the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau). This organization, too, was dissolved on April 18, 1956, on account of internal differences between the Communist leaders. Since 1957, as a substitute, conferences of the Communist and workers' parties of the whole world have been held in the Kremlin every year. All these attempts to concentrate its plans for world domination prove that Communism continues to be the executor of a dangerous imperialism.

The Communist leaders are firmly convinced that about 36 million Communists will "rule the whole world." Indeed, this aim has even been set up as a dogma. The Moscow ideologists of Communism "proclaimed" that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was in a position, on the strength of its experience, to lead the Communist parties of the world to a Communist victory. And this idea was also accepted by the Communist Party leaders of all the other states at the end of November 1960 in Moscow. This fact alone is proof that the Communists are endeavouring to achieve a hegemony in the whole world. With the aid of the Communist ideology the Soviet Union has already succeeded in becoming a world power.

In this respect Berdyayev remarked:

"In place of the Third Rome the Russian people have realized the Third International. In this Third International the fateful union of the Russian national Messianistic idea with international proletarian Messianism is effected."

The Russians regard themselves as a kind of "supermen." For instance, the Russian historian Mikhail Pogodin wrote in 1839:

"Russia — what a wonderful appearance on the world stage! How admirably spiritual and physical strength are balanced! Who can compare themselves with us?"

Over a hundred years later, namely in 1946, Andrey Zhdanov, one of the leading Russian Communist Party ideologists, said:

"Where are such a people or such a country as ours to be found?"

The Russians have always regarded the subjugated peoples as "foreigners" (inorodtsy), and this attitude still holds good today, even if it is no longer openly expressed. The present Communist leaders are acting entirely in keeping with the views of that Russian arch-revolutionary and anarchist Bakunin, who expressed the opinion: "the Russian people will create a new civilization, and even a new faith, new law and a new way of life."<sup>3</sup>)

Thus the Soviet rulers and ideologists completely agree with the old aims of the Russians. And this trait of character is described by the satirist Saltykov-Shchedrin in his work "The Gentlemen of Tashkent" as "constantly guzzling but never satisfied." Imperialism is therefore part of the mentality of the Russian statesmen and a dynamic force in Russian society. And in this respect there is no difference between the Russian absolute rulers (Samoderzhtsy) and the dictators of the proletariat in the Kremlin. According to the Russian historian Mikhail Pravdin, the Russian imperium has lost "neither its historical character, nor its lust of conquest" in our modern times.<sup>4</sup>)

<sup>3</sup>) Dmytro Donzov, "Der Geist Russlands" (The Russian Mentality). Munich, 1961. P. 26.

<sup>4</sup>) Michail Pravdin, "Russland" (Russia). Stuttgart, 1951. P. 336.



#### IV. Mode of Operation of Russian Imperialism

Russian imperialism is extremely flexible, adaptable and intensive. Whenever Russia intends to subjugate a people, it prepares its campaign years beforehand. Tsarist Russia relied mainly on military means, namely according to the motto: "Where there is no order, order must be introduced."

Whenever Soviet Russia plans to conquer another country, these purely military operations are very carefully worked out beforehand from the psychological aspect. These preparations usually consist in systematically causing alarm amongst and agitating the population of the country to be conquered, in order to undermine their moral powers of resistance. For this purpose either Soviet Russian agents are employed, or else natives of the country in question who are prepared to work in the interests and services of Russia. Once the powers of resistance of the population appear to have been weakened sufficiently, a military attack is launched. If the military operations are successful, then this victory is celebrated accordingly. If the attack fails, however, then Soviet Russia always endeavours to end the matter, at least for the time being, by negotiations, but nevertheless continues to pursue the original aim in order to launch another attack at an opportune moment.

Thus Russia during the past 200 years, for instance, carried out warlike operations on 70 occasions against Turkey, some of which were successful, whilst others were not. Even today Moscow has still not abandoned its plans as regards Turkey. Soviet Russia continues to pursue the old aim of gaining control of the Straits (the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles). It is a characteristic of Russian imperialism that it acts slowly. Thus Russia took about 169 years to conquer Turkestan. By means of attacks carried out in gradual stages, Russia succeeded in conquering the whole country (about 3.7 million sq. kilometres) from the beginning of the 18th century until the end of the 19th century (1897). These two examples clearly show that the Russians take their time when realizing their plans; they are capable of waiting patiently until conditions and circumstances are ripe for their operations, and then they attack. And it was on the strength of this fundamental Russian attitude that Lenin was able to set up his theory of "two steps forward and one step backward." This implies that, if possible, the aim in mind shall be pursued tenaciously and that as much as possible of the aim shall be realized. But if difficulties arise, or the campaign threatens to be a failure, then one should immediately retreat, but without, however, abandoning the original aim.

Under the Soviets Russian imperialism has not changed its character but merely its outward appearance. Soviet Russia found a new method as regards the mode of operation of Russian imperialism, namely through Communism. The Russians have always denied that they were acting imperialistically. Their aggressive campaigns against other

peoples have always been represented as "spreading civilization." For centuries the idea of 'Holy Russia' has characterized the national arrogance of the Russians. This characteristic trait has readily been adopted by the Soviet Russians. Whatever the Russians themselves may say about the manner of their conduct towards other peoples, there is no denying the fact that despotism has continued to remain a decisive factor of all their expansion plans.

Nikolay Berdyayev for instance openly admitted:

"We are equally justified in describing the Russian people as despotically minded or anarchistically susceptible, and we are just as equally justified in talking about the trend to nationalism and to national self-conceit, or the inclination to universalism."

According to Berdyayev, the Russian people are cruel yet human, savage yet compassionate. But of these qualities, those of cruelty and savagery dominate when it is a case of putting imperialistic ideas into practice. It is precisely these characteristics which guide Russian imperialism to success, since all feeling of consideration for others is eliminated. For some of the Russian intellectuals Communism in 1917 became a new ideal, by means of which they wanted to realize their traditional desire for a universal world domination on the part of the Russians. And it is interesting to note that they firmly believed in this.

Soviet Russia was, however, obliged to readjust itself and to adapt itself to the psychology of other persons and peoples. The mere promise that Communism meant the prospect of bread was bound to be ineffective, since everyone asked what the further prospects, after bread, were likely to be. For this reason the Communists propagated the slogan of the freedom of the peoples. But it transpired that this slogan was interpreted in Communist Russia as the subjugation of other peoples. As early as November 1917 the Communists issued a proclamation on the rights "of the peoples of Russia." In this proclamation they promised that every people subjugated by Russia, whether large or small, had the right to determine their national life themselves, and even had the right to declare their state independence and to secede from Russia. In view of conditions at that time this proclamation was regarded as extremely considerate and obliging. The subjugated peoples hastened to found their own national states without delay. Hence, during the years 1917 to 1920 the following national states were founded: Ukraine, Byelorussia, North Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Idel-Ural (Volga-Ural), the Crimea, Bashkir, and Turkestan, Finland, the Baltic states and Poland seceded from the Russian state union.

Thereupon the Soviet Russians clearly showed what they had meant by the freedom and the national right of self-determination of the peoples. They attacked the national states and succeeded in overthrowing all the national governments. Their slogan of freedom was changed into one of re-conquest. For the word "freedom" they substituted the word "liberation." They "collected" the former colonial

possessions of tsarist Russia under one uniform Soviet imperial flag. Such, in the opinion of the Soviet Russians, was liberation.

Moscow applied two different standards when assessing the liberation of the colonial peoples of Russia and the secession of the colonies from Western colonial rule. This is obvious from a statement made by Stalin in 1920, in which he said:

"We are in favour of the secession of India, the Arab countries (Arabia, Egypt, Morocco) and other colonies from the Entente, because secession in this case means the liberation of these subjugated countries from imperialism, the weakening of the position of imperialism and the strengthening of the position of the revolution in Russia. We are against the secession of the periphery (non-Russian countries) from Russia, because secession in this case means imperialistic bondage for the periphery, weakening of the revolutionary power of Russia and strengthening of the position of imperialism. For this reason the Communists, who are in favour of the secession of the colonies from the Entente, cannot at the same time fight for the secession of the periphery from Russia."<sup>5</sup>)

Thus the Communist leaders regarded it as right that other colonies should strive to attain independence, but wrong for the colonies of Russia to do so.

In March 1921 Stalin limited the meaning of the national right of self-determination considerably. He affirmed:

"Apart from the right of self-determination of the peoples, there is also the right of the working class to the consolidation of their power, and the right of self-determination is subordinate to this right."<sup>6</sup>)

The idea of the right of self-determination of the peoples therefore became meaningless. It is thus obvious that Communism does not acknowledge any national right of self-determination if this does not fit in with its policy. The Soviet leaders only make use of the right of self-determination for their own purpose. Lenin acknowledged that fundamentally every nationality had the right to state independence, but by this he did not mean a right of self-determination with all its consequences, even though there was talk of this in the propaganda that was disseminated abroad. Lenin formulated a right to "free secession and to the formation of an independent state," but it is obvious from Stalin's interpretation at the 10th Party Congress what is meant by this.

"At the present time when the liberation movement in the colonies is spreading, this watchword is in our opinion a revolutionary watchword. Since the Soviet states are united in a federation in accordance with the principle of voluntariness, the peoples belonging to the R.S.F.S.R. of their own free decision made no use of the right to secession. But when it is a question of colonies that are subjugated by England, France, America and Japan, and when it is a question of

<sup>5</sup>) J. V. Stalin, "Marxism and the National Problems." Tula, 1920. P. VII.

<sup>6</sup>) Kazakhstan, Alma Ata, 1930. P. XII.

subjugated peoples such as those of Arabia, Mesopotamia, Turkey, or Hindustan, that is to say of countries that are colonies or semi-colonies, then the right to secession is a revolutionary watchword."

A few months previously, Stalin, who at that time was People's Commissar for Nationalities and thus competent for this question, had written:

"Naturally, the peripheral regions of Russia, the nations and tribes that inhabit these peripheral regions, like all other nations have the inalienable right to secession from Russia... But here it is not a question of the rights of nations which are indisputable, but of the interests of the masses of the population, both in the heart of Russia and in the peripheral regions... But the interests of the masses indicate that the demand for secession on the part of the peripheral regions is, in view of the present stage of the revolution, an out-and-out counter-revolutionary demand."

Again and again the Communist Party of the Soviet Union maintains that the non-Russian peoples have realized their national right of self-determination under the leadership of the Soviet Russians, and that they therefore belong to the Soviet Union "voluntarily" and regard the Russians as their "big brother." But if one of the Soviet Russian colonial countries were to venture to demand voluntary secession from this Union on the strength of the Constitution of the Soviet Union, the leading forces would be branded as counter-revolutionaries and, in accordance with Paragraph 58 of the Criminal Code, would most certainly be sentenced to death.<sup>7</sup>) So far, at least, no one who demanded the secession of his country from the union of the Soviet Union has ever remained alive.

At present 15 non-Russian Soviet Republics (S.S.R.), 19 Autonomous Soviet Republics (A.S.S.R.), and 9 non-Russian Autonomous Regions (A.O.) belong to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which was founded on December 30, 1922. In theory the Union Republics are independent, but in actual practice they are by no means independent. On the contrary, if some "independent" Republic of the Soviet Union attempts to criticize or to disregard one of the decrees of the Union government in Moscow, the persons responsible are promptly arrested. The security organs acting on the instructions of the Soviet government see to this. The federative appearance of the Soviet Russian state has given rise to an erroneous opinion abroad, namely that the Soviet Union is a community of states which has been formed on the strength of the voluntary union of the peoples concerned. Thus an Indian scholar, for instance, failed to comprehend that there is a vast difference between the British Commonwealth and the USSR. He pointed out that no one had forced independent India to join the Commonwealth and was of the opinion that this example could also be applied to Soviet conditions.

<sup>7</sup>) Hugh Seton-Watson, "Das Nationalitätenproblem in der Sowjetunion" (The National Problem in the Soviet Union), in "Schriftenreihe der Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst," No. 44, Bonn, 1960. P. 115.

Before the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 26, 1960, Canadian Prime Minister Diefenbaker in replying to the question raised by Khrushchov regarding colonialism, courageously unmasked the nature of Soviet domination when he said: "The General Assembly is still concerned with the aftermath of the Hungarian uprising of 1956. How are we to reconcile that tragedy with Mr. Khrushchov's confident assertion of a few days ago in this Assembly: 'It will always be the Soviet stand... that countries should establish systems... of their own free will and choosing.' What of Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia? What of freedom-loving Ukrainians and other Eastern European peoples?"

Erroneous conceptions of the federative structure of the Soviet Russian colonial empire unfortunately prevail not only in Asia and Africa, but also in Europe and America, a fact which leads to illusions regarding the true nature of Soviet Russian imperialism. Many people have not yet realized that the Soviet Union is not a voluntary but a compulsory union of the peoples and that its composition is tactically determined by what only appear to be national principles. In its national policy Soviet Russian imperialism has resorted to terrorism in dealing with individuals and with whole peoples. This terrorist character of Soviet Russian imperialism is clearly evident from the cases of genocide perpetrated since World War II (1946) against small colonial peoples of the Soviet Union such as the Crimean Tatars, Balkars, Karachays, Chechens, Ingushes, Kalmucks and Volga-Germans. These national groups were for the most part murdered, or else expelled for many years from their native region. As regards the terrorist period of 1937 to 1939, the leading men of the Soviet Union avoid mentioning them.

The following figures show the result of the extermination policy pursued by the Soviet Russians with regard to the Turkic peoples. According to Soviet statistics, there were about 30 million Turks in the Soviet Union in 1920. According to the 1959 census, however, there are only about 23 million Turks now living in the Soviet Union. Instead of a natural increase in the population of the Turkish peoples, who usually have large families, an artificial decrease in the population figure is apparent.<sup>8)</sup>

In addition, Soviet Russian colonial policy also pursues the aim of russifying the non-Russian peoples. In tsarist Russia the russification of the non-Russians was openly admitted to be a political aim. The Soviet Russians do not openly admit this fact, but they pursue an even more intensive russification policy towards their colonial peoples than was the case in tsarist Russia. They disguise this policy by calling it "internationalism." Formally the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union are allowed to develop on national lines, but in actual practice and in character they must be "socialistic." Representatives of the non-Russian peoples have on various occasions had to affirm that Russian

<sup>8)</sup> See also Gerhard von Mende, "Die Türkvolker in dem Herrschaftsbereich der Sowjetunion" (The Turkic peoples in the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union), in supplementary edition "Das Parlament," Bonn, No. 16/60, Pp. 257-271.

has become their second mother-tongue. Since 1938 Russian is a compulsory subject at school for non-Russian children. To this end a special decree was issued. And the schooling law of 1959 guarantees the priority of the Russian language over the non-Russian languages. Non-Russian children "can" now, if their parents "wish," be taught in Russian. But this "can" and "wish" is not decided by the parents of the children, but by the Party functionaries. Even non-Russian functionaries have stated that the children "of course" want to be taught in the "language of the revolution — of the big brother — of progress and of Lenin."

The tsars engaged mainly in economic colonization. The Soviet Russian colonization policy, however, is more intensive, even though it is disguised as "brotherly help to build up and establish socialism and Communism, as well as to further the cultivation of the former backward colonies of Russia." Khrushchov ushered in a new era in Russian colonization policy when he started his campaign for the cultivation of virgin region in 1954. In this connection he said in 1956:

"We must quickly seize possession of the free countries in the East (beyond the Urals: Turkestan and Siberia) and must consolidate our position there."<sup>9</sup>)

The northern region of Turkestan, the present Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan, were particularly badly hit by the Soviet Russian colonization policy. At present (according to the 1959 census) there are 4,014,000 Russians living in Kazakhstan and, as a result of Moscow's compulsory resettlement policy, 762,000 Ukrainians, 108,000 Byelorussians, 53,000 Poles and a number of Germans (Soviet statistics do not mention any figure in their case), that is to say, according to official statistics, 4,937,000 new settlers as compared to 2,755,000 native Kazakhs. The population of Kazakhstan numbers 9,310,000 (1959 census). This population figure is arrived at by adding the number of persons of various nationalities, who do not belong to either of the two afore-mentioned groups, i.e. the Kazakhs and the new settlers. The native inhabitants of this Soviet Republic, however, only constitute 29.6 per cent of the total population.

Moscow designates its colonization policy as cultivation and brotherly economic aid on the part of the Russian "big brother." On the other hand, however, it cannot conceal the fact that the territories of the "little brothers" possess considerable economic advantages. The colonial territories of Soviet Russia are rich in raw materials. For example, their share in the entire Soviet production of coal amounts to 59.4 per cent, and similarly for oil to 95 per cent, for iron ore to 65 per cent, for manganese ore to 100 per cent, for non-ferrous and rare metals to 80 per cent, and for uranium ore to 100 per cent.

During the years 1954 to 1959 the Soviet government invested 20 milliard roubles in Kazakhstan for the opening up of virgin regions for purposes of cultivation. In return the state received grain to the

<sup>9</sup>) Baymirza Hayit, "Unter sowjetischer Kolonialherrschaft" (Under Soviet colonial rule), published in "Basler Nachrichten" of January 29, 1959, P. 2.

value of 31 milliard roubles. "Hence the net profit of the state amounted to 11 milliard roubles," so the official Soviet paper "Kazakhstanskaya Pravda" of August 24, 1960, which is published in Alma Ata, wrote.

Colonization measures in Kazakhstan reached their culmination at the end of December 1960. On December 26, 1960, a "Virgin Land Province," with a total area of about 600,000 sq. kilometres and an arable area of 17 million hectares, was founded in Kazakhstan. The entire management of this 'new land province' was entrusted to Russians.

A further characteristic feature of Soviet Russian colonialism and imperialism is the partition policy. In 1924 Turkestan, for example, was divided up into five parts. This partition of a people was designated as "reunification of individual peoples." Five national tribes were transformed into five separate peoples.

Those who advocate the unity of Turkestan are severely punished, since an attitude of this kind is regarded as Pan-Turkism and persecuted accordingly. Moscow applies various standards, however, as regards the national unity of other peoples. In North Korea, for instance, one can talk about aims for reunification of Korea quite openly. As regards the question of the unity of Germany, the Soviet Russians adopt yet another standpoint. Moscow constantly talks about two German states which have allegedly come into existence as a result of the partition. As far as Moscow is concerned, their reunification would only be possible under the sickle and hammer.

"When the question of Germany is discussed, they (the imperialistic powers) refer to the right of the peoples to self-determination and demand the reunification of Germany, even though the latter consists of two states with entirely different social and economic orders"...

"The right of the peoples to self-determination is a national question. The unification of Germany is, however, under the present circumstances, above all a class question. The Germans have been separated as a result of a different development of individual parts of the former German Reich and in consequence of the formation of two states with a different social and economic order."<sup>10)</sup>

Fundamentally all this merely amounts to different versions of one and the same game, as played by imperialism: Soviet Russia aims to rule the peoples in the manner which seems most effective to it from its point of view.

One of the most important methods to which Soviet Russian imperialism resorts is the systematic training of intellectuals of the various nationalities in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence. In this respect Moscow has achieved considerable success. These national forces are even entrusted with leading posts in Soviet services for a limited period. Russians, of course, act as their deputies or co-workers. When these national forces become a menace to the Soviet regime by trying to rectify Moscow's policy in their native countries to the

<sup>10)</sup> "Pravda" of June 29, 1961.



advantage of their fellow-countrymen, they are promptly removed from public life by Moscow and are replaced by other newly trained forces. This kind of procedure is constantly being repeated in the Soviet administrative apparatus. In this way the national resistance is rendered innocuous, and Moscow is thus able to continue to assert itself in the subjugated countries.

By its skilful strategy Moscow has included millions of persons in its sphere of influence. The meeting-place and headquarters for all of them is Moscow, and Communism is the common basis. All the countries of the Soviet bloc are dependent on the Soviet Union. Their Communist leaders adhere to Moscow and go on hoping that Communism will achieve world domination. The feelings of the people play no part whatever in the dictatorship of the proletariat. Uprisings on the part of the peoples are promptly and brutally crushed. This was the case in Central Germany in 1953 and in Hungary in 1956. Suppression of all manifestation of the national will is a characteristic of Russian imperialism.

Moscow has had considerable experience in the subjugation of other peoples. As long as Russia heads the Soviet bloc, it will undoubtedly do its utmost to prevent the subjugated peoples from becoming independent, that is to say, it will never relinquish its rule over them. It can also be assumed for certain that the Soviet Union will make good use of its influence on the East bloc and the Communist parties to determine world politics in its favour. Soviet Russia is already a universal colonial power of the world. The free world is in danger of succumbing to the imperialistic lust of expansion if it abandons its determined defensive attitude. The purpose of coexistence watchwords is to delude the peoples whilst Communism prepares to attack. This was obvious from the speech which Khrushchov held at the Party College in Moscow on January 6, 1961. He demanded a policy of "peaceful" coexistence, but also an intensification of the economic, political and ideological fight. On all continents the Soviet Union has already adopted a fighting position against the free peoples. But above all it has intensified its activity in Asia and Africa in order to take the place of the former colonial rulers there and to use these countries as a base from which to bring pressure to bear on free Europe and America. The opportunities in Asia and Africa seemed particularly favourable to the Soviet Union: on the one hand, because the countries there have not yet stabilized their independence; and on the other hand, because of a certain natural contrast to the former rulers. For this reason it is absolutely imperative that the attention of the Afro-Asian countries should be drawn to the menace of Soviet Russian imperialism.

## V. The Course of Russian Imperialism in Asia and Africa

The countries of Asia and Africa seem to Moscow to be a very suitable field for activity directed against Europe and the USA. As



early as the beginning of the 20th century the Russian Prime Minister Count Witte affirmed:

"From the shores of the Pacific Ocean and the peaks of the Himalayas Russia will control not only Asiatic but also European affairs."<sup>11</sup>)

The Soviet government elaborated this thought still further:

"The Foreign Minister of the tsars, Gortchakov, has said that the future of Russia lies in Asia. This indicates the line which Russia must take in its policy towards the Orient."<sup>12</sup>)

And the Soviet government expressed itself even more clearly in the following words:

"West European imperialism, having been repulsed and defeated in the Orient, will fall into decay and will die a natural death."

Moscow thus intends to deal Europe a blow in the Orient first of all and then to conquer it.

One of the main principles of the Soviet policy in the Orient is the aim "either to win over the peoples of the Orient, or else to neutralize them in the clash with Europe." The Orient has thus become one of the most important objectives of Soviet Russian imperialism. Moscow's aims in the Afro-Asian countries can be summed up as follows:

1) The Russians advocate anti-colonial ideas in Asia and Africa in territories which formerly were or still are colonies, in order to first of all establish contact with the peoples of Asia and Africa.

2) For years Moscow has been endeavouring to foster and strengthen the attitude of resentment maintained by the former colonial peoples against their former colonial masters.

3) The Soviet Russians are endeavouring to influence the feeling of solidarity of the peoples of Asia and Africa in keeping with Communist world propaganda and to use this feeling of solidarity against the West. To this end they use every possible opportunity to disseminate and realize their own propagandistic ideas.

4) Moscow is taking an active part in the intellectual life of the Asian and African peoples in order to influence them ideologically in the Communist sense. The following events illustrate this fact: the Writers' Conference of the Asian and African countries which was held in Tashkent in October 1958, the Film Festival in Tashkent in 1958, as well as concerts, publications and broadcasts programmes, etc.

5) All efforts on the part of the government of the Soviet Union in the developing countries are concentrated on changing the economic structure of these countries. In this way the Soviet Russians are hoping to change the economy there from a free-enterprise economy to one that is based on a Communist forcibly guided and planned economic system. The aim of Moscow's economic assistance, disguised as "aid," has so far been to infiltrate Communism into the developing countries.

11) Dieter Friede, "Das russische perpetuum mobile" (The Russian perpetuum mobile), Würzburg, 1959. P. 31.

12) Cf. "Novyy Vostok," Moscow, No. 3/1923. P. 90.

6) The Kremlin has succeeded in setting up numerous camouflaged organizations in the countries of Asia and Africa and in finding supporters of the Communist regime. The latter enable the Soviet Union to carry on its subversive activity to an ever-increasing degree in the developing countries.

It is the obvious aim of the Soviet Union in the Afro-Asian countries to sovietize the latter as far as possible. But the conservative attitude of these peoples, their adherence to traditions, their dread of every type of colonialism, and the influence of religion have proved a natural bulwark against Communism. The starving population, which would indeed be a favourable field of activity for Communism, has however not been tempted by Moscow's assurances and promises. Soviet Russia has therefore abandoned its plan of asserting itself in the developing countries with the help of the starving population, and instead, is now trying to win over influential personalities of ecclesiastical and political life, businessmen and, above all, discontented intellectuals. Moscow is at present relying on these "progressive" circles.

The Soviet Union would like to combat the "imperialism and colonialism" of the West in the Asian and African countries. The course to be taken in this respect is as follows: in the first place to sever the Asian and African peoples from the West and then obtain national independence for these peoples; to set up a so-called national front; to undermine the social, political and economic structure of the young nations by internal conflicts which have been provoked intentionally; finally, to spread the notorious watchword of "class conflict" and in this way oust the so-called reactionary citizens from their positions and help the so-called progressive citizens to seize power. The latter are then to rule their country in the name of Communism. The Soviet leaders are of the opinion that this course is the easiest and the shortest.

To a certain extent the Soviet leaders have already realized their aim "to win over and neutralize the Orient." True, they did not manage to win over the free peoples of the Orient entirely because this part of the world advanced into the foreground of international political differences, but they did at least encourage the neutralist aims and aspirations of the peoples of the Orient. Today the majority of these peoples tend towards neutralism. The opinion is expressed in numerous Soviet publications that the neutralism of the Orient is more appropriate for the fight against the West than an over-hasty attempt to rope in the Orient openly in the Communist world conquest plans. Moscow's imperialism is thus pursuing its original aim, namely to defeat Europe and recently, America, too, in Asia and Africa. Should Asia and Africa succumb to Moscow's wiles and become its tool as a result of Soviet subterfuges, diplomatic manoeuvres, economic temptations and the disintegration of the established middle class, then Europe will be greatly endangered.

## **United Nations and Russian Colonialism**

### **M E M O R A N D U M**

#### **TO UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY XVTH SESSION**

This Memorandum was presented to the heads of national delegations to the U.N. General Assembly by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, a nation-wide American organization, representing over 2,000,000 American citizens of Ukrainian descent and background.

Ever since the emergence of the U.S.S.R. as a nuclear and space power, the Kremlin, under the ruthless, dictatorial leadership of Nikita S. Khrushchov, has embarked upon a policy of considered terror and inhuman threats of atomic annihilation with respect to the non-communist and unaligned nations of the world.

During the XVth Session of the U.N. General Assembly in the fall of 1960, Mr. Khrushchov proposed that all colonial countries, trusteeship territories and other dependencies be given "complete independence and freedom in the building up of their national states in conformity with the freely expressed will and desire of their peoples..."

There was much shoe-banging and name-calling at that session on the part of Khrushchov and his servile puppets from the communist orbit. In using the issue of colonialism, Khrushchov attempted to wreck the present structure of the United Nations, or at least to turn it into an instrument of Russian communist policy. He accused the Western powers of practising colonialism and assumed the role of "champion of liberation of the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa," thus turning the eyes of the world away from the greatest slave and colonial empire in the world — the Soviet Union.

It is to the credit and honour of the smaller nations, members of the United Nations, such as Chile, the Philippines, Canada, Australia and the Republic of China, that their representatives at the XVth Session of the U.N. General Assembly valiantly challenged the Russian dictator on his enslavement of numerous nations of Europe and Asia.

Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker of Canada, in his eloquent defense of the nations oppressed by the U.S.S.R., stated:

"Since the last war seventeen colonial areas and territories comprising more than forty million people, have been brought to complete freedom by France. In the same period some fourteen colonies and territories, comprising half a billion people, have achieved complete freedom within the Commonwealth. Taken together, some six hundred million people in more than thirty countries, most of them now represented in this Assembly, have attained their freedom with the approval, encouragement and guidance of the United Kingdom and France... These facts of history invite comparison with the record of Soviet domination over peoples and territories, sometimes gained in the name of liberation, but always accompanied by the loss of personal and political freedom. The General Assembly is still concerned with the aftermath of the Hungarian uprising of 1956. How are we to reconcile that tragedy with Mr. Khrushchev's confident assertion of a few days ago in this assembly: 'It will always be the Soviet stand... that countries should establish systems... of their own free will and choosing.' What of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia? What of freedom-loving Ukrainians and other Eastern European peoples...?"

This statement of Mr. Diefenbaker was a powerful blow against Russian communist colonialism and evoked a storm of violent protests and vituperations in the communist press in Moscow and other communist centres, in the same manner as did the "Captive Nations Week Resolution" enacted by the U.S. Congress in July, 1959, which struck at the weakest spot in the Russian empire — the enslaved and captive nations.

### 1. Ukraine, a Subjugated Colony of Communist Russia

Among the 22 captive nations enumerated in the U.S. "Captive Nations Week Resolution" is Ukraine. According to the Soviet Constitution it is a republic of the Soviet Union, and as the "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic" it is a charter member of the United Nations.

Although the Ukrainian S.S.R. is theoretically a "free and sovereign state," and has a constitution which empowers it to secede from the U.S.S.R., in reality it is a colony of Communist Russia and is ruled by the Moscow-based Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which brazenly and pitilessly exploits Ukraine for the benefit of Russian communist colonialism. The Soviet Ukrainian government is but a puppet of the Kremlin. A genuine independence of the Ukrainian people was proclaimed on January 22, 1918, in Kiev, and was supported by the overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian people. The Russian Bolsheviks attacked this free state of Ukraine without provocation and in breach of their recognition of the free Ukrainian government. After their conquest of Ukraine in 1920, they imposed upon Ukraine a barbarous communist regime.

## 2. Two Ukrainian Defectors Attest to Colonial Enslavement

You know that the unprovoked assaults of Khrushchov upon Berlin had caused a mass exodus of thousands upon thousands of refugees from East Germany. But the East Germans are not the only captive people trying to escape from the Soviet Russian land of "milk and honey." Diplomats, sailors, officers, dancers and other categories of citizenry seek political asylum in the West almost daily. Among them are two outstanding Ukrainian scientists who recently escaped from Soviet Russian tyranny and oppression: **Dr. Mykhailo A. Klochko**, a noted chemist and Stalin Prize holder in science, defected in Canada, and **Nicholas I. Sereda**, a young Ukrainian electronics specialist from Kiev, defected in Vienna, Austria.

a) **Dr. Mykhailo A. Klochko**: Upon his defection in Ottawa, Canada, Dr. Klochko, a Ukrainian by birth, stated that he could not endure any longer the lack of personal freedom in the Soviet Union. Commenting on his defection, The New York Times editorial of August 21, 1961, said:

"History reveals that there are still powerful motives for even a relatively affluent Soviet scientist to be at odds with that system. Dr. Klochko denounces 'the lack of human dignity in the U.S.S.R.,' the political pressures on scientists, and the lack of freedom among the factors impelling his decision. No doubt there are other factors, too, that played a role. His name sounds Ukrainian and he may well have smarted over Great Russian rule in the Soviet Union..."

b) **Nicholas I. Sereda**, a twenty-four-year-old electronics specialist from Kiev, slipped away from a touring Soviet group in Vienna last month and was granted political asylum by the Austrian government.

Sereda defected because he opposed Soviet Russian domination of his native Ukraine. His father, Ivan M. Sereda, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev, was flown by the Russians to Vienna in a final attempt to get his son back. But, according to the New York Herald Tribune of August 23, 1961, the young Ukrainian electronics specialist refused to return and rejected the Soviet regime because of "the injustice dealt to Ukraine by the dominant Moscow-based Russian regime."

An Austrian official stated that Mr. Sereda "intimated to the Austrian authorities that there is an anti-Soviet underground in Ukraine." He also quoted Mr. Sereda as saying:

"As a Ukrainian I reject Russian rule over other peoples of the Soviet Union... I also oppose the communist regime and am an adherent of democratic socialism..."

These two Ukrainian defectors who undoubtedly belonged to the privileged class of Soviet society in Ukraine indicate that the Ukrainian people *en masse* are suffering from Soviet Russian colonial exploitation

and political oppression, and are looking forward to early liberation from communist slavery. Western tourists travelling through Ukraine and other non-Russian countries confirm this view almost unanimously.

Another example of Russian communist slavery is the suicide of the Byelorussian writer, Vsevolod Kravchenko, who leaped to his death from a hotel window in Cannes, France, at the end of August, 1961. He was travelling with a group of Soviet tourists visiting France. In a letter to the French authorities, Mr. Kravchenko wrote:

"I cannot remain Communist any longer. During my travels in France I came to know the real meaning of the word 'freedom.' I cannot renounce my native country, and I cannot stay abroad... Death alone seems to be the solution to the drama... I beg forgiveness of my country, of my wife and my children..."

### 3. Bleak Reports on Conditions in Ukraine

Mr. Khrushchov may boast of his space rockets and his ICBM's; he may have gigantic parades in honour of Gagarin and Titov, but it appears that these manifestations are not an expression of strength and technological progress, but merely are a cheap propaganda stunt to impress the world, especially those nations which are unaligned and non-committed.

American tourists and visitors to the U.S.S.R., and especially those who are of Ukrainian descent and understand the Ukrainian language, upon visiting Ukraine return with bleak stories about the miserable lot of the oppressed population:

a) **Russification:** Moscow is relentlessly pursuing a policy of ruthless Russification in Ukraine, by imposing the Russian language as the "international" language, while the Ukrainian language is relegated to secondary importance. Ukraine's seven universities — in Kiev, Lviv, Kharkiv, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk, Uzhorod, Chernivtsi — are Russified in outlook and flooded with technical textbooks and other classroom material in the Russian language;

b) **Economic Misery:** The Ukrainian people are suffering from an acute shortage of all consumer goods; they do not have adequate clothing, shoes or other manufactured goods. Even foodstuffs are very scarce. Substantial elements of the economy, especially in Western Ukraine, are clothing and other manufactured merchandise sent by Americans of Ukrainian origin to their relatives in that area;

c) **Anti-Religious Oppression:** Religious freedom is non-existent in present-day Ukraine. The Soviet government has destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church, as evidenced by the third consecutive imprisonment and condemnation of Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, Catholic Primate of Western Ukraine. Khrushchov's predecessor and tutor, Stalin, brutally destroyed the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the late 1930's;

d) **National and Political Persecution:** Despite constant claims of the Soviet government that the Ukrainian anti-Soviet underground, notably, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), have been totally annihilated, Soviet courts and military tribunals are busy meting out death sentences to Ukrainian patriots and freedom fighters. But even though the active resistance and guerilla struggle have subsided in Ukraine, the opposition of the Ukrainian people against Russian communist colonialism and imperialism goes on under various guises and subterfuges — and the final and complete liberation of Ukraine from the Russian colonial yoke is the ultimate objective of the Ukrainian people.

#### 4. Freedom Versus Russian Communist Colonialism

The present trouble over Berlin, generated by Khrushchov and his communist totalitarian staff, is one of Khrushchov's perennial crises, through which he is endeavouring to attain his ultimate goal: the conquest of the world for Russian communism. This, regrettably, was wholly ignored or overlooked by the conference of the neutral nations, recently held in Belgrade. Khrushchov claims that he wants a helpless Germany; but he also wants to break up the Western alliance from Turkey to Britain; he wants to isolate the United States and to free communist energies for further Russian assaults upon the free countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. What is going on now in Algeria, Angola, Cuba, British Guiana, and even in Brazil — is all to the benefit of Khrushchov and his ultimate objective: "a World Union of Soviet Republics" under a Russian Commissar.

You have a great opportunity to serve the cause of universal freedom as well as the interests of your own country, which you represent. This you can do if you will challenge the unquenchable thirst of Russian colonialism: to turn the argument of colonialism against Khrushchov and point out his enslavement of such countries as Ukraine, Armenia, Turkestan, Georgia, Poland, Albania, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Rumania, Hungary, Bohemia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, the Cossack Lands, East Germany, North Korea, North Vietnam, Idel-Ural, mainland China, Tibet, Azerbaijan and Byelorussia — all of which are internal or external satellites of Communist Russia — and that their eventual liberation will bring a final peace and stability to the world.

You could also support a Universalized Declaration of Independence against the oppressive and enslaving Russian communist colonialism.

**Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc.**

## CAPTIVE NATIONS — MOSCOW'S ACHILLES' HEEL

**Interview with Professor Dr. Lev Dobriansky of Georgetown University,  
President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.  
Manion Forum Broadcast, November 1961.**

**DEAN MANION (Interviewer):** Time and again, over this microphone you have heard me and others repeat a simple statement of fact, namely, that our best allies in our war against Soviet Communist conquest are the people of the Captive Nations now enslaved by Moscow.

The hatred of these people for the slave-masters of the Kremlin and their burning desire to be free from Communist tyranny is the best weapon in our arsenal, but our leaders continue to refuse to use it.

Rather than employ this weapon, which could give us complete and final victory without the hot, worldwide atomic holocaust that the pacifists are always warning us about, we steadily retreat and bankrupt ourselves in senseless, self-defeating efforts to buy off the Kremlin's Communist lieutenants in the Congo, Yugoslavia and Indonesia. Nevertheless, our State Department to the contrary, Congress by unanimous resolution has made our interest in the freedom of the Captive Nations a matter of official concern. And, responsive to Congress, the President has proclaimed an official Captive Nations Week in this country every year since 1959. Why doesn't our State Department enforce our Captive Nations Resolution?

The chief author of that resolution, Dr. Lev. E. Dobriansky, is here to discuss this vitally important question. My guest is neither a Congressman nor a politician. He is a scholar; a professor at Georgetown University, and the Chairman of a group of prominent patriots known as the National Captive Nations Committee, 1000 Sixteenth St., N.W. Washington D.C.

Dr. Dobriansky, tell us why you believe so sincerely, that the full implementation of the Captive Nations Resolution could help us win the war with Communism.

**DR. DOBRIANSKY:** Dean Manion, let me stress at the outset that, for me, this is not just a matter of sincere belief based on good emotional sentiment or humanitarian inclination. Primarily, it is one of deep intellectual conviction and certitude supported by overwhelming evidence, by facts, figures and tested principles.

The complete and documented story behind this resolution and how it became Public Law 86-90 was published in the Congressional Record of January 21, 1960 (pp. 918-923). The story goes back to August, 1958, and relates how we first failed with it under the sponsorship of Congressman Cretella of Connecticut.



But then, as now, I was convinced that the Captive Nations — and I mean all 22 and more — are Khrushchov's permanent nightmare and, at the same time, our 1,000-megaton political weapon. Then, as now, I felt we were allowing this weapon to rust and corrode under a heap of political clichés about simply remembering the captive peoples. We tried and, as you know, Congress passed the resolution in July 1959. The events that followed furnish incontestable proof of the resolution's multi-megatonic potency in the cold war.

To appreciate the significance of Public Law 86-90 and to grasp the new dimensions and directions for its full implementation, it is necessary to recall these events briefly. What many of us are perhaps unaware of is the fact that the succession of these events started in July 1959 and has continued into the present. The resolution precipitated a series of explosions in Moscow, then and since.

We all recall how Khrushchov exploded when the resolution became law. Vice-President Nixon himself was stunned and baffled by Khrushchov's violent reaction. But how many of us realize that since then — in articles, speeches, over the air, and in the UN — Khrushchov and his puppets have repeatedly condemned the resolution?

Only this past summer President Kennedy was severely criticized for proclaiming Captive Nations Week. And our nationwide observances of the Week have proven to be anathema to Moscow's propaganda and pretensions.

Now, have you ever asked yourself: "How is it that Moscow with all its vaunted power, its missiles and bombs, its historical Messianism and also Hitlerian methods of terrorism, should itself be terrified by a simple resolution of our Congress?" In thinking about this you will doubtless wonder about the fact that this wasn't the first time our leaders and Congress spoke on behalf of the Captive Nations. Perplexing, isn't it? And yet, not mystifying at all.

In the cold war Khrushchov perceives the full import of this resolution, if many of our leaders still don't. He is sensitively aware of the decisive damage that a full, imaginative and skillful implementation of the resolution would wreak upon his colonial empire. He knows that in the eyes of the world it would destroy the projected image of the Soviet Union as a powerful, confident, monolithic state, capable of even competing with the United States.

Khrushchov also knows the tremendous leverage such implementation would provide the 115 million people of the captive non-Russian nations within the Soviet Union to assert their rights to national freedom, independence, and direct concourse with Free World nations and peoples.

Khrushchov knows, too, that the resolution is aimed at all freedom-loving Russians who understand that their nation of 100 million can never be free so long as 22 and more non-Russian nations are held captive under the foreign yoke of Moscow. In short, Khrushchov fears it because it spells trouble, pressure, resistance, insecurity, and ultimate rebellion and disaster within the Soviet Union itself.

## CAPTIVE NATIONS — MECHANISM FOR COLD WAR BY WESTERN POWERS

The determining fact here is this: By this resolution our Government recognized for the first time the existence of over a dozen captive non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. itself. There is no question but that these nations — White Ruthenia, Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan and others — are strategically more important than those we are familiar with in Central Europe.

Make no mistake about it, many cold war channels are open to tap the boundless reservoir of patriotic nationalism and historical drives for independence in these occupied nations. All that Khrushchov fears in this respect can in time come to pass without inciting any hot war. In fact, his mounting insecurities within this sub-empire would definitely work against it.

DEAN MANION: Doctor, this Captive Nations resolution passed Congress without a dissenting vote. Why has so little been done about it by the Executive Branch of our Government?

DR. DOBRIANSKY: The reason for this anomalous and self-defeating situation rests on a combination of circumstances. These are: faulty knowledge and basic misconceptions, outright policy contradictions and, consequently, a heavy dose of specious reasoning. In combination they add up to our grave losses in initiative, in launching an offensive, and in developed opportunities for the expansion of freedom.

Let me cite a few concrete examples. This past summer the Secretary of State wrote a letter to Chairman Howard W. Smith of the House Rules Committee, opposing the creation of a Special House Committee on Captive Nations "at this time." In it he expressed concern that Moscow would not like it, particularly in the Berlin crisis. He also says that governmental and private sources have long been studying this subject anyway. On this I publicly challenge Secretary Rusk to produce any comprehensive study dealing, for example, with Soviet Russian economic colonialism within the Soviet Union. But, with contextual propriety, let me quote this from his letter. He says:

"The United States Government's position is weakened by any action which confuses the rights of formerly independent peoples or nations with the status of areas, such as the Ukraine, Armenia, or Georgia, which are traditional parts of the Soviet Union. Reference to these latter areas places the United States Government in the undesirable position of seeming to advocate the dismemberment of an historical state."

Ponder this statement carefully. It will be a classic on how to lose the cold war. The poor state of knowledge, interpretation and vision reflected by it is well nigh appalling at this perilous juncture of our history. Each of the countries mentioned was independent in the post-World War I period, was recognized by Soviet Russia and numerous other countries, and has fought valiantly to this day to regain its

independence, but the Secretary says, in effect, so what, they are "traditional parts of the Soviet Union."

The Soviet Union has scarcely been in existence for 40 years, but Mr. Rusk deems this traditional enough to seal the fate of the first victims of Soviet Russian imperialism. If he tries to wiggle out of this by interpreting the Soviet Union as a successor to the "historical state" of the Tsarist Russian Empire, he is even worse off. Armenia was not a "traditional part" of this "historical state" and since when has our State Department become the sanctifier of the Russian Empire, whether white or red?

The President has declared that we support "the just aspirations of all people for national independence and freedom." The Congress did the same in the Captive Nations Resolution, which lists, among others, Armenia, Georgia and Ukraine. Khrushchov, deeply stung by these declarations, grows hoarse telling these captives that they are "independent." But some in the State Department obtusely brush all this aside and, in effect, say — don't bother about them, don't even study their plight, for they are "traditional parts" of the Russian Empire.

One may ask: "What has happened to the heirs of the American Revolution about whom President Kennedy spoke in his Inaugural Address?" Can you imagine what would have been the course of our history if the revolutionaries of 1776 had swallowed similar talk about traditional parts of the British Empire — not for 40 years, not for a century, but almost for two centuries?

### FULL-SCALE CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY INTO STATE DEPARTMENT BADLY NEEDED

We antagonize our ally, Portugal, by joining Moscow in a UN inquiry into Angola, a traditional part of the Portuguese Empire for 300 years, but we spare the enemy the embarrassment and even defeat in the cold war by suppressing official inquiries into his closest colonies. In my judgment, these and other contradictions warrant a full-scale Congressional inquiry into State Department policy regarding the Soviet Union.

To appreciate why we're plagued by such contradictions, let me cite another example, one among many. The State Department has a research medium titled *Soviet Affairs Notes*. In the issue numbered 158, on the very first page, the reader is told the following:

"The term 'Ukraine' is itself a modern political rather than a historical term. It was invented in the nineteenth century by nationalists seeking to detach the southwestern borderlands of Russia from the Tsarist Empire."

Tomes have been written by French, German, English and other writers of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, using the term Ukraine. In previous centuries, and as far back as the 12th century, this so-called borderland of Russia was widely referred to as Ukraine. But,

for our State Department experts, it is only a 19th century invention. You can draw your own conclusions from this.

DEAN MANION: Doctor, tell us about Congressman Flood's resolution, House Resolution No. 211. What would it accomplish and what can our listeners do to get it passed?

DR. DOBRIANSKY: Congressman Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania is the original sponsor of the resolution to establish a Special House Committee on Captive Nations. I have been informed that there are about 39 similar resolutions. The Republican Congressional Policy Committee is on record favouring such a committee.

Because of the mentioned State Department letter, action on the measure was postponed to the next session. Congressman Madden, of Indiana, insisted that a State Department representative appear before the Rules Committee in person, thereby giving all interested Members an opportunity for questioning, but a letter was sent instead.

It should be obvious that methodic and continuous studies by such a committee would be of great service to the State Department and other Executive agencies. They would continually inform the public of developments in all the Captive Nations. The committee would steadily focus the spotlight of Free World attention on Moscow's colonial empire and, I can assure you, given the chance, it would produce recommendations of the greatest value to our national interest.

Write to the Members of the House Rules Committee and also to your own Congressman, urging them to pass this measure. Copies to Congressman Flood will be put to good use.

DEAN MANION: Dr. Dobriansky, in your opinion, would it be helpful to the resurrection of freedom and national independence in the Captive Nations if we would break off diplomatic relations with these puppet Communist Governments that Kremlin has put in charge of the captive peoples?

DR. DOBRIANSKY: As one who strongly opposes the recognition of Peiping and also Outer Mongolia, I say yes, but at the right time. Diplomatic recognition is a powerful weapon if used prudently. At the time of the Hungarian Revolution the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. and its puppets, in co-ordination with other moves, could have liberated Hungary.

Pursuing then as now a costly policy of patched-up containment whereby we only react, are continually on the defensive, anticipate little, plan haphazardly, we ourselves reduce the power of such action.

DEAN MANION: Thank you, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Chairman National Captive Nations Committee, 1000 Sixteenth St., N.W. Washington, D.C.

My friends, the place to begin the use of our best weapon against the communists and the Kremlin is with the passage of Congressman Flood's House Resolution No. 211. Your Congressman is at home now. See him about the Flood Resolution.

**Volodymyr Kosyk**

Paris

## CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN THE USSR WHY AND FOR WHOM DO THEY EXIST?

### Chapter I

#### Slave Labour in Tsarist Russia and in the USSR

The existence of slave labour and of concentration camps in the Soviet Union, though it is a question on which there can be no doubt, continues to be an obscure matter and one which is far removed from the majority of people who have the good fortune to be free. It is difficult to imagine that about 10 per cent of the population of the prison of nations which goes by the name of Soviet Union are interned in slave labour camps. And it is even more difficult to realize that the overwhelming majority of these prisoners were and are persons who belong to the peoples subjugated by Russia.

Few people know exactly who these prisoners are, or why they are in the camps, or what their nationality is. Russian emigrants, relying on the ignorance of the free world, spread fairytales about "the millions of Russians living in the concentration camps." They do so for two reasons: in the first place, in order to make the world believe that there is neither discrimination nor national oppression in the Soviet Union, and that the Russian Communist regime does not treat the Russians with favouritism and does not persecute the peoples it rules (the non-Russian peoples) to the death; secondly, in order to make the world believe that, apart from the peoples of the Baltic countries, the other peoples are "peoples of Russia," or quite simply Russians. These two reasons, though they seem to be contradictory, prompt the Russian emigrants to make exaggerated statements and protestations whenever the truth is made known. Proud of the conquests and of the strength of Soviet Russia ("never before has Russia been so powerful, never before has she made the whole world tremble"), they have one objective in mind in acting thus: namely, to prove that Russia is not responsible for the advance of Communism; to prove that it is not Russia but "international Communism" which is a menace to the free

world; to prove that Communism has not become the instrument of modern Russian imperialism, and to endeavour to preserve the conquests of Soviet Russia after the possible downfall of Communism.

### **Russia has always availed herself of slave labour**

Slave labour came into being in Russia with the expansion of the Russian (that is to say Muscovite) state and with the conquest of neighbouring peoples: Siberia, Turkestan, the Caucasus, Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries, Finland, etc. As a rule such conquests were accompanied by the ruthless massacre of the innocent local population and the deportation to Russia and later to Siberia of prisoners condemned to slave labour, which consisted in the building of towns, roads and canals. In the 17th century the system of slave labour had practically already reached its peak under Tsar Peter I.

To quote but one example, — after the defeat of Ukraine, the ally of King Charles XII of Sweden, in the war against Russia, Peter I gave orders that the remnants of the Ukrainian resistance were to be destroyed by the deportation of Ukrainians to Russia. According to the Russian archives cited by Russian and Ukrainian historians, during the years 1721 and 1725 at least 20,000 Ukrainian prisoners perished during the construction of the Ladoga Canal and the town of St. Petersburg (now Leningrad).<sup>1)</sup> About the same period, more than 10,000 Ukrainians perished during the construction of the fortress of Derbent on the Caspian Sea, and about 60,000 during the construction of the fortifications along the shores of the Sea of Azov.<sup>2)</sup> As can be seen from the report submitted to the Russian Senate by Colonel Cherniak in 1722, the prisoners died as a result of the inhuman conditions which they had to endure in the camps and on the sites where they worked.<sup>3)</sup> "The Tsar — so W. H. Chamberlain writes — employed the methods which have been frequently practised since those days by the Soviet government with the aim of breaking down the resistance of the Ukrainians and of the other recalcitrant peoples."<sup>4)</sup>

Since the days of Peter I, slave labour — "katorga" — has never ceased to exist in Russia. There is no difference between the slaves of former times and those of today: they are persons who belong to the conquered and recalcitrant peoples and have been sentenced for political crimes, and about 20 per cent of the total number are Russians who have been sentenced under common law, or, likewise, for disloyalty to the regime.

### **"The new era"**

The old tsarist system of slave labour fell into decay in 1917 as a result of the Communist coup d'état. For some years, or, to be more precise, during the "militant Communism," it was not replaced, although internment camps were set up a few months after the coup d'état. The Russian Bolshevik army and the Cheka undertook to liquidate the enemies of Russia and of the new regime by shooting them.

Nevertheless, slave labour could be foreseen from the beginning of the "new era" in Russia. But in conformity with Communist ideas and phraseology, the Russians this time changed its name and also its definition. The old system of slave labour was abolished, but in 1919 the term "corrective labour" was introduced. In March that same year the Congress of the Bolsheviks approved the programme of the Party, in which it was stated that "labour is the principal method of correction." Subsequently, in April 1919, the President of the Executive Committee of Soviet Russia, M. Kalinin, signed the decree "On the camps for corrective labour in R.S.F.S.R. (that is to say, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic).<sup>5)</sup>

It is interesting to note that at that time the Soviet Union did not yet exist. Ukraine, Georgia and other states were constantly at war with Russia. These states, even after their occupation by the Russian Communist army, were not incorporated in the Russian Federation. They remained independent, as it were, under the Soviet regime enforced by Russian bayonets, until 1924, the year of the compulsory adoption of the constitution of the USSR.<sup>6)</sup> Actually, their status was that of Russian satellites. But the laws adopted by the government of Russia were automatically applied in the occupied states.

It is a generally accepted fact that the first real Russian concentration camp was set up in 1923 on the islands of Solovetskiye in the White Sea.<sup>7)</sup> This is not, however, quite correct. This camp was probably the first one to which, from 1922 onwards, the new Russian regime sent prisoners whom it regarded as dangerous. In fact, one cannot say for certain whether the first camp was established in 1922 or in 1923. Certain authorities on the subject and former internees affirm that prior to 1922 there were already about a hundred small concentration camps in Soviet Russia.<sup>8)</sup>

### The Solovetskiye Islands

The Solovetskiye islands or Solovki — the name given to several islands, which include Greater Solovetskiy, Anser, Muksolma, Greater Hare, Lesser Hare, Konde and Vroniye — first appear in history from the end of the 16th century onwards, when the Monastery of St. Zosim and St. Savatyi was founded. Under Tsar Ivan the Terrible the Solovetskiy Monastery became a strategic point in the expansion of Russia towards the north. The kremlin (kremlin=citadel) of the Solovetskiy island was encircled during the years 1584 to 1596 by a huge bulwark which was insurmountable. Thus this island became the main base of the Russian fortifications in the north.

These islands and their monastery soon became the place to which the tsars had the enemies of Russia deported. And this place of prayer became a place of penitence for the "infidels," not of God but of "Holy" Russia. In the casemates and dark, damp dungeons of the kremlin, prisoners had to atone for their "crimes" towards "Holy" Russia, or else die under the dreadful conditions that prevailed there.

One of the first prisoners in this early concentration camp was the last commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Cossacks of the Zaporozhian Sich, Petro Kalnyshevsky. Since she was unwilling to tolerate any remnants of independence in Ukraine, Russia decided to suppress them and to transform Ukraine into a Russian province. Catherine II issued an order to the effect that the Ukrainian Cossacks were to be disarmed and that their encampments were to be destroyed. After having captured their leader by a trick, she had their main camp encircled by surprise by 65,000 of her soldiers and by 50 cannon. Those who did not want to perish in the volley of the Russian cannon and guns were thus obliged to surrender. Kalnyshevsky was sent to the islands of Solovetskiye.<sup>9)</sup> He remained a captive in the dungeon of the citadel from 1775 to 1801. Released at the age of 110, he had neither the courage nor the strength to return to Ukraine and died on the islands in 1803. Ukrainian prisoners who were interned there during the years 1922 to 1941 could read on the wall of the church the inscription in Russian above his tomb: "Here lie the remains of the servant of God, Petro Kalnyshevsky, commander-in-chief of the army of the Zaporozhians, once dangerous, deported to this monastery by order of Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress Catherine II, for expiation. He expiated and died on July 26, 1803."<sup>10)</sup>

The case of the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Cossacks, who at that time represented the only rampart of Ukrainian independence, which had already been limited, is indeed symbolical: crime, punishment and expiation. "Holy" Russia was indeed very severe towards this old Ukrainian.

The number of persons imprisoned in the citadel of Solovetskiye up to the time of the Communist coup d'état in Russia ranged from 10 to 30. Until 1919 the monastery remained under the administration of the Russian monks. In that year they left the island and fled to London.<sup>11)</sup> From 1922 onwards the monastery was once more reopened to receive new prisoners, this time far greater in number.

#### FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I.

- 1) M. Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, New Haven, 1941, pp. 298-301.
- 2) D. Doroshenko, *Istoriya Ukrainy* (History of Ukraine), pp. 393-394.
- 3) M. Hrushevsky, op. cit., pp. 376-377.
- 4) William H. Chamberlain, *The Ukraine — a Submerged Nation*, New York, 1944, p. 24.
- 5) A. Mykulyn, *Kontsentratsiyni tabory v sovyets'komu soyuzi* (The Concentration Camps in the Soviet Union), Published by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Units Abroad, 1958, p. 27.
- 6) Vasyl Hryshko, *Experience with Russia*, New York, 1956, p. 78. Cf. R. Yaremchouk, *L'Ukraine en droit international*, Louvain, 1954.
- 7) *Le procès des camps de concentration soviétique, Paix et Liberté*, Paris, p. 23.
- 8) A. Mykulyn, op. cit., p. 27.
- 9) *Velyka Istoriya Ukrainy* (Great History of Ukraine), Lviv-Winnipeg, 1948, p. 550. Cf. Roger Tisserand, *L'Ukraine*, Paris, 1933, p. 171.
- 10) S. Pidhainyi, *Ukrains'ka intelihientsiya na Solovkakh* (The Ukrainian Intelligentsia in Solovki), 1947, p. 6.
- 11) *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.



## Chapter II

### The Arbitrary Nature of the Russian Laws

#### Cheka — GPU — NKVD — MVD — KGB

At the outset, that is to say until 1923-1924 when the Soviet Union was founded, the question of setting up a vast system of concentration camps did not arise. Since the Russians hoped that the introduction of the Soviet regime in the occupied countries<sup>1)</sup> would be affected as easily as in Russia thanks to the passive attitude of the masses, they did not consider it necessary to exploit the internees in the camps economically. On the whole, undesirable Russian or foreign elements and, above all, the nationalists of the occupied countries were ruthlessly shot.

The law and its administration of the prisons and camps, from December 20, 1917, to February 6, 1922, remained in the hands of the VeCheka (Extraordinary Pan-Russian Commission), the military and police organ, acting in the service of the Council of Russian Commissars (that is to say Ministers) in order to combat counter-revolution, espionage, speculation and brigandage in Russia proper. The authority of the Cheka was extended to the non-Russian territories with the conquests carried out by the Russian Communist Army.

It is obvious that during this period Soviet repression was directed above all against the former big landowners, the capitalists and the tsarist functionaries in Russia, and subsequently, with the occupation of the neighbouring states, against the same persons, further against the members of the armed forces and of the national administration of these states.

On February 6, 1922, the Cheka was replaced by the OGPU (United State Political Administration), and the concentration camp system began to assume a clear and definite form.

On November 15, 1923, the Russians established a Juridical Body in the service of the OGPU with authority to arrest, deport, confine in a camp, or shoot any person arbitrarily, solely on the strength of an administrative decision.<sup>2)</sup> Thus began the first stage in the development of the Russian Communist concentration camp system.

The second stage commenced about the middle of 1934 with the foundation of the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs). On July 10, 1934, the GUGB (Chief Directorate of State Security) was formed to take place on the OGPU. This new organ was incorporated in the NKVD and, consequently, the NKVD assumed the administration of the concentration camp system. As confirmed by official Russian documents, on November 5, 1934, the Special Conference (Osoboye Sovyeshchaniye or OSSO), consisting of the People's Commissar (Minister) of the NKVD, his deputies and the public prosecutor of the USSR, was founded and placed in the service of the NKVD. This "Conference" was in reality a committee, entrusted

with the administration of the arbitrary Russian laws, which was vested with the authority "to enforce, by administrative means, interdiction of residence, deportation, incarceration in a corrective labour camp for a period of up to 5 years."<sup>3</sup>)

It was the OSSO which, without trial and in the absence of the accused, passed sentences based on the reports of NKVD agents and in this way filled the concentration camps with prisoners. The sentence was as a rule 5 years internment, but the OSSO always extended it for another 5 years. Actually, from 1936 onwards, the OSSO passed sentences ranging from 5 to 25 years.<sup>4</sup>) The ordinary, special and military courts only concerned themselves with legally defined cases in which the guilt of the accused was evident and was proved in the formal way. If an examining magistrate had any doubts about a case, he passed it on to the OSSO.

The NKVD was renamed in March 1946 and since then has been designated as the MVD (Ministry for Internal Affairs). But this change of name did not bring about any change in the Russian police system. An official Russian document states that "the OSSO, subordinate to the Ministry for Internal Affairs (MVD) is authorized to impose on persons who are a social danger imprisonment in a corrective labour camp."<sup>5</sup>) Thus the OSSO continued its existence and its work. In May 1956, certain Western newspapers published the statement made by the President of the Supreme Court of the USSR to the effect that the OSSO had been suppressed on the strength of the decree issued on December 1, 1953.<sup>6</sup>) But this decree had not been made public, and it is questionable whether credence can be given to the statement made by the President of the Supreme Court.

Another organ of the secret police was created at the same time as the MVD in 1946: namely the MGB (Ministry for State Security). Some of the prerogatives of the MVD were transformed to the MGB, and in this way the entire concentration camp system was divided into two main categories: the camps where discipline was more or less slack and which were supervised by the MVD, and the camps where discipline was severe and which were supervised by the MGB.

After the death of Stalin, MVD chief Beria, hoping to win the struggle for power, unified the two ministries. His liquidation brought with it the reorganization of the two organs by the so-called "collective leadership," and the administration of the secret police passed into the hands of the KGB (Committee of State Security), where the key positions were given to the friends of Khrushchov. Subsequently, the functions of the all-powerful MVD began to diminish, the supervision of the concentration camps passed to the public prosecutor of the state, and the special troops of the MVD came under military authority and then under the authority of the KGB. Finally the MVD was deprived of its function of ensuring the protection of important economic and strategic objectives (this function was assigned to the KGB) and all that it retained was control of the militia, the fire-brigades, the issuing of passports, registration of births and deaths, and various other minor functions.

In January 1960, on the strength of a decree of the Supreme Soviet, the MVD of the Soviet Union was liquidated and its functions were transferred to the Ministries of the Interior of the national republics. Moscow was quick to announce the "liquidation" of the MVD, without, however, stating that the most important prerogatives of the MVD had long since been transferred to the KGB. But the decree of the Supreme Soviet, contrary to all expectations, did not mean an extension of the rights of the national republics or the democratization of the political regime of the Russian imperium.

The KGB, a terrible police instrument, has by degrees assumed the importance and the role of the former organs of terrorism.

### Arbitrariness under the Tsars

The arbitrary nature of Russian laws did not come into being with the advent of Bolshevik power. The Russian Communists merely developed the arbitrariness practised in Russia by the tsarist government.

"An authoritarian state at all times — so a book on the conditions of freedom in the USSR states — Russia has always been characterized by a large measure of administrative interference in the life of its inhabitants, and in particular by the practice of administrative deportation or administrative interment. Without going back to the days of serfdom, when every landowner had the right to deport his peasants to Siberia, it is interesting to note that during the last decades of tsarist rule the system of administrative deportation was based on the 'provisions relative to the measures for state and public security' of 1881, which accorded to the Ministry of the Interior the right to deport to 'distant regions' of Russia or of Siberia, for a period of 5 years, persons suspected of seditious activities. This practice constituted the basis of the repressive measures of the regime with regard to political opposition."<sup>7)</sup>

Obviously it was the political opposition of the nations oppressed by Russia which was hit hardest by these measures.

Lenin, who himself had been deported to Siberia, designated the law of 1881 as "one of the most stable, basic laws of the Russian Empire." The Russian opponents of the tsarist regime — and Lenin, too, was one of them — demanded "that the police should not be able to imprison people without a trial and that the functionaries should be severely punished for every arbitrary arrest..."<sup>8)</sup>

And now to quote two examples which will serve as a comparison to illustrate the arbitrary nature of the tsarist regime in Russia when dealing with a Ukrainian and with a Russian offender. By order of Tsar Nicholas I, the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) was arrested and imprisoned in a fortress; he was subsequently deported to Central Asia where he spent 10 years for having written "seditious poetry in the Ukrainian language."<sup>9)</sup> "Seditious" because the Ukrainian poet had openly attacked the despotism of the tsars and Russian imperialism, because he had related in his poems the sufferings and

hardship that Ukraine was obliged to endure, and because he had expressed the conviction in these poems that Ukraine should be free. To the sentence passed on him, the tsar added in his own hand: "Prohibited from writing and drawing." Taras Shevchenko was sentenced to banishment for life, but Tsar Nicholas I died and the poet's friends succeeded in obtaining his release from Alexander II. Shevchenko's health had been undermined to such an extent during his deportation that he died soon after his release.<sup>10)</sup>

The founder of the new regime in Russia, V. I. Lenin, had himself been sentenced to deportation, not for "seditious" poetry, but for a matter which was more serious, — namely, for revolutionary activity. But, strange to say, he did not suffer the fate of the Ukrainian poet.

Amongst the documents preserved in the Lenin Museum in Moscow there are some personal letters which he wrote to his wife Krupskaya during his deportation. In one of them he wrote as follows: "You ask me how I spend my time? I work a lot. Sometimes I go hunting... and in the evenings we play chess." And Krupskaya, who went to see Lenin and spent some time with him, said in her memoirs: "Life in Shushenskoye<sup>11)</sup> was very cheap. For the money that Lenin received from the state — eight roubles a month — he was able to have a clean room, three meals a day and also get his clothes laundered. The peasant with whom Lenin stayed during his deportation used to kill a sheep every week, and Lenin had meat for his meals every day. Milk, eggs, bread and vegetables were provided by the peasant free of charge. Lenin had a servant... In his room there was a large library and he used to receive a lot of letters every day... for he was in charge of the edition of newspapers in St. Petersburg and abroad..."

### Russian Laws Are Applied to the Whole World

We have already mentioned the fact that the extension of the power of the Cheka to the neighbouring territories (non-Russian) went hand in hand with the conquests effected by the Russian Communist army. This holds good not only for the Cheka but also for all the other subsequent Russian police and juridical organs. Proof of this fact can be seen from a secret Russian document. In an account of the system of the Soviet concentration camps we are told that in Kaunas (Lithuania) "after the arrival of the Red Army and the installing of a Communist government, the Commission for Internal Affairs on November 28, 1940, issued an order, No. 0054, about which there could not possibly be any doubt:

"The Soviet Code is applied to the whole world and, above all, wherever the Red Army arrives, the citizens are immediately judged by their past and by the actions committed by previous generations."<sup>12)</sup>

The arrogant and abusive violation of international rights and of the rights of mankind practised by Russia since 1917 can be traced to the fact that the Russian government in its criminal imperialism

found for its action a basis, a tool, an explanation and a justification — with which the Communist ideology provided it. Under the cloak of Communism, of international Communist solidarity and of the "world revolution" of the proletariat, Russia succeeded in developing her policy of expansion in such a way that most people were unable to comprehend whether it was a question of international Communism or of Russian imperialism.

It is futile to look for a distinction regarding the nationalities or a national and racial discrimination in the Russian laws. These laws are called "Soviet" laws, a term which is misleading. They are the same for all the Soviet Republics, and all the nationalities come under the provisions of these laws, both in theory and in practice.

According to the certificates received by released prisoners and according to the testimony given by former internees, the commonest reasons for sentences are the following: K.R. — membership of a counter-revolutionary organization (15 to 25 years); K.R.D. — counter-revolutionary activity (5 to 10 years and 25 years); P. Sh. — persons suspected of espionage (10 to 25 years); S.V.E. — hostile social elements, S.O.E. — dangerous social elements, and S.N.E. — untrustworthy social elements (sentences for these three categories vary, in general from 5 to 25 years).<sup>13)</sup>

About 90 per cent of the internees in the Soviet camps are political prisoners, sent there for the reasons mentioned above, or, sometimes, for no given reason. Sentences for counter-revolutionary activity, espionage, treason, diversionism, sabotage, anti-Russian and anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, membership of a secret nationalist, revolutionary or military organization, are passed in accordance with Article 58 of the Russian Penal Code, which comprises 14 paragraphs. All political, social, cultural or national activity directed against the interests of Russia and of her regime is regarded as a "counter-revolutionary crime." Article 58 contains a precise definition of a counter-revolutionary crime, namely as follows:

"58—1 — Every act tending to overthrow, to shake or to undermine the power of the Soviet workers and peasants and of the governments of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, of the republics of the Union and of the autonomous regions — established by these soviets in conformity with the Constitution of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and with the constitutions of the republics of the Union, or tending to shake or undermine the external security of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and of the economic, political and national conquests of the proletarian revolution, is regarded as a counter-revolutionary crime.

"By virtue of the international solidarity of the interests of all the workers, the same acts are likewise regarded as counter-revolutionary when they are directed against any workers' state which is not part of the Soviet Union (June 6, 1927/R.D. No. 49, art. 330/).<sup>14)</sup>

In view of this law it is easy to comprehend why the Russians have the audacity to deport or sentence the Ukrainians, the Hungarians or other peoples on their own territory. In this respect it must above all be borne in mind that the text of Article 58 quoted above is taken from the Penal Code of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, that is to say of Russia proper and not from that of the Soviet Union, for the latter has no penal code of its own. The basic laws applied to the whole of the Soviet Union and to the entire world are the laws of Russia. For propaganda purposes these laws are sometimes translated into the language of one of the Soviet Republics. As can be seen from the text of Article 58, the Russian Penal Code provides for penalties not only for Russia but also for the whole of the Soviet Union and for every person arrested, irrespective of nationalities. The order issued by the NKVD, No. 0054, mentioned above, was issued in conformity with the Russian laws.

#### FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II.

- 1) By the terms occupied countries or occupied peoples we mean Ukraine, the Baltic countries, the Caucasus, Byelorussia, etc., that is to say all the countries of the USSR with the exception of Russia proper.
- 2) Big Soviet Encyclopedia (in Russian), Moscow, 1939, Vol. 41, p. 209.
- 3) Decision of the Central Executive Committee. (Ts.I.K.) No. 283, Compendium of Laws of the USSR., No. 35, Moscow, July 19, 1934.
- 4) A. Mykulyn, op. cit., pp. 35-36.
- 5) Yevtikhiev and Vlasov, Administrative Law of the USSR., Moscow, 1946, pp. 244-245; cited in "Le procès...", op. cit., p. 16.
- 6) Saturne, Bulletin de la Commission Internationale Contre le Régime Concentrationnaire, No. 7, March-May 1956, p. 3.
- 7) Les conditions de la liberté en U.R.S.S., Editions du Pavois, Paris, 1951, pp. 17-18.
- 8) V. I. Lenin, Complete Works (in Russian), Vol. 7, Moscow, p. 153.
- 9) Vasyl Hryshko, op. cit., p. 35.
- 10) Cf. Roger Tisserand, op. cit., p. 229.
- 11) Quoted from A. Mykulyn, op. cit., p. 41.
- 12) "Le procès...", op. cit., p. 29.
- 13) Cf. Elinor Lipper, Onze ans dans les bagnes soviétiques (Eleven Years in the Soviet Convict-Prison), Paris, 1950, pp. 34-35.
- 14) Penal Code of the R.S.F.S.R., translated by Jean Fonteyne, Editions E.C.A., Brussels, 1951, p. 36.

### Chapter III

#### Sudden Increase in the number of Prisoners

##### A Secret Plan

The existence of slave labour as a means of social reconstruction and reform in the Soviet Union was not concealed as a secret until about 1929. But even up to 1933 it was mentioned in official Russian texts. For instance, the Small Soviet Encyclopedia in 1929 gave the following definition of a concentration camp: "Concentration camp: place of isolation for prisoners-of-war, hostages and persons who are a social danger, who have not committed criminal acts but whose isolation is necessary in order to safeguard order and as a measure of social defense."<sup>1</sup>

Volume VIII of the same Encyclopedia, published in 1931, states that the Monastery of Solovetskiye is "actually a concentration camp."<sup>2</sup>

From 1935 onwards the Russian authorities deny the existence of slave labour camps. In that year Molotov angrily wrote "it is time to put an end to the fairytales about slave labour ... the USSR."<sup>3</sup> And the Big Soviet Encyclopedia, published in 1935, suddenly gives another definition of concentration camps: "A concentration camp is a special place of detention, created by the fascist states, regimes of barbarism and of oppression of the peoples, which constantly increase the number of prisoners: the ordinary prisons no longer suffice for them."<sup>4</sup>

Why this change? What had happened in the meantime?

It can be assumed for certain that during the period from 1928 to 1931 the Russian Communist authorities elaborated a secret plan, the aim of which was, firstly, to liquidate all the elements hostile to the Communist regime and to Russia, to put into concentration camps and to deport all persons suspected of nationalism (with the exception of Russian nationalism, the only nationalism which is permitted in the Soviet Union), undesirable, dangerous persons suspected of counter-revolutionary activity, etc.; and, secondly, to employ the prisoners and deportees in the framework of the economic development of the USSR.

This leads us to assume that three factors must have played a principal part in the realization of the Russian plan: a) the slave labour of the prisoners in the concentration camps; b) the slave labour of the deportees in the undeveloped regions; and c) compulsory collectivization.

In 1928 Moscow began to carry out the first Five-Year Plan. "It was at that time that millions of 'kulaks' (small land-owners) were 'liquidated as a class' and transformed into slave workers. In March 1931, at the 6th Congress of the Soviets, Molotov stated that over a million deportees from the rural areas were employed in felling wood in the forests of the north. On June 1, 1934, at the 7th Congress of the Soviets, Molotov affirmed that of the 51½ million peasants declared

'kulaks' in 1929, there were only 140,000 left. That is to say, more than 5 million, according to official statistics (and probably more), had been liquidated by death or by deportation. It was on March 26, 1928, that — in the framework of the Five-Year Plan — the first decree was issued prescribing 'the use on a large scale of the work of the prisoners.' On May 21, 1928, an official circular of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR recommended 'the general employment of the work of individuals under the provisions of measures of social protection' in order to 'realize a series of economic projects by reducing expenditure considerably'.<sup>5)</sup>

### The Number of Prisoners

Our assumption is irrefutably confirmed by the enormous increase in the number of victims from 1928-1929 onwards.

According to the statistics drawn up by a Russian, Alexander Ouralov, the number of prisoners during the years 1922-1941 was as follows<sup>6)</sup>:

- 1922: 6,000 (officers, functionaries of the former regime, priests);
- 1927: 140,000 (white guardists, priests, former members of anti-Bolshevist parties);
- 1930: 1,500,000 (kulaks, businessmen established after the NEP, technicians of bourgeois origin and white guardists, priests, bourgeois, aristocracy, etc.);
- 1932: 2,500,000 (peasants);
- 1936: 6,500,000 (peasants, workers, intellectuals of working-class and peasant origin);
- 1938: 11,500,000 (the same categories as in 1936);
- 1941: 13,500,000 (workers, peasants, intellectuals of the former regime).

These figures must be regarded as approximate and as lower than the actual figures. Other experts estimate that in 1941 the number of prisoners was about 18 million (Ukrainian sources) and in 1957 about 23 million.<sup>7)</sup>

In addition, O. C. Pfeiffer states in his book on Siberia<sup>8)</sup> that the Soviet Russian authorities admitted in 1935 that at that time there were between 5 and 6 million prisoners in the camps. B. Souvarine is of the opinion that as early as 1937 there were at least 15 million prisoners, and according to V. Kravchenko,<sup>9)</sup> the figure mentioned by high-ranking functionaries of the Kremlin in 1938 was 15 million. According to the calculations of S. Schwarz,<sup>10)</sup> there were 10 million prisoners in 1939.

For the period 1944-1945 Kravchenko estimates 20 million. Mme E. Lipper quotes an admission made by the functionaries of the NKVD, according to which the total number of prisoners in 1948 was 12 million, the decrease in the total number being due to the famine during the



previous years. The British Member of Parliament Stokes stated in December 1948 that the Soviet Union at that time had more than 17 million prisoners destined for slave labour.<sup>11)</sup> The Spanish Communist El Campensino expressed the opinion "that by the end of 1948 one could affirm that in Russia about 19 million Russians (that is to say, citizens of the USSR — Editor's note) and about 4 million persons of various other nationalities — Germans, Japanese, members of people's republics, etc. — had been deported or exiled."<sup>12)</sup> In December 1949 a member of the US government gave the total number of prisoners in the Russian camps as 13 million.<sup>13)</sup> A source of information closely connected with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) estimates that in 1950 the number of prisoners was 15 million.<sup>14)</sup>

The Israeli journalist J. Margoline, who was interned in Soviet camps from 1940 to 1945, estimated in 1951 that the number of prisoners was 10 million.<sup>15)</sup> But whereas Joseph Scholmer states that during the years 1950-1951 the total number must have been 15 million, V. Andreyev, former inspector of Russian concentration camps from 1934 to 1941, affirmed in 1951 that "there must be between 12 and 14 million, possibly 15 million persons in the camps,"<sup>16)</sup> and G. Yershov, former colonel of the Red Army and commandant of the repatriation camps for Soviet subjects after the war expressed the opinion that the figure of 15 to 17 million was more exact for the year 1951.<sup>17)</sup>

O. C. Pfeiffer in his book published in 1952 accepts the figure of 20 million as the most likely figure for 1951-1952.<sup>18)</sup> During the years 1953-1955 the number of political prisoners alone was 10 million, according to the estimate of a former German prisoner, B. Roeder.<sup>19)</sup> U.S. News and World Report stated in 1956 that D. Dallin estimated the number of prisoners at that time between 12 and 15 million, but that other estimates put the figure for 1956 at 25 million.<sup>20)</sup>

The main fault of the statistics drawn up by Ouralov and other writers is that they endeavour to give this multi-national mass of prisoners in the Russian camps a national aspect, and Ouralov classifies this mass according to social origin in conformity with the Russian Communist method.

### Nationality of Prisoners

We affirm — and we shall prove by testimony — that 80 to 90 per cent of all the prisoners in the Russian concentration camps were and always are persons of foreign nationality: Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, inhabitants of Turkestan and members of other nationalities of the Soviet Union, further, Poles, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Chinese, Koreans, and Germans, etc.

15 to 20 per cent (from World War II onwards only about 10 per cent) are Russians. Of the 80 to 90 per cent non-Russians in the camps, 55 to 60 per cent are Ukrainians; thus the Ukrainians constitute 45 to 50 per cent of the total number of prisoners in the Russian camps. The majority of Russians in the camps are criminals and persons sentenced under common law.<sup>21</sup>) The prisoners of other nationalities are all political prisoners, with the exception of about 5 per cent who have been sentenced as criminals.

These facts are frequently denied by Russian emigrants and by certain circles in the West who prefer to regard the population of the Soviet Union as Russian, or else as "Soviet population," in order to eliminate from discussion any national question which might serve to demonstrate the existence of Russian imperialism and the domination of the Russians over the other nations in the Soviet Union. Even the work of the International Commission Against the Concentration Camp Regime (C.I.C.R.C.), which has its headquarters in Brussels, is all too often affected by this tendency.

We shall begin the series of testimonies with the statements made by witnesses at the lawsuit brought by David Rousset against the Communist paper "Les Lettres Françaises" (in Paris, November to December 1950) and in proceedings instituted against the Soviet concentration camps by the C.I.C.R.C. in Brussels from May 21st to May 26th, 1951.

The first witness in the lawsuit in Paris, cited in a book edited by "Paix et Liberté," was Mme Elinor Lipper, a German, "an out-and-out socialist," who in 1937 "was more and more convinced that the only country of the true liberation of man was the USSR." That year she went to Moscow and some months later was arrested and imprisoned. She left the Soviet Union in 1948 after having spent eleven years in prison and concentration camps there. In keeping with her socialist faith, she stated before the judges in Paris: "...I was in the Soviet camps with Soviet citizens, and no one was released during the war except criminals sentenced under common law."<sup>22</sup>)

"Soviet citizens" — an amorphous mass, without an individual countenance! Nevertheless in her book which appeared in Paris in 1950, Mme Lipper also mentions other nationalities: "What I resented more than anything else was a powerless compassion which oppressed one's heart whenever one saw these Russians (evidently she also meant the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians by this — Editor's note), these Caucasians, these Tatars, these Mongols, these Siberians, these tribes from Central Asia..."<sup>23</sup>) That was in 1939. In the course of her captivity Mme Lipper learnt that there were also Germans, Austrians, Rumanians, Hungarians, Finns, Latvians, and Jews in the camps. She obviously encountered Ukrainians, but she did not learnt to distinguish them from the Russians.

## FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III.

- 1) Small Soviet Encyclopedia (in Russian), Vol. 4, Moscow, 1929, p. 190.
- 2) Ibid., Vol. 8, 1931.
- 3) V. Molotov, *The Struggle for Socialism*, Moscow, 1935.
- 4) Big Soviet Encyclopedia, op. cit., quoted in "Le procès...", op. cit., p. 20.
- 5) "Le procès...", op. cit., pp. 21 and 30.
- 6) A. Ouralov, *Stalin in Power*, p. 185.
- 7) Cf. *La Nation Géorgienne*, Paris, 1958, No. 18, p. 4.
- 8) O. C. Pfeiffer, *Siberien (Siberia)*, Safari-Verlag, Berlin, 1952, p. 92.
- 9) V. Kravchenko, *J'ai choisi la liberté (I Chose Freedom)*, Paris, p. 411.
- 10) S. Schwarz, *Les ouvriers en Union Soviétique (The Workers in the Soviet Union)*, Paris, p. 54.
- 11) Cf. O. C. Pfeiffer, op. cit., p. 91.
- 12) "Le procès...", op. cit., p. 89.
- 13) Quoted by O. C. Pfeiffer, op. cit., p. 92.
- 14) *The Ukrainian Review*, London, No. 4, 1958, p. 22.
- 15) "Le procès...", op. cit., p. 107.
- 16) *Livre Blanc sur les camps de concentration soviétiques, Commission Internationale Contre le Régime Concentrationnaire (White Book on Soviet Concentration Camps, International Commission Against the Concentration Camp Regime)*, Paris, p. 102.
- 17) Ibid., p. 107.
- 18) O. C. Pfeiffer, op. cit., p. 102.
- 19) Bernard Roeder, *Der Katorgan (Katorga)*, Cologne-Berlin, 1956, p. 35.
- 20) *U.S. News and World Report*, Washington, June 1, 1956.
- 21) Cf. Communist takeover and occupation of Ukraine, Special Report No. 4, U.S. House of Representatives, H. Res. 346 and H. Res. 348; U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1935, p. 24.
- 22) "Le procès...", op. cit., pp. 43 and 45.
- 23) Elinor Lipper, op. cit., p. 79.

(To be continued)

O. Ilyns'ka

## THE SEED

### A STORY FROM THE UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND\*

"A principle remains a principle, and a doctrine remains a doctrine. It is by no means necessary for you to be a member of the Komsomol out of conviction. If one insists on the membership of the masses to such an extent, one is bound to get such a "conscious" and "active" Komsomol member as you will be" — so Leonid continued.

"That is precisely the problem, — that I can only be a member of the Komsomol on paper, that is in name only. — If that's how they want it, then they can stop me from studying. Even so..." — Martha lapsed into silence. They were walking down an alley that was deserted and were thus able to discuss matters.

"You really are too obstinate. The longer I know you, the less I understand you." He glanced at her, and for a moment they gazed into each other's eyes.

"I don't think you have even begun to understand me, and now you are already affirming that you can no longer understand me," she retorted and smiled sarcastically.

He was deeply hurt by her smile and her words.

"If I have not been able to understand my future wife after living with her for a year, then I am sure my whole life will not suffice to enable me ever to understand her," he replied angrily.

The girl's pale face was suffused with a blush. For the first time in the course of the six months that they had been friends he had now expressed his wish to make her his wife. So far they had never made any plans together for the future, but merely with regard to their careers. Her sarcasm had evoked this surprising statement on his part.

"Your wife?" she said with feigned indifference. "But that's a long way off in the dim future!"

"Why? We shall both of us finish our studies in two years' time and get our diplomas and then, maybe, suitable jobs; and then perhaps we can think about building our own little nest." The words "little nest" struck Leonid as so strange that he could not help smiling.

\* Editors Note. This story was written by a woman member of the Ukrainian nationalist underground and was published in a clandestine publication in Ukraine about 10 years ago.

Martha, engrossed in her own thoughts, was silent.

"Do you know what I think?" Leonid added after a pause. "I think we shall even be able to get married sooner... My parents are most certainly in a position to keep me as well as their daughter-in-law. In fact, they have even suggested it to me themselves..."

"Lenko! Whatever made you talk to them about me?" Martha was both surprised and annoyed.

"Don't be childish! Of course I've talked about you. You know I get on with my old folks very well."

Martha shook her head in dismay and her face assumed a sombre expression.

"You've been in too much of a hurry," she said. "So far, I've never seriously thought about our future together."

"Oh, I see!" Leonid replied somewhat cynically. "How was I to know that a "parson's daughter" who has been brought up in a moral way would acknowledge free love..."

"Don't be so sarcastic! In the first place our love has not yet overstepped the borders of friendship, and secondly... secondly..." Martha hesitated. — "No, there is something I must tell you in advance... Perhaps I ought to have done so sooner..." Her gaze was frank.

"Well, what is it? Tell me!" he replied, looking at her curiously. "You're beginning to make a mystery of things, and maybe I shall now discover that you are already married!"

"If you want to know, it isn't a case of some intimacy or other, ... it's a question of far more important matters. To some extent you probably know what my political views are..."

"To hell with politics!" he interrupted brusquely. "I know I can do without them quite well, and you as a woman ought to find it even easier to do without them... It's all the same to me what your political views are. As far as I'm concerned, you can be an out-and-out nationalist if you like!"

They were now walking down a fairly busy street, and as his voice had become too loud she put her hand on his shoulder.

"Not so loud! You'll have people looking at us!" she said.

"Sorry, but I'm beginning to tire of this conversation."

"But we ought to talk about such matters... Well... perhaps you'd like to sit down somewhere for a while?" They were now walking through the town. She stopped for a moment expectantly...

"Very well, let's sit down somewhere for a short while. What a lovely day it is! Only our mood isn't in keeping with the weather... Shall we patch up our quarrel?" he added encouragingly. She smiled, touched by his words, and silently nodded her head.

It was a lovely spring day. The sun's rays caressed the tender green leaves of the trees that had just awakened from their winter's sleep.

The gardens were full of purple pansies and red dog-roses. On the velvety lawns the lilac bushes were in full bloom. It really was a glorious day.

They came to an empty bench and sat down. Martha hesitated for she was in some doubt as to whether she should poison her friend's mind with her arguments, which, even though they were obviously necessary, would be bound to have unpleasant consequences... Perhaps she ought to postpone this conversation until some later opportunity?

Leonid was sitting half-turned towards her, but there was now no longer any trace of nervousness on his manly face. He gazed with rapt pleasure at her serious face and her slender figure. He gently stroked her auburn hair.

"Why are you so serious, my dear?"

She could not help smiling at his words. She looked at him with an expression of love on her face such as he had never seen before. And his eyes reflected his love for her which was perhaps even greater.

"Lenko, we must discuss a certain matter... You said it wouldn't matter to you even if I were an out-and-out nationalist... What if I really am one?"

"I know that's not true," said Leonid and laughed. "An out-and-out nationalist can't possibly have as many democratic principles as you have..."

"You're making a big mistake... Perhaps...perhaps I haven't expressed myself clearly. But our nationalism is extremely vital, progressive and democratic, and it is the only form of nationalism that can solve all the problems of life. And I am one of its most loyal champions, though unfortunately only a passive one... But we'll talk about that later on. First of all, I should like you to know a little more about my family..."

"My dear, I know all about your family circumstances," he interrupted her gently. "Your father was exiled, you have had to starve and in addition you have to work far too hard..."

"No, there's more to it than that," replied Martha. "And I want to tell you the rest..."

"I wouldn't be a bit surprised if you told me you were an active revolutionary," he retorted jokingly.

"I — oh, no! I don't deserve that name. But my brother and sister, who are no longer alive, were revolutionary underground fighters... And that is the reason why I cannot dishonour my family name by adding "Komsomol member" to it."

For a second he looked as though he had received a rude shock, but he managed to control himself. He looked at her long and earnestly.

"I didn't know that... You should have told me sooner!"

"Yes?"

He leaned against the back of the seat and through half-closed lids gazed at the top of an ash-tree nearby. Both of them were silent for a while.

"This does not change anything in my relations to you... But it's a pity you didn't tell me sooner," he said after a while, without looking at her.

"Forgive me," she replied softly, as though she were to blame for everything. "I had of course no idea that you had made such plans regarding me."

"No, that's not what I mean," said Leonid and continued gazing up at the tree-top. "I don't mind you thinking that I don't want to share your lot. What does grieve me, however, is that you didn't trust me..."

"No, Lenko, you're wrong there. It's true that I haven't told you all this so far, for I've had to keep it all a secret for so long that my whole being has become absorbed by it. In any case, what good would it have done to tell you? But now that you've given me to understand that you think of me as your future wife, I've been obliged to tell you. For if the present conditions continue, then it is hardly likely that I shall be allowed to remain amongst the "trustworthy" in the Union. You see how the Komsomol is checking up on me. It is very unlikely that I shall be allowed to complete my studies... Sooner or later I shall either be arrested, or, if I'm lucky, deported..."

Leonid gazed at her as if he were seeing her for the first time. There was an expression of quiet resignation in her calm, dark eyes. He felt sorry for this girl who was so dear to him... And in his innermost heart he reproached those who were indirectly to blame for all this.

How many tragedies and how many sacrifices had their liberation movement resulted in!... Fanatics! Couldn't they reconcile themselves at last to the present regime? After all, it wasn't so terrible, even though conditions really shouldn't be as they now were (Martha had convinced him of this in more than one respect). Was every family obliged to make sacrifices to this extent? This surely was a clear example, — a brother and a sister had died, but why couldn't they at least leave this girl in peace?... But what could she do to protect herself?...

He took hold of her hand.  
"Listen, why are you so sure that you're in danger? You don't tell anyone your views..."

"Not in my present surroundings, though one can hardly conceal them completely. In any case, the police know all about my family and my past... And that is why I feel I must warn you. It would perhaps be better if you broke off your relations with me... Better to do so in time before we are tied to each other..."

Leonid was suddenly overwhelmed by a feeling of hurt pride and injury: how could she talk about this so calmly? She ought to be

horrified at the thought of their parting, instead of which she was suggesting quite cold-heartedly that they should part. Was she really in love with him at all? He was so hurt that he said sarcastically:

"Of course we're free. And I quite realize that you won't find it at all hard to stop thinking about me... You probably aren't capable of any other love except love for Ukraine..."

Martha frowned and shrugged her shoulders. Her voice was low and fraught with emotion as she replied:

"It's no use your getting annoyed. It is perfectly true that my love for Ukraine occupies the foremost place in my heart, for this has been instilled into us since childhood, and there were plenty of opportunities and methods of doing so here in Western Ukraine. And so I have a sense of duty towards my country and also a feeling of pride... But apart from that, I am an ordinary, everyday person with human feelings and failings... And the most striking proof in this respect is my love for you, a person who has no national and patriotic feelings. You are not to blame for that, though it would be better if you were different... But I should like to tell you that I know a lot of people who have renounced everything for the sake of this their greatest love; and there is a close spiritual affinity between these persons and myself; in spite of this fact, however, my heart chose not one of them, but you! I love you because I feel drawn to you, though of course reason plays a part in this respect because it has made me realize that you are a person of admirable character..."

"Stop paying me compliments," Leonid interrupted her with a faint smile. He was sorry that he had hurt her feelings for no real reason... "Let's stop this conversation, at least for today. You yourself said that our marriage is a long way off. Time alone will tell... But my feelings for you will not change, and that holds good for the future, too. Let's go to the library, shall we?" — "Very well, let's go," she replied mechanically and got up from the bench. "Time alone will tell..."; she repeated thoughtfully.

And time did indeed intervene sooner than they thought.

The first day that lectures commenced again after the summer vacation, Leonid came home in a mood of deepest depression. He flung himself on the couch in the drawing-room. In vain did his mother tell him twice that the evening meal was ready. She was a middle-aged woman and, in spite of her modern elegance, was a most affectionate and solicitous mother. After she had pleaded with Leonid for a while to eat his evening meal, he finally sat down at the table which was loaded with food.

"What's the matter, Lyonya, my dear? You aren't eating! What's happened?" his mother asked him anxiously.



"I'm not hungry..."

"Are you ill?"

"Don't you worry, Mother! There's nothing wrong with me..."

His father — Professor Verkhohlyad — also looked at him anxiously. As a rule conversation was very lively during their evening meal for this was the one time during the day when the whole family were together. Leonid's mother was employed in a factory as an engineer; the two men were at the university all day, and Nadia was at school. They could therefore only exchange views and talk about the events of the day in the evenings. Leonid was usually the life and soul of the conversation. But this evening he kept silent. The Professor tried to draw him into the conversation again and again, but Lyonya only replied to his questions laconically. In the end his father broached a subject which he was sure would induce his son to talk.

"And how is Martha? Is she well?" he asked.

Leonid had been expecting this question ever since the meal began. But when his father now voiced it, he frowned.

"She hasn't turned up yet," he replied shortly.

"There you are! And you've been worrying your head about what was the matter with him and whether he was ill," said the Professor, turning to his wife. "Why, the reason's perfectly obvious."

"You're right! I'd quite forgotten to ask him about her. Forgive us for forgetting to ask about our future daughter-in-law," his mother said with a laugh.

Leonid was infuriated by these jokes. But to cover up his annoyance and anger, he drained his glass of wine at one go. He then jumped up and pushed back his chair noisily.

"Where are you rushing off to now?"

"I've got a headache... Leave me alone!"

"Something is most certainly the matter," his father commented after Leonid had disappeared into the bedroom.

Leonid did not pause to switch on the light, but flung himself down on the couch. The dim light in the room and the expensive and comfortable furniture irritated him still more, for in his thoughts he was in a dismal prison-cell...

So that is why she hasn't written to me for a month! For it probably isn't possible to write from there! My poor, little girl, your presentiment was no doubt right. But when did it happen? And for what reason? What is the danger that threatens her? Why couldn't you have protected yourself against such an evil fate and against those people...? Leonid at the moment could not think of any other designation for the police organs, though already now a feeling of animosity and of anger towards them was beginning to take root in his heart. Why had they locked up a young and happy-natured girl like Martha in a prison-cell? What harm was such a good-natured and kind-hearted girl likely to do anyone? How could she be a danger to anyone? How could she

possibly be a criminal? Whom could she harm? Well, of course, she could quite well do some harm! In the student surroundings in which she had been living — as it were, under a camouflage, — she might quite well from time to time, unnoticed and skilfully, have attacked the citadel of the Soviet Russian regime by a word or two here and there, and in this way have caused an invisible but significant breach in this citadel and thus undermined the apparent power of the Soviet regime... To how many matters, incidents, causes and things had she drawn his attention and shown them up in the light of her ideas, so that all this now appeared quite different to him and assumed quite a different aspect from the one which he had been inclined to see as a result of his training by the Komsomol and at school. Martha had certainly known how to convince him and to prove by facts that, for instance, black was black and not white, as one had tried to make him believe. Now that he had lost Martha he recalled every word she had said to him, — all her profound thoughts and ideas.

She had taught him to understand life as it really was.

Two incidents in particular stood out in his memory. On one occasion, the two of them together with Martha's girl-friend, Valya, had been walking down a street. A beggar with no legs and with only one arm had been sitting by a wall; he had held out his hand to the passers-by and had kept muttering something. "A defender of the fatherland in the fatherland's war," Martha had said as they had passed him. They had walked on in silence and had somehow found it difficult to resume the conversation which Martha had interrupted by her comment. She and Leonid had both been engrossed in their own thoughts. Since then, Leonid was always stirred by profound pity whenever he saw one of these unfortunate victims of the imperialistic wars and compared their lot with the life of other people... Leonid still seemed to hear the words uttered by Martha on that occasion, which were like a reproach...

On another occasion they were travelling in a local train, together with some of their colleagues from the university. The compartment was crowded with women from the state collective and they took up a lot of room as they had large bundles on their shoulders. "What a crowd of speculating women!" Zina muttered in annoyance. "Speculating women?" Martha retorted. "Just listen to their conversation... Practically every one of these 'speculating women' is afraid to give her children a drop of milk because she is forced to sell this milk in order to be able to buy bread and salt"... And when Leonid listened to the conversation of these poor women, he found that they were indeed only talking about their poverty and need... All those who were present were obliged to admit that their conversation was not by any means that of people who were well-fed, prosperous and happy.

Undoubtedly Martha had done her share towards increasing the explosive nature of the barrel of dynamite on which the Soviet Union was resting. But in spite of this fact, one could not simply arrest her

for her words; she must have done something else; there was no doubt about the fact that she was in contact with the underground movement... How and where did she manage to meet these people? What were her tasks, and what had she actually done? What did these mysterious people, whom Leonid was obliged to regard objectively as heroes, look like?... Leonid was suddenly stirred by a feeling of jealousy... He was too clear-sighted to regard the insurgents as bandits or foreign agents, even though he could not wholly approve of their fight. But he did at least realize their moral superiority, their noble-mindedness and the enormous significance of their sacrifices and their heroic deeds; and he felt in his innermost heart that as a result of their courageous deeds and the risks and dangers of their revolutionary activity they aroused the deep admiration of the population who were well disposed towards them and cast a spell, as it were, over them. What was one to think about such idealists and patriots of the type to which Martha belonged? He tried to suppress the strange feeling which had suddenly flared up in his heart at the wrong time. Perhaps she would fall back on him if the fight lasted too long, or if one or other of her fellow-fighters were killed?

By way of a subconscious reaction to his spiritual torment Leonid's mind now began to occupy itself with all sorts of unjustified thoughts and assumptions in order to banish memories of Martha's good qualities. He even went so far as to come to the conclusion that he really should not be so upset at the fact that Martha had been arrested, because she was perhaps not worth his grief after all...

But his common sense soon triumphed over these poisonous thoughts.

If she was not worth his grief, then she was not worth his love. And in that case which of his friends would be worth his affection, and why had he chosen her of all of them? Because she was beautiful? No, she was most certainly not a beauty. He knew a number of girls who were far prettier than she was. He had simply chosen her because she was honest, modest, good, clever and industrious. He had observed her a long time before he made any attempt to approach her and get friendly with her. There was nothing about her which offended him or repelled him. She was the first woman whom he thought of in terms of marriage. And this thought and the fact that he had chosen her alone of all his acquaintances was proof that she was worthy of his love. He had never yet heard anyone at the hostel where she lived say anything nasty about her. The only persons who had ever made any remarks about her were one or two of his friends, who had affirmed that she was too proud and unapproachable, but such remarks merely served to show her good qualities even more.

Dear Martha, if only she were here now, — he would treat her quite differently, and what was more... He deeply regretted that he had set up a kind of invisible barrier between her spiritual world and his as a result of his unpolitical views. He remembered how she had tried to overcome this barrier, just as she had missed no opportunity



**EUGENIA ZARESKA — mezzo-soprano**

Eugenia Zareska was born in Rava Ruska, Ukraine, but soon her parents moved to Lviv (also in Ukraine) where she spent her childhood. Her father was a well known organizer and conductor of the "Boyan" Choir in Stanislaviv, her mother was a pianist in Vienna.

Zareska studied the violin at "Lysenko's Institute," singing and dramatics at Lviv Conservatory, where she was awarded a Gold Medal.

Just after finishing her studies she took part in an International Festival of Song in Vienna, where she gained her first prize, which helped her to continue her




**VOLODYMYR LUCIV — tenor and bandurist**

Born in Ukraine, Volodymyr Luciv first studied the Bandura under the great Nazarenko, and was a member of this master's celebrated Bandura orchestra and Chorus.

His vocal studies took him from Trinity College of Music in London to Rome's Conservatory of Saint Cecilia for 5 years. Since then he has made innumerable appearances in Concerts, Radio and Television all over Europe and has earned himself an enviable international reputation.

In July 1961 he won the first prize in an International Singing Contest at Knokke in Belgium as a representative of Britain.

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 study of singing in Milan. Here famous musicians were attracted by her splendid voice and she was offered engagements at many theatres, including "La Scala" Opera House, where she made her debut in "Cosi fan Tutte." Later on stage-doors opened for her in Rome, Geneva, Naples and Venice.

She was engaged by concert societies to sing in many concert halls, including Santa Cecilia and to broadcast on Radio Roma. She had a part in a film with Vittorio de Sica and co-starred with Anna Magnani and Roderigo Ruggieri.

In 1946 she came to London where she had contracts with the Philharmonic Orchestra and later on with the Royal Opera, Covent Garden. In 1948 she sang in famous Concert Halls and Opera Houses.

At present she is living in Paris and appears in concerts and operas in France, Italy, Great Britain, Switzerland and Germany.



**IRA MALANIUK — mezzo-soprano**

Was born in Ukraine in the family of a prominent doctor of medicine. She received her musical education in the soloist classes of the Musical Conservatoire at Lviv, and later continued her studies in the concert class at the famous Vienna Musical Academy and Mozarteum in Salzburg.

She sang in opera theatres in Graz and Zurich, and from 1952 till 1956 in the Munich State Opera, where she was awarded the title of Kammersangerin.

Since 1956 she has been singing in the State Opera of the City of Vienna.

She lives in Zurich, where she is married to a Swiss doctor of medicine.

She has given concerts and guest performances in all the well-known concert halls and operas of Western Europe.

She has often performed at the world-famous "Festspiele" in the Wagnerian cycle of operas "Der Ring" in Bayreuth and in similar festival operas in Salzburg.

Together with a German ensemble she took part in their guest performance of Wagner's "The Ring" at Covent Garden, and her creation of Goddess Fricka was described by the music critics as majestic, which is truly unusual praise.



MYRO SKALA — tenor

Was born in Skala, a town in Ukraine, whence comes his professional name, his full name being Myroslaw Skala-Starytsky. His father was a choir conductor a la capella. He finished his musical education by gaining honours and a first prize at the Musical Conservatoire at Lviv in Ukraine. In the same city he made a brilliant debut as Doctor Faust in Gounod's opera in the State Opera House.

His great career in Western Europe was started by passing, again with honours and a first prize, the concert examinations at the the Musical Academy of Vienna in 1942. Since then, and especially after 1945 he has become known on practically all the great opera and concert stages of Western Europe.

His unusually rich repertoire includes operas like Faust, Rigoletto, La Boheme, Nabucco, La Tosca, Laemé, Madame Butterfly, Boris Godunov, Prince Igor (the part of Prince Vsevolod), Don Juan, etc., in which he has sung title or first tenor parts.

He achieved his greatest triumphs in the Opéra Comique of the City of Paris. Here he was awarded an honorary Diploma and Silver Medal of the City.

He has undertaken numerous recital and concert tours throughout Western Europe, North Africa, Canada, and North America.

He lives in Paris and is engaged as First Tenor of the Royal Opera de la Monnaie in Brussels.



to make him acquainted with her ideas and opinions. He had resisted these ideas like a smug philistine who is only interested in his own ego and in being left in peace... Whilst thousands of young people of the country were prepared to renounce all personal values and to take the greatest sacrifices — prison, tortures and even death — upon themselves, he was too indolent even to become acquainted with their ideals and their world and to study them more closely.

...“How can you stand aloof and calmly watch the blood of your brothers being shed?” — Leonid recalled these words by a poet. And for the first time in years he blushed with shame. If he were a conscious Communist, then his attitude would be understandable. But he had long since given up believing in Communism; and he was not greatly interested in things that did not concern his immediate surroundings or his own little personal world. After all, he was only young! — But young girls were now courageously taking their place in the ranks of the fighters... No, times were changing; and people and the demands made on them were likewise changing. The events of this era were too important for one to pass them by merely like a spectator in this drama called life. He suddenly felt a strange and overwhelming desire to be active, to do great deeds and to achieve noble aims, — a feeling which had so far been slumbering in his heart like an inactive volcano. But as yet he could see no crater, no outlet. A few months ago he would have been able to find this outlet with Martha's help. But now she was no longer there to help him...

All these thoughts flashed through his mind, tormenting him. In an attempt to cast them aside and to forget, Leonid suddenly stood up, put on his coat and went out to tavern nearby, — a thing which he very rarely did.

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Leonid hastily tore open a grey envelope addressed to him in a handwriting which he knew only too well. A double sheet of paper fell out of the envelope, — so this letter was a good deal longer than the previous one, — the first one, which had been short and reserved in tone.

Leonid began to read the letter as greedily as a thirsty person drinks water.

“Dear Lenko,  
I received your letter yesterday and should like to thank you very much for it. It was a big surprise, — that is to say, not the letter as such, because I never doubted you would write to me, but its contents... I am very glad that your feelings have remained the same as they always were and that you have not decided to forget me. But I am happiest of all about the change in your views... Unfortunately, assurances of love and faithfulness will not be able to overcome the vast distance and the barbed wire which separate us, nor will they change our lives. In a little while you will complete your studies, will



receive a diploma and will be given a job, whereas I shall have to do physical work for many years. I want you to think all this over carefully and to remember that our love is really ended, for it has no future... I have already reconciled myself to this fact, sad though it may be. And I want you to reconcile yourself to it, too, — which I am sure you will do in due course, for you are intelligent and rational-minded. But you will make me happiest of all if you remain loyal to your new views... When I read your letter I was very sorry that I had written to you and torn open the old wound again which was beginning to heal... But I am only human, after all, and I felt I must write a few lines to you.

In any case, my dear Lenko, I have not the strength to banish you from my life completely. What is more, I do not want to do so. It is quite possible that in the course of time our love will die and that we shall forget each other and that you will find another woman whom you love. But somehow I hope that we shall continue to remain friends and shall be able to go on writing to each other. For apart from what I have already said above, there is another circumstance which I am obliged to put up with: I have no acquaintance or friends at all here with whom I could share my thoughts. Although I am at present not in a position to study and to read, I do not want to forget all that I learnt at school and during my studies, and in my thoughts, at least, I want to keep up with the cultural world. If you were willing to help me in this respect, I shall always be grateful to you. Of course, it will not be possible to exchange all our views in letters, but at least we can share human thoughts... What is your opinion on this? Do you think we can?"

Leonid skimmed through the next paragraph twice and then began to read it a third time.

"I recall our conversations, talks and discussions so often... There was so much that I could not tell you because there was not enough time. And now I long in vain to do so... I also think of our "hours" together under the biggest pear-tree in our (really it wasn't our) orchard. Do you remember... there were flowers growing there of which we were both so fond? If you should happen to go out there some time in order to pick up the books belonging to you which I borrowed, go and visit the spot again and dig up the flowers and plant them somewhere else near to you... A strange wish, isn't it? But I would like to feel that you are thinking of me when you see them... Don't laugh at me because of this wish. You know how sentimental and strange I am... Especially when it is a question of our mutual memories. Perhaps you will now no longer want to correspond with me. If so, then it cannot be helped.

No doubt the air already smells of spring where you are, whilst we are still having snow and frost here. I am gradually becoming accustomed to the cold climate here. And life here no longer seems as difficult as I used to think it would be... As long as God gives me health and

strength. And, as you know, I have enough of that! Man can endure a lot, and a woman can endure even more, for, as the saying goes, a woman is like a willow: wherever it is planted, it always begins to grow... I will now draw to a close for today as I have already written so much. I send you my love and kisses,

Your "Little girl."

P.S. As you already have my address, I am not enclosing it this time. The post will be sent off for me in the oblast (region).

He hastily finished reading the letter and then re-read the one strange paragraph again. He rested his head on his hands and pondered. What did it all mean? What "hours" in the orchard was she referring to? He has never been out to her home! And then her mention of certain flowers and her strange wish that he should move them to another spot... What was the explanation of it all?

Leonid racked his brains as to what she could possibly mean, but all of a sudden it all became plain to him. She was really trying to tell him something quite different, and by flowers she probably did not mean plants at all... It was an experiment on her part. Very well, he would go there; he would find the biggest pear-tree and would take a close look at her beloved "flowers"...

## II

When Leonid got out of the train the sun was already disappearing behind the horizon like a ball of fire. A tranquil May day was drawing to a close.

Leonid intentionally hung back a little way behind the other people who had got off the train, in order to avoid any unnecessary and inquisitive glances as he walked through the village.

The village, a picture of lush verdure and white and red flowers, lay stretched out before his gaze. The air was perfumed with the sweet scent of the flowers. And Leonid took deep breaths of the pure and balmy air appreciatively. After the noisy town this little village seemed like an oasis of peace and tranquillity to him. The farm-houses were neat and trim in appearance and dazzlingly white, for, in accordance with the orders issued, they had all been freshly painted in the spring. It was the time of day when there was a lot of coming and going in the lanes and in the farmyards; some of the villagers were returning from their day's work in the kolkhoz, other were toiling on their meagre little plots of land. The contrast between the appearance of the village and that of its inhabitants was only too evident. The inhabitants without exception, especially those at work in the farmyards, were dressed in tattered garments and were obviously ill-fed

and poor. The clothes of the children — and there were a number of them driving home the cows with loud shouts — consisted of dirty rags. Their wretched appearance was a violent contrast to the atmosphere of wealth and fertile Nature which the village seemed to suggest.

"No wonder! — they are happy and wealthy kolkhoz farmers," — thought Leonid to himself ironically.

He asked a little boy to show him the way to Mrs. Haykevych's house. It was not far, — the house in a short side-lane which led uphill.

Leonid did not feel particularly happy about this visit. True, he knew Martha's mother, — that is to say, he had seen her on one occasion at the students' hostel, but he now found that he could no longer remember what she looked like. And Leonid had a horror of such displays of feelings. How was he going to console or calm her in her sorrow?

There were some children playing in the tidy yard, where trees formed a pleasant shade, and a woman was sitting on a bench near the door of the house, peeling potatoes. Leonid greeted her and asked her whether this was where Mrs. Haykevych lived.

"I am a friend of her daughter's. I've come to fetch some books..." Leonid hastily replied in answer to her question.

"Oh, I see," said the woman getting up. "Please come in. My sister-in-law will be back in a little while."

"I'd rather wait here for her, or in the garden..."

"As you like... Danko!" she called.

"Take the gentleman into the garden..."

A boy of about twelve appeared and after looking at Leonid with some curiosity he walked ahead of him to the gate which led into the garden. It was not very big, and immediately behind the house there were some flower-beds surrounded by a low fence. Here a mass of narcissuses proudly reared their heads, and peonies were just bursting into bloom. A large pear-tree cast its shade over part of the flower-garden.

"What a lovely garden! And what a huge pear-tree! It's probably the biggest of them all, isn't it?" asked Leonid, as he looked round the garden.

"Yes... And the pears are delicious, — so big and round..."

Leonid tried to start a conversation with Danko, but somehow he could not strike the right note. Danko was a cousin of Martha's. Her brother Yurko, who was in the 8th class at school, was somewhere in the village at the moment.

It was not long, however, before an elderly, grey-haired woman, dressed in a plain, shabby frock appeared.

"A visitor! What a pleasant surprise!" — she greeted Leonid with a friendly smile. "Are you enjoying the country air?"

Leonid bowed respectfully over her work-roughened hand and replied that he was enchanted by the village.

"Come inside! You are no doubt tired after your journey," said Mrs. Haykevych, leading the way into the house.

It was already growing dusk in the spacious, low-ceilinged room. The plain furniture and the white curtains were spotlessly clean. On the table there was a large spray of lilac. Leonid was pleasantly surprised by the appearance of the room, for he had visualized things quite differently, — an ailing mother and a room that was in a state of chaotic untidiness.

"...Please be seated and make yourself at home! Dear Martha wrote to say that you would come to see us but I hardly ventured to hope that you would visit us," Mrs. Haykevych added and trimmed the lamp.

"I would have come sooner but my studies prevented me from doing so. But today I firmly made up my mind to come and see you."

"I suppose you will be taking your exams very soon. My dear Martha would have had to study hard, but now..." the woman hesitated. "But she has a lot of work there, too...", she added after a pause, breathing heavily.

Leonid was profoundly moved and could not help admiring this woman, who was so self-disciplined and calm even though the enemy had wiped out practically her whole family. Martha's mother was spiritually as strong and unbroken as Martha herself. As she busied herself with various tasks, Martha's mother told Leonid about the conditions under which Martha was obliged to live in Siberia. She asked Leonid all about his studies and he was amazed at her intelligence and general knowledge. With every moment of their conversation Leonid felt that her face, which showed the unmistakable traces of trouble, anxiety and work, was becoming dearer to him than the face of his own mother... Scarcely an hour had elapsed since he had arrived and yet he already felt perfectly at home... And this feeling increased still more when Yurko, a pleasant-faced boy with thoughtful blue eyes and features which reminded Leonid so strongly of Martha, came in. He talked to Leonid as frankly and openly as if the two of them had known each other for a long time.

"When did they take Martha away?" Leonid finally asked this question which was so painful to him.

"On August 10th."

"Why? What was the reason?"

The boy seemed to find it hard to answer this question. He was silent for a moment. There was a sad expression in his eyes and he breathed heavily.

"When they took her away we had no idea what the reason was. We didn't know a thing until she wrote to us from Siberia and told

us that a girl in the village where we used to live had denounced her because of her alleged collaboration with the underground movement in 1945... She herself testified as a witness, but Martha denied the charge. She was then sentenced to 10 years exile..."

After a modest supper, Leonid asked Yurko to wrap up the books that he had come for, as he intended leaving by the first train next morning.

Yurko fetched the books, but was obviously a bit embarrassed, whereupon his mother said:

"You must forgive us, but — and she, too, looked somewhat embarrassed — we can't give you all the books because one of our friends has borrowed some of them. If we had known you were coming, Yurko would have gone to get them back... But perhaps..."

"It doesn't matter. Don't worry," Leonid hastily interrupted her for he realized that she was most embarrassed. "I don't need them. Perhaps you will allow me to call on you again and I can pick them up then." — He was less interested in the books than in a chance to visit Martha's mother once more. It was quite evident to him that the family were living in very impoverished circumstances. Yurko's clothes had been carefully darned and patched, but he did not appear to have any shoes. Leonid was determined to give him some sort of a present for he had taken a great liking to this pleasant and clever boy. And here was an opportunity to do something for him.

"If it is no trouble for you to come here, I should be very pleased indeed to see you again. We should merely have to know when you were coming..." replied Mrs. Haykevych with a note of pleasure in her voice.

During their conversation Leonid kept wondering how to set about digging up Martha's "flowers." In the end he came to the conclusion that he could only do so with someone else's help, for he could surely not set about this task of his own accord. He assumed that Martha would not want to expose him to her relatives. But Leonid had taken such a liking to her brother that he did not hesitate to confide in the latter.

"Yurko," he said as they were preparing to go to bed. "Do you know what is underneath the pear-tree?"

Yurko showed not the least surprise.

"Of course I do. A flower-bed," he answered.

Leonid smiled.

"That's right. But Martha has buried something there... And she wrote and told me to take it with me, to remind me of her... If you don't believe me, I'll show you her letter."

Yurko blinked and tried to suppress his smile.

"You don't need to show me the letter. We can search under the pear-tree without it..."



**ARISTIDE WIRSTA — violinist**

Was born in 1922 in Barbivci, Bukovina, Ukraine. He studied the violin in Vienna at the Academy of Music and Dramatic Art under Professor Wolfgang Schneiderhan, and the Humanities at Vienna University. Afterwards continued his musical studies in Paris at the Conservatoire de Musique under Professor Gabriel Boillon.

In 1950 Wirsta was engaged as Concertmaster by the Belo Horizonte Symphony Orchestra, Brazil and in 1953 he took part in the Academia Musicale Chigiana-Siena under Georges Enesco, in the presence of the Queen Elizabeth of Belgium. Later he studied at the Sorbone and was awarded the degree of Doctor of Music.

Soloist: Collegium Musicum (Vienna), Arcangelo Corelli Chamber Ensemble (Rome), Hewitt Chamber Ensemble (Paris). He has also broadcast frequently in Paris, Munich, Berne, etc.



It did not take them long to find a large glass jar, hermetically sealed, underneath the pear-tree. And Leonid hastily put its contents into his brief-case.

\* \* \*

For some nights now, Leonid had only been sleeping two or three hours. From evening until dawn he locked himself in his room and told his family not to disturb him as he was swotting for his exams. In reality, however, he spent his nights reading. When he had read all the underground literature through once, he began studying it carefully, — one pamphlet after another. He pondered over all that he read there, comparing every single paragraph, every sentence, every statement and every argument with life as it really was. The truth that he found in this literature made all the ideas that they had tried to instil into him as infallible dogmas since his childhood seem worthless as dust. In his innermost heart he felt that he had become an entirely different person. His personal experiences and thoughts receded into the background completely. He was only in his twenty-fifth year, but he felt as though he had come on this earth a second time. Martha's "flowers" had taken root on the soil which she had prepared and they showed every sign of thriving and blooming in full splendour.

Leonid's parents approved of the way he was working for his exams, but at the same time they watched him with increasing anxiety. His face was pale and his eyes were red-rimmed with lack of sleep and seemed to be unaware of his surroundings.

"Perhaps you could take a walk and relax a bit, Lyonya," his mother said to him one evening. "Otherwise you'll be working yourself to death..."

"Am I not on the move all the time, Mother? From morning till night," he replied with a smile. Suddenly he turned round and said: "Whilst I was out walking today I found something very interesting. I'll just fetch it...", he added. After a little while he returned and put two small bound pamphlets on the table. Their titles were "Ukraine is being ruined" and "Chauvinistic illusions and the Russification fever of the Russian Bolshevik imperialists."

His father put on his spectacles and began to turn the pages of the first book. He cast an uneasy, wary glance at his son and then began to look at the book more closely. Leonid's mother hastily skimmed over the first page of the other book, stretching out her hand for a cigarette as she did so. There was a troubled expression on her face.

"Where did you get all this from?" she asked Leonid as she lit her cigarette.

"I found the books on a bench in the park..."

"Was there anybody with you?"



"No, I was alone. But read it, Mother," he added, as she pushed the pamphlet aside and began to look thoughtful. — Perhaps her Party conscience won't let her read it... he thought to himself somewhat cynically.

"Have you read it?" she asked him.

"Certainly. And I would advise you to read it, too..."

His father and mother now settled down to read the two books he had given them. Leonid sat down in an easy-chair, lit a cigarette and took up a newspaper and pretended to be reading it so as to be able to watch them both more easily. From their faces he could not tell what they were thinking, but at least he was relieved that there was not the reaction on their part which he had feared, — namely an expression which revealed boredom, annoyance or indifference. They both of them went on reading attentively in order to grasp the contents of the pamphlets. — It will be interesting to see what kind of an impression this literature makes on Nadia (she had gone to the cinema and was not at home at the moment). I shall give her something easier the first time — Leonid thought to himself.

When Mr. and Mrs. Verkhohlyad had finished reading the pamphlets, Leonid's father began cleaning his finger-nails with his penknife (which was always a sign of nervousness on his part). Frowning slightly, he glanced at his son and enquired:

"And what is your opinion on these books, Lyonya?"

"Oh, I am convinced they are telling the truth," he replied earnestly. They both looked at him sharply, — as if they were trying to see whether he was making fun of them or not. But the expression on his face corroborated his words.

"Yes, unfortunately it is the truth," replied his father with a deep sigh. "But..."

"We must destroy these pamphlets," his mother interposed in a resolute tone.

"But why? Look what it says here in print: 'Read this and pass it on secretly to someone else'," Leonid retorted with a faint smile.

His mother looked at him with an expression of fear on her face. She shook her head.

"Just you be careful, Lyonya..."

Saying this she stretched out her hand for another cigarette.

\* \* \*

Darkness had fallen an hour ago, and Yurko had still not come home. Mrs. Haykevych kept looking at the clock anxiously, but she nevertheless continued to tell Leonid, who was listening to her attentively, all about their life in the province before the war, about the work of cultural enlightenment, about the propaganda groups of the "Prosvita," the sports organizations for young people, and about

various other things. Her voice was pleasant to listen to, and this tranquil and hospitable house seemed to radiate a familiar warmth. Leonid was suddenly seized with a feeling of yearning and sadness, — why couldn't Martha be sitting with them in this room?... How much happier he and this kindly woman would have been...

The door suddenly opened and Yurko appeared on the threshold, blinking his eyes in the bright light of the lamp. He was obviously very happy about something. Beckoning to his mother, he apologized to Leonid for not having come home sooner. He whispered something to his mother, as she fondly stroked his hair.

"Just a second, I'll ask our visitor," she replied in a loud voice and, turning to Leonid, said:

"Would you have any objection to our friends giving you your books back personally?"

Leonid looked at her in surprise, but then he realized at once what she meant.

"Why, no, not at all!" he answered, trying to conceal his excitement.

"In a few minutes, Yurko! I must cover the windows first."

Yurko rushed out of the house and his mother proceeded to cover the windows. There was a look of happy anticipation on her face.

Leonid hastily tidied his hair and looked at himself in the mirror.

This time the door was opened very softly and three armed men entered the room.

"Good evening!". They greeted everyone in the room and gave a military salute.

They then shook hands with everyone, and Mrs. Haykevych gave each of the young men a motherly kiss on their brow.

"At long last you've come to see us. I had nearly come to the conclusion that you had forgotten us completely," she said as she drew up chairs for the three young men.

"We weren't anywhere in the neighbourhood, and the nights are so short now," a tall, fair-haired young man, with a thin face and lively blue eyes, replied by way of apology. He was holding Leonid's books in his hand.

"You always find some excuse or other!" — Mrs. Haykevych retorted and made a gesture with her hand to show that he was forgiven.

One of the men — of medium height and auburn-haired, was obviously a soldier to judge from his bearing and his movements. He was doing something to his gun; whilst the third young man, a friendly smile on his face, was talking to Danko in a whisper. It was obvious that they all felt quite at home here.

The fair-haired young man pushed his chair closer to Leonid and put the books on it.

"I should like to thank you for the books. I'm sure you had no idea who had got hold of them," he said with a smile. He smoothed his hair with his thin fingers.

"That's quite alright. On the contrary. I was pleased to hear that they were not lying about unused but were being read," Leonid replied. "It was you who read them, wasn't it?"

"Yes, it was. A fact which will tell you that we were colleagues in the same subject. But I only had the good fortune to complete one year of my studies at the Polytechnic..."

"In the engineering department?"

"No, the technical department." The underground soldier paused and then added cheerfully: "And now I can't use one of my subjects in practice because we have to specialize in a great many fields. Our way of life and our needs compel us to learn everything..."

"Have you the time and... the patience to do that?"

"Oh, one can always make time somehow. And we aren't lacking in patience and perseverance..."

"Excuse me for interrupting, but before I forget — the auburn-haired man interposed — can you as a specialist tell me if there is any other material, apart from the Bickford fuse, with which one can lay mines? Perhaps something new has been invented in the meantime?"

Leonid gave them various information in this respect and the conversation now turned to the latest innovations in the field of science. As a budding engineer he was amazed at the general knowledge of the two underground fighters, for they had not been able to continue their studies since leaving a secondary school some years ago.

"You are taking your diploma next year, aren't you?" said the auburn-haired man to Leonid.

"Yes!" Leonid smiled. "I see you know all about me..."

There was a candid, friendly look on the face of the three young men.

"Why, of course, otherwise we shouldn't have looked forward to meeting you here..."

"Our dear Martha told us all about you and we already decided last year that we must arrange a meeting with you. But that wasn't possible as she was arrested. So we had to postpone it to a later date..." the fair-haired young man explained.

Leonid felt a stab of jealousy. How lovingly he had said "our dear Martha"! Perhaps Leonid's earlier assumptions had been right after all? He therefore replied as diplomatically as he could:

"But she probably had a subjective opinion of me, for we were very close friends..."

The fair-haired young man returned Leonid's keen gaze and — to Leonid's surprise — seemed to understand quite well what Leonid was getting at. He shook his head thoughtfully:

"No, I don't agree with you there. For one of Martha's excellent qualities is her objectivity, irrespective of whom she is dealing with. And as far as you are concerned — even more so. Yes — the underground fighter hesitated for a moment — I am convinced that you won't be annoyed with her if I tell you that she confided her personal affairs to me as a good friend. And so, in this case, too, I took the fact that she loved you into consideration... Forgive me for speaking so frankly, but I am telling you this as one man to another..."

"That's alright. In fact I'm pleased to think that my modest person — and Leonid smiled as he said this — has aroused so much interest amongst men such as you... And from what you have said it looks as though you might be able to use my services in some way."

The underground fighter was silent for a moment.

"You must comprehend — he then continued — that one of the most important tasks which we have set ourselves is to eliminate the psychological frontier that to a large extent separates the East Ukrainians from the West Ukrainians. To this end we make use of every possibility and opportunity. And I am not boasting when I say that we have already achieved considerable successes in this respect, even though they are as yet not visible..."

"The reason for that is the terrorism, isn't it?" said Leonid. "For anyone who thinks as you do is afraid to express his ideas and thoughts and takes good care to conceal them... like a mouse hiding from a cat... I should like to tell you about some of my observations in this connection." Quite frankly and sincerely Leonid now proceeded to relate how he had given his parents and his sister the underground literature to read and what the results had been. The underground fighters listened attentively and now and again they exchanged pleased glances. It transpired that the underground literature had made a deep impression on Nadia (she was in the 9th class at school) and Leonid had discussed it with her on numerous occasions. Leonid for his part was interested to know how the underground movement managed to print and publish such beautifully printed and excellently edited works. The underground fighters willingly told him all about this activity and they also related many details of their stormy life in which they frequently encountered almost insurmountable obstacles. They described various situations so humorously that one might almost have imagined they were carrying on an amusing conversation instead of telling Leonid about their complicated and difficult life, where danger and death were constantly dogging their steps. The auburn-haired underground fighter was a born narrator, and Leonid listened to him with as much suspense as if he had been watching a thrilling and interesting film.

"You have probably read the pamphlet 'On the Freedom of the Press in the USSR,' haven't you?" he said. "I myself witnessed a stage in the work of printing this pamphlet. It was in summer, in June. We,

that is one of my friends and myself, had been marching along all night; it was pouring with rain, it was pitch-dark, and we had lost our way once or twice... In the early hours of the morning we dragged ourselves along in sheer exhaustion to the forest, to the hide-out where our printing-press worked. Petro was already dreaming of how pleasant it would be to get there and kept murmuring: 'It doesn't matter if we're wet through and so tired that we can hardly stand... Once we get to Egypt (this was what we called our hide-out), Irko will give us some dry clothes, and he'll have some hot coffee and, maybe, some sandwiches for us. And it's nice and clean and roomy there, and we'll lie on the camp-beds and just sleep all day!'... In this way he kept spurring me on a bit, for I was so tired I could hardly drag my legs any further... Yes, I thought to myself, we'll be able to get into some dry clothes and have something to eat, for we've been out in the rain for days. No wonder that the hide-out seemed like a ray of hope. We staggered on, perspiring profusely, for the weather was very close. At long last we reached our destination. We looked into the hide-out. The spyhole was open, but inside all was dark. — The Egyptians have fallen asleep, I thought to myself. But I'll soon rouse them, — and in any case they like having visitors, because that brings a bit of variety into their hardworking but monotonous life in the hide-out. "Hi there! Friends and Egyptians!" I called out. "Why don't you make a light?" — "Who's there? Oh, it's you, is it? A dreadful catastrophe has happened to us!" replied Ramses. At that I pricked up my ears; instead of them being glad to see us and welcoming us, someone was groaning inside the hide-out. I handed over my revolver and then we climbed down into the hide-out. "Look out, look out! Be careful, be careful!" they all kept shouting at us, just as if we were in the middle of a minefield. I looked round the hide-out. It was full of smoke and soot. At the far end a jar containing paraffin gave out a feeble, flickering light. And the whole place looked as though it had been snowing, for there was paper all over the floor. Our friends were sitting cowering in the corners. "What's happened here?" I asked. "A white flood? Has the Nile by any chance burst through its banks?" — "Oh," they replied, "something dreadful has happened!... We had just finished the third and the sixteenth page when the lamp gave out. And the print won't dry at all. The air outside is close and there isn't the least draught, and the boiler won't work..." "Have you got anything to eat?" Petro asked. "You've come at a most unfortunate time. It's quite true — a guest at the wrong time is worse than a Tatar!" replied Irko. "We've just finished the last of our food... There's only a bit of bread and bacon. We haven't anything cooked today..." Well, there you are, — I thought to myself. No hopes of coffee and sandwiches and a nice sleep! We squatted down near the entrance to the hide-out, whilst our hosts made a bit of room for us on the lower bunk. We swallowed a bite of food, but they couldn't give us any dry underclothes as the supplies had just been taken to

the village to be laundered... We finally went to sleep sitting up, for there was no room to lie down. But don't imagine we managed to get much sleep. No fear! I dozed restlessly, for every time I moved a hand or a leg, someone shook me awake with the remark: 'Be careful and keep still, otherwise you'll damage the paper and the print will be smudged...' — and this happened about every five minutes or so. The men working on the printing-press hadn't slept for twenty-four hours because they wanted to get the work finished in time. And to crown matters, the air got so bad during the day that we should nearly have suffocated if we hadn't opened the spyhole..." After relating this incident the underground fighter went on to tell Leonid and the others in the room about various other happenings in the underground movement. They listened to him as raptly as children listen to both pleasant and gruesome fairytales...

The underground fighters also asked Leonid for his opinion on the contents of the underground literature, — namely as to whether he had any remarks to make, or whether he had any doubts or questions in this connection. Their conversation was so interesting that they quite failed to notice how quickly the time had passed and that it was already long past midnight.

All of a sudden, the door was opened very softly and Yurko crept into the room. He had been taking turns with the third underground fighter in keeping watch in front of the house.

"There are probably some Bolsheviks at the other end of the village, for I heard steps and Hrynko's dog kept barking very fiercely," he whispered to the others.

They all fell silent. The fair-haired young man turned the wick of the lamp a little lower and looked at his watch. Leonid looked round at those gathered in the room and noticed that they were not in the least perturbed by Yurko's news. He, too, felt quite calm and unafraid. These people seemed to radiate hope and calmness.

"That doesn't matter," the fair-haired young man said.

"Our 'guardian angels' are always watching over us and we rely on their 'solicitude.' But it's getting late and dawn will soon be breaking. It's high time we left... And you are travelling back to town this morning, are you?"

"I'm afraid I'm obliged to, as I have lectures and work to attend to..."

"Well, good luck! Do you think we could meet again, Leonid?"

"I should like to very much. Only at the moment I'm up to the eyes in work at the Institute. But if necessary, I could manage to come out here again, any day we can fix..."

"Are you going away during the summer vacation?"

"I'd like to go and visit the district where I was born, unless, of course, some job or other is forcibly imposed on me."

"It would be a good idea if we could meet during the vacation," said the fair-haired young man thoughtfully. "Perhaps about the beginning of July? Could you manage that?"

Leonid said he could, and they fixed a date. The underground fighters shook hands all round and said goodbye. Mrs. Haykevych gave them her blessing and told them "not to forget her house." Then they quietly crept out of the house and disappeared into the darkness of the night.

For a while Leonid listened to the mysterious sounds of the night, but all he could hear was the whisper of the wind in the branches of the trees in front of the windows.

Without getting undressed, Leonid lay down on the bed in which Martha had formerly slept. For the first time since she had been gone, he did not long for her. But his heart was filled with deep gratitude towards her for having saved him from the mental and spiritual bog into which he had been about to sink and for having shown him the right path and the ultimate aim.

\* \* \*

The compartment of the train had gradually been getting emptier and emptier. And Leonid had at last managed to get a seat by the open window, through which the cool evening air streamed in. Now and again, however, it was poisoned by clouds of smoke from the engine.

A sun-burnt young man now also took advantage of the fact that the compartment was empty and made for the window-seat opposite to Leonid. Even before he pulled his cigarette case out of his pocket, Leonid sensed that he would offer him a cigarette and would start a conversation with him. He could tell from the expression on the young man's face that the latter was simply dying to talk to him. And Leonid, too, was at the moment not averse to conversing with him.

"Have a cigarette?" the young man asked.

"Thanks, I don't mind if I do!" replied Leonid, accepting one.

"Are you travelling far?"

"To Kharkiv. And you?"

"I'm going there, too. What a sultry day it's been! The compartment was like a Turkish bath from Kyiv onwards... Thank goodness it's cooler now and there aren't as many passengers..."

"Both of which facts are connected with each other," replied Leonid with a smile.

As he puffed away at his cigarette, he scrutinized his fellow-passenger through half-closed eyelids. "I shouldn't think the heat would worry you. You look as though you've enjoyed plenty of sunshine lately," Leonid remarked.

"Yes, I'm as brown as a nigger. No wonder! I've just come back from a health resort in the Crimea," replied the young man somewhat self-complacently.

"From the Crimea? Then you're one of the few lucky ones! I often think of the Crimea and how pleasant it would be to take a cure at some health resorts there. Are you employed in a job?"

"No. I'm a student, — in my third term — I'm taking mathematics and natural sciences," explained the young man. "I was troubled with sciatica, so I got sent there... I spent a whole month there and it was gorgeous..."

"Oh, I see. So you only got sent there because you were ill?"

"Well, not exactly... Some friends of mine used their influence. But I can tell you, life was simply wonderful there. I got my sciatica cured and I thoroughly enjoyed the rest and the change. It was a grand life there!" the student added, sighing regretfully. "You can't imagine what it was like! Sunshine, the sea, the vegetation a lush green, music, and sports of every kind... And the food was marvellous. You could help yourself to as much bread as you wanted, and we got 200 grammes of sugar a day, as well as grapes and fruit of every kind. There's no denying that the state looks after us very well. Life is so good..."

Leonid looked at the other passengers in the compartment. There was no one sitting immediately next to them. The others were all sitting further away and were not paying any attention to the two of them. In spite of this fact, however, he lowered his voice, but tried to make it sound as convincing as possible. A strange smile hovered on his face as he said:

"But I don't think you're really and sincerely convinced of that fact, are you?" And there was a note of sarcasm in his voice. The young man looked at him in surprise.

"Why not? After all, it's the truth..."

"Whether it is the truth or not, is an important question... Surely you will be bound to admit that the state gets all these "lovely foodstuffs" from the workers practically for nothing!"

"Why, what do you mean? For nothing? All foodstuffs cost something..." The student became a little embarrassed and stared at Leonid unbelievably.

"They cost the citizen something, but not the state! Let's take bread, for instance, as a start. The collective farmer hands over tons of it to the state. But how much does he get paid by the state for his heavy bodily work? Merely the minimum, which is by no means enough to keep his family. In any case, this fact is known to most people, — at least to those who see life and all the things connected with it objectively and as they really are... And what about sugar? Production



costs for 100 kilograms of sugar amount to 38 to 42 roubles in the factories, but the state sells this same quantity of sugar for a thousand roubles or more. Isn't that a case of getting it for nothing? As for fruit, — matters are even worse! For the state doesn't even buy it, but simply takes it by force. Don't you agree?"

The look of surprise on the student's face grew from second to second. At the same time he scrutinized Leonid sharply and with considerable curiosity, as though he were thinking "who is he to risk speaking so boldly?" For what his fellow-passenger was telling him was indeed the truth, ...but perhaps he was an agent out to provoke him?... But Leonid's voice was so fervent and convincing that the student was obliged to believe the sincerity of his words, even though he was assailed with doubts when he considered Leonid's outward appearance. For this reason he hesitated before replying.

"It is quite true that the collective farmers do not have an easy life. But as far as the workers are concerned, they don't live badly at all..."

"Well, that may be true, but only compared to the life of the collective farmers. But just look at the life which the "ones at the top" lead. It's like comparing the life of a worker and the life of a capitalist... For instance, what sort of people are to be seen in the health resorts?"

"What do you mean? What sort of people?"

"Well, as regards profession and nationality, for instance."

"Most of them were Russians by nationality. Mostly high-ranking administrative and police officials, a few teachers, and four students..."

"And what about the workers and the collective farmers?"

"Only a very small number, — about 5 persons, maybe..."

"And what is the total number of persons who visit the health resort?" Leonid had purposely left this question to the end.

"About 200," the student replied.

The expression on Leonid's face became even more animated.

"There you are, — our conversation was so short, but even so it has served to refute your statement about life being so good. I don't deny that life in a health resort is very pleasant, but who gets the benefit of it? Russians, higher employees, police officials and similar persons... Of such a large number of persons, only five were workers and collective farmers! A fine workers' and farmers' state the Soviet Union is! And one other question: for what reason did all these people get sent there? You yourself admitted that you didn't get sent there because of your illness, but simply because friends of yours used their influence... Which just gives you a true picture of the "lovely" life from the national and social point of view! — And then they talk about equality of rights and justice!" Leonid said with considerable embitterment.

"But to judge from your appearance, you have no reason to be dissatisfied with the present system of things..." the student added with a note of suspicion and reserve in his voice.

"That's true! Fortunately, or perhaps I should say unfortunately, I don't belong to the "happy" three-fourths of the population of the so-called Soviet Union!" Leonid sarcastically stressed the word "happy." "But nevertheless I'm not blind. Let's take your case, for instance. What are your parents?"

"My father works on the railway."

"How much does he earn?"

"Over four hundred roubles..."

"In that case there's no need to prove to you how the middle-class people live and whether their earnings are enough to keep a family on. For you know all about that yourself. So I'm not surprised that you thought life in the health resort so wonderful..."

The student blushed and appeared about to deny this, but then he kept silent.

"Tell me, aren't you afraid of saying such things to a perfect stranger?" — the student asked hesitantly after a while.

"Why, do you know me?"

"No... but you know what usually happens..." the student replied vaguely.

"Yes, people are frequently punished severely for making such statements, because persons who love the truth are persecuted here. And most drastically, too!" Leonid gave a harsh laugh. "But as you see, I feel instinctively that you wouldn't denounce a person who propagates such dreadful 'heresy'... Or am I mistaken?"

"What someone says is no concern of mine... But so that you can put your mind at rest, — I should like to say that you are quite right in your views... I have a feeling that you are perfectly sincere in all that you say and that you are not just using empty phrases... So far I haven't troubled to ponder very much on life and all the things connected with it. But it really is true that all is not gold that glitters..."

Leonid smiled contentedly. He began to tell the student all about West Ukraine, from where he had just returned, about the resistance movement and the ideas for which he was fighting. The student listened to his words with rapt attention and frequently expressed his approval and admiration. He believed everything that Leonid told him, for he felt that the latter's words came from his very heart and were utterly sincere. Leonid's eyes shone with fervour as he spoke. And in his innermost heart he had the joyful feeling that a farmer has when he sows the rich black soil and knows for certain that the seed will bear fruit abundantly.

## MARKIYAN SHASHKEVYCH (1811-1843)

### POET AND AWAKENER OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN GALICIA

This year marks the 150th anniversary of the birth of Father Markiyany Shashkevych, the first modern Ukrainian national poet of Western Ukraine, who laid a firm foundation for the political, cultural and literary rebirth of Ukrainians in Halychyna (Galicia) in the particularly difficult period of its history, in the first half of the 19th century.

A priest, poet, writer, public figure and student of Ukrainian folklore, a noble and at the same time a very modest man — Markiyany Shashkevych worked hard and persistently for the advancement of his people and suffered many disappointments and adversities of fortune in his life. He did not, however, bow to tremendous obstacles, did not leave the path he had chosen, the path of selfless and devoted work for his people. In the darkness of his times he remained a bright beacon for his nation.

In sowing his word of truth from which the tree of national Ukrainian culture grew up in the Galician province of Ukraine, Father Markiyany Shashkevych inscribed his name in the history of the Ukrainian people with undying glory.

Centuries will pass since the days when Markiyany Shashkevych, the great Awakener of Galicia, lived and wrote. Future generations will be puzzled when learning about those extraordinarily difficult conditions in which his first collection of poems "The Nymph of the Dnister" was published in 1837. Nevertheless they will certainly highly appreciate with deep respect and admiration that great creative work which Markiyany Shashkevych accomplished in Ukrainian Galicia of his days.

In commemorating the 150th anniversary of the birth of Shashkevych, all Ukrainians pay homage to the greatness of this outstanding Ukrainian patriot who in his "Psalms of Ruslan" wrote that though they might tear out his eyes and his life, no one was capable of depriving him of the love for his nation and the faith in her bright future.



MARKIYAN SHASHKEVYCH



Markiyan Shashkevych

## POEMS

Translated by Vera Rich

### PIDLYSSYA

Haste thee, wind, o haste, wild wind,  
To woods, to mountains singing,  
To the homesteads of Pidlyssya  
My thoughts of sorrow bringing.

There, my thought, in verdant pinewoods  
Peace and calm thou'lt find,  
Forget thy sorrow, and find solace  
In a troubled time.

There an ancient oak will tell thee,  
One and another say  
How, without grief and sorrow, there,  
I passed my boyhood days.

There the pinewood too will tell thee,  
All the realm of trees,  
That then, when the first dawn was breaking,  
My heart played at ease.

The nightingale, there in the orchard,  
Trilled so sweet, so clear,  
And taught and nurtured with his music  
All my youthful years.

There — the well, (an oak-shaft draws  
The water, icy-chill),  
More than good fortune, for that spring  
My heart is pining still.

O white mountain of Pidlyssya!  
Since I no more can see thee,  
So hard, so sad is life that I  
Can hardly keep from weeping.

Dear land of joy! Thy imprint deep  
 Within my heart is burned,  
 For thee the soul, as for her darling  
 A love-sick maiden yearns.

There all is lovely, all is fair,  
 So happy, sweet and dear!  
 In love and sweetness there a man  
 Would pass his span of years...

\* \* \*

Before the first daystars, in fierce stormy weather,  
 A young soul was playing in bold ecstasy.  
 He snatched at the helm, hurled himself at the water,  
 — Ah, fiery young blood, — rushed upon the wild sea.  
 But, ah, the swift sea rushes hither and thither,  
 Swells terror-high, boils, clashes and pounds,  
 Wave upon wave rise like mountains together,  
 Might upon might — and the sailor is drowned...

\* \* \*

A wild-winged eagle soared to come  
 Unto the courts of sky,  
 Boldly he gazed upon the sun,  
 Gazed where the clear seas lie.

And the sun poured forth its light  
 Like word o'er the horizons,  
 And the sea flooded, spreading bright,  
 — As over children, kindness.

The eagle cast his swift eye on  
 Boundless eternity,  
 His spirit sought the depths unplumbed,  
 The deep profundity.

Songs of the bird of paradise  
 Into his heart were drawn,  
 And to the world he prophesies  
 Songs of eternal dawn.

(C) Vera Rich 1961

## **Demand for Action on Soviet Colonialism Voiced by Canadian Liberal Party Spokesman**

WINDSOR, Ont., Canada — Hon. Paul Martin, M.P. for Essex East, Liberal Party spokesman on External Affairs, made following comment in his speech broadcast by Radio Station CKLW in Windsor, on November 25, 1961 at 6.15 p.m.:

"Now, I want to say a few words in connection with some remarks and proposals contained in a recent speech of the Prime Minister.

We all agree in condemning Soviet colonialism. We agree that today in the world there is no more colonial-minded power than the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist regime.

While we agree on that, we, however, disagree in methods which to employ in fighting this new colonial menace of our day. We from the Liberal Party think that to merely condemn the enslavement of Eastern European countries by Communist colonialism is not sufficient. We feel that some positive steps have to be taken towards the liberation of these peoples. And when I speak of peoples enslaved by Communism and deprived their freedom I certainly include the people of Yugoslavia too.

In our country there are many men and women from Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Romania, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, Albania, and the Baltic states, some of whom I consider my personal friends. They have relatives and members of their families behind the Iron Curtain. When I think of them and of the great cultural contribution of those peoples to our civilization, I realize how important it is to us all that these nations be once again brought into the family of free, independent, and prosperous peoples.

We agree with the Prime Minister that the resolution condemning Soviet colonialism should be put before the General Assembly of the United Nations. But, it should and could be done, not next year, as the Prime Minister proposes, but now. General Assembly is in session and such a resolution could be dealt with right now, this week, and certainly this year. Why delay it? There will be enough support. I have certain suspicion as to the proposed delay.

What the Prime Minister has said has been said many times in the past by others. He disclosed and proposed nothing new. Even the resolutions condemning the enslavement of the people by Soviet colonialism have been posed before. Proposals of this nature, however, will accomplish nothing. They have to be followed by a positive action. Cause of achieving full national independence and freedom of the enslaved Eastern European countries is certainly worth pursuing. It should be made crystal clear that our national objectives include: liberation of these peoples from the Communist colonial rule.



In all our dealings with the Soviet bloc we should pursue this course of action. And to that effect we should influence the United States and our other Western partners.

We from the Free World are entering now an era of negotiations. It will be centered around Berlin, and Western Powers will condition every solution to that problem with a guarantee for the free access to that City. But it should not be enough. In forthcoming negotiations we should insist that the freedom of peoples from Hungary, Poland, Ukraine, Yugoslavia, Romania, etc. should be condition to any agreement on Germany and Berlin. The whole question of East-West relations should be discussed, not just one aspect of it.

In short, part of our long-range national policy should be: that peoples from Eastern Europe, enslaved by Communist colonialism, must get their freedom as we have it now in this country.

And I call upon the Prime Minister to put Canadian resolution condemning Communist colonialism now, at this session of the General Assembly, not to delay this action until next year.

## UKRAINIANS ACCUSE MOSCOW

### RESOLUTION

#### of the Ukrainian Meeting in London

We, participants of the Ukrainian Meeting and demonstration held on the 26th of November, 1961, at Speakers Corner, Hyde Park, London, against Moscow Bolshevik terror and enslavement of the Ukraine, against the ignominious destruction of the leaders of the Ukrainian Nation, as confirmed by the revelations of the Moscow-hired murderer of Stepan Bandera, a leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, affirm:

1. That the liberation fight of the Ukrainian nation against Moscow, which is still being waged in the Ukraine, is a deadly danger to Russian imperialism.
2. That to hold the Ukraine under its power, to maintain the entire Bolshevik empire and to strengthen its internal position with the aim of furthering its opportunities, to annexe countries that are still free, Bolsheviks Moscow adopts physical destruction, and Russification of the Ukraine and its incorporation in the land of the so-called USSR; and also in the countries of the Free World where Ukrainian political emigrees live and act, Moscow adopts political murder as a weapon against the defenders of political and national rights of the Ukrainian nation.

3. That the declarations of N. Khrushchov about the peaceful policy of Moscow's Government, his condemnation of Stalin's terror and his wishes to co-exist peacefully with the Western World are cynical lies by which he tries to hide his Government's aggressive intentions to capture through Communism the countries of the Free World.
4. That despite the proofless declarations of Nikita Khrushchov the policy of Moscow is still unchanged and that in the territories of the enslaved nations, which make up the so-called USSR, Khrushchov continues the criminal traditions of Stalin including genocide and the trampling on the rights and dignity of free men.
5. That the murder of Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, by an agent of K.G.B., one B. Stashynsky, is the deed of the Moscow Government and that the organiser of the murder was, according to the confession of the agent, Alexander Shelepin, the then Chief of the Committee of State Security of the USSR and at present a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPSU, who was directly subordinate to N. Khrushchov, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; and further that the agent Stashynsky for his part in the murder of Stepan Bandera was awarded the Order of the Red Banner thus making ultimate responsibility lie with Nikita Khrushchov, Alexander Shelepin, the CPSU, and the Moscow Government.

We, condemn these criminal methods of the Moscow Bolsheviks as adopted by N. Khrushchov, A. Shelepin and their accomplices in the Central Committee of the CPSU against the Ukrainian nation and its leaders, and demand:

1. That N. Khrushchov, A. Shelepin, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Government of the USSR should be put on trial before a tribunal of the Free World and should bear the responsibility for their criminal and political acts as adopted against the Ukrainian and other enslaved nations within the USSR.
2. That their bloody crime committed against Stepan Bandera should be condemned by all institutions for the Defence of Rights of Mankind and by the voiced opinion of the whole of the Free World.
3. That the murderer of Stepan Bandera the agent of K.G.B., Stashynsky must stand trial and accept the consequences for this and other foul deeds, which were directed not only against Ukrainian political leaders but also in the main against the entire Ukrainian nation.
4. That because the murder took place on German Federal territory, the Government apply the appropriate diplomatic sanctions against the Moscow Government in order to guarantee in future to political emigré leaders a safe sojourn in the country.

We appeal to all Governments of the Free World:

1. To direct their attention to the fate of the enslaved nations within the USSR and to help them in their struggle for liberation.
2. To discontinue their false hopes for a change in Moscow Bolshevism and to continue by all possible means the break up of Moscow's tyrannical empire.
3. To mobilise all spiritual and material forces for the victory of the Free World over the tyranny as personified by Russian empire.

The freedom loving nation of the Ukraine that since 1918 has led a continuous fight against Moscow's Bolshevik imperialism, which is the biggest enemy of Christianity and freedom loving national states, is the best and most useful ally of the Free World. By fighting for its own independence the Ukrainian State is at the same time defending the freedom and rights of other enslaved nations in the USSR and those which are still free but threatened by Russian imperialism.

All this gives the Ukrainian nation the moral right to approach other nations in the Free World for help to regain its independence which in time will help to destroy Moscow's empire and so ensure a lasting and true peace throughout the world.

For and on behalf of the Meeting,

**M. Zacharchuk**  
Chairman

**M. Povrozyk**  
Secretary

### RESOLUTION OF THE RALLY

**of the Association of Ukrainians former Combatants in Great Britain**

We, former Ukrainian soldiers, participants in our annual Rally, having learned about the arrest in Germany of Bohdan Stashynsky, an agent of the Soviet K.G.B., the murderer of the Leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera, and of Dr. Lev Rebet, declare together with the members of the Ukrainian community which gathered at the Rally, that:

1. In its struggle against the aspirations of the Ukrainian people, Moscow throughout its history, has used the most cruel and base methods for the preservation of its dominant and imperialistic positions.
2. With this aim in view, many prominent leaders of the Ukrainian people have been liquidated, most recently the leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, Stepan Bandera, by means of a shameful method, unheard of in the civilised world.
3. The organiser of the murder was Alexander Shelepin, the Chairman of the Committee of State Security at the Council of Ministers of the USSR, which is subordinated to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Nikita Khrushchov. Hence the Russian Government and the Central Committee of the CPSU are responsible for this another despicable crime and they ought to be condemned by a tribunal of the Free World and the general public opinion.

4. The perpetrator of this crime, the K.G.B. agent B. Stashynsky, must be put on trial before a criminal court and made responsible for the murders directed not only against the Ukrainian political figures, but mainly against the entire Ukrainian people.
5. The commission of these crimes and the awarding of an Order of "Red Banner" to the murderer are one more proof that the Muscovite empire is ruled by criminals and this fact must be a warning to the entire Free World.
6. In view of the fact that the above crimes were committed on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, we ask her Government to apply appropriate diplomatic sanctions with regard to Moscow and to guarantee the political emigré leaders the safety of sojourn in future.
7. The recent discovery of the murderer consolidates us all in the desire — in reply to the murders of Symon Petlura, Eugene Konovalets, Roman Shukhevych and Stepan Bandera — to intensify our activities and to prepare for action to erect a magnificent monument to their glorious memory in the form of an **Independent United Ukrainian State.**

The Participants in the Rally  
of the Association of Ukrainians  
former Combatants in Great Britain.

For and on behalf of the Rally,

**M. Bilyj-Karpy nec**, Cpt/Rtd.  
Chairman

**Dr. S. M. Fostun**  
Secretary

Bradford, Yorks., 18th November, 1961.

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### UKRAINIAN COLLEGE FOR GIRLS IN THE U.S.A.

The Sisters of St. Basil the Great founded St. Basil's Academy for girls in Fox Chase, a suburb of Philadelphia, Pa. in 1931. The school is affiliated with the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. and accredited by the State of Pennsylvania. The girls are offered a choice of two courses: academic and commercial. The girls participate in various extracurricular activities, sports, annual retreats and publish their own school paper The Basilian Torch and the yearbook The Basiliantte.

In 1947 the sisters saw the need of a college education for the girls and founded Manor Junior College. This was a beautiful two storey building.

On September 21, 1961 Manor Junior College moved into its three storey million dollar building. It is the only Ukrainian college for girls operated in the United States.

On November 7, 1961, His Excellency Bishop Augustine Hornyak OSBM, newly consecrated bishop for Ukrainians in England, paid a visit to the Sisters of St. Basil the Great in Fox Chase Manor, Jenkintown, Pa., and imparted his blessing to all present.