

The

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Ukrainian

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A JOURNAL OF EAST EUROPEAN AND ASIAN AFFAIRS

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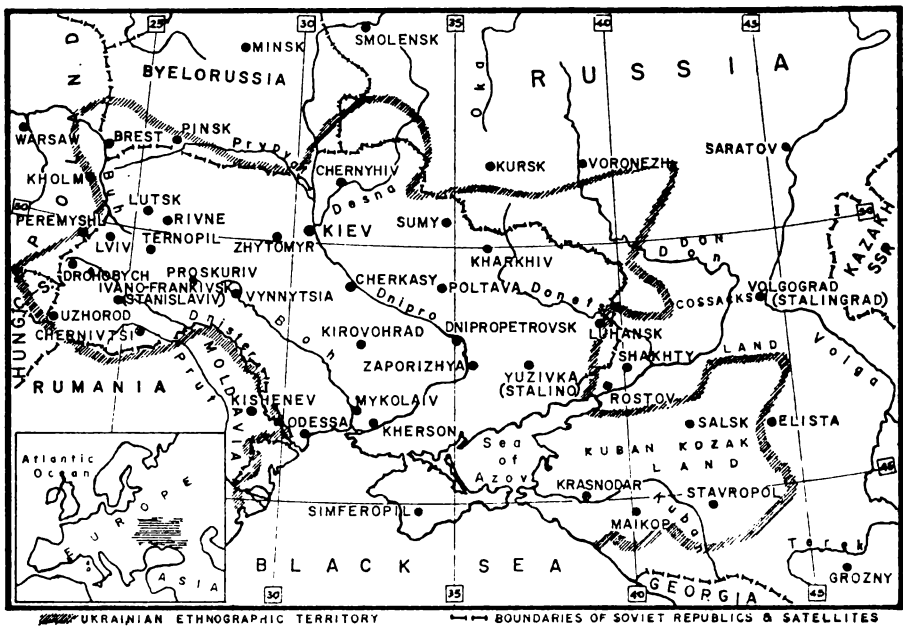
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FREEDOM CRIES OUT FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

Editorial

"...We shall use our good offices to seek the release of prisoners of conscience, and we will continue our efforts to shape a world responsive to human aspirations in which nations of differing cultures and histories can live side by side in peace and justice..."

(FROM PRESIDENT CARTER'S LETTER TO PROF. SAKHAROV)¹

"...The Ukrainian land was hit by a wave of arrests. Among those arrested are writer Mykola Rudenko, head of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, as is another member of the Kiev Group, Oleksiy Tykhy. Both will remain behind bars should the Ukrainians lack strength and courage to defend them. All of us who were and who remain prisoners of the Soviet Union are hoping that our contrymen will energetically defend all the patriots of Ukraine..."

(FROM THE TELEPHONE APPEAL OF NINA STROKATA-KARAVANSKY AND STEFANIA SHABATURA FROM AREAS OF FORCIBLE SETTLEMENT NEAR MOSCOW)²

There is at least one beneficiary of the Helsinki Accords, the result of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), held in the summer of 1975. In addition to 33 governments of Europe the United States and Canada joined the conference, induced to join by the Ford-Kissinger Administration for the sake of "easing international tensions." It was, of course, the Kremlin that benefited greatly. The West collectively recognized the Soviet Russian territorial conquests in Central and Eastern Europe in exchange for Moscow's empty paper promises to ease emigration from the USSR and for a "freer flow of people and ideas" between the two blocs.

¹ "Sakharov Receives Carter Letter Affirming Commitment to Rights," by Christopher S. Wren (Moscow), *The New York Times*, February 18, 1977.

² "Appeal of Nina Karavanska and Stefania Shabatura," translation from the Ukrainian of the telephone conversation from Tarussa, near Moscow, with members of the Ukrainian Group on the Helsinki Accords, based in Washington, D.C. on the night of February 17, 1977, cf. *Svoboda*, Ukrainian daily in Jersey City, N.J., February 19, 1977.

But what had actually ensued? Has Moscow lived up to the terms of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference? Far from it.

The Helsinki accords and policy of detente, in the opinion of Brian Crozier, noted British authority on international relations and director of the Institute for the Study of Conflict, in London, were and are being used by Moscow strictly to promote its own world of Communist society, which is deemed not safe so long as the "capitalist" world exists.

Speaking recently at the conference on "The U.S. and the USSR After Detente," Dr. Crozier said that both the U.S. and the rest of the "free world" (which he termed "the Target Area") have committed a grave error of diagnosis in assessing international security, which in turn has led to wrong turnings in foreign policy. They have failed to recognize the existence of a "Third World War," waged relentlessly by the Soviet side against the non-Communist world, with a response from the free world, including NATO, wholly defensive, spasmodic at best, non-existent at worst.

The USSR has achieved great political and strategical successes virtually without using its military-naval power directly — witness Cuba, Angola, and the like — mostly through the strong use of psychological methods. It overawes governments; it discourages high foreign defense budgets; it employs subversion, including disinformation, agitation and espionage; it capitalizes on diplomacy, including trade pacts, such as grain deals, detente, the Helsinki conference, "friendship treaties," and so forth, and it uses terrorism and guerrilla warfare.³ With unconscionable use of these avenues of communication, no shot, indeed, need be fired.

While some Western statesmen, including the former American President and his Secretary of State, believed that the policy of detente helped to "ease international tensions," the Soviet partner of detente, Leonid Brezhnev, said on February 24, 1976, that "detente means a reduction in international relations. . . but detente in no way rescinds or can rescind the laws of the class struggle. No one can count on Communists, in condition of detente, reconciling themselves with capitalist exploitation. . ."

THE CARTER COMMITMENT

Deplorably, the fact is that the Russians had their way altogether with President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger on the

³ Brian Crozier's Remarks at the Conference on "The U.S. and the USSR After Detente," held on January 27-28, 1977, at the Statler Hilton Hotel in Washington under the sponsorship of the American Council for World Freedom.

issue of human rights in the USSR. This other "superpower" either avoided the issue or paid lip-service to the principle in following Dr. Kissinger's "quiet diplomacy" and "non-interference" in the internal affairs of the USSR.

No knowledgeable American of any ethnic background can forget or forgive former President Ford's disgraceful snub of Alexander Solzhenitsyn nor his scandalous assertion that there was "no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe," nor the infamous "Sonnenfeldt doctrine," which proposed our helping Moscow to swallow up the Eastern European countries.

Against this lugubrious backdrop, President Carter has emerged as a savior of American honor and tradition in coming out for human rights in the USSR and elsewhere.

Last October, while campaigning for election to the U.S. Presidency, Mr. Carter sent two telegrams to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in which he pledged unstinted support for human rights in Ukraine. In one he said:

...President Kennedy and Pope John did not turn their backs on Cardinal Slipyj, and I promise you I will not turn my back on Valentyn Moroz, nor on the dream he symbolizes. The Helsinki agreement has become a lopsided victory for the Soviet Union. When I become President, I will review that weak and unacceptable document. I am not afraid of hard bargaining with the Soviet Union.

In the second telegram President Carter stated:

...I have great admiration for the people of Ukraine. In our economic and diplomatic transactions with the Soviet Union, I will use most effective means possible to strengthen the hands of those who are oppressed. I will also work for a freer exchange of information and ideas. . . .⁴

To be remembered is that the "Spirit of Helsinki" is synonymous in many minds with detente at the present time. The Helsinki agreement has merely served, we repeat, as a recognition by the West of the Soviet Russian control of Eastern Europe and, as such, it is a substantial propaganda and political victory for Moscow. Not that this was not foreseen. The Soviet Union agreed to pay a price, and that price was the so-called "Basket Three" of the Helsinki accords — the free movement of people and ideas and the right to live a normal and full life unmolested by the secret police.

But here again, the West was taken for a diplomatic ride by Moscow, which never even dreamt of raising the Iron Curtain, except

⁴ Cf. "Governor Jimmy Carter's Telegrams to the UCCA Congress," in *Pertinent Documents* column, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4, Winter, 1976, pp. 417-418, New York, N.Y.

to give some elbow room to the Western journalists in Moscow. Oppression and persecution has continued unabated, especially in Ukraine and the Baltic States. Moscow released a number of Russian dissidents, many Jews among them, but no Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Byelorussian, Estonian, or Georgian dissidents (an exception is the Ukrainian mathematician Leonid Plyushch, who was released in January, 1976, under pressure of the French Communist Party).

Immediately after the assumption by Jimmy Carter of the U.S. presidency in Washington, the U.S. Department of State, undoubtedly with the approval of the new President and his national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, denounced the harassment of dissidents in the USSR and then warned Czechoslovakia against persecution of its dissidents. The State Department again warned the USSR not to silence Prof. Andrei D. Sakharov, when it became known that the distinguished physicist had been warned by the Soviet attorney general that he might be arrested for treason.

In swift succession, however, the KGB arrested in Moscow Alexander I. Ginzburg, noted Russian human rights activist, who had been assisting families of political prisoners with funds provided by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the exiled Russian writer, and Yuri Orlov, chairman of the unofficial group in Moscow monitoring Soviet compliance with the Helsinki accords.

Subsequently, on February 5, 1977 in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev, the KGB arrested Mykola Rudenko, noted Ukrainian poet and head of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, and Oleksiy Tykhy, a member of the same committee. As far as it is known, no formal charges were lodged against Mr. Orlov and the two Ukrainians in Kiev.

Prior to these arrests, Prof. Sakharov wrote a letter to President Carter in which he beseeched the American President to defend human rights in the USSR. He also implored immediate help from the outside for 15 political prisoners (among whom were 9 Ukrainians — Ed.).⁵

It was to this letter (written by Dr. Sakharov on January 21, 1977), that President Carter replied on February 5, 1977. Sent through the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, where Prof. Sakharov was invited to pick it up, the historic letter read:

I received your letter of January 21, and want to express my appreciation to you for bringing your thoughts to my personal attention.

⁵ Cf. *The New York Times*, January 29, 1977.

Human rights is a central concern of my Administration. In my inaugural address I stated: "Because we are free, we can never be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere."

You may rest assured that the American people and our government will continue our firm commitment to promote respect for human rights not only in our own country but also abroad.

We shall use our good offices to seek the release of prisoners of conscience and we will continue our efforts to shape a world responsive to human aspirations in which nations of differing cultures and histories can live side by side in peace and justice. I am always glad to hear from you, and I wish you well.⁶

The very same day that President Carter's letter was made public, Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly F. Dobrynin called on Acting Secretary of State Arthur A. Hartman to convey Soviet "displeasure" and to say that the Soviet Union "resolutely rejects attempts to interfere, under a thought-up pretext of defending human rights, in its internal affairs."

So much for the Helsinki accords.

FREEDOM RUMBLINGS THROUGHOUT THE SLAVE EMPIRE

But the arrests in Moscow and in Ukraine of leading Russian and Ukrainian freedom advocates menace the future of the Soviet Russian slave empire. It does not matter how many dissidents there are in the USSR. The important fact is that they exist — and they include leading citizens and they are not afraid to speak their minds.

While the Russian dissidents are fighting against the ruthless regime denying all fundamental freedoms, protesters in the non-Russian republics are fighting against Russian hegemony and the Russification of their national cultures, languages and their historical and national traditions.

There are non-Russian committees to monitor compliance with the Helsinki accords in Ukraine, Lithuania and Georgia (but the list may be greater).

Ukraine: On November 9, 1976, several individuals active in the movement for human and national rights in Ukraine and in the USSR established the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, headed by Mykola Rudenko, noted Ukrainian poet. Other members include Oles Berdnyk, Gen. Petro Hryhorenko (Pyotr Grigorenko), Ivan Kandyba, Levko Lukyanenko, Oksana Meshko, Mykola Matusyevych, Myroslav Marynovych, Nina Strokata and Oleksiy Tykhy. Two of them, M. Rudenko and O. Tykhy, were arrested on February 5, 1977.

⁶ Cf. *The New York Times*, February 18, 1977.

The group published two important documents, a "Declaration" and "A Memorandum, No. 1," which have been widely disseminated throughout the U.S. and other countries of the free world.⁷ Both documents, especially the Memorandum, scrupulously detail the violation of human and national rights in Ukraine.

Lithuania: A Lithuanian group to monitor the observance of the Helsinki decisions was set up on December 1, 1976 in Vilnius. Consisting of five persons, four of them are known to be Mrs. Ona Lukauskaite-Poskiene, Rev. Karolis Garuckas, Eitan Finkelshtein and Viktoras Petkus. The group made public their goals and issued reports at a press conference held in Moscow.⁸

(The membership of the Georgian group in Tbilisi has not been made public in the West to the best of our knowledge.)

The unquenchable flames of freedom have also engulfed a number of Communist-ruled Central and Eastern European countries that are not directly under the oppressive Soviet Russian boot.

Czechoslovakia: A number of arrests were made among the intellectuals in Czechoslovakia following the publication of "Charter 77," which was signed by 240 writers, journalists, scientists, scholars, former politicians and persons associated with the former regime of liberal Alexander Dubcek. The document constitutes a powerful indictment of the present Communist regime in Prague for its blatant disregard of basic freedoms, regarded as self-evident in any civilized society.⁹

Poland: A growing dissatisfaction on the part of Polish workers and the restive intellectuals continues to be the chief problem of the flabby Edward Gierek regime. Workers' upheavals in Radom and Ursus spurred the creation of a Workers' Defense Committee to mobilize public support; the Committee is headed by noted novelist Jerzy Andrzejewski, who has a powerful ally in Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski and the Polish Catholic Church.¹⁰

⁷ *Declaration and Memorandum No. 1*, by the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, November 9, 1976, Kiev, Ukraine. Published by the Ukrainian National Association for the Helsinki Guarantees for Ukraine Committee in Washington, D.C.

⁸ ELTA Information Service of the Supreme Committee for Liberation of Lithuania, No. 1 (213), January, 1977, New York, N.Y.

⁹ *Czechoslovak Newsletter*, Council of Free Czechoslovakia, Number 6, January, 1977, Washington, D.C.

¹⁰ *Studium: News Abstracts*, The North American Study Center for Polish Affairs, Chicago, Ill., No. 1, December, 1976.

Romania: A number of well-known activists in the human rights movement were arrested on February 17, 1977, as President Nicolae Ceausescu delivered a speech denouncing dissidents and would-be emigrants as "traitors" to Romania. Among those arrested was Paul Goma, well-known Romanian novelist, and other dissidents who fearlessly expressed their sympathy and solidarity with all Eastern Europeans under the "Russian occupation." A group of Romanian intellectuals addressed an appeal to the signatories of the Helsinki pact, urging them to persuade the Romanian government to honor the country's constitutional guarantees.¹¹

Hungary: Here where citizens enjoy more personal freedom than in any other Eastern European country, intellectuals remain fearful of "rocking the fragile boat" steered by Janos Kadar since the 1956 rebellion. Yet 34 writers, playwrights, journalists and other intellectuals broke the seeming placid surface by sending a message of sympathy to Czech playwright Pavel Kohout, who is being harassed by Czechoslovak authorities.

East Germany; Once the most obedient of peoples in the Soviet bloc, the East Germans have begun to manifest discontent with their regimented life. Some 200,000 people have applied for emigration to West Germany, and many of them have lost their jobs before receiving exit permits. Hundreds of people have been arrested for protesting the forced exile of popular balladeer Wolf Biermann. Physicist Robert Havemann, who was in a Nazi prison with Erich Honecker, Communist party boss in East Germany, has been under house arrest since last year for criticizing the regime. A host of dissidents, mainly university students, have been arrested and beaten up by hoodlums hired by the security police. Following the Soviet style, many East German dissidents have been placed in insane asylums.¹²

Yugoslavia: A few weeks ago Milovan Djilas, once a powerful leader of the Yugoslav Communist party, appealed to the West European Communist parties to persuade the government of Josip Broz Tito to respect human rights. Djilas estimated that at least 600 political prisoners are known to be in Yugoslav jails.

Bulgaria: Bulgaria is the only Communist-bloc country where the government (in this case that of Todor Zhivkov) keeps a virtually airtight seal on political dissent.

¹¹ "Romania Seizes Leading Dissidents; Ceausescu Terms Them 'Traitors,'" *The New York Times*, February 18, 1977, by Malcolm W. Browne.

¹² "The Dissidents v. Moscow," *Time*, February 21, 1977, p. 24.

CONCLUSIONS

The dissent and opposition both in the USSR and East European countries are due to a variety of reasons. In the Soviet Union the dominating factor is the Russians who make up a bare half of the total Soviet population. In the countries outside the USSR, but dominated by the Communist Parties, the Russians exercise full control through several ways, not the least of which is the presence of Soviet tanks. Both the peoples of the satellite countries and of the non-Russian republics in the USSR resent Russian arrogance, Russification and colonial supervision. So the non-Russian dissent is rooted in nationalism — in democratic traditions and genuine aspirations for justice and human rights in freedom and independence.

That remarkable naverick, Milovan Djilas, speaking some time ago over the Cologne radio, perceptively pointed out:¹³

Russia is actually the only old empire which has survived. . . The Soviet system is increasingly developing toward domination by the Russian party apparatus over the other peoples in the Soviet Union, towards a Russian nationalism under the cloak of a Soviet nationalism. . .

In pursuance of this goal, Russian domination over all of Eastern Europe — and possibly Western Europe as well, the Kremlin has blithely violated the Helsinki accords. For a long time the Kremlin chieftains thought that they could get away unscathed because the United States, the only power that could effectively raise its voice against the Soviet trampling on human rights, was mute.

Now President Carter has spoken out. The old, tired objection against "internal interference" has, thankfully, finally given way to a President of morality and integrity. Freedom is a universal concern, as he sees it. And it may well be here, in this fundamental area of living and not the endless give-and-take SALT talks, that peace and progress may be achieved for Homo Sapiens.

¹³ "The Only Surviving 'Old Empire,'" *The Guardian of Liberty* (Munich), November-December, 1976.

THE CAPTIVE NATIONS — LIKE GOD — DEAD?

By LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

Not too long ago, in this country of ours we were treated to the amazing discovery that God is dead. Some so-called theologians attempted to rationalize this metaphysically absurd thesis. Actually what was dead, albeit momentarily, was the sense of perception and philosophical insight of too many Americans into the structure of objective being and reality. Analogously on the temporal plane, we can accurately say that by mental habitude and inertia far too many Americans view the captive nations, to the extent that they know them, as dead. "We've heard this so often," so the saying goes, "that it is a dead issue." So from our pulpits — Catholic, Southern Baptist, Jewish and so forth — God is repeated. Ergo, He is a dead issue.

Let us see, then, how dead the issue of captive nations is. In terms of a very real possibility could we as a nation, pursuing our blind indifference to growing realities in the community of mankind, reach a terminal point where our independence and freedoms become dead and our condition as a captive nation becomes very much alive? To answer this and similar basic questions in succinct manner, I'll approach our subject along the lines of (1) current attitudes and perspectives, (2) the expanding reality of captive nations, and (3) the tragic need for a policy on the captive nations.

CURRENT ATTITUDES AND PERSPECTIVES ON THE CAPTIVE NATIONS

First, in dealing concisely with some current attitudes and perspectives on the captive nations, let me emphasize a simple point of fundamental logic which all too frequently is overlooked. In this "International Conference on the U.S. and the USSR After Detente" we are discussing subjects which generally are considered most essential to our national security and traditions. Now, as an example, have you asked yourselves the question, "If there were no captive nations in Central Europe, within the Soviet Union and elsewhere, would there be any need to discuss NATO, SALT and Helsinki?" Obviously no. The point is that with reference to most of our dominant international problems the underlying problem is the continued ex-

istence of the captive nations. In this sense of logical precedence the captive nations issue assumes an ultimacy in character and nature that cannot be imputed to most problems bearing on security and peace. And the field of this more ultimate issue engenders practically every sphere of human existence. The issue deals with over a third of humanity.

Yet, strangely enough, despite this primary logical fact the general attitude in our country, as reflected in government, the media, academia and so forth, is that the issue is virtually only of so-called ethnic concern; and at that with an East European tinge. Once again, this attitudinal fact was pinpointedly crystallized in the past presidential campaign.¹ The misconceptions and distortions of fact revealed during and after the second debate were supposed to affect solely the votes of those of East European background. As portrayed by our media and other agencies in the campaign, it would appear that these misconceptions and factual distortions, impinging on the most critical area of the world as concerns our security, are of no interest to the rest of our citizenry. If this is so, then the popular roots of our foreign policy have seriously eroded.

In this context, a third perspectival point is that, in truth, a Presidency was lost because of these conceptual and intuitive blunders. If there is any example of marginal political analysis similar to what we use in economics, this event is it. Given the average trends of all the other factors, the unforgettable Ford gaffe on "no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe" produced a negative and decisive marginal determination which fatally impaired the momentum of the campaign. This is no place to document this point, but every keen analyst, including Ford's pollster, Robert Teeter, who observed it "left us dead in the water for about 10 days," soundly weighted it in terms of the cost of irreplaceable time.² Plainly, a few thousand votes unswayed by such an event in states like New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio would have produced a different outcome. The moral of this national experience is that we could now and then afford the internal cost of such misunderstanding of the captive nations issue; its perpetuated external cost could lead to national disaster.

Misleading use of the former President's Captive Nations Week proclamations invites another perspective on the issue at home.³ The

¹ *The Washington Post*, October 19, 1976.

² David S. Broder, *The Washington Post*, November 6, 1976.

³ John Chamberlain, syndicated column, "Who Will Keep Us Mighty," October 30, 1976.

proclamations are supposed to be based on Public Law 86-90, which expresses the Congressional Captive Nations Week resolution. Any comparative analysis of the presidential proclamations since Eisenhower's time and the contents of the law would show a widening discrepancy in concept and spirit between them. This discrepancy has nothing to do with the simplistic allegation that the resolution was passed in the period of so-called cold war rhetoric. When, for example, as during the past campaign we got the impression that Eastern Europe stops at the borders of the Soviet Union or that the USSR is a country, a nation-state, such as ours, these conveyed impressions are symptomatic of the substantive discrepancy I'm talking about. In brief, Public Law 86-90 capsulates the growth of the Soviet Russian empire and the expansion of communist domination with an indisputable basis in fact; the series of presidential proclamations display a semantic trend to avoid and conceal this central fact and tendency.

A word or two more on this topical perspective which, if researched thoroughly in scholarly fashion, would disclose most revealing results and conclusions. On record, for the past 18 years no single event in the West has troubled the Kremlin more than the Captive Nations Week resolution and the annual observance. In intensity and length, the vitriolic reaction of the Khrushchevs, Suslovs, Pravdas and Tass, to mention only a few, surpasses any other regarding any single event with a continuum. This is understandable in view of the basic and firm truths enshrined in the resolution, not to speak of their immense propaganda value (in the good sense). Because they regard this as a source of irritation to Moscow and its associates, and thus not conducive to good relations, George Kennan in 1961 unsuccessfully pressed President Kennedy not to issue a presidential proclamation of the Week; in 1965, Senator Fulbright vainly sounded out colleagues in the Senate about a possible rescission of the law; and in 1974 former Secretary of State Rusk suggested the same in hearings on detente. Briefly, the fundamental question here is whether you establish good relations on the basis of shunning truths, which is supposed to pass for "diplomacy," or do you with confident leadership employ these truths in advancing better relations in tune with diplomatic and tactful finesse? I believe the latter can be managed in a programmed way and without engaging in what has loosely been called cold war rhetoric.

THE EXPANDING REALITY OF CAPTIVE NATIONS

In one of the frankest and most honest statements of the Nixon-Ford Administrations, former Vice President Rockefeller stated last

year, "Whether we like it or not, a continuing attempt is under way to organize the world into a new empire in which the Soviet sun never sets." ⁴ He emphasized, "The era of old world imperialism has gone, and yet we find ourselves faced with a new and far more complex form of imperialism, a mixture of Czarism and Marxism with colonial appendages." As he said himself, "I was just telling it like it is." In sharp contrast to the tenor of notions like "organic relationship," "non-interference in internal affairs" and "detente as a process," the substance of this statement conforms in part with the essence of the Captive Nations Week resolution and points to the expanding reality of captive nations. The forthcoming official Congressional document on *The Bicentennial Salute to the Captive Nations* contains material that does the same. While a presidential Medal of Freedom was misplaced for a tenure that gave witness to the emergence of four more captive nations in the recent period, we can take comfort in these and other official actions concerned with the semi-ultimate issue of the captive nations.

As we use the GNP to measure the final, annual production of goods and services, we can with even greater significance use the CNL (Captive Nations List) to measure the success or failure of our foreign policy. The CNL is based on a genetic analysis of Soviet Russian takeovers, directly or indirectly, of foreign non-Russian governments since the post-World War I period. Under cover of ideologic Communism tailored to the particular situation, the vehicles of these takeovers have ranged from overt Soviet Russian military aggression in the first wars against so-called international Communism in the 1918-22 period to syndicate proxy and armed assistance in Angola last year. To amplify and refine Rockefeller's observation, the imperialism is Soviet Russian in character and the colonialism is far more than of appendage proportion. In short, a captive nation as appears in the CNL, which for the minutes-like historical time of barely 60 years is a long one encompassing over two dozen nations, is one whose independence and freedoms have been negated by communist domination sponsored originally or substantially by the resourceful center, Moscow itself. ⁵

This emphasis of the CNL on Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism and the use of Communist Party proxies is historically validated despite all sorts of apparent deviations from the essential strand. On our American scene it was more difficult to convey this 25 years

⁴ *The Washington Star*, May 16, 1976.

⁵ *The Bicentennial Salute to The Captive Nations*, USGPO, 1976, p. 6.

ago than it is now, though many difficulties of understanding still remain. For example, when Alexandr I. Solzhenitsyn of the new generation breed of Russian intellectuals called, in his letter to the Kremlin in September 1973, for the withdrawal of Russian power to the national borders of Russia within the USSR, he supported the CNL measure. When on numerous occasions Andrei Sakharov has spoken out for the national self-determination of the non-Russian nations within the USSR (though they determined themselves historically many times before) he, too, upholds the CNL measure. When Andrei Amalrik keeps pointing to the captive non-Russian nations in the USSR as a source of possible upheaval, he, too, expresses the CNL dimension of reasoning. All of this and more is a far cry from the days of Alexander Kerensky and his imperialistic "Holy Mother Russia" mania.

Moreover, these enlightened expressions and more give an additional lie to the misguided view entertained in too many of our quarters that to place your analytic finger on the chief force threatening world peace and security, namely Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, means to indict the Russian nation and people as a whole. The CNL dimension of thought rejects this confused notion outright. In the same realistic way that we carefully distinguished between Nazi German imperialism or Imperial Japanese imperialism and the respective nations, this fundamental distinction must be maintained in this case where an indigenous totalitarianism even has surpassed the others. Indeed, in another real sense, the Russian nation is also captive — captive to centuries-long bonds of authoritarianism, imperialist aberrations of Russian nationalism, messianic pretensions, and militarism that Marx himself pointed out astutely a century ago. There can be no question that the Russian nation seeks independence from such institutionalized bondage as, on the CNL scale, all the captive nations seek national independence from Moscow's colonialism, domination or influence and coercion. •

Another difficulty confronting some in comprehending the CNL measure is the appearances of so-called polycentrism in the Red bloc, the Sino-Russian Communist conflict, and the maverickism of a Yugoslavia or Romania. Similar to the famous statement of last October, doesn't the saying go "How can you call the PRC and Yugoslavia or Romania captive nations?" Very simply, the question itself suggests a basic indistinction between the implanted communist regimes in all of these cases and the nations as such — the peoples themselves — subjected to the more or less totalitarian rule of the fundamentally illegitimate government. The mere passage of time

is no imprimatur for governing legitimacy, whether in Moscow, Peking, Bucharest or Belgrade, and the beauty of the captive nations concept partially rests in this basic distinction. It is a constant reminder of the illegitimacy of these Red governments, and even if so-called Euro-communism should establish itself in Italy, France and elsewhere in Western Europe, at a later stage the concept would still be applicable. Furthermore, the same question indicates an unfamiliarity with the genetical analysis in captive nations thought, which clearly shows Moscow's planning and substantial support for the implementation of these regimes, regardless of their current differences.

The captive nations is a peoples' concept, and no one knows it better than the C.P. overlords of these nations and peoples. It entails our urgings for human rights, but it goes beyond it in structuring this passion for strategic effect and advantage on the plane for the struggle of world peace and freedom. To see this, one must recount the different years of vintage in the evolution of the captive nations, which can be sequenced in pre-World War II, WWII and post-WWII phases.⁶ The brutal military destruction by Moscow of the independent republics and movements for national independence in the non-Russian countries of the old Czarist Russian Empire produced the first group of captive nations. Ukraine today is the largest, captive non-Russian nation not only in the USSR but also in Eastern Europe. Remember, at one time a Secretary of State thought Ukraine was a musical instrument; later, another thought Georgia referred to his home state. The second group is exemplified by the forcible annexation of the Baltic nations into the USSR at the beginning of World War II. The third and open-ended grouping starts with Bulgaria, Albania and the several nations in Yugoslavia in 1946 down to Angola in 1976. When one looks at the long measure of the CNL and then reads Brezhnev's January 18th nominal gesture toward our new President, that Moscow "will never take the path of aggression, and will never raise a sword against other nations," you know by experience that he's lying through his teeth.⁷

What is the significance of all this? It is manifold, to put it mildly. First, the CNL scotches the illusion of numerous Americans that the only captive nations are in Central Europe — the result of World War II. Second, it doesn't require much intellectual imagina-

⁶ Lev E. Dobriensky, *U.S.A. and The Soviet Myth*, 1971, pp. 141-160.

⁷ "Soviet-American Relations," *Congressional Record*, January 24, 1977, p. 51246.

tion to see that if there were no first generation of captive nations — those now in the USSR, such as Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan and others — there would have been no second and third generations of captive nations. Moreover, if there is any domino theory in historical operation, with a few exceptions the CNL reveals it. Also, about one-half of the captive nations are in the Soviet Union itself, where Soviet Russian colonialism, typified by Russification, migration and discrimination, and conscription of economic resources for the top priorities of the Kremlin in its global ventures, is most blatant. Without these imperialized resources, Russia itself would be no super-power.⁸ The Chinese communists depict this phenomenon as “social imperialism,” but it is as political as that of Peking over parts of Mongolia and Turkestan and Tibet. In short, then, these first generation captive nations form Moscow’s *imperium in imperio*, the foundation of its outer empire in Central Europe and overseas. Its imperial influence is even greater than empirical facts alone suggest.

An elucidation of the real scope and influence of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism would have to point to the *imperium in imperio* and its Moscow center as both the paramount power center of the communist world and also the chief source of threat and unrest to the rest of the world. Aside from its superior mix and techno-scientific quality, the USSR’s gross imperial product exceeds the GNP’s of all the communist states combined. To gauge Moscow’s real imperial influence, it requires here, too, little imagination to envision the consequences to the entire communist world if, for whatever reason, the USSR were to collapse. In essence, the survival of every communist regime is dependent on this primary imperial power, including that of the PRC and Yugoslavia. It is only a step beyond to view Moscow’s systematic exploitation of captive nations resources for its variegated ventures over the old Free World wall of containment.

Before turning to our final part on the tragic need for a captive nations policy, it should be evident from this analysis that several firm conclusions are pressing for open recognition. One is that in whatever area of policy — political, economic, cultural, religious, athletic and so forth — if your basic conception of the USSR is that of a nation-state, similar to ours, or even of a freely federated union of nations, the policy formulations are inevitably bound to be defective. You would be amazed by the extent to which our pertinent governmental agencies and educational institutions cling to the myth of

⁸ *Op. cit.*, *U.S.A. and The Soviet Myth*, pp. 14-17.

the USSR as a nation-state. By all evidence it is an empire/state and should be treated accordingly.

Second, it should be evident, too, that the non-Russian complex of nations in the USSR represents a basically critical and exciting dimension for both concentrated thought and activity. Of course, if the above myth continues to blind us, this opportunity is foreclosed. In my judgment this dimension alone affords us and our allies the real opportunity of escaping from our dilemma in protecting ourselves militarily and yet being vulnerable to Moscow's political warfare course of "peaceful coexistence." Strangely enough, if we were engaged militarily with Moscow, you could rest assured that this dimension would soar to top priority. It has scarcely any today.

And thirdly, in view of this analysis one must conclude that in the Moscow Pact of 1972 the Nixon-Kissinger acceptance of the traditional Russian imperial principle of "non-interference in internal affairs" is the gravest political blunder of our times. In itself it indicates how the past two Administrations viewed the USSR. Plainly, the standard principle is valid for nation-states, not for an empire/state built on conquest, totalitarian domination and repressions. One would be hard put to reconcile this blind acceptance with the origin, principles and traditions of our country.

NEED FOR A CAPTIVE NATIONS POLICY

In the spirit of what can be feasibly done, the following is tersely offered on grounds of the preceding analysis:

1) In practical fact, there is no captive nations policy in our government. Our policies are being depicted nowadays in geometric patterns. The triangular policy of the Nixon-Kissinger-Ford period over-emphasized the Washington-Moscow-Peking angles, and with much disbenefit to us. Now we hear of a trilateral shift with loci in the U.S.-Western Europe-Japan and swings of concern north and south. Actually, the necessary strategic pattern is a multilateral one, engendering the focal points of both within a still broader context of concentration and impact upon weighted points throughout the captive nations world;

2) Necessary, too, is the further dissipation of the Nixon-Kissinger-Ford brand of detente and its many illusions, such as the nation-state, non-interference, non-ideologic, the economic interdependence and the real political illusions.⁹ In its stead, and guided by rules of strict reciprocity, the bases for a genuine detente must be stressed,

⁹ *The Illusions of Detente, US GOP, 1974, pp. 8-10.*

involving well-founded principles of national independence, personal liberty and freedom. With good reason, Moscow is most anxious to enjoy the NKF type of detente in order to gain further time for its massive military build-up to enforce its political warfare objectives on all continents of the globe, totally in tune with its deceptive policy of peaceful coexistence;

3) An intensification of the human rights issue in the direction where they are most brutally negated is needed, and this is the world of the captive nations. Certain groups in this country seem to live by a double standard, miscarrying the issue to our allies and ignoring its prime field of application in the captive nations world;

4) Also required are a firm and thorough assessment of the Helsinki Accords and full support for the congressionally established Commission. A prime point for consideration is the direct inclusion as signatories to the pact the East European nations of Byelorussia, Ukraine, Lithuania and others in the USSR. The previous Administration failed to insist on this. As it has in the past, Moscow can always use these nations as patsies for its own programs of anti-Semitism and the like;

5) In the unfolding of a captive nations policy particular stress is needed on the non-Russian dimension within the USSR. One of the continuing ironies of our situation is our concern with the USSR as a challenging super-power and yet our disconcern and low educational level with regard to the majority of nations in this empire/state. This applies to government as well as to our other institutions. The avenues for the development of this crucial dimension are boundless;

6) In these directions a full-scale revitalization of the USIA and the Voice of America is also urgently required. Don't minimize the impact of world opinion. As Moscow extends itself forward and outwardly, the heavy weight of this factor will be increasingly met and respected. There's no better way to enhance this weight than to concentrate on the issues of human rights, Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, and the many compact nations within the USSR. Those in Asia, Africa, the Mideast and Latin America would gain in perspective and dealings with the communist bloc;

7) In coping with the risks of Euro-communism the captive nations orientation is also applicable and should form a basis for tests of the supposedly democratic Communist Parties. In areas of dissidence, genocide, Russification, diplomacy and human rights generally, pressures can be easily built up for their open stand on these issues, again with special focus on the non-Russian dimension in the Soviet Union; and

8) The firm retention and even expansion in the uses of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment are necessary at this time, not only from the viewpoint of shoring up the imperial economy of the USSR and accommodating its military build-up but also from the poltrade viewpoint of upholding the human and national rights of the captive nations in the USSR.¹⁰

These are only a few of the considerations that enter into a captive nations policy. If effected, would they lead to war? No, on the contrary, they would serve to prevent war by focusing on the chief vulnerability of our adversary. Would it mean a return to cold war rhetoric? That depends on how intelligently and adroitly the course is pursued, with no cost to telling it like it is. The responsibility for such a return would be Moscow's, not ours; and we could quietly score up such a reaction to propaganda than to any real threat of war, which typifies traditional imperial Russian policy. The advocated course also fits the meaning and words of our new President, when in his Inaugural address he stressed, "The passion for freedom is on the rise. Tapping this new spirit, there can be no nobler nor more ambitious task for America to undertake on this day of a new beginning than to help shape a just and peaceful world that is truly humane."¹¹ The realities of God and the captive nations demand of us the noble pursuit of justice to insure both peace and freedom.

¹⁰ *Detente*, Hearings, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 1974, pp. 472-474.

¹¹ "Text of Inaugural Address," *The Washington Star*, January 20, 1977.

PROGRAM OF THE COALITION FOR POLISH INDEPENDENCE

EDITOR'S NOTE: The present document is published through the courtesy of the North American Study Center for Polish Affairs, based in Evergreen Park, Ill. Its value and significance warrant publication in this review, and specifically at this time, when West-East relations are expected to be closely scrutinized by the new administration in Washington.

The "Program of the Coalition for Polish Independence" is a product of the new Polish generation reared under Communist domination.

The document is also of especial importance to the eastern neighbors of Poland — Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Lithuanians. In Point 14 the authors explicitly underscore that Poland's eastern neighbor is not Russia, but Ukraine, Byelorussia and Lithuania, now oppressed and dominated by Russia. In declaring their solidarity and support of these nations in their aspirations for independence from Russian domination, the authors of the documents state that they "are not putting forward territorial claims against our Eastern neighbors," but demand that the Polish minorities living in these territories be given full freedom for their cultural and ethnic development.

PREFACE

The North American Study Center for Polish Affairs wishes to draw your attention to a comprehensive statement written by clandestine opposition groups in Poland.

For some time political and economic unrest has been increasingly felt in Poland. Last December the "Manifesto of 59" signed by leading Polish intellectuals expressed widespread opposition to the proposed changes in the Polish constitution which were aimed at legalizing Poland's subordination to Russia. On the 25th of June, the Government announced an increase in food prices amounting to 100% for some items including meat. This was a particularly drastic measure in view of the fact that for a family with an average income, the cost of food amounts to about 60% of its monthly budget. The reaction of workers to the increase in prices was spontaneous and of such violence that the next day the Government had to withdraw the proposed increases.

Behind these events routinely registered by the mass media in the free world, there goes on an unheralded process of the strengthening of political consciousness in the Polish society at large culminating in the desire for regaining political and economic independence

without outside armed intervention. *The outcome of this process is the "Program of the Coalition for Polish Independence". This sober, comprehensive and timely document has been written by representatives of a generation already brought up under Communist domination. It has recently reached the West, after having been widely circulated "under the table" in Poland. It should be stressed that this document is the most important of its kind to be formulated since the final subjugation of Poland by the Soviet Union which happened after the falsified elections of 1947.*

There is no doubt that this document will play a major role in the political thinking and formation of attitudes of the people in this Central European region. It should therefore be studied very seriously indeed by anybody interested in the future of the relations between the free and the Communist world.

The possibility of exerting both constant influence upon the internal and foreign policies of the State and control over the organs of government is denied the people by official groups in Poland. Not only are the wishes and feelings of the people increasingly ignored, but the activities of the party-state apparatus are, at the same time, directed towards a further limitation of rights won by the nation in 1956 and 1970. An examination of the international situation only leads to the conclusion that any expectation of beneficial changes taking place in Poland as a result of foreign influence or pressure, is purely delusory. Above all else, the participation of the Poles themselves is indispensable in securing such improvements.

Throughout the country there are many indications of the growing necessity for a program which would not only express popular dissatisfaction, but would also stipulate concrete demands and delineate far-reaching objectives. There is an increasingly wide and strongly-felt need to go beyond *ad hoc* protests and to produce a clear formulation of the positive aspirations of the majority.

In announcing the program below, we are giving expression to our profound and considered convictions. We ask that it should be reflected upon and that priority should be given to seizing every opportunity tending towards its realization. We call upon all Poles who are sincere in their desire for national independence and an amelioration of the country's condition. We know that there is no lack of such people even within the ranks of the Party.

The publication of our program is intended to provide general bases for an evaluation of both the conduct of specific politicians and groups and the changing domestic and international situation.

With all the means at its disposal, the Party tries to prevent any communication and cooperation between the groups and classes into which our society has been fragmented. It is our wish that the existence of the program will serve to concentrate thought and, when the moment is opportune, facilitate the coordinated action of people who, although deprived of unity through organization, will be joined together by a vision of common aims.

The Coalition for Polish Independence links people of various backgrounds. While we differ in our views of several particular political and economic problems, we are in agreement on basic matters. The program is thus an expression of this fundamental understanding and is viable because the present interests of all Poles are essentially the same.

Countries subordinate to Moscow, or the so-called "socialist bloc," and the USSR itself, are in a state of permanent although concealed crisis. The latter was caused by growing internal tensions, the discontent of oppressed nations, the malfunctioning economy of the whole system and failure to keep up with those countries favoring unrestricted technological, social, and cultural development. This crisis must inevitably assume overt form, both internally and on the international scene. Its secondary manifestation is the progressive disintegration of the international Communist movement, which is breaking away from the dictates of Moscow.

It is impossible to foresee the moment when the crisis will erupt in all its severity. Perhaps it will suddenly be precipitated by the Soviet Union's rash policy of aggressive behavior in the international arena in order to draw a veil over domestic conflicts. It might begin in Poland. We must be prepared for that moment and combine our disapproval of the present situation with a full awareness of the aims we seek to achieve. Only then will we be able to select the appropriate means. We must make every conceivable effort to act in concert and not leave the task of struggling for the violated rights of the whole nation to a single social group.

Our program is based on the following principles:

1. The nation, in the sense of a people conscious of its national solidarity, is sovereign and thus has the inalienable right to freely decide its own destiny.

2. All citizens are, without exception, equal before the law and should be given the same opportunity to lead their own lives.

3. The overwhelming majority of Poles profess religious beliefs, and most are Catholics. The prevailing political system in Poland cannot be based on discrimination against that majority.

4. The Polish state and nation have traditionally been distinguished by a continuous expansion in the realm of civil liberties, while new social groups have constantly been drawn into the government of the country and given joint responsibility for its fate. From the 16th century, Polish political thought has made outstanding contributions to democratic ideas and the concept of liberty. The system of totalitarian autocracy imposed upon us is not only foreign to our national traditions, but also anachronistic and humiliating.

5. From the historical point of view, the Polish nation and state belong to the great family of Western and Central European countries which inherited a Graeco-Latin and Christian civilization. We ought to maintain these priceless traditions by strengthening ties with those countries to which we are spiritually akin.

The Coalition for Polish Independence was guided by the following general objectives:

1. The restoration of genuine Polish sovereignty.
2. The participation of all Poles in the management and government of the country.
3. The introduction of civil liberties which would both conform to the spirit of our past and the development of free European nations.
4. The creation of legal and organizational structures which would guarantee the rise and durability of multi-party democracy in Poland.
5. The level of prosperity to be measured by that of the people and not by far-fetched claims to have exceeded the expectations of imaginary plans; the nation's economy to advance without incessant demands for sacrifice and self-denial on the part of millions of workers.
6. The unrestricted and broad development of culture and Polish scholarship.
7. The world to be viewed with an open and unblinkered eye; freedom of movement and an exchange of ideas and information.

In accordance with the principles above and in pursuit of the aims stated, we present a program of 26 points, each consisting of a brief evaluation of the current situation and a formulated demand for change.

This is comprehensive program foreseeing a total reconstruction of state administration and social and economic life in Poland. Specific postulates can, however, be realized independently of others without waiting for such a general transformation of our existence. Some aims can be pursued by utilizing those possibilities and rights

which already exist. It is at the same time, therefore, an evolutionary program.

1. All countries today are strictly interdependent and the world is divided into camps and blocs of states with different political systems and dominant ideologies. For this reason, smaller states like Poland must enter into agreements and alliances with neighboring countries and the great powers. The freely-expressed will of the people should, however, be deemed indispensable for the conclusion of such alliances and agreements.

We consider all post-war agreements in any way limiting the sovereignty of the Republic, to have been made under duress without consulting the will of the people and therefore to be invalid. The right to assume obligations which would be legally and morally binding on all Poles, can only be exercised by a freely-elected Polish Sejm whose activities are not subject to foreign pressure.

2. The confidence of society in the apparatus of state government has virtually been totally destroyed by the experience of the last 30 years. This has resulted in widespread cynicism and the threat of anarchy, which is as dangerous for the nation as it is for every government. The post-war state system is based on secrecy and lies. Instead of informing the people of the real way in which decisions are taken concerning the whole nation and the daily life of every citizen, the Party and government hide under a veil of hypocritical slogans. The greatest concession is to notify society of decisions already made, and this is normally done at a time when their effects are being felt. Secrecy, whose origins lie in Russian traditions, is an expression of the contempt of authority for its subjects. It serves only the interests of ruling cliques and not those of the state.

All authority should be derived from, and be permanently responsible to, the people — its function is thus to serve the people. The rulers should be subject to the ruled, and not *vice versa*. This is the basis of democracy. Government and other executive organs should be subordinate to the Sejm and other legislative bodies freely elected by the people.

Habits of openness and trust need to be introduced into social and political relations. Citizens have the right to know the truth about everything concerning them.

3. Legal and economic discrimination, first against one and then another social group (peasantry, skilled workers, religious orders, all believers, etc.), combined with the artificial — because unrelated to any semblance of real merit apart from that of conformism and servility — elevation of, and showering of privileges upon Party

members and other adherents of the regime, are distinctly harmful and lead to a substantial impoverishment of the nation's human resources. At the present time, Party membership is a prerequisite for the more complete utilization of organizational and managerial talents. Membership of the Party, however, is synonymous not only with a renunciation of one's independence and freedom of conscience, but also with submission to the fickle decisions of the masters in Moscow and Warsaw. As a result of this vicious circle, hundreds of thousands of people are prevented from putting their potential, skills and ideas to good use; a very large number have been temporarily or permanently banished from active life, while thousands have emigrated both legally and illegally.

In order to remedy this situation, it is essential to restore equality of rights to all citizens, regardless of their origin, beliefs and affiliations. This is also an indispensable condition of improvement in the functioning of the apparatus of administration, which should open its ranks to thousands of able and ambitious people to replace obedient mediocrities and Party yes-men.

4. We are drowning in lies. "Sovereignty" signifies obedience to the USSR, "security" means the ubiquitous secret police, while "freedom" is the absence of choice. It is necessary to cleanse public life of layers of deceit which humiliate, stupefy and choke us, force our children to learn to lie from a tender age, and cause our adult life to pass by in an atmosphere of pretence, bitterness and cynicism. We must restore proper meaning and respect to the words fatherland, independence, democracy, freedom, socialism, equality and justice.

5. The total loss of independence suffered by the courts of law, is one of the most destructive results of the activities of imposed Communist governments. It is generally known that courts at all levels succumb to pressure from the Party apparatus, which plays an equally decisive role in the nomination of judges and wields direct control over the activities of public prosecutors. The supremacy of investigatory organs is becoming increasingly obvious in all court proceedings. Neither judges nor public prosecutors have the courage to question statements made by functionaries of the Ministry of the Interior. This threatens a return to Stalinist methods of police terror. One of the main tasks confronting the Polish nation is the reconstruction of an independent judiciary. Judges nominated by the elected representatives of the people should be given security of tenure as the preliminary step in this direction. Observance of the rule of law should be demanded with insistence by all citizens today. This is espe-

cially important for defending attorneys and all employees of the judiciary who are in danger of being morally and totally compromised in the eyes of the people.

6. Social control, or an inquiry by the people into decisions taken and implemented by the state and its subordinate institutions and enterprises, does not exist at any level in Poland. The Sejm is a mere parody of a Sejm and a purely decorative body, while the people's councils, nominated in practice by the Party, can only exercise their theoretical powers to the extent allowed by the relevant Party committee. Even the functioning of rural centers for the renting out of agricultural machinery, or local food shops, cannot be the subject of investigation or interference by social groups independent of the Party. Indeed, even the exposure of abuses or of so-called transgressions of the rule of law, fails to give the people a glimpse into the workings of the state administrative machinery which, in its official capacity, "deals" with, or hushes up, the affair — just as it hushed up investigations into both the 1970 massacre on the Baltic coast and the fires in Warsaw five years later.

We take the position that supreme power in the state should be exercised by the people, through representatives chosen by them in elections which were free, equal, secret and direct and which acknowledged the principle of proportional representation. Beginning with the Sejm as the highest authority at all levels and in all spheres of state, administrative and economic activity, the freely elected representatives of the people and also individual citizens should have the right and opportunity to oversee the performance of duties and the application of the law. In the meantime, full advantage should be taken of the opportunity to control trade union activities.

7. Theoretically, freedom of speech is guaranteed even by the constitution of the Polish People's Republic. The activities of government offices controlling the press, publications and entertainment cannot be reconciled with this principle. Called into existence by decree, the principles upon which they operate were never formulated by any legal act nor by instructions made available to the public. They constitute a permanent insult, hurled at a people renowned for its attachment to civil liberties.

Freedom of speech is both the freedom to disseminate factual information and exchange of ideas. In the absence of freedom of information, we are ignorant not only of the truth about our own country but also of what is going on beyond its frontiers. Stupefied by 30 years of systematically withheld or distorted information, we are helpless and lost when confronted by reality. We are threatened with

the danger of being pushed down to the level of ignorance and stupidity to which the people of the Soviet Union were reduced by means of propaganda and censorship.

The healthy development of the nation is prevented by the absence of a free exchange of ideas. In deceiving the people, the government ultimately deceives itself. On several occasions this state of affairs has been conducive to such bloody tragedies as those in Poznan in 1956 and on the coast in 1970. We can see today the appalling growth of the gap between what is being churned out by official propaganda and what is known, thought and talked about by citizens in private.

Freedom of speech is not a luxury for the intellectuals but a primary necessity for all. Its restoration is one of our major tasks. The mass media should be made accessible to people who will supply society with unbiased information about world and Polish events. This applies to radio and television in particular. Permission should be granted to set up independent publications and publishing houses. Nobody should be punished for expressing his own political and ideological views, spreading factual information or distributing books and printed matter.

8. The Party is the only organization in Poland able to function without restraint. It controls, restricts or corrupts all the others. The establishment of new associations is not feasible in practice, because all are compelled to join the Front of National Unity led by the Party. In additions, the latter is aiming at merging even those organizations, such as the youth associations, over which it exercises effective control. The Party's objective is thus not only to transform society into a docile and uniform herd, but also to prevent a situation in which people would have feelings of solidarity with other voluntary associations of citizens.

Without securing the freedom of political, social, religious and cultural organizations, it will not be possible to satisfy demands for confidence between society and rulers, complete equality and social control. The existence of such organizations will constitute the best guarantee of democratic relations between the authorities and society. They will be able to assume the form of political parties within the framework of an open, multi-party democratic system.

9. It is becoming increasingly clear that the education of children and young people is not directed towards the development of intellect and character, but the production of obedient citizens. There are limitations upon the teaching of our own history, slogans replace knowledge of the contemporary world and manifestations of inde-

pendence of thought or convictions are suppressed. Teachers are required to give up the independent and honorable role of educators for that of passive transmitters of instructions handed down by superiors. The Polish school is rapidly becoming a school of hypocrisy and opportunism.

This breeds disruptive results in the field of education and shatters the moral authority of a teaching profession which has occupied a position of distinction in Polish history. Thousands of people with teaching vocations are doing other kinds of work because they are unable to tolerate this degrading situation.

We demand schools which would be free of deceit, fear and pressure, both political and police, which would restore the great respect formerly enjoyed by the Polish teacher, and which would develop independence of thought, civil courage and integrity of character.

At the present moment, Polish teachers are burdened with the difficult obligation of being scrupulously loyal to their patriotic conscience, while students have a duty to be sympathetically sensible of the often tragic predicament of their teachers.

10. The progress of Polish scholarship has, in recent years, been checked by the ruthless interference of Party organs and the Ministry of the Interior in the work of universities and the Polish Academy of Sciences. Work plans are imposed, freedom to choose the subject of research and content of lectures is restricted, the heads of academic institutions are transformed into obedient executors of the ever-changing caprices of the authorities, students are spied upon, while the more courageous scholars are exposed to chicanery. The resultant losses to the nation's culture and economy are incalculable, and Polish scholarship is rapidly falling behind that of the rest of the world.

Polish universities must regain autonomy. Academic officials should be elected without any form of political or police pressure. The Polish Academy of Sciences must regain its status as a self-governing body, composed of the most eminent and highly-respected scholars.

11. For centuries, the Roman Catholic Church in Poland has performed a very important role, not only in religious but also in social, moral and educational matters. The social and educational work of the Church was actively hampered or rendered impossible during the post-war period by the closing down of schools, the liquidation of many centers and organizations, and by removal from its domain of hospitals and institutions for orphans, the homeless, convalescent and aged. This has resulted, among other things, in a decline in the

standard of care for the sick and infirm. While religious instruction has been barred from the school curriculum, it is obstructed even outside the schools. The construction of new churches meets with enormous obstacles and the social activities of the parish are impeded. Open practice of religious beliefs has increasingly resulted in teachers, youth educators, military men and government employees being subjected to petty annoyances. This is not only a violation of the constitutional guarantee of religious freedom, but also leads to an utter squandering of the Church's educational potentialities which are invaluable at a time of mass mobility and social change.

The Catholic Church, whose enormous moral authority was consolidated by resistance to German occupation and Communist persecution, should regain full freedom of action and be enabled to fulfill all its functions. The importance of this powerful institution's role should be expressed in legal and political terms. This should be achieved, however, within the bounds of complete toleration of, and respect for, other denominations and philosophies of life.

12. Poland's part in the last war, the colossal sacrifices made at that time by the whole country, the gigantic efforts of the nation in the post-war period, in addition to the human and economic possibilities of a state boasting a population of thirty-five million, suffice to give us a position of considerable potential influence in the international arena. This authority is frittered away, while the good name of the Polish state is often compromised by servile performance as an obedient satellite of the Society Union.

Polish foreign policy should be conducted in accordance with the country's traditions of freedom and its present interests. This is the only way to regain our position in the international community as an independent state, whose voice merits attention when fundamental problems of the contemporary world are under examination.

13. The most vital factor governing Polish foreign policy is that of relations with Russia. While officially based on friendship, mutual aid and our gratitude, this relationship fails to recognize the countless wrongs suffered by the Polish nation at Russian hands over the past two centuries. A blanket of silence is thrown over the unprovoked attack on Poland in 1939 by Soviet Union allied to Fascist Germany, the later deportation of millions of Polish citizens, their frightful suffering, the death of many thousands, the murder in the Eastern territories of the greater part of Poland's intelligentsia, and the crime of Katyn. Sermons on gratitude forget that we must forgive before we can feel gratitude for anything. It is not easy to forgive when the guilty party, neither molested nor provoked by us, takes

great pains to overlook its guilt, while at the same time continuing a policy of harsh domination.

The healing of old wounds and the formation of a genuine friendship between the peoples of Poland and Russia can only be achieved in the future by basing mutual relations on sincerity and the admission of injuries inflicted upon Poland, and by placing such relations on a plane of real sovereign equality.

It is necessary for the Moscow government to realize that a perpetuation of the present state of affairs will only serve to continually accentuate the ill-will and even hatred of the Poles for Russia, and to create tensions which might have tragic consequences. The interests of Poland and Russia do not have to be incompatible and their present conflict is caused by the obstinate aggressiveness and stupidity of both governments.

14. We are not Russia's neighbor. Ukraine, Byelorussia and Lithuania are our neighbors to the East. We are linked to these countries by the life we shared for many centuries within the frontiers of one state — the Polish Commonwealth of Nations. While it is true that this peaceful common existence was at times disturbed by Polish expansiveness, nevertheless, a voluntary arrangement. The Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian and Latvian nations are not independent today. They were forcibly incorporated within the Soviet Union and are subjected to a more severe political, ideological and religious discipline than Poland. After centuries of close relationship, we can neither look with indifference at the incessant campaign of Russification being waged against them, nor be mutely sympathetic. We declare our solidarity with, and strong support for, these nations aspiring to independence from Russian domination. We should do everything in our power to help.

Even though the loss of Lwow and Wilno, for centuries associated with Polish culture, is, and will remain, extremely painful for us, we are not putting forward territorial claims against our Eastern neighbors. However, we do demand that all governments establishing their authority in the Republic's former territories — which were detached as a result of external decisions and not surrendered with the approval of any of the nations directly concerned — should guarantee to the Poles living in these lands equal rights and unrestricted opportunities to preserve their native tongue and culture. We also demand that Poles from Poland should be allowed unrestricted access to those places connected with the history of both our nation and former Commonwealth.

15. Polish-German relations, overshadowed by the enormity of German crimes against Poland during the last war, are further complicated by another factor. In order to prove to the Poles that constant military preparedness, the costly alliance with the USSR and the presence on our soil of many thousands of Red Army troops are all indispensable to the security of the state, Party propaganda directed by Moscow exaggerates the danger of German revisionism. In addition, many facts tending to illustrate the spontaneous development within the German Federal Republic of views and feelings conducive to a far-reaching understanding between the two nations, are never allowed to become public knowledge.

A paradoxical situation is being created in which the expiatory acts of the German people are concealed from the Poles. This reduces the possibility of West Germany's attitude towards Poland becoming even more friendly, and leads to an abandonment of the lasting and great improvement of mutual relations.

The only way to end a conflict which has survived for centuries, is by a free exchange of people and ideas, and the widest possible dissemination of information on both sides.

16. Ignored and ridiculed for many years by Communist propaganda, the European Economic Community is, despite various difficulties, flourishing to such an extent that it increasingly attracts new members from distant corners of the continent and gains new political supporters (e.g., the Italian Communist Party). Because of the specific character of the economy of the Common Market states, they are our most important trading partners; they are also our natural, ideological allies. We do not consider the cultural or political traditions of either Greece or Portugal to be closer than those of Poland to the western countries forming the core of the EEC. The closest possible ties with the latter are our best guarantee that the conflict with Germany will not be renewed.

17. With nothing but immediate economic gains in mind, the present regime is courting Polonia abroad — that multi-million mass of long and recently-settled emigrants, who left the homeland for economic and political reasons. The free collaboration between Polish organizations and communities at home and abroad is, however, prevented.

The Polish emigration is a priceless national fund of opportunities and experience. We should take the fullest advantage of this by assuring our fellow countrymen from foreign parts freedom of movement and work, and by encouraging them to utilize in their native land the professional skills and political experience acquired abroad.

That experience and their familiarity with the functioning of contemporary democratic states, might help us to eliminate the consequences of many years of totalitarian government in Poland. As the largest single body of emigrants, living in the most powerful country of the world, having the greatest opportunities for action and bearing the heaviest responsibilities, the American Polonia ought to assume the leading role within the Polish diaspora. We are deeply in their debt and count upon them in particular.

18. Every citizen of the Polish People's Republic theoretically has the right to travel abroad. It is, however, humiliating for anybody who has no more than heard about the ease with which frontiers are crossed in Western Europe, to be compelled every time he wishes to go abroad to undergo the arduous rigors of applying for a passport which is either grudgingly granted or often refused for reasons unknown. As a result, many thousands of Poles took the decision to remain abroad, and a substantial number of valuable and highly qualified people were thus lost to Poland.

Every Pole who is not at the given time charged with a criminal offence, should receive a passport on request, retain it permanently and be allowed to cross the border a specified number of times.

19. Despite assurances of progress and success, the Eastern and Central European countries under Communist rule are riveted to the past and not the future. Ideologically, institutionally and economically they are based upon obsolete programs, models and methods of management. Every once in a while, we undergo spasmodic efforts to "catch up" and narrow the distance separating us from those countries able to develop in an unrestricted and modern fashion. But the best methods of modern economic management, artificially transferred to countries governed in an authoritarian manner and subject to the dictates of Moscow, usually result in an even greater waste of foreign currency, more confusion and additional losses.

An independent and constructive reassessment of both the economic possibilities of our country and its place in the European and world economies, is necessary. Also needed is an elaboration of new principles for the social division of labor. It is a lamentable anachronism to measure economic progress by the number of tons of steel melted or coal mined. Official class patterns, which today preserve the senseless and harmful line of demarcation between the "workers" and other kinds of employees, are equally useless and archaic.

We must ease the burden of those people (farmers, miners, workers in branches of industry in which investment has been smaller) who have been forced to make the greatest effort, while more

fully exploiting the potential of others — for example, the thousands who graduated from institutions of higher learning and are not utilizing the qualifications acquired. A substantial number of the people now employed in the apparatus of bureaucracy could find more productive and interesting work in such neglected fields as trade, communications and recreational services.

20. Party propaganda issues warnings against the dangers of a "consumer society." Such cautions are derisory in a society in which working women have to queue for hours to buy food.

While the Party, officially condemns the consumer society, that is precisely the ideal for which it is striving: a society satiated and complacently happy, docile and forgetful of the rights and liberties to which it is entitled. Only the incompetent functioning of the Communist economy prevents the realization of such a perfection.

Deprived of moral authority and no longer enticing anybody with its empty ideological slogans, the Party is thus reduced to attempts to corrupt at least some groups. We cannot allow ourselves to be trapped on the glue of this bribery. Every social and professional group has the right today to seek improved working conditions. The Party, however, wants to buy political passivity and moral indifference in exchange for better pay and privileges. Its desire is that we should sell our independence for material gain. Let us neither relinquish our freedom of opinion and activity for short-lived privileges, nor barter our dignity and conscience for bonuses and motor cars.

We do not need the state — it needs us. If we do not allow ourselves to be bought, the authorities will be compelled to relent and extend the bounds of freedom.

21. The state which describes itself as "of the people" and wants to be "socialist," has greedy needs. Money is required for the maintenance and high salaries of the huge Party apparatus, which doubles as the administrative apparatus of the government; for the gigantic budget of the Ministry of the Interior, largely occupied in keeping watch over the loyalty of citizens; for the cost of maintaining the Warsaw Pact armies which defend us against nobody and merely exist to ensure obedience to Moscow, and for the expenses incurred by Party propaganda, various official visits, celebrations and festivals, etc. These are not trifling sums — on the contrary, they absorb a vast amount of the foreign currency earned with such difficulty by the sale of foodstuffs and goods which are scarce on the home market.

The maintenance of the Ministry of the Interior alone costs us more than the Polish state spends on education, health care and cultural matters combined. At the same time, the housing situation constantly deteriorates and the official waiting period for accommodation will soon reach 8 to 10 years. The sick are left lying for weeks in hospital corridors.

Amounting to more than one thousand million *zlotys*, the expenses mentioned above are totally superfluous as far as society is concerned. If that sum were to be converted to the use of the building industry, an additional one million Poles could be housed each year and hospitals could be enlarged by a few thousand beds.

22. At all levels, the Polish economy is subordinated to political aims, needs and whims. Decisions concerning international cooperation, foreign trade, large and small investments, the location of industry, etc., are primarily dictated by political criteria, while economic considerations occupy second place. The supremacy of political factors can be seen most clearly in the choice and advancement of executive personnel. The modern economy demands that executive positions be filled by highly-qualified specialists, acquainted with the general state of a given branch of the economy both at home and abroad, able to make timely and bold decisions and not imbued with the desire to shirk responsibility. Appointments to these posts are decided by the Party, which puts forward and supports its own members, conformists, who are concerned above all with preserving their good standing within the Party. When they are unable to fulfill their duties, they are simply transferred to other, similar posts. Organizational and economic failures are less important than implicit acceptance of every single Party opinion and connections with its cliques.

Only two criteria should be used in evaluating the activities of state enterprises and their employees, especially executive personnel: the discharge of social duties as defined by representatives of the people, and profit. Political connections of whatever kind should be immaterial in this context. Indeed, the fact that some people perform political-governmental and administrative-economic functions should be considered as an unhealthy phenomenon. An example of the fatal consequences of combining two kinds of authority in the same hands can be seen in the rivalry between ministries and regional boards of industries, which snatch investment credits and raw materials from each other. This is not the result of attempts to satisfy legitimate needs, but of a game played by those ministers and direc-

tors with the highest Party positions and wielding the greatest influence.

The political and economic affairs of the state should be kept separate. This is especially important when the greater part of the country's economic potential is concentrated in the hands of the state itself.

23. After the devastation of the last war, the Polish nation strained every nerve to rebuild and expand the country's economy. Work is no less arduous even now. The Poles work longer hours and rest less than the inhabitants of other countries with a similar level of economic development. They are, however, relatively poorly paid for their labor. The growth of Poland's industrial production and its returns lag behind the investments made, and are not sufficient to justify the incessant efforts of the people, most of whom work in bad conditions for low wages.

One of the main reasons for this state of affairs is the insane level of waste. It is not uncommon in Poland for the workers to be accused of low output and lack of discipline. The example of waste, however, is set from above and repeatedly encouraged by the reckless decisions, stupidity or indifference of Party and government bosses. It is manifestly impossible for the workers to be efficient when there is organizational chaos, constant and costly reorganizations, and when the decision-making organs of the Party have demonstrated a complete lack of responsibility for errors in planning and nonsensical investments, and an irregular working rhythm has been imposed from the top.

In order to rectify the situation, it is necessary for the employees to be admitted to the joint control of all state enterprises and particularly the production plants. They must take an active part in all major decisions concerning investment, the planning of production, organizational changes and cooperation. With this end in view, workers' self-government should secure real independence and the right to oppose decisions issued by superiors. Granted the opportunity of becoming shareholders on an equal basis, and in their capacity as co-managers and co-owners, they will have vested interests in feeling jointly responsible for their enterprises.

24. Restrictions originating in ideological dogmatism and enforced upon enterprises not owned by the state, especially the large cooperatives and joint stock companies, must be completely removed if the national economy is to be stimulated. The state will retain control over the key branches of industry and, in particular, that of energy. By using privately-owned money, however, to set up joint

stock companies on a larger scale, the thousands of millions of *zloty* thus saved could be poured into the national economy. A more rapid and comprehensive growth of industrial consumer goods and home construction could be promoted in this way.

In a situation in which the large majority of jobs would be provided by the state, there can be no fears of any "exploitation" of workers in the cooperative and private sectors of the economy. Once the dead weight of Party and government bureaucratic administration has been eliminated, however, flexibility and innovation would be possible and reserves of energy and inventiveness would be released.

25. The potential of Polish agriculture is pitifully under-exploited. This is a scandal and outrage in view of the permanent scarcity of food on the home market, largely caused by the ruinous policy of the Party. In the first place, compulsory collectivization resulted in losses difficult to repair. Then there were the long years of duplicity on the part of the authorities in their dealings with private farmers, of difficulties being placed in the way of buying land, investment materials and agricultural machinery, of irregularity in the delivery of fertilizer and fodder and of low prices for produce. All this discouraged, and still discourages, farmers from modernizing their farms, forces them to work exceedingly hard and results in a severe deficit of labor in the countryside. The potential of Polish agriculture is, therefore, only partially utilized and thousands of hectares lie neglected while tens of thousands of hectares on state farms are cultivated at a loss and not a profit.

Fundamental changes must be made in agrarian policy. Farmers must be guaranteed ownership of the land they till, thus removing the specter of collectivization. They must be allowed to both buy whatever land and farm equipment they please and employ workers. All restrictions on the amount of land to be cultivated by any one owner should be lifted, and cooperatives should function on a completely voluntary and wholly autonomous basis. Adequate credit should be extended to those undertaking the modernization of their farms. Great emphasis should be placed on the importance of raising the standard of living in rural areas, modernizing homes, building approach roads and providing access to tractors and trucks which would meet the needs of individual farms. It is necessary, above all, to dispel the feeling that toleration of private, rural ownership is merely a passing fad.

26. Business and consumer services belong to that area of the economy most keenly felt in the everyday lives of the Poles in general

and the women in particular. Party dogmatism and incompetence have combined to produce such a situation.

The absurdity of state monopoly is the salient feature in this sphere. Thousands of shops, large and small, operate at a loss and the same is true of thousands of restaurants whose profits are solely connected with the spread of drunkenness. Cooperative businesses and state service enterprises are less profitable and more expensive than private concerns.

State and cooperative enterprises should be restricted to large-scale business in the form of transport firms, department stores and supermarkets. Everything else will function more efficiently and profitably in the hands of private owners or small companies spontaneously organized. Many thousands of administrative employees will then be able to transfer to more productive and interesting work, while, instead of losses amounting to millions of *zloty* and an erratic flow of supplies, society will receive money in taxes from people who will be anxious to secure customers.

The Party does not even strive for the approval of society, but for its *passivity* and an anaesthetization of all sense of responsibility for the fate of the Polish nation and state. It is, therefore, the pressing duty of all who refuse to sanction the present situation and who disagree with Party policies, to take an active stand. This activity should, at least, be intellectual and should consist of constant reflections upon other possibilities of procedure, other solutions and other decisions. Opposition cannot be confined to complaints and gossip. Positive plans and demands must be our permanent objective.

This is primarily a task for the entire Polish intelligentsia, burdened by history with enormous responsibility for the spiritual fate of our country. It is also the responsibility of the largest social group, the industrial workers, who possess the greatest power. The experience of the last 30 years has shown that power to be invincible.

The Coalition for Polish Independence

BIRTH OF DEMOCRACY ON THE DNEIPEP RIVER: ZAPOROZHIAN KOZAKDOM IN THE XVIIITH CENTURY

By LUBOMYR R. WYNAR

PART I.

Erich Lassota von Steblau, the ambassador of Emperor Rudolf II to the Zaporozhian Kozaks, wrote in his *Diary* on June 24, 1594 the following:

The reasons why I did not want to break relations with the Cossacks and why I, on the contrary, considered it worthwhile to keep them in His Imperial Majesty's service are these: First, I assume that the war begun with the Turks will last more than a year or two. Therefore, it would not be wise to reject such brave and valiant men who from their youth are trained in warfare and have such a good knowledge of their enemies, the Turks, and Tatars, and also because great changes will probably occur in Poland in the near future, I considered it of utmost importance to retain these men as our friends since they are not only very influential in all of *Ukraina* (that is Volhynia and Podolia), but also all of Poland pays attention to them.¹

Indeed, Lassota was correct in his assumption concerning the significant role of the Zaporozhian Kozaks in the political life of Ukraine and Poland. It may be added that Ukrainian Kozaks were also involved in the 16th century affairs of Muscovy, Turkey, Moldavia and the Crimean Khandom, as well as other European countries.

The main purpose of this article is to analyze basic issues related to the early development of the Zaporozhian Kozaks who constituted a rather unique frontier community in the 16th century. This community influenced military and political developments in Eastern Europe.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE BIRTH OF UKRAINIAN KOZAKDOM

In his analysis of the basic forces in the Ukrainian historical process, Michael Antonovych emphasized the colonization process in

¹ *Tagebuch des Erich Lassota von Steblau*, Halle 1866, p. 219. Lubomyr R. Wynar, ed. *Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks. The Diary of Erich Lassota von Steblau 1594*. Translated by O. Subtelny. Littleton, Ukrainian Academic Press,

the movement of the Ukrainian population toward the Black Sea and its struggle with various nomadic hordes. This phenomenon, according to M. Antonovych, constitutes the most important "international-historical achievement of Ukraine."² The predominant role of the Black Sea in Ukrainian history was stressed by many historians who considered it "a geographical, political and economic basis to the Ukrainian territory. All major Ukrainian rivers flow into the Black Sea."³

The Zaporozhian Kozakdom was a direct product of the colonization movement of the Ukrainian population toward the Black Sea region in the steppes of Southern Ukraine. Usually Kozaks followed the riverways and their early settlements were on islands or banks of the Dnieper. The hardships of frontier life, permanent raids of Crimean Tatars into Ukrainian territories, and a strong dissatisfaction and protest within lower social classes in Ukraine against social injustices, economic exploitation, and later religious persecution by Lithuanian and Polish governments directly contributed to the growth and development of Ukrainian Kozakdom.

Chronologically, the development of the Zaporozhian society embraces approximately 150 years (15th and 16th centuries) during which special military, political, and ideological features of the Zaporozhian Kozaks emerged and contributed to the formation of a new social class.

In the 15th and the first half of the 16th centuries most of the Ukrainian lands were incorporated into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and after the Lublin Union of 1569 they were transferred to Polish jurisdiction.⁴

At the end of the 15th and during the 16th centuries Ukrainian territories, especially the regions of Podolia and Kiev, were exposed to the devastating raids of Crimean Tatars who in 1475 had become Turkish vassals. Crimean Khan Mengli Giray (1465-1515)⁵ under the influence of Ivan III, Grand Prince of Moscow, directed his destructive power against the population within the Rus-Lithuanian state. Beginning in 1475 Tartar hordes systematically invaded Ukraine, plundered cities and villages, and captured thousands of males,

² M. Antonovych, *Istoria Ukrainy*, Winnipeg 1966, p. 10.

³ D. Doroshenko, *History of Ukraine*. 1939. p. 18.

⁴ Clear analysis of the political and social status of Ukraine in 14th-16th centuries is presented in M. Hrushevsky's *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy*, Vol. vii, pp. 1-65.

⁵ Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Chane der Krim*, Wien 1856, pp. 32-34.

females and children for Turkish and Crimean slave markets.⁶ The Crimean Khandom became the classical robber-state and the chief agent of Ottoman power around the shores of the Black Sea. "This devastation of Ukraine by Tatars," writes Hrushevsky, "was worse than that inflicted by Batu, and the country did not recover for many generations. The lower Dnieper became completely depopulated and for several decades was abandoned to wild animals."⁷

The lower Dnieper region acquired the name of "Wild Plains" (*Dyke Pole*) and permanent settlements continued to exist only in the neighborhood of fortified towns such as Cherkassy, Kaniv, Bratslav and others. Vast territories of the most fertile soil were abandoned by the regular settlers. The Lithuanian and Polish governments failed to provide adequate protection for the Ukrainian population in these areas and the organization of defense was chiefly in the hands of the local border administration and the frontier population. The settlers, having no choice, were forced to organize their own means of protection. Special para-military organizations were established and their creation marked the beginning of Ukrainian Kozakdom. In their initial stages of development the Kozaks appeared as a frontier organization aimed at defending the economic interests of Ukrainian settlers. They adopted many features of Tatar guerrilla war strategy and customs. The word *Kozak* derived from the Turkish *Quazaq* which denoted "free warrior," "free man," "adventurer."⁸ It was used by Tatars in the Crimea to designate a "steppe patrol" or "escort courier" and was later adopted by Ukrainian and Russian frontiersmen to⁹ mean "free man," "free warrior." In a rather short period Ukrainian Kozaks utilized offensive tactics by destroying Tatar and Turkish caravans, ships and settlements. Historical documents indicate that the first Kozaks were primarily engaged in fighting Tatars. The earliest evidence of Ukrainian Kozaks is found in a letter of the Crimean Khan in 1492, in which he complained about

⁶ Nikolaus Ernst, "Die ersten Einfälle der Krymtataren in Sudrussland," *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte*, Bd. II, 1913.

⁷ M. Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine*, New York, 1970, p. 151.

⁸ The etymology of the term *kozak* is discussed by Gunter Stokl, *Die Entstehung des Kozakentums*, Muenchen 1953, pp. 39-41; O. Pritsak, "Etymologia nazvy Kozak," *Ukrainskyi Istoryk*, Nos. 3-4, 1965, pp. 76-78; G. Vernadsky, *Russia at the Dawn of the Modern Age*, 1959, p. 249. Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

⁹ The Russian Kozaks included the Don, Iaik (later Ural) and Terek Kozaks. The strongest group constituted the Don Cossacks. On Russian Cossacks, see Gunter Stokl, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-110. Popular account of Slavic Kozaks is presented by Philip Longworth, *The Cossacks*, London 1969. See I. L. Rudnytsky's criticism in *Slavic Review* (December, 1972).

"the men of Cherkassy" who captured a Tatar ship near Tiahynia. The following year Prince Bohdan Hlynsky, the governor of Cherkassy, with his Kozaks destroyed the Turkish fortress of Ochakiv.¹⁰ In 1499 the Kozaks were mentioned by Grand Duke Alexander in a special communication to Kiev officials concerning the collection of revenues from those Kozaks who passed down the Dnieper River toward Cherkassy.¹¹

These early Kozaks cooperated with frontier officials who frequently used them in fighting Tatars (defensively and offensively).

The accelerated activities in Southern Ukraine encouraged the slow and gradual colonization of the "Wild Plains" region. Despite the ever-present danger from Tatars and the hardships of frontier life, the Ukrainian steppes attracted many townspeople and peasants from Galicia, Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev and other regions. This constant population influx speeded the colonization process and *ipso facto* contributed to the further development of Kozak organizations. Two major factors caused this migration phenomenon: a) the natural resources and richness of the "Wild Plains," and b) the increased exploitation of the peasants and limitation of their freedoms by the government which finally resulted in their serfdom.¹² Local frontier *starostas* as well as Kozaks welcomed this population increase in the frontier area since it contributed to their defenses and to the expansion of agriculture. The latter was very important, due to the fact that in the 16th century the West European market pressed for agricultural products, especially grain. The black-earth region of Ukraine was essential in fulfilling its role as the "bread basket" of Europe, and in this respect the colonization of Southern Ukrainian territories was crucial.

In analyzing the circumstances and conditions which influenced the emergence of Kozaks as a frontier community and later as a separate social class, the researcher is confronted with the socio-economic and military phenomenon of *Ukhodnyky* and *Ukhodnytstvo*. The *Ukhodnyky* were Ukrainian settlers in the fortified towns who spent a portion of their time in the steppes along the lower Dnieper.

¹⁰ M. Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 83-84.

¹¹ V. A. Holobutsky, *Zaporozhskoe Kozachestvo*, Kiev, 1957, p. 45.

¹² The peasants in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and after the Lublin Union, were gradually being enslaved. The 1557 reform liquidated peasant property rights forcing them to pay rents and work for their landlords. After the Lublin Union the serfdom (*panshchyna*) increased. This caused a permanent exodus of peasants to Southeastern Ukraine where better social and economic conditions existed.

They were engaged in seasonal hunting, fishing and beekeeping and in late autumn would return with rich bounties to their permanent residence. This constituted a rather primitive type of steppe economy. In the steppes they were frequently exposed to Tatar raids and were compelled to fight off their attackers in order to protect their bounties. These expeditions by hunters and fishermen were called *Ukhodnystvo*, and their participants were known as *Ukhodnyky*. To be engaged in "*Ukhody* and to experience the resulting hardships was known as the Kozak way of life" or *kozaking* (*Kozakovannia*). Due to pressures from local officials, *kozaking*, which initially began as a seasonal endeavor, gradually became a permanent occupation. As a rule, upon the return of the *Ukhodnyky* with rich supplies from the steppes, the frontier officials requested a substantial portion of their bounties. Some groups of *Ukhodnyky* resisted such local governmental demands by establishing permanent residence in the "Wild Steppes." These settlers formed a frontier community which later was known as *Zaporozhski Kozaky*, meaning Kozaks behind the rapids. It is necessary to reemphasize that the early phenomenon of Kozakdom is related to the internal political, social, economic, and military situation in Eastern Europe, especially Ukraine, and the external pressure from the Ottoman Empire and its chief agent, the Crimean Khandom, for the hegemony around the shores of the Black Sea. As a result of these factors, a new frontier society was formed with its own values, customs and political objectives.

THE ANATOMY OF KOZAK SOCIETY

The student of Kozak history is confronted with several terminological problems related to the social structure and activities of various Kozak groups in 16th century Ukraine. Contemporary sources include such terms as *kozacy*, *kozacy nizowi zaporowszy*, *kozakorum nizoviorum*¹³ and others. All of these terms may be applied to various Kozak organizations and especially to the Zaporozhian Kozaks. It is interesting to note that at times all Kozak formations were designated as "zaporozhian" or *nyzowe kozatstvo*.¹⁴ To some extent such nomenclature is justified in terms of the ethnic composition, social stratification and ideological and psychological features of the social phenomenon of Kozakdom. On the other hand, the application of "zaporozhian" or *nyzowe* to all Kozak groups would render impossible the differentiation between independent self-governing Kozak formations

¹³ *Zherela do istorii Ukrainy-Rusi*, Vol. VII, Nos. 31, 34, 37.

¹⁴ "to wszystko kozactwo, ktore nyzoweme kozakami bycz naziwaya"... *Zherela, op. cit.*, No. 50.

and Kozak organizations under governmental supervision, such as registered Kozaks. Therefore, in our opinion, it is necessary to discuss briefly some features of the Kozaks which were common to all Kozak organizations, and later to analyze the basic characteristics of individual groups which with their similarities and differences constituted the Kozak frontier society of 16th century Ukraine.

The ethnic origin and composition of the Kozaks is important in determining their nationality. Some theories associate the origin of Kozaks in Ukraine with non-Ukrainian ethnos (e.g., Cherkassians, Tatars, Khazars, etc.).¹⁵ All of these hypotheses can be rejected on the basis of critical analysis of historical sources.

The ethnic substance of the Zaporozhian Kozaks was composed of Ukrainians of the 15th and 16th centuries who were known as Ruthenians (Rusins — inhabitants of Rus'-Ukraine). At the same time one has to acknowledge that Ukraine was also inhabited by other nationalities: Byelorussians, Poles, Moldavians, Lithuanians, Jews and other minorities. Those were also represented in the Kozak movement, but in rather insignificant proportions. A careful examination of names contained in the register of 1581, which lists over 500 registered Kozaks, clearly indicates the overwhelming Ukrainian character of this register with only a small percentage of Byelorussians, Poles, Moldavians, Russians and other nationalities.¹⁶ The Italian diplomat Gamberini reported that Zaporozhians included Italians, Spaniards, Frenchmen and Germans.¹⁷ Taking into consideration that during their sea expeditions the Kozaks often freed many slaves from Turkish ships it is possible that some of these people from various European countries joined the Kozaks. However, the majority of Zaporozhians were comprised of the population of Kiev, Podolia, and other Ukrainian regions. Therefore, the Zaporozhian Kozaks were identified with the Ukrainian people.¹⁸

¹⁵ The critical analysis of major theories dealing with the origin of Ukrainian Kozaks is presented in the author's work, *Survey of Historical Literature on the Origin of Ukrainian Kozaks*, Muenchen, 1966.

¹⁶ A. V. Sotorozenko, *Stephan Batory i dniprovi kozaky*, Kiev, 1904, pp. 18-20.

¹⁷ "Excerpts from the Report on Cossacks," by Gamberini (1586)," in L. Wynar, ed. *Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks*, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

¹⁸ Wladyslaw Tomkiewicz in his article "O skladzie spolechnym i etnicznym kozaczyny Ukrainnei. . .," *Przegląd Historyczny* (Vol. 37, 1948) advocates the multi-national character of Ukrainian Kozaks. His hypothesis is based on misinterpretation of historical sources. Zbigniew Wojcik in his popular work on Ukrainian Kozaks also makes erroneous generalizations that "Wojskove bractwo kozackie to mozaica roznych narodowosci, jakas ponadnarodowosciowa wspolnota," *Dziekie Pola w Ogniu*, Warszawa, 1968, p. 14.

It is important to indicate that the social structure of Kozakdom reflected all social classes in 16th century Ukraine, including the aristocracy and gentry (*szlachta* and *boyars*), the peasants and burghers. In historical sources the Kozaks were identified as the men of Semen Polosovych, *starosta* of Cherkassy, Predslav Lanskoronski, *starosta* of Khmelnyk, Bernat Pretvich, *starosta* of Bar, Evstachy Dashkevych, *starosta* of Cherkassy, Prince Dmytro Putiatych, *voyevoda* of Kiev, Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, founder of the first Kozak fortress on the island of Khortytsia, and many others. Some of the gentry were of Polish origin (e.g., S. Zborowski). At the same time one finds Ukrainian burghers as the leaders of Kozak groups (e.g., Karpo Maslo of Cherkassy, Iacko Bilous of Pereyaslav and others).

The burghers and peasants were from many walks of life: hunters, fishermen, farmers, artisans, merchants. This occupational diversity was very crucial to overcoming hardships present in frontier life and the development of Kozak society. All these trades were also important in the cultivation of the rich soils found in the "Wild Plains."

It can be assumed that especially after the Lublin Union the majority of Kozaks consisted of fugitive peasants and burghers who were dissatisfied with the rule of the Polish *szlachta* and Lithuanian nobility. Already in 1590, due to the massive flight of the people from towns and villages, the Polish Diet issued a special prohibition decree.¹⁹ But the flight of the peasants was never stopped. However, during the early stages of the Kozaks there prevailed relative harmony and cooperation between them and the local frontier administration. The free Kozak life in the frontier region also attracted political fugitives and young adventurers, as well as some criminal elements. Due to meager source materials, the exact percentages of these elements are difficult to estimate. The Catholic Bishop of Kiev considered the Zaporozhian *Sich* as a "school for young warriors."²⁰ It is quite evident that members of all social stratas, at one time or another, participated in *kozaking* and contributed to the growth of Kozak military power in Ukraine.

Soviet historians advance the hypothesis that only Ukrainian lower classes, especially peasants, were responsible for the development of Zaporozhian Kozakdom.²¹ Close examination of these views

¹⁹ From 1574 on, many governmental decrees were issued aimed at peasants and limitations of their freedom. See Dmitro L. Pokhilevich, *Krestiane Belorussii i Litvy v. XVI-XVII VV*, Lvov, 1957.

²⁰ Tomkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

²¹ Holobutsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96; K. Huslysty and O. Apanovych, *Zaporozhka Sich ta її prohresyvana rola v istorii Ukrainskoho Narodu*, Kiev 1954.

reveals ideological and political bias not supported by historical evidence. It had been determined earlier that there existed a common economic and military interest among all social classes in supporting and participating at one time or another in the Kozak movement: e.g., the struggle with nomads, and the development of a frontier economy, which included the gradual agricultural exploitation of the "Wild Plains." From the middle of the 16th century, one notices the growing conflict between the already established Kozak society, the local administration of the frontier zone and the Polish state. Various economic, political, military and later religious factors contributed to this growing conflict which erupted at the end of the 16th century into the first Polish-Kozak wars.

In order to fully comprehend the "spirit" and ideology of the Kozak community it becomes essential to understand the psychological makeup of the Ukrainian frontiersman, i. e., the Kozak warrior. In this case Frederick Turner's statement that "the frontier is productive of individualism" is quite applicable.²² William H. McNeill partially applied Turner's "frontier thesis" to Ukrainian Kozakdom by emphasizing the "anarchic individual freedom upon which the Cossack communities were founded."²³ The Kozaks were rugged individuals, skilled warriors as well as defenders of individual liberties. Guillaume Beauplan, direct observer of Kozak life, described the Zaporozhians as "indefatigable in war, bold, resolute, or rather rash, not valuing their lives... most of them dying in the bed of honor, being killed in war." Kozaks "are great lovers of their liberty, without which they do not desire to live."²⁴ This Kozak individualism and independent spirit was responsible for the creation of a rather unique democratic society intolerant of any imposed governmental control. The charges concerning the anarchic character of Kozak society is only partially justified, since the Zaporozhians were directly involved in founding the *Hetman State* in 17th century Ukraine.

In studying the 16th century Kozak activity one must take into account the three major Kozak groups which existed during this period: 1) the *Kozak Vataha* (cooperative association) and *Kozak Druzhyna* (military band), 2) *Zaporozhian Kozaks*, and 3) *Registered*

²² Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *The American Frontier*. 1967, p. 113. See also Dietrich Gerhard, "The Frontier in Comparative View," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. I. 1959, pp. 205-229.

²³ William H. McNeill, *Europe's Steppe Frontier*, Chicago, 1967. p. 113.

²⁴ Guillaume Beauplan, *Description of Ukraine* (3rd edition) London, 1747. pp. 448-449.

Kozaks, who in official documents are also called "Zaporozhian Kozaks." These groups represent phases or stages in the historical development of Kozak frontier society and its institutions. Difficulties arise, when one endeavors to place each early Kozak group into a definite chronological period, since several Kozak formations, based on various organizational patterns, were developing simultaneously.²⁵ There was certain fluidity and flexibility within Kozak groups. Memberships was not on a permanent basis and to a certain degree the groups were interrelated to each other. In many instances cooperation between the various groups (e. g., Zaporozhian and registered Kozaks) contributed to the growth of Kozak solidarity, regardless of group affiliation. The spirit of cooperation and interdependence during the early period of Kozakdom was conducive to the later development of a distinct Kozak ideology.

(To be continued)

²⁵ L. Wynar, "Problema periodyzatsii kozatskoi doby," *Ukrainskyi Istoryk*, No. 1, 1963, pp. 2-3.

WHO WILL BURY THE SOVIET POWER?

BY AVRAM SHIFRIN

Those of us who quit "The Union of Nations Fighting Among Themselves" arrive home in Israel or emigrate to the Western countries with different longings, hopes, plans; we all differently adapt ourselves to life in a new situation. We manage.

But almost every one of us have had in the past relatives, friends and acquaintances who were cut off by the borders of the state from which we have broken out to freedom. And therefore we fortunate ones have to ask ourselves: have we fulfilled those promises given to relatives and friends while leaving the country?

I know very well that affairs, everyday troubles and daily toil take our time and deprive us of mobility; that new situations arise and we must view them carefully in order to adapt ourselves to them. But still, if we ask ourselves honestly, face to face, without pose: could we do something for those who have remained there? Have we? What then? What is the answer?

All these questions loom before me when I meet recently-arrived emigrants or when I get letters from those in the camps, still languishing behind prison bars. For it is a fact that the situation in the USSR becomes worse and worse from month to month, that the Soviet authorities act more and more with impunity because they see the West readily capitulates to them and because Western political impotence is no threat to them. It is so that the West in no way has understood one simple truth known to all of us who have passed through the gates of hell. It is this: only force and direct blows are understood by the leaders of the USSR, being slaves themselves; in the attempts of the West to come to an agreement by talking, they see only weakness.

But I write about this not only for general judgment but in order to share with you news of today's situation in the Soviet Union.

From a scattering of separate facts a general picture may be put together. To start, let us look at concrete events.

It happens now that all the Jews living in the Soviet Union are registered by the KGB in special dossiers that have information on the following points; relation to the national question, contact with Zionists, parts played in political actions, a possible desire to emigrate to Israel, loyalty to the Soviet power (or lack of it), children's upbringing, and so on. In order to so fill up a dossier, all your acquaintances are questioned about you, and so the dossier, true or untrue, grows.

Till now it is unknown for what purpose the Soviet authorities painstakingly put together those dossiers. But everybody understands: they do so not for any good purpose.

Furthermore, what is characteristic of the life of Jews today in the Soviet Union is their being fired from jobs on any pretext. Not only those who want to leave the Soviet Union for Israel, but also those who are assimilated, party-men Jews, these, too, are deprived of their work for any plausible-sounding excuse.

As, for instance, the Director of the Opera and Ballet in Odessa, Bohdanovych, and his alternate, Bloch. They were fired because "it is necessary to give positions to young cadres." To replace Bohdanovych, the former chief of the convoy forces of the county, Odintsov, was appointed. And those who declared themselves, if only in private conversation, as willing to emigrate to Israel (and among them in Odessa were celebrated actor Vodyanoy, journalist Lvov, and many others) — all those fell at once under the iron paw of the KGB: calls, conversations, firings... For instance, Lvov's articles are now published nowhere and he is denied admittance to the Union of Journalists, nor is it now permitted for Vodyanoy to go abroad on tours.

And this comes not from thick dossiers but only from intercepted private conversation that is connected with the nationalities.

But persecution of the Jews who are becoming more and more hateful to the ruling leaders of the country, is only part of a common persecution. "Cleaning up" is going on, for instance, among the Ukrainian "nationalists": under this rubric they often round up such persons who have devotedly served the Soviet power and its ideology but who, in the Soviet authorities' opinion, have "stumbled." It is worthwhile to study several examples.

In the same city of Odessa lived the senior editor of the county radio station, one Valentyn Moroz (not to be confused with Valentyn Moroz, Ukrainian historian — now in a Soviet prison — Ed.). We do not know if he was "infected," this member of the CPSU bearing the same name as the current martyr, or if his soul just wanted

to speak the truth. He did write a poem wherein he spoke about "certain swines that sapped the roots of Shevchenko's oak-tree." Thanks to his responsible position, Moroz was able to publish his poem. But the Soviet authorities came down upon him with the chilling charge of "nationalism." Moroz immediately admitted his "guilt," and he was not even dismissed. But then he enlarged on his dissatisfaction in private circles, and this became known to the Soviet authorities. With that came calls from the CPSU and the KGB, and for a start they reduced his function in office.

But there were friends who had the same opinion, like V. Kryzhanovsky, the well-known journalist and one of the editors of the county newspaper, and V. Sahaydak, the journalist in the radio center. Both were Party members. Intense attention on the part of the KGB led to invitations at first to Kryzhanovsky and then to Sahaydak for "conversations" at the Party meeting for discussion of their "national opinions."

It is interesting to note that Kryzhanovsky very firmly defended his opinions, with the consequence that he was immediately ousted from the Party and dismissed from his position. And Sahaydak confessed but, together with Moroz, expressed "verbal dissatisfaction." Sahaydak, too, was expelled. Such are the ends to careers in the USSR: Kryzhanovsky is now working in a paper factory; Moroz obtained a clerical post in a lottery. . .

There are hundreds of cases in Ukraine in which persons have had calls from the KGB and CPSU to explain their manifest "tendencies toward nationalism." But this is not the aim of this piece.

Here is the university in the City of Odessa: Prof. Vorobei, holder of the history chair, is dismissed. He is a Ukrainian. He is accused by the Central Committee of the CP of Ukraine of having wrongly elucidated the role of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, i.e., the Ukrainian statesman who entered upon a fateful union of Ukraine with Russia.

And here is another indication of the thrust of the same Committee: at the philology faculty Prof. Ivan Duzj is accused of unduly concentrating on the role of bourgeois nationalists — Korolenko and Dostoyevsky. He is ordered to change the program immediately by bringing to the attention of the students the actions of Chernyshevsky and Dobrolubov, who were revolutionaries. Guilty also of such aberrations were Professors Prysovsky and Nedzvesky.

Evidently, the word "nationalism" is very disturbing to the Soviet leaders, who have broken with "nationalism." Nationalism is a strength; to them it is a sheer menace.

Leaving Ukraine, we look at Latvia. And here is news: workers are going now in droves to Latvia from the other parts of the USSR; indeed, a recruitment drive has been organized in the whole of the USSR. And in Latvia a recruitment of Latvians has been organized for work outside Latvia. In both cases travelling expenses are provided. Those who arrive in Latvia are even provided with apartments. I hope that it is unnecessary to give the obvious explanation: the authorities are trying to liquidate the population of Latvia. If we remember that in the years 1945-1952 the Latvians were forcibly taken to concentration camps and exiled, it becomes clear that not so many can be left today. The project is feasible.

The reaction of Georgians, Armenians, Tartars, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Baltics, Mongolians and other nationalities who have long understood that they are not and do not wish to be a part of the faceless monster — the USSR — this is a problem that sorely taxes the leaders of the USSR, who have gotten accustomed to ruling people by fear. And they are finding that fear does not always work.

The nervousness of the leaders is shown in many ways. Available in the USSR is a long list of names of authors and their compositions that cannot be mentioned on the radio, in the newspapers, or on television. This list may be said to begin with Solzhenitsyn and end with the author of the lyrical songs of Dunayev, whose "sin" is a grave one — he emigrated to Israel. Not long ago there was a scandal in radio and television: those who prepared a program took a false, overly-prudent step — they omitted the name of V. Nekrasov although they cited his composition (he is a prominent writer, is well known for his writings about the Second World War, and this particular broadcast was dedicated to Victory Day). As a result, this "crime" was discussed on a high Party level, and the All-Union Committee of Radio and Television ordained: the director of the program has to revise the text with such a sentence: "He (Nekrasov) is not mentioned on the list of forbidden authors"; the senior editor has to sign an attestation, and this has to be verified in turn by the special censor installed in the office for this purpose.

But the Soviet leaders have yet another nagging problem: the books that appear in the USSR secretly and with the help of tourists, books which are forbidden in the country: those of Solzhenitsyn, Voynovich, Maksimov, Galich, Avtorchanov, Shub, and Shapiro, among many others. The books of Voynovich are mocking ones, with perhaps the same telling effect as *Archipelago*. The KGB tries to stop it: searches, exhortations, expulsions. But there are cracks in

the armor: the chief of the KGB department of book proscription, one Sokolov, is caught selling those forbidden books to black market dealers at outrageous prices, where *Archipelago*, for example, goes for 200 rubles. He sold bags of them (one instance, at least, of demand and supply in the USSR).

The KGB does not hesitate to resort to extreme measures for repression: they institute mass arrests of persons suspected of circulating such books. In Odessa V. Igrunov, M. Rubinstein and B. Chenkin, among 300 others, were arrested (the whereabouts of all are still unknown to us). Rubinstein was sentenced to 15 years, Chenkin, 10 years: it is necessary to terrorize people! Igrunov was arrested openly (as KGB has done before), throwing into his arrest a whole army subdivision, alarming the whole street: it was not a simple arrest — it was a “measure” designed to warn others.

I can enumerate many other events: searches, expulsions, calls and intimidations; the KGB diligently works for its bloody bread. . .

But here is a break again. At a special meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU where the weak effect of mass agitation (with and because of the help of television and radio) is discussed, an entirely trusted person, the head of the department of the leading cadres of the All-Union Committee on Radio and Television, Vinokurov, makes a speech (in the past, he has been commissar of the guerrilla union and certainly a member of the CPSU for many years). He forthrightly declares that people of the USSR do not believe in propaganda because the radio, press and television lie day after day; he finds that it is necessary to abandon half measures and to dismiss the Communist Party that has compromised itself and to create, instead, a new Party, a truly Workers Party. . . With this Vinokurov, who had had more than enough living the lie, placed his Party ticket on the table and walks off. There is no doubt that the door he left by led straightaway to prison.

But it is what is on the “top.” And what is on “the bottom?”

Here is information from Ukraine. Slogans appear during the night on houses. They call on the people to be independent and to condemn Russification. These slogans are scratched deeply into the houses' plaster, are inscribed with indelible ink. The leaders do not know what to do: it is not so easy to hack plaster off houses. But that behind this outward manifestation is an inner conscience that clamors for expression is well recognized by the leaders and the people. And it is no secret for the leaders that the movement for a free Ukraine that was manifested in the years 1945-1953 only in the west-

ern parts of Ukraine and quelled by army forces, is now swelling in the eastern part of Ukraine. The weakness of the national movement in those years lay in its lack of unity, because then the Ukrainians of Dnipropetrovsk or Kiev knew too little about nationalism. But today the intelligentsia and countrymen of all Ukraine know that it is impossible for them to live without national home rule.

And that is why the KGB conducts searches terrorizing not only the countrymen (the mainspring of the movement in the years 1945-1953), but also the intelligentsia; it invites "conversations"; those who refuse are dismissed from institutes for their patent opposition to Russification.

The strength of the new movement in Ukraine now lies in that there is no spiritual division between the eastern and western parts; the heroes of the nation today are: V. Moroz, V. Chornovil, Y. Stetsko, M. Lebed — those who demand the independence of Ukraine are as popular among countrymen as among the intelligentsia. They are hailed by those born in Poland as well as by those of eastern Ukraine who only lately have begun to think of the possibility of the national independence of Ukraine. Soviet leaders were very much astonished when, in supporting the demand of the self-determination of Bangladesh, they met up with non-planned, spontaneous demonstrations of Ukrainians, shouting: "Freedom to Bangladesh! Long live Bangladesh!" Yet the people understood that what was being shouted as well was "Long live Independence and Freedom of Ukraine!" And such demonstrations took place in towns of the eastern provinces of Ukraine, not only the western ones, showing that more and more the ardent hearts of the young are going one way — the national way.

Why do I say "the national way?" I shall try to explain. It is not because for the last few years I have said through the press and at different forums that it is only the national movements, "ripening" in the USSR, that embody in themselves a real force and threat to the regime of demagoguery and brutal suppression of any heterodoxy that crops up. I was accused as early as the years 1971-1972 of exaggerating the role of the national liberation movements in the USSR. But I have repeated over and over again this point of view because of my observations of nationalists of different groups in the concentration camps in the USSR, because of my private experience in the neo-Zionist movement and contacts with other national movements and because of facts that are widely known.

The strength of the national movement longing for the liberation of its people comes from its being founded in the hearts of the parti-

participants and in their intuition. We do not find here the coldness of sound sense and reasonableness. This is just why such "weakness" may conquer the "powerful." Just as David always conquers a self-confident Goliath.

What is known to us about the national movements is still very incomplete and odd. What is known widely does not persuade people who know nothing about the USSR: these people cannot look at the materials available "from a bird's eye view," they get lost in particulars. But for us who have developed an ear for the half-hint and who can read between the lines, for us these still unfolding facts tell their own tale.

Absolutely, every movement of dissident planning in the USSR is shaking apart the giant on clay feet. But in recent years we have clearly seen that so-called "democrats" are weak because behind their saintly tendencies are only "units," there are no people. And the movements in Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries, Armenia, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Moldavia and other parts of the empire that were artificially "modeled" into being are very strong, because of their united national intelligentsia and hard-working people, who proclaim in their mother tongue: "We want to live in our country without foreign instruction."

It would be idle to predict the date of the downfall of the USSR and the creation of free national formations. But it is easy to predict that the only force to bury the rotten idea of pseudo-Communism that is the USSR is nationalism with its love for its people and hence its respect for other nations.

Today these movements are digging a grave for the dishonored leaders living in the besieged Kremlin. I believe in their victory. And I wish them an early one.

METROPOLITAN SENYSHYN — GREAT CHURCHMAN AND LEADER*

By WALTER DUSHNYCK

In his letter dated September 10, 1967, Pope Paul VI wrote warmly to Metropolitan Ambrose Senyshyn:

“...We are well aware of the diligence and zeal with which you have performed the duties committed to you as a vigilant pastor, ever solicitous for the common welfare, first as auxiliary bishop of the Exarchate of Philadelphia, then as Bishop of Stamford and, finally, as metropolitan of the Ukrainians of Philadelphia. Special praise is yours for what you carried out in respect to liturgical matters, the splendor of divine worship, the erection of new schools and churches, the establishment of social services, the religious education of the youth, the writing and publishing of excellent books and the care for co-nationals, exiles from the fatherland whom your charity never ceases to assist and support...”

The late Giovanni Cardinal Testa, then Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Oriental Church, wrote to the Metropolitan on October 3, 1967:

“...It would be tedious to enumerate the distinctive merits which Your Excellency, having received your formation in the school of St. Basil the Great and of St. Joseph the Martyr, has acquired in respect to the Church and the Ukrainian people so profoundly beloved by you. I believe without the slightest doubt that you would be pleased to recall with all humility the labors of the past in those eparchies which had been entrusted to your government and the abundant fruits which have matured therefrom through the bounty of divine grace...”

In the same vein were congratulatory messages from President Lyndon B. Johnson of the United States, Apostolic Delegate Luigi Raimondi, Governor Raymond P. Shafer of Pennsylvania, Mayor

*) This article is based on the official biography of the late Metropolitan Senyshyn which appears in *The Silver Jubilee of the Episcopal Consecration of the Most Reverend Ambrose Senyshyn (1942-1967)*, December 3, 1967, Philadelphia, Pa.

James H. J. Tate of Philadelphia, and hundreds of Ukrainian church and lay leaders across the world.

Metropolitan Senyshyn died on September 11, 1976, at the age of 73, after a prolonged illness, in Philadelphia, Pa. The Most Reverend Basil H. Losten, his Auxiliary, was named Apostolic Administrator of the Philadelphia Archeparchy by the Holy See.

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION IN UKRAINE

Ambrose Senyshyn was born on February 23, 1903, in the town of Stary Sambir in Western Ukraine, then under the rule of Austria-Hungary. Sent to the local six-grade school by his parents, Timothy and Maria (nee Perutka), he at once showed promise as a student. In 1913, now a ten-year old, he passed the entrance examination of the Ukrainian *gymnasium* in Lviv. He attended, however, for only a short time because of the outbreak of the First World and the occupation of Galicia by Russian troops in the fall of 1914, disrupting the educational system of the country for several years.

It was only in 1921 that eighteen-year-old student Senyshyn had the opportunity to pass the examination covering four years of the taxing *gymnasium* curriculum in Lviv.

Feeling strongly urged by God to enter His service, he entered the Basilian novitiate in Krekhiv in 1922, where three years later he completed his candidature and novitiate. Thereupon, from 1925 to 1927, he continued his scholastic studies at the St. Onuphrey Juvenile in Lavriv, near his native town of Stary Sambir. Two academic years, 1927 to 1929, were spent in philosophical studies at the Monastery in Dobromyl. The young seminarian then proceeded to Krystynopil, also in Western Ukraine, where he studied theology.

Forty-six years ago, in 1931, Ambrose Senyshyn was ordained a priest in Krekhiv by Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovsky, later to become a martyr in the Soviet concentration camps and now long deceased. The ordaining prelate was one of ten Ukrainian Catholic bishops arrested by Soviet Russian authorities in the course of the Moscow-engineered destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine. They were deported to various prisons and concentration camps in the USSR, in one of which Bishop Kotsylovsky died in 1958.

After his ordination, Father Senyshyn lived in Warsaw, the Polish capital, where he continued his studies throughout 1932.

NEW HORIZONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Perhaps it was the hand of Providence that was guiding the young priest when, in 1933, upon completion of his studies, he em-

barked for the United States to work among Ukrainian immigrants. Here Father Senyshyn quickly distinguished himself by his ability as an educator and administrator. His dedication to the Church was soon recognized.

The first assignment of Rev. Senyshyn was as assistant pastor in the parish of St. Nicholas in Chicago, one of the largest Ukrainian parishes in the United States. In 1937, after four years' service as assistant pastor, Father Senyshyn became the superior (*hegumenos*) of the Basilian Monastery and the pastor of St. Nicholas Church. During the next five years he continued to demonstrate his exceptional abilities as a religious leader, educator and administrator. Recognition from the Holy See was forthcoming.

On June 6, 1942, Father Senyshyn was elevated to the episcopacy by Pope Pius XII. His consecration as titular bishop of Maina took place in St. Nicholas Church in Chicago on October 22, 1942. Principal consecrator was Bishop Constantine Bohachevsky, and the co-consecrators were Bishops Basil Takach and Basil Ladyka (all now deceased). Bishop Senyshyn was designated as Auxiliary of the Eparchy of Philadelphia of the Ukrainians.

From 1943 until 1956 Bishop Senyshyn resided in Stamford, Conn., serving as president of St. Basil's Preparatory School and College (Minor Seminary). Meanwhile, in 1948, he was appointed Vicar General of the Philadelphia Eparchy, thus sharing administrative responsibilities with Bishop Bohachevsky more closely.

In 1956 the Holy See established an additional ecclesiastical jurisdiction for Catholics of the Ukrainian-Byzantine Rite in the United States. On July 20 it was announced that Bishop Senyshyn would be the first to govern the Eparchy of Stamford, which at that time was apart from the Philadelphia jurisdiction. Bishop Senyshyn was succeeded as Auxiliary to Bishop Bohachevsky by Bishop Joseph M. Schmon-diuk, who subsequently was to become the second ordinary of Stamford. At the installation of Bishop Senyshyn as exarch, the presiding prelate was Archbishop Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, then Apostolic Delegate to the United States and who later was made a Cardinal of the Curia and Secretary of State to Pope Paul VI.

In 1958 the Holy See decided that the time had come to set up a permanent hierarchy for Catholics of the Ukrainian-Byzantine Rite in the United States. Accordingly, it was announced on July 10 that the Philadelphia jurisdiction thereafter would be an eparchy and a metropolitan see, with Stamford as a suffragan see. Simultaneously, Bishop Senyshyn was designated as first eparch (ordinary) of Stamford and Bishop Bohachevsky became the metropolitan.

The Metropolitan See of Philadelphia was soon to become vacant upon the death of Archbishop Bohachevsky (1961). Thereupon Bishop Senyshyn was transferred from Stamford to become the ordinary of the Philadelphia Archeparchy.

At the same time a new suffragan see was established, St. Nicholas of Chicago of the Ukrainians, with Bishop Jaroslav Gabro as first eparch. The announcement of all these jurisdictional changes was made on August 14, 1961. Archbishop Senyshyn's installation took place on October 26, 1961, in the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, with Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi presiding. The latter had become Apostolic Delegate to the United States in December, 1958, the time of Archbishop Cicognani's return to Rome to become a cardinal.

During the first session of the second Vatican Council (1962) Metropolitan Senyshyn was voted by the 1,432 Council Fathers to be a member of the Commission on the Eastern Churches. The Metropolitan attended and participated actively in the four sessions of the Ecumenical Council, held each fall between 1962 and 1965.

In the fall of 1967, beginning on September 30, Metropolitan Senyshyn was in Rome, participating in the Synod of Bishops summoned by the Holy Father for consultation on church affairs. He was one of three Ukrainian Rite prelates attending the Synod, the other two being Joseph Cardinal Slipyj and Metropolitan Maxime Hermaniuk of Canada.

PRIESTLY AND EPISCOPAL ACTIVITIES

The priestly and episcopal activities of Metropolitan Senyshyn cover a forty-five-year period beginning in 1931 in Western Ukraine and Poland, where he performed pastoral work first in the Basilian parish in Krystynopil and then in the Ukrainian parish of the Assumption in Warsaw. During his stay in the latter city (1932-33), he also studied at the University of Warsaw in anticipation of his future work in the United States.

At the outset of his priestly work in Chicago, Father Senyshyn established a Ukrainian Catholic youth organization. Between 1933 and 1937 he also set up retreats for religious women and conducted missions. He organized the Eucharistic Congress of Oriental Rite that was held in 1941 at St. Nicholas Church in Chicago, with thousands of Eastern-Rite Catholics in attendance.

Archbishop Senyshyn also published several reproductions of Ukrainian Byzantine icons: "Mother of Divine Grace"; "The Immaculate Mother of God"; "Queen of Peace"; "Patronage of the Mother

of God"; "Christ the Teacher"; "Mother of God"; "St. Josaphat"; "Mother of Mercy"; "Jesus, Lover of Men," and "Refuge of Christians."

BUILDER OF CHURCHES, ORGANIZER OF PARISHES

Metropolitan Senyshyn established an outstanding record as a builder of churches and erector of new parishes.

Between 1956 and 1961 as Exarch and then as Eparch of Stamford, the Bishop purchased a building for the Mother of God Academy in Stamford at a cost of \$150,000. He laid the foundations for the construction of the Ukrainian Catholic College in Stamford at a cost of \$1,700,000. He purchased property and a building for the "Picole Operaie Sisters" in Stamford for \$65,000.

During the same five-year period the Bishop organized four new parishes in the state of New York: St. Mary's in Buffalo, Annunciation of B.V.M. in Jamaica, St. Nicholas and the Epiphany, the latter two in Rochester.

Metropolitan Senyshyn's repute as a builder grew with his transferral to the Archeparchy of Philadelphia. Thus, in 1962-63, five new parishes were established: St. Anne's in Warrington, Pa.; Nativity of B.V.M. in Roxborough, Philadelphia; Sacred Heart in Fox Chase, Pa.; Annunciation in Melrose Park, Pa., and St. Andrew's in Cleveland, Ohio. The properties alone for the new parishes cost \$270,000.

One of Metropolitan Senyshyn's favorite projects was the erection of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Philadelphia at a cost of \$3,000,000. The cathedral, constructed in an original architectural style, is the largest Eastern Rite church in the world. It is a distinguished landmark of the city of Philadelphia.

Other constructions redounding to Metropolitan Senyshyn's credit include a new convent for the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate in Philadelphia, at a cost of \$155,000; the Nativity of Our Lord Convent for the Missionary Sisters of the Mother of God; a retreat and nursery valued at \$345,000, and an all-purpose hall for the Cathedral School in Philadelphia that cost \$457,000. In addition, the Archbishop purchased eight acres of land near the cathedral for future educational expansion (a high school for boys and girls is planned). Also, an apartment building to accommodate 200 senior citizens in Philadelphia was constructed on the initiative of the Metropolitan.

During Metropolitan Senyshyn's administration a number of other churches, schools and rectories were built in various localities throughout the Archeparchy of Philadelphia:

New Churches: Akron, O.; Bethlehem, Pa.; Cleveland, O.; Latrobe, Pa.; Newark, N.J.; New Brunswick, N.J.; Trenton, N.J.; Warrington, Pa., and Christ the King and Protection of B.V.M., both in Philadelphia;

New Schools: Chester, Pa.; Cleveland, O.; Elizabeth, N.J.; Jersey City, N.J.; Keiser, Pa.; New Kensington, Pa., and Perth Amboy, N.J.;

New Rectories: Melrose Park, Pa.; Warrington, Pa.; Roxborough, Pa.; Akron, O.; New Brunswick, N.J.; McKeesport, Pa., and Frankford, Pa.

DEFENDER AND PROMOTER OF EASTERN RITE CHURCHES

Metropolitan Senyshyn was a staunch defender and exponent of the Eastern Rite churches. Moreover, he deplored the misunderstandings that at times occurred between Catholics of the Eastern and Latin Rites. He relied and drew upon a series of Papal authoritative pronouncements. In an article in *The Ark*, which he published, he wrote:

"Sometimes we find that certain people claim that the Eastern Rites are inferior to the Latin and consider those Rites as strange ones, Rites which will not last long. Yet we should remember that Our Lord lived as a man in an Eastern land and died for the salvation of mankind. The early formative influence of His Church was Jewish and Greek, not Latin. Greek was the language of the Roman Mass to the middle of the third century. From the East came forth the holy doctors with their scholarly and pious works. In the East were held the first eight Ecumenical Councils. From there came the Creed of Nicea, which caused the downfall of the schism of Photius. From there came the deeds and learned writings of Saints who condemned heresies. It was there that many suffered persecution and martyrdom so that Christianity be spread, so that complete unity be attained. . . Supporting this view, we have the statement of another Pope, Benedict XV, who said: "The Church of Jesus Christ is neither Latin nor Greek nor Slav but Catholic; accordingly, she makes no difference between her children, and Greeks, Latins, Slavs, and members of all other nations are equal in the eyes of the Apostolic See. . ."

Earlier, Metropolitan Senyshyn had quoted Pope Pius XII's statement on the matter: "Whatever be the difference of Rite, the flame of faith is one which enlightens and guides all the members of the Church of Christ." In line with his firm belief in the legitimacy of the Eastern Rite churches, Metropolitan Senyshyn, as a leader of the

largest Eastern Rite Catholic church in the world, was their steadfast champion.

Under his guidance and direction the Center of Ukrainian Studies was established at the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary in Washington, D.C. So, too, was the Byzantine Icon Foundation, also located there.

When in 1945-46 the Soviet government suppressed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine, Metropolitan Senyshyn, together with his predecessor, the late Metropolitan Bohachevsky, called a press conference to protest the outrage. He also wrote a petition to members of the Catholic hierarchy throughout this country and to the United States government, imploring them to intervene on behalf of the martyred Catholics of Ukraine.

In February, 1962, on the occasion of the seventieth birthday of Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj, who was then still in a Soviet concentration camp, Metropolitan Senyshyn published his *Shepherd in Chains*, which depicted the martyred Ukrainian Catholic Church and its hierarchy under Soviet Russian rule. He also had made 100,000 commemorative buttons with the portrait of the martyred Ukrainian Catholic metropolitan, Joseph Slipyj. These were distributed throughout the United States and the world. On this occasion Metropolitan Senyshyn also set up a press conference in New York City, which was conducted by the Most Reverend Joseph M. Schmondiuk, Ukrainian Catholic Bishop of Stamford. The fate of Metropolitan Slipyj and of the persecuted Catholics in Ukraine were compelling topics at the press conference.

PROBLEM OF A UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC PATRIARCHATE

During the late 1960's a powerful movement for the creation of a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate developed in the Ukrainian Catholic community in the diaspora, led by His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Slipyj, Archbishop-Major of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. When efforts toward the establishment of such a body met with strong opposition and resistance on the part of the Vatican, especially its Congregation for the Eastern Churches, the movement became more forceful, permeating all the 14 Ukrainian Catholic eparchies in the free world. Understandably, it involved a great number of Ukrainian Catholic lay leaders, the clergy and a number of bishops.

The general contention was and still prevails today that all Ukrainian Catholic bishops are, *in principle*, for a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate, but none would challenge officially the position of the Pope, including Cardinal Slipyj. Actually, Pope Paul VI never declared

himself against the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarch, saying only that the creation of such an institution was "inappropriate" or "inopportune" at "this time." Ever since the Ecumenical Council (1962-1965) the Vatican has been engaged in a "religious dialogue" with representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow, that Kremlin-tolerated church which assisted the Soviet government to "liquidate" the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine in 1945-46. Hence the bitterness and resentment of Ukrainian Catholics toward the Vatican for its neglect and actual abandonment of some 5 million Ukrainian Catholics in Ukraine to Russian Orthodoxy by the Vatican.

The late Metropolitan Senyshyn was not a vocal campaigner for the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate, saying such a prerogative as the creation of such a body belongs to the Pope and, secondly, that he disagreed with the methods of the lay committees in their procedure to achieve this objective.

But was he?

Let the record of his statements speak for itself.

Addressing a banquet in honor of Cardinal Slipyj on July 28, 1968 in Chicago, Metropolitan Senyshyn stated:

"May the presence of Miss Eminence in our midst on American soil enkindle in our hearts the flame of love for our Ukrainian Catholic Church and rite and all splendid Ukrainian centers of learning. We must continue to support these centers, including the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome. The reinforcement of these centers will fortify our religious and national consciousness in the free world and contribute in large measure to the growth of our Ukrainian Catholic eparchies and even hasten the fulfillment of the Ukrainian church structure according to all laws on the Eastern Church in the establishment of a Patriarchate.."

The same was stated by Metropolitan Senyshyn at the banquet on May 13, 1973 at the Sheraton Hotel in Philadelphia, and in Toronto, also in 1973, when he said "We hope that the day will come when Cardinal Joseph VII will be Patriarch Joseph I." On April 11, 1970 Metropolitan Senyshyn signed a petition of the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops to the Holy Father, requesting the establishment of a Ukrainian Patriarchate, which was officially announced by the WCFU. Also, in April, 1970, he sent a personal appeal to Pope Paul VI through the Congregation for the Eastern Churches, again asking for the creation of a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate. Finally, Metropolitan Senyshyn was a member of the Permanent Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, established on September 29, 1969 in

Rome, which adopted a constitution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and chose Cardinal Slipyj as Patriarch. The other four members of the Synod elected were Cardinal Slipyj, Metropolitan Maxime Hermaniuk of Canada, Archbishop Ivan Buchko of Rome (who died in the fall of 1974) and Bishop Andrew Sapelak of Argentina.

These pronouncements would not have been made had Metropolitan Senyshyn had any other but pro-Patriarchate feelings.

PATRIOT AND CITIZEN

Metropolitan Senyshyn was known as a protector and father of his clergy and as a spiritual benefactor of the youth. He was an excellent organizer, administrator, and an indefatigable builder of Catholic life. But he was also a patriot and an exemplary citizen of the country from which he sprang. He personified the Ukrainian people, whose sufferings and whose religious, national and political aspirations he intimately knew and understood. Thus, he could never refuse them spiritual or material assistance. Indeed, he stepped forward to help thousands of Ukrainian refugees and displaced persons to resettle in this country through the Ukrainian Catholic Committee for Refugees. And, he continually contributed to many Ukrainian institutions of learning and scholarship, including the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Free University in Munich.

On behalf of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Senyshyn delivered a special prayer at the unveiling ceremony of the Taras Shevchenko statue in the nation's capital on June 27, 1964. In attendance were over 100,000 people, with President Dwight D. Eisenhower delivering the principal address.

Archbishop Senyshyn delivered a special prayer in both houses of the U.S. Congress during the observances of the anniversary of Ukraine's independence on January 22. His Pastoral Letters on "Captive Nations Week" received nationwide attention and were read into the *Congressional Record*.

In the span of the thirty-four years of his episcopacy and archepiscopacy Metropolitan Senyshyn performed a herculean labor in bringing the Ukrainian Rite Church in the United States to its present flourishing state.

When those two Popes, Pius XII and John XXIII, decided to expand the network of Ukrainian Catholic sees throughout the world by establishing no less than fourteen dioceses, they no doubt were encouraged if not inspired by the successful growth which the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States attained under the leadership of a man who sought, through building and good works, to close the gap separating Earth and the Divine.

BOOK REVIEWS

DIE OSTPOLITIK DES VTIKANS 1917-1975 (The Eastern Policy of the Vatican, 1917-1975). By Hansjakob Stehle. R. Piper & Co. Verlag, Munchen-Zurich, 1975, Pp. 487.

Herr Hansjakob Stehle is a well-known West German journalist and a correspondent of German radio stations who is presently in Rome, where he wrote this enlightening book. It should be of special interest to the Ukrainian reader in that it cites important sources dealing with the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its leading hierarchs, sources heretofore inaccessible to the general public.

The thesis of the book is that, beginning with Pope Benedict XV and up to Pope Paul VI, the Apostolic See has been in constant contact with Russia, whether White or Red. He cites Apostolic Visitor Ratti, who, in his letter to Pope Benedict XV from Warsaw in 1918, wrote: "My greatest happiness would be when I could shed my blood for Russia. . ." (p. 25).

The author discusses briefly the events of World War I in Russia, recalling that Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, under an assumed name, twice visited Czarist Russia, hoping to expand the Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite. For his pains, he was arrested and exiled to Siberia. References are also made to the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people in 1918, its leader, Simon Petlura, Jozef Pilsudski of Poland, his "miracle on the Vistula" (1920), and the Polish-Soviet treaty in Riga in 1921.

Author Stehle's description of the destruction by the Bolsheviks of the Catholic Church is fairly complete. He enumerates the Catholic bishops who were arrested at the time Soviet Foreign Commissar Chicherin was negotiating with the Vatican on assistance for the peoples of the USSR suffering from famine. The Vatican provided some \$125,000 for relief purposes, but the overwhelming assistance, 66 million dollars worth, came from the United States. In addition, the Pope made an appeal to the Catholics of the world to help the population of the USSR, regardless of the fact that the Soviet government was continuing its ruthless persecution of religion. After the death of Lenin in 1924, the Kremlin released from prison Archbishop Cieplak of Leningrad, who went to the Vatican bearing extensive reports on the anti-religious persecution in the USSR. But secret parleys continued in Berlin between Soviet representatives and Papal Nuncio Pacelli, the future Pope Pius XII, as well as negotiations through the French and German diplomatic channels in Moscow. The compassionate Pope decided to assist the suffering Catholics in the USSR through "secret ways." For that purpose he sent to the USSR a French Jesuit, Michel d'Herbigny, who previously had been head of the "Pontificio Instituto di Studi Orientale" in Rome. Pope Pius XI rewarded d'Herbigny with a bishopric.

In the USSR Bishop d'Herbigny secretly ordained bishops and consecrated priests, baptized children, and performed other priestly duties. When in 1926 he celebrated an archiepiscopal liturgy in Moscow, some 30,000 people, many of

them Volga Germans, staged a religious demonstration which was an affront to the watchdog GPU. d'Herbigny was speedily expelled from the USSR.

In the opinion of author Stehle, the mission of Bishop d'Herbigny could not have been successful. True, he did consecrate a few bishops and ordain a number of priests, and he even established a few dioceses, but all his appointees were soon arrested by the GPU and the diocese liquidated. "How can a man believe that such an organization can be created in a dictatorial system without the knowledge [of the rulers]?" asks the author.

With the victory of power-mad Stalin over Trotzky and Zinoviev in 1927, Stalin became the uncontested ruler of the USSR. He launched a forcible collectivization and began a ruthless anti-religious policy, and had the Soviet propaganda machinery assail, the Pope and the Vatican constantly. It was against this background that Pope Pius XI, on May 31, 1931, issued his famous encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno*, in which he sharply took the Soviet regime to task, declaring that "nobody can be a good Catholic and a socialist at the same time" (p. 166).

Author Stehle disparages the Polish Jesuits and ridicules the notion frequently aired by the Poles that "Poland was an outpost of Christianity" in Eastern Europe. He alleges that the Polish Jesuits, the Polish government and the General Prefect of the Jesuit Order, Cardinal Wlodimierz Ledochowski, a Pole by birth, all were guilty of "sowing intrigues" in their attempts to control the Vatican's policy with respect to the East. No wonder, the author deplures, that the Russians should consider all Catholics to be Poles.

For the elaboration and implementation of the Vatican's Eastern policies a "Russicum" Commission was established in Rome under the direction of Michel d'Herbigny, one more than well acquainted with the situation of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches in the USSR. The Poles were immovably hostile to the work of d'Herbigny, the emissary of Rome. When in 1928, upon the recommendation of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, d'Herbigny accepted a young Orthodox priest, Rev. Alexander Deubner, who was born in Russia but educated in Belgium, the Poles promptly began intriguing against him. When d'Herbigny sent Fr. Deubner to Metropolitan Sheptytsky in Western Ukraine to assess the situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Polish government curtailed his visa, forcing his return to Rome, while the Polish press, including Polish Catholic organs, stigmatized Fr. Deubner as a "Soviet spy working in the Vatican" (p. 180). Here the author underscores how the Poles actually sought to "digest" three million Ukrainian Catholics and two million Ukrainian Orthodox, but to no avail.

On October 10, 1933, President Roosevelt, in the name of the U.S., formally recognized the Soviet Union. In an exchange of diplomatic notes with Litvinov on November 16, 1933, "Roosevelt demanded that freedom of conscience and religion be respected for American citizens in the USSR" (p. 187).

On June 20, 1933, the Vatican signed a concordat with Nazi Germany, but the anti-religious policy in Germany continued, just as it did in the USSR.

Finally, on March 14, 1937, Pope Pius XI issued two encyclicals, one directed against the policies of the Nazi government of Germany, and another, dated March 19, 1937, *Divini Redemptoris*, which assailed Communism (p. 197).

In discussing the events of World War II in Eastern Europe, the author reveals important information concerning the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

No sooner had the Soviet troops entered Western Ukraine on September 17, 1939, than Metropolitan Sheptytsky, "without asking the Pope, divided the entire Soviet Union, so to speak, into Catholic [districts]. Referring to legendary, 'unlimited' authority, which he received in 1907 from Pope Pius X, he established the following Apostolic Exarchates: Bishop [Stepan] Charnetsky, for Volhynia and parts of 'Polish' Ukraine (with Lutsk and Kaminets); Rev. Clement Sheptytsky [the brother of Sheptytsky] for 'Great Russia' and Siberia (with Moscow); Rev. Antonius Nemceвич, S. J. (Byelorussia), and finally, as the most important person, Joseph Slipyj, as rector of the Ecclesiastical Seminary in Lviv, for 'Great Ukraine' (with Kiev)" (p. 219).

After a six-week wandering tour through the "green borders" of the Carpathians, Rev. G. Moskva, a courier of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, finally reached Rome with a letter outlining a plan of the Metropolitan for the approval of the Holy Father. The Holy See unreservedly approved it. The author also mentions that Metropolitan Sheptytsky severely criticized the Nazi regime, rating it a greater evil than the Bolshevik regime: "For a year not a day has passed without scoundrels shooting people. The Jews have become the first victims. . ." p. 245).

Victimized by the Nazis were many Catholic priests, among them the Exarch of Byelorussia, Rev. Antonius Nemceвич, who was taken to the Nazi headquarters in Minsk and there killed. The work in the eparchies established by Metropolitan Sheptytsky could not develop at all, and Bishop Slipyj had no access to Kiev.

Bishop d'Herbigny died in 1957 at the age of 77, but the Vatican after World War II continued to employ his tactics in the East. In a number of Communist states the Vatican appointed several bishops in secret: examples, in Romania, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. But almost all of these "underground" bishops were soon uncovered, arrested, tried and sentenced to long years of imprisonment as "spies of the Vatican."

The author discusses the situation of the Catholic Church in Communist-held countries and describes the "liquidation" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, Carpatho-Ukraine, and Romania. He reports how Metropolitan Sheptytsky named Bishop Joseph Slipyj his successor in Lviv, the destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by the Soviet Russian regime, and the release of Metropolitan Slipyj from Soviet concentration camps through the intervention with Khrushchev of President John F. Kennedy and Pope John XXXIII. He also makes reference to Maxime Hermaniuk, Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan of Canada, who defended the Ukrainian Church in Ukraine at the Ecumenical Council on October 20, 1962 in Rome.

It is evident from the book that the author has detected three distinct ways for the expansion of Catholicism in the East: *first*, through Latinization of the Ukrainian lands by Polish Jesuits; *second*, through the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Eastern Rite, and *third*, through the policy of the Vatican with its "Russicum" Commission. The author does not express an opinion which way would be most successful, if any at all.

This is an unusual, fact-packed, book which casts new light, and even some doubt, on the Vatican policy toward Eastern Europe and the USSR.

UKRAINIANS IN TEXAS. By Victor Balaban and Bohdan Hirka. Research Editor Iwan Owechko, Ph.D., University of Northern Colorado. Published by Victor Balaban, Houston, Texas, 1976, pp. 160.

Here is a bilingual (Ukrainian and English) book and compilation that depicts the life and contributions of Ukrainian immigrants to both the Lone Star State and the United States of America.

The book provides a brief historical outline of Ukraine and a short note on the history of Texas as well, information on the first Ukrainian settlers in Texas, the beginning of their civic and church activities, Ukrainian organizations in Houston, and interviews with both authors, Victor Balaban and Bohdan Hirka, as well as with noted Ukrainians, professionals and businessmen, and annotations on prominent Ukrainian pioneers long since departed.

The first Ukrainian settlers in Texas to be traced are the brothers Adolph and Frank Petruszewicz, who had fled Czarist Russian oppression in 1830. As military specialists, they soon became actively involved in the Texas struggle for independence from Mexico. One of the brothers, Frank, an artillery expert, died in the Battle of Goliad, as epic an encounter as the Alamo. Adolph, the other, died in a prison massacre carried on by the Mexican Army. The name of Petruszewicz may be seen today in Goliad, Tex., carved on a granite memorial in honor of the fallen hero of the Battle of Goliad. Because of the bravery and dedication of Frank Petruszewicz, the Texas government awarded his survivors a land grant of 4,036 acres of Texas soil, which subsequently was found to be rich in oil.

In 1896 a large group of Ukrainians were on their way to Canada where they expected to set up homesteads. The steamship agents, however, persuaded them to change their plans and shipped them to Texas instead. On reaching Texas, the poor and bewildered immigrants were immediately hit by disillusionment. No free land was available, and most of them turned to the cotton plantations, the railroads and the coal mines for a livelihood. They eventually acquired farms near Bremond, Anderson, Marlin, New Waverly, Schulenburg, and Dundee. As there were no Ukrainian organizations or churches, these people began to lose their hold on their ethnic identity. Also, many of them were not content with their conditions, complaining of the unbearable heat, poor water and poisonous snakes. When Oklahoma was opened to settlement, many of them, therefore, in company with thousands of native Americans, rushed to Oklahoma where they founded new Ukrainian communities.

But those remaining in Texas still numbered several hundred families, especially around Bremond. For lack of their own church, Ukrainians joined neighboring Polish parishes, and thus were erroneously counted as "Poles."

Ukrainian life in Texas was invigorated in the late 1940's with the arrival of hundreds of Ukrainian displaced persons. Among them was Victor Balaban, co-author and sponsor of this book, who in 1948 came to Houston, the home of his uncle Michael Balaban since 1907. The latter, who died in 1969, throughout his life was well-known for his philanthropy in Houston. Both Balabans, as well as another brother of Michael's, Vasyl, brought over a number of Ukrainian families to Houston and helped them find employment and homes. Many of them were employed in the Victor Balaban Window Cleaning Company and his other enterprises. A Ukrainian Catholic Church in Houston was built on property donated by Michael Balaban.

Before coming to the U.S. in 1948, Victor Balaban was active in Ukrainian student life and attended the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. As a Houston resident, he is a leader in many cultural, civic, and religious activities in the Ukrainian community that is described in this book, a most valuable one, which could not have been possible without his extensive research on the Ukrainians in Texas.

The co-author of the book, Bohdan Hirka, came to the U.S. in 1950, settling first in Buffalo, N.Y. and then in Los Angeles, Calif., from where he moved to Texas in 1969 with the company he worked for. Active in Ukrainian life in Buffalo, Los Angeles, and Houston, he merits much credit for gathering information on Ukrainian organizations in Houston for the book.

The volume contains a number of photographs and newspaper clippings to illustrate the various activities of Ukrainians in the Lone Star State.

Although an unpretentious book, it nevertheless yields an abundance of material and information on Ukrainians in Texas, especially in the Houston area, making it a most useful addition to any private, educational, or public library.

New York, N.Y.

WALTER DUSHNYCK

HNIZDOVSKY: Woodcuts, 1944-1975. Abe M. Tahir, Jr. Foreword by Peter A. Wick. Autobiographical Essay by Jacques Hnizdovsky. Pelican Publishing, New York, 1976.

A catalogue raisonne of 219 woodcuts and linocuts by Jacques Hnizdovsky, some of them in color, was published in October, 1976. The book includes all of the artist's woodcut and linocut works, some of which appeared in other publications, from the earliest of 1944. The book contains a foreword by Peter A. Wick, a preface by Abe M. Tahir, Jr. (who refers to Hnizdovsky as "one of the four or five best American woodcut artists"), an autobiographical essay, "Reflections of the Artist," by Hnizdovsky and the artist's biography.

In his autobiographical essay Hnizdovsky writes about his development as an artist, about the beginnings of his interest in the woodcut and about the difficulties which he encountered in his searches for a personal artistic vision. In his early works Hnizdovsky turned to oil painting, sculpture and ceramics and underwent a lengthy period of uncertainty as to the choices which presented themselves to him and which he was able to eliminate gradually as his artistic direction became clearer.

It is a delight to browse through this attractive and tastefully compiled book, in which so many familiar works of the artist are assembled in one edition. The woodcuts of the early 1950s reflect Hnizdovsky's struggles in the development of his artistic images, which he discusses in his autobiographical essay. A general characteristic of these works is the absence of the expressionistic tendencies which were prevalent in the woodcuts of the 1940s. In some of them Hnizdovsky shows an interest in the angularity of forms of the cubist tradition, as in the color linocut "Before the Mirror" (1952), others, as "Billboards" (1951), reveal the artist's decorative bent, as well as his absorption with the effects of patterning of similar forms.

In the woodcuts of the late 1950s a clarity, precision and certainty of expression, which exemplifies all of his later works, becomes evident in the artistic

imagery of Hnizdovsky. Especially notable is the inventiveness of the artist, who achieves unexpected formal and expressive diversity with the limited means of the black and white woodcut. The richness of tonality, which Hnizdovsky attains by means of complex variations of black and white lines and planes, can be observed in a large number of examples from the late 1950s and in many more recent works, as "Cabbage" (1964). It was in the 1960s, as a matter of fact, that Hnizdovsky created some of his most successful woodcuts, as "Field" (1962) and "The Sheep" (1961).

The observation of the characteristic aspects of the subject matter and its masterly transformation and embodiment in the woodcut medium is another admirable achievement of Hnizdovsky. It is due to the precision of his observation, craftsmanship and control of the means at his disposal that he captures the typical aspects of the objects which he depicts, whether in complicated compositions, as the panoramic "Field" or in simple ones, as any one of his flowers. The characteristics of specific flowers are frequently portrayed by very limited means, as a few lines. Particularly impressive is Hnizdovsky's ability to depict the diverse characteristics which distinguish a variety of trees, again by the very limited means of a black and white woodcut. In his works, also, the artist reveals a sense of humor, which is particularly evident in his series of animals, as "Andy from the Bronx" (1965).

A large quantity of the works in the edition emphasizes a trait which especially distinguishes the woodcuts of Hnizdovsky, namely the prevalence of the rounded and oval compositional solutions and his frequent choice of the mandala shape. One can observe such compositional solutions not only in works with one subject, as "Sunflower" (1965) and "Sleeping Cat" (1970) but also in more complex subjects, as "Herd of Sheep" (1966).

It is unfortunate that an error occurred on the jacket of a large number of the books, where it was stated that the artist is a native of Russia. When Hnizdovsky, who is Ukrainian, noticed the error he tried to have it corrected, yet succeeded in doing so only in a portion of the issues.

New Brunswick, N.J.

ARCADIA OLENSKA-PETRYSHYN

MOSCA A IL VATICANO (Moscow and the Vatican). By Ulisse A. Floridi. La Casa di Matriona, Milan, 1976, pp. 357.

Here is an unusual book which should be of interest to anyone studying the social-political system existing in the USSR or in any other Communist country. The author is an American priest of Italian background (the book is written in Italian), who focuses on the relationship between the Vatican and Moscow.

An Italian and an intimate of Vatican policies, Fr. Floridi is a vehement and implacable critic of these policies. He cannot understand the purpose of the Vatican-Moscow "dialogue," especially at a time when the Soviet government is exerting a supreme effort to eradicate religion in the USSR, and especially the Catholic Church. How can a "dialogue" with an atheistic regime help its suffering Christians, asks the author.

There is no doubt where the author's sympathies lie. He speaks of Soviet dissidents with great admiration and enthusiasm and implies that they could

impart some object lessons of charity and love to the Vatican policymakers.

The author stresses the fact that the Roman Catholic Church in the USSR seems to receive much better treatment than the Catholic Church of Eastern Rite, especially the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and he concludes that the persecution of Ukrainian Catholics is politically motivated.

The author takes the Vatican to task for refusing to approve a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate several times in history (in 1596, 1629, 1636 and today), and deduces that this may not be the best course of action for the Vatican.

The book quotes a "secret" memorandum of Rev. P. Mailleux, a Belgian Jesuit, dated "Summer 1972," which advances some "political" arguments against the Ukrainian Patriarchate. Fr. Mailleux, who is identified as "Director of the Russicum Institute in Rome," wrote:

"... There has never been a Ukrainian Patriarchate, but a Ukrainian political, separatist movement does exist in the USSR and abroad. The establishment of a Ukrainian Patriarchate by Rome could not fail to be considered by the Soviets (and by others) as the assumption of a stand by the Holy See in Ukrainian affairs, as moral support for the separatist politicians and therefore as hostile interference in the internal affairs of the USSR. . . There is no doubt that the establishment of a Ukrainian Patriarchate would be considered as a provocation by the Soviets and would make any negotiation with them much more difficult. *In present circumstances* it can be asked whether there are not provocateurs among the promoters of a Ukrainian Patriarchate. . ." (emphasis by the author of the memorandum — Ed.).

Strangely enough, Fr. Mailleux, while acknowledging that the Ukrainian Catholics are denied their freedom of conscience and human rights, avoids mentioning the responsibility of the Moscow Patriarchate, which has been playing its game with the Kremlin for many years.

It would be the height of insanity to suggest that among the promoters of a Ukrainian Patriarchate may be some "provocateurs." The Ukrainian Patriarchal movement is led by no less than Joseph Cardinal Slipyj, who was a prisoner of the Soviet regime for eighteen years, and his supporters are people widely known and respected in their respective communities throughout the world.

Fr. Floridi relates how much Cardinal Slipyj has done to revitalize the Ukrainian Catholic Church while in Rome. He also stresses the fact that since 1975 Cardinal Slipyj has been using the title of Patriarch under his official signature and has called the Synods of the Ukrainian Catholic bishops despite the fact the Vatican has banned and refused to recognize the Ukrainian prelate as a patriarch.

The book is charged with sympathy and compassion for the Ukrainian people and other enslaved nations. An inescapable possibility is that the Ukrainian Catholic Church may be running a collision course with Rome. The Ukrainians have suffered many persecutions, specifically the Ukrainian Catholics, but they have remained faithful to the Mother Church in Rome. A Ukrainian Patriarchate is opposed by Moscow and its allies in Rome, but the Holy See finally must choose between the atheistic totalitarian regime of Moscow and the faithful Ukrainian Catholics if it is to maintain its high moral principles of justice and truth.

THE SOVIET-TYPE ECONOMIES, Performance and Evolution. By Robert W. Campbell. Houghton Mifflin Co., 3rd Ed., Boston, 1974, pp. 259.

Ever so often it is a wise practice to set aside a review copy of a work for perhaps a couple of years in order to compare subsequent developments with the author's judgments and forecasts. This may seem unfair to both the author and his publisher who naturally are anxious to sell the work in volume, but in reality it isn't where the work has run into editions and its contents are such that time is not too pressing a factor. This third edition is substantially a revision of the author's work written in 1960 under the title *Soviet Economic Power: Its Organization, Growth and Challenge*. Of course, much has been added and incorporated since then, but the basic analytic contents remain the same. This happy condition is derived from the fact that in ultimate structure the economy of the USSR itself is given to little change during these years and more.

This new edition is divided into three general sections, namely the Soviet approach to industrialization, the economic performance of Soviet-type economies, and reform and the future of socialist planning. The organization of the book is well systematized, and both student and general reader will find the progression of topics highly intelligible and conducive to a deepened understanding of all these so-called Soviet-type economies. The first section lays the basis for this with chapters on ideological and historical background, the basic institutions of the Soviet-type economy, and the planning process. The second section contains chapters on the Soviet economic growth record, experiences with the Soviet model in Eastern Europe, and development strategy with both East European and Communist Chinese experience included. Then, on the basis of these two layers of analysis, the third part deals with the rediscovery of economics, the reform of planning and economic institutions in the 60's, and unresolved issues, along with possible alternative futures.

Whatever may be said of this work, it doesn't repeat some of the grave mistakes in economic perspective that the original one contained. The reviewer recalls the extent to which the author lost his sense of balance concerning the prospect of Soviet economic growth at a time when Khrushchev was boasting of surpassing our economy in a period of ten years. Compound interest seemed to be the key for the author in projecting such a prospect by the late 80's. This edition is far more tempered with a socio-economic realism and the well-publicized disclosures in the 60's as concerned the actual operations and profound defects of the USSR economy. Nonetheless, despite its many fine contributions and present qualities, the work continues to suffer from one very grave institutional defect.

It always amazes this reviewer how economists, sociologists, historians and occasionally political scientists approach the subject of the USSR with working concepts that are sharply contradicted by the realities surrounding the subject itself. And, worst of all, where the particular work presumes to deal with the nature and evolution of institutions. Thus, throughout this work the inaccurate, total institutional framework of the USSR as a "big nation" and, therefore, an economy with a GNP, is foisted upon the unwary student. As a matter of plain "fact," the reader is told in no unequivocal terms "that Russia is a very large country with a rich and varied resource base" (p. 157). By "Russia," meaning the Soviet Union, according to the author.

At this late stage of American learning and knowledge of the USSR, such a fundamental error is truly unpardonable. Much that the author contributes in the way of economic analysis suffers from this heavy deficiency. His expositions on the so-called GNP components, the planning reforms, the man-made famine in the 30's, population and so forth become a bit misleading within the general institutional context he operates in. The reality of any economic imperialism in the USSR can't even be logically entertained by him within his outdated context. The deep question of free market forces and their inherent tendency, should they be allowed to prevail to break up the imperial structure of the USSR could scarcely emerge in his context. Thus, we get the usual about economic rationality, rational allocation of resources, input-output analysis, linear programming and the like, but for a realistic account of politico-economic rationality, free market consequences for an ersatz multinational federation, and the nature and scope of totalitarianism, the work is preconceptionally hamstrung in delivering it. And yet these are the more essential topics for a deeper institutional evaluation of "the Soviet system" than what is offered here.

If the author possessed a more solid working knowledge of the past Czarist Russian Empire and how the Soviet Union came into being, his introductory chapter on the ideological and historical background would be more considerably strengthened and accurately focused. His claim to show a totalitarianism at work in the economic realm would become more valid and justified within the alternative context depicted above. The work's treatment of the planning process and the eternal problems of price-cost relationships is particularly good and helpful to the student. The author's observations on a number of issues are well taken. For example, it has been customary to ascribe the USSR's agricultural problems to investment deficiencies. Yet, actually, as the author rightly points out, Moscow has steadily devoted to agriculture in the range of 15 to 26 percent of investment as compared to the 3 to 5 percent of U.S. investment going to agriculture.

The chapter on the Soviet model in Eastern Europe is particularly worthwhile reading. The author shows the early adoption of the Soviet command-economy model by the Red governments and also the quick adaption and differentiation of it. Historical conditions and national peculiarities come into play as factors of these changes. For contrasts and comparisons, the treatments of the Communist Chinese experience and that of Cuba are also quite impressive. In the former, "emphasis on political zeal as a replacement for economic incentives" will hardly enhance mainland China's posture. In the case of Cuba, an environment quite unlike the USSR, the Soviet model is shown to be a complete failure and, as the author correctly states, "Cuba is, inescapably, a client state of the USSR."

With a concentration on the allocation problem in the USSR, the work describes in detail the nature of this problem and Moscow's attempts to cope with it. The chapter on the rediscovery of economics is highly fruitful in this respect. The author is on solid ground when he argues that Marxian economics, which offers little in microeconomics, is found completely wanting on the issue of economizing. Marxian notions on capital and interest are fallacious, and the subterfuge used in the USSR, the "payoff period" approach or the coefficient of relative effectiveness, is well described here. Admitting all the allocative problems that have confronted Soviet planners, it seems, nevertheless, a bit naive to state that with the introduction of the criterion of optimality "Soviet economists

quickly saw that the end of production is not more production, but consumption" (p. 196). In an economy that has never been consumer-oriented because of its central command nature and determining political objectives, the end of final consumption has always been understood. It simply couldn't be adequately realized as much consumption was not final but industrial, or, in other words, more production for the state's ends.

The major trends in the Soviet-type economies are delineated reasonably well in the work, and the delineation is supported by their continuation to the present. The author raises many considerations for more efficient performance on the part of the USSR economy — decentralization, computerization, de-bureaucratization and so forth — but none of these could substitute for free pricing and free economic choices. The USSR economy has always been in embryo and development a command and cold war economy, shaped by institutions that in the last analysis are derived from Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism. This force doesn't even appear in an analysis which is supposed to be basically institutional.

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LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

A HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN MINORITIES. [By] Wayne Charles Miller.
New York University Press, New York, 1976, pp. 229.

This book claims to be a collection of essays on many American minorities and provides bibliographical introductions to "some of the most useful sources." It recommends for further study a consultation of *A Comprehensive Bibliography for the Study of American Minorities*, from which this compilation was extracted. The bibliography also was published by the New York University Press (in two volumes in 1976).

After a short preface and various acknowledgments, the compiler of this handbook presents his material in six chapters, encompassing the American "minorities" in various geographical areas. Thus the chapter on Africa and the Middle East deals with Black Americans and Arab Americans, while the second chapter, "From Europe," dwells on Americans of French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Irish, Italian, Greek, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic, and Finnish descent; it also includes the "American-Jewish Experience" as well as the Scandinavian one.

Chapter III dwells on the nations "From Eastern Europe and the Balkans," with such national entities as the Polish, Czech, Slovak, Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, Bulgaro-Macedonian, Ukrainian ("The Ukrainian-American Experience," pp. 139-140), those from "Greater Russia," and the Romanian, Lithuanian, Albanian, and Hungarian, as well as the Slavic Americans and the "Yugoslav-American Experience." Chapters IV and V, respectively, deal with the immigrants from Asia, namely, the Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos and their "Asian-American Experience," and the peoples "From the Islands," such as the Puerto Ricans and Cubans. The last chapter (VI) dwells on "Native Americans," namely, American Indians and Mexican Americans.

The book suffers from several omissions and also from an inadequate classification or definitions of the various geographical areas from which the immigrants hailed. For instance, the Greeks are placed in the European category, while the "Bulgaro-Macedonian" group is listed with those who came from

"Eastern Europe and the Balkans." The half million Armenians in America are wholly overlooked, as are the Latvians and Estonians.

In checking some of these essays, we can see that several important source materials are omitted. For instance, the essay on Romanian Americans fails to list *The Romanians in America, 1748-1974*, a chronology and fact book, compiled by Vladimir Wertsman and published by Oceania Publications in 1975.

The sub-chapter, "Ukrainian Americans-A Guide to the Ukrainian-American Experience," is in need of some substantial additions. *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, published by the University of Toronto Press in two volumes in 1963 and 1971, is not mentioned in the book; nor is *Ukrainian Selected and Classified Bibliography in English* by Alexander Sokolyszyn, published in 1972. Nor are mentioned some important histories of Ukraine, such as those by Hrushevsky and Nahayewsky.

Not all Ukrainian church histories are included, except in the reference to the Carpatho-Ukrainians which contains a mention of their church.

The book does include the *Directory of Ukrainian Professionals in the United States*, published in 1939 in Chicago, but overlooks the recently published *Ukrainians in North America*, by Dr. Dmytro M. Shtohryn in Champaign, Ill. in 1975, a book unique in its concept of a biographical directory. It contains only two biographies of Rey. Agapius Honcharenko, one by Theodore Luciw, published by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in 1970, and the other by Wasyl Luciw and Theodore Luciw, published in 1963. Other items on Ukraine include the biography of the Ukrainian American inventor William Dzus; the autobiography of Stephen Timoshenko, a Ukrainian American scholar; Lubomyr R. Wynar's *Encyclopedic Directory of Ethnic Newspapers in the United States* (1972); Alexander Fedynsky's *Bibliographical Index of the Ukrainian Press Outside Ukraine* (1970), and Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky's article, "Ten Years of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*," which appeared in the Spring 1955 issue of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*.

Among the book's listing of general bibliographical aids are Roman Weres' *Ukraine: Selected References in the English Language*, published in Chicago in 1974; Stanley B. Kimball's *Slavic American Imprints* (1972), and Joseph S. Roucek's and Patricia Pinkham's *American Slavs: A Bibliography*, published in New York, in 1944.

The present work should be extended to include most recent books on Ukraine in English, published in the U.S., Canada, Great Britain, and Australia. It should also include the works of Ukrainian dissidents in Ukraine and the USSR, a number of which have been translated into English, as well as publications on the captive nations.

Despite the omissions the book is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the American ethnic mosaic. It is still far from the Library of Congress Catalog-Books which, starting in 1950, published close to a hundred volumes of titles. It also issues monthly and quarterly cumulations for 1975 and 1976. In each of these multi-volume sets under the letter-U — for Ukraine, we can find the most comprehensive cumulation of books and pamphlets written in English on Ukrainian themes.

It is this reviewer's belief that the title of the book should have been *A Handbook of American Ethnics*, which would have been more appropriate to the subject matter than the present title.

Senior Librarian, Brooklyn Public Library

ALEXANDER SOKOLYSZYN

STYLEVI SHUKANNIA MYKHAILA KOTSUBYNSKOHO (Kotsubynsky's Search for Literary Style). By Eugene W. Fedorenko, "Moloda Ukraina," pp. 57, Toronto, 1975.

A study of *Kotsubynsky's Search for Literary Style* by Eugene Fedorenko is a very welcome work in the field of Ukrainian literary criticism. The author reveals carefully how the early thought and taste of this famous Ukrainian writer reflected the influence of different literary styles and how in his later works he succeeded in developing a very original impressionistic style of his own.

This reviewer agrees that while the writings of the young Kotsubynsky show the ideological influence of our national poet Taras Shevchenko, the more important influences on Kotsubynsky's prose of this earlier period were the works of two Ukrainian classical writers, Ivan Nechuy-Levytsky and Panas Myrny. As Fedorenko has noted in the case of Nechuy-Levytsky, there are not only reflections of certain literary techniques, but one can easily find in Kotsubynsky's prose many of the same expressions used by Nechuy-Levytsky in his novels. The effect of Myrny on Kotsubynsky appears in the deep psychological treatment of the characters in Kotsubynsky's novels and short stories.

Kotsubynsky's interest in the literature of Western Europe at the turn of this century presages the later development of Ukrainian literature, especially the Kievan "neoclassicists" of the 1920's. Fedorenko was probably aware of this relationship, and he has relied heavily in his study on the literary criticism of that period of the Ukrainian cultural Renaissance. Kotsubynsky's feeling for French naturalistic impressionism has led him to the development of his original psychological impressionism. Thus, in his novelettes of the second period of his literary evolution, Kotsubynsky could paint an aquarelle from life, forcing the reader to relive it in his imagination. There are no more of the detailed realistic descriptions, but we see only a few splashes of color which show the reader the way to follow. We find here also a new psychological stress, motivated by the moods of Kotsubynsky's characters, and his color images, which are caught by the eye, make his later writings unique. Also, Kotsubynsky's prose becomes more and more rhythmical. Here one wishes the author had given a few examples of these new rhythmical patterns.

This reviewer was pleased that Fedorenko finished his study by quoting from the literary criticism of Ludmila Starytska-Cherniachivska,* who had considered Kotsubynsky's style as a very special one. This writer had lived with Ludmila Starytska-Cherniachivska on the eve of the German invasion of Ukraine in 1941, and she was happy to see that the writings of this great Ukrainian woman, who died so tragically, were not forgotten.

In conclusion, *Kotsubynsky's Search for Literary Style* by Fedorenko will undoubtedly be a valuable contribution to the development of Ukrainian literature in the diaspora.

New York, N.Y.

OXANA ASHER

* "M. M. Kotsubynsky," *Kievskata Starina*, 1906, book IX, p. 119.

PERTINENT DOCUMENTS

I. DECLARATION

OF

THE UKRAINIAN PUBLIC GROUP TO PROMOTE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19.

We, Ukrainians, live in Europe, which in the first half of the twentieth century has been twice ravaged by war. These wars covered the Ukrainian land with blood, as they did the lands of other European countries. And that is why we see as illegal the fact that Ukraine, a full member of the UN, was not represented by its own delegation at the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation.

We realize that according to the treaty of December 27, 1922, forming the Soviet Union, all international agreements, signed by the Government of the Soviet Union, also encompass Ukraine. It follows, therefore, that the Declaration of Human Rights as well as the Declaration of Principles, on which the signatory nations of the Helsinki Conference are to base their relations, are in effect also in Ukraine.

Experience has shown that the implementation of the Helsinki Accords (especially the humanitarian sections) cannot be guaranteed without the participation of the citizenry of the signatory-nations. For this reason, on November 9, 1976, we formed the Ukrainian Public Group To Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords. Since the humanitarian articles of the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation are based wholly on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Ukrainian Public Group has set for itself the following objectives:

1. To acquaint the Ukrainian public with the Declaration of Human Rights; to strive to have this international document become the basis of relations between the individual and the state;
2. Convinced that peace among nations cannot be guaranteed without free contacts between peoples and the free exchange of information and ideas, to actively promote the implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation;
3. To strive to have Ukraine, a sovereign European nation and member of the UN, represented by its own delegation at all international conferences dealing with the implementation of the Helsinki Accords;

4. In order to promote the free flow of information and ideas; to strive for the accreditation in Ukraine of foreign press correspondents, for the formation of independent news agencies, and the like.

The Group sees as its prime objective informing the signatory-nations and the world community about violations in Ukraine of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the humanitarian articles accepted by the Helsinki Conference. To this end our Group:

a. Accepts written complaints about violations of Human Rights and does everything within its power to bring them to the attention of the governments that signed the Helsinki Accords and the world community;

b. Compiles this information on the state of legality in Ukraine and, in full accordance with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, disseminates this information without regard for national boundaries;

c. Studies instances of violations of Human Rights with respect to Ukrainians living in other republics in order to bring this information to light.

In its activity the Group is guided not by political but by humanitarian and legal considerations. We realize that the entrenched governmental bureaucracy, which continues to grow, can take countermeasures against our legitimate aspirations. But we also fully understand that the bureaucratic interpretation of Human Rights does not reflect the full meaning of international legal agreements, signed by the Government of the USSR. We accept these documents in their widest interpretation, without bureaucratic distortions or arbitrary limitations by officials or official agencies. We are fully convinced that only through this understanding of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords can a real relaxation of international tensions be achieved. It is to this end that we dedicate the humanitarian and legal activities of our Group.

The Members of the Ukrainian Public Group To Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords:

ADDRESS:

Oles BERDNYK, Kiev-159, bulvar Lukhachova 8-b, kv. 16.

Petro HRYHORENKO, Moskva, H-21, Komsomolsky Prospekt, No. 14, kv. 96.

Ivan KANDYBA, Lvivska obl., s. Pustomyty, vul. Shevchenka, 176.

Levko LUKYANENKO, Chernihiv, vul. Rokosovskoho, No. 41-b, kv. 41.

Oksana MESHKO, Kiev, 86, vul. Verbolozna, 16.

Mykola MATUSEVYCH, Kiev, vul. Lenina 43, kv. 2.

Myroslav MARYNOVYCH, Kievskya obl., Vasylkivsky r-n, s. Kalynivka.

Mykola RUDENKO (head of the Group), Kiev, 84, Koncha-Zaspa, 1, kv. 8.

Nina STROKATA,

Oleksiy TYKHYY, Donetskya obl., Kostiantynivsky r-n., Khutir Izhevka.
Izhevka.

November 9, 1976

II. THE SENTENCE OF MYKHAILO OSADCHY

EDITOR'S NOTE: Following is the text of the official sentence given the Ukrainian writer, *Mykhailo Osadchy*; in January, 1972, he received seven years at hard labor and three years of exile. The document, translated from the Russian language, was smuggled from Ukraine and released on September 2, 1976, by the Press Service of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR). Mr.

Osadchy is known for his novel *Bilmo* (*Cataract*), which has been translated into English. A university lecturer, journalist and a former member of the CPSU, he was first arrested in 1965 and sentenced to two years at hard labor for alleged "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." The document also serves to illustrate how "Soviet justice" operates.

Ministry of Justice of the Ukrainian SSR
Case No. 208 for 1972

THE SENTENCE

In the name of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on September 5, 1972, the Court Collegium on criminal affairs of the Lviv district court, consisting

of I. Yu. Khomiuk, presiding, and B.M. Khovalchuk and O. I. Rakupenko, people's jurors, with Kh. V. Murska, secretary, and I. M. Sokovsky, procurator, and M. S. Munk, defense attorney — reviewed at a closed session on the premises of the district criminal court of the City of Lviv the criminal case of the defendant, Mykhallo Hryhorovych OSADCHY, born on March 22, 1936, in the village of Kurmany, Nedryhailo *raion* of the Sumy *oblast*, a Ukrainian and citizen of the USSR, a non-party man with higher education and married, who worked as editor of the Lviv *oblast* administration for the press and who resided in Lviv; who in 1966 was tried under Art 62, No. 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR and sentenced to two years of deprivation of freedom, and [the Court Collegium] decided, according to Art. 62, No. 2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, the following:

Defendant Osadchy, who was tried and condemned in 1966 for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, after returning from the place of deprivation of freedom in 1967, again entered upon the path of conducting anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Residing in Lviv, he, for the purpose of undermining and weakening the Soviet authority, during 1967-1971 engaged in the preparation and dissemination of documents of anti-Soviet content with libelous remarks denigrating the Soviet state and social order and the nationality policy of the Soviet government.

In the years 1966-67 Odadchy, with the purpose of besmirching the Soviet reality, wrote a novel, entitled *Bilmo*, in which, through twisting of facts and defending the persons who were serving along with him sentences for hostile activity to the Soviet authority, he leveled malicious libel against the organs of the state authority, against the Soviet state and social order.

He kept the above-mentioned novel in his possession and, at the beginning of 1969, passed it to citizen Svitlychny in the city of Kiev for his information. As a result of forwarding the book to Svitlychny, it was passed abroad and was printed in such anti-Soviet nationalist publications and journals as *Suchasnist*, Nos. 11 and 12 for 1971, *Vyzvolny Shliakh*, Nos. 2 and 3 for 1972, and the newspaper *Shliakh Peremohy* for October 10, 1971. Osadchy's book was also disseminated in Kiev and was confiscated at Svitlychny's [home].

In 1969, Osadchy, for the purpose of libeling the Soviet reality, prepared and kept in his apartment in the city of Lviv a collection of poems, entitled, *Povitriani Yamy* (The Air Pockets), where in such poems as "Amid the Fields," "Who Are You, Where Are You?" and others he manifested a sharp and insult-

ing attitude to the Soviet reality and Soviet society. One copy of this collection he forwarded to Chornovil for the latter's information.

For the purpose of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, in 1970 Osadchy wrote a collection of poems, entitled, *Adam, Where Art Thou?*, where in such poems as "Tomorrow at Night," "On the Shabby Moon," "I Sense Them," "We Scythed More Than One After-Grass," and others, he committed hostile libel against the Soviet order. This collection he also passed on to Chornovil. He also made it available to Chubai and Ozemblovska.

In 1970 he wrote and kept in his apartment in Lviv a collection of poems, entitled, *Quos ego*. In it and its preface, Osadchy maligned the Soviet reality, derided the Soviet people, and represented himself as an "innocent martyr and defender of the native land." This collection he passed on to Chornovil and Svitlychny, from whom they were confiscated. He also made it available to Chubai and Ozemblovska.

In 1971 he prepared a collection of poems, entitled, *Odkrovennia* (Openness), in which through such poems as "The Orphaned Sumy and Romny," "Kulich in Motronivka," and "In the Orchard Beyond This Land" he castigated the nationality policy of the Soviet state and the friendship of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples. This collection, too, was passed on to Chornovil.

In October, 1970, he wrote and disseminated an annotation to the correspondence between Chornovil and his wife under the title, "Wormwood over the Head," in which he calumniated the Soviet reality but praised the activity of Chornovil. He passed on the annotation to Chornovil. It was confiscated from Volytska and Hnitenko.

In May, 1971, Osadchy wrote and distributed a preface to Volytska's collection under the title, *Creed*, in which he castigated the Soviet reality but praised the hostile activity of persons condemned for anti-Soviet activities.

In 1971 Osadchy received from Kalynets and kept in his apartment in Lviv a collection of poems by Kalynets entitled, *Grotesques*, which slandered the Soviet reality and propagated nationalist ideas.

In 1971 he received from Shabatura a collection of anti-Soviet poems by Stus entitled, *A Gay Cemetery*; he acquainted himself with its contents, and then passed it on to Chubai.

At the court trial defendant Osadchy did not plead guilty to the charges against him. He explained that he had written the above-mentioned collections, but that they had no anti-Soviet purposes. The novel *Bilmo* (Cataract), he claimed, had been printed with its contents distorted and without his consent. The collections of poems had not been completed and he had planned to rewrite them. He did not write the annotation to the correspondence of Chornovil, nor had he penned the preface for *Creed*. He had not received the collection of Stus' poems from Shabatura. The defendant declared that in some of his works he was presenting the Soviet reality on the basis of his own life experience.

The guilt of the defendant in these criminal actions is confirmed by the following proofs:

- By the testimony of Ivan Svitlychny to the effect that Osadchy gave him the novel *Bilmo* in order to acquaint him with its contents.

- From the enclosed documents pertaining to the case — journals, newspapers, a xerox copy of the journal *Vyzvolny Shliakh*, the manuscript of the novel *Bilmo*, and a study of the contents of this novel — all indicate that these were prepared by Osadchy. This, in reality, he did not deny. Also, from the

contents of this novel it is evident that it contains slanderous inventions against the Soviet order.

● From the enclosed collections of poems, *Adam, Where Art Thou? The Air Pockets, Quos ego* and *Odkrovennia* (Openness): it is clear that they contain slanderous inventions against the Soviet state and social order. The above-mentioned poems were typed on the typewriter belonging to Osadchy.

● From the annotation to "Wormwood over the Head" and the reaction to the collection of poems, *Creed*, it is clear that they were prepared by Osadchy and that they bear a slanderous anti-Soviet character.

● From the interpretations of lexico-stylistic expertise: it is clear that the above-mentioned collections of poems, the annotation and reaction to the collection of *Volytska* with its anti-Soviet slanderous inventions, were prepared by Osadchy.

● Osadchy's statement to the effect that the novel *Bilmo*, the annotation and reaction to the collection *Creed* were somewhat distorted into an anti-Soviet direction can be rejected on the basis of the result of the lexico-stylistic expertise, namely, that these documents were prepared by Osadchy and that he filled them with the selfsame contents.

● The fact that Osadchy kept the poems of anti-Soviet character entitled *Grotesques*, which is supported by the testimony of Kalynets, who said she gave these poems to Osadchy, and by the fact that they were confiscated in his apartment.

● The testimony of witness Chubai, confirming the fact that Osadchy forwarded to him the poems, *A Gay Cemetery*, with their slanderous anti-Soviet contents. This was also attested to at the previous hearing by Osadchy himself and witness Shabatara. The change in the testimony of Osadchy and Shabatara during the court sessions is regarded by the court as simply a means of trying to avoid responsibility. Shabatara, who was convicted in another case, stated that she had passed these poems to Osadchy.

● From the the testimony of Ozemblovska, who stated that Osadchy had acquainted her with the poems of an anti-Soviet character.

● From the search reports, it is clear that the defendant Osadchy, Chornovil and others possessed documents of an anti-Soviet content which were confiscated and which confirm the fact that Osadchy kept and disseminated literature of an anti-Soviet character.

The Court Collegium, on the basis of the contents of the above-mentioned literary documents prepared by Osadchy, on the basis of results of lexico-stylistic expertise and the opinions of scholars (p.h.a.s. 283), has come to the conclusion that these were prepared for the purpose of undermining and weakening the Soviet authority, inasmuch as they contain slanderous elements which denigrate the Soviet state and social order. The above-mentioned criminal actions of Osadchy are defined by the court according to No. 11, Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, inasmuch as he already had been tried for anti-Soviet propaganda and... (illegible) he again began to commit the same crime.

Regarding the charges against Osadchy, there persists a doubt as to his article, written in 1971, on the novel *Sobor* (The Cathedral) by O. Honchar. The Court Collegium takes into consideration that Osadchy denies that he wrote the article with the purpose of slandering the Soviet reality and also the fact

that in the literature of that time there was no uniform (guiding) opinion about that novel.

According to Art. 27, No. 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, Osadchy is recognized as an especially dangerous recidivist, inasmuch as he had already been convicted under Art. 62, No. 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR and he again committed an analogous crime.

In imposing sentence upon Osadchy the Court Collegium also takes into consideration the public danger caused by the crime committed by him, and its competence to try the case; it also takes into consideration the fact that he has declared that he will never again engage in anti-Soviet activity and that he has two small children.

Guided by Arts. 323 and 324 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, the Court Collegium decides:

To find Mykhailo Hryhorovych Osadchy guilty and punish him according to Art. 62, No. 2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 7 (seven) years of deprivation of freedom in a corrective-labor colony of special regime and to 3 (three) years of exile, by decision of the organs which implement the sentence.

According to Art. 26, No. 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, to find M. H. Osadchy an especially dangerous recidivist.

The beginning of the sentence to start on January 13, 1972... he is to be kept under guard.

To fine M. H. Osadchy 200 rubles as expenses of the state incurred during the trial.

Factual proofs: journals, newspapers and collections of poems, to be incorporated into the documents of the case.

This sentence may be appealed by the defendant to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR within seven days following receipt of a copy of the sentence.

I. Khomiuk, Presiding

E. M. Khovalchuk, O. I. Rakupenko,
People's Jurors

UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"THE 59TH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE," statements by the Honorable Daniel J. Flood et. al. *The Congressional Record*, Washington, D.C., January 26, 1977.

Neither the presidential Inaugural nor the unsettlement of the new Congress deterred Members of Congress from observing the 59th Anniversary of Ukraine's Independence. Led by the Honorable Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania, the observance was held in the House of Representatives on January 26. Monsignor Michael Federowich, chancellor of the Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Philadelphia, delivered the invocation.

In his address, Congressman Flood referred to President Carter's inaugural statement on peoples demanding their place in the sun — "not just for the benefit of their own physical condition, but for basic human rights." "One of these peoples and nations," the legislator said, "is Ukraine, the largest captive non-Russian nation not only in the Soviet Union but also in Eastern Europe." He continued, "In the deprivation of human rights few nations have suffered so long and so deeply than the roughly 50 million Ukrainians."

The *Congressional Record* also published the address by the UCCA President on "Just Telling It Like It Is." The address was delivered by Dr. Dobriansky before the 12th convention of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, held in New York in October, 1976. It emphasized the pitfalls of the Nixon-Ford Administrations.

"CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK OBSERVANCES IN U.S.A.," a report. *Free and Independent Bulgaria*, Highland Park, New Jersey, December, 1976.

This monthly of the Bulgarian National Committee reports on the Captive Nations Week observances held in the United States in 1976. President Ford's proclamation is published in full. Over 55 Representatives in the House addressed themselves to the subject. In the Senate, seven legislators spoke on it.

In New York City, the observance at the Statue of Liberty is given special attention. The impressive ceremony was staged at the initiative of the National Captive Nations Committee in Washington. The AFL-CIO participated and assisted the effort heavily. In addition to many other distinguished speakers on the occasion, Mayors Beame of New York and Daley of Chicago are mentioned.

"TEXT OF SAKHAROV LETTER TO CARTER ON HUMAN RIGHTS," letter. *Independent Bulgaria*, Highland Park, New Jersey, December, 1976.

The letter, to which in an unprecedented way President Carter replied, is published in full here. The famous Russian dissident starts out, "It's very important to defend those who suffer because of their nonviolent struggle, for openness, for justice, for destroyed rights of other people. Our and your duty is to fight for them." The letter evidently made a strong impression on the new President.

Sakharov, in reference to the Kremlin, went on to say, "They are incapable to engage in an honest competition of ideas... They persecute members of the Group for Assistance to Fulfillment of the Helsinki Agreement, in Moscow and the Ukraine." He also raised the question, "Do you know the truth about the plight of religions in the U.S.S.R.?" One may differentiate the genocided Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches from the other persecuted ones.

In listing the top priority dissidents who now need support, the Russian intellectual cited nine of the fifteen as Ukrainian dissidents. They are Ivan Svitlychny, Vasyl Ronanyuk, Gregory Vins, Mikhail Stern, Valentyn Moroz, Aleksandr Sergeyenko, Mikhail Makarenko, Yevgeny Pronyuk, and Vasyl Fedorenko. All are in prisons or camps. Moscow's threats about "interference in internal affairs" should be met on legal and political grounds. The new Administration has a tremendous opportunity before it.

"DENYING REALITY," a column by Mary McGrory. *The New York Post*, New York, October 15, 1976.

This column offers further interpretation to President Ford's unforgettable gaffe in the second debate last October. The winter issue of this quarterly is replete with other interpretations. According to the columnist, Ford was caught between diplomacy and politics, and chose the former to deny a reality he is aware of. "Gerald Ford plainly did not wish to offend the Soviets."

Kind as this interpretation may be, it does not square with silly distinctions between "Eastern Europe" and the Soviet Union, the apparition of polycentrism, and even a dose of mesmerism performed by "the other President," the Secretary of State. Her unqualified statement, "everybody knows that if the captive nations were to revolt, we would not lift a finger to help them." For the writer, the captive nations are only in Central Europe!

To understand the tragic statement of the President requires far more by way of background and knowledge than this writer apparently commands. She's right that it took candidate Ford some seven days to finally free himself "from the domination of Henry Kissinger." The Republican campaign and its momentum lost ten days.

"MOYNIHAN 'EXPLAINS' FORD ON EAST EUROPE," a report by Beth Fallon. *Daily News*, New York, October 12, 1976.

The long-remembered Ford gaffe receives still another interpretation in this account. The now Senator from New York held that the gaffe "unwittingly revealed" a secret aspect to U.S. foreign policy. Namely, a reassurance to the Russians that we accept their dominance of the area. Considering the Sonnenfeldt doctrine under the Ford Administration, this contention makes much sense.

As the then-candidate argued, the Helsinki accord in itself recognized the boundaries of Soviet Russian hegemony. Phase two of this Kissinger policy was the Ford statement on no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. It reassured Moscow that we accept it. Actually, both Ford and Kissinger believed polycentrism was still at work, despite the Czecho-Slovak experience almost ten years ago. Even at our highest levels illusions persist.

"2 UKRAINIANS JAILED IN SOVIET CRACKDOWN ON POLITICAL DISSENT," a report. *The Washington Post*, Washington, D.C., February 8, 1977.

According to this report, Mykola Rudenko, a writer, was arrested in Kiev for his activity in monitoring Moscow's compliance with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords. Also, a teacher, Olexiy Tykhy, was arrested at about the same time in Donetsk. Both arrests happened a couple of days after poet Alexander Ginzburg was detained by KGB agents.

The methodical repression by Moscow is indicative of its tactical play regarding negotiations on other matters, both economic and military, with the U.S. Substantially there is nothing new in this as concerns typical Russian imperial policy. The primary question is whether the U.S., which alone can do this, will develop the human rights issue into a strategic one. It can be done with vision and imagination.

"OPERATION KEELHAUL AGAIN IN 1956 — FORCIBLE REPATRIATION OF ANTI-COMMUNIST SOLDIERS," a statement by the Honorable Larry McDonald. *Congressional Record*, Washington, D.C., September 29, 1976.

A letter to the editor of the *National Review* is presented by this legislator from Georgia about the forced repatriation of Ukrainian deserters from the USSR forces in Hungary in 1956. The letter appeared in the October 1, 1976 issue of the conservative journal. It emphasizes that the U.S. engaged again in a forcible repatriation of Ukrainians at the time of the Hungarian Revolution.

As the Congressman rightly states, "We turned back to the U.S.S.R. thousands of Russians, Ukrainians and others who did not wish to return to the Soviet Union." This was after World War II. Now it is held "that we forcibly returned some Ukrainian troops serving in Hungary who deserted during the 1956 revolt against communism there and joined the Hungarian freedom fighters."

The writer of the letter states that he was one of the Ukrainian "deserters" who escaped from the camp where the "deserters" were herded and then shipped back to Hungary. As the "name withheld" puts it, "I went to Vienna where I luckily found some Ukrainian countrymen, who helped me and others to reach Germany and eventually the United States."

As to the import of this issue, the writer of the letter makes a serious charge. The question is where has he been all this while when efforts were concentrated on the original Operation Keelhaul? Would he and perhaps others be willing to testify on this? We'll see. If he had any courage, he would have imparted this information, if it is true, to the UCCA.

"PROTECTING RUSSIAN REPATRIATES," a statement by Senator Beall, *Congressional Record*, Washington, D.C., September 29, 1976.

The Maryland Senator introduced into the *Congressional Record* an article by Denis Hills, titled "Protecting Russian Repatriates." The article appeared in the *Washington Post*. Under the same caption, Senator Beall has some telling observations to make in his statement. For instance, he points out that only half the population in the USSR is Russian and states that still today, "our political leaders, educators, and journalists use the terms Soviet Union and Russia interchangeably, leaving the impression that the U.S.S.R. consists only of Russians."

Referring to some of the episodes of repatriation recounted in the article, the Senator goes on to say that the above "distorts the true nature of the Soviet Union and fails to expose one of its major weaknesses; the fact that it is an empire with almost 50 percent of the population desiring freedom and self-determination for their homelands." He emphasized, "To label as 'Russian' the millions of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Armenians, and almost 100 other nationalities in the U.S.S.R. is unjust and inaccurate."

The experiences described in the article are sad and tragic. One concerning those who regarded themselves as "part of the Ukrainian Freedom Army" is moving. As the writer puts it, "Their strength was in their cohesion, their relative literacy and their extreme national consciousness." The entire repatriation process — Operation Keelhaul as it was called — is an uneradicable blemish on the Western democracies.

"BUCKLEY URGES AT UKRAINIAN RALLY THAT U.S. FOREIGN POLICY STREETS 'FREEDOM FOR ALL CAPTIVE NATIONS,' " a report. *The New York Times*, New York, October 18, 1976.

In Bryant Park of New York City, Senator James L. Buckley spoke to about a thousand Ukrainian Americans and others. His chief point was that a keystone of American foreign policy should be the freedom of all captive nations. The Senator often stressed this point in his statements on the floor of the Senate.

A highly principled legislator, Senator Buckley also urged that adequate funds must be available for Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and the Voice of America. He said, "We must never allow these voices to be stilled." During his tenure in the Senate, Buckley was an ardent supporter of the three freedom voices.

Representative Edward Koch and others addressed the Sunday rally. Congressman Koch dwelled on the human rights issue. The president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, spoke on the Ford gaffe and its significance.

"UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY PROCLAIMED IN BLUE ROOM CEREMONY," a release by N.Y.C. Public Relations Division, Office of Special Events, New York City, January 20, 1977.

In the Blue Room of City Hall a special ceremony heralded the observance of the 59th anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic. On behalf of Mayor Abraham D. Beame, Nicholas Scoppetta, Deputy Mayor for Criminal Justice, proclaimed Ukrainian Independence Day.

Members of the United Ukrainian American Organizations in New York City participated in the event. Deputy Mayor Scoppetta presented the Mayor's proclamation to George Wolynetz, Jr., vice president of the UUAO.

The proclamation referred to the establishment of the Ukrainian Republic on January 22, 1918. It reads in part, "It is fitting that the anniversary of the Ukrainian Republic should be recognized as an affirmation of America's support for self-determination and liberty for all people." The Mayor proclaimed Ukrainian Independence Day in New York City and called upon citizens to recognize the contributions of Ukrainian-Americans to our city.

"DISSIDENT SOVIET WRITER AMALRIK OFFERS TO MEET WITH CARTER," a report by Robert G. Kaiser. *The Washington Post*, Washington, D.C., December 10, 1976.

When the Russian historian, Andrei Amalrik, came for his first visit here, he quipped that a meeting would give Carter a chance to "rehabilitate" the presidency. Amalrik is known for his sense of humor. But more important, of all the dissidents he is most outstanding in his emphasis on the non-Russian nations in the USSR.

According to this report, Amalrik holds to his prediction on the break-up of the USSR by 1984 or beyond. The report states, "The basic source of an upheaval — the separatist nationalisms of the non-Russian republics bound together in the Soviet Union — still exists, and these tendencies are probably stronger than in 1969," the year he made the prediction.

Other revealing thoughts of the man are described. He declared that "the central government policy of Russification — encouraging Russian language and culture among non-Russian ethnic groups — might be backfiring." In Amal-

rik's view, the younger generation is searching for its true identity by turning back to the traditional cultures some parents chose to abandon. The plain fact is that throughout imperial Russian history, Czarist and Soviet, the fires of nationalism could never be extinguished.

"DECLARATION AND MEMORANDUM NO. 1." The Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, Kiev, Ukraine, 1977.

This is a highly significant document, released by organized Ukrainian dissidents in Kiev. On November 9, 1976, activists in the dissident movement formed the public group as titled above. This document constitutes their first declaration. It contains major points and theses that were advanced and emphasized almost two years ago before President Ford left for Helsinki to sign the agreements.

One point is that Ukraine was even represented directly at Helsinki. As the declaration now states, "Ukraine, a nation of 50 million, a member of the United Nations, and, according to its Constitution, a sovereign country, was not represented by its own delegation at the Helsinki Conference." This point was brought to the attention of President Ford and has been stressed ever since.

Another declaration concerns the scope of human rights violations in Ukraine. For almost ten years now, not to mention previous ones, this has been documented, detailed and publicized in the United States and elsewhere. As the document states, "violations of human rights by the Soviet authorities are especially widespread and flagrant in Ukraine." Indeed they are and have been. The emergence of organized dissidence in Ukraine itself should, unless it is ruthlessly squelched, help considerably in parallel actions across the seas.

The third major point made is far from accurate. The memorandum states, "little information about these violations ever reaches the West, allowing the authorities even more of a free hand." The information received over the years could make up several volumes.

Many engaging ideas are expressed throughout the memorandum. One concerns the secession of Ukraine from the Soviet Union, which the group holds is not from a source of agitation and would not weaken "Soviet rule." The memo declares, "Externally, the Soviet Union speaks out against colonialism and for the right of national self-determination, while inside the USSR, it smothers every effort of non-Russian nations toward separation from Russia and independence. . . In fact, the actions of the Soviet Government contradict the very laws of the USSR." These are strong words that have been expressed in this country with varied reactions for a democracy.

Also, the position of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is brought into sharp question. "The Constitution," the declaration states, "is above the will of the Government because, theoretically and historically, the word of the Law is not the Party nor the Government, but the Individual." A further question is raised about the increased incarcerations since Helsinki. "How did those tens of thousands of Ukrainians end up in Mordovian camps, where, according to the testimony of M. Masiutko, they comprise close to 70 percent of all prison-

ers?" The document and its data are a valuable addition to the cumulative record on captive nations and the suppression of human rights, which include the national, social, religious, etc. expressions of these rights.

"TV: ...BBC WAR FILM SHOCKS," a commentary by John J. O'Connor. *The New York Times*, New York, December 9, 1976.

"Orders From Above," a documentary production of the British Broadcasting Corporation, is the subject of this commentary. Based largely on Nicholas Bethell's book, *The Last Secret*, the film describes the forced repatriation of Russians and non-Russians at the close of World War II. By agreements concluded with Stalin in Yalta, hundreds of thousands were shipped back to the Soviet Union.

The commentator thinks all of them were Russians. Well, the usual confusion one meets with in the media. According to the documentary, some 10 to 15 percent were voluntary collaborators with the Germans. The villain of the piece is Anthony Eden, Lord Avon, who was more interested in "the politically expedient solution, instead of the humanitarian one." As Chamberlain appeased Hitler in 1939, so Eden appeased Stalin in 1945. This blot on the Western democracies will never be erased.

"WILD DANCE BRINGS POLITICS TO SOCCER FIELD," a report by Bill Fox. *The Citizen*, Ottawa, Canada, July 28, 1976.

If there were spectaculars in the Canadian Olympic games last year, certainly the dance of a Canadian Ukrainian intruder on a soccer field provided it. During a semi-final match between USSR and East Germany, Danylo Hyhal, 20, of Thunder Bay, Ontario, slipped out onto the field, leaped high with the blue and yellow flag of Ukraine, and danced the difficult "prysidky" step — apparently to the amazement of the players and to the delight of the crowd of spectators.

What was disclosed in this incident was the identical background of the many parties involved. Several of the USSR players were of Ukrainian origin. One of the three security guards who apprehended Hyhal was also of the same background. Then, of course, in the stands the protest group, known as the Ukrainian Olympic Committee, emerged with perfect timing in their tee-shirts spelling out the message "Freedom for Ukraine." TV carried all of this worldwide, including the USSR.

"BUKOVSKY WANTS U.S. TO HELP JAILED SOVIETS," a report. *The News World*, New York, N.Y., February 16, 1977.

This report is out of Paris, before Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky's departure for the United States. At a press meeting organized by *Kontinent*, Bukovsky said he wants to meet President Carter "as a representative of the world of Soviet prisoners." He also sees his mission as telling what was hap-

pening in the Soviet Union and to appeal to Western public opinion for support of the free freedom movement in the USSR.

According to the report, the dissident warned against confusing the words "Russian" and "Soviet," which is a good reminder with many uses and overtones. What he did emphasize is that the Russians were a minority in Soviet concentration camps. Non-Russians dominate the prison rolls. As it was during Beria's time, so it is now.

The additional point that Ukrainians have swelled this non-Russian composition of late was also stressed by Bukovsky. The report states, "He added that a large number of Ukrainians had swollen the concentration camp population after recent massive arrests."

The dissident also touched on the religious scene in the USSR. The religious in camps are treated with special cruelty. Obviously meaning the Russian Orthodox Church, he observed, "The Church as an institution in the USSR is completely under the iron rod of the authorities, and people who enter the seminaries get into them only after a special blessing from the KGB." In several months as the Belgrade conference approaches, these strident voices for freedom in the USSR will reach a peak of opportunity both here in the United States and elsewhere.

"THE TODAY SHOW," an excerpt. NBC TELEVISION NETWORK, New York, N.Y., October 8, 1976.

While the eyes of Americans were focused on the cumulative effects of President Ford's gaffe concerning no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, Bill Monroe of NBC was interviewing Averell Harriman about his recent visit to Moscow. The former Ambassador to Moscow spent three hours with Brezhnev. The brief interview covers detente, nuclear weapons and Ukraine.

Regarding the last point, Monroe raises the question, "Is it correct that you were trying to tell Mr. Brezhnev not to worry too much about the tough talk of American politicians, that to some extent this was political rhetoric?" In a somewhat disjointed reply, Harriman answers: "Well, he only saw the Ukrainian Cardinal and the Ukrainian Cardinal is not even fully recognized by the Pope. He said he was more Catholic than the Pope and I said, well — I was defending Ford, as a matter of fact in this case, and he saw him because there are a lot of Ukrainians but I said it was not part of the American program to join the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. He had completely been sure that we didn't have anything to do with that."

As so often in the past, Moscow's sensitivity to matters Ukrainian in the United States has always been 100%. No one really takes Harriman's observations seriously today, especially those who remember his accentuated denial that the Russians were responsible for the Katyn Forest massacres. The measure of his thoughts are somewhat revealed in this interview. For instance, on the one hand, he assuages Brezhnev not worry about the Ukrainians while, on the other hand, with reference to Angola, he asks "is that part of the Helsinki Agreement where he agrees to give human rights." What has happened to human rights in Ukraine? This double-standard type of thinking is being assaulted rightly today.

"CATARACT," a book review by Patricia Blake. *The New York Times Book Review*, New York, September 19, 1976.

This is a review of a book written in Ukrainian by Mykhaylo Osadchy and translated into English by Marco Carynnyk. It is a prisoner's testimony of his arrest, trial and imprisonment in the mid-60's. Osadchy's first "criminal" offense was the result of two samizdat documents: one a pamphlet proving that the destruction of 600,000 Ukrainian books and archives in Ukraine's largest library was an assault on Ukrainian culture; the other was a copy of President Eisenhower's speech at the Shevchenko statue unveiling in 1964.

The reviewer is a staff writer of *Time* magazine and a student of Soviet concentration camp literature. She makes many valuable points in her review, but at the outset one immediately notes some faulty conceptualizing. As she puts it, "Of all the national minorities contained within the borders of the U.S.S.R. probably none have suffered in greater numbers from Soviet rule than the Ukrainians." What she says is true. Inaccurate however are the notions of a national minority and that the rule is Soviet rather than Soviet Russian.

L. E. D.

CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS

I. UKRAINIAN LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES

Anniversary of Ukraine's Independence Observed by Ukrainian Communities in the U.S. — Keeping up the established tradition of several decades, the Ukrainian communities across the United States observed with appropriate ceremonies the 59th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukraine's Independence and 58th anniversary of the Act of Union. These events took place on January 22, 1918 and January 22, 1919, respectively, in Kiev, capital of Ukraine. In several cities and smaller localities special rallies, concerts and other public manifestations were held; in a number of State Legislatures and City Halls official proclamations of "Ukrainian Independence Day" were issued and read by Governors and Mayors. The Ukrainian national flag was hoisted on a number of official buildings alongside the American flag. A special observance in honor of Ukraine Independence was held in the U.S. Congress.

Appeal to U.S. Legislators by UCCA President. — On January 13, 1977, Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, dispatched a letter to all U.S. Senators and Congressmen, urging them to voice their moral support of the Ukrainian people in their struggle for freedom and national independence.

Scoring former President Gerald R. Ford for his statement last October that there was "no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe," Dr. Dobriansky's letter read, in part:

On the occasion of the 59th Anniversary of Ukraine's Independence, — declared in Kiev on January 22, 1918 but destroyed by imperialist Moscow in 1920 — it would profit us immensely to let Moscow know that these misconceptions are not as pervasive in our Government as it now doubtless believes. A speak-out regarding the 47 million Ukrainian nation — the largest captive non-Russian nation not only in the USSR but also in Eastern Europe — would insure this outcome with salutary corrective effect for us and all the captive nations. Your timely message after our Inauguration festivity would be truly suggestive of the spirit of New America and its renewed morality in foreign policy. In the House a special order has been submitted by the Hon. Daniel J. Flood (Pa.), for the observance on Wednesday, January 26.

To view this event as just another "ethnic" interest of little relevance to your State or district would be tantamount to viewing — as many mistakenly did — the East European blooper last October as being just of "ethnic" interest rather than of basic national interest to our long-run security. Like you, Americans observing this event are deeply concerned about the Helsinki Accords and ask "Why were the European nations, such as Ukraine, Lithuania, Byelorussia and others, not demanded by our

representatives to be direct signatories to the agreements?" They are also concerned with human rights everywhere and ask "Why are the cases of patent religious genocide, not just persecution, as in those of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches, not a prime agenda for our Government?" These are just a few of the fundamental questions requiring answers if we seriously mean to advance a renewed morality in the foreign policy of our New America.

The forthcoming Congressional Document, **The Bicentennial Salute to the Captive Nations**, contains many new perspectives for such an open policy. We hope you will scan it, and with personal regards gratefully thank you for your participation in the 59th."

Rep. Delaney Introduces Resolution on "Ukrainian Independence Day." — On January 17, 1977, Congressman James Delaney (D., N.Y.) introduced a resolution calling on the President to designate January 22 as "Ukrainian Independence Day" in the United States. He has consistently introduced January 22nd resolutions in the past years and also made statements to commemorate the anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's birth.

The full text of the Resolution reads:

WHEREAS Ukraine, with a population of some forty-seven million people, is the largest non-Russian nation both in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and in Eastern Europe;

WHEREAS this nation occupies a significant geographic and economic position in the context of Eurasia;

WHEREAS this second largest Slavic people with a national history dating back to the ninth century has made substantial contributions to world culture and today possesses immense potentialities and promise for further cultural advancement;

WHEREAS in partial recognition of these cultural contributions toward civilization and peace, the Eighty-sixth Congress of the United States passed the Shevchenko Memorial Resolution, leading to the erection of a statue of Taras Shevchenko, the poet of Ukraine, on public grounds in our Nation's Capital;

WHEREAS the critical importance of this non-Russian nation in world affairs was obliquely reflected in the original charter membership of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the United Nations Organization;

WHEREAS the contemporary status of Ukraine was reflected in the Captive Nations Week Resolution passed by the Eighty-sixth Congress in July 1959, and signed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower into Public Law 86-90;

WHEREAS for the past two decades the Congress, Governors of our major States, and mayors in our larger cities have consistently observed the indomitable spirit of independence and creative assertions of the Ukrainian people and their sons and daughters in America;

WHEREAS we are called upon in this our Bicentennial year to rededicate ourselves to those principles of liberty and freedom which gave us birth; and

WHEREAS the independent Ukrainian National Republic, which was established by democratic, popular vote and national self-determination on January 22, 1918, was modeled after our own and was one of the first

to proclaim freedom for its people in the area of the traditional Russian Empire:

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT

RESOLVED. That the President is authorized and requested to designate January 22 of each year (the anniversary of the proclamation which declared Ukraine to be a free and independent republic) as Ukrainian Independence Day, and to invite the people of the United States to observe such day with appropriate ceremonies.

Observance of Ukraine's Independence Anniversary in the U.S. Congress. — On January 26, 1977 a special program in tribute to the Ukrainian people on the 59th anniversary of their independence was held in the House of Representatives, featuring a prayer on behalf of the captive Ukrainian people and a series of statements, declarations and resolutions presented by a number of U.S. legislators. Attending the program was George Nesterczuk, chairman of the UCCA Branch in Washington, D.C., representing UCCA President Prof. Dobriansky who could not attend the event because of other duties scheduled at the same time.

The prayer was delivered by the Very Rev. Msgr. Michael Fedorowich, Chancellor of the Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Philadelphia. The text of the prayer is as follows:

Bless, O Lord, those whom we have chosen to be our leaders.

Hear the prayers of a nation of people who are relatives to all that is.

Give us the eyes to see and the strength to understand that we may be like You.

With Your power only can we face the winds.

Look upon these faces of children, especially our brothers who are suffering, so that they may face the winds and walk the good road to the day of freedom and quiet.

For this Your will, God. Amen.

Statements of U.S. Legislators on Ukraine's Independence. — Prior to and after January 22, 1977 a number of U.S. legislators introduced their statements and resolutions on behalf of the Ukrainian cause of freedom. Heading the list of U.S. legislators was Rep. Daniel J. Flood (D., Pa.), who each year initiates the Ukrainian Independence commemorations in the House of Representatives.

Following Congressman Flood were Representatives Edward J. Patten (D., N.J.), James A. Burke (D., Mass.), Millicent Fenwick (R., N.J.), Samuel S. Stratton (D., N.Y.), Barber B. Conable (R., N.Y.), Frank Annunzio (D., Ill.), Edward I. Koch (D., N.Y.), John J. Moakley (D., Mass.), John W. Wydler (D., N.Y.), Ronald A. Sarasin (R., Conn.), James J. Delaney (D., N.Y.), Edward J. Derwinski (R., Ill.), Lester L. Wolff (D., N.Y.), Joseph A. Le Fante (D., N.J.), Stanley N. Lundine (D., N.Y.), Matthew F. McHugh (D., N.Y.), Robert A. Roe (D., N.J.) and Joseph G. Minish (D. N.J.).

Program at Rayburn Building. — On January 27, 1977, a four-hour reception and special program was held at the Rayburn Office Building, with some 130 persons attending, among them many legislators and representatives of various ethnic organizations. After the reception a commemorative program was held with the following features: singing of the American anthem by Larissa Diachok, invocation by Bishop Basil H. Losten, Apostolic Administrator of the Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Philadelphia, and

introductory remarks by George Nesterczuk, chairman of the UCCA Washington Branch. Among the U.S. legislators who addressed the audience were Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes (Md.) and Representatives Millicent Fenwick (N.J.) and Christopher J. Dodd (Conn.), while Joseph Lesawyer, UCCA executive vice president, and Dr. Vitaliy Garber of ERDA, spoke in Ukrainian. Also, in the entertainment part appeared the Ukrainian Bandura Ensemble of Washington, under the baton of Dr. Ihor Masnyk. Very Rev. Vasyl Makuch, rector of the Ukrainian catholic Seminary, delivered the benediction.

Present at the program were Sen. Quentin Burdick (N.D.), and Congressmen Daniel J. Flood (Pa.), Robert N. Giaimo (Conn.), Marjorie S. Holt (Md.), Joseph LeFante (N.J.), Barbara A. Milkulski (Md.) and Donald J. Mitchel (N.Y.).

Representatives of ethnic organizations at the program included Andrew Valucek, chairman of the Nationalities Division of the Democratic National Committee; Col. Jaroslav Sustar, executive vice president of the American Ethnic Foundation; Dr. Vladimir Fleischer, head of the Czechoslovak National Council and Edward Rojko, president of the Czechoslovak Academy of Arts and Sciences, and others.

Among UCCA executive board members present were: Ivan Bazarko, administrative director; Dr. Michael Snihirovyh, a vice president and chairman of the New Haven (Conn.) UCCA Branch; Ignatius M. Billinsky, a secretary; Dr. Walter Dushnyck, editor of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, and Michael Shashkevych, member at large.

New York State Legislature Observes Ukraine's Anniversary of Freedom. — On January 17, 1977, a special Ukrainian Independence program was held in the Legislative Office Building of the New York State Legislature in Albany, N.Y., attended by some 300 Ukrainian Americans, including school children and youths. The ceremony, held for the second consecutive year on the initiative of State Senator Edwyn E. Mason, is the only one of its kind in the nation. The observance program consisted of two principal parts: a program featuring Ukrainian songs, dances and addresses and the official reading of Gov. Hugh Carey's "Ukrainian Independence Day" Proclamation.

Taking part in the first part was State Senator Edwyn E. Mason, sponsor of the program, and the principal speaker; others addressing the audience were State Senator Warren Anderson, the Republican Majority leader, and State Assemblyman Maurice D. Hinchey, who has a Ukrainian mother; Joseph Lesawyer, UCCA executive vice president, and Ivan Bazarko, UCCA administrative director, who spoke in Ukrainian.

Rev. Ivan Kulish, pastor of St. Nicholas Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Troy, N.Y., delivered appropriate prayers for the occasion.

Appearing in the entertainment part of the program were Andriy Dobriansky, bass-baritone of the Metropolitan Opera; soprano Mary Lesawyer, formerly of the New York City Opera, and pianist Thomas Hrynkiw; the "Kobza" Girls Sextet of Watervliet, N.Y. under the direction of Yaroslav Kushnir; the Ukrainian Dancers of Astoria-Kerhonkson under the direction of Elaine Oprysko; bandura soloist Dorko Semchyshyn, and folk music vocalists, sisters Marusia Shtyn and Orysia Shtyn-Hewka.

In the afternoon session Senator Bernard Gordon presided over a brief program in the absence of Lt. Gov. Mary Ann Krupsak and Msgr. Stephen Chomko of St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church in Elmira Heights, N.Y., delivered appropriate prayers for the occasion. Senator Mason read the Proclamation of Governor Hugh Carey, designating January 22, 1977 as "Ukrainian Independence Day" in the Empire State.

The program in Albany was organized by the regional (Albany) Branches of the UCCA in cooperation with the UCCA Central Office in New York. Walter Kwas, manager of the Ukrainian National Association Estate in Kerhonkson, N.Y., was coordinator of the entire program.

Symposium on Ukrainians in the U.S. Held at Harvard. — Over a dozen scholars, both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian, took part in a symposium on Ukrainian community life in the U.S., held on December 2-5, 1976. The symposium, entitled "The Ukrainian Experience in the United States," was organized by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI) in cooperation with the Ukrainian Festival Bostonian Committee and the Mayor's Office for Cultural Affairs. The symposium was organized by Edward Kasinec, librarian and HURI research bibliographer.

Launching the series of papers was Dr. Paul Magocsi, who spoke on "Problems in the History of Ukrainian Immigration to the United States." Friday morning's session, organized and conducted by Prof. Wsewolod Isajiw, professor of sociology at the University of Toronto, was a work shop in sociological analysis with the Ukrainian ethnic group in America as a case study. Other papers were presented by Prof. Jeffrey Reitz (U. of Toronto) and Prof. Nathan Glazer, one of the country's leading sociologists.

Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, Special Assistant to the President for Ethnic Affairs, spoke on the history of the Ukrainian community in America.

The evening of Ukrainian culture, held at the Boylston Hall auditorium, featured Jack Palance, the Hollywood actor of Ukrainian descent.

The Saturday morning session, held at the Boston Public Library, included presentation of the paper, "The Early Years of Ukrainian Immigration to the United States," read by Prof. Bohdan Procko of Villanova University. Miss Halyna Myroniuk, head of the Ukrainian section of the University of Minnesota Immigration Archives, substituting for Prof. Lubomyr Wynar of Kent State University, showed slides and described the Minnesota University center of documentation on the history of immigration to the U.S.

Prof. Isajiw's paper on "Sociological Observations on the Ukrainian Immigration in the United States" and Prof. Vasyl Markus' paper on "The Religious Experience of Ukrainians in the United States," read by Prof. Myroslav Labunka of LaSalle College in Philadelphia, comprised the afternoon session.

That night Prof. Omelan Pritsak, HURI director, was host at a banquet, attended by participants and guests at the symposium, at which Prof. Michael Novak of Syracuse University and author of **The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics**, was the guest speaker. Among the distinguished guests were Dr. George Kistiakowsky, one-time science advisor to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, and Prof. Richard Pipes, noted historian and one of the country's leading authorities on the Soviet Union.

Sunday afternoon Prof. Bohdan Strumliński and Dr. George Grabowicz, both of Harvard, concluded the symposium with papers on "The Ukrainian Language in the Emigration" and "New Directions in Ukrainian Poetry in the United States," respectively.

Writer Heads Ukrainian Cultural Group in U.S. — Leonid Poltava, noted Ukrainian journalist and writer, was named president of the American section of the Association of Ukrainian Cultural Activists (ADUK), following the resignation of Prof. Simon Woshakiwsky. Mr. Poltava's selection was approved at a recent meeting of the American executive board in New York City, according to Dr. Bohdan Stebelsky, the world president of the Association. The group was established in 1965 for the purpose of stimulating Ukrainian cultural growth in the free world and to defend cultural freedom in Ukraine, now trodden down by the Soviet Russian occupiers of Ukraine.

Chile's UN Mission Cites Religious Persecution in Ukraine. — The Chilean Mission to the U.N. has publicly raised the issue of repression in the Soviet Union and cited a document submitted to the U.N. by the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU).

A statement prepared by the Chilean Mission and signed by its chief, Vice-Admiral Ismael Huerta Diaz, entitled, "Report of the Economic and Social Council — Protection of Human Rights in Chile," said that while political prisoners have been released from Chilean prisons, "no prisoners of conscience" have been released from Soviet penal facilities.

The Chilean delegation made five specific requests of the Soviet government. One of them was based on a memorandum signed by Msgr. Basil Kushnir, president of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, to the U.N. Secretary General.

It requested that the Soviet government reply to "whether it is prepared to release the priests and dignitaries of various churches who are under detention; to return the children who have been separated from their parents for religious reasons from their parents' homes; and to desist from persecution on grounds of religion, in accordance with the request made to the Secretary General of the United Nations on behalf of the Ukrainian faithful by the President of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, Msgr. Basil Kushnir, on April 2, 1976. . ."

According to Ukrainian sources, last fall three western governments had refused to bring up the matter of religious persecution in Ukraine before the forum of the U.N. The Canadian U.N. delegation was among those which refused to raise the question of human rights in Ukraine. William H. Barton, the Ambassador, said that if Ottawa did not approve such a move, he could do nothing about it.

The American and Belgian U.N. groups also were among those delegations which did not want to take up the question of human rights in the USSR at the U.N.

Conference on "U.S. and USSR After Detente" in Washington. — NATO, the Captive Nations, Helsinki and SALT were extensively discussed at the two-day conference on the "U.S. and USSR After Detente," held on January 27-28, 1977 at the Statler Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C. The conference was sponsored by a number of American organizations and coordinated by the American Council for World Freedom (ACWF), whose

current head is Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, UCCA President, who was chairman and coordinator of the conference.

The conference brought together some 22 internationally recognized experts on U.S.-Soviet relations. Britain's Geoffrey Pattie, M.P., secretary of his Conservative Party's Defense Committee, told the 300 luncheon guests that "the real problem for world peace will occur when the United States starts to fall back and disengage..." He said that cuts in American defense budgets cause concern right through the free world. He said that Brezhnev favors detente because he "wants subsidized technology that the West so generously provides..."

Joseph T. Power, president of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Masons' International Assn. of the U.S. and Canada (AFL-CIO), warned against detente: "Our vigilance should not be diminished by this seemingly peaceful exterior. Underneath, a struggle as real and as potentially dangerous as any open warfare ensues..."

The first panel discussion on the subject of NATO was chaired by Dr. Stefan T. Possony of Stanford University's Hoover Institution, who reminded conference participants that "the real long range threat is that the USSR is achieving technological superiority. We have all the resources that are necessary to put the Soviet Union out of business without firing a shot."

Richard J. Whalen, president of World-Wide Information Resources, spoke on the character of NATO, and said that only with an American nuclear guarantee is NATO credible.

Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster, former Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, traced the development of detente as it affects NATO.

Brian Crozier, director of the Institute for the Study of Conflict in London, said that during the whole period of detente the Soviet Union "has waged the 'Third World War' by both military and non-military means, but without employing the major military resources of the Warsaw Pact... except in the Soviet bloc itself." He recommended a number of measures to reverse the current Soviet trend toward military superiority.

Prof. Dobriansky was chairman of the second panel, dealing with the Captive Nations. He called for an end of the "Nixon-Kissinger-Ford" brand of detente and many illusions, and urged reassessment of U.S. policy toward the USSR.

Prof. John A. Armstrong of the University of Wisconsin, and author of **Ukrainian Nationalism**, focused the audience's attention on the basic difference between the Soviet system and the imperial systems of other nations throughout the world. He said that the Kremlin is using Russification as an instrument of its domination over the non-Russian nations, which are equal in number to the Russians in the USSR.

In the same vein spoke two other panelists, Dr. Henry Hull of the University of Alabama in Huntsville, and Prof. Jerzy Hauptmann of Park College in Kansas City, Mo.

During the banquet on Thursday, January 27, 1977, guest speakers were Sen. Jesse Helms (N.C.) and Vladimir E. Maximov, editor of the Paris-based Russian dissident journal, **Kontinent**.

On Friday morning, January 28, 1977 the conference continued with two other panels. The third panel on Helsinki was moderated by Richard

V. Allen, international economic policy consultant, which included the following panelists:

Miles Costick, author and economist; Dr. Marshal Goldman, Russian Research Center at Harvard University; Dr. Ernest Lefever, director of the Ethics and Public Policy Program at Georgetown University's Kennedy Institute, and Robert Moss, editor of *Foreign Report* in the London publication, *The Economist*.

The final panel under the chairmanship of Prof. G. Warren Nutter, discussed SALT, and included as panelists: John F. Lehman, outgoing deputy director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; William E. Colby, former Director of the CIA; Dr. William Schneider of the Hudson Institute (N.Y.), and Dr. Jeremy J. Stone, executive director of the Federation of American Scientists.

As in previous panels, the panelists of the third and fourth groups were extremely critical of the Soviet role both in the implementation of the Helsinki accords and the disarmaments talks.

In addition to Dr. Dobriansky, other Ukrainians taking part in the conference were Dr. Walter Dushnyck, editor of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*; Miss Vera A. Dowhan and Walter Pretka, secretary and treasurer of the National Captive Nations Committee, respectively, and Borys Potapenko, from the Ukrainian Information Bureau in New York.

Presidium of UCCA Executive Board Holds Meeting. — On February 4, 1977, the Presidium of the UCCA Executive Board held its meeting in New York City, attended by 18 executive officers. The agenda included a number of problems connected with current policies of the UCCA and the implementation of resolutions and decisions adopted at the XIIth UCCA Congress in October, 1976.

George Nesterczuk, chairman of the UCCA Branch in Washington, D. C., reported on his and his Branch's efforts to find suitable premises for a Ukrainian Information Center in Washington; further efforts are to be made toward the realization of the project.

Administrative Director Ivan Bazarko reported on his talks with Prof. Omelan Pritsak, director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, during which discussion on renewed contacts between the UCCA and the Fund of Ukrainian Studies at Harvard ensued. Accordingly, after a brief discussion, a special committee consisting of Prof. Bohdan Hnatiuk, Prof. Peter Stercho and Eugene Iwashkiw was empowered to prepare the ground for further discussion.

Mr. Bazarko also reported on a meeting of the UCCA Legal Commission on the matter of coping with periodic slurs and discrimination against Ukrainians or their activities and policies. Attending the meeting were the following attorneys: Michael Piznak, John O. Flis, George Wolynetz, Askold Lozynsky and Kenneth Wanio.

UCCA Executive Vice President Joseph Lesawyer, who conducted the meeting, reported on contacts made with the White House regarding the new wave of persecution in Ukraine.

In turn, Prof. Bohdan Hnatiuk, head of the Committee for the Study of Present Condition of Ukraine, reported on a successful meeting in Philadelphia, Pa. on January 29, 1977 of representatives from various V. Moroz

Defense Committees, at which some new decisions were adopted calling for integrated action for the defense of human rights in Ukraine.

In turn, UCCA President Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky reported on his activities in Washington. He began his report by stating that the late Mayor of Chicago, Richard Daley, was a good and loyal friend of all captive nations, and always supported Ukrainian activities both on local and national levels.

Dr. Dobriansky attended the Inaugural of President Carter, where he met a number of political leaders. The new book, **Bicentennial Salute to the Captive Nations**, will soon be published by the Government Printing Office.

The observance of the 59th anniversary celebration of Ukraine's independence went off well in the House of Representatives, as did the program at the Rayburn Building, and the two-day conference on the "U.S. and the USSR After Detente," in which 22 internationally-known experts on U.S.-Soviet relations took part and which was coordinated by the UCCA President. A new resolution calling for the resurrection of the Ukrainian churches is being prepared in both houses of the Congress. Dr. Dobriansky also suggested and proposed that a Shevchenko Center be established in Washington, which would serve as the premises for an information bureau, an archive, tourist center, and so forth.

Mr. Bazarko reported on a planned three-day conference of the UCCA with several groups in Chicago, namely, representatives of the Ukrainian Medical Society of North America, mid-West Branches of the UCCA and representatives of Ukrainian cooperatives, credit unions and businessmen's associations.

Toward the end, Ignatius M. Billinsky, a UCCA secretary, reported on the proposed plans of activities and change of personnel in the Secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, as well as the proposed budget for 1977 of said organization.

OBITUARY: Henry C. Wolfe, a retired foreign-affairs writer and lecturer who predicted the alliance between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, died on November 20, 1976 in New York City at the age of 78.

Mr. Wolfe was born in Newcomerstown, Ohio and attended the Phillips-Andover Academy in Andover, Mass. and Kenyon College in Ohio.

In 1921 he was named by Herbert Hoover to a post in the American Relief Administration to help the European nations recover from World War I. He was assigned to the Soviet Union, where he spent some time and learned a great deal about the Communist system of government.

In World War I Mr. Wolfe served with the French Army and later with an American ambulance unit. In World War II he was a free lance correspondent in Europe, writing articles on foreign affairs for **The Herald Tribune**, **The New York Times Magazine**, **Harper's** magazine and others.

Mr. Wolfe also wrote a number of books: **The German Octopus** (1938), **Human Dynamite: Europe's Minorities and Imperial Soviets** (1940). He also wrote book reviews for **The Ukrainian Quarterly** and was keenly aware of the importance of the Ukrainian problem.

II. UKRAINIANS IN THE DIASPORA

CANADA

Canadian Parliament Assails Moscow for Recent Arrests. — The Canadian Parliament, responding to appeals of the Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz in Toronto and Amnesty International, adopted on February 15, 1977, a resolution expressing "disappointment and deep concern" over the recent arrests of Alexander Ginzburg, Mykola Rudenko, Oleksiy Tykhy and Yuri Orlov by the Soviet authorities.

The resolution was proposed by ranking Liberal Party member and former Minister of External Affairs Mitchell Sharp and seconded by his colleague from the same party, Gordon Fairweather. It was adopted unanimously.

The resolution urged the External Affairs Minister Donald Jamieson to "express to the Soviet government the disappointment and deep concern of the elected representatives of the Canadian people in parliament at the arrest of Alexander Ginzburg, Mykola Rudenko, Oleksiy Tykhy and Yuri Orlov."

Rudenko and Tykhy are members of the Kiev-based Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, while Orlov and Ginzburg are members of a similar committee in Moscow.

New Ukrainian Senator in Ottawa. — On December 20, 1976 Canadian Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau appointed John Ewasew, a Ukrainian lawyer from Montreal, to be Senator for life. Mr. Ewasew joined Sen. Paul Yuzyk as the second Canadian Senator of Ukrainian descent at the present time. He is the fourth Ukrainian to be a member of the Canadian Senate. In addition to Sen. Yuzyk, the late William M. Wall and the late John Hnatyshyn, both of Ukrainian origin, also served in the Senate.

The new Senator was born on March 13, 1922, in Grenfell, Sask., where he attended local schools. In September 1939 he joined the Canadian army and served overseas in England, Italy, France, Belgium and Holland. Upon his return from the army to Saskatoon he completed his education. He attended Regina College (now University of Saskatchewan) and McGill University in Montreal, graduating in 1950 with a law degree. He is a member of the Quebec Bar and the Canadian Bar, and since September 15, 1965 a Queen's Counsel. He has been practicing law in Montreal and is presently a partner in the firm of Howard, McDougall, Ewasew, Graham and Stocks.

Mr. Ewasew was active after the war with the University CCTC Regiments on training courses during the summer at Camp Borden, Ont., with the Armored Corps, and at Camp Marleau, Que., with the Ordinance Corps in which he held the rank of captain.

In recognition of his efforts in the international field in veterans affairs, he has been cited by the American Legion and received the Amity Medal and Award. In 1967 Mr. Ewasew was appointed to the Canada Manpower and Immigration Council and had served as a member until now. He also served as vice-president of the Canadian Professional and Businessmen's Association for the Province of Quebec and has been active in various Ukrainian organizations for the past 30 years.

Senator Yuzyk Wins Support in NATO Assembly. — All committees of the North Atlantic Assembly of NATO took a strong stance against the

Soviet increase of military forces and armaments, against Soviet aggressive policies in Africa and elsewhere, and against Soviet violations of the Helsinki Agreement and the United Nations charter and covenants. The Twenty-Second Session of the NATO Assembly was held November 15-19 in Williamsburg, Virginia, the Colonial Capital of the United States, attended by some 200 parliamentarians representing 15 democratic countries. Strong resolutions were presented by the five committees: Political; Military; Education, Cultural Affairs and Information; Economic; and Scientific and Technical.

Canada sent her largest delegation in the history of the Assembly. The 5 Senators and 21 M.P.'s were headed by Tom H. Lefebvre, M.P.; James A. Jerome, Speaker of the House of Commons, attended the preliminary meetings on November 14.

Senator Paul Yuzyk, Winnipeg-Ottawa, who has been a Canadian delegate to the Annual Sessions of the Assembly for the fourth time, was active in the Committee on Education, Cultural Affairs and Information. When Lord Lyell (Great Britain), the General Rapporteur, presented the General Report on "The State of Religion in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe," Senator Yuzyk provided more up-to-date information, referring in particular to the recent brochure *Soviet Persecution of Religion in Ukraine*, published by the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. After discussion, the Committee unanimously accepted this document as an appendix to the General Report.

This Committee, which for the first time was chaired by a Canadian, Ralph Steward, M.P., followed up the resolution of last year's session and established a standing "Sub-Committee on the Free Flow of Information and People." Its purpose is to monitor the implementation of the Third Basket, dealing with Human Rights, of the Helsinki Declaration, noting the violations of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact satellite countries. The report of this sub-committee will be presented to the follow-up Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, (CSCE) which will be held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in June, 1977. The sub-committee, which will meet several times during the next year, was expanded from 10 to 11 members in order to include Senator Yuzyk, on a unanimous vote.

The Committee on Education, Cultural Affairs and Information also adopted a resolution urging the NATO countries to include parliamentarians in the delegations to the CSCE in Belgrade, which was then adopted by the Assembly.

Senator Yuzyk, Vice-Chairman of the Canadian NATO Parliamentary Association, was asked by the Committee to address the Plenary Session. His speech emphasized that NATO in its 27 years of existence has been developing from the original military alliance into an Atlantic community, which is resolving many common problems in the political, economic, social and cultural fields.

NATO, he said, is the bulwark of freedom and democracy, pitted against the Soviet Russian imperialist, totalitarian, Communist, police regime. Such Soviet dissidents as Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov, Litvinov, Moroz, Amalrik, and others, are predicting the downfall of the Soviet empire; they are appealing to the democratic countries to strengthen their forces and support the dissidents in their struggle for the achievement of Human

Rights and the self-determination of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union.

On the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, the Soviet regime will launch next year a massive propaganda campaign to extol the virtues of Russian Communism. The NATO countries must counteract through education which will strengthen their political will and the democratic spirit of their peoples. The speech received warm applause in the Assembly.

OBITUARIES: a) **Very Rev. Mitrato Dr. Vasyl Laba**, outstanding Ukrainian Catholic educator and leader, died on November 10, 1976 in Edmonton, Alta., at the age of 90. He was pro-rector of the St. Clement Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome, and former professor and vice-rector of the Ukrainian Theological Academy in Lviv, Ukraine; a founder and rector of the Ukrainian Theological Seminary in Hirschberg, Germany, and the one in Kulemborg, Holland. He is the author of **Patrology, Hermeneutics, Spiritual Exercises for Seminarians and Evangelical Crumbs**. While in Ukraine, he was a member of the archepiscopal marriage court in Lviv, a professor of religion in a Ukrainian gymnasium and the Basilian Sisters **gymnasium**. In 1919 he was chief chaplain of the Ukrainian Galician Army (UHA) and also a chaplain of the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army. The funeral services, attended by a great number of the clergy and laity, were led by Patriarch Joseph Cardinal Slipyj, who was on a visit to Canada at that time.

b) **Vladimir J. Kaye-Kysilewsky**, C.M., Ph.D. died in Ottawa on August 30, 1976, at the age of 80. He was born on August 4, 1896 in Kolomeya, Ukraine, the son of Julian V. Kysilewsky and Olena, nee Simenowych, who later became a member of the Polish Senate in Warsaw. During World War I he served with the rank of lieutenant in the Ukrainian Legion (Ukrainian Sich Riflemen), and after his arrival in Canada in 1924, he served in the Winnipeg Grenadiers Res. (1926-28).

He studied Slavistics at the University of Vienna, where he received a Ph.D. in 1924; he continued his studies at the School of Slavic and East European Studies at the University of London (1933-36). From 1924 to 1931 he was editor and free-lance correspondent of a number of Ukrainian newspapers in Canada and the U.S., and from 1931 to 1940 was Director of the Ukrainian Bureau in London. From 1941-44 he was a liaison officer with the ethnic groups and press under the Department of National War Services. Subsequently he served in the Department of the Secretary of State (1944-49) and the Department of Citizenship and Immigration (1949-60), and was Head of the Slavic Department and Associate Professor at the University of Ottawa (1948-58).

Dr. Kaye-Kysilewsky was a member of several English, Canadian and Ukrainian learned and professional societies and a holder of the Ukrainian Army Cross, the Shevchenko Medal and the Order of Canada.

His publications include **Canadians of Recent European Origin** (1945); **Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900** (1964); **Dictionary of Ukrainian Canadian Biography** (1975) and **Ukraine, Russia and Other Countries in English Literature** (1961). In general, he is the author of over 1,000 essays, monographs, chapters of books and articles. His book reviews also appeared in **The Ukrainian Quarterly**.

ITALY

Pope Paul VI Reaffirms His Stand on Ukrainian Patriarchate. — “Pope Paul VI has reaffirmed his stand against creating the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate that Joseph Cardinal Slipyj and his Bishops have been seeking,” said the AP release dated December 14, 1976.

“Pope Paul had received Patriarch Slipyj and six Ukrainian Catholic bishops in an audience. The bishops were joined by the clergy and some faithful from various parts of the West, including the U.S. and Canada, in honoring Patriarch Slipyj on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of his pastoral work. They took part in special services at the St. Sophia Cathedral. The Ukrainian Catholic bishops attending the ceremonies were Archbishop-Metropolitan Maxime Hermaniuk from Winnipeg; Bishop Basil H. Losten from Philadelphia; Bishop Neil Savaryn from Edmonton and his Auxiliary Bishop Martin Greschuk; Bishop Isidore Borecky from Toronto; Bishop Ivan Prashko from Australia, and Bishop Jaroslav Gabro from Chicago.”

The AP release said further:

“According to Vatican observers, the Holy See feels making Cardinal Slipyj a patriarch could lead to a loosening of the Vatican position over the Ukrainian Catholics. A patriarch is a bishop who holds the highest rank after the Pope, in the church hierarchy.

“The Pope reiterated the Vatican’s opposition to a patriarchal title for the 84-year-old cardinal during an audience with Slipyj and six Ukrainian bishops.

“He told them, ‘Let us evoke the extended uneasiness of certain Ukrainian communities and their pastors. We want to refer to the expectancy for a patriarchal title that in the present condition the See of Rome does not see the possibility of granting.’

“The Ukrainian patriarchate issue came into the open in 1971 during a Ukrainian synod held in Rome in defiance of the Vatican. In that synod Cardinal Slipyj and 19 Bishops vowed to keep up their struggle for a Ukrainian patriarchate.

“Even before that synod Cardinal Slipyj was reported to have been seeking for years the title and power of patriarch to rule six million Ukrainian Catholics in Soviet Ukraine and the 1.8 million in the West,” concluded the release.

GERMANY

OBITUARY: Dr. Vasyl Plyushch, prominent Ukrainian medical scholar, died on November 16, 1976 in Munich, at the age of 74. Born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1902, Dr. Plyushch, after completing his medical studies, worked at the Institute of Tuberculosis in Kiev from 1931 through 1943, heading the institution for the last two years. He was also a professor of medicine at the Kiev Medical Institute.

A specialist in respiratory diseases, Dr. Plyushch wrote over 100 scientific articles, and was especially known for his work in early detection of throat, lung and heart ailments.

Dr. Plyushch, an expert on the history of medicine in Ukraine, wrote a number of scholarly works, including *Health Care in Ukraine*, *Survey of*

the **History of Ukrainian Medical Education and Science**, and others. He also contributed several articles to **Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia** on medicine and health care.

A resident of West Germany since the end of World War II, Dr. Plyushch was active in Ukrainian community life there and headed for a while the Central Representation of Ukrainian Emigration in Germany. His remains were flown to the U.S. and were buried at the Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery in South Bound Brook, N.J.

ENGLAND

OBITUARY: Juliusz Mieroszewski, noted political commentator, died on June 21, 1976 in London, at the age of 70. He was London editor and publicist of **Kultura**, the most distinguished Polish periodical, published in Paris.

Mieroszewski's keen insight and provocative commentaries on political developments both in his homeland and the world at large attracted a wide readership and helped make **Kultura** function as a Polish *samizdat*, secretly circulating among intellectuals, students and even officials of the Warsaw regime. "He gave us two necessary things," said a journalist, "abundant information and the most sound judgment."

Although a staunch anti-Communist, Mieroszewski often displeased ultra-nationalist Polish emigres. He was a strong advocate of an independent Ukraine, warning in September 1974 that "Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Byelorussians cannot in the 20th century be pawns in a historic Polish-Russian game." (See John Switalski's article on Mieroszewski in the Winter 1975 issue of **The Ukrainian Quarterly**.)

Mieroszewski was born in Cracow, Poland, in 1906. He studied law at the Cracow university but later joined the editorial staff of the **Ilustrowany Kurjer Codzienny**, one of the most widely-read East European newspapers between the two world wars. He was an authority on German political affairs. At the outbreak of World War II, Mieroszewski was in Bucharest on the staff of the Polish Military Attache. Later he served with Polish army units in the African and Italian campaigns. He settled in England after the war and began writing for **Kultura** in 1949.

Mieroszewski wrote the following books: **Ewolucjonizm** (Evolutionism) and **Polityczne Neurozy** (Political Neuroses), both published by the Institute Literaire in Paris, and **Kehrt Deutschland in den Osten zuruck?** (*Will Germany Return to the East?*), (Colloquium Verlag, Berlin, 1961). He was also one of the authors of **What Europe Thinks of America** (John Day Company), in 1953.

John Switalski

FRANCE

Bukovsky and Plyushch in Defense of V. Fedorenko. — Vladimir Bukovsky, the newly-released Russian dissident, and Leonid Plyushch, Ukrainian mathematician, who was released from a Soviet "psychiatric ward" in January, 1976, sent a moving letter to **The New York Times** in defense of Vasyl P. Fedorenko, Ukrainian political prisoner. The letter was published

on February 11, 1977. They say that the Ukrainian political prisoner, driven by the cruel treatment at Vladimir Prison, made an attempt to end his life by self-immolation.

Fedorenko was first arrested in 1959, and spent some years in a concentration camp. In 1967 he was arrested for the second time, and was released in 1972. Two years later he renounced his Soviet citizenship and tried to emigrate abroad. On September 16, 1974, Fedorenko crossed the Soviet border but was arrested and returned to the USSR by Czechoslovak authorities. He was tried in September, 1975 and sentenced to 15 years for "anti-Soviet propaganda" and "treason." During his trial he declared his opposition to Soviet colonial rule and spoke about the right of Ukraine to be an independent state.

On December 10, 1975, he began a hunger strike "of unspecified duration" as a sign of protest against the violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and against the anti-Ukrainian policies of the Soviet government. Fedorenko's unprecedented hunger strike continues into the second year, they said. Both Bukovsky and Plyushch appealed to "people of conscience" to help save Vasyl Fedorenko.

OBITUARY: Alexis Gritchenko (Hryshchenko), one of the greatest Ukrainian painters, whose works are exhibited in leading European and American galleries, died on January 29, 1977 in the town of Vance in Southern France, where he lived since the mid-1920's. He was 93 years old.

He was born on April 1, 1883 in the town of Krolevtsi in the Chernyiv area of Ukraine, where he completed his primary education. As a seminary student in Chernyiv, Gritchenko visited such historic sites of the Ukrainian Hetmanate period as Hlukhiv, Baturyn, Nizhyn and Konotop. He studied art at the Svyatoslavsky Studio in Kiev and also attended Kiev University. In 1912 he obtained a diploma in biology in Moscow, while making frequent travels to Italy and France, where he became acquainted with cubism.

During World War I he was drafted into the Russian Czarist army and remained in Moscow during the revolution. His brother, Gregory, served as a colonel in the Ukrainian armies.

Gritchenko managed to leave Ukraine after the Communist take-over and came to Istanbul where he lived for a while before moving to Greece, and then taking up permanent residence in France.

While in Istanbul, he first attracted the attention of critics, art collectors and gallery owners as an unusually talented painter. In 1921, a Paris gallery put up 12 of his paintings on exhibit, allowing other artists only two each. Later on, the Barnes Foundation at Merion, Pa. acquired 17 of his paintings for permanent display. In 1931 Gritchenko took part in the first exhibit of the Association of Independent Ukrainian Artists, organized by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv.

Although many of his works found their way to America and were exhibited by the Association of Ukrainian Artists, it was not until 1958 that the artist and his French-born wife Lille (nee de Mobege) made their first visit to the U.S. His exhibit was held at the Ukrainian Institute of America. His latest exhibit was held at the Ukrainian Institute in October, 1976. According to art specialists, there are some 400 works of Gritchenko in America.

Gritchenko also wrote a number of books, among them, **Two Years in Constantinople, Ukraine of My Radiant Days, My Encounter with French Artists**, and others. Several books about Gritchenko have been published in Ukrainian, English and French.

PARAGUAY

Ukrainians Unveil Shevchenko Monument in Encarnacion. — On November 19, 1976 the President of Paraguay, General Alfredo Stroessner, and R. Pylynsky, chairman of the Shevchenko Monument Committee in Paraguay, unveiled the Shevchenko Monument in a solemn ceremony, attended by 1,500 persons. It is the third statue in honor of Ukraine's greatest poet, Taras Shevchenko, in South America; the other two are in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and Curitiba, Brazil. There also are Shevchenko statues in Washington (U.S.), Winnipeg (Canada) and Toulouse (France). Some 700 Ukrainian families residing in the southern part of Paraguay raised the necessary funds to erect such a monument in honor of the great Ukrainian bard.

The unveiling ceremonies were the culmination of a week-long series of Ukrainian events which began with the official proclamation of "Ukrainian Week" by Mayor Jose Caballero of Encarnacion. Dr. Leonard Rodriguez, professor of art at the University of Buenos Aires, was the sculptor of Shevchenko's bust. The Gen. Stroessner Square where the statue stands, was decorated with Paraguayan and Ukrainian flags and the Army Band played both national anthems at the beginning of the ceremonies.

Attending the event were the governor of the Argentinian Province of Misiones, Capt. Rene G. Butfeller of the Paraguayan Navy, Dr. Ramon Rebezon of the "Colorado" party, and Mayor Caballero, with the last two addressing the crowd.

The unveiling and other events connected with "Ukrainian Week" were sponsored by the "Prosvita" Society in Paraguay and the Ukrainian Central Representation in Argentina.

Among visitors from around the world attending the ceremonies were Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk, head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church U.S.A.; Dr. Bohdan Stebelsky, member of the Secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians; Bishop Vladimir of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Brazil; Bishop Efraim E. Krevey of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Brazil, and others. Vasyl Kosiuk, president of the Ukrainian Central Representation in Argentina, was master of ceremonies at a banquet at the "Prosvita" Hall, attended by 1,000 persons. Attending the ceremonies were also the "Kalyna" Dancers and Chorus from Toronto, Canada, and Ukrainian representatives from other countries, including several from Europe.

III. IN CAPTIVE UKRAINE

Leaders of Ukrainian Helsinki Committee Arrested in Kiev. — In a move which seems to be an overall assault on the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, the KGB on February 5, 1977 arrested Mykola Rudenko, noted poet and the group's chairman, and Oleksiy Tykhy, a member of the Committee. These arrests fol-

lowed the crack-down on the Moscow group with the arrest of Yuri Orlov, head of the Moscow-based committee, and Alexander Ginzburg, an activist in the Russian human rights movement.

Reports from the USSR also said that other group members were harassed and their homes searched and ransacked. The Moscow-based Helsinki committee told a news conference on February 7 that Rudenko's wife had been stripped naked as an act of humiliation while police searched the Rudenko home.

United Press International further reported that the KGB made searches in the homes of two other Ukrainian dissidents in Kiev.

Other reports related that during the search of Rudenko's apartment Alexander Berdnyk, a member of the committee and a poet, walked into the apartment and was bodily searched, but not arrested.

The wire service also reported that brutal searches were conducted in the apartments of Oksana Meshko, mother of Alexander Serhiyenko, a political prisoner, and Nina Strokata-Karavansky, who had terminated her four-year term in a concentration camp.

It is to be recalled that Mykola Rudenko, Alexander Berdnyk, Oleksiy Tykhy, Oksana Meshko and Nina Strokata-Karavansky are members of the 10-man Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, founded on November 9, 1976 in Kiev. The other five members of the group include General Petro Hryhorenko (Pyotr Grigorenko), Ivan Kandyba, Levko Lukyanenko, Mykola Matusevych and Myroslav Marynovych. The group issued "Memorandum No. 1," and a "Declaration" assessing the status of human rights in Ukraine and the reason for the group's founding. (Cf. the "Declaration" appearing in the "Pertinent Documents" column elsewhere in this issue of *The Ukrainian Quarterly* — Ed.)

Prof. Sakharov Asks Help for 15 Political Prisoners in the USSR, 9 Ukrainians. — On January 21, 1977 Prof. Andrei D. Sakharov, the leading Russian dissident, sent a letter to President Carter, urging immediate help for the release of 15 political prisoners, 9 of them being Ukrainian.

"It's important that the U.S. President should continue efforts for the release of those people who are already known to the American public and that these efforts not be in vain. It is very important to continue the fight for the very sick and for the women-political prisoners... We can't cross out any of the names on this list. This is the main list, but there are many others who need the same support..."

Among the Ukrainian political prisoners listed by Dr. Sakharov are Ivan Svitlychny, Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk, Pastor Georgi Vins, Valentyn Moroz, Alexander Serhiyenko, Evhen Pronyuk, Mykhailo Makarenko, Dr. Mikhail Shtern, a Jewish Ukrainian doctor, and Vasyl Fedorenko.

Others on Dr. Sakharov's list are: Sergei Kovaley, Mustafa Dzemelev, Semeyon Gluzman, Pyotr Ruban, Yuri Fyodorov and Mariya Semyonova. (Some Ukrainian sources report that Pyotr Ruban, who was sentenced to eight years and five more years in internal exile for having carved a wooden copy of the Statue of Liberty, is a Ukrainian. — Ed.)

Prof. Sakharov also pleaded with President Carter on behalf of religious believers, when he stated:

"Do you know the truth about the plight of religion in the USSR? The humiliating situation of those religions which are allowed by the autho-

rities, about the persecution of Baptists, of the true Orthodox Church, of Pentacostals, of Uniates [Ukrainian Catholics], and others, about the taking away of children from religious parents (Vins is the best known example), and even about murders (for example, the Baptist Biblenko).

"Terror is applied also to other groups of dissidents. During the last year we know of murders of dissidents that have not been investigated at all. The best known case is poet Konstantin Bogatyryov..."

Ukrainian Group of Kiev Is Termed "Courageous" by Moscow Committee. — The establishment of the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in Kiev was praised by the Moscow Committee to Monitor Compliance with the Helsinki Accords, according to a release of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council in New York.

The letter, dated November 12, 1976 calls the founding of the Ukrainian Committee in Kiev "an act of great courage" under the present conditions existing in Ukraine.

Signed by Moscow Committee members L. Alekseyeva, M. Landa, Yu. Orlov, A. Ginzburg, A. Sharansky and V. Slepak, the letter read:

"On November 9th the Ukrainian Committee to Monitor Compliance with the Helsinki Accords was formed, headed by well-known poet and social activist, Mykola Rudenko..."

"Regardless of the fact that formally Ukraine is a full-fledged member of the United Nations, it was not invited to talks in Helsinki; correspondents of the Western press are not stationed in its capital; nor are there any diplomatic representatives who could receive information. Attempts to send information about violations of the Final Act, which speaks of human rights, by mail yield no results since we have indications that letters of such content do not reach the addresses.

"The establishment of a Ukrainian Committee under the conditions which exist in Ukraine, is an act of great courage..."

"The Committee to Monitor Compliance with the Helsinki Accords in the USSR will aid the Ukrainian Committee in the forwarding of information to correspondents and representatives of heads of states, which signed the Final Act..."

Iryna Senyk, Vasyl Stus in Solitary Confinement. — Iryna Senyk, 52, Ukrainian political woman prisoner, and Vasyl Stus, Ukrainian poet, were placed in solitary confinement as additional punishment, according to a press release by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council.

In March, 1976, Miss Senyk was placed in solitary confinement despite her hypertonic condition. When the other female prisoners began a hunger strike in protest against her confinement, the authorities rescinded the sentence.

Vasyl Stus was also sentenced to 14 days in solitary confinement for protesting the destruction of 600 of his poems by the camp officials. In the summer of 1976, some 300 original poems by Stus were confiscated by the camp authorities. When he was transferred to Zone 19 from Zone 17 in the Mordovian concentration camps complex, the officials told him that all his poems were destroyed and that he be searched daily. Stus protested this action and was subsequently ordered to confinement for two weeks.

In his defense, Soldatov, an Estonian, and Boris Penson and Heifich, Jews, and Uskevych, a Ukrainian, staged a hunger strike.

Rudenko's Life Imperiled. — The life of Mykola Rudenko, the head of the Kiev Public Group to Monitor the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, is imperiled, according to the "Smoloskyp" Ukrainian Information Service.

The UIS reported that Rudenko, who is still suffering from a war wound in which he damaged his back, may die as a result of KGB interrogations and tortures.

As a result of the wound, Rudenko must take periodic rests to ease the pressure on his back. But the KGB according to the UIS denies Rudenko rest periods which causes excruciating pain to him and may kill him.

Rudenko, who was a major in the Red Army, served in the Leningrad siege and the third Byelorussian campaign. He was wounded during the latter operation.

The KGB interrogations are designed to force the 57-year-old Ukrainian poet into recanting his views, disavowing connection with the Kiev Helsinki group, and slandering his friends, said the UIS.

Seek Exit Visas from USSR on Basis of Economic, Political Hardships. — A grassroots movement to acquire emigration visas from the Soviet Union on the basis of economic and political hardships began surfacing in the USSR, according to the "Smoloskyp" Ukrainian Information Service, citing the Moscow Public Group to Promote Implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

Living in utter poverty, many Ukrainians and others in the Soviet Union have applied for permission to leave the country in hopes of earning a living in the West, said document No. 13 of that group.

The Moscow group cites the cases of four families, two Ukrainian and two Russian, who have made the initial steps in seeking exit visas.

"These people live in different places, but they are united by their membership in the worker's class, representatives of which according to Soviet terminology, are the ruling class," they said. "They do not belong to any national minority. Their reason for leaving the country is economic and political in nature."

The case of Ivan Mykhailovych Syvak, said the Moscow committee, is similar to most others.

He was born in 1926 and currently lives with his wife and three children in the town of Dubrova, Dolyna raion, Ivano-Frankivske oblast.

Soon after Syvak's birth, his father emigrated to Canada, where he lived until his death in 1965.

Five years later Syvak applied for an exit visa to Canada, but the officials denied it, suggesting Israel as a second choice.

Syvak agreed to it, and soon afterwards he was confined in the Ivano-Frankivske psychiatric asylum.

"For 30 years I have been living in the Soviet Union, though not really living, but existing," wrote Syvak to Leonid Brezhnev.

He said that during that time the lot of the worker hardly improved.

"I live in misery and poverty," he said. "I am barely able to make ends meet with my salary."

Referring to the Helsinki Accords, Syvak accused the Soviet government of not only failing to abide by them, but ignoring them.

Syvak and his wife Kateryna, 40, have three sons, Yaroslav, 18, Petro 17, and Ihor, 7.

Documents Nos. 11-14 by the Moscow Group also severely criticize the Soviet government for not allowing persons to emigrate for economic reasons.

"The Soviet government grossly violates these human rights in all aspects," said the Committee.

He wrote that formally the majority of those applying for exit visas are people who have families in the West. The Moscow Committee issued an appeal for help to Western governments which signed the Helsinki Accords, to professional unions, and to Socialist and Communist parties in the West.

OBITUARY: Prof. Trofim Denysovych Lysenko, the well-known Ukrainian academician and Soviet agrobiologist and geneticist, died on November 20, 1976 at the age of 78. He was a controversial geneticist during the reign of Stalin, who at first was enchanted with the Lysenko theories, and later called him a "charlatan" for his unsuccessful experiments in agriculture.

Prof. Lysenko, a member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, and a decorated "hero of socialist labor," was born on September 29, 1898 in the village of Karlivka (now a town of Karlivka in the Poltava oblast of Ukraine). After his studies, he worked at an agrobiological station in Azerbaijan, and from 1929 at the Ukrainian Institute of Genetics and Selection; from 1935 he headed the All-Union Institute of Genetics in Odessa, which was named after him.

For a number of years he was director of the Institute of Genetics at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. During the reign of Stalin, Lysenko's theories on cross-pollination of plants were extensively applied in agriculture, especially in Kazakhstan, Western Siberia and the Urals, where it was reported his methods enhanced a speed-up of ripening of wheat.

Prof. Lysenko was "elected" a number of times a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and was decorated by the Order of Lenin and other awards. Before his death Stalin repudiated Lysenko's theories. However, when Nikita Khrushchev came to power in the Kremlin, Prof. Lysenko was restored to his former prestigious status, as were his theories. However, after the fall of Khrushchev in 1964, Lysenko was released from the Institute of Genetics in 1965, the Institute was reorganized and renamed after Lenin. But Lysenko's name was not expurgated from Soviet encyclopedias and history books, where he is described as an "outstanding Soviet geneticist."

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