

THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY.



Vol. IX—Number 3

Summer, 1953

The Russia First Movement in the U.S.A.

Americus

"Few more explosive issues exist in the whole domain of Soviet affairs than the question of Ukrainian independence... Yet there are few major aspects of the Soviet Problem on which Americans are so poorly informed and so desperately need information."

HARRY SCHWARTZ, *N. Y. Times*. Book Reviews, Sept. 13, 1953.

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Picture on the cover: *The Three Saints Chapel*. Renaissance structure, part of Voloska Church in Lviv. Beginning 17th Century.

THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY

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REMARKS:

I. Pertinent to the article *New Agricultural Plants as the Soviet Self-Sufficiency Policy* by Nestor Korol (*The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No. 2), we were asked by the *Research Program on the USSR in New York* to insert a note that this article was prepared by the author partially with the financial support of the Research Program.

II. On page 182 of the same issue of *The Ukrainian Quarterly* the title of the book by Dr. Peter Kleist, reviewed by Myroslav Prokop, should read: *Zwischen Hitler und Stalin*.

RUSSIANS INFORM AMERICA ON "RUSSIA"

Editorial

"Few more explosive issues exist in the whole domain of Soviet affairs than the question of Ukrainian independence. Over the past third of a century this problem has caused convulsion after convulsion in the Soviet Union and most recently played a key role in the purge of Laurenti Beria. ...Yet there are few major aspects of the Soviet problem on which Americans are so poorly informed and so desperately need information."¹

This statement was made by Mr. Harry Schwartz, one of the best present American experts on the Soviet Union in his review of *Ukraine Under the Soviets* by Clarence A. Manning. Prof. John Wesley Coulter of the University of Cincinnati, an American geographer, says something similar in lamenting the poor American knowledge of the peoples, their history and their present culture. Thus he states that "During the few years that have elapsed since the end of the Second World War we have seen the tragic — perhaps one may say fatal — results of our ignorance of peoples and countries of the world in general. Seven years ago we missed knowing the situation in China would inevitably lead to Communism... The thousands of American casualties and the billions of dollars expended are part of the payment on ignorance of Korea." Likewise Dr. Mortimer Graves of the American Council of Learned Societies considers that this is a "neglected facet of the national security problem."²

Since the loss of China, the most important point in American foreign policy as well as a basic factor in the obtaining of national security has been the gaining of an accurate knowledge of the Soviet Union.

As Mr. Schwartz has well put it, Ukraine "during the last third of a century has caused convulsion after convulsion in the Soviet Union." This shows that Ukraine is the most dynamic centrifugal force in the Soviet Union and is able to disrupt the empire of the Kremlin clique. The economic potential of Ukraine, the Western oriented temper of its population, and the century long fight of the Ukrainian people against Muscovy are points which the Americans must consider very carefully as a facet of their own security. Ukrainian resources in the hands of the

¹ *New York Times Book Review*, Sept. 13, 1953.

² Letter to the Editor of *New York Times*, Sept. 13, 1953.

Kremlin can bring great harm to the Western world. Ukraine in alliance with the West under the leadership of Washington can bring about the downfall of the Red Russian Empire. Without the Ukrainian access to the Black Sea and without Ukrainian coal, steel and manganese, the Red Russian Empire cannot endure.

It is not only the Red Russian Empire that must lose its power with the final liberation of Ukraine. Any Russian Empire, Red or White, must disintegrate, once it loses Ukraine. That is the reason why it is not only the Russian Communists who oppose Ukrainian liberation. The Russian Tsarist government persecuted the Ukrainian liberation movement in the same way and the Russian Provisional Government of Kerensky was as hostile to Ukrainian emancipation as either the government of Stalin or of Malenkov. All Russian governments during the past three hundred years have had but one and the same solution of the Ukrainian problem — the russification of Ukraine, the denial of Ukrainian national identity, the misrepresentation of the long-standing real will of the Ukrainian people to be a free and independent member of the Western world.

Falsification of East European history was and is today an important factor in subjugation of Ukraine by Russia. In the first half of the eighteenth century, August Schletzer, a German in the Russian imperial service, elaborated the theory that there was one Russian nation in Eastern Europe and denied the national identity of Ukraine and Byelorussia. He included in Russian history the oldest period of Ukrainian history, the period of Kievan Rus', and his ideas set the pattern for the official Russian history and have been accepted by the great majority of Russian historians, Red or White. They have equated Russia and Eastern Europe.

It is, therefore, necessary to study the geography and history of Eastern Europe not only from the Russian sources which have been falsified in the interests of the Russian Empire but from the sources of the oppressed peoples who are the natural allies of America.

So it is contrary to the interests of the national security of the United States to have as the only competent advisers on Eastern European and Western Asiatic problems Russians or their blind pupils, the American Russophiles. During World War II red or pinkish Russians were the sole advisers of the American government in this matter. To-day and ever since the beginning of Soviet-American tension, the only competent advisers have been Russian anti-Communists, often political emigrés.

The most critical students of Russian political emigrés are forced to concede that all Russian political leaders are ardent Russian patriots.

The Russian chauvinism has been the most reliable weapon used by the Communists to rally the active classes of Russia around any government in the Kremlin, Red or White. Russian Communists and anti-Communists in exile, even to the third generation, share this interest in the preservation of the integrity of the Russian Empire. The provocative letter of the Russian-American Bishop Nikon, probably an American citizen, to the editor of the *New York Times* demanding that the Americans cease all support for the liberation of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR, is the best proof that the patriotic Russian imperialists, Red or White, including many of the Russian Orthodox Hierarchy, are ready to oppose American policy, if it dares to try to liberate Ukraine and the other non-Russian peoples oppressed by the rule of Moscow.

It is the cruel reality in Russian-American relations that we are in conflict not only with the Communists but with the expansionist Russian Empire. It is also a reality that we can have trustworthy allies not among the Russian people but among the majority of the population of the Soviet Union who are oppressed and whose existence is endangered by Moscow centralism, White or Red. Russian political leaders, whether they are Communist or anti-Communist, will never go along with us when we carry on a true American policy based on the principles of the American Declaration of Independence. If we deny ourselves and our moral principles, the moral political heritage of America, we will have on our side only the bankrupt Russian emigrés. We will certainly have against us the Soviet Government, the majority of Russian masses that have been indoctrinated by that government and at least the passivity of the dynamic force of the peoples of the Soviet Union led by Ukraine. Americans responsible for the security of this country must bear this in mind. In such a situation can the Americans use Russian advisers as their chief source of information on Russia? Who can be sure that these advisers are thinking more of America than of the interests of the Russian Empire? We have no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the Russian advisers of America are sincerely anti-Communist but we can never agree that they are sincere and unbiassed informants on the Soviet Union solely in the interests of this country.

FROM PASVOLSKY TO ANISIMOV

On May 6, 1953, Lev Mikhaylovich Pasvolsky died in Washington. He was a Russian economist, a student of international policy and a journalist. Born in Russia of a family of Russian journalists, he was brought as a boy by his parents to the United States and became an American citizen. In 1917-1920, he was editor of the Russian newspaper, *Russkoye Slovo*, in New York. This was the predecessor of the present

Novoye Russkoye Slovo. Later he was a professor of economics and during the critical period in Russian American relations under Secretary of State Cordell Hull, he became a counselor of the State Department with so great an influence that in view of the ignorance of Mr. Hull on Russian affairs, Pasvolsky, a Russian patriot, became the real artisan of the American Russian policy. In its obituary on Pasvolsky, the *Novoye Russkoye Slovo* wrote that "he played the role of an Assistant Secretary of State equal to Dean Acheson, Will Clayton and Nelson Rockefeller.. But officially he did not have the title." In Washington, informs the *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, it will be asserted by informed people that Pasvolsky was the father of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. On the day of the opening of this Conference he sat behind the table at the right hand of Secretary of State Stettinius. His role in negotiations with the Soviet Government was important."³

This makes it clear who developed the disastrous American Russian policy during and immediately after World War II. This policy proved to be a catastrophe for Central Europe and was the chief cause of the increase of Russian power in Europe. We do not need to wonder at this when the Secretary of State Stettinius had a Russian adviser at his elbow and was himself so uninformed about Ukraine that he considered it a "musical instrument," as W. H. Chamberlin says.⁴

When President Truman took over the office of President, Pasvolsky left the State Department. As a member of the staff of the Brookings Institution in Washington, he played an important unofficial role in the formation of American policy by the group of George Kennan. We can pay high respect to the scholarship and talents of the late Lev Mikhaylovich Pasvolsky, but it is very strange that at such a critical period of the United States — Russian relations found it necessary to have a Russian play such important and perhaps decisive role in the formation of American policy. We do not need to blame exclusively such Communist advisers as Alger Hiss for failing to understand the mistaken American policy of 1941-45.

Pasvolsky may be regarded as a symbol of the deepest penetration of Russian influence into the United States but he was no exception among the American advisers on Russia. Many Americans still have the Russian complex on Eastern Europe. No one can be an expert on Russia to-day except a Russian. To many American officials, a Ukrainian, Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian or Georgian scholar is always biased and unauthoritative. To be an authority, an adviser must be a Russian imperialist.

³ *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, May 7, 1953.

⁴ A witty former colleague remarked that Stettinius could not distinguish the Ukraine from a musical instrument. *America's Second Crusade*, by William Henry Chamberlin, Chicago 1950, p. 184.

We can go on to the official advisers on the Soviet Union in the Library of Congress, the State Department and even military institutions. Russians are everywhere, in spite of our difficulties with Russia. Pasvolsky was an important figure, a big shot, but there are many smaller fry to show that our Russian complex is chronic.

In May, 1953, an unknown Russian emigré, Oleg Anisimov, published a book. He was a former interpreter in the German Nazi service and came to this country in 1951 and took a position directly in the State Department, according to the Catholic weekly *America*.⁵ Mr. Anisimov, still not an American citizen, in his book has proposed to reform the government by combining the Departments of State and of Defense into one American *Department of World Affairs* and to create a *Cabinet of Russian American Experts* who would openly direct worldwide anti-Communist cells. It is clear that such a cabinet of Russian American experts could not be formed without Anisimov as a member. Others would be Russian emigré imperialists and a few dupes from the American Rus-sophiles. Non-Russian experts on the Soviet Union would not be needed, because in Anisimov's opinion, the nationality problem in the USSR is unimportant. He says: "The nationality problem both in Europe and in Russia will never be solved by international law by the Wilsonian idea of self-determination for all... It will progressively recede ever further to the background of men's political consciousness until it ceases to be a problem."⁶ He thinks that the Bolsheviks created the nationality problem in their hatred of Tsarist Russia. *Horrors... they even introduced the Ukrainian language as the official language in Ukraine, because it was not so in the tsarist regime.* This is the opinion of a present officer of the American State Department.

When we read these blunders made by a new recruit in the American State Department, we can never be sure whether the Russian imperialists consider all Americans to be fools. Yet in any case this "Russian expert" received the recommendation of some American official so that at this critical period in a disturbed world, he could give such preposterous advice to the American authorities. The matter looks to be comic, but it is tragic.

The Russian experts on Russia who hold key positions are united against admitting to official and non-official American posts in the inner circle even highly authoritative non-Russians. The Russian experts, banded together and confronted by the great American ignorance of Russian problems, are often able to make it impossible for American officials to

⁵ *America*, May 16, 1951, p. 197.

⁶ *The Ultimate Weapon*, by Oleg Anisimov. Regnery Publ. Chicago, 1953, p. 98.

secure any idea of a different angle of the situation than that which they themselves furnish. At the same time they lead the American people and the American authorities along the lines of the Russian imperialistic interests.

Among these unofficial experts who misinform America in their copious writings are such American experts on Russia as D. Dallin and his colleagues I. D. Levine, E. Lyons, B. Shub and others. Their views on the Russian Empire, the prison of nations, are often grotesque. In their works there is no mention of the persecution of the non-Russian nationalities any more than there is in the Soviet literature. Why is this? Because both Soviet literature and Russian anti-Communist writings have the same object — to hide from the Western world the tragic situation of the non-Russian nationalities which was same under Tsarist Russia as it is to-day.

RUSSIAN EXPERTS ON THE RED RUSSIA OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

We have in our hands an official document *Tensions Within the Soviet Union* prepared at the request of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress headed by Dr. Sergius Jakobson. We should expect that the publication would make clear the permanent convulsions created in Soviet rule by Ukraine. They are absent and the publication treats Ukraine as a negligible factor in the Soviet Union. For instance, speaking on desertions from the Red Army, the author does not even mention Ukrainian desertions from the Red Army during World War II.

Dr. Jakobson knows nothing of the various purges and reprimands in the Organization of Ukrainian Writers for such men as Rylsky, Sosyura and others. The condemnation of Sosyura echoed throughout the entire world but it did not reach the ears of Dr. Jakobson. A history of the condemnation of the Ukrainian Institute of Literature is unknown to the "senior expert" Dr. Jakobson, because he did not use the Ukrainian sources and books which were in hundreds sent to the Library of Congress but can scarcely be found in the Slavic Department under his control.

In speaking of religious persecution, Dr. Jakobson stresses the persecution of the Russian Orthodox Church but scarcely supports it with proof because of the full support given to this Church by the favor of the Communist government despite its avowed atheism. He does not mention the Underground Church in Ukraine, although there are good sources for its existence.

He treats in a few lines the fate of the Ukrainian Uniat Church and makes to the American Senate such nonsensical statements that the Uniat

(Eastern Catholic) Church in Ukraine was a non-conformist group of the Russian Orthodox Church and a "*sect which acknowledges the supremacy of Rome.*" Such errors on a subject which has a large literature in Eastern Europe speaks for the knowledge of the author. Any Catholic Directory would have shown him his error. The Ukrainian Catholic Church destroyed by the Russian Communist government in close co-operation with the Russian Orthodox Patriarch in Moscow was an integral part of the Roman Catholic Church.

In speaking of the tensions among the "minorities" in the Soviet Union, Dr. Jakobson knows nothing of the Ukrainian Titoism-Shumskism, about the extermination of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, about the artificial famine in Ukraine and the reason why the Ukrainian population decreased instead of increased in the period between the two Soviet censuses of 1926 and 1939. We pass over such an inaccuracy in modern East European history as the statement that the independence of Ukraine was proclaimed in 1920, and not on Jan. 22, 1918. At all events the Honorable U. S. Senators of the Committee on Foreign Affairs can hardly secure a more inaccurate picture than that offered by Dr. Jakobson on conditions in Ukraine and other non-Russian territories of the USSR.

INFORMATION OF RUSSIANS SUPPORTED BY THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF LIBERATION FROM BOLSHEVISM

We can cite still another example. Disappointed in their dealings with the parties of the political emigrés from the USSR, the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism turned to the Russian intellectual emigrés organized in the Institute for the Study of History and Culture of the USSR. Vice Admiral Leslie Stevens, the President of the Committee, in a personal release dated August 18, 1953, announced that the Committee of Liberation would extend the Institute substantial support "to enable it to make still greater contributions to the anti-Bolshevik struggle." Evidently the Vice Admiral expected the emigré scholars to give substantial and true information on the Soviet Union.

Simultaneously the Institute published in Russian a mimeographed publication *Research and Materials* with American aid and money. This volume contains a work by Prof. A. A. Zaycov, "The Dynamic of the USSR Population up to 1952" written in the style of the ultra-reactionary writers of Tsarist times. Mr. Zaycov does not recognize the identity of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples, who are members of the United Nations. For him there is one Russian people with three branches, the Great Russians, Little Russians and Byelorussians. The Vice Admiral in his release of August 18 congratulated the Institute which is supported by the American Committee from public funds for its strictly unbiassed

scientific work. We also congratulate the Committee for the progressive work of the Institute and assure it that such works by its scholars will do no harm to the Bolsheviks for the latter are far more progressive in nationality problems than a member of that Institute. But this new Russian imperialistic enterprise will injure America to a greater extent.

GENUINE RUSSIAN CENSURE IN USA

We can trace the same influence elsewhere. The domination of Russians in the press and universities supported by American money from private sources, is so strong that they can even censor scientific works written by Ukrainian scholars. For personal reasons we will not mention the name of the place where the following occurred.

A Ukrainian professor of high reputation and a man who had been for twenty years a professor in Soviet Ukraine, an eye-witness of events, prepared a work on the forcible collectivization there. This was given to the acting Director, a Russian American. After some time the aged professor received his work back. It was thoroughly censored wherever he referred to the national persecutions in Ukraine. On the other hand these Russian American censors, against the author's will, added to the work statements that it was not the Russian Communists but the Ukrainian Communists who persecuted their Ukrainian brothers. It was only in such a mutilated form that the scholarly work of the aged professor could be published. In consequence the work was not published at all. And this was in free America *Anno Domini* 1952.

RETICENCE OF INFORMATION ON UKRAINE

The most decent form of Russian misinformation on the USSR is the omission of any material hostile to the interests of the Russian Empire. Reticence of any information on Ukraine and other non-Russian peoples of the USSR was the most popular kind of misinformation practiced by the Russian informers in the USA during long years. Russian producers especially omit material on Ukrainian subjects in printed works, scientific papers, newspapers and on the radio. In this way the Americans fail to get sorely needed information and thus, this procedure endangers the interests of the United States. It is of no use to lull the country with such articles as that of Will Davidson "They know more than Anybody Else." (*Collier's*, June 6, 1953). This article goes on to laugh at the idea that there can be in USA experts on the USSR, who have never been in that country but who think that they know more than the Soviet MVD. "They can tell you, it is written there, which element of the Soviet Society (and how many people in each) listens to the foreign radio, a tipoff on what classes might be expected to turn against the

government in case of war or revolution." The author obviously knows nothing of the danger of the Soviet government from the oppressed peoples because the Russian advisers and teachers do not feel that it is good policy in America to speak of the oppressed nationalities under their Tsarist and Communist masters; it is more practical to speak only on the classes of the Soviet Union, but nothing on nationalities.

So in one field after another we have shown how the Russian emigrés are working to limit real information on the Russian empire and to convey false or at least inaccurate notions to the American people. As Dr. Graves of the American Council of Learned Societies has said: "Information on the Soviet Union is a neglected facet of the national security problem." Yet ignorance cannot be cured by misinformation. The safety of America demands that the country make full use of all available sources of knowledge, not only those offered by Russians but also those offered by competent experts of the non-Russian peoples, the sharers in American ideals and the trustworthy allies of the United States in a true policy of liberation.

TO THE SUN

By M. Kocubynsky

Oh, Sun, my gratitude to thee! Thou sowest in my soul thy golden corn, — and who knows what will grow out of the seed? — belike the flames?

Thou art dear to me, I drink thee, o Sun, thy warm and healing drink, I drink thee in as a child drinks the milk from its mother's breast as warm, as dear as thou. Even when thou burnest, I pour into myself the fiery beverage, and am intoxicated with it.

I love thee. For . . . listen!

From the unsearchable darkness I came to the world, and my first breath, my first movement was in the darkness of my mother's womb. And until now this overwhelms me,—all darkness the nights, the half of my life it stands between me and thee. Its servants are clouds, mountains, gaols,—they hide thee from me, and . . . we know, that the time is inevitably coming; when like salt in water I will dissolve in it for ever.

You are only a guest in my life, o Sun, the desired one, and, when thou departest, I desperately try to detain you. I catch the last beam on the clouds, I prolong thy presence in the fire, in the lamp, in the fireworks, I gather thee from the flowers, from the smile of a child, from the eyes of my beloved.

And when thou art gone and leavest me alone, I create thy image, I call it "The Ideal," hide it in my heart.

And there it burns.

Translated from the Ukrainian
by *W. Shayan*

THE RUSSIA FIRST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

By AMERICUS

A few weeks after the Inauguration, I visited Washington with the assignment to get a real story on the plans of the new administration to implement its Policy of Liberation. During the election campaign the Containment Policy had been fully exposed and identified as both spiritually and intellectually stagnant by the Republicans. The Democrats denied any responsibility for such a policy, stating it never existed as the official policy of the government and was the result of political misunderstandings and misinterpretations. With both major political parties denying the Policy of Containment, the American people looked for a positive and dynamic answer to the belligerent threat to all human freedom presented by the Russian communists. General Eisenhower provided the popular answer when he proclaimed a Policy of Liberation as the only one that would preserve human freedom and individual liberties in any quarter of the world. This declaration raised the hopes of all mankind, including the millions of people enslaved by the Communists, and was a major factor in bringing victory to the Republican party. It was only natural that I should be in Washington early, looking for a story on the methods that would be developed to bring about the restoration of national independence and human freedom for the enslaved nations.

After almost a week of effort to get a lead on my story I was about to give up because everyone seemed to be too busy even to hint on how long it would take to develop the new, dynamic policy. It was evident that it would take several more months before the Administration would have the reins solidly in hand, with the new policy people placed in all the key positions of control. After making reservations for the trip back home, I began to wonder what my new assignment would be. A last minute luncheon with an old friend determined my next assignment because it put me on the lead of a story linked with the Policy of Liberation. Seated at the table next to us were three very serious looking men. They were talking with such vigor and emphasis that we could not help but overhear their conversation. One of them appeared to be an old government hand and the other two were obviously new comers but with definite convictions on what had to be done and done quickly, if the election promises in the field of foreign affairs were to be accomplished.

The subject of their conversation was the Russia Movement and its influence on the foreign policy of the United States. All three were certain that this Movement exercised a dangerous influence on the development and exercise of our foreign policy but they were in considerable disagreement on the methods to be used in removing its roots from the Washington bureaucracy. One held that it would take a full scale Congressional investigation to complete the removal. The other two maintained the task could be accomplished by removing the leading advocates from policy positions within the government, replacing them with people whose first loyalties were to the glorious traditions which form the foundations of our country, and as a consequence the lesser lights would abandon the Movement.

Here, in brief, is how they described the Russia First Movement and its adherents. The territory of Russia is held to be sacred and inviolate and subject to a dark mysticism which is beyond the comprehension of ordinary Westerners. The Russian people are looked upon as superior with a mission in life to bring the inferior peoples of the world under their domination so that all mankind may advance to a higher civilization. Since the Russian people are imbued with this mystic mission, we of the West must do nothing to offend them because in their hour of world triumph they might become unduly harsh toward those who opposed their self-appointed mission. Moscow is looked upon as the center of a new autocratic paternalism. The despotism and cruel tyranny of Moscow is only temporary since it results from the resistance of the inferior non-Russian peoples to the missionary work of the Russians. All this will end when the mystic mission is completed; the world will then be at peace under the warm paternal protection of Moscow. The ordinary western mind is supposed to be ignorant of the facts concerning the peoples of Russia and their aspirations; therefore, it is the first duty of the Movement to make certain they remain in that confused and helpless state.

With this challenging background my curiosity was aroused to a point where I determined my next assignment had to be the Russia First Movement in the United States. If the charges were true and the Movement had a foothold in and out of government, I had a story better than the one I came to Washington for originally. The Policy of Liberation would have very tough going if the Russia First Movement was as well anchored in the higher echelons of the government career service as the three narrators maintained. This would mean the administration would have another internal enemy in addition to the Communists and their active sympathizers.

In talks with some of my old friends in the government career service my suspicions were further aroused. I hit either a wall of polite silence or obtained small bits of information handed out with the plea "don't quote me and for heavens sake don't get me involved." Some of the people interviewed suggested I drop my search for a story because the new administration had committed itself against the Containment Policy and had promised to replace it with one consistent with American principles and ideals. These people held that the spirit of the Containment Policy was the life blood of the Russia First Movement and with its demise the Movement would die. Others interviewed took the position that the leaders of the Containment Policy had established a resistance movement in the government which would fight every move of the administration to develop a dynamic policy and so the Russia First Movement would continue to have strong advocates in key career positions. While some very helpful leads were developed in talks with government people, it was most discouraging that few of them would speak freely about the Movement, while on the other hand most of them knew about it and despised it.

The second stage of my search took me to the leaders of the World War II emigree groups living in the United States because it was there, I was told, the most current and complete information would be available. These were the people who had lived under the rule of the Russian Communists and they were sensitive to both its open and hidden tactics. In discussions with these leaders I only confirmed the existence of a Russia First Movement but was treated to a liberal education about the many different people who make up the USSR, the powerful forces within it pulling against the Kremlin and the powder key frailties of the system. The first thing I learned was that there are Russians and non-Russians in the USSR. The next thing I learned was that the USSR was not a nation but an empire made up of many different nations only one of which is Russian in character, language, history, tradition and aspiration. To my amazement I learned that the Russian people are in the minority in the USSR but that they occupy the vast majority of the positions of power and influence under the communist system. However, the most important thing I learned was that when the Tsarist Empire burst at the seams in 1917, the non-Russian nations, held in the slavery of that system for many years declared their national independence and established governments representative of the popular will of the people. This development caused the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) which was nothing but a cover for the Bolshevik army under Trotsky then charged with the task of destroying all these reborn nations and expanding the realm of Marxism.

These are the things I learned from the World War II non-Russian emigrés of the USSR. Over and above this I learned how well organized they are and of their determination to carry on their fight against Moscow. They are violently anti-Communist and intensely loyal to the traditions and institutions most characteristically American. In their eyes the American Declaration of Independence set forth unchangeable principles which today coincide with the aspirations of the enslaved nations within the communist empire. They are not anti-Russian but they are dedicated to exposing and destroying Russian chauvinism. Russian chauvinism to them is the same as Nazi super-racism, a belief peculiar to the intelligentsia but lacking in mass support because the masses are the innocent victims of it.

In discussions with the Russian emigrés I learned quickly that one must distinguish between the old and the new. The old are those who came to the United States between the great wars but who nevertheless are more Russian than anything else. The new are those who suffered under communist rule and became self-exiled after World War II by refusing repatriation to the USSR. They are to some degree misfits because they do not understand the unrealistic dreams of the old Russians and they are groping for a solution to the problem of Communism which will forever lift the hand of tyranny from the people. This makes for conflict between the old and the new. It is further aggravated by the old who insist they know what is best for the newcomers, particularly what they should think and say about the present day USSR. But the old have the upper hand and their voices still speak for all the Russians in the United States.

The Russians take the position that everyone in the USSR is a Russian, that is historically and sentimentally. They speak only about Russia and never about the USSR. The peoples of their Russia are considered as one happy family with common bonds uniting them to a common destiny. Their only unhappiness with the USSR is with the Communist masters and they proclaim that once they are removed all will be at peace and harmony within a reborn Russia. When queried about the break up of Tsarist Russia following World War I and the rebirth of some sixteen separate and independent nations, they shrug off this period of history as the consequence of meddling in the internal affairs of Russia by opportunist Western politicians. When asked to account for the Independence Day Rallies held annually in the United States and in many other parts of the free World by the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians and others, the uniform answer given was that they did not represent the aspirations of the people of Russia. It struck me as peculiar that the Russians did not engage

in similar Independence Day Rallies so I inquired as to the reasons for this failure to demonstrate a fervor for national independence. This proved to be a shocking question because, as I learned later, enlightened nationalism is as much taboo with the Russians as it is with the Communists and the ideological Marxists.

In one rather heated discussion with a Russian group, I was amazed to hear the Ukrainians singled out for special castigation. They were referred to as "separatists" and in a tone of voice which made it sound like "Quisling." This prompted me to ask whether the founding fathers and the signers of Declaration of Independence were separatists. The astounding answer given was that the Declaration of Independence had nothing to do with the Russian people and that any effort to apply its principles to Russia would only unite the Russian people with the communist regime. This struck me as rather strange because the non-Russian people of the USSR, who are far more numerous than the Russians, were urging just the opposite position. Could it be true, I asked myself, that the masses of the Russian people would cast their loyalties with the Communists rather than accept a program which would destroy the Communist empire and bring individual freedom to all those enslaved by it?

The third stage of my search led me to the long established nationality organizations, particularly those dedicated to the task of keeping alive the national heritage of the nations enslaved by Communism. This was a stimulating experience. Here were native born Americans who had spent a lifetime of study and research on the subjects of communism and Russian imperialism. The various people of the USSR and their aspirations were well known to these organizations and championed by them. The Russia First Movement was no stranger to them. They all provided me with books, pamphlets and other materials on the subject and urged me to make a comprehensive study and reach my own conclusions. After several months of research and consultation with specialists on the subject, I have been able to outline the basic form of the Russia First Movement and to distinguish the most important segments of it. For purposes of identification these segments are described as wings because their purposes and activities converge at essential points.

The Monarchists: This wing of the Movement is dominated by World War I Russian emigrés, gullible Americans who have become enchanted by meaningless titles, and some of the business opportunists who can afford to play long shots on futures. The Russian emigrés are the hard core of this wing. They carry out the master planning and confusing propaganda work. The Americans attached to this wing serve as window dressing and lend respectability to the master planners. The program of this wing calls for the restoration of the Russian Monarchy, maintaining

the territorial integrity of the empire, keeping the Russian people in a dominant position over the non-Russian people of the empire and developing an enlightened paternalism as the cohesive force of the Monarchy.

The Neo-Marxists: This wing of the Movement is made up of Russian emigrés having some ideological differences with the present Kremlin regime, misguided idealists who still believe that Utopia is possible and theoreticians who believe that human freedom and individual liberty must be limited by the demands of collectivism. The hard core of this wing are the old Russian emigrés whose only quarrel with the present Kremlin regime is that they are better prepared to run the Communist empire. This core is supported by a broad flank of theoreticians, academicians and foggy idealists all of whom pour out volumes of propaganda in support of Marxist doctrine. The program of this wing calls for the preservation of the territorial integrity of the USSR, maintaining centralized control over the empire from Moscow, maintaining the dominant position of the Russians because of their natural vent for collectivism and attaining the Utopian goal by less severe and more gradual methods than those used by the Communist regime.

The Mensheviks: This wing of the Movement is made up of Russian emigrés who fled from Moscow after the Bolsheviks took over control of the Russian Federated Socialist Soviet Republic and some poorly informed Americans who still believe the Mensheviks represented a movement of democratic forces supported by a majority of the peoples of old Russia. The advocates of this wing are not numerous but their influence is strong in some important quarters. The program of this wing calls for the preservation of the territorial integrity of the old Tsarist Russian empire, keeping the non-Russian nations within the empire and under the dominance of the Russian people and the utilization of a limited popular franchise within a federal system tightly controlled from Moscow.

The Neophytes: This wing of the movement is made up exclusively of Americans with a very limited knowledge of the political stresses and strains within the USSR. Nevertheless they enjoy the current status of experts on Russia. When the Russians played their hand too hard following World War II and exposed their plans to dominate the World the clamor went up for experts on Russia. As the tempo of the cold war increased the demand for more and more experts on Russia increased. Classes in the Russian language became a must. Institutes for special study on Russia were developed for the super-experts. In this wild scurry for knowledge the source had to be authoritative so what could be better than old Russian history and technical texts? Little did the unsuspecting scholars know that Russian chauvinism is as old as the Russian written language and as a consequence they were denied their academic freedom.

All they were able to learn about the USSR and its people was what the Russians have been trying to sell the intellectuals of the world for several centuries. Many of these captive minds give support to the Movement by advancing the point of view acquired in this controlled setting.

There are other wings to the Movement but to identify them will take more time and additional research. The four wings here described should provide a sufficient base to arouse the interest of American scholars interested in preserving academic freedom. These political wings frequently engage in open controversy over the form of government to replace the Kremlin regime but on one point they are in solid agreement. That point is, — Russia must be preserved intact and there can be no interference with the internal affairs of the USSR. The common efforts of these four political wings form a Movement in every sense of that term, dedicated to Russia First.

The champions of the Policy of Liberation had better keep a sharp eye on the Russia First Movement because it is keeping a constant eye on them. The Movement has skill, experience and ability to adapt itself to the change of administrations. It can not fight in the open but as an infighter it is a most dangerous opponent. The outcome of this struggle will determine whether the Policy of Liberation is to be an unfulfilled promise or a dynamic reality. There can be no compromise between the two conflicting forces. One or the other must win.



A FRANK STATEMENT

"Before being a Communist I am a good Italian, and I do not intend to remain tied to a political ideology which urges me to betray my country"—said Gimignano Vedovelli, leader of the Modena Communists, whose resignation from the Italian Communist Party was reported by Rome Radio.



A GIPSY AND SOVIET SOCIALISM

An army officer giving a pep talk to his company, urged the men to step up production, so that "Socialism" could be built sooner in the country.

A gipsy got up: "Comrade Lieutenant, how many storeys does this Socialist building have? Let's build it once and for all, so that we can have some peace."

THE FAMINE IN 1932-33 IN UKRAINE

By N. PRYCHODKO

Author of the book: *"One of the 15 Million."*

(In Commemoration of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Tragedy).

After Stalin's death—so royally honored by Communists across Canada and the United States—I read in one of Toronto's non-Communist newspapers that one of Stalin's great accomplishments was that he had ably guided his people through a famine. Looking at this without the rose-colored glasses which some journalists wear, the picture is rather different.

There is a book by the novelist, Sieroszewski, "The Depths of Suffering," on the lives of lepers. Reading this soul-stirring story I felt it depicted the ultimate in human suffering and pain. So I thought until 1933 when with my own eyes I witnessed the indescribable horrors of the famine throughout Ukraine.

Unfortunately, few writers dared put on paper the story of the suffering and privations of that year. They could not, for even the mention of the famine brought swift retribution by murder from the NKVD or slave labor in Siberia.

For officially there was no famine. Stalin refused all offers of help from foreign countries, assuring them that no famine existed in the Soviet Ukraine and that the whole USSR lived in abundance and contentment. Communist papers abroad, mimicking Moscow, did their utmost to spread this lie throughout the world.

In 1941 when Germans invaded Ukraine they found in the Academy of Sciences in Kiev the true statistics of the crops harvested in 1932. These figures proved that the yield was sufficient to feed the Ukrainian population for two years and four months and to seed all the fields. There was no natural cause for the famine. It was purposely created to break the resistance of the farmers to collectivization and to the Russian colonial domination of Ukraine.

All the grain of 1932 was loaded into special trains as soon as it was threshed and immediately appropriated by the government. Carloads of it rolled northward to feed the bureaucrats of Moscow or to be exported to finance plans of the Communist revolution in China and other

countries. The Ukrainian farmers received only the third screenings from the threshing machines.

During the latter part of 1932 the farm women added potato peelings, weeds, anything to stretch the loaves of heavy black bread. With the coming of 1933 even these meagre additions were unavailable. People ground the bark of trees, scratched roots from the frozen ground, searched hopelessly for any sustenance which would keep body and soul together.

Helpless, despairing, they died by thousands, by tens of thousands, by millions. The statistical bureaus were ordered to register the deaths as resulting from prevalent "digestive ailments."

Farmers who could still stand on their feet gathered their few belongings and flocked to the cities. Here a person could exchange an artistically embroidered shirt, his most highly-prized possession, for a loaf of bread. Priceless rugs, the heirlooms of generations, bought only a few pounds of flour. The Russian élite covered their walls and floors with these treasures.

Through the streets of Kiev, Kharkiv, Dniepropetrovsk, Odesa and other cities, the miserable hulks of humanity dragged themselves on swollen feet, begging for crusts of bread or searching for scraps on garbage heaps, frozen and filthy. Each morning wagons rolled through the streets collecting the bodies. Often even the undershirt had been stripped from the body to be exchanged for a piece of bread.

Those who were lucky enough to reach Moscow had a better chance of survival. Here one could find scraps of bread, made of Ukrainian wheat, on the dumps; here one could also buy a little food on the black market.

The difficulty was to get there. On the trains and in the stations the secret police in their red and blue caps halted every traveller and asked for his official passport. Those who could not produce one were arrested.

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At this time a friend of mine worked as an assistant in the October Revolution Hospital. After completing his medical studies in 1931 he worked in the surgical department. One evening he invited me to visit him in the hospital and promised me an unusual spectacle. When I arrived he gave me a doctor's white smock to put on and took me to a large garage in the yard. A guard unlocked the door and we entered. My friend switched on the light and I beheld an unforgettable picture of horror.

Piled like cordwood against the walls, layer upon layer, were the frozen corpses of the victims picked off the streets that morning. Some of the bodies, I later learned, were used for dissection and experiments in the laboratories. The rest were simply buried in the pits at midnight in nearby ravines out of the sight of the people.

"This," my friend whispered softly, "is the fate of our villages."

I was too unnerved to utter a word. With unbelieving eyes I could only stare at the hundreds of outstretched frozen hands which still seemed to be begging for bread; begging for life.

My friend turned out the lights and we left without a word. The guard slammed the door shut and locked it behind us. Slowly we walked home, speechless and shaken, but with a mutual understanding between us.

It seemed ages before I could rid myself of the horror in that garage, sixteen years after that October Revolution for which the hospital was named. Years later I screamed from a nightmare resulting from that ghoulis experience.

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There is another unforgettable incident which I witnessed in that year of 1933. It happened in the spring as I was riding on a train from Kiev to Uman. At the Monasterysche station twelve villagers came aboard, their faces bloated from starvation, tattered and dirty, all on their way to work on a state farm. With them was a young lad of about 14, his hand tightly pressed against his chest inside his shirt.

Like a pack of wolves the men gathered around the boy, their eyes glued to the hand at his bosom. The boy tightened his grip upon his possession—a slice of bread—and stared back with frightened eyes at the fierce, unshaven, swollen caricatures of human faces around him. To a man they were urging and pleading with him to share the bread with them. Tomorrow, they promised, there would be boiled potatoes at the farm, perhaps even bread.

The hungry boy stoutly refused. His mother, he explained, had somehow procured that one slice of bread for him and admonished him to save it for tomorrow.

The tragic scene ended when the twelve men, as though electrified by a command, fell upon him and tore away the bread which crumbled and scattered over the floor. The starving, snarling human beasts tore the crumbs out of one other's finger's, scratched them out of crevices as though in a paroxysm of insanity. The hungry youngster sobbed bitterly but for the men he had already ceased to exist.

I recollect still another horrible picture which I saw in Kiev at the beginning of 1933. A young mother, her face and feet bloated from starvation, was unable to move. In sheer desperation she sat on a sidewalk facing a display of fresh bread in a shop window across the street and stared with inflamed eyes. After some time she removed the sack from her back and pulled out a frozen corpse of an infant. She cradled the tiny skeleton in her arms and lamented:

"My son. My darling. Where will I bury you and where shall I find my own grave?"

In this way 1933 brought death to the villages of Ukraine. Many places which had formerly boasted of populations from 2,500 to 3,000 now counted but 200 to 300 inhabitants. Later the government brought colonies of Russians to these villages to occupy the vacant homes and to this day they plow and till the rich black soil of Ukraine.

The tougher farmers who had somehow survived the fatal famine and lived to see the following harvest were sentenced to ten years of Siberian slave labor if they so much as picked a handful of wheat ears to chew the half-ripened kernels for nourishment. This crime was branded, "theft of socialist property."

Over seven million Ukrainians died in that artificially created famine. If the statement seems far-fetched one need only look in the "Small Soviet Encyclopaedia," 1940 edition, and under the heading "Ukraine" note this fact: in the 1927 census Eastern (Soviet) Ukraine had a population of 32 millions; in 1939 (twelve years later) it had only 28 million. Where did the 4 million disappear and where was the natural increase in population which should have numbered about 6 to 7 million? The answer is: the famine and Siberia.

Unable to tolerate further the tragic plight of their people two of Ukraine's outstanding ardent Communists, the writer Mykola Khvylovy and Mykola Skrypnyk, former friend of Lenin and at that time Commissar of Education, who had upheld the Revolution with heart and soul, committed suicide. They had realized too late the falsity, the duplicity of Communist ideals which they had so earnestly believed in and preached.

During this purposely organized famine spontaneous hunger uprisings broke out among the unarmed farmers but the NKVD soon quelled them with mass shootings.

Today, amidst the abundance of Canada, it seems incredible, impossible that my enslaved countrymen actually lived through and suffered the ghastly tragedy of 1933.

Towards the end of 1933 a shot reverberated throughout the length and breadth of Ukraine. On October 28, a young member of the Ukrainian

national underground organization, 18 year old Mykola Lemyk entered the Soviet consulate in Lviv, Western Ukraine, which was then under Polish rule, ostensibly to secure a passport to visit the Soviet Ukraine.

When assured that he was actually in the presence of the man he sought, Lemyk pulled out a revolver from his pocket and with these words: "For the millions of brother-Ukrainians who died in the famine and were otherwise brutally murdered," he shot the Soviet consul, Mayorov.

In mourning we bow our heads in memory of the millions of our brothers who perished in the famine and commemorate the 20th anniversary of that tragedy by mass demonstrations in towns and cities of Canada, the United States and Europe. We hope in this way to help the free world to perceive the true face of the monstrosity of the Kremlin Janus hidden under a peace-loving mask.



FLORENCE RANDAL LIVESAY

By C. A. MANNING

Obituary

On July 28, 1953, Mrs. FLORENCE RANDAL LIVESAY died at the age of 78 in Toronto as the result of injuries sustained when she fell in a bus. She was the widow of J. F. B. Livesay who was for many years the general manager of the Canadian Press.

Mrs. Livesay was a well-known writer and newspaper woman. She was one of the first prominent Canadians to take an active interest in Ukrainian literature. With the aid of Rev. Paul Crath, she translated and put into English verse Ukrainian folksongs and the writings of Shevchenko, Lesya Ukrainka and other poets. From the early years of World War I and at her death she still had many pieces that had never been published. In 1940, she published a translation of Kvitka's *Marusia* and she succeeded in securing an introduction to it from Lord Tweedsmuir, then Governor General of Canada, and a well-known English author.

Her interest in things Ukrainian covered nearly a half century and the whole period of the shaping of Ukrainian life and institutions in Canada. It is a long and brilliant record and the Canadians and Ukrainians can well be proud of it. May she rest in peace!

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY IN SOVIET UKRAINE

By IVAN ROZHIN

Animal husbandry of Ukraine is at present an important branch of the national economy and will be still more important in the future under conditions of a free economy and industry. It is of course obvious that this will be possible only after the destruction of the totalitarian regime and the establishment of a democratic system. The recent statement of Mr. Khrushchov attests the total failure of the Soviet animal husbandry.

Besides the usual domestic animals of which we shall chiefly speak there are a considerable number of wild animals which with proper management can provide a solid base for hunting and trapping and can also serve as a source of raw materials.

The contemporary Ukrainian animal husbandry is divided into various branches, which in reality are independent fields. Thus there are horse raising, the meat and dairy industry, hog raising, sheep raising, goat raising, poultry raising, rabbit raising, the fishing industry, bee-keeping and silk growing. Recently there has been successfully developed the raising of service and police dogs and of wild animals as foxes, and other fur-bearing animals.

During its natural and historical development, Ukrainian animal husbandry has produced its profitable forms and its own biological basis, its own breeds for almost all kinds of animals. There have been bred local horses, breeds not known to foreign specialists. In Galicia there is another special breed, the so-called Hucul horse. In cattle there are the well-known Gray Ukrainian, the White-headed Ukrainian, the Red steppe or Red Ukrainian, as it is sometimes called and the Brown Carpathian. In sheep there are the Sokilska, Reshytelivska, Tsyheyska, Romanivska and recently the Askanian Rambulye. In hogs, besides the local and almost unprofitable type, there are the Spotted Myrhorod and the White Askanian. In poultry we have Ukrainian hens and Black Sea geese. This indicates the great potential possibilities in the development of animal husbandry and the appropriate natural basis for it.

Animal husbandry furnishes an important percentage of the economic income and ranks second after agriculture, since it furnishes 30% of the village income.

The two World Wars which took place chiefly on Ukrainian territory, the Revolution of 1917, the post-revolutionary struggles and then the still continuing Communist exploitation, did not allow the normal development of the Ukrainian animal industry and for a long time not only stopped its qualitative and quantitative growth, but even ruined an economy which had had centuries of tradition in breeding horses, cattle, hogs, etc.

Merely as a result of World War II the number of domestic animals in Ukraine decreased to the following:

Cattle	44%	Sheep and goats	74%
Horses	70%	Hogs	89%

On the other hand the position of Ukraine in the economy of Eastern Europe under the policy of the occupation, the climatic conditions and the capacities for securing fodder caused a rapid quantitative return in the number of animals and also a certain qualitative improvement.

Like the entire village economy, animal husbandry as an inseparable part of it has a number of peculiarities which separate it from the practices in Western Europe and America. The greatest difference is that Ukrainian animal husbandry is under the state and planned and in its economic form it is on a large scale and concentrated. At first sight it might seem that such an industry would be very successful, for conditions are almost ideal for the organization of a rational supervision, the mechanization of labor, the complete use of the food possibilities, etc. However, due to the circumstances whereby the new forms of animal economy and human relations are artificially imposed from above, without a corresponding technical basis in the village economy and allied fields, animal husbandry still does not give any reliable economic results. It is not very profitable and suffers losses.

The second peculiarity of Ukrainian animal husbandry under the Soviets is that as a branch of the national economy, well developed and supplied from the standpoint of organization — it has all the component parts, from scientific and elementary institutions to great enterprises on the American type for the processing of the products of the industry.

There are in Ukraine now the following fields: kolhosp farms, state animal enterprises, state breeding farms, animal farms attached to various other types—grain, sugar beet, suburban, etc. On Jan. 1, 1951, there were on the territory of Ukraine: 67,804 animal farms; of these 20,839 were for cattle, 20,836 for hogs, 10,502 for sheep, 15,627 for poultry; of these, there are 12 breeding farms, horse stations and state herds, 3 state

and 8,000 small kolhosp and suburban milk farms. To breed pure strains of animals and poultry there are special breeding establishments, stud farms, and zootechnical stations. They carry out the planned breeding of animals and fowl and offer in some regions breeding material for the kolhosp and other farms.

For the successful carrying on of breeding and the improvement of special breeds and strains of the animals in each field, there are each year prizes for the best bred animals, which are branded and listed in the pedigree books of the station, region and state. The best are chosen in exhibitions and horses are tested on the state-owned station, region, district and republic tracks.

Scientific research is of great importance in animal husbandry. For this purpose there have been established the State Institute of Experimental Veterinary Medicine and Zootechnique in Kharkiv and other special institutes in Poltava for hogs, in Kamyanets-Podilsky for poultry and the Institute for Hybridization and Acclimatization of Animals in Askania Nova or Chapey.

For the working and preservation of the products of the animal industry there are enterprises of the American type: packing houses in Kiev, Poltava, Kozyatyn, Luhansk, Krasnodar, Dnipropetrivske, Lviv, Kremenchuh, Armavir, Vinnytsya, Odesa and Chernivtsy; bacon factories in Kiev, Poltava, Melitopil, Kremenchuh; great commercial cold storage plants in Kiev, Odesa, Dnipropetrivske and Lviv. Canning plants exist in the great packing houses and also as special enterprises in Kiev, Odesa, Kherson, Tyraspil, Symfiropil, Melitopil. There are special plants for canning fish in Mariupil, Odesa, and Ochakiv. In the large and small cities and also in the regions of general development of the meat and dairy industry, there have been built and are functioning milk plants, mechanical butter and cheese factories. Thus, most of the products are processed, canned and exported or stored for military needs. This renders it possible to reduce the use of the animal products by the local population and to limit it to the least possible amounts.

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The animal industry of Ukraine has shown great fluctuations from 1913 to the present. This has been caused by the wars and the social changes.

The basic classes in Ukraine have been in numbers of heads in millions

	<i>Horses</i>	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Sheep and goats</i>	<i>Hogs</i>
1913	5.6	6.5	6.2	5.2
1916	5.5	7.7	6.4	4.6
1923	3.8	7.4	8.4	2.4

	<i>Horses</i>	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Sheep and goats</i>	<i>Hogs</i>
1926	5.5	8.6	8.1	7.0
1929	5.6	7.6	4.2	7.0
1930	5.3	6.3	3.2	4.5
1932	3.7	5.0	2.6	2.1
1934	2.5	5.3	1.6	2.2
1936	2.5	6.1	2.3	6.0
1937	2.7	7.1	2.8	6.9
1946	2.3	9.3	4.0	7.0
1950	2.6	12.0	6.0	9.0

The rapid increase in the number of heads, especially of cattle, hogs and sheep is easily explained, for after 1940 there were included in the statistics the animals in the annexed lands, Galicia, Volyn, Bukovyna and Zakarpattya. We do not know the condition of the animals during World War II, but from our own observation and also on the basis of the official statistics, we can draw the conclusion that it was tragic. It is asserted officially that the Germans destroyed or took from Ukraine:

Horses	1.5 mil.	Sheep and goats	2 mil.
Cattle	3.5 mil.	Hogs	3.5 mil.

How far this is correct, we cannot say. Probably the greater part of these were destroyed by the Bolsheviks themselves during their retreat and return to Ukrainian territory. All witnessed the mass driving away of animals from Ukraine to the north and the great amount of loss on the way and in the crossing of rivers.

The productivity of the Ukrainian animal husbandry is very spotty. On the best farms which appear in exhibitions, the average yearly production per milch cow was:

1938	1,272 litres of milk
1940	1,307 „
1950	1,350 „

The increase of young cattle on the same farms was 85 calves to 100 cows, i.e. on the best farms the loss was 15%, while on the other, usual kolhosp farms, the mortality rate of calves reached 25% and even more.

The meat production in the whole of Ukraine yearly amounted to 245,000 metric tons, of animal fats, 45,000 m.t., 7.4 million litres of milk, 2.8 billion eggs, 2.5 million slaughtered fowl. The total production of the animal industry was little used by the local population but was mainly taken out of the republic to central Russia and for export abroad.

Ukrainian economists (Volobuyiv, Sukhov, T. Neduzhy, etc.) showed that it was only thanks to exports from Ukraine, including animal

products, that the Soviets had a favorable foreign trade balance in 1926, 27, and 28. At the present time, despite the fact that the export of animal products from the USSR has been curtailed, the colonial position of Ukraine in the economy of the USSR has not diminished. In the same way, the occupants are trying to move from Ukraine the greatest possible production to Moskovshchyna, with the smallest possible investment in the agriculture of Ukraine by the state. Even the post-war reconstruction was carried on and still is almost exclusively at the cost of the peasants of the kolhosps and the workmen of the state farms.

In reviewing the different branches of the animal husbandry, we will notice the same thing—good plans for the present and the future and at the same time a hopeless condition in practice. Let us turn to the chief fields, horse breeding and the raising of cattle, hogs, sheep and poultry.

HORSE-BREEDING

Despite the mechanization of the country, the horse is still very important in the defense policy and the village economy. Before World War II, Ukraine held the 5th place in the world for the number of horses. Now with the catastrophic condition of horses, its position is lower. In 1940 on all the Ukrainian lands there were 6,100,000 horses and now 2,600,000. Despite the severe measures of the government and party, special orders and instructions how to breed, care for and use horses, we see almost no results. To increase the number and quality of the horses, there have been organized state studs, horse stations, and state horse droves and also state tracks (regional, district and republic). The best horse station in Ukraine now is that of Derkul, for the breeding of riding horses, of Dubriva for farm-horses and of Novo-Oleksandrivka for heavy draft animals.

Besides these, there have been organized in special state and kolhosp organizations, horse farms (konefarmy) for breeding race horses and for systematic work on improving the local breeds. The breeding material is furnished by the state horse droves and horse stations. The strains planned for Ukraine are Orlov racers, English race horses and also Don, Ardennes, Barbanson, Percherons and for Zakarpattya and in parts of Galicia (Drohobych and Stanislaviv district) Hucul horses.

CATTLE, MEAT AND DAIRY LIVESTOCK

The raising of meat and dairy animals is the most important part of the Ukrainian animal industry. It furnishes important products for food and industry. Before World War II, there were more than 16,000,000 head on the Ukrainian lands, and Ukraine then held the 7th place in the world. Now, by the official statistics there are in all 12,000,000, i. e.

there is still not the pre-war number despite in this field the Soviet government has had almost its best success. For Ukraine, several breeds have been selected and these have been announced by the government as planned, and are being introduced in the usual way (by compulsion) in the appropriate regions. Three of these are local Ukrainian, which have been bred in the area during the past century and before the others have been introduced from Europe. The Red steppe or Red Ukrainian is planned for the steppe parts of Ukraine, the Crimea, and the North Caucasus. This breed has very productive qualities; e.g. it weighs 450-500 kg. and its milk production is, in the average year, 3,500-5,000 litres with 3.7% of butter fat. The Red Galician and the Brown Carpathian is for Galicia and other Western provinces. Its productive capacity is about the same as the first. The White-headed Ukrainian is planned for northern Polissya, and the northwest part of the Right Bank. Its average weight is 350-400 kg. and its yearly milk production is 3,000-4,000 litres with 3.7% of fat. The Gray Ukrainian, a breed of lesser production is planned for the northern steppe parts of Ukraine and special work is being done to improve it. It is now used for hauling. Its average weight is 450-500 kg. and its milk production is 2,000 litres with 4.7% of fat.

Of the world breeds, there have been planned for Ukraine: the Swiss for special regions of the forest steppe, Zakarpattya, and the foothills of the North Caucasus. Its average weight is 480-600 kg., its milk production 3,500-5,500 litres with 3.8% of fat. The Siementhal for the forest steppe and Zakavkazzya. Its average weight is 500-650 kg., and its yearly milk production 3,300-5,000 litres with 3.8% fat.

To improve the local breeds and for work in selection, there have been introduced Shorthorns and Herefords which are still concentrated on special farms. For correct work in selection, there have been founded special state breeding farms and state kolhosp farms, and also special zootechnical stations. The best of these which have accomplished some things in the past years are Askania Nova in the Zaporizzhya for the Red steppe and Gray Ukrainian cattle, Trostyanets in Chernihivshchyna for the Siementhal, Terezino in the Kiev area for the White-headed Ukrainian, Akerman in Dnipropetrivshchyna, for the Red steppe Dublyany near Lviv for the Red Galician, etc.

HOG RAISING

Hog raising in Ukraine is the most widespread part of the animal husbandry. All Ukrainians raise hogs: villagers, workmen, officials and even the intelligentsia. The hogs, like cattle and fowl, were a basic source of food of the population during bad times. The quality of the hogs has been noticeably improved. In the past the estate owners and

the zemstvos imported and selected pure strains from Europe and now this work is done by the state.

Up to World War II, there were on the Ukrainian lands 11,900,000 hogs or the 5th number in the world. There are scarcely 9,000,000 now. For the reproduction and selection of hogs there are special breeding establishments and zootechnical stations and also the special research Institute of Hog Raising in Poltava.

The breeds planned for Ukraine are: the Large White English. This has been introduced from England and is especially adapted for bacon. Its productive qualities are great; its live weight is 275-300 kg., its length 168 cm. and each litter is of 10-12 young. It is spread throughout the whole of Ukraine. The breeding places for this are Chutteve, V. Oleksandrivka, Mykhaylivka, the Poltava State Breeding Station with numerous kolhosp breeding farms, etc. The steppe White Ukrainian, developed by the Ukrainian zootechnician M. Ivanov in the years 1926-34 has its station in Askania Nova. This breed is for meat and lard; its live weight is 260-300 kg., its length 165 cm. and a litter is of 12-14. It has the valuable quality of being resistant to disease and is well adapted to local conditions. It is spread in steppe Ukraine and the Crimea. The main breeding stations are Askania Nova, Melitopil, Yakmivsk, etc. The Berkshire is a type imported from England, especially for lard. It has high productivity, a live weight of 250-350 kg. length 150 cm. and 10-11 in a litter. It has black hair. The state breeding farm, Stary Kavray, is in Poltavshchyna. This breed is used chiefly for selective work and for the improvement of local strains. The Improved Myrhorod or Spotted Myrhorod was introduced by the Ukrainian zootechnician, Ya. Bondarenko. Its weight is 250-350 kg., length 150 cm. and litter of 10-11. It is spread in Poltavshchyna, chiefly in the Myrhorod and neighboring districts. Other breeds which are less widespread are the German White, Shorteared, Lyven, Breit, etc.

SHEEP RAISING

Sheep raising is also an important field, for beside milk, sheep furnish cheese and meat and also wool, skins and leather. Sheep raising plays an important role in the economy of steppe Ukraine, the Carpathians, Bukovyna, the Crimea and the North Caucasus. Before the war on the Ukrainian lands there were 11,900,000 sheep and goats and Ukraine occupied the 9th place in the world for the number of sheep and goats. Now there are 6,000,000. This shows that even such an easy section as sheep raising has still not reached its pre-war level.

Sheep are bred most successfully in the coastal regions. Thus in the one state establishment, the Giant (Hihant) in Mykolayevshchyna before World War II there were 20,000 sheep. There are now in Ukraine

three sheep-breeding centers. The most important zootechnical station and breeding centre is in Askania Nova in Zaporizhzhya. Here the Ukrainian zootechnician, M. Ivanov, developed a new breed, the Askanian Rambulye which has high productive qualities and is well adapted to local conditions. The breeds planned for Ukraine are the Askanian Rambulye, the Reshytelivska, Sokilska, Tsyheyska and the Fine Fleeced Merinos.

POULTRY AND POULTRY RAISING

Domestic poultry raising plays a great role in the folk economy. Thanks to the ease of raising or more precisely the wide range of food, their rapid growth and easy acclimatization, poultry is raised everywhere in Ukraine. Before the war there were in Ukraine some 70,000,000 birds; now they have diminished to 50,000,000; of these 90% are hens, and the rest are geese, ducks, turkeys, etc. The breeds planned for Ukraine are White Leghorns, Rhode Islands, Wyandottes and the native Ukrainians, Cuckoos and Hlynastys.

For selective work and the improvement of the local breeds there have been established a series of breeding establishments, kolhosp farms and hatching centres. The best breeding stations are Borky and the Red Stars (Chervoni Zori) near Kharkiv. In each of them there are 50,000 layers. There are also the breeding establishments Krasne in the Crimea, the Plemrozplidnyk in Pyatygorsk, the breeding plant and zootechnical station in Kamyanets-Podilsky, etc. Productive poultry raising is concentrated in the kolhosp poultry farms and the government collects the basic products, eggs and live and slaughtered birds, from the entire population of Ukraine according to the acreage and not the number of birds.

The productivity of the poultry is not very high. On the average each layer produces 100-120 eggs. This gives 2,800,000,000 eggs, 2,500,000 slaughtered birds and 250,000 metric tons of down and feathers yearly.

Recently there have been made changes in the direction of mechanizing the incubation of hens and water birds. There have been opened in Ukraine 80 incubator stations which hatch 7,000,000 eggs of the various kinds of birds at one time. The task of these incubating stations is to hatch the eggs and distribute the chickens, ducklings and goslings to the kolhosp or state for raising, or to sell them to owners for their private plots. Any citizen of Ukraine can keep poultry, it is the only kind of animal that the government permits to multiply in unlimited quantity, without fear of "enriching" its citizens.

This is the general condition of animal husbandry as a whole and in special branches. To complete the picture we must speak of its natural and economic distribution.

REGIONS OF ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

The Soviet government of Ukraine considers its animal husbandry as part of that of the entire Union and so, in planning it uses the breeding stations not only to furnish stock to the Ukrainian territory but the neighboring republics and even distant parts of Central Russia. Yet, because of a number of purely territorial and economic advantages (the proximity of Ukraine to the West European countries, good climatic conditions, etc.) Ukraine, even under its rigid economic pressure, is still relatively "independent" or more accurately a special part of the general economy. It is true that this works against the Ukrainian population and not for it. In connection with the general regionalization of Ukraine, the same is true of its animal husbandry. In Ukraine there are chief regions for meat and milk production, hog raising, and poultry raising. Horse breeding, sheep raising and other forms are of secondary importance.

According to the natural regions and also the regional locations of the processing of agricultural products, the animal husbandry is not spread evenly and this is likewise true of the productive farms and breeding centres. The milk region embraces the northern part of Ukraine, i.e. all of Polissya. Because of the climatic conditions and the natural pasturage most of the cattle are raised for their milk. The local breed is the White-headed Ukrainian. In the region there are 170 butter and cheese plants.

The hog and milk region embraces the greater part of the forest steppe. Hog raising and the production of milk and meat predominate in this area. There have been built here special plants to handle animal products as bacon factories in Kiev, Poltava, Kremenchuh. There are 87 milk plants, 112 sugar refineries and 52 distilleries.

Podillya, the northern part of Besarabia and Bukovyna are the regions for poultry raising and orchards. The milk industry, sheep raising and hog raising are also widely spread but they are secondary. Here are the poultry breeding stations, the incubating stations, 64 butter and cheese plants, 40 sugar refineries and 15 distilleries.

The steppe of Ukraine is the grain area but because of the climatic conditions and the abundance of fodder there is concentrated here the meat and milk production, sheep raising and hog raising. Naturally the region has the best breed of Ukrainian cattle, the Red Ukrainian, which was historically developed here. In Dnipropetrovshchyna, Zaporizhzhya, Khersonshchyna and Mykolayevshchyna we find the best breeding stations for this cattle, and also the world-famous Askania Nova, a place for young cattle, a zootechnical station, a breeding station and the institute for hybridization and acclimatization of animals.

The shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, the Crimea, the Carpathians, and the Zakarpattia are for producing sheep, meat and milk. Sheep raising and the meat and milk industry predominate. There are 80 butter and milk plants and cheese factories.

The industrial regions of Ukraine: Artemivshchyna, Luhanshchyna, Krivorizhzhya, Zaporizhzhya, Boryslavshchyna, and such large cities as Kiev, Kharkiv, Lviv, Odesa, Dnipropetrovske form special milk, orchard and truckgarden regions. Cattle raising here is marked by great intensification and diversification. On the suburban enterprises are milk, hog and poultry farms, and also feeding yards. The animal products are used in an unprocessed and uncanned state.

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In conclusion we wish to say a few words of generalization. From the facts which we have given, there might be drawn the mistaken conclusion that the position of animal husbandry in Ukraine is good. In fact it has not yet regained the pre-war level in spite of the good plans, strict orders and instructions. If there is even a certain general aspect, it is due to the special devices of the government, the great capital expenditures for the building of state enterprises for animal products and breeding. The kolhosp farms, as a rule, are in a bad shape. We believe that there are definite reasons for this.

The first is the lack of appropriateness or adaptability of the social structure to such large scale animal husbandry. In rebuilding society on "the new socialist bases" and introducing into practice a hitherto unknown exploitation of the people, an attempt was made to do the same with the animals. In placing them under excessively unfavorable conditions of supervision and exploitation, the identification of animals with machines (i. e. by making attempts to work horses and bulls as draft animals in three shifts, like tractors, automobiles, combines) they exhausted the animals and caused a decline in their productivity.

The second reason, which resulted from the first, is the lack of interest of the member of the kolhosp and the workman in the state work. By considering merely compulsion and violence as the stimulus for work, the process of work lost its inner natural stimulus and so to achieve an economic effect from the work, there were needed many overseers, instructors and even severe punishment. This called out the old Ukrainian saying: "By beating a horse you won't go far," and still more by beating a man.

The third reason for the unsatisfactory condition of the animal husbandry was and is the failure of the technical knowledge to meet the planned dimensions and economic forms. At the head of the animal rearing were people who did not have the formal knowledge or experi-

ence or love for animals. The collectivized animals and often even those breeds bought abroad at high prices were placed in primitive conditions in unprepared buildings, given improper food and lacked attention to their physical condition. When we add to this that the animals did not receive appropriate food on time, it becomes clear that this must reduce the productivity of the animals.

As a result of these causes there came another and the most terrible—mass illnesses and losses from them. In this connection nature, perhaps for future generations, has carried on a “great experiment”. It is only a pity that the conditions of a totalitarian regime do not permit the free world to know the results of this „experiment”, for it shows the unnatural and unacceptable character of the totalitarian Communist regime.

There appeared among the animals diseases which were hitherto completely unknown or those which had been mastered many years ago, or diseases which under normal economic forms would have had no importance but under “socialism” became a real misfortune for the economy. We can only list those which are real barriers to a correct Ukrainian animal husbandry. Mass abortions and sterility of animals and especially of horses and cattle, epidemics among the young animals, especially calves, colts, pigs and chickens, traumatic illness which often affected 25% of the total number of horses, encephalomyelitis of horses,—an infectious illness which had not been known for more than 50 years,—infectious anemia of horses, coccidiosis of the farm animals, infectious jaundice of calves, parasitic and fungus diseases of the skin, stachibotritocytosis of horses, etc.

Thus the good plans and good wishes of the professional agriculturists and animal breeders cannot be carried out because of a series of objective reasons, and it is really due to the regime which has ruined the old century-long productive relations in society without introducing anything in their place except violence.



THE PROBLEM OF NATIONALITIES IN SOVIET ASIA

By JOHN V. SWEET

It has too often been the habit of writers to picture the Asiatic parts of the Russian Empire and now of the Soviet Union as a unit inhabited predominantly by Russians (Muscovites). This is entirely false as can be easily shown by an examination of the data submitted even by the Russians themselves and such assumptions need to be corrected if we would understand the Soviet Union in the Asiatic parts of its domain.

The Asiatic possessions of the Soviet Union cover approximately 6,460,000 sq. miles and have now a population of almost 36 million people. They fall into four separate groups:

<i>Soviet Asia</i>	<i>Territory (sq. m.)</i>	<i>Population</i>
1. Soviet Central Asia including the Kazakh SSR and Turkestan	1,536,600	16,115,000
2. Western Siberia	935,000	10,350,000
3. Eastern Siberia and the Yakut ASSR	2,782,000	5,550,000
4. The Far East (Maritime Province)	1,204,700	3,600,000
		(2,600,000 in 1939).
T o t a l	6,458,300	35,615,000

These figures, even though compiled from official Soviet sources, are not entirely accurate and have been interpreted variously by different scholars, still they give a rough basis for our remarks.

The important fact is that the vast majority of the population of Soviet Asia is not Russian. The latter are in the minority everywhere except in Western Siberia and some areas along and north of the line of the Trans-Siberian Railroad.

Another widespread notion, fostered by the Russians and the present Soviet regime, is that before the coming of the Russians the entire area was inhabited by a wild and barbarous population. While this was true in parts, other sections were highly civilized, especially Turkestan,

and have been for hundreds of years. They produced a high culture with many beautiful monuments, a large part of which have been destroyed by the Russian conquerors.

The Russian policy from the beginning was based upon force and violence and has not changed through the centuries. Gerhard Mueller¹ in his eighteenth century history outlined this policy when he approved the destruction of a small city of the Tunguts as an example to the natives: "the fear which neighboring people received would have pressed them to surrender more easily, if more severe treatment had been applied in the beginning to the Kirghizes... but when they saw that there was no punishment for their boldness, there was the opposite result and afterwards it became necessary to make the Siberians fear the name of the Russians."²

The Russian had penetrated Siberia early in the seventeenth century and had established many posts but the exploitation of the country assumed a more severe form under Peter I, when he sent the Boyar Cherkasky to Tobolsk to explore and conquer new lands. Later still large military forces were sent to subjugate the various peoples of Siberia and Central Asia.³

The Russians entered Siberia in their hunt for furs, first that of the black marten or sable and then as they reached the Pacific the fur of the seal and the otter. It was this search for furs that drove them to Kamchatka and the Aleutian Islands and Alaska. They compelled the natives by the most brutal methods to hunt for them and punished them severely if they failed to respond. The natives of the north were not able to protect themselves and thousands were slaughtered, especially by Soloviev in the second half of the XVIII century.⁴ The detailed story of these attacks can never be forgotten, especially in regard to the Aleuts.⁵

Later the Muscovites began to search for silver and gold. The first three and a half pounds of silver were smelted in Nerchinsk in 1704. Most of this wealth was taken for their personal profit by the Russian

¹ Gerhard Friedrich Mueller or Miller, a German in Russian service, was born in 1705 in Herforden, Westfalia. He emigrated to Russia, where he became a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. His chief work, *A Collection of Russian History* in 9 volumes, was one of the main works defining the idea of the indivisibility and unity of the Russian people and the Russian Empire. In his account of the eastern regions, there are many errors and his works must be used with caution.

² G. Mueller, *History of Siberia*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1937, pp. 46-47.

³ B. Kafenhau, *The Foreign Policy of Russia*. Moscow, 1941, p. 81.

⁴ C. Andrews. *The Story of Alaska*, p. 39.

⁵ Edward A. Herran, *Alaska, Land of Tomorrow*, p. 104.

administrators, among whom Prince Gagarin was famous for his greed. As the natives proved unfitted for this work, the tsars commenced to send exiles to carry it on and to eliminate their personal enemies. Later they sent political opponents of the regime as Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Caucasians, subject peoples that still cherished the desire for independence. It is only necessary to read the classical descriptions, the *Memoirs of Prince Beniowski*, the *Dead House* of Dostoyevsky, the articles by George Kennan in 1891 and the works of Thomas Atkinson to realize this. Kravchenko, Claus Mehnatt and Prykhodko, give us the same or worse picture of conditions under the Soviets, while a Ukrainian author, S. Levinsky, saw trains with exiles also in 1936 as he was travelling on the Trans-Siberian railroad.

It is interesting that while serfdom was never introduced, the natives were treated as slaves of the Russians and the exiles as slaves of the state.

There are many nationalities in this area but they fall into a few groups including those from Europe, natives and immigrants from adjoining countries. There was for centuries a steady stream of peasants to Siberia who hoped to find there some form of freedom. At first there were Russians but later the Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, Lithuanians and Caucasians came in as exiles; a mass emigration of these peoples commenced in the nineteenth century.

The various nationalities, both the natives and the emigrants, tended to settle in compact groups. Thus, while the Russians settled chiefly along and to the north of the Trans-Siberian railroad, the Ukrainians occupied the south Siberian steppes in the present Kazakhstan and later in the Far East. In these two areas they form the majority of the population. These newcomers did not as a rule mingle with natives. The Soviets, pressing the development of the country but true to their policy, sought to exploit also the national feelings, especially of the natives by the establishment among them of various Soviet Republics.

They turned this fact to their advantage during the Russian Revolution, when they exploited these differences against the White regimes which refused as always to recognize the national problems of Russia.

During 1850-1885 about 300,000 persons went to Siberia; in 1885-1905 the influx to Soviet Asia was nearly 1,500,000 and from 1905-1914 more than 3,250,000 or about 325,000 a year. According to Soviet sources the population has doubled since 1914, especially in Western and Eastern Siberia and the movement is still going on. Most of this new population came from the Black Earth area of the USSR, mostly from Ukraine and so the majority are Ukrainians.

The statistics which we will cite are not reliable on the number of non-Russians. This was true in tsarist times and is an important part of the Soviet statistics, after 1930. To give a few examples: Baransky's *Economic Geography of the USSR*, says (p. 266) of Eastern Siberia: "there are far fewer Ukrainians than in Western Siberia." On p. 326, he noted that the Maritime Province contained half of the population of the Far East and made no mention of the Ukrainians who in fact form 75-80% of the population. Their presence was mentioned prior to 1932 even in Soviet sources. The same is true of the *Geography of the USSR* by Th. Shabat, published in English in New York. The author mentions Ukrainians near Khabarovsk and other smaller places but ignores those in the Maritime area.

More can be learned from a study of Ukrainian sources about the national composition of Siberia, Turkestan and the Far East. The results are confirmed by many European students. They have been led to this interest by their desire to study the loss caused to Ukraine by emigration and deportations; thus they have pieced together the actual evidence.

We have studied this problem for years but there have been great difficulties in view of the constant change of the Soviet administrative divisions. These changes have been made either for economic reasons or for political considerations or to minimize the predominance of a given nationality in a certain area. We have tried to be conservative and to avoid errors produced by the constant changes but we are also aware that the national problems in Soviet Asia are acute and that the Moscow policy of russification has not succeeded, as is the case in the Kazakh SSR and the other Moslem countries, for we can never forget that the bulk of the natives are Moslem.

The Soviets are trying to industrialize the Asiatic part of the USSR. They are also trying to shift the population for their own advantage and to destroy the local cultures. The evacuation to Siberia of millions of people during World War II intensified the problems and greatly changed the composition of the population in many areas.

In the following tables we will try to show some of the more important facts about the population and indicate their significance for the future. The total population of the Asiatic part of the USSR is given by Shabat as 35,615,000 and by Dr. M. Milko as 35,200,000.⁶

The population of Soviet Asia was composed of three main nationality groups — Natives, Russians and Ukrainians, as well as of several smaller groups.

⁶ Dr. M. Milko, *The Ukrainians in the Asiatic Possessions of the USSR*, Shanghai, 1942.

The population of Soviet Asia in 1939 (approximately)

	<i>Natives</i>	<i>Ukrainians</i>	<i>Russians</i>	<i>Total</i>
West Siberia	1,000,000	500,000	6,250,000	7,750,000
East Siberia	750,000	250,000	2,000,000	3,000,000
Soviet Central Asia (incl. Kazakh Republ. with 6,000,000)	4,000,000	2,250,000	2,250,000	8,500,000
Turkestan	7,500,000	400,000	1,350,000	9,250,000
Far East	350,000	700,000	1,000,000	2,050,000
T o t a l	13,600,000	4,100,000	12,850,000	30,550,000

These figures are of course rough but they give a general picture. However during and after World War II the Soviets shifted millions to their Asiatic possessions, including 5-6,000,000 Ukrainians. These figures therefore need to be corrected because of war losses and new arrivals of all categories.

One author has stated that exiles were not included in these figures. *Pravda* in December, 1941, wrote that tens of millions of people were moving to new places in the East. Dr. Rachner has stated that about 12,500,000 were evacuated in 1941-42. Thus the estimate that 5-6,000,000 Ukrainians were sent to Siberia is conservative and all figures must be accordingly revised. On the other hand probably a half million at least perished on the way, as we can estimate from notes in the Soviet publications of the time, owing to the hard and badly organized transportation. At least then 4,000,000 Ukrainians settled in Asia in various places under most difficult conditions after 1939.

At the end of World War II the population of Soviet Asia was probably following: nearly 38,5% of Great Russians, 23% of Ukrainians and 38.5% Asiatic natives, chiefly Moslem. It is only in Eastern and Western Siberia except for a part of the south of Western Siberia that the Russians form a majority.

It is important to note that the evacuees were the younger, better educated and better skilled people. This fact will be of great importance in the future life of the area.

In general those sections where the Russians are in a minority are the areas south of the Trans-Siberian railroad except in a few Western areas. In this great area there is no dominant type and instead of using the Russian generalizations, we should call them non-Russian peoples under Russian Communist administration. The various Asiatic peoples have been constantly striving to recover their liberty and in their areas they form the dominating and native element. The Ukrainians have a harder task for they are exposed to an even greater russification campaign as

a result of the programs for russification and industrialization. Ye Ukrainian consciousness is very strong and has been since 1917 a v for Moscow. In Dec. 1932 a secret instruction of Stalin and Mo declared: "Ukrainization activity has to be stopped, its manage disbanded and the Ukrainian offenders punished."⁷

Let us turn directly to the population of Turkestan and Kazakh: This area contains five Soviet Republics according to the Soviet terminology.

	<i>Territory</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Russians</i>
Kazakh SSR	1,061,000	6,000,000	1,200,000
Uzbek SSR	157,200	6,000,000	360,000
Tadzhik SSR	54,600	1,455,000	15,000
Kirghiz SSR	76,100	1,490,000	174,000
Turkmen SSR	187,100	1,170,000	93,600
T o t a l	1,536,000	16,115,000	1,842,600

These are the semi-official figures of the Russians as given by Sha in his work. They are incorrect, for among the population of the no and northeast of Kazakhstan as well as in the southeast there is a la number of Ukrainians (Baransky, p. 398). The same is true concerni parts of the Kirghiz SSR (Baransky, p. 388). These figures of Sha should be corrected to benefit the Ukrainians at the expense of t Russians.

A further study shows that in the Far East, Turkestan, Kazakhst and Eastern Siberia there are 13,600,000 Asiatic peoples, 5,500,0 Ukrainians and only 8,100,000 Russians. There is no further detailed dat

If we omit Western Siberia which is predominantly Russian b with a strong local Siberian feeling, we will only increase the importan of the Asiatic peoples in these areas. They are Mohammedans and the religion is under Communist pressure at present. The Ukrainians a also settled in these areas. The Russians are in the administratio political organizations, police, industrial workers and in control of tl slave camps. They are not therefore intimately connected with the lands and the local life.

The future, the interests, culture and all other aspects of life of tl people differ from those of this shifting, impermanent group. We c add to this, however, the large military forces in Asia but we kno little of their national composition.

⁷ V. Chaplenko, "The Ukrainians of the Russian Soviet Republic." *T. Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 1.

The distribution of the different nationalities in the Asiatic possessions of the USSR is then at present about as follows:

	<i>Asiatic natives</i>	<i>Ukrainians⁸</i>	<i>Russians</i>	<i>Total</i>
Western Siberia	1,000,000	1,500,000	6,500,000	9,000,000
Eastern Siberia	750,000	750,000	2,000,000	3,500,000
Central Asia				
and Kazakhstan	4,000,000	4,000,000	3,000,000	11,000,000
Turkestan	7,500,000	750,000	1,500,000	9,750,000
Far East	350,000	1,250,000	1,000,000	2,650,000
T o t a l	13,600,000	8,250,000	14,000,000	35,900,000

The Asiatic section of the USSR is anything but a unified and homogeneous land. There are underground movements of different peoples who have no connection with Russian culture and mentality.⁹ They are different peoples and will have different courses in the future, new, free world, once the Russian-Communist yoke has been broken. The Ukrainians will play in that future a large role because of their position, their number and their strong democratic and anti-Communist ideas.

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⁸ See details about the lands with a Ukrainian majority etc. in the article by Chaplenko.

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THE DISGRACE OF BERIA

By CLARENCE A. MANNING

On the death of Stalin the control of the Soviet Union passed into new hands, even though the men in the seats of power had been among the closest collaborators with the dead leader. The driving power was gone and it was easy to predict that Malenkov, Beria and Molotov would not see eye to eye for very long. The histories of triumvirates from ancient times have made this very clear. Yet for the first days the world received a cloyingly sweet picture of brotherhood and friendship in the Kremlin.

There were obviously some changes taking place. The release of the various doctors and their public pardon by Beria indicated that. So too did the political changes in the position of Malenkov, his giving up of his post as Secretary of the Communist Party and the various changes in the governments of the non-Russian Republics. Rumors began to leak out of discords within the Kremlin but no one could be sure that the wish was not father to the thought and that this was not mere gossip. Next came the riots in East Germany and the active interference of the Red Army. The absence of Beria in Bolshoy Teatre on June 27, attended by all of the more important figures caused some comment but there were good reasons to explain his absence. Then came the public denunciation of the second man in the state as a capitalistic agent and a traitor.

Beria was finished. That was the obvious thing for Moscow has a speedy way of dealing with such traitors, even though it may be months before the government sees fit to hold a public trial, if it ever does. We can be very sure that such a trial will be so wrapped in charges and generalities that the world can never form a true picture of the actual course of events.

It is safe to say that we have to do with two different situations which may or may not be related. The first is the reason for the split in the Kremlin high command and the second is the policies favored by the competing rivals.

Beria for nearly twenty years had been perhaps the most feared man in the Soviet Union. Through his post as head of the internal security forces and in charge of the slave labor camps, he had had the opportunity to turn the secret police into a powerful instrument. It might well have been suspected that in a clash with either the Party or the Army, Beria's

own private forces available and at hand could turn the scales to his advantage. Did he try unsuccessfully to seize Malenkov and thus invite his own downfall? Was he planning to try and did his opponents strike first? Was it merely the desire of Malenkov and perhaps Bulganin to remove a rival? It is safe to say that to-day we do not know the actual train of events in any detail.

There is one startling fact. The experiences of Yagoda, who was purged by Ezhov and of Ezhov served up as a victim by Beria and now of Beria himself at the hands of Kruglov, indicate clearly that the forces of the secret police are not necessarily loyal to their chief. What seems in a totalitarian state to be the strongest post has been proved on three separate occasions to be the weakest and the most dangerous. While the other men in the Kremlin have reshuffled their positions, the heads of the much feared police go the way of their victims. It would be interesting to know why this is so. Is there a secret police within the secret police which is perhaps closer to the Party? Is it merely jealousy among the leading subordinates? Is it something inherent in the internal organization of the MVD? We cannot answer. The secret police of both Hitler and Mussolini did not apparently share this weakness.

Beria was a Georgian and he was the only non-Russian in high position. So was Stalin and Stalin had with him early in his career a number of brilliant compatriots. All of them vanished from sight. Did Stalin deliberately sacrifice them to make his peace with the Great Russians and their overweening ambitions and pretensions? Beria was the last of these men and it is very unlikely that there will be another figure so powerful allowed to rise among the non-Russian peoples. Was Beria removed only because he was a Georgian or were there other things involved?

What is far too often overlooked by students of the Soviet Union is that the non-Russian Republics are in almost the same position as the satellite states. It is true that these latter maintain a fiction of independence; Ukraine and Byelorussia are even members of U.N. Yet their Communist Parties are directly under the control of the Russian Communist Party; the Kremlin at will changes their leaders and discourages any truly independent action. The non-Russian Republics are in the same position except for the fact that they have signed under force the Constitution of the USSR which ensures them the right of development along the lines laid down by Moscow. Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, etc. have no choice in selecting their rulers or their policies.

It has been made to appear as a result of Beria's old speeches and appointments that he was interested in extending the rights of these non-Russian Republics, some of which are dangerously honeycombed by

their "bourgeois nationalism." It has been suggested that the appointment of a Ukrainian Kyrchenko to be Party Secretary in Ukraine in place of the Russian Melnikov may have been a desire of Beria to placate the Ukrainians exactly as he used his opportunity to place new men in the other non-Russian Republics.

This argument and it will undoubtedly be supported by statements from the Politburo argues that Beria was in some sense a liberal, anxious to secure for the various citizens of these Republics at least some of the rights that they are guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution. If there is anything in it, Beria's change of heart was very recent. When the Ukrainians were being deported by millions to Siberia and the far north, when Beria was running his slave camps of death, he showed no sign of any sympathy with the legitimate aspirations even of the Communists of these republics. It is hard to believe that once he had secured apparently even greater power than before, he would deliberately change his policy, unless it was done for a greater uniformity between the republics and the satellites as a process of bringing these latter into the Soviet Union itself.

Still Beria might have seen the writing on the wall and knowing that he himself was not a Russian and that Stalin could not be succeeded by another Georgian, he set himself on some wild plan which had little to do with the bases of his former career. At all events the changes in his appointments and the lists of men removed since his downfall indicates that Beria's clash with his colleagues was connected in some way with the administration of the non-Russian republics, for there has been no parallel moves as yet among the Great Russians. The satellite states have likewise been undergoing changes and it is very unlikely that all these were only touched off by the riots in Eastern Germany.

Malenkov is typical of the Russians and their attitude. His first remarks on the death of Stalin emphasized his Great Russian attitude, for it was they whom he singled for mention. He accused Beria later of trying to drive a wedge between the brotherly nations in terms that made it clear that he expected to advance the old policy of russification which had guided Stalin since the end of the twenties and which had steadily eliminated even the non-Russian Communist leaders. Every thing points in this direction at the moment, for the downfall of Beria removes the last outstanding figure from these republics and will leave the field more fully to the Great Russians than ever before.

On the other hand, as we know by the policy of Stalin, the conquest and elimination of a rival did not of necessity eliminate his ideas. Stalin defeated Trotsky and continued to apply some of Trotsky's policies in scarcely changed language, after proclaiming those ideas heretical

for tactical purposes. He did the same with the ideas of Zinovyev and Bukharin and if there was a similar situation in the whole Soviet complex of nations, there would be no reason why Malenkov should not do the same thing and extend a few sops to the non-Russians whether in the Soviet Union or the satellites, once Beria was out of the way.

There are very decided implications that Malenkov and his group are to some degree reviving the theoretical division between the Party and the Government which was observed during the twenties. It offered the Soviets a freer hand in their campaign of infiltration of other states, for it on paper separated the Soviet official representatives from their work of propaganda. It could be revived with advantage now as part of the peace offensive in Europe and the new wave of Communist aggression in Asia but it is very unlikely that except for the confirmed neutralists such a policy will meet with the success that it had in the past. The entire thinking part of the world will remember too well the period of the thirties and forties when Stalin abrogated any policy except that of brute force.

A third interesting point in the changes that are taking place is the emergence of the army under Marshall Bulganin. Since the liquidation of Marshal Tukhachevsky and many of the high officers in the thirties, the Red Army seemed to be outside of politics. The officers who won the Soviet victories in World War II were officially honored, given rewards but they were in a sense removed from the public eye. They attended to their duties, appeared at the right times and the right places but almost without exception, when the war was over, they slipped back into a subordinate place in the Soviet hierarchy.

It seems very likely that Soviet army units have been used on several occasions in Ukraine to break up popular demonstrations or to oppose the UPA but for all such purposes there was a tendency to use Beria's drilled and uniformed police divisions. It was these latter that were the active forces of state security under the normal conditions of Soviet life.

Reports indicate, however, that during the riots in East Germany the army employed tank divisions for the restoration of order and apparently in the same way some groups or detachments were moved to Moscow at the time of the arrest of Beria. Marshal Bulganin seems to have played some role in the action and it may very well be that under the new set up, the army which has always been potentially one of the most important factors in the state will now play a more prominent role. The resolutions of the Red Army on the unmasking of Beria may very easily give a real evidence of the delight of the officer corps at the defeat of a man who was himself the head of another armed

force which was better equipped and cared for than any of the regular troops.

In view of all this, the Army must have been openly or secretly prepared to act, if Beria was able to call his own trusted forces to protect him. Yet it seems pretty certain that that did not happen and that the overthrow of the second man in the state was practically bloodless. There is no assurance that it will continue to be so, in view of the large number of high Communists who are being removed from their posts and expelled from the Army. We must remember that these men as Dekanozov were men who had had years of service in responsible posts, where they were able to play important roles in the rapid Soviet seizure of the satellite states after World War II.

The removal of a person like Beria will certainly have repercussions over a considerable period of time as the effects seep down into the wider and wider parts of the population. The unrest that has been showing itself during the past months in the satellite states cannot be lightly disregarded for it shows that the Soviet policy had been pushed too hard and too fast, before the masses of the people were sufficiently cowed to accept it quietly. That is probably the reason for some of the relaxations of the tensions that have been ordered in some of the satellites. Yet too much must not be made of these concessions, for there is no reason to believe that the Soviet leaders have changed the basic character of their policy and thinking.

Comparison has already been made between some of these concessions and the declaration of the New Economic Policy by Lenin. As the Ukrainians and the other peoples have learned at their cost, the granting of any concessions for the bringing about of better living foundations has been carefully watched and as soon as the desired results has been secured, the concessions were quietly withdrawn or altered to an unrecognizable extent and the screws were tightened up some more. So it was in the New Economic Policy and again in the thirties when after the famine there grew some quiet donations with the object of preparing for the events of World War II. Similar parallels can be found since that war, when it was a necessity to secure more support for the governmental policy of collectivizing Western Ukraine.

The nature of the charges against Beria have been so drawn that they will make it difficult to pin down exactly how far he and his personal followers have penetrated the life and actions of the various republics. Soviet terminology with its artificial jargon in which every word can be interpreted in several ways and the Soviet use of dialectical materialism to change not only the present and the future but also the past, together with the tangled skeins of intrigue in the Kremlin itself, as

the new leaders jockey for power will long hide the truth as to the connections in the cultural life of the republics and satellite states. Even the attack on Melnikov for his Russification policy and the attack on Beria for encouraging bourgeois nationalism seem strangely at variance even in such a time of rapid change and transition.

That is why we have to be extremely cautious in assessing the full meaning of these astounding events. The obvious interpretation is that the fall of Beria was a natural result of the violent outbreaks in East Berlin, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Yet there were distinct trends toward a new policy still earlier. It is now fashionable to link those trends with Beria. On the other hand it is equally possible that the final rupture between Malenkov and Beria was concerned with questions of personal ambition and self aggrandizement and had only a subordinate and secondary connection with any of the charges or actions that have taken place.

With the leaders of the various branches of the Soviet government backed by even a part of their own special field of influence, a decisive struggle could not be long delayed. This was particularly true at the present time when formal ideological differences have been relegated to a secondary place. No one has suggested that Malenkov, Beria or Bulganin have any of the love for argumentation and theorizing that characterized Stalin, Trotsky, Zinovyev, etc. In the earlier fight that saw the victory of Stalin, there were points of argumentation and of interpretation. Those points are settled and to-day when the fight has commenced and Beria been seized, the explanation is couched not in terms of doctrinal heresy but of treason and general rascality. That fact should be a warning as to the nature of the Soviet regime during the next years, for it shows that the leaders are no longer interested in any thing but the thirst for power and still more power. Treason has always been an easy accusation for a Russian to mark. It marked the vagaries of Ivan the Terrible and many another tsar and the Ministry of Internal Security and Beria were only too well aware of its potentialities. Now that the great exponent of treason and sabotage has been caught on his own charges, we may expect still others of the present dominant leaders to follow in the same path.

In neither case is there any sign that Ukraine and the other non-Russian sections of the prison of nations will gain anything except the merest respite or that the Soviet leaders will take any effective steps to carry on their obligations and to cooperate honestly with the United Nations and the free world that is really eager for peace.

THE 700th ANNIVERSARY OF THE CITY OF LVIV

(1252—1952)

By NICHOLAS D. CHUBATY

In 1937 a group of Ukrainians from Lviv took part in an international congress in Paris. We were presented to the aged Cardinal Beaudriare, a member of the French Academy of Immortals. The spokesman for our Ukrainian delegation began in fluent French: "Your Eminence, we Ukrainians from Leopol . . ." — "Ah, Leopol is a well-known city," interrupted the Cardinal. "It is also called Lemberg, Lwôw, and in Ukrainian—Lviv," added our leader.

"Your Eminence," I added, "historians know it also by several other names, over 10 in number, as Leopolis, Leoburg, Lemburgia, Lvof, Leovios, Leontopolis, Ilof, Ili . . . and there are probably others." — "It is a unique thing," — said the cardinal with a broad smile, "that one city should have so many names."

The very form of the names shows that Lviv was a city where various cultures met and where the political and economic interests of several peoples came together. Lviv was and probably will definitely remain in Ukraine. Formally, it now belongs to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, but we hear more and more that Lviv is now a Russian city, Lvof, instead of Polish "Lwôw," although it is historically Ukrainian and lies deep in Ukrainian ethnic territory, now more than 70 miles from the ethnic Polish territory and more than 1000 miles from the Russian territory.

Next to Kiev, Lviv was in the Middle Ages the most important centre of communications and trade in Eastern Europe. After the Tatar invasion it became the most important. Here met the two great trade routes of southeastern Europe; the so-called Black Trail from Kiev along the northern slopes of the Podillyan Plateau between the steppe and the forest, and the so-called Golden Trail from Akerman on the Black Sea through Jasi, Chernivtsi, Kolomyia, and Halych to Lviv. There the two joined and went further to the west, to the valley of the Vistula, to Krakôw and Gdansk and also to Bohemia and Germany.

The geographical situation of Lviv enabled it to develop in the 16th and 17th centuries into an important centre of trade with the east, an

Emporium mercium orientalium celeberrimum, as the Italian Passaroti called it.

Lviv was founded 700 years ago, about 1252, that is, in the Tatar period, in the secure western part of Ukraine by the West Ukrainian King Daniel (Danylo). It was then only 100 miles from the boundary line between the Latin Christian and Greek Christian civilizations, that is the spheres of influence of Rome and Byzantium, a line which crosses Europe from north to south. Lviv thus became a centre of exchange of the two cultures, Eastern and Western Christian. Hence, it is not surprising that until 1939, Lviv was the seat of three archbishoprics — Greek Catholic for the Ukrainians, Roman Catholic for the Poles, and Armenian Catholic for the Armenians. In the city Ukrainian culture was in contact with the cultures of the Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, Italians, Germans and even the Armenians and Tatars.

LVIV "SEMPER FIDELIS"

From the earliest days of its foundation by the West Ukrainian King Danylo, Lviv became the exact antithesis of Moscow in spite of the fact that both shared the Byzantine Christian civilization and the



General view of the City of Lviv.

Eastern Christian religion. Moscow bent its head before the Tatars and by humbly cooperating with the barbarians tried to recover and add to its strength. Lviv was founded to resist the Tatars and check their aggression to the west. In accordance with the old tradition of Ukraine to shield Europe against the pressure from the east, Lviv was always "Semper Fidelis" to Europe.

At the same time Lviv was the most stubborn Ukrainian defender against the pressure from the west of Latin-Polish civilization on Ukraine, for this aimed also at wiping out the national identity of the Ukrainian people. In no city in Ukraine was the clash between the Latin Polish and Byzantine Ukrainian camps more dynamic and dramatic than within the walls of Lviv, dominated by the Polish Republic, the great power of Eastern Europe in the 16th century and first half of the 17th.

Dominated by the German-Polish elements, the local city council of Lviv placed sharper restrictions on the Ukrainians than the other peoples. But the Ukrainians, with their cultural and religious institutions located on the one Rus'ka Street, made of Lviv a brilliant centre of Ukrainian religious Orthodoxy and a lively centre of Ukrainian culture which was able through its teachers of the Lviv school to permeate all the cities of Ukraine and White Ruthenia to the east of the Dnieper and even to Wilno in the north. The internal discipline of the Ukrainian elements in the city was so strong that their own private brotherhood courts decided disputes among them and the condemned underwent voluntary imprisonment in the tower of the Brotherhood Church in Rus'ka Street.

The cultural revival of Ukraine along the Dnieper in the first half of the 17th century was carried through mostly by the cultural efforts of the students trained in Lviv and Western Ukraine as a whole. Lviv was the greatest defender of Ukrainian Orthodoxy as long as that defended the national individuality of the Ukrainian nation. It was only after the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, brought under the control of Moscow, ceased to defend the Ukrainian nation that Lviv with its stronghold, the Ukrainian Orthodox Stavropygion became Greek Catholic (1708), so as to continue its work of defending the Ukrainian position on the western boundaries of Ukraine until the fall of Poland, the old (1772) and the new (1939). Lviv was "Semper Fidelis" to its Ukrainian fatherland.

KIEV AND LVIV

Kiev and Lviv were the two cities in all-Ukrainian respect and all-Ukrainian love. Although the Eastern Ukrainians, separated by the Russian-Austrian frontier, were for centuries trained in the Russian school, Russian way of life and the Russian Orthodox Church, each of them looked upon Lviv as an adornment of the Ukrainian spirit, as a well-developed citadel of the Ukrainian nation, as the Piedmont of Ukraine.

In the same way the Western Ukrainians reared for centuries in Western civilization under the Polish-Austrian school and their Greek Catholic Church were proud of the thousand-year-old tradition of Kiev

and its freedom-loving energy. Both groups were ready to die for Ukrainian Kiev and Ukrainian Lviv. For the first the road to free Kiev led through a free Lviv, for the second the road to a free Lviv led through a free Kiev. It is, therefore, not surprising that only three months after the establishment of the Western Ukrainian Republic on the ruins of Austria-Hungary (November 1, 1918) both Ukrainian republics—Eastern and Western — were united in one Ukrainian Republic on January, 22, 1919.

Both, the Ukrainians and their enemies, understand this. During the Yalta Conference, when the question arose of separating Western Ukraine and Lviv from Poland and uniting it with the Ukrainian motherland while the Americans tried to save Lviv for Poland, contrary to the second point of the Atlantic Charter, Stalin insisted that he could not give up Lviv for he had to satisfy his Ukrainians. Kiev is the symbol of Ukrainian ancient traditions and the broad expanse of the future free Ukraine with an outlet on the Black Sea. Lviv is the symbol of Ukrainian patriotism and national endurance.

This is true of Lviv even though this part of Western Ukraine, Galicia, very soon had passed under the hostile Polish rule. The political and economic control by the Poles of Galicia and Lviv lasted for 600 years but despite all their efforts the Poles were never able even for a short period to achieve a Polish majority in this part of Western Ukraine. It was not only the city of Lviv that changed its ethnic composition several times in its history, as does every large city, the centre of the administration of an occupying government. The Ukrainian population constantly remained as an important percentage of the population of Lviv, and Lviv constantly remained the spiritual and religious centre of this part of Ukraine.

LEOPOLIS TRIPLEX

Modern Polish historiography has tried to conceal the truth of the Ukrainian origin of Lviv, despite the fact that V. Zimorovych of Lviv, the first person to write a history of the city, in the first half of the 17th century, emphasized its Ukrainian origin. In his *Chronicle of the City of Lviv*, to which he added the subtitle *Leopolis Triplex*, he divided the history of the city into three periods: the period of Ukrainian Lviv (*Leopolis Ruthenus*), the 13th and 14th centuries; Germanized Lviv (*Leopolis Teutonus*), the 15th and the first half of the 16th century, and the period of Polonized Lviv (*Leopolis Polonus*) up to his own day.

UKRAINIAN PERIOD OF LVIV — LEOPOLIS RUTHENUS

The first mention of Lviv occurs in the Volynian-Galician Chronicle under the year 1255 in a description of the burning of Kholm, another

Ukrainian city founded at the same time. Lviv was founded only a few years after the Tatar invasion shortly after the return of King Danylo from the Tatar Horde to which he had been summoned (1246).

Though he formally accepted the supremacy of the Tatars, the West Ukrainian King Danylo on his return home commenced to organize a political and military defence against them. He began to establish more cities to defend the country against them. In the most strategic place, on the western edge of the Podillyan Plateau and on the Castle Hill, he built the castle of Lviv, around which at a lower level was to develop the new city. To this Danylo gave the name of his son Leo, which in Ukrainian is pronounced Lev, — Lev's-town. Lviv is possessive form of Lev in Ukrainian.

Prince Lev invited to Lviv artisans and merchants from the neighboring lands. These lived in different quarters and enjoyed the right of a special extraterritoriality. During the 100 years of Ukrainian rule, Lviv developed into an important centre for trade and manufacturing. In the city there were 10 Eastern Christian (Ukrainian) churches and two Roman Catholic intended for the German colonists who came in ever-increasing numbers.

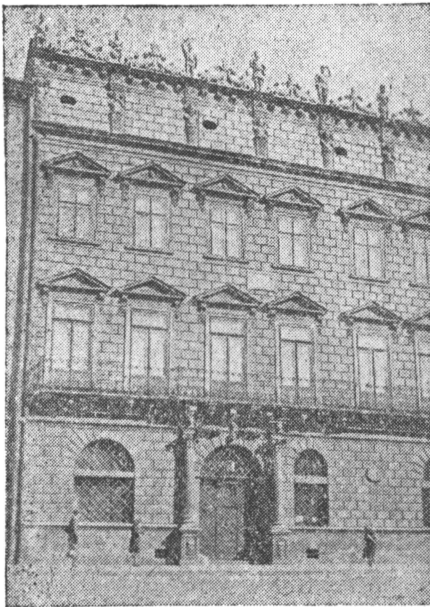
The development of Lviv was interrupted by a tragic episode in Ukrainian history, the dying out of the Western Ukrainian dynasty of the Romanovychi with the death of Prince Yuri II (1340). Then Lviv was attacked by the Polish King Casimir the Great who destroyed the city and plundered the royal castle. Yet the Polish control could not last for a general uprising of the Ukrainian population under the Boyar Dmytro Detko liquidated the Polish rule over Lviv and this part of Ukraine for 9 years. It was only in 1349 that Casimir was able to get control of Lviv and the region. From this oldest period are left only the Church of St. Nicholas and the bell tower of the Cathedral of St. George with the date 1341.

Even after his conquest of Galicia, the Polish King did not attempt to annex this part of Ukraine to Poland. He still considered the Kingdom of Galicia, with its capital of Lviv, as a separate Ruthenian Kingdom, with its own law, administration, coinage and even its old coat of arms, a golden lion on a blue field. After a temporary occupation by the Hungarians, Lviv passed for a longer period under Polish control in 1387 but as a separate administrative unit "Red Rus'" with its own laws and institutions and so continued until 1434. The name of "Red Rus'" (the Polish administrative name being Rus'ke Voyevodstvo) was kept throughout the period of Polish control until the first division of Poland (1772).

THE PERIOD OF GERMANIZED LVIV — LEOPOLIS TEUTONUS

The Poles did not have enough merchants and artisans to serve their own cities, especially in the west. So they began to bring to Lviv German colonists as they did to the other cities including their capital Krakôw and with the same results. The German colonists gained the upper hand in Lviv as elsewhere, took over the city administration and were protected by the Magdeburg Law. The city government in the 15th century passed into the hands of the Germans and Lviv began its German period.

The administration began to discriminate against the local non-Catholic Ukrainian element, although the Ukrainian population was large and cultured and able to protect its own rights. A proof of the cultural power of the Ukrainians of Lviv and Galicia can be seen in the fact that when the Pope in 1375 established a Roman Catholic archbishopric



Korniyak Palace.

Renaissance architecture (16th cent.).



Voloska Church.

Renaissance Structure (16th cent.).

for Galicia, he insisted that the first archbishop should be a Ukrainian or at least be able to speak the Ukrainian language. The Ukrainian citizens of Lviv organized in the first half of the 15th century church brotherhoods in connection with their churches. These were religious and national organizations. At their head was the central brotherhood at the

Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, the later well-known Stavropygion.

The brotherhoods strictly disciplined the Ukrainian population of Lviv which was strong in the merchant guilds and craft associations. It was further strengthened by Greek Christians, usually rich merchants who came from Crete and other parts of Greece. One of these, Konstantyn Kornyakt became famous for his cultural work among the Ukrainians of Lviv.

Quiet allies of the Ukrainian city element were the Armenians, also Eastern non-Catholic Christians. They rapidly took over almost all the local and foreign trade with the countries occupied by the Turks. The Armenians, however, did not mingle like the Greeks with the Ukrainians nor entered the brotherhoods but they organized in their own community around their church organizations.

THE CULTURE OF MEDIAEVAL LVIV

In spite of the fact that the German colonists controlled the city administration, the cultural superiority remained in the hands of the native Ukrainians, the heirs of the great civilization of the Kievan Rus'-Ukraine. Lviv is one of those Eastern European cities which has preserved many archetypes of art, especially of architecture. With a few exceptions, after the end of the 16th century, all the important monuments of Lviv are connected with the Ukrainian element. Here between the 13th and 16th century, were schools of painting in the spirit of the old Ukrainian traditions of painting of old Rus' in the city, outside of it and even on the territory of the ethnic Roman Catholic Poland.

The oldest monument in Lviv of old Ukrainian architecture and painting, the Armenian Church, after the pattern of old St. George Church in Lviv, was built in 1363. The frescoes discovered in 1927 in this church clearly point to Ukrainian authorship.

There has been left in Lviv almost nothing of the Gothic but Renaissance architecture is well represented. The Lviv marketplace, with its old houses chiefly of the 16th or 17th centuries and the buildings on the neighboring Rus'ka Street are a true museum of Ukrainian Renaissance art.

These structures were mostly built by Venetians who worked for their Ukrainian and Venetian clients with which Lviv was filled. The finest pearl of this Renaissance architecture is the group of the Ukrainian Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, the so-called Voloska Church, with the beautiful tower of Kornyakt and the Chapel of the Three Saints. The Tower of Kornyakt was built on the model of a Venetian tower by Madonna del Orto and is considered the finest Renais-

sance campanile in Eastern Europe. It was paid for by Konstantyn Kornyakt, a rich dealer in wine, a Greek from Crete, who considered himself a part of the Ukrainian Orthodox community in Lviv and was a member of the Stavropygian Brotherhood. He built the beautiful palace of the Kornyakts in the marketplace. This was later acquired by King Jan Sobieski and later changed into a museum. It is the finest house in Lviv.

The Roman Catholic Cathedral in Lviv, which was being built during the entire 15th century, is partly Renaissance and partly Baroque. It was



Lviv City Hall.
(19th cent.).



Diana Fountain.
Lviv Market-place (17th cent.).

the work of the Germans of Lviv. Up to the first half of the 16th century the German language was dominant in all the Roman Catholic Churches of the city and the position of the first Polish preacher in the Roman Catholic Cathedral was established by King Sigismund the Elder only in the first half of the 16th century. This was the first break in German Lviv. Soon the Roman Catholic churches became a powerful factor in the polonization of the urban population of the Roman faith and German origin. That is the reason why in Lviv there are so many Poles with German names. This process went on more rapidly because in the second half of the 16th century the German control in the local administration was replaced by Polish. At the end of the 16th century began the third period of the history of the city, called by Zimorovych, Polish Lviv or Polonized Lviv.

THE PERIOD OF POLONIZED LVIV — LEOPOLIS POLONUS

In the 17th century the administration of the city of Lviv was in the hands of the Polonized German population and an intrusive Polish ele-

ment from Western Poland. The position of the Orthodox Ukrainians became unspeakably difficult. Relations became more tense between the Polish administration and the Orthodox Ukrainians represented by the brotherhoods. The object of the Polish administration was to force the Ukrainians from the city into the suburbs but this only partially succeeded. Actually the suburbs of Lviv were inhabited almost exclusively by a Ukrainian population and within the walled city itself there were many Ukrainian artisans and merchants. They were forbidden to build churches anywhere in the city except on the Rus'ka Street. Thus the entire Ukrainian life in Lviv was concentrated in this one place around their citadel, the Stavropygion, where they had their higher school and printing press.

The Stavropygion was almost constantly in lawsuits with the city administration which continued to adopt discriminatory legislation against the Ukrainians. The Orthodox were forbidden in church processions to leave the Rus'ka Street, or to have funeral processions through the city with lighted candles. The city also forbade the teaching of Latin in the Stavropygian school, for it was claimed there would be competition with the city Latin school. The Dominicans had a long suit with the Stavropygion, trying to forbid the ringing of bells in the Tower of Kornyakt for they claimed that it disturbed their religious services. Archbishop Solikovsky insisted upon the introduction of the Gregorian calendar in the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, for he claimed that King Stepan Batory had accepted the Gregorian calendar for the Republic and this bound the Orthodox who were not free to celebrate their holy days according to the old calendar. The Archbishop tried to introduce the new Gregorian calendar in Ukrainian churches by force.

The Stavropygion stubbornly defended its rights and usually carried the lawsuits to the highest royal court in Warsaw, where the Lviv Ukrainians usually found justice. It was secured by heavy bribes at the royal court.

The Lviv Ukrainians had to suffer still more when the national movement of liberation broke out along the Dnieper in 1648 under the leadership of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. They were constantly watched and suspected of sympathies with and even active cooperation with the Kozak movement, since Khmelnytsky in his victorious march to the west on approaching Lviv declared the Polish government of the city responsible for the wrong done to the Lviv Ukrainians. This could of course only bring a short respite, for when the Kozak forces moved from Lviv to the east, the protection they had given only increased the persecution of the Ukrainians of the city.

The passage of Ukraine under the protectorate of Moscow in 1654, and later the enslavement of the Orthodox Church of Ukraine, which the Lviv Ukrainians had been so zealously defending, took away the confidence of the Lviv Ukrainians that Orthodoxy in this situation could be a defence for the Ukrainian nationality. So they cooperated with their bishop Shumlyansky in bringing Galicia and its citadel of Orthodoxy, the Lviv Stavropygion, under the Apostolic See (1700 and 1708) whereby as Catholics of the Eastern Rite they could defend the remains of Ukrainian Lviv menaced by the Polish intolerance of the 18th-20th centuries aimed at both Ukrainian Orthodox and Greek Catholics.



St. George Cathedral.
Ukrainian Rococo (18th cent.).

A still-existing monument to the zeal of the Lviv Ukrainians for their nationality is the monumental Cathedral Church of St. George erected in the middle of the 18th century according to the plans of the Italian architect Meretini, at an enormous expense, so that the people of Lviv could give to their city, under the Polish administration, the character of the Ukrainian city of Prince Lev. The Cathedral truly dominates Lviv even now regardless of the administration of the city.

The art produced in Lviv by the Poles during the period of Polonized Lviv is best illustrated by the Baroque Churches of the Jesuits, the Bernardines (17th century) and the Dominicans (18th century).

During the periods of Germanized and Polonized Lviv, the city flourished as an important centre for the crafts and applied art. There flourished jewelry making, engraving, carving, bell-casting and gun-making and within the city were painters of a high rank. The quality of the crafts fell in the 18th century and with them the prosperity of the city.

LVIV A CENTRE OF UKRAINIAN SPIRITUAL CULTURE

When Constantinople fell in 1453 into the hands of the Turks, Ukraine finally lost the chief source from which culture came to it. The second half of the 15th and the first half of the 16th centuries were periods of cultural decline. Ukraine lost contact with the fallen centre in the east and had not yet created contacts with the west. Therefore, as the capital of the western part of Ukraine, Lviv assumed the task of

being the link between the Europe of the Renaissance and Ukraine. Its many great monuments of Renaissance architecture in the city show how well it performed its task.

Lviv also became the site of the first printing press in Ukraine. Here, Ivan Fedorovych established one and in 1574 printed the first copy of the Epistles. The Lviv Stavropygian School, granted special privileges by the Patriarch of Constantinople, became a kind of "teacher's college" for the whole Ukraine and White Ruthenia.

Lviv and Galicia furnished Kiev a long list of outstanding educated men who carried on the national and cultural revival in Dnieper Ukraine on a wider field under the protection of the armed Ukrainian Kozaks. We need only mention such names as Sakovych, Pletenetsky, Metropolitan Yov Boretsky and the Kozak Hetman, Petro Konashevych Sahaydachny. In Lviv there worked such scholars as the brothers Tustanovski, Stavrovetsky, Rohatynets and Melety Smotrytsky.

On the Polish side at the end of the 16th century, a college of the Jesuits was founded and later a college of the Piarites and the Teatines. Here were published handbooks on the Magdeburg law which was obligatory in Poland. There were also many writers as V. Zimorovych, the chronicler of the history of Lviv.

In modern times Lviv became the living centre of the spiritual life of Ukraine, especially after the foundation by Emperor Joseph II of a German university in Lviv with a special faculty for the study of Ukrainian culture and church life, the *Studium Ruthenum*. The renewal of the ecclesiastical Galician metropolitanate with its seat in Lviv (1808), and the establishment in Lviv of the centre of the administration for the great Austrian province of Galicia made of Lviv an administrative city and a centre of spiritual culture.

In 1848 the first Ukrainian political organization, the Rus'ka Rada, was established in Lviv. The first Congress of Ukrainian Scholars and a Ukrainian press began to appear. Here too was established through the efforts of Ukrainians from the entire country (whether under Russia or Austria), the *Shevchenko Scientific Society* (1873) which occupied one of the most important positions among the academies of the Slavic peoples. At the same time there grew up such Polish scholarly institutions as the Ossolinski National Foundation.

Lviv became the field of conflict between the Polish and Ukrainian cultures, especially after Galicia obtained autonomy in Austria-Hungary (1861) and Vienna handed over the administration of the province fully to the Polish hands by tricky electoral arrangements very hostile to all the demands — even purely cultural ones — put forward by the Ukrainian people.

Yet by their private funds and especially by the self-sacrificing work of the patriotic intelligentsia, both lay and clerical, the Ukrainians successfully competed with the Polish culture and often surpassed the latter.

The most dramatic episode was the struggle for the national character of the Lviv state university, which the Poles after the abolition of lectures in German, tried to polonize completely. This struggle outlasted Austria and was revived with renewed virulence in the new Polish state. Being unable to secure from the Polish government the right of establishing even a private Ukrainian university supported by their own funds, the Ukrainians organized a *Ukrainian Underground University* in Lviv (1920). This was indeed a unique school in the history of modern European civilization. It existed for four years with about 1500 students and 100 professors despite the constant persecution by the Polish police who not rarely took professor and students from the lecture hall to prison.

In November, 1918, Austria disintegrated and the Ukrainian population of Lviv and Galicia seized the power in the city and that part of Galicia where the majority of the population was Ukrainian. (November 1, 1918). The Polish population of Lviv commenced an armed struggle against the Ukrainian government, established in accordance with President Wilson's theory on the right of self-determination of peoples and they were supported by the Poles from ethnic Poland. The Ukrainian armed forces, fighting on two fronts, on the east against the Bolsheviks and on the west against the Poles, without any outside help, were compelled after eight months of heroic fighting to abandon Lviv and Galicia before the stronger Polish army of General Haller which had been equipped by the Allies. Lviv became externally a Polish city, — "Polish Lwów," but in fact it was the chief centre for those revolutionary Ukrainian forces which disintegrated not only the Polish administration of Lviv but Poland itself.

Lviv was in Polish hands for 20 years and then in 1939 came the final ending of Polish Lviv. The city passed within the boundaries of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. For Lviv this was formally the second Ukrainian period of Lviv rule but in reality there began the period of a Mongolian-Russian Lviv, for that is now the character of this city of the Ukrainian Prince Lev on its 700th anniversary.

The logic of history says that this unnatural period in the 700-year history of Lviv will be short and that Lviv will pass not only formally but really into the hands of its true owner, the Ukrainian people, as an *emporium celeberrimum* of the material and spiritual values of eastern Europe.

THE WORLD DILEMMA AND HOW TO AGGRAVATE IT

By LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

The American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism recently issued a pamphlet under the title of *The World's Dilemma and a Way out: Liberation of the Peoples of the Soviet Union*. This in effect represents the second declaration by this committee which just several months ago was known as the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia. Its earlier declaration was elaborated in a pamphlet entitled *The Free World's Secret Weapon: The Peoples of Russia*. Judging solely by the obvious differences in these various titles, the uninformed and yet intelligent reader could scarcely escape the impression that there is something radically unstable about this committee which has devoted itself with considerable public subsidy to the organization of emigrés from the Soviet Union for the purpose of conducting anti-Communist propaganda. Were the reader more fully informed about the detailed background, the devious practices and, most important, the Russia First complex of this committee, he would more accurately view this recent declaration under the appropriate title of the World's Dilemma and How to Aggravate It. For the confusion, half-truths, calculated omissions of fact and the trained dialectics of this new pamphlet reflect not only the dominant bias of the few persons controlling this committee but also, at a greatly disproportionate cost to the American people, the record of patent failure established by it over the past three years.¹

In several respects this pamphlet, prepared by two Committee members, ardent Russia First advocates, is of keen interest to close observers of this committee and its machinations. First, it is evident that the pamphlet was written and released in time to ward off the justified criticism and objections of many Americans who have begun to realize the detrimental character of this committee's operations to the national interest. Second, with this objective in mind, the writers of this pamphlet, quite true to form, depend on the average reader's unfamiliarity with contemporary East European history and politics to place the committee's work, for which they are chiefly responsible, in a favorable light. The

¹ See "Program of the Ukrainian Congress Committee," Congressional Record, July 8, 10, 1953.

pamphlet is replete with such undefined concepts as "world Communism" and "Soviet Communism," and graced throughout with pious terms and avowals designed to stimulate the sympathetic response on the part of the unwary reader that "really, this group is a fair-minded outfit working toward an anti-Communist unity aimed at the Soviet Union itself." One is almost prone to recall the similar use made of this technique and the successes scored up by our native Communists a decade ago. Third, a comparative analysis of this pamphlet and the previous one discloses the glaring fact that the committee has been forced, at least in words, to make a substantial retreat in the pursuit of its Russia First objectives, chiefly due to the remarkable and unyielding resistance offered by the non-Russian emigré solidarity in Western Europe.² Founded principles were not sacrificed behind any facade of semantic compromise for the ever tempting dollar held out by this committee.

Although it must be admitted that in many ways this recent declaration represents a notable advance over the earlier one, yet for a careful analyst it soon becomes evident that the several apparent concessions of thought and position embodied in the former are more expedient in character than substantive. In other words, the same ruling bias which bluntly dominated the first declaration permeates this second one, except that it expresses itself now in a more skilful and elusive manner.

THE HEART OF THE WORLD DILEMMA: SOVIET TOTALITARIANISM

We shall analyze systematically the content appearing in each of the major sections of this pamphlet, and for the convenience of the reader's judgment on this important issue, the same captions will be employed here. At the very outset we are told that the heart of the world dilemma is Soviet totalitarianism. This concept is used interchangeably with "World Communism" and "Soviet Communism." Since the impression is left that this is the enemy confronting us, the alert reader might well ask himself, "Why then is the committee called the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism?" Titoism is a real Communism in ideology and technique; why support it, why figure Titoist Yugoslavia as our ally? Menshevism is an integral part of World Communism, and since it is clearly maintained that "World Communism," "Soviet Communism" or "Soviet totalitarianism" is the dilemma and the enemy, by what logic can one exclude Menshevism? Contradicting its own definitional forms, the American Committee for Liberation from

² On the nature of previous declaration, see "*The Making of a Mission*," — *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, No. 4., p. 331.

Bolshevism (only) chooses terminological confusion in order to accommodate many possessed with Menshevik backgrounds and inclinations within the fold of its operations here and abroad.

When the reader pauses for a moment to establish in his mind the essential points of objective reference for these loosely-used terms, with some degree of knowledge concerning the expansion of the Soviet Russian Empire he invariably finds himself hard put on to explain such outstanding phenomena as Russian chauvinism, the genocide perpetrated on non-Russian nations, anti-Semitism, Russian economic imperialism in the subjugated non-Russian countries and a host of other current and real developments which do not even bear a theoretic relationship to the idealistic substance of Communist or socialist theory. Turning to the economic plane, he raises the intelligent question as to how Soviet distribution squares off with the labor theory of value which is the economic foundation of Marxian Communism. In short, the concept of Communism is grossly inadequate to accommodate the empirical realities of the Soviet Union which are governing forces that form a rational institutional continuity in the dark history of Russia itself. The totalitarianism furthered by Moscow is, from a sound historical viewpoint, a technologically magnified projection of the old Muscovite state system and a necessary complement to the traditional forces of Russian imperialism. Ideological adornments have been employed in the past to conceal the nature of these real forces, indeed, the nature of the enemy itself. Before Communism it was Pan-Slavism and before this, Orthodoxy with its theory of Moscow — the Third Rome.

To apply the term Communism, with all its idealistic connotations as well as its unrealizable ends, to the monstrous Soviet Russian Empire is to dignify the latter beyond definition. More, it serves to divert attention from the real forces at work, and blurs one's comprehension of the political realities existing within this forced framework. The Kremlin knows this and last year officially endorsed the use of Communism in substitution for Bolshevism. It is curious and yet understandable that the authors of this publication make excessive use of the term Communism. One of the foremost techniques of the Russia First coterie in this country, which weeps at the very thought of the break-up of the Soviet Union—or in other words, the dismemberment of the Holy Russian Empire,—is to impress upon Americans that the enemy is Communism.

It is significant that no mention at all is made of the dominant forces of Russian chauvinism and imperialism. Ambassador Lodge's recent words to Vishinsky might well be directed at this Russia First-controlled committee: "Read the reports about the small minority of so-called

'Great Russians' who are crowding the native peoples in the Soviet Union out of the choice jobs and are trying to take over everything for themselves. Those are real master-race tactics on the Hitler pattern."³ Such racism fits into an embracing concept of Soviet Russian Imperialism: it has scarcely any relation to Communism as a doctrine of happy communal existence. The few functioning trustees of this committee might ponder also the significant observation of Francis B. Stevens of the State Department, who is quoted as follows: "The imperialistic urges of the Tsars—urges which were translated into efforts to penetrate the Near East, the Far East, and eastern Europe—did not die with the Tsars. The history of the past 30 years is replete with examples of the anxiety of the Soviet leaders to give expression to this historic imperialism."⁴ Mr. Stevens has been a loyal follower of George F. Kennan, but now apparently has shifted his course to be more in line with the wave of thought mounting in Washington.

Soviet Russian Imperialism is the only possible concept by which the non-Russian emigrés from the Soviet Union can precisely describe their experiences under the foreign yoke of Moscow. But the American Committee refuses to recognize this and continues to impose the false notion of World Communism which adequately obscures the real nature of the enemy. It accomplishes also the task of shielding under the further inconsequential and somewhat ludicrous notion of non-predetermination some of the worst elements of the Russia First Movement, namely the alien Russian emigré leaders. It is generally recognized now that their only concern is the fight against "Communism." Put more bluntly but quite realistically, theirs is the struggle to eject the present culprits from power and to invest themselves with the promise of certain changes except that engendering the independence and sovereignty of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the fight of the non-Russian nations is not only against Soviet Russian imperialism but also for the principles of national independence and self-government. We are told by the authors that "the free world's failure to understand and exploit the weaknesses of Soviet Communism has... extorted a heavy price." Truly, if we were to be guided by the thinking of these individuals, the price would certainly be heavy. Theirs is a miniature project, and the price already sustained is more than heavy.

³ *Washington Evening Star*, August 27, 1953.

⁴ "Russia in Korea," *The Washington Post*, August 28, 1953.

THE ACHILLES HEEL OF COMMUNISM:
THE PEOPLES OF THE USSR

With the premise given in the form of a struggle against the mirage of World Communism and the most outstanding issue in the Soviet Union, viz. the enlightened nationalism of the captive non-Russian nations, securely buried, the authors of this misleading pamphlet now proceed to provide evidence of this struggle within the USSR. The technique here, so similar to that fashioned by the Soviet Russians in their distortion of history, is to mutilate the meaning and significance of events by extracting them from their true contexts and placing them in the unreal context of the given preconception. As a result, we are presented with half-truths, mangled facts, purposely omitted corollary occurrences, and a generally confused picture. Once again, peddling confusion, whether by one technique or another, is not mere sport with the Russia First cabal in this country. Its subsidiary aim to that of the ultimate preservation of "Holy Mother Russia" is the dilution of any clear comprehension on the part of Americans with respect to the international tension and disharmony existing within the Soviet Union itself. Again, quite significantly, the Russia First representatives are on common ground with the Soviet Russians who for the past few months have been doing this very thing in their successive "unity calls."

Now let us justify these observations with the evidence supplied in this second section of the pamphlet. The first sentence on the history of the Soviet Union as a struggle of the peoples against their Communist overlords introduces only part of the story, and at that the minor part. Concerning the majority non-Russian peoples, the struggle has always been against the imperialist Muscovite overlords, whether his color is Red or White, whether Communist or Tsarist. There is obviously a great difference in having an overlord who is a native in an independent state framework as against one who is a foreigner situated in a country submerged by force in an imperialist network. But this difference is, of course, thoroughly discounted by the Russia First preconception which is so well reflected in this opening interpretation of the history of the Soviet Union.

For the evidences of this peculiarly interpreted history the two authors supply us with these slanted general facts: "The enemies of Bolshevism waged a civil war that lasted more than three years," "Throughout Central Asia and the Caucasus, the non-Russian subjects of the Tsarist Empire bitterly resisted the repeated efforts of the Red Army to subjugate them..." etc. For the disinterested student of history, however, the prominent fact is that only in Russia itself was the war of a civil

character, whereas in the non-Russian regions of Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan and other nations it was conspicuously a war of independence from the foreign yoke of Moscow. To some extent this was true of the countless separatist Russians in Siberia, seeking final release from the bondage of Muscovy. The mortal enemies of Ukraine and the other independent non-Russian nations were certainly not only the Russian Bolsheviks but also the hated Russian Monarchists and the Russian Democrats who shared with the Bolsheviks the sacred aggressive conviction on the eternal preservation of the empire. Moreover, if intellectual integrity had prevailed in the least, the above reference to the Red Army would have read instead the Red Russian Army for, indeed, that it was.

For the evidences on resistance to Soviet Russian power since this early phase in the history of the Soviet Union, our artful authors seem to be rather hard pressed for facts that can be easily fitted into their working preconception and at the same time not lend support to the realistic conception described above. This naturally calls for some doctoring of the facts, a talent which they have amply demonstrated on more than one occasion. The revolt of Russian sailors in Kronstadt, back in 1921, a relatively unimportant and separated event, is mentioned twice. In terms of any organized Russian rebellion against native Moscow this, perhaps, is the only evidence available, and even this is doubtful by way of qualification in massive importance. Thus the remaining evidence cited is overwhelmingly patriotic, non-Russian in essence, but the bedeviled average reader couldn't know this from the trumped text.

For one, the nationalist peasant resistance for several years in Ukraine and North Caucasus during the coincident period of forced collectivization and native Titoism is portrayed merely as an economic reaction rather than an integral part of a larger patriotic resistance against the genocidal encroachments of Moscow upon a broad field of Ukrainian national existence. Now we shall really witness a stunt. The well known article by Wallace Carroll on "It Takes a Russian to Beat a Russian" (*Life*, Dec. 19, 1949) is quoted for an entire paragraph in which the terms Russia and Russians stand out prominently in a setting of cooperation with the Germans against the Kremlin and its legions. Once this is done and the desired misimpression has taken effect, our two crafty authors literally display their little regard for truth and precise facts, not to mention their low respect for the reader, by abusing such generalities as "the people" having greeted the German invaders as liberators, or "a million Soviet citizens" taking up arms against the Red forces, or concentration camps being filled with "millions of 'enemies of the State'." Who were these "people", the "Soviet citizens", these

"enemies of the State?" In the calculation of the irresponsible and untrustworthy authors the Carroll paragraph should clinch the answer to this question, that is, of course, unless the reader is aware of the fact that Mr. Carroll, writing at a time when most Americans could scarcely differentiate between the various nations and peoples in the USSR, was really describing how it takes a Ukrainian to beat a Russian.

It is noteworthy that emphasis is placed on the revival of historic Russian heroes during the war as an admission by the regime of its failure to "sell" the Communist system to the people. The fact that this shift to Russian chauvinism and the glories of Russian imperialism was already evident prior to the war will not be argued here. Instead, the reader ought to ask himself of what significance was this appeal to Russia's imperialist past to the captive non-Russian peoples. Furthermore, with an eye for logical consistency he should consider the relation of this revival, which the authors take pains to stress in the text, to their outmoded preconception on World Communism as against the realistic conception on Soviet Russian imperialism. Stalin is brought in as an authority to certify that "the people" did not fight for Communism, but Stalin's authoritative toast in 1945 to the loyalty and superiority of the "Great" Russian people is, of course, carefully omitted. Need one be surprised, so are the imposing facts of the long and heroic resistance of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the voluntary surrender of over two million Ukrainian and other non-Russian soldiers about Kiev early in the war, and the placement of heavy divisions of Soviet troops in Ukraine in 1944-45 to insure the rear of the Soviet advance to the west. If one is to be guided by evidence rather than dishonest literary fabrications, the conclusion that the reader could only reach up to this moment is The Achilles' Heel of the Soviet Union is the Non-Russian Nations in the USSR. In time and with proper assistance the many million separatists in Soviet Asia may join this belt of resistance against the hard Muscovite core of traditional Russian imperialism.

THE MYTH OF THE MONOLITHIC SOVIET STATE

Following the publication of Mr. Levine's classic on "A Weapon For the West" in the March 23, 1953 issue of Life Magazine, in which he adopts hook, line and sinker the Soviet monolithic concept, the need for the above caption in quotation is rather obvious. The manner in which this subject is treated is even more interesting. First, the reader receives another dose of the myth of governmental isolationism whereby, as pointed out previously, the image of the all-powerful Kremlin is held dangling in mid-air with the opposing peoples on the ground in what is poetically depicted as a "vast moral gulf." Since Stalin's death an

accumulation of concrete evidence provided by *Pravda*, Malenkov, the Beria case etc. has served to demonstrate that Soviet Russian power is in every sense of the word Russian-centered, yet the reader is given in this pamphlet political fantasy instead of stubborn political fact. Second, aside from a minor allusion to "the overthrow of the republican governments set up in the wake of the revolution," there is not the slightest mention of the patriotic, national struggles on the part of the different non-Russian nations in the USSR for their independence and the preservation of their distinctive cultures and histories from the corroding influences of Russification, another vicious phenomenon unrelated to any theory of communism. This multi-national disunity provides the greatest lie to the Soviet monolith, but here, for obvious reasons, it is neatly buried under amassed drivel on youth, literacy and contacts with the West, the least important factors in the anti-Soviet potential.

RESIDUAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE ALERT READER

Since the interested reader will no doubt consult the Congressional Record material footnoted above for additional specific information on this committee, the remaining sections of the pamphlet under examination here require only a few residual considerations connected with the determining ideas and techniques unraveled in the foregoing analysis. In the section on *those who have fled* misleading generalities are again dwelled upon. We are told that "some two million men and women" have fled from Soviet Union, but a statistical breakdown of this figure in terms of respective national background is withheld. Figures of the Displaced Persons Commission show that the Russian element was by comparison negligible. This is reflected in the shallow numerical strength of the many papered Russian emigré organizations here and abroad.

The space devoted to *the solution of the Soviet Problem*: Liberation is filled with many fine expressions of political thought that leave little room for serious disagreement. However, the little latitude that is left, is crucial to the entire problem. In fact, the failure of the American Committee is in large measure attributable to it. Liberation is by nature a process toward an end and thus cannot be a solution in any positive sense. The important and pivotal question is "liberated from what?" For a non-Russian in the USSR liberation can only mean one from Soviet Russian imperialism so that the positive end of national independence and self-government, which is the sole, true meaning of self-determination, can be realized. For the non-imperialist Russian liberation consists of the elimination of the Moscow Soviet dictatorship so that the positive end of democratic government and civil freedom can be realized. This guiding difference for American policy toward the Soviet Union and the emigrés

from it is posited not only in principle but also in the histories of the respective nations held captive in this forced state setup. What Americans, except for the Russia First type found in this committee, would maintain that the inalienable principles of independence and self-government are extrinsic to our basic political traditions and national existence?

In order to accomodate imperialist Russian emigré groups in its Munich Center, the American Committee has evaded this fundamental issue with a labyrinth of dialectic on non-predetermination and diluted self-determination. The unity it seeks can only be a negative one so long as it is founded on compromised principles. The solid anti-Communist unity of the valid non-Russian emigré groups is based on these principles which conform with American tradition. The committee has done everything possible—from paper non-Russian groups in the Center to the financing of Russified Ukrainian “federalists”—to destroy this principled unity. And it has failed in the pursuit of its Russia First objectives. The many fallacious statements in the sections on *Towards Emigré Unity and Policies of the Committee* can be detected in the light of these governing considerations. To state, for instance, that the “American Committee insists ‘self-determination’ should not become ‘pre-determination’ ” is rather ludicrous, for how can a people determine itself without necessarily being independent to do so? This is just one example of Russia First dialectic. Others can be found in the so-called Political Platform of the Coordinating Center given in the appendix. A good portion of the original text has been omitted.

In a way the dismal experience of the American Committee, needlessly sustained at considerable financial cost, provides us with another lesson on the foolhardiness of some of our efforts which are based on certain grave misunderstandings, misconceptions or, as in this case, biases with regard to the complex of nations that make up the Soviet Union. The Harvard Russian Research Center met earlier with a similar experience. Of course, not all of the listed members on this committee can be held responsible for this failure. Most of them are undoubtedly unaware of the machinations indulged in by the few Russia First functionaries responsible for this lamentable record. The full disclosure of this record of failure will in appropriate time convince many of the Russia First coloration of the few holding the reins of this floundering committee. If its course of operation were translated on a higher and broader plane of strategic activity, then surely we would know how to aggravate the world’s dilemma—with all its disastrous consequences. Fortunately we can be spared this in areas which will ultimately count by the lessons carved out by the record of this group.

THE VOICE OF A UKRAINIAN PATRIOT

By YURIY BOYKO
AN OPEN LETTER

Up to the present time the American political world does not adequately comprehend the significance of the Ukrainian problem. The majority of the American politicians and men of science are amply satisfied with the information on Ukraine presented by the most prejudiced sources — the Russians. There is no exaggeration whatsoever in the assertion that the Russian sources, as a rule, contribute a principally warped and intolerant picture of the Ukrainian past and present and the Ukrainian nation and its ambitions. False opinions and ignorance of the actual situation may result in American political actions that will be regarded as perilous by the Ukrainian nation and thus will inspire resolute opposition to American policy. It is entirely up to the government of the United States to retain and maintain the friendship of the Ukrainian nation fighting for liberation.

The American good will to reorganize the world and assure freedom to nations cannot be denied. This noble intention, however, when conducted without regard to the ambitions and will of one or another of the subdued nations, may produce unfortunate effects. This especially applies to the Ukrainian nation.

Most American politicians expect the problem of Ukrainian independence or federation with Russia to be decided by a referendum. Such an attitude arouses the resentment of those Ukrainian elements who have been engaged in a struggle against Bolshevism for over three decades. In the last thirty years, these Ukrainians have fought for no other goal than an Independent Ukrainian State. The concept has been made sacred by the blood of millions who have died for it. It is the supreme goal of the nation, and any Ukrainian party attempting to induce a deviation would be regarded as a renegade and traitor to the Ukrainian national interests. The federalist group, favored by some Americans, is thus regarded by the Ukrainian people in Ukraine and in exile as traitors who have subjected themselves to emigré Russian imperialists for the sake of American cash. The attempt on the American part to have Ukrainian patriots seated at one table with these social outcasts is a reason for the great disappointment in the present policy of the "American Committee for the Liberation from Bolshevism, Inc.

No American will ever say that the problem of American independence ought to have been solved by a plebiscite during the stirring events after April 19, 1778. Had there been, by chance, any power or authority which would have mediated between the American revolutionists and the British at that time, such an attempt would have been resolutely opposed and never been successful. A revolution is carried on by its own stimulations, and any attempt to frustrate its intentions is psychologically impossible and defies the rules of mass psychology.

The Ukrainian national revolution has been going on for more than 30 years, though this may appear incomprehensible to some people. It has passed through several stages. In 1917-1922 it was manifested in military action against the occupants. A period (1923-1942) of underground revolutionary activity and psychological preparation followed, and in 1942-1950 it took shape in underground guerilla warfare. Now, in the anticipation of a favorable moment, it is confined to a cautious and disguised extension of the underground organizations.

In Ukraine, the revolution is not a mere explosion. It has had defeats and victories, but every Ukrainian patriot feels its presence either by actively participating in the underground or by ardently waiting for the moment when life itself will offer an opportunity to take part in revolutionary activity. Any attempt to negate the concept of independence will be in vain. In order to take the risks of perilous actions against the Soviet regime, the revolutionists in Ukraine must be sure that the goal in behalf of which they are risking their lives, is to be achieved: full independence and separation from Russia. The "Universale" (Ukrainian act of independence), solemnly proclaimed in the city of Kiev on January 22, 1918, fills the hearts and minds of the Ukrainians. The Ukrainian nation clearly manifested then its will for an independent life, and this was proclaimed by the Ukrainian Central Council (the late government of Ukraine) through the legally admitted act. The independence of Ukraine was then recognized *de facto* by Great Britain, France, formally by Germany, Turkey, Bulgaria, Argentine and several other countries. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic declared war on the Ukrainian National Republic long before the Ukrainian Central Council proclaimed the act of independence, and thus *de facto* acknowledged the independence of Ukraine. Later, Moscow also legally acknowledged the independence after being compelled to take part in diplomatic negotiations for a peace treaty in the summer of 1918. Ukraine was later conquered by force after the nation had been submerged in a sea of blood. In view of this, can the Ukrainian independence be subject to a plebiscite? Was not the plebiscite already manifested by the blood that has been sacrificed during the last thirty-five years?

Let us imagine, though, that a plebiscite is to take place according to the abstract principles of democracy. Who then will guarantee a participation in the plebiscite to the millions of Ukrainians who have been deported from Ukraine in the last 35 years and are in banishment in various parts of the Soviet Union? After the defeat of bolshevism, will the large number of Russians, who have taken over the land and property of deported Ukrainians stay in Ukraine? They were brought there by the Moscow government for occupation purposes. Will these Russian colonists also have the right to participate in the plebiscite? And if so, is it not a violation of human and divine justice?

In studying the "unknown future", the welfare of future Ukrainian generations, we see that the Ukrainian nation cannot survive without the existence of a free independent Ukrainian state. As far as the past is concerned, evident and horrifying proof has shown that partnership between Russians and Ukrainians has always resulted in sorrow for the Ukrainians.

While the Russian nation was still taking shape, the North, inspired by its imaginary political mission, engaged in bloody warfare against Ukraine. As early as 1167 Andriy Boholyubsky ruined the Ukrainian capital as a rival political center. In 1654 Ukraine made a treaty with Moscow, but retained the essentials of independence for political life and defense. Almost the next day after the unification, however, Moscow showed its colonial intentions, denying the same identity and existence of the Ukrainian nation and engaged in continuous warfare against Ukraine. Not always was Moscow successful. In 1659, a huge Russian army was defeated near the town of Konotop and the empire's capital itself was endangered, and, according to the Russian historian Solovyov, Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich came near to evacuating his capital. However, the general result of decades of warfare was not in favor of Ukraine; simultaneously in disputes with Poland and the Tatars, Ukraine could not endure the Muscovite attacks and became gradually more dependent upon Moscow. The political alliance of the Ukrainian hetman, Mazepa, with the Swedish King Charles XII in the beginning of the XVIII century did not bring the liberation of Ukraine. As a result, Tsar Peter I savagely tortured and murdered Ukrainian patriots; (on the wheel, impaling, breaking bones etc.), Ukrainian children and old people were burned alive in city and country places. The tortures, however, steelled the will of the nation. The first Ukrainian political emigrants bore high the standard of Ukrainian independence at the beginning of the XVIII century, and were the bearers of the principles proclaimed by Hetman Pylyp Orlyk: "Whatever the Muscovite cruelties are, they do not entitle the Russians to any lawful supremacy over Ukraine. Moreover, the Ko-

zaks are supported by the international and natural law, one of the principles of which is: a nation always has the right to protest against suppression and to reestablish its principal rights at the proper time." ("Elucidation of Ukrainian Rights," A. D. 1712).

After a continued struggle against the national Ukrainian current, Moscow finally attained a temporary victory and in 1768 the Ukrainian State was entirely abolished. However, Moscow's victory was not a permanent one. The European mentality of the Ukrainian nation did not succumb to the Muscovite system of despotism, nor the Muscovite mentality. In the 40's of the 19-th century the Ukrainian national rebirth began, headed by the great Ukrainian poet Shevchenko (1814-1861). Shevchenko called to his countrymen to "dilute their freedom with enemy blood."

Most of his works are in the spirit of patriotic valor and indignation at the Russian imperialism. He became the prophet of Ukrainian liberation and its political mentor. Since Shevchenko's time the national consciousness of the wide masses of people has been constantly growing, and was climaxed during the revolution of 1917. The tsarist economic exploitation of Ukraine and the cruel persecution of Ukrainian culture also strengthened the national feeling. In 1863 an official declaration said "The Ukrainian language did not, does not and cannot exist," and in 1876 a tsarist *ukaze* prohibited the use of Ukrainian in practically all branches of civilized life.

After the Russian democrats seized power in 1917 the situation remained much the same. Moreover, the Provisional Government made all possible efforts to prevent any, even the minimum, autonomy of Ukraine and to abolish the Ukrainian administration which had been set up. The policy of the Provisional Government finally filled the goblet of Ukrainian martyrdom to excess: thereafter any concepts of federation in Ukraine failed. The Ukrainian nation consequently by its own will chose independence and established its own state. *Its self-determination was a logical consequence of the entire historical experience of the nation, a manifestation of its maturity. For this reason the self-determination of Ukrainian people made in 1918 cannot be revoked.* The Ukrainians are and will be looking for aid to their liberation from the Western world, but not at any price. Every nation has specific qualities in approaching its goals. We have seen the bravery of the American soldiers in combat against the red peril and the American diplomatic skill; but greater importance must be given to the capability of the American nation to produce the vast material supplies necessary for conducting battle. The Ukrainian capabilities are quite different. Their power rests on their great experience in the fight against bolshevism, on their knowledge how to

hit the regime most successfully and how to properly dispose underground forces within the USSR. Most important, however, is their perseverance and unlimited readiness to devote their lives to the cause of their homeland. The latter quality is essential and no honest Ukrainian politician will attack the moral and political basis of the Ukrainian revolution. Thus the supposition that Ukrainian leaders will for any material favors abandon the idea of Ukrainian independence is a mere fiction and offensive to every Ukrainian.

SUICIDE OF A SOVIET UKRAINIAN REFUGEE REPATRIATED
BY THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT TO THE SOVIETS

(A Protest of a Ukrainian American Group)

Several hundred Americans of Ukrainian descent assembled at a meeting in New York on August 28th, 1953, were shocked to learn from various press and radio announcements on August 21st, 1953, about the suicide of a Ukrainian sailor Wasyl Ostrokov in Naples, Italy. According to the press, he chose freedom by jumping from the Russian ship; worse yet, it was the Australian government which decided to return him to the Kremlin rulers. The following appeal was made:

1) To employ all possible means to investigate the action of the Australian government which is well aware that any attempt to escape from the Soviets is recognized by the Soviet government as one of the greatest crimes, and a cruel fate including the loss of life awaits all such individuals. The Australian government although well acquainted with this fact decided to return Wasyl Ostrokov back to the Soviets.

2) To appeal to our Representative in the United Nations to investigate whether this action by the Australian government is not a severe violation of the U. N. Charter, especially those paragraphs which deal with human rights.

This sorrowful step committed by the Australian government of returning to Kremlin a person who expected assistance from the Western World will become an unusually serious fact in today's so called cold war or eventual actual war which will undoubtedly be utilized to the fullest extent by the communist countries. This is a matter which concerns all of us, primarily America, the leader of the free world.

ON THE BORDERS OF MANCHURIA AND THE PACIFIC SHORE

By PETRO KOLYMSKY

The railroad line from Chita to Vladivostok followed a roundabout course. In the Trans-Baikal region it followed the borders of Manchuria for several thousand kilometres. The distance was about one half times longer than by a direct route which the tsarist government had constructed. This direct line the Soviets used until 1929.

In that year the Chinese tried to drive out the Russians but they were defeated by a well-armed Russian force under the Komandarm Blucher whom Stalin had shot in 1938 as an "enemy of the people." This incident stopped the normal use of the railroad and when Manchukuo was set up under the protection of Japan the Soviets were compelled to sell it. The road on Soviet territory along the Manchurian border had only a single track and so with the sale of the Chinese Eastern, the Soviets resolved to doubletrack it from Chita to Vladivostok.

Stalin, the Pharaoh of the XX century, decided to use for this work Soviet slaves falsely accused of working against the state of which I was one.

After our two month journey we were all extremely filthy, for during our travel we had not changed our clothes or washed. We had had no water, merely enough to wash our eyes, and that not always. All the prisoners were covered with soot, for the stove smoked and the unburned coal had concentrated on the walls of the car and on the persons of the prisoners. So we were very glad to be sent to a bath. Besides, we had been so crowded for two months that all were covered with lice which swarmed all over our clothing and our belongings.

No prisoner will ever forget the arrangements for that bath. We were taken into a building that looked like an ice-box and ordered to undress, while our clothes were taken for disinfection. We stayed naked in this unheated building for some 20-25 minutes until the water was hot. During this period three prisoners had the soles of their feet frozen to the icy floor and though pieces of their skin were torn off, no one gave them any medical attention and they had to go on with their feet bleeding.

The prisoners received scanty supplies of everything and that applied to the hot water. We were each given three litres of warm water

and told that it had to suffice for a full bath. Then we were taken to another room where we found on the wet floor our clothes and other belongings that had been disinfected. Despite their wetness, we had to put them on, were taken then out in the cold to the head administration. There we were seated still in our wet clothes, in the snow, and forced to wait for two hours. Finally we were taken to our permanent living quarters.

The group of 250 men of which I was one were sent to the 15th post, far beyond the city of Birobidzhan. There we were placed in half ruined barracks with broken window panes. That same night we felt the results of the bath, the wet clothing and the long waiting outdoors in the snow and cold. Six men had temperatures over 40°C and that evening they were taken from the camp.

We were given nothing in the bathhouse or in the camp, no shoes, underwear, or outer clothing, although more than a third were dressed in ragged summer suits. The barracks contained board bunks in two tiers, each for four men without any bedclothes.

In the first week of work at clearing the roads of snow and laying a new paved road, nine men were seriously frozen, for they had only summer clothing. After that, the prisoners who lacked heavier clothing were not sent to work outside when the temperature was below 40°C., but were set to work in the camp. We moved to our work and worked under an armed guard, who kept us from escaping and saw to it that we worked without interruption and intensely. Apart from a pause for dinner and now and then a short rest, our hours were from 6.30 A.M. to 7 P.M. Each morning we were given 600 grams of bread and in the evening a half litre of a thin and entirely fat-free soup without barley kernels or oat gruel.

From the first day of our arrival we were told that as state criminals the laws for the protection of labor did not apply to us. If the camp would fulfill its labor norm 100%, we would have one free day a month. If not, we would not receive it. Since there were constantly in the camp men without clothing, we obviously could not fulfill the norm. The entire time that I was in Birobidzhan and Kolyma, neither I nor any prisoner received this free day.

The food in this 15th post and the living conditions were extraordinarily bad. One day, after extremely heavy work, they only gave us 800 grams of bread and twice an absolutely fat-free soup of oats or barley. At times they added fish but we found only the bones. There were no vegetables, meat or fats. Only the new and fresh and unexhausted prisoners could even temporarily stand the work.

After two weeks I was moved to the 13th section of the Bamlag in Birobidzhan which was assigned to securing sand for the new railroad. Here, for fulfilling the norm, the prisoner received 800 grams of bread and the same fat-free soup. Those who had completed only 3/4 received 600 grams and those who did half the norm, got only 400 grams and water. In any event, the supply of food was not sufficient to fulfill these norms.

The condition of our clothing, bedding, and shoes was terrible for they gave no one anything. The prisoners wore what they had brought. The shoes went first and many prisoners wrote their families to send them more from home. Those who could not receive anything went half naked in torn bark shoes which were secured in the camp. Those who received packages gave their underwear to those who did not, so as to help one another. Even those who had enough wore one set until it was gone. There was no laundry and the prisoners were forbidden to wash their own clothes. Every two weeks we were taken to a bath-house and our clothes disinfected but since they were only disinfected, they had a filthy brown color. The shoe situation was worse for no one had an extra pair and if they were not sent, in summer the prisoners went barefoot or used bark shoes.

The barracks had common bunks and no bedding. All slept in their clothes. The wooden barracks were never disinfected and were filled with bedbugs. When the lights were put out, they covered the prisoners in masses.

The tensions which came up at the end of 1937 in the Far East, led to a few measures. For more than 3,000 kilometres the railroad ran 30-90 kilometres from the border. Now the Soviets decided that it was too close, that the railroad could be cut at the outbreak of war. In May, therefore, it became known that the Bamlag had a new mission — to build another railroad much further north from the station Tayga — north of Lake Baikal, to Okhotsk, a distance of over 6,000 kilometres.

In comparison with Kolyma, the regime in the camps of the Bamlag was less severe. Although we had no day of rest, we were not separated from the outside world. There was a bulletin board in the camp and every day *Pravda* and *Izvestiya* were tacked on it. From these and from what was being done in Birobidzhan, we drew the conclusion that the terror was not ending and we lost hope that our cases would be re-examined and we would be freed. Of course there had been individual cases of re-examination even in the summer of 1938. Two men from Samara and one from Kiev were set free.

With little faith in the reality of our liberation, all the healthy prisoners considering themselves not guilty, wrote appeals to A. Vishin-

sky, then the prosecutor, at present a diplomat. All went to the third section which forwarded them and many prisoners received word that their appeals had been received. I sent one in two copies; one through the camp and the other by ordinary mail through some free hired laborer. My wife informed me that she had received both together.

The beginning of military operations on Lake Khasan in 1938 ended our hopes. In the beginning of August, a small group including myself were ordered to Kolyma while others were prepared for work on the new line.

I knew that Kolyma as a geographical spot lay within the Arctic Circle and included a cold belt. When I was in the Kiev prison and was told of Kolyma, I thought of a cold desert but not Kolyma. My brain and my whole being were paralyzed when I received the order to go there. I was sure that I was going to meet death itself. I sat down to write a letter to my family. I wrote a few words about the order and could write no more.

Participants in the armed struggle against the Bolsheviks and those who were accused of Ukrainian "nationalism," were also chosen for Kolyma. The entire Kiev group was in the detachment. The choice of the people showed that it had been made in view of the approach of military activity. We were less to be feared at Kolyma than 60 kilometres from the Manchurian frontier. So on August 6, 1938 we were placed in freight cars with iron bars on the windows.

We made the trip from Birobidzhan to Vladivostok in six days. Unlike the winter journey, the travelling was easier. The windows of the cars were open and we could watch the scenery.

The high hills covered with primeval forests and the deep and narrow valleys through which the railroad sped showed their wild beauty. On entering the territory of the Green Wedge, we admired from the windows our native neat Ukrainian houses which, though 10,000 kilometres away, had the same forms as in Ukraine. We met sad, willing workmen who brought us at times Ukrainian papers published in the Green Wedge. Every one of us was glad to read something in our own language. In the columns of the papers we saw the same names of villages, MTS and kolhosps as in Ukraine. Even the Jew Altshuler read the Ukrainian papers with pleasure.

The Ukrainian villages and khutors (farms) of the Green Wedge, though they had a general similarity to those in Ukraine, were somewhat different. All the buildings were of wood but their roofs were usually of galvanized iron.

As we neared the ocean, we noticed the difference in the climate and vegetation. Deciduous trees dominated the forests. Near Vladivostok

we even saw a native form of the Rumanian nut (walnut).

We were not taken to Vladivostok but were unloaded at the station of Second River — Druha Richka. Near this was a great resettlement centre of the labor-control organization Dalstroy through which passed all prisoners for Kolyma, Kamchatka and Sakhalin. Through this camp passed too all those who were returning from imprisonment and who were assigned to definite living places. When we arrived, there were about 30,000 people in this camp, 97-98% of whom were for the northern parts of these districts.

A few hours after we arrived a group of criminals, also prisoners, but favored by the third section, hurled themselves like mad dogs upon us, who were political prisoners and enemies of the people. Most of us had received packages from home and had fats, sugar and clothing which were luxuries even for the free under Soviet conditions. Several of our group urged us constantly to buy off some of this gang for protection but the majority refused. Altshuler led the conciliatory group. He had three packages of fats. He gave them one and kept two for himself. The criminals took an oath not to touch his things. The next night all of us who had not paid the ransom, slept on our belongings. He left his unguarded and they were stolen.

We were in this camp until August 22, 1938. The weather was fine, warm and dry and every day we were out with the mass of prisoners. At night we slept under the open sky. The barracks were small and probably would not have accommodated 20% of the people. We were given to eat 500 grams of bread, once a fat-free soup, some meat, fish, vegetables and once tea without sugar.

We met a prisoner from Kiev who had arrived in December, 1937. He told us that in the winter of 1937-1938 there had been so many prisoners that it had been impossible to walk around. There was such a crowd that there came a spreading of lice and an outbreak of typhus which carried off more than 3500 men. The epidemic stopped only in May when the prisoners began to move northward to Kolyma, Kamchatka and Sakhalin. Towards the end of our stay in the camp we were called for another perfunctory medical examination.

Then 6,000 of us were formed into a detachment under a strong guard of NKVD men and dogs and taken to the shore. This was 2.5-3 km. from the camp. A steamer, *Dalstroy*, was lying 1.5-2 km. offshore. There was a superficial search of the prisoners before they reached the shore. We were taken out to the steamer on large barges which were standing at a special pier. The barges were towed out by launches. A day after the beginning of the loading, the ship started on its long journey

for Magadan. Fortunately, the weather was calm. We were seven days on the trip from Vladivostok to Magadan.

While we were waiting at Vladivostok, the guard rarely looked into our hold and the criminal elements who were in the majority did not show any activity. However, as soon as we started, the criminal element sprang to life. In a few hours we were sure who were around us. To protect ourselves and our property, we divided into three groups and kept an unceasing watch.

During the voyage the non-criminal prisoners were robbed of almost everything. Our political group was small but we were on guard. On the sixth day, the hold was entered by 11 criminals from another hold. All were drunk and armed with large knives. They came in and ordered us to show all our property. Bovanenko, one of our group, tried to protest but at his first word, one of the gangsters rushed at him and slashed his hand. On seeing this, the rest of us handed over our things and they took from us all that we really needed. Then they went out at once, while we were not allowed to go outside. This showed us that the NKVD men were using these criminals to rob us of our last penny.

Living and sanitary conditions were bad and the way we were crowded made the hold unbearably hot. This in turn caused a terrible thirst. The criminals as "closer elements" and favored by the NKVD were in charge on the ship. All the water that was distributed they took for themselves until they were satisfied. Then they gave us the rest. After the first two days, as the hold became hotter, they began to use the cold water for washing and refused us any whatsoever. Those who really had to have water, went to the criminals and offered their last belongings. The criminals gave the healthy prisoners from the European part of the USSR water only in return for money, asking from 50 kopecks to 10 rubles per glass.

All of our efforts to summon the guards into the hold were useless. The only thing that saved us was the rapid fall of temperature as the ship entered the colder waters of the northern part of the Sea of Okhotsk.



BOOK REVIEWS

SOVIET IMPERIALISM. ITS ORIGIN AND TACTICS. A Symposium. Edited by Waldemar Gurian. Committee on International Relations. Notre Dame, Ind. Notre Dame University Press, 1953, pp. 165.

The problem of Soviet imperialism is now not only an affair of scholarship but of practical politics. Which is the enemy of the Western democratic world — the Soviet policy of expansion or the traditional imperialism of Russia? The basic question is whether the Soviet policy is a continuation of the imperialism of Moscow or is it new and unconnected with the old form of Muscovite imperialism. Russian scholars are making every effort to prove that the Soviet imperialism has nothing in common with the expansion of the Muscovite state into the Russian Empire and they stress that we are dealing with two different processes. The Russian historians pretend that there never was a Muscovite policy of imperialism, for the spreading and expansion of the state of Moscow to an empire covering one sixth of the globe was only an expansion for the good of humanity.

In this attitude the Bolshevik historians and the anti-Bolshevik Russian historians are in full agreement. Both see in the expansion of Moscow only a peaceful penetration by the Russian *Kulturtraeger* for the good of the conquered. This can be seen by any one who glances at the present Russian Soviet historical journals or the handbooks written by anti-Communist Russians for use in the American colleges. On the other hand the history of Eastern Europe shows that the Muscovite expansion was a typical immoral and anti-humane imperialism combined with the elimination of the national cultures and religions, so as to create on the graveyard of the cultures of other peoples a single Russian nation.

It was a hopeless and almost impossible task to turn Mohammedan Turkomans into Muscovite Russians; it seemed easier to do this with the other Eastern Slavs, and so the Muscovite expansion offered a greater danger to the national identity of the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians. We must find in the history of Russian imperialism the sources for the denial of the existence of these two Slav peoples, the falsification of their history, etc.

This question of the identity of difference of Soviet and Russian imperialism was considered in a Symposium arranged in December, 1952 by the Committee on International Relations at Notre Dame University, which under Prof. Waldemar Gurian is studying Soviet-Russian problems. After each paper there was a discussion by the invited guests. The volume under review contains the papers read at this Symposium together with a special introduction by Prof. Gurian who has presented the reports objectively under the title: "Who is the Enemy?"

The participants were Prof. N. S. Timashev of Fordham University, who read a paper: "Russian Imperialism or Communist Aggression?"; Dr. Mykhaylo Pap of Notre Dame on "The Ukrainian Problem;" Mr. R. E. Pipes of the Russian Centre at Harvard: "Russian Moslems before and after the Revolution;" Viktor Weintraub, a lecturer at Harvard on "Soviet Cultural Imperialism in Poland" Dr. Ling Nai-Jui on "Tsarist and Soviet Diplomacy in China: Aims, Technique and

Achievements," and finally Prof. F. S. Barghorn of Yale on "The Image of Russia in Soviet Propaganda."

Prof. Timashev took the position that Soviet imperialism was the product of international Communism and had nothing to do with the Russian past, for in the past Russia had no policy of expansion when the countries of Western Europe were pursuing such ideas. At times Russian expansion was more humane than that of other countries. He argued that international Communism was the foe of the Western world and that it was in the Kremlin against the will of the Russian people who had nothing to do with it.

Dr. Pap, an assistant of Prof. Gurian, emphasized the most drastic example of Russian imperialism, i. e. Moscow's policy toward the Ukrainian people during the last 300 years. Soviet imperialism was moving on the same path as that of the tsars with the difference that it took a more brutal form.

Mr. Pipes compared the expansion of Moscow in Asia among the Mohammedans under the tsars and the Soviets. He likewise found the only difference to be in the greater brutality of the latter.

Viktor Weintraub on the basis of the Modern history of Poland showed how Soviet Russia was trying to russify its satellite Poland in the quickest possible time. Whoever knew Polish history before 1914 could easily understand that Soviet imperialism and the old Russian imperialism were taking the same paths.

Dr. Ling Nai-Jui pointed out the same thing in China and showed how Soviet diplomacy was trying at the expense of China to secure a strong and permanent position on the Pacific.

Prof. Barghorn expressed somewhat different views for he tried to draw a line between Soviet imperialism and Russian nationalism. In his opinion the Soviets were using Russian nationalistic phrases only for purposes of propaganda; in fact their object was to collect all the peoples of the USSR around the Kremlin and to create a Proletarian internationalism and a Soviet patriotism. To these goals he ascribed the transfer of populations in the USSR and the fostering of the idea of a Soviet people.

Dissenting from the views of Prof. Timashev who like most Russians in the United States argue for the lack of responsibility of the Russian people for Soviet imperialism, all the other speakers except the last showed by the examples of Ukraine, the Moslems of Soviet Asia, Poland and China that Soviet imperialism was only a continuation of the old Russian imperialism in a more brutal form.

The idea of Prof. Barghorn that the Soviets were using the old phrases of Russian nationalism cannot be borne out in the facts of Soviet life, especially recently when after the death of Stalin his heirs began a struggle for power. The russification of Ukraine, White Ruthenia, the Caucasian and Mohammedan Asiatic peoples became a special problem by the exploitation of which the hangman Beria hoped to secure the first place in the Kremlin. Russification was a part of Soviet reality and not propaganda phrases, as Prof. Barghorn stated, and cannot be separated from the russification under the tsars.

The American Symposium did not attempt to give a concrete answer to the question argued in it. It only brought together the material which the student can use as a basis for his own views. The majority of the listeners left this symposium at Notre Dame with the conclusion that the chief difference between the two, Soviet and Russian imperialisms was to be found in the greater intensity and brutality of the Soviets and that the objects were the same. In our opinion the

impartial organization of this Symposium was of great value to America. Any clarification of the confused problems of the USSR at the present time certainly is positive work for America.

N. CHUBATY.

OXFORD SLAVONIC PAPERS, Vol. III. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1952, pp. 152.
 Edited by S. Kononov.

This volume consists of five papers, all of high quality. Three of these — “Lermontov” by Sir Maurice Bowra, “Some Unpublished Letters of Alexander Herzen” by Edward Hallet Carr, and “Slavonic Studies at Oxford: The Proposed Slavonic Chair at the Taylor Institution in 1844” by J. S. G. Simmons — have little of specific value for a Ukrainian scholar. This cannot be said of the other two. Prof. Kiparsky’s article on “The Earliest Contacts of the Russians with the Finns and Balts” is of great interest. He is undoubtedly on rather firm ground, when he attempts to date the earliest contacts of the Eastern Slavs, the Finns and the Balts and places it at an early date. Unfortunately he accepts the traditional point of view that regards all Eastern Slavs as Russians, Proto-Russians and North Russians, to use his own terminology. As a result he groups the “Russians” of Truvor the Varangian, the men of Yaroslav the Wise and the remains of the “Novgorodskie sopki” (Ancient Russian tumuli) of the sixth or seventh centuries. Had he simply said Eastern Slavs, he would have been much more accurate, in view of the probable differences between the East Slavic languages even at that remote date.

On the other hand the article by Prof. Roman Jakobson on “Studies in Comparative Slavic Metres” is much more accurate, although at points the same remarks might be made. He has attempted to find the original Slavic metre for certain kinds of folk poetry and he has identified it as more or less similar to the Serb decasyllable. He has given full justice to the nature of the Ukrainian *dumy* and laments and has shown how some forms of Ukrainian poetry fit into the general pattern, although the Ukrainian song has drifted away from a rather rigidly constructed recitatif. His article raises the question as to whether we could not connect with these ancient forms the *Slovo o Polku Ihorevy*. Prof. Hordinsky has shown in it traces of metre somewhat similar to those of the modern Ukrainian folksong. If he is correct, as he seems to be, then much of the earlier studies by Prof. Jakobson on the *Slovo* must be revised and we may be in a position to connect the *Slovo* with the general tradition of poetry as developed not only among the Ukrainians but among all the Slavs and this in turn would give us more opportunity to detect the changes that were made in the *Slovo* between its composition and the appearance of the only known manuscript. All in all, this is a very serious and thought-provoking article, even if not all of its conclusions may be finally accepted in their present form.

The entire volume is a monument to the development of Slavonic Studies at Oxford and speaks well for the progress that is being made.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

CONQUEST BY TERROR. The story of Satellite Europe. By Leland Stowe. Random House, Inc. New York, 1953. XV and 300 pp. \$3.50.

Mr. Leland Stowe, the famous American correspondent for the Chicago Daily News, the ABC network and the New York Post Syndicate, one of two American journalists to win all three of the top American awards for foreign reporting — the Pulitzer Prize, the Sigma Delta Chi Medal and the Medal of the University of Missouri School of Journalism, — the author of five other books on international-political subjects, among them "Nazi Means War," has written a timely needed book. His "Conquest by Terror" is a solidly documented, detailed report of the sweeping sovietization of the satellite countries: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria. At the same time, it is a warning to the West, a documented demonstration of Moscow's plan to rule the world. Satellite Europe, he considers, is nothing less than a preview of a world conquest by Russian Communism.

His vivid description of the Soviet conquest of Satellite Europe, his "emotional" approach, the approach of a living man — a correspondent who knows those countries by autopsy and, at the same time, of an American patriot who has grasped the danger of Soviet Russian imperialism to the United States, is a great advantage of the book.

The author forcefully strikes at the ignorance and complacency of the Western world, especially of the Americans and calls all to take an active part in the struggle for the preservation of the free world. "They (the Soviets) — he says — have as their chief ally the blind complacency of legions of free Western citizens, wrapped in delusions of geographical immunity" (p. 10). In another place he states: "But those among us who shut their eyes to the crimes of the Soviet slave system are equally 'unconscious' allies of the Kremlin, and equally a menace to our way of life. By their silence alone they serve as confederates of Communism and supporters of the mass enslavement of peoples." (p. 296).

Mr. Stowe shows how in the few years since 1945 the individualistic satellite countries have been unrecognizably remodeled on the Soviet master pattern. The satellite countries have already entered into final stages of sovietization. He reveals how the Communist rule by terror operates, how Moscow successfully has created powerful satellite armies, how millions of civilians have been trained for war, how satellite industries are used to build Soviet military power, how the middle class, the kulaks, have been deliberately starved and liquidated, how Church authority has been undermined and religion persecuted, how the youth has been communized, education perverted and foreign people russianized, how the satellite countries are being economically exploited by Russians. Soviet propaganda is called by the author "a literal *salade Russe* of lies, fabrications and extravagant historical distortions." Mr. Stowe skillfully shows how the Russian conquerors are applying identical methods, identical tactics, identical programs to all of Eastern Europe, and this serves as a model and a prelude for a world sovietization program.

But there are some shortcomings in the book. Although Mr. Stowe several times mentions Ukraine and Ukrainians, among them the famous Sosyura's poem "Love the Ukraine," a Western, especially American reader who is not quite familiar with the national problem of the Soviet Union, would regard the Soviet Union as a Russian homogeneous state. Thus, he calls the city of Lviv in Western

Ukraine a "Russian city" and Csap, a small border town in the Carpathian Ukraine between the Ukrainian and Hungarian territories a "Russian border town."

Mr. Stowe does not even mention the conquest of the Baltic States by Red Russia during World War II. The author also does not even mention the fate and the struggle of the non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Union as the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, the Caucasian peoples etc. against Russian sovietization and Russian imperialism. What has happened in the satellite countries since 1945, had happened in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Caucasus etc. after 1923 even in greater measures.

The author states: "Federative and supra-national democracy is, in reality, the greatest revolutionary idea in today's world". We think, that is not enough. Only after the disintegration of the Red Russian Empire and the liberation of all peoples, those of the Soviet Union included, can any sort of a federalism be planned and that by the free peoples themselves.

VASYL VASYLIV.

THE SOVIET IMPACT ON SOCIETY. By Dagobert D. Runes. With a Foreword by Harry Elmer Barnes. New York, 1953: Philosophical Library. XIII and 202 pp. \$3.75.

The Soviet Impact On Society, written by Dagobert D. Runes, philosopher and author of numerous books and publications, among them the famous "Letters to My Son," is a very necessary and useful handy book for everyone to combat Communism.

The volume consists of four parts. It is a very concise, brilliantly written analysis of Marxist ideology and its application and distortion in the Soviet Union. At the same time, it is a devastating critique of Marxist doctrines and its appalling materialization in Soviet Russia. The author being a philosopher, explains many difficult philosophic, economic, social and political problems with such clarity and so precisely that the book will be read by everyone with great interest.

Dr. Runes attacks Communism at its very core. He reveals what happened in the Soviet Union by application of Marxist doctrine. He shows that the Soviet Union is a totalitarian state imbued with Russian imperialism, that the Soviet man is not a free man, that the Soviet society is not a positive but a negative force. The author with great skill and conviction compares the Soviet Union totalitarianism with that of Hitlerite Germany. The volume is a forceful warning to the Western world, especially to the United States, of the Communist danger and Soviet-Russian imperialism.

But the most revealing passage in the book is: "A Note to the Reader." "This book, — says the author, — was written fifteen years ago. Not a sentence has been added to the text nor has any part been withdrawn." It is pity to read: "This book could find no publisher fifteen years ago because it appeared too daring in its accusations... But the truth prevailed and today these same accusations are crystal clear to every thinking and freedom-loving person." We agree with Dr. Runes that the truth will prevail. The Ukrainian people were the most numerous victims of the false Soviet Russian propaganda.

VASYL VASYLIV.

SHAME AND GLORY OF THE INTELLECTUALS. By Peter Viereck. The Beacon Press, Boston, 1953, pp. 320.

The ever recurring need for some gifted writer with talent for clear and lucid expression to translate the thoughts and ideas of thinkers constituting our philosophic vanguard could not receive better satisfaction than by the resources garnered for the fulfilment of this necessary task in this absorbing and highly recommended work. The author covers a wide range of subjects that have engaged the energies of our contemporary intellectuals, in many instances with results which have thrown the name "intellectuals" into just disrepute. His plea, however, is in behalf of the rediscovery of values, those basic principles of human existence that make for personal dignity, communal harmony and social order, values that are perennial and intrinsic to life itself. In essence, with focus upon the sanctity of the individual personality and the objective limits of physical and human existence the author is drawing upon the accumulated wisdom of man, conserved in the spiritual treasures of the Church and inscribed in the immortal classics of the greatest intellects of history. The intellectual may pass in momentary shame, but the intellect will forever be the glory man.

Through the image of Gaylord Babbitt, Jr. the vagaries of our modern intellectual in diverse fields of economics, history, philosophy and politics are exceptionally well depicted. His loss of perspective, his unbalanced self-interest and verbal obsessions, as well as his curiously implanted biases that scarcely attest to a self-professed liberalism, are dealt with expert literary facility and psycho-analytic keenness. Much of the treatment hinges on certain clear distinctions drawn by the writer. For example, "This Burkean... sense of human limitation and frailty, as opposed to the megalomaniac faith in limitless progress through mass-movements and material reforms, is the basic distinction between the conservative temperament and the progressive temperament." And how awfully true, "Christianity, rightly understood, teaches it the most wisely and truly." His chapter on The Nature of the Crisis which confronts us today provides the supporting content of these founded observations.

It is unfortunate, however, that the author does not possess a more complete and accurate understanding of the Soviet Union, its multi-national composition and its foremost problems. A satisfactory job is done with the fellow-traveling intellectual operating with double standards when it comes to the Soviet Union. This is common with many anti-Communist Russia First advocates in this country. But to apply "Russian people" in many contexts where they are a minority and even insignificant, this to the exclusion of the more numerous non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., indicates a faulty knowledge of the several problems considered. Yet in this work of connected essays there is good reason to believe that this defect will be completely removed. In an earlier chapter one runs across this historically confused passage: "We must evoke their ("the Russian people") own nineteenth-century prophets of freedom and their more individualistic, less statist days of ancient Kiev (part of Ukraine's history)." Toward the close of the work, however, a more balanced perception is shown when he rightly observes the forces of Russian imperialism and colonialism which are soundly differentiated from similar phenomena in the West (p. 233).

LEV E. DOBRIANSKY.

Georgetown University.

IMPERIAL COMMUNISM, by Anthony T. Bouscaren, Public Affairs Press, 1953, pp. 256.

One cannot disagree with M. B. Schnapper, who in the Introduction to the book of Prof. Bouscaren qualifies it as "an extraordinarily timely" one. At the time when the Kremlin's "peace offensive" makes many a person indulge in wishful thinking about the new objectives of the Soviet policy, Bouscaren reveals a world-wide net of conspiracy inspired and directed by Moscow. His review of almost all Communist parties of the world shows the many arms by which Moscow is operating in order to undermine the free societies. All these parties, including the Communist Party of the USA, are unmasked by the author as obedient tools of the Soviet policy. The author ridicules the naiveté of all those who for a long time have been busy appeasing Communism by terming its agents "liberal democrats" or "agrarian reformers." (p. 43). He says: "The responsibility for the ignorance and prejudice about the nature and purposes of Soviet foreign policy is twofold. First, the Soviet Government maintains throughout the world an elaborate organization designed to present a plausible but distorted picture of Soviet policy as one designed to serve the interests of the working classes all over the world. Secondly, there continues to exist, in some of the circles at which Soviet propaganda is chiefly directed, a tendency, based on wishful thinking or historical and theoretical preconceptions, to accept the Soviet explanation of Soviet policy as credible." (p. 1).

Everyone who is acquainted with the post-war relations between the West and the Soviet Union will acclaim this appraisal. However, on reading the pages of this book, one cannot escape the impression that the author himself has based his work to some extent on some "preconceptions" so far as the true nature of the Soviet policy is concerned. There is no doubt that Communism is a phenomenon of an international character. Nonetheless, while talking of the world-wide Communist conspiracy directed by the Kremlin, it would be false to sidestep the open record of the century-old policy of Moscow the final aim of which was the conquest of the world. Moscow's drive toward domination of her present Slav satellites began long before Marx and Lenin were born. Did Marx himself not warn the world of the danger of Russian Imperialism? Does the Soviet policy of Russification and persecution of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union and the satellite countries not prove that the lofty slogans of the "liberation of the peoples from the capitalist yoke" serve only as a camouflage of a policy of genocide of the non-Russian peoples? Does, on the other hand, the Communist slogan of social progress and justice not mean a ruthless exploitation of the working masses?

In such a situation the question arises whether we are not helping Moscow when we accept her propaganda at its face value and fail to unmask her as the center of an age-old imperialist clique enslaving the non-Russian peoples and preventing the Russian masses from living peacefully with other nations. Is the definition of an "Imperial Communism" not a misleading one? The posing as the center of an allegedly progressive international movement aimed at the liberation of the colonial peoples and the toiling masses — is one of the great assets of the Kremlin in the present world struggle. Thus, would it not be more reasonable to counter such Communist propaganda by exposing the true character of Moscow's center of annihilation of the free peoples? On p. 151, depicting the Soviet policy in "People's Democracies," the author writes: "By deporting in-

tellectuals, priests, middle class elements — the educated, literate leadership groups of the population — Russia hopes to create a generation which will be devoid of national patriotic feelings, devoid of any pride in national history, and lacking all desire to be liberated from the Soviet yoke. In Rumania, for example, children must begin studying Russian as the primary language from the age of seven. Does this policy serve the aims of any international movement of different peoples of the world, or rather those of Russian Imperialism? Which interests of "Imperial Communism" made it necessary to incorporate the German city of Koenigsberg into the Russian SFSR and change its name into Kaliningrad? Does this not mean that the present Soviet regime steps into the shoes of Russian tsars in their drive toward the Baltic Sea? At the same time we should not forget that while trying to deprive all subjugated non-Russian peoples of their national feelings, Moscow is stimulating the national pride of the Great Russians, their history, literature, language and ascribing all the most important inventions to the Great Russians. Is this not a new racial theory of the Russian super-nation?

Going back to the inceptions of Bolshevism, the author rightly stresses the violation of the national aspirations of the non-Russian peoples: "During 1918 the various national minorities inside and on the peripheries of Russia revolted, and proclaimed their independence. This included the Baltic nations, the Ukraine, White Russia, and the Caucasian and Trans-Caucasian peoples. At first the Soviet regime could do little about these revolts, but later it gained sufficient strength to put many of them down, to retain most of these nations within the Russian Empire" (p. 15). Nonetheless "national aspirations in the Ukraine and the Caucasus and Trans-Caucasus continued. It was only through bitter and bloody fighting that the Red Army and its local allies crushed the popular uprisings in Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Bokhara, and the Ukraine." (p. 17).

For reasons not to be excused the author calls Galicia a "Polish province" in spite of an overwhelming Ukrainian majority in this Western part of the Ukrainian national territory. Lviv and Vilno are in his opinion "all-Polish towns" (p. 140).

MYROSLAW PROKOP.

THE UKRAINIANS IN MANITOBA. A SOCIAL HISTORY, by Paul Yuzyk, Toronto, The University of Toronto Press, 1953, pp. xv+232.

This volume, published under the auspices of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, as one of a series on the various ethnic groups in that province, is extraordinarily valuable. It contains in compact form practically all of the important information as to the coming of the Ukrainians and their development from an inchoate mass of peasants often with little political sense to an important position in the entire population. We can be very glad that we have in one place for one part of the New World such a handbook and we can only wish that other provinces of Canada and states and areas in the United States would produce similar studies.

The virtues of the book give a clue to its defects and they are those that are inherent in almost every regional or group history. To paint the historical background of the Ukrainians in some 24 pages and of their church in 3 pages is a task beyond the capacity of any person and the student of things Ukrainian will pay relatively little attention to these sections. The author is at his best when he is discussing tangible material as the progress of agriculture, the entrance of Ukrainians into trade and the professions, the press, Ukrainian literature in Canada, socie-

ties, etc., for here we have the raw material out of which a synthesis can ultimately be developed.

We must never forget that the bulk of the Ukrainian individuals who came to Canada and the United States before 1914 were largely of that same raw material out of which Franko and Hrushevsky developed the organized Ukrainian independence movement. It was not Prof. Yuzyk's task in this volume to trace in detail the interrelations between events in Europe and in Manitoba and the result is often to give false impression, and apparently to slight important events in modern Ukrainian history. It is perhaps ironical but it seems to this reviewer that we have a clearer picture of the mind of the Ukrainian Communist minority than of the anti-Communist majority. In a sense it is natural for they form a more consistent and homogeneous whole.

There are other unclear pictures in the account of the religious life. The bulk of the Ukrainians who came to the New World before 1914 were Western and Greek Catholic, although there were some Orthodox from various parts of Austria-Hungary. The Orthodox from Ukraine under Russia were far fewer in number and for the most part less nationally conscious. It required some years before the Greek Catholic organization was able to meet effectively for various reasons the proselyting power of the Russian Orthodox Church, which came to an end in 1917 and was replaced by the various Ukrainian Orthodox movements.

The author does not make his statement clear but it seems likely that the recent growth of Orthodoxy is a reflection of immigration from what was formerly Ukraine under Russia and the biographies in the "Ukrainian Year Book and Ukrainians of Distinction," 1953-4 edition, seem to suggest this. Perhaps this distinction or origin is becoming purely intellectual and academic in view of the wide dispersal of the Ukrainians during World War II but it might throw more light on some of the problems.

It is of course obvious that before 1914 the religious controversies played an exceptional role. However with the beginning of the nationalist group of organizations (p. 85 ff), it would be interesting to know what proportion of its members were drawn from the older religious groups who added the nationalist movement to their older interests. Here it seems as if Prof. Yuzyk to some degree creates a false antithesis, especially when we see how some of the religious leaders have been active in the Canadian Ukrainian Committee. This again is one of the risks in such a work where we often mistake the trees for the forest.

It is also easy to see that there is in Manitoba as elsewhere a certain temporary split between the older and more Canadianized immigrants and the newer immigrants from the DP camps. This will of course pass in time as the more recent arrivals find themselves in their new environment. They are supplying to the older groups a new cultural perspective but often they themselves have not yet found themselves sufficiently at home for many to do their most effective work.

There is in Canada as elsewhere a definite drift of the second generation from the ideals and culture of their immigrant parents. This offers a real threat to Ukrainian culture as a whole and the fact that since World War I "the Canadian-born generation in Manitoba has not produced a single poet or writer who uses the Ukrainian language" (p. 143) is indeed significant. It is regrettable but understandable in view of conditions but perhaps the whole problem of the second generation will not bring the demoralization that Prof. Yuzyk sometimes seems to fear.

The fact that the early settlers brought with them such a small amount of the higher Ukrainian culture is also significant. Everything indicates that those aspects of culture which are most national and also most universal will find a lasting place

in the New World. Songs, music, folk dancing are holding up better than food or marriage rites and finding more support even among the non-Ukrainians.

Events are moving rapidly to-day. New movements are rising, old ones are slowing down and passing. New evaluations are necessary with every month and year. So, while we can find detail after detail that may need correction or extension, we must still recognize the amount of work that has gone into this book and be grateful for what we have. It is still not a definitive study but it certainly gives much of the raw material of which we are so badly in need and for that we can be grateful to the author.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

MAXIMILIANUS RYLO, EPISCOPUS CHELMENSIS ET PEREMYSLIENSIS
(1759-1793). Sac. Joannes Choma. Roma, 1953, pp. XII+46.

Some dozens of theological students of the Ukrainian College of St. Josaphat in Rome have begun studies of the history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the 18th century, a period on which very little work has been done. One of these studies is this historical monograph by Rev. Choma on Maximilian Rylo, Bishop of Kholm and Peremyshl, who played a great role in the stormy period connected with the downfall of Poland and the entire political and cultural system in Eastern Europe.

The Catholic hierarchy of Poland was not up to the highest standards and the hierarchy of the Uniat Church did not have the good fortune to have as its leader a man who was fitted for the critical period in its history. Metropolitan Volodkovych, who had the Kievan diocese under his administration, was in constant conflict with his clergy over property rights, while the clergy were exposed to severe persecution during the Confederation of Bar and the Haydamak movement. The advance of the Russian armies into Right Bank Ukraine ostensibly to restore the order threatened by the Haydamaky and the Confederates of Bar dealt a heavy blow to the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine. For several months dozens of the Ukrainian Catholic clergy who had been arrested by the Russians languished in prison in Berdychiv and acquired the honorable name of the „Confessors of Berdychiv.”

In this situation the first place was occupied by Maximilian Rylo, Bishop of Kholm. He was of White Ruthenian origin and a Basilian. He soon achieved a prominent position in his Order and the Papal Nuncio in Poland, Garampi, often employed him in solving delicate questions regarding the Greek Catholic Church in Poland.

After he had been consecrated bishop and worked among the Ukrainian people, he became in fact the moral leader of this Church in the general chaos. With a commission from the Nuncio in Warsaw he twice in the most stormy period visited Dnieper Ukraine and made a basic examination of the clergy who were under severe persecution.

During his second journey of visitation in Ukraine he fell into the hands of the Russian army which arrested him and there was a danger that as a citizen of the Polish Republic he would be sent to Siberia. Only the vigorous intercession of the Nuncio in Warsaw at the Russian Embassy restored him to liberty.

After the first division of Poland, when Galicia with the dioceses of Lviv and Peremyshl passed under the control of Austria, Bishop Rylo accepted the proposal of his friend Garampi, who was then Nuncio in Vienna, and became the Bishop of Peremyshl under Austrian rule.

The author gives us in this book which is based chiefly on unpublished materials in the Vatican only the outside activities of Bishop Rylo. A second part on his diocesan work as a bishop has not been published. This is unfortunate, for an account of the diocesan work of Bishop Rylo would have given us a much clearer picture of the actual condition of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the day, and it was to this that Bishop Rylo, gave most of his life.

The work of Father Choma, like the works of the other young Ukrainian Catholic students of Church History in Rome is in Latin, the official language of the Catholic Church. Unfortunately, Latin is less well known here than in Europe and so these volumes are less accessible to the Anglo-Saxon world.

N. CHUBATY.

PAN-SLAVISM: ITS HISTORY AND IDEOLOGY. By Hans Kohn. University of Notre Dame Press. Notre Dame, Indiana, 1953. 356 pp.

Prof. Hans Kohn, a well known authority on nationalism and national problems, the author of "The Idea of Nationalism—A Study in Its Origin and Background" and of "Prophets and Peoples: Studies in Nineteenth Century Nationalism," professor of History at City College of New York City, recently wrote a cogent, thoroughly documented book on Pan-Slavism. His book entitled: "Pan-Slavism: Its History and Ideology" is for the first time a full presentation to the Anglo-American reader of all the aspects and angles of the Pan-Slavic movement up to the present time.

The book consists of three main chapters: 1) Pan-Slavism and the West 1815-1860. 2) Pan-Slavism and Russian Messianism 1860-1905. 3) Pan-Slavism and the World Wars 1905-1950.

According to Prof. Kohn, the Pan-Slavic movement in which "nationalist elements were mingled with supra-national and often imperialist trends" was a product of the political awakening of the intellectuals in Central and Eastern Europe after the French Revolution. Pan-Slavism, the idea of Slavonic brotherhood and Slavonic co-operation arose as a defensive movement of the Western Slavs, who happened to live in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, against Germanization and Magyarization. German romanticism and the linguistic Pan-Germanism represented by Arndt, Fichte and Herder had a great influence upon the Western Slavs. Under these stimulations and influences the Western Slavs began to cultivate Slav co-operation in the literary and cultural fields. Then Pan-Slavism was extended to the political field with the idea of nationality and liberty based on Slav unity. Pan-Slavism brought about the increase and crystallization of national consciousness and political aspiration for national independence among the Slav peoples.

The author, born in Prague, Czechoslovakia, is very familiar with the origin of the Pan-Slavic movement on Czech soil, and it is natural that the first chapter of the book devoted to the Western Slavs within the Austro-Hungarian Empire is written most skilfully. Mentioning the Society of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, founded by Taras Shevchenko and his friends Panteleimon Kulish and Nicolas Kostomarov in 1847, the author says that this Society "not only wished to awaken Ukrainian national consciousness and literary life but also to propagate a Pan-Slav federation of all the Slav peoples on the basis of full equality. Each Slavic nation was to form a republic of its own, the head of the federation was to be elected and all Slav nations were to send their representatives to a congress to solve common problems." (p. 61).

Pan-Slavism, which began as a movement of the Western Slavs became predominantly a Russian movement. By the time of Pushkin the Russian Pan-Slavism was already strong. The poet was able to declare that all the Slavic rivers had to run into the Russian sea. Russian poets, writers, and politicians began to speak of Russia and of the Slavs and Slav unity from the Russian point of view. The Pan-Slavism of the Russian Slavophiles mingled with Russian messianism and, thus, it became Pan-Russism, a new ideological slogan in the service of Russian imperialism. Prof. Kohn presents many excerpts from the works of such prominent Russian Slavophiles and writers as Khomyakov, Pogodin, Tyutchev, Danilevsky, Dostoyevsky, Bakunin and the Evraziytsy who declared Russia part of the Empire of Genghis Khan. Thus, the Anglo-American reader has a first hand opportunity to become acquainted with the Russian messianic and imperialist mania. Some of the excerpts strikingly fit the present Soviet policy and propaganda. E. g. Prince Esper Ukhtomsky wrote at the end of the Nineteenth century: "At all times, we Russians were part of Asia. . . Our geographic situation has destined us to head the still undeveloped peoples of the East. It is high time that the Russians should recognize this heritage bequeathed to them by Genghis Khan and Tamerlane." (p. 174).

In the third chapter the author describes the history and ideology of Pan-Slavism of the twentieth century during the First and Second World Wars. Pan-Slavism was efficiently utilized by the Russians in World War I. Russia's ultimate goal then was to include into her Empire almost all the Slavic peoples in the west and south of the Russian Empire. But the First World War brought about the downfall of three empires. In order to save the Russian Empire, the Russians introduced a new ideological slogan in the service of their imperialism, Bolshevik Communism. The idea for world revolution with Moscow at the head and the Third International were such powerful weapons and tools in the service of Red Russian imperialism that Moscow temporarily abandoned the old Russian Pan-Slavism. However, during the Second World War, Red Russia renewed the old Russian Pan-Slavism. As a result of this for the first time in Russian history all Slavs, except the Yugoslavs, found themselves under Russian domination. Now, under the new dispensation, Moscow has become the "elder brother" of the Slavs.

Pan-Slavism was a political movement for Slavic unity. But there is no Slavic unity. Politically, religiously, culturally, racially there are great differences among the Slavic nations.

There are some shortcomings in the book. The author speaks of "Russia in her Kiev period" (pp. 104, 239). The Kievan Rus stood where the Ukrainian people live now and lived at that time. Kiev was the capital and cultural center of the Kievan Empire at the time, when Moscow barely existed.

This book by Professor Kohn is remarkable and very stimulating for a thinking reader. The great advantage of the book is its scholarly, unbiased, impartial treatment of all the unpleasant problems. We must emphasize with great pleasure that the author who has never before devoted much time to the Ukrainians and the Ukrainian problem as a whole, here treats the Ukrainians as a people with an old and justified aspiration for independence and sovereignty. American scholarship should be thankful to the University of Notre Dame Press, especially to Prof. Gurian for publishing this very useful book.

VASYL VASYLIV.

UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"FAVORING EXTENSION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE REPUBLICS OF UKRAINE AND BYELORUSSIA," Hearing, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953, Washington.

The complete proceedings of the hearing held by a special House subcommittee on H. Con. Res. 58 appear in this booklet of 112 pages which is available at public sale. With the Beria case in the forefront of discussion last July, consideration of this unique resolution was most opportune. The testimonies presented dealt at length on all the essential facts surrounding the Republics of Ukraine and Byelorussia. Members of the subcommittee, which passed the resolution unanimously, and the many other legislators who were present found much of the material interesting and valuable.

An erroneous notion has been circulated that the highest officials in the Department of State are opposed to this resolution. On the contrary, the main source of opposition is the Kennan clique that still occupies certain positions in the Department. It is most instructive to scan the line-up of the opposition to the passage of this resolution: (1) Communists (2) Kennanists (3) six anti-Communist but Russian imperialist groups in New York. None of these carries any numerical strength, the last being largely paper organizations. But what is particularly significant is the demonstrated fact that here we have three of a kind, with the common denominator as Russia First. Slovak, Polish, Rumanian and numerous other organizations have endorsed the resolution which now has received the support of an important bloc in the House.

"FIFTH COLUMN IN RUSSIA," by Eugene Lyons. The American Legion Magazine, July, 1953.

If the editor of this magazine only knew the Russia First propaganda he was purchasing when he accepted this article, one could be sure that with the interests of the American Legion at heart he would have rejected it. The ability for such evaluation requires time, of course.

As a firm believer in the preservation of the territorial boundaries of the Russian Empire, the writer continues to confuse his unwary reader with such nonsensical terms as "the Russian peoples" or "Russia" as being identical with the Soviet Union. He figures that his average reader is ignorant enough not to discern the untruths of his presentation. By maintaining this literal confusion of terms, he consequently finds it very convenient to borrow the historical evidences of non-Russian opposition to Moscow in order to "prove" his thesis that "Stalin's death dramatized the fact that what the Kremlinites fear most are the Russian people themselves..." The intelligent reader of the three funeral orations in March, the Pravda editorial, the several unity calls, and the indictment against Beria finds, however, that the Kremlin praises the "Great" Russian nation above all others for its loyalty and support. Truth-telling does not come natural with the advocates of Russia First, and this writer has demonstrated it abundantly over the years.

"THE SOVIET CENTRIFUGE," by Lev E. Dobriansky. Human Events, July 22, 1953, Washington.

A concise portrayal is made in this article of the centrifugal forces at work in the Soviet Union. The role of the majority of non-Russian peoples in an unfolding liberation program is explained against an essential background of their undying struggle for national independence and self-government. An adequate treatment is given to the common ground on which the Soviet Russians and anti-Communist Russia Firsters in this country rest.

"THE PRACTICAL ASPECT OF A FEDERATION," by Joseph Pauco. Slovakia, July 1953, Middletown, Pa.

The position taken in this lucid article for a European Federation is well supported by argumentation and authority. The writer evinces a sound comprehension of the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R., and sets forth a concept of federation that necessarily includes all East European nations. For Slovakia as for Ukraine the formula can only be Liberation-Independence-Federation. These are the necessarily logical steps in any just program designed to reconstruct Eastern Europe once the imperialist Soviet Russian menace is vanquished. The author is on safe ground when he attests to the fact that the leading non-Russian emigrés are most receptive to the idea of European Federation. It is worthwhile to note that only the Russian emigrés reject this idea in order that some misnamed "Federation of Russia" may be established, or in other words the Holy Russian Empire be kept intact.

"THESE RUSSIANS ARE ON OUR SIDE," by James P. O'Donnell. The Saturday Evening Post, June 6, 1953, Pa.

This piece on emigrés in Western Germany is the product of another one of those cases where a reporter is in search of information which invariably escapes the power of his evaluation. The very title of this article is ill-suited to the various subjects dealt with. A good deal of concocted information was evidently obtained from the generally discredited Russian NTS. In fact it appears that all of his sources of "information" were Russian.

A few examples will demonstrate the type of "information" this reporter conveys to his American audience. He mentions that at the outbreak of battle on the Eastern front in the last war, in "a short period 3,600,000 Red Army men surrendered. As the German tank columns slashed deep into the Ukraine and beyond to the Crimea, they met, at first, not partisan warfare, but welcoming peasant masses..." A couple of sentences below we read, "The Nazis dropped their mask and revealed their clear intent not only to topple the Stalinist regime but to enslave the Russian people, and thus summoned up the one mighty Nemesis that defeated them—the traditional, soil-loving, patriotic fervor of the Russians." How the Russian people crept en masse into Ukraine and to the Crimea to perform this great feat is a mystery, but this is the fairy tale meted out as "information." Further, more than 800,000 Russian PW's were supposed to have rallied about Gen. Vlassov, where the most reliable intelligence estimates place it less than one fifth of this, with half non-Russians in national background. The article is replete with misinformation, to say the least.

"SOVIETIZATION OF AN OCCUPIED AREA THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE COURTS (Northern Bukovina), by Jury Fedynsky. *The American Slavic and East European Review*, v. XII, New York.

With heavy documentation the author of this scholarly article describes in detail the process by which an occupied Ukrainian area undergoes "legal Sovietization." The pattern seems to be standard, judging by what occurred earlier in Western Ukraine. Having the advantage of close observation in the early part of the war, the writer treats numerous civil law cases that underwent litigation with minute care. His conclusion is noteworthy in that the smooth and efficient establishment of civil law processes appears to be a morale agent for rapid Soviet occupation.

"STALIN—AS WE SEE HIM," by N.M.K. *The Voice of Free Georgia*, May, 1953, New York.

A favorite argument used by imperialist Russian emigrés and their Russia First sympathizers is that since Stalin was a Georgian and other high functionaries in the Kremlin were non-Russian, it is absurd to speak of Russian imperialism as the enemy of the free world. On three counts, of course, this argument is specious. One, the entire history of Soviet Russian conquests from 1918 on is thoroughly Russian, or better still Muscovite, in character—the bulk of its marauding armies, its base, its tactics and brutalities, and its inevitable effects of Russification, official terrorism and Russian satrapies. Second, in the history of traditional Russian imperialism numerous non-Russian figures have graced its record of interminable conquest and predation with their names. Third, the dynamics of force, intrigue and conspiracy that have always been prominent drives in Russian imperialist history over the past 500 years, possess an attraction for all sorts of political adventurers and native quislings. As even many a fair-minded Russian would admit, a Russified non-Russian is worse in brutality and self-seeking ambition than any callous Russian overlord.

In this illuminating and most fascinating article Stalin, the "Georgian," is viewed by a Georgian. Tracing his personal history from his birth to limitless power, the writer gives a vivid description of those many critical events in life that are capable of transforming a man radically. In his early years Stalin was a patriotic Georgian, "full of hatred for the Russian rule," but a series of personal disappointments, from the time of Jordania's rejection of his article to his unsuccessful activities in Batumi, served to convert this essentially conspiratorial character into an agent possessed with vengeance for his native country. A decade later the avenue of Soviet Russian imperialism provided him the means by which to reap this vindictiveness. On this question the only true answer can be given by Georgians themselves, people who self-consciously know what it means to be and to live like a Georgian. As one would anticipate, "Whatever history may say about him, to Georgians and Georgia he will always remain a traitor to his native country and a man who denied and rejected all that Georgia and Georgians have always stood and fought for."

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