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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Court Justice or Political Vengeance	
<i>Editorial</i>	101
The American Universities and the Russian Problem	
<i>Clarence A. Manning</i>	108
Ukraine as the Geopolitical Basis of Russian Imperialism	
<i>Roman Smal-Stocki</i>	116
Labor Pay in USSR	
<i>Petro Pekiw</i>	123
The Kersten Amendment	
<i>Lev E. Dobriansky</i>	129
The Turko-Tatars of Idel-Ural in their Struggle for Freedom	
<i>Ajaz Ishaki Idilli</i>	136
RUSSIANS ON AMERICA:	
Archbishop Anthony Khrapovitsky on America of 1908	143
Russian Leader I. Solonevich on American Democracy	145
Present Soviet Historiography on America	
<i>Nicholas Chubaty</i>	149
The Theories and Practice of the Academician Trofym Lysenko	
<i>Ivan Bezpaliv</i>	156
How I became "Enemy of the People" and was sent to Kolyma	
<i>Petro Kolymsky</i>	165
OBITUARIES:	
Isaac Mazepa by <i>Matwiy Stachiw</i>	171
Zeno Kuzela by <i>Nicholas Chubaty</i>	174
Mykhaylo Omelanovych Pavlenko by <i>N. C.</i>	177
BOOK REVIEWS:	
Balzac, Vasiutin, Feigin. Economic Geography of the USSR	
<i>L. E. Dobriansky</i>	179
Thomas A. Bailey. America Faces Russia	
<i>Wasył Halich</i>	180
Roman Smal Stocki. The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union and Russian Imperialism	
<i>Clarence A. Manning</i>	181
Ukrainian Underground Art	
<i>Vasyl Mudry</i>	183
John S. Reshetar, Jr. The Ukrainian Revolution	
<i>N. Chubaty</i>	184
Raymond Dennet, Joseph E. Johnson. Negotiating with the Russians	
<i>J. Fedynsky</i>	186
UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS	
<i>L. E. D.</i>	188

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COURT JUSTICE OR POLITICAL VENGEANCE

Editorial

The American court in Munich, Germany, recently tried three young Ukrainian patriots, Mykola Lytvyn, Roman Gnyp and Hryhory Cypera, the last, a soldier of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The trial lasted 18 days from February 18 to March 7, 1952. The charge was a fight between these three young Ukrainians and "General" Demet Hulay. They attacked him in his quarters in the DP camp in Schleisheim, Bavaria and mishandled him. He received no serious injuries. The American district attorney characterized this beating as an act of attempted murder. On the other hand, the defendants declared that their object was only to beat up Hulay as a traitor to the Ukrainian people and a political provocateur. They asserted that Hulay had been hired with American money by the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia through its European agent and had usurped the right to represent the Ukrainians in the artificial work of the American Committee in the Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (abbreviated in Russian to SONR) which was composed of some democratic and fascist groups of Russian emigres, defenders of Russian imperialism. This "council" has been boycotted by all the Ukrainian political groups without exception.

In the beginning every one in Germany was surprised that an American court declared itself competent to decide this case among the DP's, when all the DP camps had passed under a German administration and when the attack had taken place on German territory. Apparently some one was interested in having this case tried in an American court.

At the trial all the journalists were surprised also that the case which had a definitely political background was treated by the American Judge E. Ambrose Fuller as a purely criminal affair. The judge, although the case lasted 18 days, did not admit any witnesses for the defence, not even political opponents of the defendants, who could explain the political basis of the trial and establish the motives which guided the defendants in their attack on Hulay and their real fault.

These actions of a judge who represented the justice of the American people, surprised not only the Ukrainians but also the European journalists who were interested in this essentially political case. The surprise

was the greater because all European courts make a clear difference between the ideological background of a political crime and the criminal motives of a private crime and they often, if they are convinced of the ideological motives, free the prisoner or give him a light sentence. As a matter of fact the courts of "reactionary" imperial Austria and even autocratic tsarist Russia drew such a distinction.

The reason why the American judge refused to admit defense witnesses to prove the ideological and political basis of the case was explained by the Ukrainian press in Europe as the desire of the American judge at any cost to hide from the European journalists the shameful fact that the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, now headed by Admiral Kirk, was carrying on through its agents in Europe work that was immoral from a political standpoint, for it was hiring for money dark and unknown figures to represent the nations enslaved by red Moscow in the SONR and was creating the fiction of the representation of the non-Russian peoples. Such a fictitious representative of the Ukrainians in the SONR was the attacked D. Hulay.

If Judge Fuller in carrying out in Germany American court procedure in a colonial manner feared such a compromising of the American people and wanted to hide it from the opinions of European democracy and to present the ideological Ukrainian patriots as ordinary criminals, we Americans of Ukrainian origin have the right and the obligation to make use of the free press in America and reveal to the American people this new blunder of the representatives of the American government abroad and to assert that the policy of the agents of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia and the action of Judge Fuller is not an expression of the freedom-loving America of Washington, Lincoln, and Wilson.

We think that we are thus doing good service to our country, for public opinion in Europe often connects the activity of this American Committee dominated by American Russophiles with the official representatives of America and they connect the great funds of this Committee with the American Treasury. Therefore this sad Munich trial of Ukrainian patriots, friends of America, on behalf of a traitor to Ukraine must be made known to the American people, so that the responsibility for the imprisoning of the best friends of America and supporters of its ideas beyond the iron curtain may fall upon those irresponsible people who are carrying on an action against the liberation of the peoples of the USSR with American money to the injury of the good name of America. The American people must learn who is building new enemies for America in Europe, especially in these critical days, when our country needs as many friends as possible in the whole world.

Who were the defendants? Mykola Lytvyn and Roman Gnyp are young Ukrainian patriots, emigres from the new Bolshevik-occupied Ukraine. Until 1944 they had fought against the Bolsheviks and in 1945 before the onrush of the reds, they found asylum in Western Germany. The third defendant, Hryhory Cypera, had a splendid military record. He was an active soldier of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who had left Ukraine not in 1945 but had fought in the ranks of the Ukrainian Underground against the Kremlin until 1951 and only in the autumn of 1951 had arrived in Germany by the orders of his government through Communist Poland and Czechia. This courier of the Ukrainian Underground two days after his arrival on the territory of the free democratic world was arrested by the Americans on suspicion of being involved in the attack on Hulay and put in prison.

The exact role of this active member of the Ukrainian Underground in the attack on Hulay, the court did not make clear. The fact remains that a hero who had fought successfully under the tremendous difficulties of Soviet reality for seven years for freedom of Ukraine against the MVD and the agents of the bloody Soviet system, and then for months had made his way across the territory of the communized satellites to a land of freedom where the American system prevailed, was arrested as an American criminal and sentenced to seven years at hard labor two days after he had pierced the iron curtain.

Such a person who accidentally appeared on the prisoner's bench should have inclined the American judge to investigate thoroughly the motives for the act of which the three were charged. This did not happen and the accused were regarded as criminal murderers in the American records.

Who is "General" Hulay? To give an objective evaluation of this type we will cite the description which was given of him by Mr. Zhukivsky, a contributor to the journal *Ukrainian News* (*Ukrainski Visti*) published in Ulm, Germany.¹ We must stress that the *Ukrainski Visti* is the organ of those Ukrainians who came from eastern Ukraine and have recently emigrated from the realm of Stalin to the west. The *Ukrainski Visti* is of a completely different political camp from that of the prisoners. This is the way in which it characterizes "General" Hulay. "Where did this amusing "General" of whom no one had ever heard, appear from? The secret of the whole case lies in the fact that this renegade was called into prominence solely to create a diversion among the Ukrainians. He came from non-existence, thanks to the action of the representative of an American "private" committee, Mr. Don Levine. Don Levine made him

¹ *Ukrainski Visti*, March 23, 1952, No. 25.

prominent in a shameful manner, which produced a great storm among all Ukrainians against the workers for the American Committee.

"We must only make it clear: beginning with 1918 and until the present time in Ukraine and among the entire emigration, including the new and the newest, there has been no movement or party which had stood for the inclusion of Ukraine in the body of Russia, that is for federation. On the other hand, all Ukrainians without the slightest exception until the arrival of Don Levine in Germany produced no group which stood for federation with Russia. It is characteristic that the very atmosphere of Ukrainian-Russian relations in the emigration was quite peaceful and tolerant. The Russians had long since conceded that they could not secure a single Ukrainian for their imperialistic attempts and we might say, they were even satisfied.

"The Ukrainians, especially the new emigres, even in the hardest times of the repatriation in 1945-6, formed their parties and organizations all of which without exception adopted an independent position. More than that they formed their own papers, which are still developing successfully and have done a great deal of anti-Bolshevik work. During this time with all possibilities, there appeared no organization or newspaper of partisans who desired a union of Ukraine and Russia. They did not form a party of federalists, they did not adopt those press organs, they did not show their face or program. They did not found such a party because among the Ukrainians there was no demand for it. It was necessary for Don Levine to come from New York with a great purse from "private" circles to produce in a single night 6 federalist parties of a dozen people taken together, headed by a white guard lieutenant, who had formerly fought in foreign armies against Ukraine. Is not this comedy a measure that goes beyond the usual provocation?

"These hirelings of Don Levine have the impertinence to howl that Ukraine never fought for its independence, that it wanted no self-determination in 1918 and that the millions of sacrifices of Ukrainian soldiers for the sovereignty of Ukraine in the struggle with the Bolsheviks for 34 years were absolutely nothing.

"It interests us how an American judge would react, if some American citizen or some Don Levine should come from another country and dare to insult the honor of the American soldiers who had laid down their lives in the army of Washington for the freedom of America? What would he do to the offender for such an insult to the honor of the American soldiers?

When it is a question of the morality or immorality of the act of three young men against a Don Levine "General", the immorality of the act has been caused by the Don Levine and others of their ilk.

"Someone is consciously trying to plant among Ukrainians an artificial political movement, to produce a clash between the camp of liberation and an artificially created camp of renegades and foreign adventurers—in other words, to implant the bacillus of criminal hostility between Ukrainians and Russians in the emigration as at home in the country.

"The entire action of the agents of the American Committee was burdened with an inept policy, through which they—and only they—are responsible for the action at Schleisheim."

This is the true political background of the attacked "General" Hulay, the creature of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia as painted by the Ukrainian press in Europe. Hulay is a Ukrainian Benedict Arnold, who places a stick in the wheel of the Ukrainian movement for liberation, which is now in active struggle against red Moscow and Moscow of any other color. What would the American revolutionists have done with traitors to their cause? What would any people do who were struggling for liberty under such conditions? History teaches too well.

It is natural that we, like the *Ukrainski Visti*, condemn every individual act of terror on the territory of a free country as western Germany now is. But in condemning the young years of the youthful attackers without considering whether there was the intention to beat up Hulay or to liquidate him physically, we cannot close our eyes to the noble motives of these people and the paradox that one had come directly from the fight against red Moscow to land in an American prison by order of a judge, who sprang to the defense of imperialistic Moscow.

The Munich case before an American judge has its own special curiosity which surprise any American jurist. The American district attorney Wolfgang Bauer who prosecuted the three Ukrainians for their attack on Hulay, asked a lesser punishment or five years of prison for the defendants. Judge Ambrose Fuller went further than the prosecutor and sentenced them to seven years in prison. This is a rare performance in democratic jurisprudence and this too, in a political case.

The Munich trial and its draconian sentences not only evoked an outcry among all the Ukrainians scattered throughout the world, but it found a response in the public opinion of Western Europe to the great harm of America. One of the examples of protest came from the *Scottish League for European Freedom* in Edinburgh which under the presidency of the Earl of Mansfield and Chairman John E. Stewart, sent a protest to Mr. McCloy the American High Commissioner in Germany and Dr. Adenauer the German chancellor.

The protest of the Scottish League for European Freedom is so characteristic that we quote it in full:

The United States High Commissioner
For West Germany, Berlin, Germany.

28. March 1952

Dear Sir!

The following matter has come to our notice and we beg your personal intervention.

In the Camp Schleisheim, a Ukrainian named Gulay, who is considered a renegade by the Ukrainian nation which has been fighting for its freedom so long, a freedom which America, among other peoples, professes to wish to see all nationalities possess, was assaulted by two other exasperated Ukrainians, Mykola Lytvyn and Roman Gnypp. Hulaay was definitely working in the interests of Russians and against his own people. It was obviously a case of common assault and possibly breach of the peace; such cases are common enough, and here in Edinburgh would have been dealt with by something like a fine of ten shillings or seven days imprisonment. The assault took place on 15. November 1951, and the trial of the accused, instead of being summary, did not begin till 18. February 1952, surely in itself a miscarriage of justice, intensified by its lasting three weeks! Judge Fuller and Prosecutor Bauer were both Americans. In the result the amazing savage sentence of seven years imprisonment was passed. *It is impossible not to believe that it was not justice that was dealt, but political vengeance.*

We wish to protest against this grievous miscarriage of justice first, on the ground that it was not a matter for American intervention but was within the jurisdiction of the West German Government and should have been dealt with under German law.

Our second ground of protest is the savagery of the sentence and the bias which was plainly shown by the Court. We understand that witnesses for the defence were available but that the Court would not hear them, and so the accused were prejudiced in their defence. We claim that the sentences should be quashed. We make this claim on the ground of simple justice to two individuals. But the incident may have repercussions beyond the capacity of the minds of the Judge and Prosecutor to grasp. It must arouse bitter feelings against the Americans among Ukrainians generally, and, without the help of the Ukrainians and the other nations in the U.S.S.R. who are not Russian, even the United States will not succeed in any future struggle with Moscow, no matter whether they have bigger and better atomic and other horrible bombs than the Russians, which we question.

There is an even more unpleasant feature in connection with this trial. It may not be known to yourself that the Ukrainian nation, through its Underground Insurgent Army and obviously with the support of the

whole people, including both men and women, has been, and is now fighting Red Russia; the insurgent Army is known as U.P.A. At stated times a number of Ukrainians leave Ukraine in secret to bring us intelligence from behind the Iron Curtain and go back with medicines, etc. Most are probably shot and if one in twenty gets through, in danger of torture and death at every step, it is as much as we expect.

Another Ukrainian, a soldier of the U.P.A., had just arrived from the Underground two days when he was also arrested in connection with this assault, with which he had nothing to do, but he was not allowed to produce witnesses for his defence; he was also sentenced to seven years imprisonment. This U.P.A. soldier, Hryhory Cypera, instead of being congratulated on the success of his daring, was actually told by Judge Fuller that, while he had had a long walk coming to Germany from the Underground, he would now have a long rest. It is difficult to imagine anything more brutal and callous, and the feelings of the fighting Ukrainians when they learn it, as they will, may be imagined.

With all the emphasis at our command, we ask that you will personally investigate the sentences, not on the grounds of political expediency, but of simple justice.

Yours faithfully,
John F. Stewart, *Chairman.*

There is not much to add to this protest of the Scottish League for European Freedom to make it clear how the freedom-loving world looks at this Munich sentence of an American judge and what a great injury the dilettante work of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia has done to America. Without a knowledge of the national problems of the Soviet Union and relying upon the information of American Russophiles, it has acted unfortunately to solve the extraordinarily involved problem of the USSR, the nationality problem.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee has also lodged a protest with the American authorities against the Munich "mistrial" and has taken steps to have the verdict annulled by an appeal so that the Ukrainian patriots may receive a "fair trial" before another American court.

We believe that the draconian sentence of Judge Fuller will be quashed. We believe the personal evil done to the prisoners will be corrected. But who will succeed in restoring the good name of America among the Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians throughout the world? What work will be necessary for America to win back the sympathies and confidence among the peoples enslaved by Russia which has been lost by the work of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia and Judge E. Ambrose Fuller?

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND THE RUSSIAN PROBLEM

By CLARENCE A. MANNING

The Ukrainian professors who have come to the United States as displaced persons have in many cases been sorely disillusioned. They had expected that they would find the American universities eager to utilize their talents, alert to the menace that was offered by Russian chauvinism of both the white and red varieties, and instead they have found many of the best posts filled with more or less competent Russian chauvinists who seemed to have the ear of the university authorities and of the great foundations. They have seen the influence of these men in government circles and the great hesitation of Washington to take any aggressive action toward the restoration of liberty to the people in the great prison of nations behind the iron curtain.

It is only natural that they should see after their own experiences a great conspiracy existing in this country and that they should be eager to plunge in and to expose it and they can find abundant Americans to support them in their efforts.

All this is too simple an explanation. The present situation, deplorable and unsatisfactory as it is, has grown up from a long series of causes which have in their origin little to do with the accusations and charges that are bandied about so easily. The cause lies deep in the history of Slavic studies in the United States. It lies deep in the history of the various waves of Slavic immigration to the United States and Canada and it is also vitally connected with the entire fabric of American education and government.

To-day there are millions of people of Slavic descent in the United States and they are in the second and third generation and coming to assume prominent posts in government, education and the professions, not to speak of business and manufacture. It was not always thus and with few exceptions the first wave of educated Russians arrived in 1917-8, of Polish professors in 1939, and of the other Slavs and especially the Ukrainians after World War II. In each case the number of persons familiar with English was small and the influence of the professors of Slavic was and is painfully similar to that of the professors of English in the Slavic universities before 1939 or 1914. That situation must never be overlooked and it explains why it is in the institutions connected with

the Roman Catholic Church that we find the most awareness of the Slavic problem as a whole in its opposition to Russian aggressive ideas as well as to Communism.

It is sad but true that the introduction of Slavic studies was carried on in the beginning without any knowledge of any Slavic language. It was the works of Russian literature largely translated from French or German that introduced the Americans to Slavic literature and the most important non-Russian book that appeared was *Quo Vadis* of Sienkiewicz, which was translated directly from Polish. With few exceptions the first appearance of the Slavs in courses in history was based on material in French and German and dealt more with Russia and the Eastern Question than with the internal relations of the Slavs.

The first professors who were able to use a Slavic language were either Russian or educated in the tradition of St. Peterburg and at the very end of the nineteenth century the Slavic departments of Harvard and California were set up with Russian as the dominant language. In the middle west where there were large colonies of Slavs, some of the state universities began to introduce courses for that group that was predominant and some of the institutions under religious control attempted to follow suit. Yet all this was still an exotic growth and up to 1914, there were few men who could hope to receive a full time position in Slavic at the beginning of their careers. That was even true in connection with the establishment of the Department at Columbia University during World War I, for Prof. Prince continued his work in Assyriology for many years and relied upon the part-time employment of Slavic editors and clergy to try to foster work in their respective languages.

Almost without exception those men who had received any university recognition were closely connected with the Russian school of thought either through their friendship with the more conservative or the more radical parties. They were familiar with the Russian social revolution but not with national revolutions and the national problems of the non-Russians and the majority like Prof. Samuel Harper of Chicago worked very closely with the group that was later to become the London School of Slavonic and East European Studies. Those who were not of this group, while they were earnest and sincere, scarcely numbered any who before or after had even made a bid to influence American public opinion.

During World War I, the American attitude toward the Russian revolution and the nations that were struggling to regain their independence was full of strange contradictions. Men like Thomas G. Masaryk, Ignace Paderewski, and Prof. Michael I. Pupin swayed the administration and public opinion toward the Poles, Czechoslovaks and Serbs. Some Scandinavian influences awoke sympathy for Finland and the Ar-

menian massacres aroused a regard for that unfortunate people. Yet with these exceptions, high authorities in Washington knew little of the situation. The conservative part of the population backed the Russian whites, the moderately progressive thought only in terms of the Kerensky regime, and a surprisingly large number of sincere reformers and social workers, attracted by the tears of Lenin over the fate of the Irish, saw in the Bolshevik pronouncements the hope of humanity and paid little attention to the crimes of Lenin and Co. The downfall of tsarism overshadowed all other considerations and the same advisers who had acted on the inspirational ideas of President Wilson to liberate the peoples of Austria-Hungary were unaware of the composite nature of the population of the old Russian Empire. They grasped at the idea that all attempts at independence were inspired by Germany and could see no other way of aiding the Russian people than by recognizing the unity of Russia. It was not without significance that the three Baltic republics were only recognized after the accession of President Harding.

The outstanding young scholars of the twenties were the men who had passed under the influence of President Wilson and his ideas for the League of Nations. They began to study Russian but unfortunately relatively few came under the influence of any but the Russian school, which was bolstered by the arrival of new professors from among the Russian emigres. The influence of such men as Prof. Rostovtsev served as a powerful stimulus and helped to confirm the idea of the superior Russian knowledge of Asiatic problems.

At the same time the other Slavic groups in the United States were beginning to find themselves and to become aware of their own potentialities. Their efforts were aimed unfortunately rather toward the foundation of their own colleges and institutions than in giving support to the already established institutions. During the years of prosperity it is doubtful if all the Slavic groups together contributed even \$10,000 for the establishment and support of Slavic work in the large universities. They rarely gave money for the purchase of books in university libraries. Far too often they spent their time in criticizing everything that was being undertaken in good faith and it was not until the period of the depression that there were any signs that the constant efforts to effect an understanding were going to bear fruit in any fields.

This was not a special characteristic of the Slavs. It was true of all of the groups of recent immigrants into the United States and it represented the last efforts of the older leaders who had done great service to their people in their younger days to maintain that spirit of unity among them which had built up their great fraternal organizations and to fit the immigrants, if only provisionally, for a life in the New World. It was in

its way a counterpart to the spirit of isolationism which was then dominant in American public opinion.

It had its effect on the student body as a whole. Language and cultural courses in any foreign language drew a surprisingly small number of students. The number of students of Russian could almost be counted on one hand but they did represent a fair cross section of the university population. In the case of the other languages the courses were at best only attended by the more progressive members of the group who desired further knowledge of their ancestral language and years went by when there was not at Columbia in Polish or Czech courses a single student not of that national origin. History courses were little better attended and any attempt to treat in detail Slavic problems as a whole ran up against this tremendous barrier of indifference.

That indifference far surpassed the indifference of the university faculties and trustees. Again and again these sought ways and means for arranging for distinguished scholars to come to America for longer or shorter terms but usually in vain, and if they came, the experience was hardly profitable. To cite but one example,—when in 1931 President Butler endeavored to secure a professor from the Charles University, the entire enterprise, owing to the lack of knowledge (so it was said) bogged down in a conflict between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Education in Prague. This was no unusual situation and appeals for intelligent support from the foreign governments, from the groups in the United States and from all sources proved equally futile.

Yet this was the period when a considerable part of the college and university students were being attracted to Bolshevik influences which they neither understood nor cared to understand. Vague platitudes as to the ideals of Bolshevism and the successes of socialist construction retailed by facile, if not venal, journalists in Moscow, seemed to be the last word in international relations and no Ukrainian can forget that William Henry Chamberlin was the only journalist on the staff of a great paper that endeavored to report the truth of the Ukrainian famine. It was the bright young men reared on this nebulous misinformation that were later to cover themselves with infamy as conscious and unconscious servants of Communism for the betrayal of their own countries, while some of the older and supposedly more serious students scrapped their own views which they had expounded for more than a decade, as they saw the re-emergence of Muscovite imperialism from behind the mask of international communism.

It is not too much to say that if there had been built up in the twenties and thirties even a small group of distinguished European scholars who could speak with authority on cultural questions, many of the later dif-

faculties would have been avoided. There would not have arisen the storm of questioning as to the sincerity, honesty and ability of each new arrival in this country.

The fault went still deeper into the entire field of organization. Some of the smaller enthusiasts had attempted after World War I to establish the American Society for the Advancement of Slavonic Study. Their publications would not have been approved by any gymnasium student in the Slav world and their pronouncements only tended to bring Slavic scholarship into ridicule. It was not long before they found themselves unable to meet at any prominent university and it was at the end of that period that the Slavic group was founded in the Modern Language Association of America and that sections on Slavic subjects appeared in the American Historical Association. The results were often discouraging. The centres of Slavic scholarship were widely separated and there were far too many personal clashes between the members. Still these differences were being ironed out and for some years all went more and more smoothly.

The recognition of the Soviets by the United States had less effect than might be thought. It did not result in any marked increase of students. The Communists were already adopting a more and more rigid policy of non-intercourse with the outside world and their supporters in the student body had no desire to study seriously.

The arrival of various Slavic scholars as the result of the Nazi attacks on neighboring lands served as a new reinforcement to Slavic studies. Conditions were on the whole quite favorable for them. The outbreak of World War II and the Hitler-Stalin Pact which encouraged some university authorities to adopt a "neutral" attitude in the war, still did not hamper progress in the beginning. Many were ultimately absorbed in the university system, even with many grumbles from various sources.

It was the wave of Soviet enthusiasm that followed the attack of Hitler upon Stalin that let loose the storms that were to rage for the next years. As in 1918 the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, it offered a convenient rallying point for the crypto-communists and the adherents of Russian monolithic Russia. It had been preceded by increasing charges of fascism cooked up by the friends of the Communists and it swept the American people into reading and accepting entirely false notions of Russian Communist virtue. It was the period when the big lie began to take effect. It revived the spirits of the waverers and set in motion the train of events that still seems to dominate the scene.

As in 1917 the forces that through ignorance or ill will sought to weaken everything in the path of Holy Red Russia took advantage of their opportunity and twenty years of relative inaction gave them their chance.

Now well-known figures hurried to get on the Communist band wagon. There were frantic demands for people who would cooperate in the building of Soviet-Russian-American friendship and the voices of the more reasonable were disregarded. It was the heyday for the Russian point of view. Opposition to Soviet Russian plans was regarded as fascism. Propaganda took the place of scholarship and any article that might be regarded as opposition to Stalinism was treated as open aid to Germany and Japan. It gave representatives of various foundations who had been entertained in Moscow opportunity to advance their plans and to carry them out without having them submitted to close scrutiny. It brought about all the results with which we are so painfully familiar and which reacted so bitterly upon those persons who had escaped from the holocaust. It led to fantastic dreams and to highly improper actions on the part of persons who should have known better.

The very extremes which were reached could not fail to produce a reaction. In the political sphere it has raised questions that have not been raised for centuries. In the literary sphere it has brought into the limelight a group of ex-Communists who have had the courage and the moral stamina to confess their own former errors. In the intellectual sphere it has made it possible to speak frankly of things that could not have been mentioned previously.

For the first time in decades the aggressive exponents of Soviet Russian imperialism have really been roused to action, but that is more of an active defence than the calm certainty of a steam roller moving forward and sure of ultimate victory.

To-day there is a wider opportunity for the expression of a counter-opinion than ever before; there is a new realization of the meaning of Slavic history and philology. It may seem still unsatisfactory to men who have just emerged from the very centre of the actual hostilities but the danger now is quite the opposite. It is that the American intellectual and scholarly world may turn against all consideration of the question and wash its hands in disgust. The study of German has still never recovered from the performances of the German apologists on the eve of World War I and it is sincerely to be hoped that it may not happen in Slavic studies.

The last years have witnessed an unprecedented number of appointments to various posts. Some of these are doubtless bad; some are indifferent; some are good. It is not sufficient to hold that all those who have received their degrees at the height of the infatuation with the Soviet Union will be unable to readjust their minds to an appreciation of scholarship as it should be. It is not sufficient to work for the setting up of new and more bitter societies of protest against all that is being done.

The United States is slowly but surely acquiring the mood that it should have had thirty five years ago, when the Russian empire fell to pieces. There was then positively no ground work that had been laid. There was no foundation, no possibility for exerting any influence upon the state of mind of the population and upon public opinion. There was inspiration but no knowledge. To-day despite all the surface difficulties, the developments since the war have brought to the consciousness of the people conceptions that they have never had. It is possible to-day as it was not possible in 1918, to secure publicity concerning a Ukrainian meeting in the pages of a newspaper as something approaching normal. Despite the unofficial censorship exercised by the Communists and their conservative Russian sympathizers in the trade, books are appearing on the peoples oppressed by Russia.

Now is the time not to become excited—not to make the mistake of the armament of Prince Ihor, when they were so sure of victory that they left their ranks nor is it the time for despair. There is needed to-day a steady reassertion of the truths of history, a thorough understanding put in an intelligible form of the relations of the Slavic peoples throughout their history and a systematic understanding of the way in which they can fit into a world of the future. It is still not a glamorous task. It will be long and hard and steady effort that will be needed before the bulk of the scholars who have been trained in the Russian school finally are brought to see the basic mistakes in their thinking.

This cannot be brought about by political controversy in the universities and scientific societies. In view of the rules and practices of the American institutions as to academic tenure, it will require some more definite proof than statements of scientific incompetence in theory to oust most of the more objectionable persons. They will definitely have to be connected with unlawful activity or continued agitation will merely hit every one by reducing the demand for scholars because of a diminishing number of students which will inevitably follow the period of rapid advance of the last years.

On the other hand the work of non-Russian Slavic groups in exposing constantly to the public, to the press, to Congress the continued crimes and errors of the Soviet Russians will advance the moment of success with ever increasing speed. To any one familiar with the situation even in the forties and the late thirties, the change in the mode of thinking is enormous. Public attention is being concentrated and directed and it is to this work that the public services of scholars can be most useful.

Yet even this success does not and cannot touch the main problem which confronts the United States to-day—the future of the distinguished

scholars who have recently arrived in this country. This presents a formidable dilemma which has still been insufficiently recognized. The United States needs their services and their ability; it needs the help that they can give to students and to the American people as whole. That is a subject that deserves far more consideration and action than it has received.

Any review of the history of Slavic studies in the United States either of content or of personnel must reveal a confused and unsatisfactory picture. On the whole it is optimistic. From the scanty and disconnected situation that existed before World War I to the present situation is a long step and it is more than gratifying that the Slavic scholars almost without exception have been able to remain apart from the wave of Communist influences that have at various times swept the country. It is a guide to the future.

The future development of Slavic studies in the United States needs as in the past teachers, students, and money and the last means public interest. All three must remain under the system of both state and endowed universities in some kind of relationship and if that can be maintained there is no reason in the present picture to be discouraged or to cast away for untried paths the process of developing these studies through the same means that have been effective in raising other sections of the American universities to their present level.

HAPPY BY INFORMATION

A foreign correspondent in Warsaw was interviewing one of its citizens.

"Do you like the regime" — he asked.

"Why, certainly, I am the happiest person in the world. I have a spacious apartment, my own bathroom, as much electricity and gas as I want, and a radio all my own."

"Do you heally have a radio"? — asked the journalist.

"Of course; how else would I know that I have all the other things and am the happiest person in the world?"

UKRAINE AS THE GEOPOLITICAL BASIS OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

By ROMAN SMAL-STOCKI

Marquette University

(Maps by M. Kulycky)

It is still not recognized that Ukraine is the paramount geopolitical problem of European politics. This country has been, and still is, the basis of all the actions and imperialistic concepts of Soviet Moscow in Europe, but her geopolitical importance extends into the Asiatic Middle East as well and consequently influences Asiatic politics also.



№ 1. Central location of Ukraine

What is the geopolitical importance of Ukraine as an ethnographic territory in Europe? The domination of the Ukraine by Soviet Moscow opened, and is still opening to Russian imperialism, the way to Western Europe: Poland, the Baltic States, and Germany; to Southeast Europe: to the Danubian basin and the Adriatic Sea; and finally to the Black Sea, to the Caucasus and to the "Gate of Peoples," between the Caspian Sea and the Urals, into Asia. Hence, Ukraine is a unique, geopolitical junction of "power-lines" in Europe, and forms a springboard for Soviet Moscow's interior strategic lines in all directions. Consequently, all "power and pressure directions" of Russian imperialism are based on this geopolitical location of Ukraine (cf. map 1).

The geopolitical importance of this country is multiplied by its importance to world-economy.¹ With an area larger than that of France, Ukraine, in 1940, was second only to the United States in the mining of iron ore, and produced double the output of France, Europe's leading contender. Ukraine's furnaces smelted more pig-iron than England and twice as much as France, and were surpassed only by the United States and Germany. In steel production Ukraine ranked fourth, far ahead of France and Japan. The same is true of coal mining. Ukraine produced from one-half to three-fifths of the total Soviet output in each of the products mentioned, as well as of aluminum. Besides, Ukraine is the "bread basket of Europe," famous for its grain and livestock; only Germany produced more potatoes. Ukraine is the world's largest producer of beet-sugar and grows three-quarters of the Soviet Union's supply. Thus, it was only the domination of this wealth by Russian Communism that made it possible for Soviet Moscow to become the "arsenal of world revolution."

Let us now survey the successive changes in the geopolitical configuration of Eastern Europe since World War I, and determine how the fate of Ukraine influenced European politics.

After World War I, the old Russian Empire dissolved and from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea the formation of a barrier of buffer states began, consisting of Finland, the Baltic States, Byelo-Ruthenia and Ukraine, including also the Don and Kuban Cossack States, and the Caucasian States (Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, North-Caucasia). This "barrier" would have not only freed Europe from the Russian imperialistic menace but would have contributed all its economic resources to the free market of the free nations (Cf. map 2). The stabilization of this barrier

¹ R. Smal-Stocki, "The Importance of Ukraine to World Economy," *Ukrainian Bulletin*, Sept. 1, 1949, Vol. II, No. 17. Cf. also William Mandel, *A Guide to the Soviet Union*, 1946, chapter "The Ukraine is a World Power," p. 29-39.

would not only have ensured a speedy recovery and a prosperity for the European economy, but surely would have also contributed to a consolidation of the European states into an economic whole under the auspices of the League of Nations.

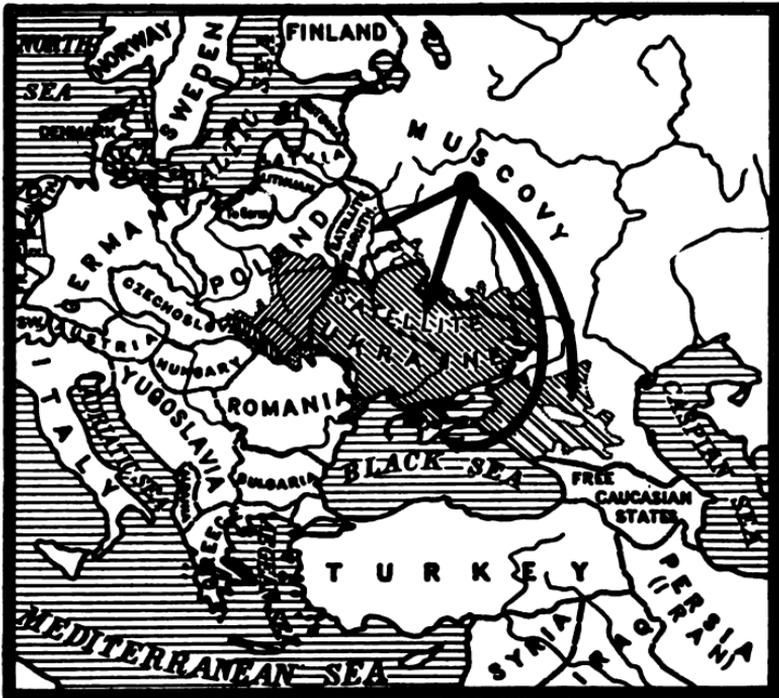


№ 2. Ukraine as the centre of the new nations of Eastern Europe 1918-1920.

But the European powers and the United States had other plans, under the influence of the white-Russian generals and other Russian emigre leaders. . . Among those nations the United States was primarily responsible for the annexation of Ukraine by Red Russia. The United States blocked, by means of a special diplomatic note, the entrance of the Ukrainian Democratic Government into the League of Nations, and limited Wilson's right of self-determination to Finland, Poland and Armenia.²

² Cf. "Societe de Nations. Demande d'admission dans la Societe des Nations de la Republique Ukrainienne." Wemorandum du Secretaire General, 1920, Geneva.

Soviet Moscow was conscious of the geopolitical value of Ukraine for the advance of "world revolution," a euphemistic term for the old Russian policy of imperialism. The geopolitical school of the Russian "Eurasians" also particularly stressed the importance of Ukraine in the twenties. This doctrine developed under the influence of the rising German "geopolitik" and became the criterion for all the subsequent actions of Soviet Moscow. Thus started the struggle between Ukraine, deprived of any war material and moral support by the West and their American ally, and Moscow—a struggle the stages of which may serve as an example of geopolitical methods in imperialistic expansion.



№ 3. Satellite Ukraine separated from the free World.

Making satellites of Ukraine and Byelo-Ruthenia (Cf. map 3) was the first stage. During the years 1920 to 1922, these countries had the status of the present-day Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and East-Germany; at the same time Soviet Moscow executed some extremely important geopolitical operations: she embraced Ukraine from the east through the Kuban Cossack territory, separated Ukraine from the

rebellious Caucasus and jumped over to Crimea, isolating it from Ukraine by its immediate incorporation into Soviet Russia. The terms of the German *geopolitik* for these operations are: *Durchstossung*, the break through of the common Ukrainian-Cossack-Caucasian front against Moscow; simultaneously a *Flankenstoss*, a flank-attack against Ukraine; an *Abteilung*, the separation from the Black Sea and an *Umfassung*, a flank-emburse of Ukraine executed by Soviet Moscow from Crimea and the satellite Byelo-Ruthenia. Crimea became, from the geopolitical point of view, Moscow's most important imperialistic *Stuetzpunkt*, blocking Ukraine from any eventual support from the Black Sea and controlling, as a Muscovite bastion, the mouth of the Dnieper, the backbone of Ukraine.

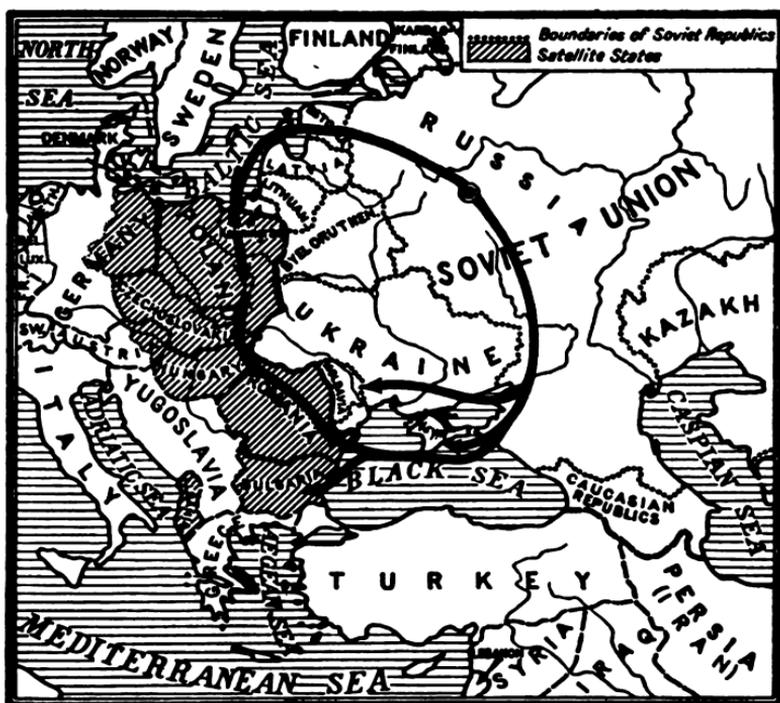


№ 4. Reoccupied Ukraine as the springboard of Russian aggression.

Thus in this first stage of the fight Moscow managed with the connivance of the West and the United States, to gain a hold over the bulk of the Ukrainian territory. But her victory over Ukraine was not complete: Western Ukraine under Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania constituted a Piedmont in the relatively free world. As long as the Ukrainian

ethnographic territories of these states were outside Soviet Moscow's domination, Moscow could not sleep quietly because the enslavement of Ukraine could be put on the agenda of European politics at any time, together with the whole nationality problem boiling in still rebellious Eastern Europe.

Consequently, the second stage of the fight against Ukraine was her incorporation, by Soviet Moscow, into the newly created Soviet Union after 1922-1924. Soviet Moscow for the "enlargement of the embrace" of the endangered southern flank of Ukraine established a second bastion, the autonomous Moldavian Republic, which was completely subservient. (Cf. map 4, the hatched lines in Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia indicate the Western Ukrainian territory.)



№ 5. Ukraine in Moscow's possession and the new Western Satellites.

The third and final stage of the fight of Moscow for the possession of Ukraine and the securing of this possession was completed by Russian imperialist Communism with the approval and help of the Western democracies and the United States after World War II. The real reason

for the Stalin-Hitler pact was the urgent necessity of enslaving the Western Ukraine (Eastern Galicia, Volynia, Bukovina) under Poland and Rumania in order to liquidate the Ukrainian Piedmont which endangered Moscow's possession and exploitation of Ukraine. After Hitler's attack against Soviet Moscow and Stalin's liaison with the Allies, Soviet Moscow systematically pursued as its chief war aim in Europe: (a) the final enslavement of the whole Western Ukrainian ethnographic territory, also including the Carpathian Ukraine from Czechoslovakia. (b) the securing of the Ukrainian geopolitical and economic basis of Russian imperialism by creating a barrier separating it from W. Europe, thus making any intervention geographically impossible. These were the actual reasons for the subjugation of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, as well as for Soviet Moscow's demand for a base in the Turkish Straits after the war. At last the ring around Ukraine was closed: she was completely embraced, like a gem in a setting (Cf. map 5).

In summarizing our thesis we declare that Soviet Moscow's real aim in World War II was:

(a) the final incorporation of the whole Ukrainian ethnographic territory in order to secure possession and undisturbed exploitation of this vital area for the Communist world revolution. Churchill and Roosevelt magnanimously contributed to the realization of this aim by denying the right of self-determination, as defined by the Atlantic Charter, to the Western Ukrainians;

(b) the separation of the Ukrainian base of Russian imperialism by a barrier of satellites from Europe, thus surrounding Ukraine completely in order to get full "security" for the Russian geopolitical springboard and undisturbed exploitation of the Ukrainian economic war potential;

(c) the suppression of Ukraine, as the natural leader in the fight for democracy, of all oppressed non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, by Stalin, who, with the help of the western statesmen, splendidly realized his objective—but who just as splendidly demonstrated that Ukraine and the Eastern European nationality problem are the Achilles' heels of Russian Communist Imperialism.

Examining these facts in the background of the present tragic world situation, all Americans can grasp that the neglect by American foreign politics of Ukraine and China, both of which were the leaders of the national democratic revolution against the Russian Communist Imperialism in Europe and Asia, led not only the USA but the whole world to the Korean abyss.

LABOR PAY IN USSR

by PETER PEKIV

In accordance with the Code of Labor Laws of December 2, 1922 the labor contract is an agreement of a workman with an employer whereby the former gives his service to the latter for a recompense. This recompense is called in the USSR labor pay (*zarobitna platnya*, shortened to *zarplatnya*). It would seem that in a socialistic state, where in the words of the Communists, "there can be no place for the exploitation of the workers, for there are no capitalists," the position of the workers as regards their earnings must be marvelous. In return for his labor, the workman is bound to receive its full value, and on this depends the existence of the worker and his family and their entire well-being. The labor pay is the sole source of income. It can give either economic independence to the worker or pauperism. What then have the workers received in the USSR in regard to their pay, now that they have built socialism as the "first step toward communism" under the leadership of the Communist Party. A consideration of the question of the labor pay in the USSR is closely connected with the system (form) of payment for work, with the norms of production and the hours of work. In a socialistic country, where "everything is for the workers" and "the workers are the masters of enterprises" there cannot be usually any extra pay for extra work, which is condemned by socialists of all types and classes, as "exploitation which causes premature exhaustion of the organism of the worker, enfeeblement of his health and the shortening of his life."

The great teacher of Communism and the unsurpassed authority for Communists, Karl Marx, thus speaks of the piecework system: "It is the greatest source of the lowering of the labor pay and of capitalistic rascality" (K. Marx, *Das Kapital*, Vol. I, p. 431). In a socialistic state there cannot be usually those high norms of production which are based on the work of the most persevering, talented and strongest worker which finds its place in the system of the well-known Taylor. Lenin called the Taylor system "a scientific system for the forcing of sweat." The hours of work under socialism are limited to eight hours, for a longer period of work exhausts the organism of the worker. The Communists assert that if intensification passes certain limits, the following rest will not renew the strength of the worker.

How does the situation exist in reality in the country of socialism, the USSR? As regards labor pay, Stalin has said: "Labor pay under socialism has been changed from an instrument of capitalism to an instrument of socialism." What is the system (form) of this instrument? It appears that it is the same old piecework system against which the Labor Code of December 2, 1922 does not speak out. This system can be individual or for a group (by accord). Yet its nature as piecework payment does not change. Lenin, the leader of the Communists, found no objection to the introduction of this system into the USSR, for in the spring of 1918 he introduced it (thinking evidently that there was no reason to be hypocritical, since in 1917 the government had been seized by the Communists). The system of piecework was introduced into all forms of production in the USSR, (wherever it was possible to apply it).

"Socialism is being built on labor" — said Stalin (Stalin, *Questions of Leninism*, XIth ed. p. 418). We know that everything is being built on labor. But we can hardly fail to be surprised that socialism is being built on labor, which is paid under the piecework system, which is one of "exploitation," "harmful for the workman," "the source of capitalistic rascality" and in a state where the government is "in the hands of the workers" and there can be "no exploitation of labor." To broaden the application of piecework payments in industry the professional unions were invoked. These, forgetting their former task "of caring for the workman" by the aid of collective agreements, began to introduce and solidify the piecework system. It was the easier to do this, because it was not necessary to consult the wishes of the workers, for the collective agreement was signed by the union, as the representative of the workers, according to the law (Code of 2. 12. 1922). By the combined efforts of the unions and the government the piecework system became obligatory for the workers.

Let us now look at its application in the USSR a little more carefully. The formula of the piecework system (in simplified form) can be expressed as follows:

$$Z = \frac{T}{N} \cdot K \cdot V \quad \text{where}$$

Z — Labor pay of the worker, which he received under the piecework system.

T — Scheduled payment per hour on the calculation of qualification.

N — Norm of hourly production (quantity of production).

K — Amount of hourly production — in reality.

V — Number of hours of work.

As we see from this formula, the division of T by N gives the value of the unit of production.

Being sufficiently trained in arithmetic, the Communists tried to decrease the numerator of the fraction and increase the denominator. This reduced the fraction and with it the value of the unit of production.

The scheduled pay per hour was rendered insignificant, and the norm of production was raised. While the scheduled payment per hour (T) was increased at times, yet the norm (N) of hourly production also rose (was increased). As a result the value of the unit of production was constantly lowered. The norms of production (N) were changed several times but always upward. According to the data of Lokshin (Lokshin, *B. S. E. USSR* p. 1092) in 1950 the total production in the USSR was six times greater than it was in 1925. How was this achieved? First of all, the worker to make the absolute minimum of pay was compelled to increase his hourly production (K). Then the Communists, borrowing from the Taylor system the means of setting high norms, kept raising them, counting upon the labor of the strongest, most skillful and capable workers. These norms the Communists applied to production through the "enthusiasm" of special workers or brigades, by creating the so-called *udarniki* (shock workers), "*socialist competition*" and "*Stakhanovism*." This latter term was taken from the name of the miner Stakhanov, who produced in one shift 14 norms — with the assistance of a specially well prepared place for work, the help of a special group of the best workmen as assistants and the most modern equipment and because of his own exceptional skill. By taking the average between the old norm and the new exceptional one, the Bolsheviks made the new norms work. Because every field had its own Stakhanovs, the norms of production increased at a fabulous ratio. At once the value of the products was reduced. The raising of the norms of actual production per hour, although the workman worked with greater strain, did not give him more pay (Z). Then to raise the pay, he had to increase the number of hours of labor in a shift (V). The labor day of 8 hours a shift was lengthened. According to the Code of 2. 12. 1922, the professional unions had the right to permit overtime work and they did this willingly. Under the slogan of "storming the plan of production" and of "enthusiasm" overscheduled work was often carried on. It was barely possible to count too much on enthusiasm in time but there was applied a system of premiums for piece work with an increased pay for what was produced above the norm. This system was nothing but the system of Hunt which had been condemned by socialists of all schools, just as the Taylor system. As a result of this the yearly production of the industrial worker between 1925 and 1940 increased

4.5 times (Lokshin, *B. S. E. USSR*, p. 1092). This was the achievement in the field of productive labor.

What was the situation in regard to labor pay as a result of the increase of the norms and the hours of work? According to the official data, the labor pay of a workman for a year in the USSR was in 1928 — 708 karb. and in 1940 — 4,100 karb. If this were real pay, we would consider it an amazing increase. But the fact is that it is only a nominal pay. We can cite even more substantial figures which show the colossal growth of labor pay under the Communists as compared with the pre-revolutionary times (1913). There the average monthly pay of the workman in 1913 was 25 karb. and under the Communists in 1921 — 5,000,000 karb. a month. But what was the value of this increase when in 1913 on 25 karb. a month the workman could support himself and his family and in 1921 on 5,000,000 karb. a month he could buy one pair of laces for his boots? We have unfortunately no official data to explain the real value of the labor pay and its movement during the period of social construction. At this period even the conception of real labor pay vanished from the Communist lexicon. It is true that in the Code of 2. 12. 1922 in art. 59 there was established a state minimum for monthly pay but the sum appointed for this monthly pay was placed at a minimum in the publication and the contracts between the workman and the employer could not provide for less. Then there was also published the so-called "Schedule of the State Plan," that is the value of the food products and the articles necessary for the workman during a month as a minimum (with a calculation for the average family). The amount of the value of this Schedule of the State Plan was increased each month (for prices were rising) and it was a means of control to preserve the real labor pay. On the other hand the state minimum and the schedule of the State plan soon disappeared and the Communists ceased their publication. They disappeared because they emphasized in too striking a manner the catastrophic fall in the real labor pay. As noted above, according to the official data in 1940 a workman received (on the average) in the USSR 4,100 karb. a year, i. e. $341 \frac{2}{3}$ karb. a month or in round figures 340.

The slightest glance at the purchasing power of this amount of money in the USSR shows the colossal superiority of the value of the real pay of the American worker over that of the socialistic worker of the USSR. The socialist workman does not even have the possibility of buying one suit of clothes out of his monthly pay. If we compare the purchasing power of the daily pay of the workman in America and the USSR in fats, we see that the American workman can purchase 50 pounds from the same amount of labor time from which the Soviet workman can buy 2 pounds or 25 times less.

This one item emphasizes the beggarly minimum of the worker in the USSR. Then we must add that from this figure of 340 karb. as the average pay must be taken payments for state bonds (compulsory), payments for all kinds of organizations (WOPR, *Druh Ditey*, AVIOKHEM), — voluntary gifts for the Spanish, Hungarian, German, Chinese revolutions, the collection for international help to striking workmen, union dues, direct taxes, etc. It is interesting also to calculate the definite amount of the indirect taxes which the workman pays, in estimating his labor pay. For example, on the factory price of galoshes of 6 karb. and organizational trade taxes 2 karb. the state indirect tax amounts to 14 karb. That makes the price of the galoshes 22 karb. This is an unprecedented amount of an indirect tax.

With the low purchasing power of the money which the worker in the USSR receives as labor pay, the meaning of the pledges guaranteed him by the law diminishes or is wiped out entirely. Although by art. 68 of the Labor Code in performing work of various grades, the workman is to be paid at his highest qualified rate, overtime pay is based on one and a half times for the first two hours and double pay for the rest; for the failure to use the exceptions of the decrees, the worker receives two weeks pay—yet these devices cannot improve the economic position of the worker in the USSR. There the employer is basically the state. It regulates the labor pay. The same state has a monopoly of trade and regulates the prices. While it increases labor pay in an arithmetical progression, it increases the prices of goods in a geometrical progression. The workman has no way to better his position by overfulfilling the production plan, even at the completion of the building of socialism in 1936 and as is known the completion of the building of communism is still in the future. The workers suffer and are silent. We remember the words of the great Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko that in tsarist Russia

On every tongue there is a seal
For there is happiness.

In the USSR "all are silent" from the fear of the savage tyrannical government. But the workers well understand what has happened to the unpaid labor pay, and the colossal state expenses. Everything is swallowed up in the maw of the vast expenditures for the organization of revolutions in all countries of the world. Who knows how much was spent on the Chinese revolution for the complete victory of Communism in that country? Who will account to the workers for the expenditure of money and materials for preparing World War III? Who will give protection to the workers in the USSR from the Communist state capitalism and from the government of the group of Communists in the

Politburo, who stifle the slightest opposition to the mad terror of the MVD (the Ministry of State Security, the old NKVD). The professional unions are silent like the workers in the best case and in the worst, they drive the worker exactly as the government does.

The workers are exploited in the USSR as in no other country of the world and the more Communist literature denies it, the more it is proved by the data on the labor pay in the USSR.

So as the achievement of the socialist workers in the USSR after labor became "a question of honor, virtue and heroism of the workers" (Stalin, *Question of Leninism*, X ed. p. 393), in a word things that do not represent profit, we must recognize the actual liberation of the workers not from exploitation but from labor pay, to which the workers of other countries have the full right (without bothering about the "fear" of capitalism, on which Communist propaganda constantly howls.

Of course after such a survey we must believe Stalin that "life in the USSR has become more beautiful and pleasant." Of course it has—for Stalin and his gang.

But the means by which the discipline and terror are used to keep the worker in the USSR obedient is the system of organization of labor in the USSR.



LIKE TO HIS WIFE

Soviet security officials had sent out a questionnaire to every citizen. To the question "What is your relation to the Soviet system?" a kolkhoz peasant replied: "The same as to my wife."

As a result he was immediately called to the MVD (State Security Police) and cross-questioned. The peasant persisted and finally explained: "Well, you know, one might possibly get used to it, but it sure is no fun."

THE KERSTEN AMENDMENT

THE KERNEL OF AN AMERICAN POLICY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

By LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

One of the most salutary and wholesome developments in the national scene today is the growing and irresistible impatience with the out-moded policy of containment. American organizations deeply engrossed in developing a powerful and principled unity of anti-Communist forces here and abroad, and representing large sections of the voting populace, have for many years urged the quick supplementation of this short-run policy with a long-run policy of national liberation of the numerous captive peoples in the Soviet Russian Empire. This demand, coupled with the inexorable trend of events, has unmistakably taken hold in many high quarters, and the evidences for it are multiplying in number.

Recently, Mr. Dulles has developed into an advocate of a vigorous policy of liberation, although his knowledge and appreciation of the tenuous and shaky framework of the Soviet Union are clearly wanting. Mr. Taft, on the other hand, displays a keener sense of comprehension when in a recent address he unequivocally declared that "There are millions of heroic anti-Communist Russians, Poles, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Czechs, Rumanians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Latvians, who desire passionately to throw off the Soviet yoke and to achieve once more their independence and freedom."¹ Well known, too, is the consistent demand of Harold E. Stassen for a firm and realistic American foreign policy which, in one of his latest speeches, he maintained would "win a victory for the cause of freedom everywhere over Communist imperialism." As reported, he calls for "Open advocacy of the independence and sovereignty of such groups as Ukrainians, Armenians, White Russians, Moslems within Russia, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians, in an attempt to split up the Russian empire."² The Honorable Brien McMahon, Senator of Connecticut, summarized the general position on liberation with unexcelled clarity when on April 17 he observed in New York that "Now it is time not merely to contain Communism but to begin rolling Soviet power back. Now it is time for America to get behind a positive

¹ *The New York Times*, Monday, June 2, 1952, p. 14.

² AQ, May 10, 1952.

program for world-wide peace with justice—a program that will speak for the voice and conscience of *all America*, a program that will give the world a rebirth of hope . . . America means self-government and freedom; Stalin means Moscow rule and slavery.”

THE KERSTEN AMENDMENT AND NATIONAL LIBERATION

The kernel of an intrepid American policy of national liberation is, significantly, already in legal existence in the form of an amendment to Section 101 (a)(1) of the Mutual Security Act of 1951, which was sponsored by Representative Charles J. Kersten of Wisconsin. Its continued existence is assured in the Act of 1952 with the identical provision of \$100 million to be used for persons “who are residing in or escapees from the Soviet Union” and the other Communist dominated and occupied countries. If the many proponents of the national liberation policy mean what they say, then surely one could expect their unqualified and undivided support for the implementation and expansion of this Amendment in the course of this fiscal year. Further fiscal support must be afforded for the full materialization of the intent and objectives of the Kersten Amendment even if such deliberate action should necessitate well placed reduction in the amounts requested for several noble but otherwise relatively less important undertakings contemplated in subsequent mutual security programs. At the moment the prime objective is the commencement of a full-fledged implementation of the current provision of the Amendment extended into the fiscal year of 1953. The propensity of a policy of national liberation, as evidenced above, is the available means by which even a recalcitrant executive body vested with permissive powers would be compelled to take heed of the vital importance attached to the solid implementation of this far-seeing provision.

That the courageous implementation of this Amendment conduces to the basic needs of our American interest goes almost without saying. For one, it enables the utilization of all possibilities for the impenetrable defense of our country and of the free world through the immense support of allied elements and peoples, preeminently the known undergrounds, behind the Iron Curtain. Second, it improves our chances for averting a hot outbreak of this World War III in which we are now engaged by deepening and magnifying the flagrant weaknesses of the Soviet Russian Empire and causing the cancerous spread of psychological uncertainty in the easily fragile Soviet apparatus for world conquest. Third, the Amendment is based on the practical wisdom of preparing thoroughly and with a minimum of risk for the tragic exigency of a world-wide hot war with the morally justified aim of preventing unnecessary losses in American lives

and treasure. And lastly, the Amendment is conceived in the inspired will to buttress our free world leadership with the moral purpose of justice and the universal principles of natural law that are so magnificently enshrined in our Declaration of Independence.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that momentary reflection on the pointed meaning of these motivations of interest can only incline us toward serious consideration of the intimated formula that our defense can be greatly magnified in relative terms and at far lesser cost through the ready medium of weakening the vulnerable position of our adversary in this cold war. Beyond peradventure of doubt, the implementation of the Kersten Amendment, as the first concrete manifestation of America's policy of national liberation, will guarantee for us the winning power of initiative that we have yet to attain in our cold war maneuvers. The inadequate policy of mere passive containment, viewed from the pertinent angles of institutional habituation, financial costs, and moral leadership, in effect contains the seeds of destruction which may well sprout in our current environmental make-up unless this hitherto protective approach is fearlessly replaced by the forward-looking policy of national liberation written in the very contents of the Kersten Amendment. There is every indication to believe that Stalin is banking on the prophetic utterance attributed to his predecessor that "Some day we shall force the United States to spend itself into destruction." The policy of containment stands to underwrite this prophecy: the policy of national liberation, demonstrated by the efficacious implementation of the Kersten Amendment, will convert it into a hollow utterance of wishful Soviet thinking.

A SYSTEMATIC INTERPRETATION OF THE AMENDMENT

Those who have given sufficient thought to the intent and objectives of the revolutionary Kersten Amendment generally agree that the text of the Amendment reveals four essential ideas which ultimately constitute the structure of the provision. Three of these guiding ideas fall into the order of practical means, the fourth into that of moral significance. Of the three practical items, one calls for ready assistance to be given to escapees, both recent and present, from the Soviet Empire. The second important idea entails the systematic formation of respective national military units consisting of these present and future escapees and conveniently integrated into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The third essential idea in the order of practical application involves the undaunted support of selected persons residing in Communist-occupied countries or, in direct and more explicit terms, those innumerable underground elements dedicated to and currently struggling for the liberation

of their enslaved countries from imperialist Muscovite rule. Finally, as an overall point situated in the order of moral purpose, the fourth idea completes the structure of the Amendment by couching it in the dynamic concept of national liberation seeking the eventual emancipation of the submerged nations from Soviet Russian imperialism and upholding for them their natural right of unqualified self-determination which in the historical context can only mean national independence.

In essential part this historical context of East European development was brilliantly illuminated last year by our Secretary of State, the Honorable Dean Acheson. His well-founded historic statement on traditional Russian imperialism must be kept steadfastly in mind when we speak of national liberation as it applies to the vast non-Russian populations of Central and East Europe and Asia. As he lucidly stated it, "It is clear that this process of encroachment and consolidation by which Russia has grown in the last 500 years from the duchy of Moscovy to a vast empire has got to be stopped." He rightly stressed that "the ruling power in Moscow has long been an imperial power, and now rules a greatly extended empire. It cannot escape the difficulties that, history teaches us, befall all empires. This is the challenge our foreign policy is required to meet."

Mr. Acheson has sized up the situation accurately, but the ante-diluvian policy of containment is certainly not the weapon by which we can meet this challenge. Only a forthright policy of national liberation expressed through a stepped-up concretization of the Kersten Amendment, can serve as our acceptance of this challenge so that the incessant troubles and difficulties which "befall all empires" may be infinitely multiplied in the incomparable Soviet Russian Empire. To meet the challenge victoriously demands weapons and armament adapted to the field of battle, and in this war for the minds of men the principles of national liberation and independence and the implemented Kersten Amendment undoubtedly provide the basic necessary weapons capable of penetrating the very heart of imperialist Soviet tyranny. There is no more conclusive evidence to substantiate this than that provided by the fearful defenders of this unspeakable tyranny this past winter. Violent and unremitting Soviet denunciations can surely be accepted as authoritative testimony to the striking power and the ultimate meaning of the Kersten Amendment.

RELIABLE SOVIET REACTION TO THE POLICY OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

It is certainly no exaggeration that in the brief period of about three months the various branches of spurious Soviet authority poured more venom and spume over the puny initial appropriation of \$100 mil-

lion in the Kersten provision than had been witnessed over a longer period in the past involving any containment measure costing tens of billions of dollars. The U.S. News of January 11, 1952 compactly summarized the lengthy and seemingly endless denunciations, tirades, and revilements staged by the Soviet usurpers by asserting that "Louder cries of alarm have been sounded by the Russians over these dollars than over the \$150 billion to be spent on U.S. rearmament." For two solid months almost a paralyzing fear seemed to envelop all the Soviet-occupied capitals and the Soviet delegations at the U.N. Assembly in Paris. The unmistakable meaning and positive intent of the Kersten Amendment which signifies great hope to the enslaved peoples who are not to be left abandoned to the imperialist rule of Moscow struck home—and struck piercingly!

Let us review just a few instances in this spectacular episode of the cold war. On November 28, the Polish "*Trybuna Ludu*" commented, "While Acheson waxed lyrical on the subject of international tension, Truman signed an ignominious and unprecedented act for financing sabotage against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies." A few days before, Czechoslovakia's "*Rude Pravo*" attacked in essence the Kersten Amendment as a law accommodating saboteurs and traitors with rewards of "dirty dollars," and with typical prevarication observed: "The murder of citizens of peace-loving countries (has been made) into a law. . . The act is a document by which America identifies itself with the crime of the cowardly assassins of Babice. . . It also shows that the North Atlantic Pact was designed to promote war. . ." Hungary's "*Magyar Nemzet*" carried on November 23 a front page editorial censuring the United States for organizing political crimes against Communist states, and on the following day condemned the U.S. for aiding "fascists" as follows: "Truman's government is sacrificing \$100,000,000 to supply the dregs of Europe with funds and arms. . . Who are these people? Former White Guards and S.S. boys. . . in other words, fascists, whose current patron is the American government. . ." On December 4, Rumania's "*Agerpress*" blurted out that "Only a few days after Truman signed the monstrous so-called Mutual Security Act, which legalizes espionage and terroristic acts against the USSR and countries of the People's Democracies, American imperialists put the law into force. . ."

In Hungary, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Ukraine, Poland, Russia and elsewhere the same turgid nonsense was reiterated untingly in the press and over the radio. For example, Rumania's Radio Bucharest in a November 29 broadcast screeched in this vein: "The organization of a fifth column in East European countries has

been made into law. . . Such an act is unprecedented in the history of international relations. . . By signing the so-called Mutual Security Act, President Truman has unwittingly proved that all spies and saboteurs unmasked in our country were paid by the American government."

Surely, even on the basis of these few cited illustrations, if anything has been unmasked, it is the deeply imbedded fear of the illegitimate Communist authorities and Soviet Russian imperialists of a real and courageous crusade for freedom such as the Kersten Amendment underwrites. For weeks on end the garrulous criminal advocate, Mr. Vishinsky, himself hopelessly conditioned by the proverbial practices of his own government, provided the most impressive spectacle of contorted dialectic and threatening word play. What Vishinsky regards as "subversion," men of truth and integrity understand as "the valiant struggle for freedom;" whom he condemns as a "traitor," honest men acclaim as a "patriot;" what he deems as "intervention in the sovereign communist states;" upright men know to be the "reconstitution of the sovereignty of these Soviet-enslaved nations."

ELIMINATION OF THE THREAT OF WAR AT ITS SOURCE

The systematic and progressive implementation of the essential measures embodied in the Kersten Amendment can be properly regarded as a realistic program for the elimination of the threat of war at its source. The liberal facilitation of item one, namely the care of escapees, can generate a force of attraction to countless defectors that may well exceed our most liberal expectations. We must not allow this opportunity to extend our publicized aid to all prospective escapees to slip away from us. The evidences in the recent past and in the present of the sources of defection and bulk desertion must serve as guiding lessons for us in an operation that is blessed with success at the very start. Although it occurred under circumstances of open war, the enormous mass desertions in Ukraine serve as overwhelming evidence of the great promise of this measure. As described by the German journalist, Erich Kern, in his book on the "Dance of Death," "The millions of Ukrainians, who by themselves could have turned the scales in the east, were not only being left unused, but were actually being repulsed and disillusioned. . . Police methods were replacing the great and splendid idea of the liberation of the east. In place of national independence and freedom the bit was being drawn tighter".

The President's action taken on March 24, 1952 in allocating \$4.3 million for the assistance of escapees was a momentous step deserving of the highest commendation. And the President's message that same day (House Document No. 400), wherein he states that "specific aid and

assistance should be provided for the people who are fleeing at the risk of their lives from Southern and Eastern Europe. . . Balts, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Albanians, Ukrainians, and Russians. . .," contributes further to dispel any illusion that the peoples behind the Iron Curtain are to be "left unused," "repulsed and disillusioned," as the author Kern relates about the over 40 million Ukrainian people—the second largest nation behind the European Iron Curtain and the largest non-Russian nation in the European sector of the Soviet Russian Empire.

As concerns the second practical item—the formation of respective national units under their individual colors—it cannot be too strongly emphasized that its expedited realization will engender a tremendous paralyzing effect throughout Central and East Europe. Envision for yourselves separate divisions of Poles, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Russians and others, with their national flags and commands, symbolizing the great hope of national freedom and certain liberation for their shackled kinsmen back home. The result would be psychologically devastating to the quisling communist rulers of their different homelands.

The third practical item on assistance to select persons residing in communist-occupied countries calls for, in effect, the ready support of the known underground system of liberation behind the Iron Curtain. This highly important item should receive maximum implementation without fear of any sorts of recrimination from the imperialist occupants in the enslaved countries. Actual, not merely potential, resistance movements and organizations seek this aid in the fight for a common cause. As Senator Taft soundly urges, "we should help the anti-Communist undergrounds to keep the hope for liberty alive among their people. Then, when the time is ripe, opportunities can be exploited, and we shall find among the patriots of the entire enslaved area men ready to sacrifice all for freedom."

It is patently evident that the Kersten Amendment is, indeed, the existing legal core for a vigorous American policy of national liberation. The present battle is one of effective and fearless implementation with the appropriation that has been renewed. Concomitant with this is the necessity for a separate agency to conduct this and cognate operations in an efficient program of psychological warfare. At the next session of Congress we hope that the fight for an expansion of the fiscal base of this Amendment will be renewed. The prospects of success in all three respects become brighter and more encouraging as public leaders propound the principles of national liberation and independence as the guiding light for a new phase in American foreign policy.

THE TURKO-TATARS OF IDEL-URAL IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

(1552—1952)

By AJAZ ISHAKI-IDILLI

For the peoples of Idel-Ural October 15 is a sad and mournful day.¹ On that day, 400 years ago, the Moscow Prince Ivan the Terrible, with the aid of the Kasim Khan, Sheikh Haley, who had been bought up and who betrayed the Tatars and with the employment of European military engineers of German blood, blew up the walls of the fortress of Kazan and entered the capital of the state of Kazan. Yadkar Khan was taken prisoner and passed into history as the last khan; the gray haired leaders of the national elite and the military commanders of the Tatars, the scholars and the clergy, all fell victims to the swords of Russian genocide; their wives and daughters were distributed to the "Russian soldiery" as reward for their obedient savagery. Their children were carried into distant areas of a united Russia and placed in monasteries to teach them the religion of their conquerors. All the historical monuments of the then high Tatar culture, palaces, mosques, schools, libraries and state archives were burned or destroyed; the entire area for a radius of 40 kilometres around Kazan was "purged" of Tatars, Chuvash and Mordva, and their entrance into this zone was prohibited. Ivan the Terrible wished by barbarism and genocide to leave no trace of the Tatar culture but to annihilate this brave people and to russify the entire Volga region.

Four dark centuries have passed since those days of the bloody tragedy on the Volga, and during these centuries of spiritual imprisonment, the peoples of Idel-Ural have undergone many various sufferings and insults to their national honor. Their cities and other populated settlements have been subjected to destruction and burning and tens of thousands of their talented sons have been slain because of the Russian genocidal policies but the Tatars, as a nationality, have not vanished. In their national and political existence, in their unequal struggle with their isolation, although they have been conquered physically, yet in their spiritual and cultural existence, they have remained conquerors.

¹ *Idel* — the Tatar name of Volga (Ed.)

With the loss of the fortress of Kazan and the capture of Yadkar Khan, in spite of the lack of leadership for the people, the Tatars were far from submission to the savage Muscovite prince. National volunteers during the next eight years continued the bloody struggle against the expeditions of the prince. In return for the senseless slaughter of the peaceful inhabitants of Kazan, the national volunteers in the valleys of Mesha-tap and the river Kama inflicted severe defeats upon the Russians. Without losing the idea of recovering their independence and in order to rally the entire strength of the people and to attack in a more organized manner and hurl back the Russian aggression along the Oka river, the Tatars appealed for arms to the Ural Nogays, to the Khan of Crimea and even to the Turkish Sultan Suleiman-kanuni in Istanbul but these brothers at the time were deaf to the groans along the Volga. Without receiving any moral or material help from abroad, the Tatars continued the unequal struggle and were bled white; the aggressors were far more numerous and had the support of Europe. The Russians established themselves in the Volga area and then began to overflow across the Ural mountains.

The Russian chauvinists, trying to russify the population of the conquered regions tried to force upon the Tatars all of their characteristics, religion, vodka, etc. but despite their efforts, the Tatars rejected them with contempt, since they were the heirs of higher forms of national culture in their own past; the great Batu Khan, the creative models of Oluh Mahomed Khan and the self-sacrifice of the great Tatar woman Seyum-Beka were the eternal monuments of the later national life and progress. Their religious life they tried to keep apart from Russian supervision and they were able to transmit its dogmas from generation to generation as the sacred heritage of the martyrs of Kazan.

The industrious Tatars, with an unusual strength of will, were able to wait patiently for a more favorable situation for the renewal of their struggle for national liberation and they never lost the hope of recovering their independence; every difficulty of the Russian tsars the Tatars tried to utilize for their national and spiritual life. Thus during the period of the Troublous Times in Russia, the Tatars raised their national flag and liberated Kazan from its Russian garrison, but the foul jealousy of the leaders of the Crimean court again refused the help which was so sorely needed. The Russians rallied and for a second time occupied Kazan and introduced a reign of terror. The Tatars suffered many bloody sacrifices for their effort to regain the freedom of their existence.

In the second half of the 18th century, the Tatars again used the revolt of the Russian peasantry under Pugachev and again they freed Kazan of its Russian garrison and raised their national banner. But

isolated from the entire world, and bleeding from severe wounds, they lost their independence for the third time—as the harsh reward for their isolation.

After the third fall of Kazan, the Tatars quietly and coldly yielded to this new blow of fate. Without losing their hopes of future liberation, they decided to change the form of their struggle for national existence. They endeavored to amass an inner reserve for the national movement; they began to modernize their national schools and to broaden the net of them; they began to draw in broader sections of the people into commercial activity; they began to learn the technique of industry and to open various enterprises. In the few following decades, the Tatars became stronger and stored up their national wealth.

As a result of the new form of the national movement, the Tatars, in comparison with the neighboring tribes seemed significantly more literate and cultured; they built thousands of mosques in their own style of architecture; they organized themselves into disciplined communes to preserve their national and spiritual life and began to have the possibility of evading the strict laws aiming at their assimilation by bribing the high officials of the Russians tsar and greasing with presents the lower bureaucrats. In the religious-spiritual life they secured the establishment of a certain "autonomy."

The Tatars obtained the possibility of exerting a cultural and spiritual influence upon the neighboring tribes and to the many millions of the people of the Kazakh-Kirghiz they sent clergy, teachers and other educated staffs, and also books and textbooks.

The Tatar deputies in the imperial duma of the Russian Empire not only defended their own people but to the same degree they defended and served the interests of their brothers of the North Caucasus, the Crimeans and the people of Turkestan; and they looked at the national and spiritual existence of these peoples as their own. At the international congress of the rights of oppressed nations, held in June 1916 in Lausanne, through their talented social and political worker Yusuf Kasur Bey, the Tatars defended the interests of all the Mohammedans enslaved by Russia (Minutes of the IIIrd Congress of the Union of Nationals, Lausanne, 1916).

In the fateful year of 1917, in the first months of the Russian lack of government, the national political leaders of the Turko-Tatars of Idel-Ural, began to organize a basis for the declaration of the independence of Idel-Ural. All of the main cities and auls were permeated by the influence of the agents of the national centre; after a very short time of this activity, there were carried out broad elections of people's representatives for a national assembly; as a result of the hard work of this Ufa

national assembly, there was formed a provisional government, which attacked the task of forming the machinery for selfgovernment. A national military soviet began to form national regiments. To come into contact with the outside world there was formed a group of representatives.

Unfortunately in the special situation which was produced as a result of World War I, where each of the great powers was absorbed in the burden of its own difficulties, the national efforts of the peoples of Russia for liberation remained in the shadows. The Russian chauvinists, distinguished by their vicious inclinations to destructive and atheistic ideas, succeeded in handing over the control of the Russian empire to the red strata of the descendants of Ivan the Terrible. The Bolsheviks, who recognized no standards of human morality and who were savage haters of religion and of human rights, formed a great number of battalions of the Red Guard out of the criminal element and hurried to occupy the rebellious districts with their non-Russian peoples.

The Turko-Tatars of Idel-Ural, for almost two years, did not recognize the power of Moscow but then they were occupied for the fourth time by the descendants of Ivan the Terrible now turned red.

These aggressors with their demagogic slogans of social disintegration turned one part of society against the other and also were able to find lackeys (of the type of Sheikh Haley) to betray their own national life and they broke the national unity of the people. All-devouring bands of the red guard submitted to robbery, burning and destruction all the basic valuable objects of national culture which had been acquired by the Tatars through such great self-sacrifice; printing presses, industrial enterprises and commercial establishments were confiscated, all national literature that was found was burned. The national schools were forbidden and the mosques lost their material resources, and were later taken from the religious communities; the clergy and the intellectual classes were subjected to shooting and exile without any trial.

Our people who had been able to withstand the assimilationist pressure during four dark centuries and had kept their national and spiritual existence this time met with the unprincipled representatives of Russian chauvinism, who strove to attack the chief sources of the spiritual life of the people. These barbarians forbade the national script and introduced the Russian alphabet, and allowing only their Bolshevik schools, they warped the children's souls with the chattering of the street hooligans; they burned the textbooks and corrupted the history of the national life with their Bolshevik lies but the Tatars resisted and began to seek ways of saving their spiritual life through an internal and foreign emigration; hundreds of thousands of families abandoned their family savings and

began to leave their native fields; in the internal emigration they sought to escape from the influences of the assimilators and tried to preserve their national and spiritual being in the depths of their family hearth.

That part of the Tatars, which was able to emigrate to the freedom-loving lands of Europe and Asia came into more favorable and hospitable conditions. Under the protection of the humane laws of these lands, the Tatars united in national communities of various size, opened their printing presses and national schools on an elementary level, and built their mosques in their own style; they published books, newspapers and journals; they acquired friends who were ready to give them aid in the national struggle for liberation. The social and political leaders of the Tatars, dependent upon the changes in the political position, were mobilized and ready for the forthcoming struggle for the freedom of their people.

So, with the beginning of the clash between the German armies and Bolshevism, hundreds of thousands of Tatars, who did not wish to defend Bolshevism, preferred to be taken prisoners by the Germans rather than live under the so widely propagandized freedom on their own fields. A Committee for the independence of Idel-Ural made an effort to establish contact with that part of their people but concealing their evil intentions in the chancelleries of Nazism, the Hitlerians did not permit the committee to make any contacts.

Still those Tatars, who were in the war prisoner camps of the German army, in spite of the absence of their national leaders, raised the standard of revolt for the liberation of their people and by tens of thousands enrolled in the German foreign legions, to take an active part in the liquidation of the hated Bolshevism and thus to produce a condition favorable to national liberation.

But by their inhuman acts the Hitlerians quickly stifled the spirit of revolt and destroyed their discipline. They frightened off the non-Russian peoples and deprived them of the impatiently awaited self-liberation.

Still the World War II by its course in the east, gave undeniable proofs that the Tatars have preserved their national and spiritual existence even under the conditions of Soviet genocide. The happenings on the eastern front added to our ranks new emigrants, the flood of whom has strengthened our common front in the struggle for national liberation.

However the hasty policy of the Western allies entrusted to the hands of the dying Bolshevism a vast amount of military material and morally supported "by the aids of solidarity" the fading spirit of the Bolshevism. Then deceiving their "western friends," the Bolsheviks rallied their forces, destroyed the national unity of the new nations of Europe and Asia, conquered a large number of new lands and of human resources for

compulsory labor. Now this Bolshevism has moved to carry out its long prepared plans for world conquest and has advanced the dilemma, "Who conquers whom?" This impudent Eastern aggressor is now compelling the nations of the west to start again the wasting of their stored up wealth on new armaments.

Now finally we are witnesses how the freedom-loving peoples are recognizing the doctrine that struggle in isolation against aggression only leads to the gradual broadening of the territory of the aggressor. For that reason there have begun to arise powerful defensive unions of nations. The greatest minds and the most experienced statesmen of the western democratic world are wracking their heads to decide the way to save civilization from aggressors of a new type. In these fateful years, we must turn the public opinion of the free world to 15.10.1552.

On that date there began the unceasing widening of Muscovite aggression which succeeded in uniting forcefully to itself the lands of Byelorussia and part of Ukraine. In 1554 the aggressor laid waste the khanate of Astrakhan. In 1561 it destroyed the khanate of Siberia. Then after deciding a "series of problems" in the north, it again marched to the south and in 1654 swallowed up Eastern Ukraine, 1773 the khanate of the Crimea, Western Ukraine and Byelorussia. In 1864 it drenched the Caucasian villages with blood. In 1875, it arranged the massacre of the peaceful inhabitants of Turkestan. And now, having conquered half of the European East and subdued vast China, it is stretching out its bloody hands against the cultural values of the entire world.

The most gifted social and political leaders of the west are becoming convinced that to establish complete peace, eternal quiet and a normal economic life in the whole world it is necessary to destroy completely the Russian red imperialism. The nations enslaved by this aggressor have long been convinced that this necessity must be the doctrine of our era. There is no doubt also that peaceful statesmen are becoming aware of the necessity of stripping this aggressor of its military potential so as once and for all to guarantee the peace against the renewal of aggression under ideas of other colors i.e. of barring the aggressor from the metals of Idel-Ural, tearing him away from the coal of Ukraine, the petroleum of the Caucasus, the cotton of Turkestan. By returning these resources to their historic owners, they will guarantee the national and spiritual existence of the peoples of Byelorussia, Ukraine, the Crimea, the Caucasus, Idel-Ural, Turkestan and Siberia.

It is only natural that the practice of genocide and the spiritual oppression which has weighed upon the psychology of the weak willed individuals of the non-Russian peoples could not fail to remain without corresponding effects. So it is not surprising that some individuals of these

groups, under the inspiration of their masters are trying to present geographical Russia as a peaceful coexistence of various nationalities. It is believed that the road that has been travelled by the peoples of Idel-Ural is a sufficient proof to defeat this absurd propaganda. These unfortunate servants, frightened by the savage expression on the face of Russian chauvinism, are trying to assert that "there are so few supporters of the movement for national liberation that the struggle is completely pointless, for we cannot conquer."

We assert that through the empty shrieks of these panic-spreaders they are only furnishing water for the mill of the aggressors, for from the examples of the recent past we know that historic revolutions have been carried out by the energy and heroism of small groups, when their ideas and aspirations harmonize with the spirit of their peoples.

Thus the greatest representative of the heroic Turkish people, the unconquerable Kemal Pasha, entered the struggle for the independence of his nation with only 11 armed associates and he triumphed. It is clear that this great leader knew his people but it is still clearer that they knew him. His successes show that in the struggle for national liberation the decisive role is played by the correspondence between the ideals of the struggle and the aspirations and spirit of the people.

The road passed by the peoples of Idel-Ural, also shows us that the spirit of struggle for national freedom is still strong and that this people knows how to endure any sacrifices in the struggle for independence.

There are no reasons to doubt that our people in the new future will enter the family of free, democratic and peace-loving nations, as the rightful state of an independent people.

The fifteenth of October 1952 has passed into our history as a sad and mournful day. But there will come another day which will enter the history of our people as the bright and happy day of their liberation.

CONTEST'S SPONSOR

The Warsaw police commissar sponsored a contest for the best political joke in Poland. The first prize was 15 years and the second prize 10 years in a concentration camp.

RUSSIANS ON AMERICA

ARCHBISHOP ANTONY KHRAPOVITSKY ON AMERICA

(Supplement to "Newsletter of Pochaiv" 1908 /21-22)

The Russians, especially during the last years, have been trying to show to the Americans that it is only the Bolsheviks who have fanned hatred for America by their propaganda and that the non-Communist Russians have always respected and loved the great American people.

Such assertions are shown to be false by the following document. The author, a well-known Russian patriot and Orthodox hierarch, Antony Khrapovitsky, was under the tsars Archbishop of Volynia and later of Kharkiv, member of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church. During the Revolution, he was chosen by the Russian hierarchy as Metropolitan of Kiev. At this time he carried on a most desperate struggle against the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Soon he emigrated abroad where he was the religious leader of the Orthodox Russians in the emigration.

"To the people of Volynia. Do not go to America!"

(The priests in whose congregation there are emigrants are to read this appeal in the church, when there is a large congregation present).

"You now often hear that such and such a person has gone to work in America or even has removed there permanently. Every time my soul aches when I hear such news. You, simple people, do not know what kind of a country America is. It is far worse than Turkey. The Turks, although they do not love Christians and have a God-opposing law, yet believe in their God and fear Him. But in America for the great majority of people there is no God; their God is their own belly, as the Apostle has said. Indeed the greater part of the inhabitants of America or the United States are ostensibly of some sort of faith, Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican, Jewish, or something else but scarcely any one of them believes in anything except money. Money there takes the place of faith; all care for only one thing to get rich and then they speak blasphemous words, as the unbelieving Jews in the lifetime of Isaiah the Prophet: *'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.'* (Isaiah 22, 13). Do not settle, my brothers, among the atheists, so as not to lose what is the most precious thing for a man, i. e. faith and hope of salvation. You may say: *'We will not become like the other Americans, but we will remain Orthodox Russian people, just as those of our fellow countrymen have remained who have gone there.'* That is easy to say but hard to do. Listen to what is written in the Holy Bible: *'Whoever touches pitch, will be blackened and whoever enters into the*

company with the proud, will become like him. What is the comradeship between the pot and the kettle? One touches the other and it is shattered.' (Ecclesiasticus, 13, 1,3).

"In that society, where all have forgotten about the salvation of the soul and have come to love the present world and are struggling only for unjust wealth, it is very hard to preserve the fear of God and love of good. Those whose childhood has been passed in Holy Russia, will not be able to tear the holy faith from their hearts but they will return home not as Christian lambs but as angry and dissembling goats. But if they remain all their lives in that dishonorable and impious country, their children will be like other Americans in every way. Those words that are sacred to us: The Lord Jesus Christ; The All Holy Mother of God; St Nicholas the Wonder-Worker; Jerusalem, the City of God; Holy Athos; The Wonder-working Pochayevska Lavra or Monastery of the Caves, the Kievan-Pecherska Lavra; all will be for them foreign words, as for a German or a Frenchman. You sigh with tears and fall prostrate, when the priest reads: 'Give the spirit of chastity, and humility, patience and love to me, Thy servant.' And they, on hearing this prayer, will say: 'We don't need any of that at all; give us good cigars, rum and sausages and above all silver and gold.'

"It is distressing to you to see your children sick or hungry or broken. But it will be far worse to see them atheists, who have lost their conscience and have become criminals. They will be that, if they are born in America and begin from childhood to imitate the people there. Brothers, do not emigrate to America and do not travel there. It is better to pass your entire life in poverty than to gain wealth and lose your own soul and produce atheistic children. *'It is better to die childless'* so it is written in the Holy Bible, *'than to have dishonorable children'* (Ecclesiasticus, 16, 26 (3)). Do not emigrate, my brothers, to the land of dishonor, in the pursuit of vain money. Remember the word of Christ: *'What is a man profited, if he shall gain whole world, and lose his own soul? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?'* (Matthew, 16, 26). Emigrate to our Orthodox Siberia, to the Amur, to Turkestan, to the Urals; there is Orthodoxy, there is zeal for the salvation of your soul, there is the realm of our beloved tsar, there are holy churches, there you will not forget God and the Holy Gospel.

ANTONY, Archbishop."

A RUSSIAN LEADER ON AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

By IVAN SOLONEVICH

(Ivan Solonevich is a rightist influential Russian leader living in Argentina. He is editor of the Russian weekly newspaper "*Nasha Strana*" ("*Our Country*"). Substantial excerpts of his Editorial: "What is Democracy" picturing caustic viewpoints of rightist Russians on Democracy and especially on American democracy, was published in the issue No. 35, Jan. 7, 1950. — *Ed.*)

In 1917 it was absolutely clear that—democracy was freedom, progress, wealth, culture, etc., etc. And the social-democracy was the same thing only in less degree and in a double portion. The intelligentsia, mad with delight, swarmed along the Nevsky Prospect¹ and yelled "Hurrah" for the future Lubyanka.²

Of course one can ask: who knew that the Lubyanka would appear? The answer is: it should have been known: the intelligentsia had not only read but studied the history of the French revolution. How then could they avoid the great predecessor of the Lubyanka, the Conciergerie of Paris? They overlooked it.

Now in the thirty third year of the revolution "our" democratic press is suddenly busy with an investigation of the real meaning of the democracy. Apparently it means nothing. A responsible ministry? It does not exist in the USA. Equality before the law? That exists in non-democracies. Class prejudices? Apparently they are stronger in democratic England than they were in Hitler's Germany. National justice? The *National Truth* sadly shows that this ideal has been reached never and nowhere. Even E. Kuskova complains in the *Novoye Russkoye Slovo* (of New York) that in Switzerland the larger half of the population, the female half, is still deprived of voting rights . . .

Two years ago, at the first democratic election in Germany, similar neighbors, men and women, came to me; "Tell us, Herr Solonevich, for whom we should vote?" I advised them and then asked: "Why do you turn to me a foreigner?" Their answers were almost the same in form and identical in substance; you are a foreigner, and therefore it is no concern of yours who will rob us and of how much; you merely will tell us what party in your opinion will rob us less . . .

¹ Main boulevard in Petrograd (Leningrad) — *Ed.*

² Headquarters and prison of the Soviet secret police. — *Ed.*

Italy has its experience of the Roman Empire, Venice and Genoa, the Vatican and the Kingdom, Mussolini and even the occupation. At the last elections when 95 parties took part, the Communists tried to snare the public with presents for the children and electrical appliances paid for by the Soviets, and the Americans tried to allure them with Trieste also on the Soviet account. But the cleverest trick was pulled by the Christian Democrats who said: "You can believe in Stalin but vote for Christ, for the voting is secret; Stalin cannot see your ballot and Christ sees everything."

In those courses on government law which in our time we took in our universities, nothing was ever said, for example that every candidate for the post of president of the USA costs the interested people a sum varying from one hundred to two hundred million dollars. Who are these interested people who can spend hundreds of millions? Certainly not the cooks, nor the farmers, nor even the proletarians of all lands.

One of the possible answers to this question was given by the *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, an organ which is absolutely democratic.

In its number for November 27, 1949, it prints a whole column under the heading: "Who is Frank Costello?"

Since I have no conception of Frank Costello, I paid no attention to this article and it was only by accident that I discovered its real meaning. Frank Costello, it appears, is the head of a semi-legal and semi-bandit organization, so to speak, the heir of Al Capone, whom—as the author mentions—"if he was condemned, it was not for his crimes but for his failure to pay taxes."

In March of this year, the Committee for the struggle with organized crimes in California pointed to Costello as the head of a national syndicate exploiting "slot machines." *The income from this the Commission estimates at two billion dollars, of which 400,000,000 are used to bribe local authorities.*

That means; 400,000,000 dollars a year to bribe local authorities. Perhaps some goes to the central authorities? Perhaps Frank Costello is not the only philanthropist, who throws hundreds of millions of dollars for the further democratizing of the government and administrative machinery of the USA. Perhaps even Fifth Avenue contributes its widow's mite. Perhaps Comrade Stalin secured the secret of the atom bomb and the conquest of China, "not by a club but by a ruble." Who knows?

The American cooks of both sexes, who thinks that it is they who "run the government" can think what they like. They apparently do not think at all. I do not know either what and how our democratically oriented fellow countrymen think.

Do they assume that the Russians masses who in 1917 were not sufficiently "developed" for democracy, now in 1950 will be fully developed? We can still argue whether the Germany of Wilhelm II was democratic or not. There is no doubt that it was the most powerful and cultured nation of the world. Germany with its universities, philosophy, jurisprudence, historiography, technical knowledge, music, etc. etc. in 1933 under the same democratic rules wiped out democracy and put in Hitler. Are our democrats convinced that beautiful France next year will not wipe out its Chamber of Deputies in the name of General de Gaulle? Or that the Bonn Parliament will last even one year after the departure of the occupying authorities and the army?

There are three questions: Did the fact that Mussolini stayed in power for more than twenty years mean that the masses sympathized with him? That Franco has maintained himself for more than ten years, does it mean that the people sympathize with him? Or that serfdom existed in Russia for 150 years—does that mean that the masses were delighted by it? Yet it lasted 150 years.

In 1917 we had some prerequisites for "democracy." There were the Imperial Duma and the Imperial Senate. There were zemstvos and even a "zemgor." There was an army and generals. There was a church and a social order. There were elections to a Constituent Assembly and there was Zheleznyak who with one breath of his lips scattered it all and we know where.³ What will we have so to speak, after the anti-1917 year? *An atomized mass and the remains of a Communist organization, on which even now in the emigration, the Party of the Socialists rests, and it, as we know, is the One and Only possessing the Truth in six capital letters.* There will be millions of people thirsting and hungering for the planning of their "garden patches" and what is more important—there will be the technique of the seizure of power and the technique of organizing elections after that seizure, well tried out by the experience of a whole series of countries.

After the scattering of our shameful Constituent Assembly, not a bayonet was raised in its defense; it would be stupid to suppose that Kornilov, Alekseyev, Denikin, and Kolchak, if they had reached Moscow, would have restored that scandalous gathering of worthless men and cowards. The white generals would have marched in the name of white dictatorship. The success of that dictatorship would have meant the saving of the country from all that it is now suffering. But it would not have been democratic. What are the chances that the Kerenskys and

³ Zheleznyak a bolshevik sailor, who dispersed the Russian Constitutional Assembly, November 1917.

Kuskovas can hold their power for even six months against the Baydalakovs⁴ and Zheleznyaks? There is no chance. If, of course, we do not count upon the "occupying general," who will not be there eternally.

In 1917 A. Kerensky showed himself the "first-born of the revolution." The same year he proved to be only its abortion. Who in the counter-1917 will follow an abortion?

Somehow before the war, I wrote in the *Russkaya Mysl*; the American democracy may be good but it does not fit our measure. Not because from our historical poverty and our "geographical evil fate" we do not have such philanthropists as Frank Costello but because, *especially because our whole history has demanded from us iron state discipline*. Sammie, separated and defended from the rest of the world by two oceans, can permit himself the luxury of the existence of Costello, Al Capone, Tammany Hall, the marvellous changing policy of the State Department and other things of that kind. Even Tommie can permit himself the luxury of "wait and see." We could never do that and we cannot now. If a Tartar or a German horde break into our country, can we ask coachmen and cooks, proletarians and agrarians, and also Kuskovas and Melgunovs what we are to do? Fight or not fight? Submit to the kindness of the conqueror or flee across the Urals, whether to the west or to the east? Under such a system we would have perished long ago.

The idea is incredibly stupid. As incredibly stupid as are all the stupid howls and groans about the "inheritance of three hundred years of the Romanov monarchy." So V. Lazarevsky in the *Ruskaya Mysl*, (of course a democratic organ,—who is not a democrat to-day?) *confessed that if we had kept that inheritance, we and not the USA would have been at the head of the whole world*. This is perhaps not proved by arithmetic, although a dizzy logic has a dizzy arithmetic. *But in general it is more or less proven that the total sum of human freedoms in Russia was significantly greater than in the England of Mr. Attlee, and probably not less than in the America of Mr. Truman*. It seems strange. What do you make of it?

There are many things in the world, dear Horatio,
Of which your Kuskova reason has never dreamed.

⁴ Baydalakov, the European leader of the Russian semi-fascist Solidarists Party, of which American Russian Solidarists are an ideologically associated branch.

PRESENT SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY ON AMERICA

Nicholas Chubaty

The historian who studies the past of various peoples must try to maintain a full impartiality, even though he is a member of the nation whose past and whose conflicts with other nations he is trying to depict. In every country historical science has limits to subjectivity and partisanship; these limits are facts and logical conclusions. If a historian pays no attention to these, he ceases to be a scientific historian. The present Russian red historiography has closed its eyes not only to facts but even to logical thinking, when there is a question of America.

The most important scientific institution in the USSR, the Soviet Academy of Sciences, the heir to the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences, has totally lost the good repute of its predecessor and has become the blind tool of the propaganda of the Politburo. Its historical section is an example of the pitiable condition to which science, devoted to the service of a totalitarian government, can be brought. The Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR publishes several series of works and also the monthly journal *Questions of History* (*Problemy Istorii*) which has become the mouthpiece of an almost pathological anti-American agitation which often lacks even sense. The publications of the Institute of History have sunk to the level of the publications of the propaganda division of the All-Union Communist Party.

Not a single number of the *Questions of History* is now published in which there is not one and often more articles presenting America as a nation of cannibals, who are not only devouring at home the Indians, Negroes and all foreigners but who are also plotting against the free life of all the nations of the world. A complete twisting of the facts, the ascribing of the faults of other peoples to America, the discovery of evil intentions even in the most humanitarian acts of America are the usual themes of these pseudo-“scientific” questions of history of the red Russians. In this field they noticeably excel the Russian monarchists of both the past and present.

To illustrate this anti-American tendency in this red Russian publication, we have looked over two years of this journal (1950 and 1951) to show what a great machine the Kremlin has set in motion to present America to the eyes of the Soviet intelligentsia and the population of the USSR in the blackest possible light.

In the January, 1950 number of *Questions of History*, N. Inozemtsev has an article "On the question of the connections between the financial oligarchy of the USA and the German monopolies." He tries to show that American capital took an active part in the struggle with the Soviet Union before 1939 and built up German imperialism. He especially blames the group of Morgan, Dillon Reed and Co., Schroedor Banking Corporation and the Standard Oil.

A. Guliga in his article "The Early Period of the Anti-Soviet Intervention of the USA (1917-1918)" tries to show that American capital had tried to enslave Russia even before World War I. The chief figure in these machinations was the young Herbert Hoover, who was especially interested in the petroleum in Maykop. America used the World War for the material ruination of Russia which was placing orders for arms in America. Likewise America became the chief creditor of the Provisional Government (Kerensky). "By the spring of 1917," it is written, "in the diplomatic circles of the Entente there were worked out plans for the dismemberment of Russia. . . The Americans were not averse to begin with the dismemberment of the country but they dreamed of its full conquest, so that it would be possible to travel from Washington to St. Petersburg without changing cars."

"Over our country hung the real threat of being turned into a colony of the American-English imperialists. . . The Great Socialist October Revolution saved our country from the approaching national catastrophe."

"Francis, the American ambassador in Petrograd, sent the former American consul in Riga, Jenkins, for a connection with the counter-revolutionary Ukrainian Rada. The formal object of his trip was the study of the possibility of opening an American consulate in Kiev." (p. 18).

It is true that the sixth point of Wilson of January 8, 1918 spoke of the need for removing foreign troops from Russia so that the Russian people could freely solve their problems but this was only the "hypocrisy of Wilson," for in the so-called commentary on the 14 points of Wilson, written by Walter Lippmann, "the sixth point found its true meaning as a program for the dismemberment of Russia" (p. 21).¹

This was the relation of America to the Russian Revolution in the opinion of Guliga.

N. Lapin in an article "The American falsifiers of the military history of the USA" criticizes the work of Ganoes, *History of the United States Army* and asserts that the author consciously and intentionally with a clear purpose pictures the American Revolutionary Army not as a product of the revolution but as an army of generals. This, he says, is probably

¹ *Questions of History*, 1950/3.

the preparation by the American generals of public opinion of the American people for World War III.² The same author in an article "*Anglo-American falsifiers of the history of World War II,*" after reviewing the American and English literature on World War II concludes that the authors are warmongers who by their writings are preparing World War III. They ascribe the entire merit of breaking the power of Hitler to themselves, but in fact that was not true. "The Soviets, for example, saved the American-English army in the Ardennes from catastrophe in January, 1945 by attacking in the east. There were more of such situations."³

A. Pyankov writing on "*The imperialistic policy of the USA in Mexico 1912-1914,*" proves that American capital completely dominated the economic life of Mexico and called out the successful revolution of Generals Diaz and Huerta against the legal government.⁴ B. Shtayn in "*The American support of the Vichy government*" fully and in a partisan manner explains the policy of America toward the Vichy government, by concealing the advantage of that policy for the Allies.⁵ L. Kutakov, "*The new American falsification of history*" calls the American publication of the documents on the Nazi-Soviet flirtation of 1939 the usual falsification intended to blacken the USSR.⁶ S. Gonionsky, "*How the American imperialists seized Panama*" describes the events of 1903 in a unique but totally false light.⁷ M. Alpatov, "*Contemporary historiography as a weapon of the American inspirers of war*" lectures the American historians on the way in which they have forgotten their scientific purpose(?) and have become the servants of the imperialism of the USA which is directed against the peace-loving USSR.⁸

V. Turok, "*The grasping plans of American imperialism in the countries of southeastern Europe in 1919*" asserts that despite the proclamation of the 14 points by Wilson, American tried to obtain mandates in Istanbul, Armenia, Asia Minor and aimed to dominate the Black Sea. It wished a mandate over the disintegrating empire of the Hapsburgs. The author concludes the article with this scientific(?) conclusion: "The imperialists, by provoking a new World War, will arouse universal resistance from the peace-loving peoples which will lead. . . to the liquida-

² *Op. cit.* 1950/4.

³ *Op. cit.* 1950/5.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 1950/5.

⁵ *Op. cit.* 1950/6.

⁶ *Op. cit.* 1950/7.

⁷ *Op. cit.* 1950/9.

⁸ *Op. cit.* 1950/9.

tion of the entire system and world imperialism." * I. Nitovich, "On the role of the USA in the saving of imperialistic Germany from full destruction in 1918," shows that America saved a Germany shattered in Western Europe and in Ukraine by the Soviets so as to turn it against Communist Russia.¹⁰ This is the Russian picture given of America in a "scientific" journal for a single year.

The year 1951 was opened for this journal by an article of N. Rubinshteyn with an attack on American "On the history of the anti-Soviet policy of American imperialism." He tries to show that America has constantly carried on an anti-Soviet policy and though it is now asserting that it is against the Soviet form but not against the Russian people, this is a sham. America gave loans to the Provisional Government so as to get the wealth of Russia into its own hands. The new American imperialism is far more dynamic than the old but it has no support among the American people. "The anti-Soviet policy of American imperialism has always been a policy against the people, against the will of the laboring masses of America."¹¹ Rubinshteyn compares the American policy of opposition to the people with the Russian policy "for the people;" America, in his opinion, says that it is against the Soviets but not against the Russian people, while he asserts that the Soviets are against the American imperialists but not against the American people who are for the Soviets.

A. Miller, "The American plan for the seizure of Constantinople and the Straits," comes back to the same theme as that treated by Turok in the same journal in the preceding year. In his opinion Constantinople in American hands was to be the base for a struggle with the Soviets in 1919.¹² America is not only the bitter foe of the Soviets but it is also the oppressor of the Latin states of South America.

The United States is also the enemy of the Bulgarian people, for in 1918 it aided in putting down the Communist revolution in Bulgaria. The truth is that there was not a single American soldier of occupation in Bulgaria but even so America aided in putting down the revolt of the miners in Pernik. M. Birman, the author of the article: "The counter-revolutionary role of the USA in Bulgaria in 1918-1919" does not explain how this was done. Instead he knows the secret intentions of America to prepare "an intervention against Soviet Russia and also to train an army to be sent into Ukraine from Bulgaria." Even the "pretended

* *Op. cit.* 1950/11, p. 90.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* 1950/12.

¹¹ *Op. cit.* 1951/1.

¹² *Op. cit.* 1951/2.

humanitarian" help of the Committee of Herbert Hoover was in fact not a work of "charity" but the desire to conquer Bulgaria, according to Birman. America made all these diabolical plans against Bulgaria despite the fact that Bulgaria was occupied by the French and not a single American soldier was on Bulgarian soil." ¹³

M. Okinev in an article "*The imperialistic intervention of the USA in Cuba in 1899-1900 and 1906-1909*" reverts to the same theme that Pyankov used the year before for Mexico and Gonionsky for Panama. The agitation department of the All-Union Communist Party obviously gave the Soviet historians the task of treating another country.¹⁴ America by these interventions was planning to establish for itself a colonial empire.

Beside the treatment of this subject by the learned historians of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the Communist party worked out and even published a special volume on this theme from the pen of A. E. Kunina. "*The failure of the American plans to gain world control.*" Here it is said that America not only constantly supported and armed the enemies of the USSR but also "took a direct part in the crimes against our people in the robbery of our Country, in attacks upon its independence, and is the most stubborn enemy of the Soviet people." Among the crimes of America is this, that the "imperialists of the USA intended to tear away from Russia not only the Baltic area, Belorussia and Ukraine but also the Caucasus, Siberia and the central Asia districts." ¹⁵

The Soviet historian R. Ganelin in an article, "*The Olney doctrine and its falsification in American historiography*" tries to show that in a history of American imperialism the American Secretary of State Olney in 1898 defined American imperialism in South America as directed against Spain and England.¹⁶

It is natural that the present Korean war should also have its place in Soviet historical science. V. Lezin in an article "*A collection of documents revealing the preparation of American aggression in Korea*" discusses the documents which were published by the Communist government of northern Korea.¹⁷ The author retells the falsified relation of Li Sin Man to the American General Oliver Roberts and to the Secretary of the United Nations Trygve Lie.

¹³ *Op. cit.* 1951/5.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* 1951/5, p. 55.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1951, p. 236.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* 1951/7.

¹⁷ Documents from the Archives of the Syngman Rhee Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Pyongyang, 1950, pp 225.

The record of anti-American agitation was in No. 8 for 1951 of the *Questions of History* which carried three articles against America: S. Grigorovich, "From the History of American Aggression in the Russian Far East 1918-1929" accuses America not only of imperialism at the expense of Russia but also for the bestial acts of the American soldiers under the command of General Graves. The new volume by Manning, *The Siberian Fiasco*, shows on the other hand that America quite quickly and voluntarily left the far eastern provinces of Russia. N. Slobodanyuk, "The American Imperialistic Aid to Fascist Intervention in Spain, 1936-1939" hurls at America charges diametrically opposed to those that the Fascists made. Slobodanyuk believes that America aided the Fascists, while the Fascists assert that America helped the Communists by permitting the organization of a Spanish brigade. E. Chernyak in a letter, "The Apology for Slavery in the most recent American historical literature" tries to show that it contains a defence of slavery. He magnifies every admission of slave labor and twists the thoughts of the American authors.

The writers, O. Riss and A. Gronsky, in an article "The help of the USA to the white guards in the attack on Petrograd, 1919" admit that „imperialistic England was the soul of the white guard attack on Petrograd." Yet these two scientific researchers are able to assert that America helped Yudenich in his attack on the capital of the tsars.¹⁸

These are only the most important anti-American articles published during two years in one Soviet scholarly journal. There were even more of them.

Besides the *Questions of History* anti-American articles appeared also in the other publications of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR; in the *Memoirs* of the Academy and the *Proceedings* of the Academy. The same S. Guliga wrote on "The role of the USA in preparing the Japanese invasion of the Soviet Far East in the beginning of 1918"¹⁹ In this number Yu. Pisarev wrote "From the History of the Expansion of the USA in the Balkans 1918-1923" extending the shorter work of M. Birman on American imperialism in Bulgaria.²⁰

Outside of the scientific institutions the Communist party carried on a mad agitation against America. We are not able to give much information about this flood of anti-American literature which appeared in separate publications, for they have not reached us. Yet the Soviet journals mention some of these works, for they print reviews of them in the Soviet scientific historical publications. An anti-American work need

¹⁸ *Op. cit.* 1951/59.

¹⁹ *Memoirs* of the AS. USSR, Vol. 33, 1950.

²⁰ *Proceedings* of the AS USSR, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1950.

only appear from the Gospolizdat for it to be reviewed. Such a work is that of A. Bereskin, "*The USA as the active organizer and participant in the military intervention against Soviet Russia, 1918-1920.*,"²¹ "The scientific criticism" welcomes this book just as it did the work of A. E. Kunina on the planned American world empire.

For this agitation against the United States the Soviets are harnessing especially non-Russians who live in the USSR and are Communist citizens of the Soviet Union. On the pages of the scientific historical publications there are mentions of the book of the American Communist Anna Rochester: *American Capitalism, 1607-1800* (Moscow, 1950). She is the author of such other books which have appeared in Moscow as *Labor and Coal in America*, Moscow, 1933, and *Why the Farmers are Poor*, Moscow, 1949. The author in her latest book paints in black colors the development of the American prosperity. "American capitalism, she writes, was founded on the bones of millions of the native inhabitants of America, the Indians who have been robbed and physically annihilated." D. Boblikov reviewing this book by Rochester in the pages of the *Questions of History* writes that this book "is dedicated to the unmasking of the base lie of the USA as the country of the new world, the paradise for the workers, of peace, freedom, democracy and similar fairy tales."²²

Thus a real light is thrown upon the attitude of the present red Russia to America. The pastoral letter of Archbishop Antoni written forty years ago about America has been surpassed in an article of the present-day Russian monarchist Solonevich who being outside of America has felt himself more free to express the true feelings of the Russian anti-Soviet leadership against our country and the American people and to show that the feeling of the Russians to America at the present time are far from being as cordial as America has shown the Russians in the USA, for both the red and the white Russians realize that America is the biggest obstacle for carrying out their plans of crushing democracy and making a Russian universal world empire with capital in Moscow.

²¹ Politizdat, Moscow, 1949.

²² *Questions of History*, 1951/6.

THE THEORIES AND PRACTICE OF THE ACADEMICIAN TROFYM LYSENKO

by IVAN BEZPALIW

The name of the Academician T. Lysenko is well known among the scientists of the United States, for his scientific works run counter to all the discoveries of modern genetics which aims to solve the problem of variation and heredity.

Academician Lysenko is of Ukrainian origin. He began his scientific work at the period of the compulsory collectivization of agriculture, i. e. in 1929-30, when for the first time his name appeared in the Bolshevik press in connection with the so-called vernalization. During the next 5 years Lysenko not only was decorated with the Order of Lenin but he became an academician and in two years president of the Lenin Institute of Agricultural Science. Having reached the scientific heights of the USSR with the support of the Communist Party, he commenced the revision of genetics and remodelled it in the Soviet Marxian manner desired by Stalin, the "high priest of all sciences."

Both in politics and science the Bolsheviks have always relied upon world-renowned scholars. So as not to be mistaken in their doctrines, they have always selected those authorities whom they can best manipulate and to remove the danger of surprise, they have usually selected those who were already dead. The Soviet Chichikovs can easily arm themselves with the dead souls of these scholars and begin their attacks. Academician Lysenko understood this at the very beginning of his Soviet career.

Lysenko chose, in addition to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Charles Darwin, Prof. Temiryazev, I. Michurin and the well-known American selectionist who had died 20 years before, Luther Burbank, and he set to work to annihilate formalist genetics, as he called the contemporary world genetics. Contemporary genetics, as is known, is based on the scholarly work of Mendel, Weismann, Johanssen, de Vries and Morgan, the last a well-known American scholar in genetics. Thanks to the work of these scholars we can now explain fairly well how various characteristics and qualities are transmitted from one generation to another. On the basis of this knowledge the development of various types of cultivated plants (and animals) has been significantly hastened and improved in our times.

Yet this did not prevent Lysenko from declaring the teachings of Mendel, Weismann and Morgan reactionary, thanks to which modern genetics has been caught in a blind alley or is circling around in one place. According to Lysenko this happened because genetics, thanks to these reactionary teachings, has been torn away from the theory of development, so successfully worked out by Karl Marx. Lysenko believes that it is only the environment that influences the development of organism and that all variation and heredity depend upon a development which is in turn dependent upon the environment, and therefore he adds that the modern geneticists are anti-Darwin, and anti-Michurin. The new teachings of Lysenko in genetics, despite the names of Marx, Darwin and Michurin, which he constantly manipulates are in essence a form of Lamarckism revived in the Bolshevnik manner, although the Bolshevniks have always denied this. No prominent geneticist approves the teachings of Lysenko and Professor Muller, an American geneticist who received the Nobel Prize, declared in 1936 that the teachings of Lysenko were magic in science. Unfortunately this magic has triumphed the entire USSR; it has been intruded into all the satellite states as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania.

To understand better the lack of a scientific basis in the attacks of Lysenko upon modern genetics, which rests upon a great mass of experimental material collected during the last 50 years, I will permit myself to stop a moment on the attitude of modern genetics towards the influence of environment on variation and heredity. Modern genetics has never rejected the influence of environment on the living organism to the degree that Lysenko pretends.

It is, of course, obvious that without an actual natural environment always existing in every geographical area, there can be no development and no existence of living creatures. But beside the specific environment in every special case, in every plant or animal organism there is a special intrinsic content which is found in the sexual cells in special segments called chromosomes in the form of specific particles called genes, which condition the appearance of various qualities and characteristics of plants or animals and their transmission to the offspring. Modern geneticists believe that despite the great influence of the environment upon the entire organism, this influence is not absolute and decisive in the changing of heredity. Very often the influence of the environment produces significant changes in the somatic (physical) being but these changes are not inheritable and do not appear in the offspring. But, as happens rarely, if the changes appear in the genes themselves, the new characteristics which

have appeared in the organism will be repeated in the following generations through heredity.

Thus only those changes, as is said in genetics, which are of a genotype character can be inherited. Those which are phenotype (physical) are never inheritable and are only a modification, a temporary phenomenon.

This view of modern genetics is based upon life examples. Let us take a strain of winter wheat, as the Ukrainka, to which in Ukraine, where Lysenko worked for a long time, about 5,000,000 hectares were planted. Without regard for the various climatic conditions of the various geographical regions, this strain was and is still with such unchanging inheritable characteristics as the production every year and in every region of beards of white color, a red kernel, and a slightly violet color of the stem below the ear at the time of ripening. During 20 years the Ukrainka has never changed into a beardless, but white-kernelled wheat. As it was rust-resistant in the first years of its appearance, so it is today. If the environment had such an influence upon heredity as Lysenko says, we would never have fixed breeds of grain plants, fruits and similar plants. If we sowed one, we would produce another, but thanks to God, we have in nature its own development independent of all the theories of Marx and Engels, something fully rational, which man can use profitably for himself on the basis of real knowledge. The science of Lysenko, which is based on dialectics, is only dialectics and nonsense cleverly worked out by the Bolsheviks. Lysenko emphasizes that formalist genetics explains variation and heredity only by the appearance in the sexual cell of some particles, corpuscles, in which are placed the characteristics of future generations. In stressing the word "placed," he further adds: "if they are placed, they have been placed by some one, and from the beginning to the end without change." Lysenko concludes that they were placed by God and that is idealism. In recognizing this, Lysenko in the Bolshevik manner links genetics with the priesthood, obscurantism, reactionarism and therefore an anti-scientific point of view.

A fully just and real evaluation of the genetic works of Lysenko has been given by the well-known English scholars, P. S. Hudson and R. G. Richens (See the book, *The New Genetics in the Soviet Union*, Imperial Bureau of Plant Breeding and Genetics, England, 1945).

They say: "The majority of the proofs of Lysenko are from analogy; in other words, all the conclusions of Lysenko are secured not as results which come from the clear facts of argumentation, but through the support of his proofs by the selected authorities (Darwin, Temiryazev, Michurin, Marx, Engels and Burbank), and by condemning his opponents because they do not agree with the opinions of his authorities.

“By rejecting all the scientific data collected during the last 30 years of Mendelian genetics (the modern world-wide genetics) Lysenko thereby pays his debt to obscurantism and thus reduces his views to nothing. He criticizes Mendelian genetics for its contradiction to dialectic materialism and also because it disagrees with results of his investigations. Most of his proofs have no factual support.”

Lysenko actually always emphasizes that the truth of a theory is shown by practice and the advantage that the practice of agriculture receives from the application of the theory. Let us turn now to the profit which the scientific studies of Lysenko have given in Ukraine and the other republics of the USSR, where his theory has been broadly applied in practice.

Let us begin with the so-called vernalization, with which Lysenko commenced his scientific activity and which in his words became the basis of all his further works on genetics. He began with the vernalization of winter wheat. After two years of investigations on the study of the length of the dormant period of grain plants in Azerbaijan (north Caucasus), Lysenko informed science of his discovery of the reasons for the failure of winter wheat to head when it was sown in the spring. On the basis of his studies he showed that winter wheat sown in the spring did not head (and therefore did not produce grain) only because there were not in spring the low temperature conditions, which were necessary for winter wheat during the first part of its development. These temperature conditions are found in the autumn and therefore winter wheat will head only when it is sown in the autumn. We can produce these conditions artificially in spring in a room by wetting the seed of winter wheat (or grain) so that it will merely sprout and then by maintaining for 50-60 days a temperature of 20-50 (35-41° Fahrenheit), and so we can afterwards plant it along with spring wheat. The winter wheat, thus treated and sown in the spring, will develop like spring wheat. This discovery gave Lysenko the possibility of declaring that previously no scholar either in the USSR or abroad had been able to force winter wheat to head when it was sown in the spring. But in fact this statement is false. In 1918 the German scholar Prof. Gasner published a work on this same question. Thus 10 years before Lysenko made his investigations, Gasner on the basis of his own studies came to the conclusion that all winter wheats needed low temperatures during the first stages of their development. In outlining his own studies, Lysenko became acquainted in 1927 with the works of Gasner and knew the conclusions at which Prof. Gasner arrived. Lysenko himself had to admit this in his printed work, *Theoretical Bases of Vernalization* (See T. Lysenko. *Agrobiology*, Moscow, 1949, Publication of Agricultural Literature).

By profiting from the investigations of Professor Maksymov and Poyarkova on the cold sprouting of winter wheat seed, Lysenko only perfected the technique of treating the seed and called it the vernalization of winter wheat. The assertions of Lysenko that no one had previously been able to force spring-sown winter wheat to head are unfounded. In the first place by this device he did not force the winter wheat, for he gives it the same conditions which winter wheat receives from autumn sowing in the field. Without moistening or sprouting (and the sprouted seeds are plants, not seeds) and without corresponding temperature conditions, Lysenko will never force spring-sown winter wheat to head. In the second place no reasonable person has tried to apply such "pressure" to winter wheat in agriculture only because it is unnecessary. We cannot assign the priority in vernalization to Lysenko after the work of Gasner and Maxymov, but we must give him the priority in applying this to practical agriculture. All the deficits caused by the application of vernalization to winter wheat in 1930, 1931 and 1932, have been ascribed by the members of Ukrainian collective farms to the calculations of Lysenko.

What arguments does he give for the application of the vernalization of winter wheat in agriculture? They are: 1. by vernalizing the seed of the winter wheat *Ukrainka*, it is possible to secure large harvests on the ground sown in the spring, where now there are sown spring wheats, which always, thanks to the absence of good varieties, give small yields in southern Ukraine; 2. In years when the sowings of winter wheat are ruined, through vernalization it is easy to resow in spring the winter-sown fields with the same sort of *Ukrainka* and thus secure a good crop from the winter-sown areas.

But reality has shown the opposite in the first years of sowing the vernalized winter wheat in the spring. The sowing of the vernalized seeds of winter wheat were rather rare; they matured late and suffered from the Hessian fly and rust. The harvest from these sowings was less than from spring wheat. These results of vernalization are fully understandable to any person with a practical knowledge of agriculture. Practical farmers have long known this as the result of late sowings of winter wheat in autumn. The sowings of winter wheat in Ukraine in the beginning of November, when the plants only sprouted before the setting up of the cold weather have always given half the crop of that from seed sown in the beginning of September, when winter wheat is usually sown. Late sown winter wheat does not succeed in securing good root growth in the autumn and in spring as we know, the winter wheat usually does not grow roots but starts growing and quickly produces its stalk as they say. So such sowings are always rare and are damaged by the Hessian fly and rust and they mature significantly later with a poor light grain. The

vernalization of winter wheat has shown that it produces significantly smaller crops than the latest autumn-sown wheat. The latest autumn sowings begin to grow in the spring even before the sowing of the spring wheat and the vernalized winter wheat. While the spring wheat and the vernalized winter wheat are coming up, the autumn-sown winter wheat is growing perceptibly and naturally is ahead of the vernalized wheat in development. The sowings of vernalized wheat, after they do come up, develop poor roots, produce only a few shoots and then go to stalk and so after heading the sowings seem thin in comparison with such spring seeds as barley and oats, which have long been accustomed to develop roots in the spring. On seeing such unexpected but bad results of vernalization, Lysenko, without alluding to the vernalization of winter wheat, began to advocate the vernalization of spring wheat as a new agronomic measure for the increase of the yield. From his investigations it seemed as if the vernalization of spring wheat would increase the yield by several centners per hectare. In accordance with the orders of the Commissariat of Grain Production, the sowing of vernalized seeds began not only on large tracts in Ukraine but in the entire USSR and not only 1-2 years but from 1933 on to the beginning of World War II.

If the vernalization of winter wheat failed in a very short time, thanks to the small yields, the vernalization of spring wheat spread for many years only because the decline in the harvest on the farms was hardly noticeable and could be detected only by definite investigation. It was 4 years before the experiment stations collected a sufficient amount of data to show the uselessness of the vernalization of spring wheat. The uselessness of it was evident from the beginning, for according to the statements of Lysenko himself, the vernalization only hastened the ripening of the spring wheat by a few days. It is fully understandable that the earlier ripening of the grain played a role only in the steppe portions of southern Ukraine, where in some years there are droughts which have a bad effect on late ripening of grain. In those parts of Ukraine and the other republics, where there is no danger from droughts, the accelerated maturity often produces unfavorable result. So the application of vernalization to 5,000,000 hectares (the area in 1935) was a great error on the part of the government agricultural institutions. Lysenko carried on his investigations in southern Ukraine for only 2-3 years. This only showed that vernalization could be applied in special areas in the south where in some years there are droughts, but not in the whole of Ukraine and the other republics, where there is sufficient rainfall and droughts never occur.

On the basis of the results of the stations of the Commissariat of Food Industry, it became clear that vernalization was a useless measure and the radhosps after 1936 stopped sowing vernalized seeds, for the com-

missariat did not insist upon it being done by the radhosps. But in those radhosps and kolhosps under the Commissariat of the Grain Industry, this sowing continued into the next years. Lysenko was the inspirer of this, for each year he multiplied these increases for millions of hectares and everywhere proclaimed that this brought to the government millions of centners of grain additional. He never and nowhere reported on the diminution of the harvests due to vernalization.

Only in 1937 in a collection *Disputed Questions of Selection and Genetics* appeared an article by Prof. Konstantinov, where the results of vernalization in the Kuybyshev region of the RSFSR were studied. To illustrate the results of the vernalization of spring grains I give the material cited by Prof. Konstantinov from the Novouzensk experiment station for 1935:

Harvest per hectare of Spring Wheat OIII

Yield from vernalized seed	5.52 cent.
Yield from non-vernalized seed	10.57 cent.

According to the data of the Bezenchuk experiment station for 4 years (1933-1935):

Name of strain	Harvest in % to the non-vernalized			
	Plus 1933	Minus 1934	1935	1936
062 Sarat. st.	minus 0.8	plus 25.3	minus 5.2	plus 6.4
Cesium OIII	minus 10.1	minus 5.9	minus 15.3	minus 3.7

The damage to spring wheat by blight in the sowing of vernalized and unvernallized (ordinary) seed is shown by the following data from the Kinelsk experiment station:

Name of strain	% of blight per year:							
	1933		1934		1935		1936	
	non-v. v.	v. v.	non-v. v.	v. v.	non-v. v.	v. v.	non-v. v.	v. v.
0841	42.5	41.6	52.8	65.8	58.3	85.5	.....	1.5
NOE	.....	.....	36.0	57.2	34.7	85.8	1.3	5.5
062 Sarat. st.	.....	.....	29.3	42.1	.....	.....	0.1	2.2

According to the data of Konstantinov, the sowings with vernalized seeds were injured in all the kolhosps of the Kuybyshev area, and also in western Siberia. Besides it is necessary to add that in the kolhosps where vernalization of seed was applied to hundreds of centners, the seed was often damaged after it was dampened and was lying in the barns for 2 weeks before sowing. The reduction in sprouting of the vernal-

ized seed gave poor stands, so that the harvest was also significantly reduced. Most of the kolhosps and radhosps in sowing the vernalized seed planted it on the best sections with the most fertile soil. The increase of the harvest thanks to the better soil and its fertilization, Lysenko used for the calculation of the effects of vernalization.

If we consider also the expenditures of labor power in the carrying on of vernalization for 2-3 weeks in the barns of the radhosps and kolhosps, we can see that the losses from vernalization are still further increased.

This induced another Academician, Lisitsyn, to come out in the IVth session of the Academy of Agricultural Science in January, 1936 and declare that Lysenko was pointing out the millions of increase from vernalization but that he did not indicate the millions of deficits which were incurred by the vernalization of spring grains. At this session Academician Lisitsyn introduced the proposal to publish in the press the results of the work of all the experiment stations, which had been secured during the 4 years and thus to indicate the real results which Lysenko did not publish. But Academician Lysenko was under the wing of the party and the special favorite of Stalin and so nobody dared to print the data on vernalization of all the experiment stations of the USSR. All remembered too well Prof. Maksymov, who had dared to oppose Academician Lysenko even at the beginning of his activity in the matter of the vernalization of winter wheat. Attacked by Present and Lysenko, this distinguished physiologist disappeared somewhere in a quiet corner of Siberia. For such support from Stalin and the Party Lysenko constantly praises the kolhosp system and the "wise leader" of peoples — Stalin, thanks to whom the people in the kolhosps have a "happy" and "gay" life.

In conclusion I wish to pause on the "achievements" of Academician Lysenko in developing a strain of spring wheat for southern Ukraine. In 1933 Lysenko in the press gave a promise to develop a more productive strain in spring wheat in 2 1/2 years. This period surprised all selectionists, for in such a short time no one had ever developed a strain. Relying on the fact that the early maturity of spring wheat under the conditions of the south is the decisive factor in the harvest, Lysenko crossed two strains of spring wheat, Hirka 0274 and 062 of the Saratov station. To develop this new strain more rapidly he made use of the great greenhouses of the Odesa Institute of Selection and Genetics in which he multiplied the hybrid plants during the winter. In 2 1/2 years he proclaimed that the strain had been developed and that it was better than the strain 062 which was well known in the south. But this strain never saw the light for when it appeared, the strain except for maturing 5-6 days earlier, had no other good qualities but it was evident that it did more harm to the

soil than any other variety. Observing this, Lysenko with the aid of the dialectic falsehood said in the next years that it was possible to develop an early maturing strain in terms unknown to selectionists. This definitely showed that Lysenko had no knowledge of the practice of selection. In our time no selectionist chooses a strain for only one characteristic. Lysenko believed that the one characteristic of early maturity was decisive. Selection is now at a high stage of development and in the choice of strains by the method of hybridization (crossing) there is sought a union of many positive characteristics.

As an example of the early ripening strains there were developed the so-called "expresses" in Ukraine, but it was shown that the shortening of the dormant period led to a lowering of the harvest. Even in the period before collectivization (1926-1929) the well known sorts of "expresses" "The earliest Nemerchansky" and the "Verknyatsky Express 041" were driven from the fields of southern Ukraine by new sorts of German selection (Lokhovo Leytevitvsky) and the new strain of the Verkhnyatsky station (in Kievan Ukraine). These strains matured significantly later but they produced large seeds in comparison with the "expresses," a small percentage of seed chaff and they were more resistant to the weather; they had a better developed root system in the soil and a resistance to drought (especially the German strains). Despite their significantly later maturity they produced 4-5 centners more per unit area. After 1930 there were no more of these "expresses" grown in Ukraine and they were completely replaced by the previously named strains. If Lysenko had been a true selectionist, by this one example he would have understood that the one characteristic of early maturity could not be decisive. The results of the choice of strains for winter wheat was the same in Siberia. After two years of trial of his work it appeared that none of his strains "reworked" to withstand the winter was able to do so. To get out of this position, Lysenko in 1943 instead of developing new strains of winter wheat for Siberia proposed the sowing of winter wheat in Siberia without ploughing immediately on the growing grain. Such an agronomic measure, as we know from very ancient times, could be adopted by no one.

It is thoroughly understandable that such experiments are possible only in the USSR, where there is no private agriculture, which could test the new productions of science, not on the basis of doubtful theories and studies based on political advantage for the ruling party who hold the government in their hands.

HOW I BECAME AN "ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE" AND WAS SENT TO KOLYMA

By PETRO KOLYMSKY

After carrying out the Communist principle of the "self-determination" of the Ukrainian nation and setting up a puppet government, Moscow did not cease its century-old imperialistic policy and in fact controlled the entire life of Ukraine more closely than tsarist Russia had ever done. The measures of the Communist party which were applied from Moscow on Ukraine were supported by a mass terror, which aided in their execution, for by their nature they were hostile to the people and did great damage to Ukraine. Every time before any important action the Communists have practiced and are still practicing a policy of a mass terror. In 1928-9 on the eve of the introduction of mass collectivization they inspired the trial of "The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine," in which they involved hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, both peasants and intelligentsia. These hundreds of thousands of the finest sons of the Ukrainian people, working under prison conditions in the building of the White Sea-Baltic Canal, have strewn the fields of Karelia with their bones.

In 1932-6, the period of the "organized-agricultural" creation of the kolhosps and the "successful industrialization" of the country was characterized by the catastrophic lowering of the standard of living of all classes of the population. Throughout the entire people sounded a note of dissatisfaction with the policy of the party but without a leading revolutionary group the people were incapable of rational action. Reckoning with the existing dissatisfaction of the population and preparing for external expansion, Stalin and his clique planned a new and unprecedented terror, which was to swallow up millions of the population. This terror was especially savage in Ukraine because of its primary importance in the economic system of the USSR. All who during the years of the revolution had taken part in the national uprising against the German occupants of 1918 and had opposed the Moscow attacks upon the Ukrainian Democratic Republic of 1918-1920, under the leadership of Symon Petlyura, all who had ever belonged to any political party, all who had been "dekurkulized,"¹ all who were capable of critical thought, all who

¹ *Kurkuls* — mid-size farmers persecuted by Bolshevics.

had been abroad, or had relatives abroad, were placed in the category of the unreliable and waited for their turn to be arrested. Beside these categories of people, all those were subject to arrest who were called "*involuntary enemies of the people*," and these could be any one without regard for his social and national origin and his party position.

At the March plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the VKP(b), in 1937, Joseph Stalin came forward with a theory which justified the introduction of an unprecedented mass terror in the country and under which it was possible to arrest the entire population. According to this, if in any people's commissariat or institution, the director was arrested and proclaimed an "enemy of the people," all of his subordinates, who were obeying the orders of the arrested person, could be included in the category of "involuntary enemies of the people" and would bear the responsibility equally with the so-called "active enemies of the people," who had in fact done nothing against the Soviet regime. In a country where the economic control is centralized, the economy is socialized, the entire population performs the orders of its higher official directors and in accordance with the theory of the "great" and wise Stalin, can be included in the category of "involuntary enemies of the people."

After this plenary meeting, the plan was made for *the arrest of the "marshals' military group*," which was carried out with especial ferocity in the military districts of Ukraine. The entire command section of the army in the Kiev military district and its army units, after the shooting of the marshals in Moscow, were rearrested several times and again and again. 200 metres from the building of the Administration of the Kiev Military District, beside the Franko Theatre in Kiev, stood a large six story building in which lived the officers of the military district. Every night the NKVD took from this building 3-4 families. As a rule, the fathers and mothers were taken to prison and the children sent to children's homes. New replacements were moved in and then these in 2-4 weeks were arrested.

The summer of 1937 was a period of wild terror in Kiev and it involved all fields of economic life. There was not an institution or enterprise where at the end of July and the beginning of August there were not arrested workmen, staff members and especially the managers of enterprises. The arrests ran through all strata of the population and there was no group which could feel certain and secure that it was not to be involved.

In the kolhosps and the motor tractor stations, they began to fabricate fabulous accusations against the members of the kolhosps, the workmen and the staff members of these institutions. In many regions of the Chernyhiv district there commenced campaigns on loud-speakers

How I Became an "Enemy of the People" and Was Sent to Kolyma 167

against the so-called wrecking in the horse-raising industry. In all districts of Ukraine show trials were held of the directors and agronomists of the regions, on the ground that they had been wreckers in the field of the village economy. In the Khrystynivsky region of the Kiev district and the Haysynsky region of the Vinnytsya district, the agronomists and the directors of the regions were shot for the so-called wrecking of the village economy, without indicating the nature of this wrecking. All the regional prisons were filled to overflowing with members of the kolhosps, workers of the Motor Tractor Stations and of the sugar refineries and the local intelligentsia and for lack of space the prisoners were placed in warehouses and schools under guard. If they could accuse the workmen of right or left deviations from the general line of the party, the NKVD tried to involve the village intelligentsia and the peasants of the kolhosps in Ukraine under the broader formula of an accusation of Ukrainian nationalism. The elite of the Ukrainian people was wiped out at this time and contact with the foreign emigration was made difficult. Then the NKVD began to form the directorate of spurious organizations from the ranks of the former members of the party of the Borotbisty. In March, 1937, there began the mass arrests of the Borotbisty, who were holding important economic and party posts. In May, 1937, at a congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the former leader of the party of the Borotbisty and the head of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine in 1937, Panas Lyubchenko, made a speech. In this he defended the proclaimed policy of mass terror especially against the *"Ukrainian nationalists, the enemies of the people."* He spoke of the then Commissar for Internal Affairs, the NKVD, the hangman Ezhov, as if he had changed the prisons and concentration camps into sanatoria and buildings for rest. He demanded the introduction into the places of confinement of a regime under which no one could get out—so as to be a warning to others. Lyubchenko thought that after this speech he would divert suspicion from himself and gain the confidence of Stalin. Without taking any notice of this speech, the authorities began at once an even more intensive arresting of the former Borotbisty.

To lay a political basis for these mass arrests among the innocent population of Ukraine, Moscow made every effort to establish an authentic National-Liberation Centre, which was trying to overthrow the Soviet regime and to separate Ukraine from Moscow. This was not the first time that they had created artificial, actually non-existent, anti-government organizations and so they quickly and even crudely staged the National-Liberation Centre.

After my arrest, I was for a month and a half in the same cell as another prisoner, V. Vsevolozhsky, a candidate for membership in the

Central Committee of the Communist Party Bolsheviks of Ukraine (C. K. K.P(b)U. Before his arrest he had seen the stenographic account of the C.K.VKP(b) and of the C.K.KP(b)U and told to all his cellmates the following: in the beginning the organization of the National Liberation Centre of Ukraine was started by the arrest of Voytsekhivsky, the then secretary of the All-Ukrainian Executive Committee, Trylisky, the head of the district executive committee of the Vinnysya district, and Khvylya, the head of the committee on arts in the Council of the People's Commissars of Ukraine. In July and August, 1937, the NKVD tried to form definitely this organization. Voytsekhivsky and Trylisky under savage torture gave enforced confessions that they both belonged to the National-Liberation Centre of Ukraine, the director of which was Panas Lyubchenko, the head of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine. Khvylya categorically denied the existence of the centre and thus ruined the plans of the NKVD.

In August, 1937, Ezhov, the People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the USSR called to Moscow Voytsekhivsky, Trylisky and Khvylya as prisoners and Panas Lyubchenko as head of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine, whom the first two prisoners had accused of being the director of the centre. As it is managed in the NKVD, any one who has given an untruthful confession must maintain it to the end and so it happened in this case.

Ezhov arranged for the personal confronting of Voytsekhivsky, Trylisky and Khvylya with Lyubchenko in the presence of Stalin, Kaganovich and Voroshilov. Voytsekhivsky and Trylisky affirmed that there did exist in Ukraine a National-Liberation Centre to which they both belonged with Khvylya and Lyubchenko as the leader. They stated that they had organized millions of members of the kolhosps, workers and intelligentsia into revolutionary regiments which were fully prepared and at any moment on the signal of the National Liberation Centre could move against the Soviets. Khvylya as a prisoner and Lyubchenko as the head of the Council of people's Commissars of Ukraine and member of the C.K. VKP(b) categorically denied the testimony of the first two and carefully showed that this was an absolute slander against themselves and millions of innocent Ukrainians. Khvylya and Lyubchenko pointed out to Ezhov, Stalin, Kaganovich and Voroshilov that there was in Ukraine no National-Liberation Centre and no regiments of Ukrainians ready for battle, and that this was a hostile invention intended to embitter the Ukrainian population against the Communists. Stalin who was present at the interview especially asked Voytsekhivsky and Trylisky whether they had in fact such a widely dispersed organization and had added to it millions of Ukrainians. They both asserted that they had.

How I became an "Enemy of the People" and Was Sent to Kolyma 169

The participants in this Moscow confrontation were returned to Kiev but under different conditions. Voytsekhivsky, Trylisky and Khvylya as prisoners were transported in a prison car and Lyubchenko, as head of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine went in his own private car. On the arrival of the three prisoners in Kiev, the NKVD undertook the harmonizing of the testimony of Voytsekhivsky and Trylisky with that of Khvylya. Leplevsky, the Commissar of Internal Affairs of Ukraine directly undertook this task on the orders of Moscow. He so "carefully" made a new investigation of Khvylya that the latter did not stand the torture and declared that he had told a lie in Moscow in the presence of Stalin. With the aid of Leplevsky, he wrote to Ezhov a letter in which he admitted a lie in the presence of Stalin and added that the statements of Voytsekhivsky and Trylisky were correct. With this V. Vsevolozhsky ended his story.

On August 31, 1937, the newspaper *Communist* published the news of the suicide of Panas Lyubchenko "who was connected with the nationalists and feared the punishment of Soviet justice and killed himself." Nothing more was said but *the population of Ukraine felt on its own skin how the period of terror reached its apogee after the suicide of Lyubchenko*. The NKVD which had created on paper the National Liberation Centre, after the suicide of Lyubchenko, proceeded to mass arrests on a hitherto unprecedented scale among the intelligentsia, workers and members of the kolhosps. As in the first half of 1937 there were arrested many party members along with the non-party, so later the special weight of the arrests fell upon the non-party section of the population of Ukraine. They began to arrest those millions of whom Voytsekhivsky and Trylisky had spoken in their wild accusations. Millions of innocent Ukrainians were arrested and proclaimed "enemies of the people."

In Kiev itself before my sudden arrest there was not a single important building where there had not been at least one person arrested as an "enemy of the people." In the building in which I lived before my arrest there had been seized 11 people. In the buildings of the People's Commissariats some one in almost every section was arrested in 1937.

The entire population of Ukraine and especially of Kiev, its capital, was so terrorized that people stopped visiting, for they were afraid that if the person whom they visited was arrested, they would be also. In the middle of September, 1937, there was not a family, in which some member or relative had not been arrested as an "enemy of the people." The overwhelming majority of those arrested were ordinary people who worked without stopping to secure a little food for their family. Those who remained at liberty were confident that their neighbors and friends had done nothing against the government and were the innocent victims of the

bloody terror of Stalin. Each kept his thoughts to himself, for he was afraid to speak about it. At the same time all the papers published in huge letters that "the NKVD makes no mistakes, for it is directed by a collaborator of Stalin, the iron People's Commissar, M. Ezhov."

The very character of the development and carrying on of the campaign of struggle against the "enemies of the people" as a whole and the "nationalists" in particular shows that this was a planned systematic operation without any basis in fact, which cost the peoples of the USSR 12-13 millions of imprisonments and 1.5-2 millions of execution of thoroughly innocent people.

After beginning the struggle with nationalism in Ukraine, *Moscow began to uncover nationalist organizations throughout the entire USSR*. The Caucasus, Central Asia, and even wild Yakutia, according to the articles in *Pravda* were filled with nationalist organizations, which were calling for the overthrow of the Soviet regime. The great variations in the different nations of the USSR and the differences in their cultural levels insured different paths and tempos of development of their national cultures under the Soviet and of their national consciousness. It was therefore obvious nonsense when Moscow at one moment discovered nationalism in all the national republics. The primitive Yakut and the Ukrainian, the Mordvin and the Georgian, the Nyanets and the Uzbek, were placed by *Pravda* in the same conditions and compared as if they were on the same stage of development in their national self-consciousness and their political ideology.

To carry into effect the shameful plans of Stalin—the introduction of mass terror of the population of the whole USSR, there was needed more than the already existing formulas of accusation—the left deviation, the right deviation, counter-revolutionary activity and many others—and so there was artificially introduced the slogan of the "struggle" with the nationalists throughout the entire USSR. It is of course evident that this "struggle" was especially savagely carried on in Ukraine. In this campaign of "struggle against the enemies of the people," Ukraine paid a heavier toll than the other peoples. More than 2.5 millions of individuals lost their liberty and over 400,000 completely innocent people their lives. These like the rest of the population of Ukraine did not love and support the Communist regime but they took no active part in the opposition and did not belong to the organizations of which they were accused. Only an unimportant handful of revolutionists risked their lives and carried on deliberately an opposition to the Soviet regime. About this I will speak in the following sketches describing the investigation made of me and my life in a Soviet prison.

OBITUARIES

IZAAC MAZEPA

(August 16, 1884 — March 18, 1952)

The death of Isaac Mazepa is a real loss to the Ukrainian struggle for national self-determination and the joint struggle of the non-Russian peoples against Russian imperialism.

From his student years Isaac Mazepa worked and struggled for the National liberation of the Ukrainian people and for their self-determination as a state. He carried on his entire political activity not from a narrow point of view but with a vision of the reconstruction of the entire world on new principles. These were first, the need of putting into practice the right of all peoples to their own self-determination in the



form of sovereign states, and secondly, the coordination of all these national states into a broader continental confederation and then into a world union of free peoples. Only a consistent democrat could choose such a policy for his activity and that was what Isaac Mazepa was from his early years and what he remained until his death.

An obstacle to this reconstruction of the world was the imperialism of various colors, manifested especially in the efforts of the Russian and Polish imperialists to hold Ukraine as their colony. Isaac Mazepa became a consistent fighter of these imperialisms, without transferring his hostility towards the imperialists to the Russian and Polish people.

Professor Mazepa was not only a political but also a social democrat. Agreeing with the brilliant formula of Mykhaylo Drahomaniv that under the conditions of the life of the Ukrainian people, dominated by the alien Polish and Russian landlords and by industrial and commercial capital, the national liberation was possible only if at the same time there occurred a corresponding social and economic reform, Isaac Mazepa was

a true confessor of social democracy for Ukraine. Love for his people, faith in political and social democracy and hope for the progress of the people on the basis of law and justice—these were the motivating sources of his activity during his entire civic life.

During the creation of the state of Ukraine in 1917 Isaac Mazepa quickly distinguished himself, despite his youth, first in Katerynoslavshchyna and then on a general national scale. His keen sense of realism and his political far-sightedness were acknowledged. When in 1917-1919 many democrats and non-democrats lost their sense of the essence of Russian Bolshevism and its revolutionary slogans, he was one of those who never allowed himself to be deceived by the false slogans.

Isaac Mazepa was always firm in his support of a general political democracy of a parliamentary form and regarded "Soviet democracy" as a sham. As a delegate to the Labor Congress of Ukraine in January, 1919 he was at the head of the fraction of the Social Democrats in the Congress and with the help of its members he put through a resolution which rejected absolutely any combination with the slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat or the government of the Soviets and he urged the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic to make preparations for calling an all-national parliament for Ukraine as soon as possible.

At the beginning of April, 1919 Isaac Mazepa was called to the post of Minister of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian National Republic and in the beginning of August to the post of Prime Minister. Here he supported without wavering, the true Ukrainian movement of liberation and democracy even in the catastrophic days of the end of November and the beginning of December of that year when the lack of clothing, shoes, and drugs caused the spread of a typhus epidemic in the Ukrainian army, decimated it and because of the lack of munitions left it helpless to oppose the numerical superiority of the Red and White Russian armies. At that time Prime Minister Mazepa with the other members of the government went with the remains of the army under the command of Gen. Pavlenko to break through the enemy front. He was with it in the rear of the enemy where it operated until the end of April, 1920.

The history of modern times knows of few such statesmen who could stand firmly even at the time of the greatest disasters. In America there was George Washington and in Britain, Winston Churchill. Mazepa can confidently be counted in the first rank of statesmen. He steered the ship of state of the Ukrainian National Republic in its worst times; he had to conduct a defence on three fronts against military aggression without his own arms and munitions factories, without drugs and under the full blockade by the Western powers while at the same time the storm of a great social revolution rolled over the whole of eastern

Europe. He held the rudder of the state strongly and unwaveringly, fighting every sign of the white or red reaction of imperialistic Russia and also the claims of Poland.

In the emigration after November 1920, Isaac Mazepa maintained fully the ideals of democracy in Ukraine and the whole of Europe. Just as he did not yield before the pressure of the Bolshevikophile atmosphere which reigned in Europe in 1918—1921, so later he did not waver for an instant under the pressure of the new reactionary currents of Nazism and Fascism. With a feeling of the greatest tact and of healthy compromise he was able to organize a consolidated centre of Ukrainian democracy and to orient it on world democracy. His plan of creating a world organization of Ukrainians, the Ukrainian Congress National Committee in Europe in 1934, was his chief service.

Mazepa firmly believed in the victory of the American and British democracy in its struggle against Nazism and Fascism and was firmly convinced that the western democracy would finally break Russian Soviet imperialism with the aid of the national movements for liberation. After World War II, he was most prominent in reorganizing the Ukrainian State Centre, which continued in the emigration the tradition of Ukrainian statehood of the time of the Ukrainian National Republic. He succeeded in organizing the Ukrainian National Rada and he put into it a great deal of knowledge and energy.

Finally we will give some biographical data about Isaac Mazepa. He was born August 16, 1884 in Chernyhivschyna. At first he studied in a religious seminary but later devoted himself to natural science, especially botany. He was a distinguished student in this field and received one of the first fellowships to continue his studies. He completed his university studies in Petrograd. There as a student he joined the Ukrainian revolutionary movement, which was working for the independence of Ukraine. Then he entered the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labor Party, to which belonged at a certain period of their civic activity Petlyura, Vynnychenko, Porsh and others instrumental in the building of the Ukrainian state. After the failure of this movement for the liberation of Ukraine in November, 1920, Isaac Mazepa joined the emigration and engaged in scientific work as a professor of the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy in Podebrady, Czechoslovakia, without giving up his active participation in the struggle for political liberation.

PROFESSOR ZENON KUZELA

(23. VI, 1882—24. V. 1952)



The Ukrainian scholarly world has suffered another heavy loss. On May 24 of this year, after a severe illness, Prof. Zenon Kuzela, the President of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, died in Paris. He was 70 years of age and left behind him a record of 50 years of scientific activity. The Society was preparing to recognize the two jubilees of its distinguished President but a month before the occasion, he set out upon his last journey.

Prof. Zenon Kuzela was born on June 23, 1882 in Poruchin in Western Ukraine. As a student in the gymnasium he became a founder-member of an illegal ideological organization "*Young Ukraine*" and later in the University he took an active part in student life. He carried on his university studies in Lviv and Vienna, where he studied history, Slavic philology and ethnography. These broad interests marked his later fruitful scholarly and publicistic work. In his student years he came under the influence of such great scholars as Vatroslav Yagich, Ivan Franko, Fedir Vovk, with whom he later worked as a young scholar. He was assistant to Prof. Yagich and librarian in Vienna. In 1904, 1905, and 1906 he took part in the scientific anthropological and ethnological expedition organized by the Paris Anthropological Society and the Shevchenko Scientific Society, working under the direct guidance of Prof. Vovk and Dr. I. Franko. After becoming a doctor of Slavic philology and history, he worked in the University library in Vienna; with good reason he was appointed lecturer in the Ukrainian language and literature in the University of Chernivtsy. There he took an active part in the cultural renaissance in Bukovina Ukraine, as a lecturer, cultural worker, publicist and organizer.

During World War I Prof. Kuzela was again in Vienna, for he was compelled to leave Chernivtsy before the Russian occupation. There from the first he took part in the scholarly work of the Viennese circle of Ukrainian scholars. But Ukrainian activity demands active participation in the national struggle and he carried on in the *Union for the Liberation of Ukraine* propaganda and educational work among Ukrainian prisoners from the Russian army. But he never stopped his scientific researches in those fields which had interested him in the university; ethnography, Slavic and bibliography.

After the failure of the revolutionary efforts, Prof. Kuzela remained in the emigration and from that time with the exception of a few months he was separated from his native land for 37 years—until his death—but he was constantly connected with it by his spirit, his scientific interests and by the whole content of his unwearied work. Living in Berlin (1916-1945), he carried on a many-sided activity. Under his editorship came out a series of books, journals and bulletins, the Ukrainian Publishing House, a series of volumes of belles-lettres, a series of publications in Ukrainian and foreign languages—all were connected with his activity. Prof. Kuzela was at the same time an active collaborator in foreign publications, and edited the Slavic material in the *Minerva* yearbooks, encyclopedias and other collective works.

His lecturing and research work of this period deserves special mention but can be only summarized in his obituary. In 1921 he was named Ordinary Professor of Ethnography in the Ukrainian Free University. He was also lecturer in the Ukrainian language in the University of Berlin, where he became docent in 1930.

His work as lecturer acquainted him with the young students and their needs. In 1938 he became head of the Berlin organization for help to young Ukrainian intellectuals, the KoDUS and in 1944 on his initiative this was revived in the emigration and he became its head. In this post, he worked as no one else for the Ukrainian students. The organization which he founded secured during the past seven years 1261 scholarships in Germany alone.

But without stressing the diversity of his interests and his practical activity, Prof. Kuzela was primarily a scholar. That was the purpose of his life and his work from his university studies to the high post of President of the oldest Ukrainian scientific society, the Shevchenko Scientific Society. At the age of 27 he was chosen as a young scholar an active member. He cooperated with it closely during his activity in Chernivtsy. Between the two World Wars, he acted as representative of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Germany and maintained contact with various German scientific institutions. He was also a representative of the So-

ciety in the International Union member of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute (UNI) in Berlin where he directed the library, arranged the archives and the press section and worked in the Slavic division; he was a member of the Board of the UNI and vice-director of the Institute. He was also a member of the Historical-Philological Society of Prague. He was one of the active initiators of the revival of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in exile and at its first general meeting in 1947, he was elected Vice-President. On the death of Prof. Ivan Rakovsky, President for many years, in 1949, Prof. Kuzela was elected President. In 1952, when the International Free Academy of Sciences in Paris was founded, he was chosen an active member and head of the Ukrainian Section of the Academy.

The bibliography of his scholarly and publicistic works is still waiting for its compiler. We will mention only his most important works in his favorite field, ethnography. In the Viennese period of his scholarly activity, Prof. Kuzela wrote a two-volume work, *The Child in the Customs and Beliefs of the Ukrainian People*. He collected much material on folk medicine from all of Slavdom in a great two-volume work edited by Dr. Kronfeld and Hovorka. In the *Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society* appeared his striking studies, *Sitting by the Dead* and *King Matvy in the Slavic Oral Literature*. Materials which he collected filled two volumes of the *Geschlechtsleben der Ukrainer*. Not only Ukrainian ethnography even to its most distinguished representatives of which he was one, but also other fields, in which he was interested, were enriched by his studies, ideals and reviews. His valuable articles include those in the three volume *Ukrainian Encyclopaedia*, of which he was one of the main editors.

Ukrainian science has suffered a great loss in the death of Prof. Kuzela. But the whole of Ukrainian society has felt it likewise. He was not only a great master in his field, but he was a great Citizen, a great Patriot, a true son of his Church, and above all, a man of a clear character and a golden heart. The Ukrainian youth has lost in him a true friend and an unforgettable guardian.

N. CHUBATY

MYKHAYLO OMELANOVYCH-PAVLENKO

1880 — 1952

Mournful tidings have come from Paris. On May 29, General Mykhaylo Omelanovych-Pavlenko, the Supreme Commandant of the Ukrainian Republican Army, died. General Pavlenko was descended from a very old Kozak line. The military profession held a traditional place in his family. One branch of the Omelanovych-Pavlenko family lived in the famous Zadunayska Sich which in 1828 under the leadership of Hetman Joseph Hladky refused the political asylum of the Turks and returned to Ukraine. Among these Kozaks was an ancestor of the late General. Although the greater part of the Kozaks were sent to the Kuban, Omelanovych-Pavlenko's ancestor was removed to the Katerinoslav Province.



From the Archive of the UFAS.

Carrying on the old military tradition, Mykhaylo Omelanovych-Pavlenko was sent at an early age to learn the military arts in a Cadet Corps, and later to a Military Academy in Petersburg. Having completed his military training with honors, the First Lieutenant he was commissioned and assigned to one of the Tsar's Guard Regiments. Here he made swift progress. In 1914, at the age of 40 he held the rank of Colonel in a Guard's Regiment.

The revolution of 1917 burned in the veins of this Tsarist Guard Officer of old Ukrainian lineage. At the time he was in command of the Odesa Military Academy. In 1917 without a moment of hesitation he enlisted in the service of the Ukrainian Liberation Cause and he remained faithful to the Ukrainian Government until his death.

During the time of the Central Rada he was the Commander of the Ukrainian Military General Staff School. Then in the rank of General

he commanded a brigade of the forces of the Ukrainian National Republic in his native Katerinoslav Province, where he was, incidentally, the first organizer and leader of the Ukrainian Free Kozaks.

In the days of the Hetmanate General Pavlenko was the Commander of the Third Infantry Division in Poltava; later (from October 16, 1918) he was Field Commander of the Zaporozhian Division.

But Mykhaylo Omelanovych-Pavlenko entered the greater historical arena on the 10th of November, 1918 when he accepted the post of High Commander of the Ukrainian Galician Army, and held it until September 6, 1919, on which day he gave the command of the Army to General Hrekov. It was under the direction of General Pavlenko that the Ukrainian Galician Army was united out of scattered divisions to form a single force on the Western Polish front.

May 12, 1919 General Pavlenko became the Commander of the Army of the UNR and on June 12, 1919 began the famous Winter Campaign with the Divisions of Volyn, the Kievan Villagers, and the "Iron" division. In joint action with the Cavalry Division the entire army advanced fighting through the territory occupied by the White Russian Army of Denikin and the Bolsheviks, where they carried on a continual fight throughout the entire winter and spring against the Bolsheviks.

The offensive of General Simon Petlyura towards Kiev made it possible for General Pavlenko to unite his section of the Army with the main body of the Army of the UNR. General Pavlenko was one of the first to enter liberated Kiev on May 7, 1920 before the Polish "allies". He was the Commander of the Ukrainian Army until the end of the Bolshevik campaign.

After the downfall of the Ukrainian National Republic Gen. Pavlenko went into exile, lived in Prague, Vienna and finally in Paris, working on the strategic plans for a future war of liberation in Ukraine.

The name of General Mykhaylo Omelanovych-Pavlenko, Sr. has been ineradicably written into the history of the Liberation Struggle of the Ukrainian people. He served his country well.

N. C.

BOOK REVIEWS

ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF THE USSR. Edited by S. S. Balzak, V. F. Vasyutin, and Ya. G. Feigin. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1949, 620. pp.

The American Council of Learned Societies has performed a real service through its Russian Translation Project by making available in the English language this first organized textbook on the economic geography of the Soviet Union, the joint work of a number of Soviet scholars near the end of 1939. Amazingly enough, as stated in the foreword to the Russian edition, this work represents the first textbook presentation of this vital subject in the Soviet Union, and in many respects it is an unusual contribution of considerable factual worth and even of generalized truth. For, as one would expect, the highly detailed descriptions of all the cognate aspects of Soviet economic geography are excessively interspersed with apologetical explanations founded on Marx, Lenin and Stalin.

Needless to say, the complete picture of the precise distribution of Soviet industry, agriculture, transportation, and natural resources cannot be obtained from a concentrated reading of this volume or indeed of any published Soviet writings. Moreover, the heavy dependence on percentages in what is revealed bids one, as usual, to discount many of the exaggerated claims made by the authors who in the atmosphere in which they find themselves can scarcely be expected to exercise scholarly objectivity. However, a sufficient amount of descriptive data is supplied to permit a general understanding of some of the essential features of the economic geography of the Soviet Union.

In the use of terms of nominal designation these writers make considerably more sense than the supposed emigre Russian scholars and teachers who are permitted to misinstruct the youth in our institutions of learning. In the foreword to the Russian edition, for example, it is interesting to note the political usages employed by the writers, as gathered from this sample statement, "Therefore, in the second part, Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia are treated in greater detail as integral parts of a single Ukrainian state and a single Byelorussian state." Not only from a proper nominal identification but also from an abundance of illuminating facts the American student stands to gain immensely from a study of this work which contains throughout exceedingly helpful maps and tables.

Much space is devoted to politico-economic comparisons between the so-called Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union, especially with regard to the economic position of the non-Russian peoples. A long and accurate account is given of Tsarist economic colonialism in the southern regions of the Empire, as, for instance, "The transformation of Turkestan into a cotton colony of Tsarist Russia was carried out by every possible means, primarily by force." It is undeniable, as they state, that "Tsarist Russia was a prison of nationalities . . . In the national regions, Russian officials occupied all or practically all government posts . . . Tsarism was outstanding as an executioner and torturer of non-Russian peoples." Their reference to Lenin (*Works*, Vol. XVIII, p. 198) that "Nowhere in the world is there

such oppression of the majority of the people of a country as in Russia; the Great Russians constitute only 43% of the population, that is, less than half, but all the others, as non-Russians, are without rights," also is well taken. But anyone familiar with the genocidal and Russifying programs of the Soviet regime down to the present day can easily surmise that in these ghastly respects the situation has scarcely changed.

The alleged liberalism intimated above is supposed to explain the emphasis placed upon the industrialization of the national republics under the Soviets, with reliance again on percentage increases. Although in some measure this cannot be denied, a close scrutiny of the data advanced in map form discloses a disproportionate concentration of the heavy industries in the Russian Republic. The feverish development of war industry east of the Urals over the past decade has magnified this concentration still more. Of equal importance, notably for future reconstruction efforts, is the shift in the agricultural bases of the Soviet economy as reflected in the marked growth of food production in Russia proper, particularly in the eastern regions—the Trans-Volga, Trans-Ural and Siberia. Stalin himself keynoted this highly significant development at the 18th Party Congress by declaring that "the base of surplus marketable grain has been transferred from the Ukraine, which used to be considered the granary of our country, to the north and east, that is to the RSFSR." This trend toward increasing self-sufficiency in Russia itself was to be further increased under the third five year plan. Factual information of this sort commends the volume as a valuable source of knowledge to those so-called American experts on Russia who still cling to the archaic notion that Ukraine is to Russia what Pennsylvania is to the United States.

LEV E. DOBRIANSKY.

AMERICA FACES RUSSIA. By Thomas A. Bailey. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1950. pp. 375. \$4.00).

This book surveys American-Russian relations from 1775 to the present time. It is based on facts and is well illustrated. The author successfully debunks several popular American notions in regard to the friendliness of the Russian empire. The first legend that he attacks and proves false is the notion that Catherine II was cordial to this country because she turned down George III's request for 20,000 hirelings. She assured him, though, of her good will. By 1781, however, she violated even this "good will" assurance by taking the lead in organizing the Armed Neutrality against England. Catherine's acts were selfish and she had no more sympathy for the American people in their struggle for freedom than for her own subjects in their similar struggle. And when our Continental Congress sent Francis Dana to St. Petersburg to seek Russian recognition of American independence, he hibernated there from 1781 to 1783 without any success. Meanwhile the Muscovites spied on him, opened his mail, and demanded bribes.

The next point of importance Dr. Bailey considers is the government of Alexander I, which recognized American independence in 1809, and was supposed to be a friend of our country. About this time the young tsar deserted his western allies and joined his former enemy Napoleon and to show his contempt for England, recognized American independence. Three years after this, however, after the fall of Moscow, the same crafty tsar turned to England for help. Alexander's Holy Alliance scheme also definitely threatened American freedom, while Russian penetration of California was not exactly an act friendly to the United States.

During the course of events in the nineteenth century, numerous incidents took place disclosing the Russian political character, which has not changed much even to our time. Among these were: the misconduct of Russian occupation troops, Russian attempts to enslave more small nations, pogroms of the Jews, despotic and ruthless government, Siberian slave camps, and oppression of conquered peoples. The Americans, naturally did not admire such a system. It is no wonder that St. Petersburg was regarded as a very undesirable diplomatic post.

The author also successfully disproves the Russian fleet myth during the Civil War. He concedes only one point of it to be true; namely, that in 1863 two small Russian fleets dropped anchor in American harbors (p. 81). On the other hand, he refers to the documentary evidence discovered by Dr. Golder in 1915, which reveals that the purpose of the Russian "naval mission" to America was to save these fleets from possible destruction. They sought refuge here for themselves because of the Russo-Polish crisis and fear of French and British intervention instead of arriving here at a critical moment to aid the American government.

In dealing with the Russians, both of the Old Regime and the Reds, the author presents them as they are. Almost a third of the book is devoted to the period since 1917, including the Red mania of world revolution, world conquest, and most recent events. Only by reading books of this type will Americans learn the real facts about the Russian propaganda, be it that of the followers of the old tsarist philosophy, the Reds, or the now revitalized Kerensky group. All these groups have none too well disguised imperialistic aspirations which are inimical to the cause of freedom.

WASYL HALICH

Roman Smal-Stocki, *THE NATIONALITY PROBLEM OF THE SOVIET UNION AND RUSSIAN COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM*. Milwaukee. The Bruce Publishing Company, 1952, pp. XXV, 474.

This Volume deserves far more careful consideration not only from American Slavic scholars but from the entire American intellectual world than it will probably receive, for it discusses a large number of questions which have hitherto received scant consideration in the Western World, in Europe as well as in the United States. The author, a distinguished Ukrainian scholar, has sought to re-write in intelligible terms the entire history of the expansion of Moscow into the Russian Empire and now into the Soviet Union at the expense of its neighbors on all sides and especially at the expense of the Ukrainians.

With this purpose in mind, he has collected an enormous mass of material which has been hitherto disregarded or not well correlated in connection with the past and present systems of Russian administration and thought. He has presented it with a scientific objectivity which does him great credit. His analysis of many of the events of the past and present and his discussions of the purposes of Soviet philology and historical study cannot fail to make clear the peculiar way in which Marxian and Russian mystical thought have entered into an unholy alliance against all Christian and religious civilization.

It is only unfortunate that he has combined with this his criticism of the situation existing to-day in American Slavic scholarship as to the indivisible Russia. He realizes clearly its defects but in many cases he has laid his emphasis on the wrong points and his analysis is here more tinged with his personal feelings than with the objective facts of the case.

Up to 1914 American Slavic scholarship was almost non-existent and the few men who were engaged in it worked under great difficulties and there is hardly one of them who does not deserve to be the subject of careful study. They had acquired their interest and training by various methods. Those who taught Slavic history rarely knew any Slavic language. In a word the situation was almost the same as it was in regard to English and American literature in the universities of eastern Europe.

Under such conditions it was easy for the imperial Russian point of view to secure acceptance. There were practically no educated representatives of the non-Russian revolutionary movements available and very little literature. The present reviewer was told in the late twenties by one of the scholars preparing information for the Peace Conference of 1919 that the men working on the Caucasus had no sources except those in Russian. It is not hard to see why President Wilson and his associates in despair at the multitude of nationality problems that appeared washed their hands of the entire business and abandoned their advanced positions under the pressure of other work.

During the next years progress was painfully slow but it is to be noted that the Communist influences in the American universities filtered in not through Slavic departments but through other sources, while the arrival of distinguished Muscovite refugees strengthened the Russian position. Let us note also that during these years little or no help could be secured from the representatives of the other Slavic peoples in the United States. During the prosperous twenties, the American universities scarcely received \$10,000 for the purchase of books from *all* the Slavic colonies in this country and the University authorities showed almost unlimited patience in their efforts to secure the necessary materials for work, while the students sought only courses in Russian.

It was the excessive outburst of sympathy for the Soviet Union in World War II that gave Communism its chance to expand openly. The works published at the time were propaganda works similar to the attacks on the Kaiser in 1914 and it was not until the damage had been done that the American people began to wake up and recover their balance. Many of their most stupid and ill-considered actions were definitely parallel to the policies adopted in regard to other countries of Europe and Asia and if these turned out badly, thanks to the interference of carefully selected political "scholars", they were not signs of the deep intellectual dishonesty that Prof. Smal-Stocki is inclined to see.

He is right in his sense of the urgency of reform. The Western world, blind to the significance of Russia, the Russian Revolution and Bolshevism has wasted thirty years and has been responsible for the death of millions of peace-loving people and the destruction of their invaluable artistic productions. The last hour has struck and we can well understand the feeling of him and of the other DP professors.

Yet the situation is not so hopeless as he seems to believe. The very forces in this country and Canada that produced the sad situation can provide an antidote. One of the vital measures in this is the awakening of the large number of persons of Slavic descent in this country to the real situation and the promotion between them and the university system of a cooperation that has been hitherto lacking. Yet it can be said frankly that the Ukrainian Congress Committee has gone further along this road than any other group and they will be met half way by the institutions.

That there are still men of ill will in the American universities, slavish admirers of Russian power past and present, is still unfortunately true. It is still true that there is much to be done in unmasking them and their work but in the complicated field of American education, little will be gained by some of the denunciation of the book. More will be accomplished and is being accomplished by such careful studies of the reality as he has included in the greater part of the work and for that reason we can only welcome the appearance of this book and hope for more of his positive studies on Slavic philology, culture and history.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND ART. Album of the Woodcuts made in Ukraine in 1947-1950 by (the) artist of the Ukrainian Underground Nil Khasevych ("Bey-Zot") and his Disciples. Published by "Prolog", 1952, Philadelphia, Pa.

The Western cultural world knows of the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Many politicians and statesmen know of it, but very few know of all the methods and devices it has used in this important and bloody struggle with such a skilled enemy as the Russian Communist dictatorship. These means are not only of a physical and military character, but they are far more spiritual and idealistically political. Anti-Communist propaganda holds an important place among these. Anti-Communist broadsides, pamphlets and bitter satire on the Bolshevik system of government, economics and life play a great role in this struggle.

It has fortunately been possible to bring many specimens of this propaganda of the UPA to Western Europe and then to America. We are struck by the fact that the illustrations are on a high artistic level, although for example some of the broadsides are printed with the aid of wooden types.

We have here a carefully edited album of woodcuts from the bunkers of the UPA. It is devoted to the artistic work of Nil Khasevych who was well known before the war and who in the ranks of the UPA developed a rich creative work as the illustrator of its propaganda publications, as a deep satirist and as the creator of an entire school of young artists amid the most unfavorable circumstances of a great conflict.

The Album of woodcuts includes: 1. six graphic works of Nil Khasevych from the period before 1939. Of these four are bookplates, made and praised in Warsaw in 1936-1937, one document and a bookplate from 1939; 2. three woodcuts which symbolize the struggle of the UPA with idealistic slogans: "For a Ukrainian Independent United State;" and "Freedom for nations, Freedom for the Individual"; 3. nine woodcuts from the series "Volyn in the Struggle"; 4. a woodcut of Svyryd, reworked by N. Khasevych from a portrait of Colonel Dmytro Klyachivsky (Klym-Savur-Okhrim), organizer and commander of the UPA in Volyn until he fell in the struggle; 5. three woodcuts from the kolhosp series; 6. two woodcuts which were illustrations on anti-Communist broadsides; 7. three woodcuts satirizing the Communist dictatorship, the so-called "charges"; 8. a woodcut symbolizing the final settlement with Communism; 9. seven sketches for orders and medals to reward the soldiers of the UPA.

We cannot analyze here all the etchings and woodcuts in the Album. The etchings of Nil Khasevych, which date from pre-war times serve to emphasize the artistic individuality of the author of the later woodcuts made in 1947-1950. Some of these woodcuts deserve special attention. Let us begin with those which symbolize the struggle of the UPA for liberation. The first of them

(p. 31) emphasizes the uninterrupted struggle for Ukrainian statehood from the times of the princes, through the Kozaks, the great revolution from 1917-1920 and the last days.

The series "Volyn in the Struggle" represents the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in the forests of Volyn and the primeval woods of Polissya in military readiness, in the training of new recruits, in times of rest and in the hour of marching to the struggle with the enemy.

In the kolhosp series of woodcuts, a strong impression is produced by the symbolic picture of the enslavement of the peasants on the collective farms. An entire peasant family together with the young children are yoked and harnessed to pull a heavy plough. Behind the plough walks a Communist NKVD man, driving the harnessed people on with blows of his whip. The kolhosp reality is dreadful not only for the peasants but for their farm animals as well.

Another strong and depressing effect is produced by the charge (p. 64) of 1949, on the abolition of the death penalty in the USSR. In one scene we see how the NKVD have been hanging and shooting in the nape of the neck "enemies of the people." Under it is the expressive remark: "They did not let us live." In the next scene after the abolition of the death penalty we see the NKVD beating and torturing their victims. Under it is the still more expressive phrase: "They do not let us die." This was in 1949. But now the death penalty has been restored in the USSR for all "enemies of the people" "to assist the workers and peasants."

Another extraordinary piece both in conception and execution is the satire on the USSR in two wood cuts (p. 63). The first represents the globe and on it over the entire expanse of the USSR has been constructed a gigantic, many-storied prison, surrounded by a walled bastion complete with barbed wire and watch towers. On the planks are written: "USSR—prison of nations." This woodcut is well known to readers of the Quarterly, for it has been reproduced on the cover. The second woodcut has the inscription: "The Block of Communists and Non-party People." This block is represented as follows: on the shoulders of a peasant with bound hands, ragged and barefoot, rides along a well dressed Communist.

These few descriptions of the woodcuts may cause the reader to realize the seriousness of the struggle with Communism and the artistic means which are cleverly used in the propaganda. The editors of the Album have done a great and valuable piece of work, in giving to the anti-Communist freedom-loving world these scenes of the struggle of the UPA with the Communist dictatorship.

VASYL MUDRY.

John S. Reshetar, Jr. *THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION*. Princeton University Press. 1952., p. 363.

It is not strange that we have a large literature on the economy and political system of the USSR. We are well informed about the actual working of the Soviet system with its all-powerful Executive of the VKP(b) and its MVD and their methods but we have had almost no works on the nationalities of USSR written objectively and not from the standpoint of Muscovite continentalism and supremacy but from the standpoint of the nations oppressed by Moscow, the Achilles' heel of the USSR.

There are no sponsors in the United States to underwrite studies in the national question of the USSR or to create institutes to study it. The common use of the word Russia to denote the entire USSR, contrary to logic and proof, shows

how the press and science of the United States are unwilling to see in the USSR anything but the Great Russian nation.

A true knowledge of the question of the nationalities of Russia who form more than half of the total population of the USSR is of the greatest practical value to America. These nationalities are the force which is constantly disrupting the unity of the Soviet empire and in a crisis will become the dynamite which will finally destroy this unnatural continental structure on two continents.

We are therefore especially glad to welcome in the United States this scholarly work on a nationality in the USSR — the Ukrainian, especially since it is written objectively and with a critical apparatus. Almost the first scholarly work on a nationality of the USSR is this book of John S. Reshetar, Jr. *The Ukrainian Revolution (1917-1920)*.

The author is an American, born in this country in an environment which has little in common with the Ukrainian national movement but after several years of work he has succeeded in mastering an enormous mass of Ukrainian, Soviet, American and other material which has enabled him to prepare a critical chronicle of the Ukrainian Revolution (1917-1920). Of course it ends with a failure, if it is a question of the creation of an independent Ukrainian state, but with a positive success if it is a question of the preservation in the world of the existence of Ukraine, a nation that was not known politically before 1914. The Ukrainian revolution compelled its bitterst enemy, red Moscow, to recognize this fact and even to place Ukraine in the United Nations.

The author gives us a picture of the organic development of the Ukrainian national consciousness in the nineteenth century and this at the outbreak of the Russian Revolution changed into the mighty stream of the Ukrainian National Revolution which swept through Ukraine at the same time as the social revolution in Russia.

With a great knowledge of details the author paints the beginnings of the state framework of the Ukrainian National Republic in the time of the Ukrainian Central Rada, the proclamation of the independent Ukraine, the conclusion of the peace of Brest Litovsk and the return of the Ukrainian Central Rada to Kiev with the aid of the German army which was called to give assistance against bolsheviks. The author carefully analyzes the accession to power of the Hetman government and then of the Directory. We see as in a kaleidoscope the civilian leaders of the period of the Ukrainian revolution and the efforts of the eastern and western Ukrainians who had been separated for centuries to form one united Ukrainian state.

The author paints for us the critical period of the Ukrainian National Republic under the Directory, when the old pre-war world vanished and was replaced by Versailles Europe. The Ukrainian National Revolution was under the pressure of the Russian social revolution, i. e. Russian Bolshevism and the Russian counter-revolution supported by France and England and also under the pressure of the nationalisms of Russia and Poland.

With the agony of the Ukrainian National Republic under the dictatorship of Simon Petlyura, the author concludes his work. The Ukrainian people did not acquire independence, but during the fire of the revolution they became politically mature and an object of terror for the Kremlin.

Without *a priori* suppositions or prejudices the author acknowledges the right of the Ukrainian people to be an independent nation and he emphasizes the imperialistic ambitions of Russia and Poland toward Ukraine. He confirms the historical truth that if it had not been for the help of the Russian volunteers sup-

ported by the Entente and of Poland, the Bolsheviks would scarcely have been able to cope with Ukrainian nationalism. It was beyond the strength of the Ukrainian people to struggle at the same time against white and red Russians and Poland.

With true mastery and with historical intuition the author paints the sad condition of Ukraine during the revolution and the struggle with its invading neighbors. In his conclusion he tries to find the chief causes of the failure of the Ukrainian revolution and he comes to the conclusion that the Ukrainian people as a mass in 1917. was too little enlightened nationally.

The author completes his work with a detailed bibliography on the Ukrainian revolution which will facilitate the efforts of students to consult the sources.

There is no doubt that the work of Reshetar is extraordinarily valuable for the most important national question of the USSR, the Ukrainian struggle for national liberation. If the American historical-political literature could procure similar works on the efforts at liberation of the most important peoples of the USSR, the American scholarly world would obtain a new picture of the USSR painted not from the standpoint of Moscow with the views of the Kremlin but from the opposite side with the views of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR on the Kremlin and Russia in the actual geographical sense. American scholars, statesmen and journalists need this knowledge. Aside from the works of Prof. Manning, this book of Reshetar is the first in this field. It breaks the wall of ignorance and forms an introduction to the national questions of the USSR.

N. CHUBATY.

NEGOTIATING WITH THE RUSSIANS. Edited by Raymond Dennett and Joseph E. Johnson. World Peace Foundation, Boston, 1951. 310 pp. \$3.50.

At a meeting of the trustees of the World Peace Foundation in 1950, considering the relations between the United States and the USSR, the fundamental question was raised as to whether it was actually possible to negotiate with the USSR. This book is a discussion of this question. Its authors are ten prominent Americans who have taken part in negotiations with the USSR during the past ten years. Each of them gives his own observations on the negotiations in his field. The subjects are interesting and so we will cite them in full: Major Gen. John R. Deane: *Negotiating on Military Assistance, 1943-1945*; John N. Hazard: *Negotiating under Lend-Lease, 1942-1945*; Sidney S. Alderman: *Negotiating the Nuremberg Trial Agreements, 1945*; Raymond F. Mikesell: *Negotiating at Bretton Woods, 1944*; George H. Blake: *Negotiating to Establish the Far Eastern Commission, 1945*; E. F. Penrose: *Negotiating on Refugees and Displaced Persons, 1946*; Mark Ethridge and C. E. Black: *Negotiating on the Balkans, 1945-1947*; Frederick Osborn: *Negotiating on Atomic Energy, 1946-1947*; Ernest J. Simmons: *Negotiating on Cultural Exchange, 1947*; Philip E. Mosely: *Some Soviet Techniques of Negotiation.*

We must note first the title, "Negotiating with the Russians." Yet the content of the book shows that the negotiations of the Americans were with the representatives of the USSR and not only with those of the RSFSR. This in fact is mentioned by one of the authors, the lawyer John N. Hazard, a professor of Columbia University, who in the very beginning of his article writes precisely about "negotiating with Soviet citizens — Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Jews and Armenians." Among the Soviet representatives whose tactics the authors describe and whose names they mention we find in fact Russians, Georgians, Jews and Armenians but

no Ukrainians. We believe that these took part in the negotiations but played no prominent role in any case.

Of all the sections of the book we consider especially valuable the articles of Professors Mosely, Simmons and Hazard because they do not limit themselves to their part in the negotiations but also cite their general results. All Soviet participants in these negotiations are characterized by their absolute lack of confidence in the American negotiating position, and that even in the period of the closest American-Soviet friendship, when both sides were pursuing the common goal of the annihilation of Fascism. Even when the Americans accepted one or another of the Soviet propositions, it aroused the suspicion of the Soviets. A further characteristic of the Soviet representatives is the fact that they can decide absolutely nothing. Even the smallest details have to be approved by Moscow. They cannot deviate a hair's breadth from the instructions given them. The lack of appropriate diplomatic training is the reason why the Soviet representatives in negotiations show such stubbornness and continually repeat one and the same position. Mosely cites (p. 290) an interesting conversation with a Soviet representative in Paris, who did not know and could not conceive that international agreements concluded by the American government were not in every case ratified by the American Senate. On the other hand Hazard (who studied for four years in Moscow) explains to a certain degree the actions of the Soviets and asserts that much can be understood by a person who knows the history of Russia and the ideology of Marxism.

The interesting article of Simmons on cultural relations shows concretely that the Soviets do not desire such relations. Prof. Simmons was in Moscow for an entire month in 1947 on this question and presented absolutely concrete plans for the exchange of books and other publications, the exchange of professors and students, and accomplished literally nothing. He was not received either by the President of the Academy of Sciences, or the Ministry of Higher Education, or the Director of the Lenin Library or even by the President of the VOKS (the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries). The request which he presented from the Congressional Library in Washington for the sending to it from the Soviets not only Moscow and Leningrad publications but those of the national Academies of Science of the various Soviet Republics was answered by the statement that the Lenin Library received so few copies of these publications that it was not able to grant the request of Americans. It would be interesting if the Congressional Library or Prof. Simmons appealed directly to the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR or the Byelorussian SSR, republics which have representatives sitting in the United Nations with direct proposals for exchange. In the entire book there is no hint of negotiations with the representatives of those Soviet Republics which have their own Ministries of Foreign Affairs. In the entire book there is not even a hint that such negotiations would be theoretically possible.

The book is certainly of extraordinary interest and will help to dissipate the unfounded optimism of the Americans as to the possibility of improvement of relations with the Soviet Union after World War II.

J. FEDYSKYJ.

UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"OUR FOREIGN POLICY 1952." Department of State Publication 4466. U. S. Government Printing Office, March 1952, Washington, D. C.

For the numerous imperialistically enslaved non-Russian nations in the vast Soviet Russian Empire this official publication on our foreign policy contains statements of basic principles that hold forth much promise as to our progressive position toward the hopes for national independence on the part of these submerged nations. In his foreword, President Truman states at the very outset that "The purpose of American foreign policy is to defend the independence and the integrity of the Republic," and the general tone of this popular presentation is one of extending to other peoples the same opportunities for independent national existence. As clearly defined in the body of the pamphlet, "The independence of nations that we stand for is bound up with the responsibilities of independence . . . The principles of freedom and independence for which we stand, by their very nature, inspire us to cooperate with other nations."

The note of national independence is sounded again with reference to the peoples of the Far East. It is observed that "The principle of independence has seized the imagination of the peoples of the Far East . . . It is a revolution against misery and poverty and against foreign domination." Significantly, after a summarization of all the essential programs undertaken by our Government is given, this synopsis of American foreign policy almost concludes on the same note of independence. "One of the truths of which we ourselves are convinced, and of which we want to convince others, is that American democracy is liberal and progressive — American policy is a force for freedom. An example of this truth can be seen in the American attitude toward national independence. We affirm the right and capacity of all peoples to work toward self-government or independence . . . we want the kind of international community in which each nation is free to manage its own affairs . . ." For the moment, unfortunately, the enunciation of these principles as concerns the bulk of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union is passive within the narrow context of containment, but most certainly once we enter the unavoidable and desirable phase of liberation, similar expressions of national independence will unquestionably bear poignant significance for these long enslaved areas.

"THEY FIGHT RUSSIA FROM WITHIN," by McKenzie Porter. Maclean's, Canada's National Magazine, May, 1952, Canada.

On the basis of interesting interviews and first-hand knowledge of undistorted facts, the writer presents for popular consumption a cogent and well-written account of the persevering work on the part of the vigorous *Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations* which has dedicated its efforts to the final and decisive defeat of Soviet Russian imperialism. The article is objective and instructive in its treatment of the aspirations of the ABN, the fascinating and hazardous career of its president, Yaroslav Stetzko, the heroism of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and the thrilling development of the ABN as a recognized movement of sweeping national libera-

tion. The reported interviews disclose a solid determination on the part of the ABN representatives to liberate all the non-Russian nations from the yoke of traditional Russian imperialism if a sound basis is to be established for the reconstruction of European and Asiatic society. This can mean only sovereignty and independence for the long enslaved non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. Of the fact that world developments will inevitably favor the utilization of this democratically principled formula, there can be no doubt about it in the minds of patient observers.

"FAILURE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL CONFERENCE," current comment. America, *National Catholic Weekly Review*, March 22, 1952, New York.

The editors of this prominent Catholic periodical summarize the essential reasons accounting for the miserable failure of the so-called *Conference on Psychological Warfare in the Cold War*, held in Washington last February 22-23. Chief among them was the brazen display of Great Russian chauvinism which in the first instance was facilitated by a packed program of Russomaniacal advocates. The ultimate responsibility for this shameful exhibition rested, of course, with Rep. O. K. Armstrong of Missouri, who despite his sincere and earnest anti-Communist convictions has little comprehension of the historical issues involved in the struggle of the non-Russian peoples against Soviet Russian imperialism. As the editors well point out, "Psychological warfare will contribute nothing to the liberation of the peoples enslaved by Russia if it tries to dodge the facts or sell hoax undergrounds to the American public." Fortunately, this became manifest the very first day of the conference and remained as the burning topic of discussion throughout the meeting.

"SATELLITES COPY RUSSIA ON POPULATION POLICY," by C. L. Sulzberger. *The New York Times*, Sunday, April 20, 1952, New York.

This eminent writer for the *New York Times* has demonstrated consistently his superlative grasp of the political realities behind the Iron Curtain. In this excellent account of human engineering via mass re-settlements, deportations and genocide under the Soviets, he shows again his depth of knowledge on the subject. His brief description of Stalin's conception of national self-determination is noteworthy because of the striking similarities in sophistical deception and fraudulent intent between his abuse of the concept and that of our chauvinist Russian emigres. The pervasive realities of the current situation are clearly revealed in several of the writer's general observations. He writes, "Although the Soviet Union is theoretically a multi-national state comprising many dozens of separate peoples with their own language and traditions, they have always been dominated by the Great Russian people. Russianism and Russian chauvinism play as strong a part in Soviet doctrine as in the Czarist doctrine." This ugly war-breeding chauvinism is now encompassing the so-called satellite areas in the same way as it formerly did in the non-Russian regions of the Soviet Union. What occurred and continues in Ukraine, for example, is becoming common now in Poland, Lithuania, Bulgaria etc.

"HOW WE PUT STALIN ON THE DEFENSIVE," by Charles J. Kersten. U. S. A., *The Magazine of American Affairs*, April 1952, New York.

The Congressman from Wisconsin describes in this lucidly written article the amendment he sponsored last year to the Mutual Security Act, carrying the appropriation of 100 million dollars for the care and possible mobilization of escapees from the Soviet Russian Empire. With considerable support behind him, Mr. Kersten

urges a rapid implementation of the amendment, particularly with respect to the formation of national military units integrated into NATO. He asserts that over 50% of the escapees are young males between 15 and 25 years of age, and thus are eligible for military duty. There is needless stress on the matter that "Great care should be used . . . to avoid the encouragement of premature and abortive uprisings . . ." for it is commonly known that the underground leadership would never submit to any such suicidal encouragement. The legislator is on the soundest possible ground when he urges that America should export the principles of liberation and self-determination which in the historical scope of East European development can only mean self-government and independence.

"THE UNDERGROUND IN EAST EUROPE," by Volodimir de Korostovetz. *Contemporary Review*, April, 1952, London, England.

An excellent narration of the Ukrainian underground movement as a living and indomitable expression of Ukraine's struggle for independence is provided in this important British publication by a highly competent analyst of East European affairs. The fatal policy of the Germans in the last war, opposing the freedom and independence of the majority non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, receives good treatment. His use of Lithuania as an example of the cultural and economic progress that even a small nation released from the despotic trammels of Russian imperialism can be capable of, is exceptionally instructive. The keynote of his sound theme is found in the concluding sentence, namely "The ultimate aim is the destruction of the Soviet slave empire by constituting free independent states, equal partners in a United States of Europe."

"STALIN'S TROUBLES WITH THE UNDERGROUND," by Dr. V. Stefan Krajcovic. *The Saturday Evening Post*, December 29, 1951.

Written by one of its most energetic leaders, this popular article on the Slovak underground and its relationship with the other known underground systems in Eastern Europe gives a factual presentation of the involvement and rapid development of Slovakian insurgence against Russian domination and for a future independent Slovakia. The functions and nature of the Liberty Legion, the ghostly White Legion, and the National Committee for Liberation of Slovakia are clearly depicted against a background of factual description of origin and purpose. It is unfortunate, however, that the author commits certain gross exaggerations, as the superiority of the Slovak underground over other networks, for aside from the facts that can be produced to deflate such proud assertions, he unaveringly contradicts his own statements of a year or so ago presented at a press conference in Washington. Regardless of this, the story he puts together here is forceful and commanding, and in many essentials shows the common problems confronting the sturdy Slovak nation and Ukraine.

"NEWS FROM SOVIET-OCCUPIED LITHUANIA," a report *Current News On The Lithuanian Situation*, The Lithuanian Legation, January-February, 1952, Washington, D. C.

In this informative organ a report appears on current Lithuanian underground resistance which in numerous respects is beset by problems common to the Ukrainian underground and other systems behind the Iron Curtain. Although it con-

tinues to be active, the Lithuanian underground lacks ample arms and medical supplies. Although it is expending every effort to resist the vicious Russification policy of Moscow, its numbers are being decimated, which can be scored up as a gain for Soviet Russian imperialism and a loss for American democracy.

"MILITARY WEAPONS AREN'T ENOUGH TO WAGE A CIVIL WAR," by William Henry Chamberlin. *The Saturday Evening Post*, April 26, 1952, Philadelphia, Pa.

In the past three years this writer has performed a varied assortment of intellectual somersaults that lead many an observer to believe that conviction and moral feeling are the least important factors in the presentation of his chronically superficial observations. The title of this editorialized article is sufficient to indicate the lack of understanding on the part of the author of the basic issues surrounding the overwhelming non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Empire. More like a typical Russian chauvinist, the author chooses to speak in the deceptive terms of civil war as though the few communist quislings in the non-Russian states were independent of the Russian yoke of Moscow. Solid evidence overwhelmingly supports the long established view that national liberation and independence are the burning issues.

We are told that it is a blunder to think of the cold war "as just an old-fashioned power rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union." Why? Because behind the Iron Curtain "there are many people who hate communism . . ." and "Hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens fought in the German Army during the late war not because they loved Hitler, but because they hated Stalin." What more superficial and shallow an explanation could one extract to demonstrate the depth of this professional writer's understanding? Since when are genocide, terrorism, Russification, foreign domination, Russomaniacal glorification the ideologic tenets of "Communism"? They do, on the other hand, fit in neatly with traditional Russian imperialism. Also, having written about Ukrainians in the past, the author surely in all conscience must know that these "Soviet citizens" fought not because they hated only Stalin but also the foreign domination of Moscow. They fought also for their national independence.

The writer puts in a plug for the misnamed "*Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia*," to which, significantly, he belongs. This confused group has conducted its activities entirely on the basis of similar misconceptions and the fatuous nonsense exhibited by Mr. Chamberlin, and the net empirical result is one of pathetic failure. When the opportunity presents itself, some of the unsavory aspects of the conduct of this committee will be brought to the public attention. Few Americans will be impressed by the support of any vehicle of traditional Russian imperialism prostituting the very concept of unqualified self-determination, which logically and historically can only mean self-government and independence for the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R.

"HOW NOT TO 'FOMENT REVOLUTION' IN RUSSIA," by N. N., "*Cause of the Friends for Russian Freedom*," by Hal Draper, and letters to the editor. *Labor Action*, March 3-31, 1952, New York City.

The great cause of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union is making considerable headway in American political thinking, and one of the ablest analyses of this cause and the vicious attempt on the part of chauvinist Russian emigres and their small clique of paid or duped American friends to undermine it is given

in a series of articles appearing in this Independent Socialist Weekly. The so-called American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia receives a sound treatment for the stupidity of its actions, above all its ridiculous attempt to foist on organized Ukrainians the absurd commitment to a future federation of "Russia."

The second article, dealing with the rubbish distributed by the high-sounding "Friends of Fighters for Russian Freedom" and entitled "How to Help Stalin Win the World," is a masterpiece of justified censure and logical crucifixion. The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, which is attacked in this obviously self-discrediting pamphlet circulated by this insignificant group, preferred to ignore the fantastic falsehoods and brazen historical distortions of this laughable "research" product with the wisdom of wasting no time and energy with those foolish enough to condemn themselves. This judgment has paid off well politically in many thinking American circles, for as in the case of this impartial socialist organ, people who are not to be fooled recognized quickly the patent untruths of this pamphlet. As one put it, "You wouldn't know whether it emanated from Moscow or New York.

"COEXISTENCE WITH RUSSIA," an editorial. *Life*, March 24, 1952, New York.

Whoever is responsible for this misleading editorial can take little moral comfort in the literal confusion of mangled fact and thus perverted purpose given to the advocacy of the sound policy of national liberation as against Kennanite containment. Even a good principle can be lost sight of in a jungle of twisted knowledge, and this editorial is a perfect illustration of this. Bearing on the occasion of the recent observance of the "Russian democratic revolution," the editorial exudes with great passion and feeling for the enslaved Russian people. What the American reader is not told is that this momentous "Russian democratic revolution" of 1917 was only another facet in traditional Russian imperialism as concerns the far more suffering, indeed genocided, non-Russian peoples.

Furthermore, the McMahon resolution of friendship was sent to all the peoples of the USSR, non-Russian and Russian alike, and not merely to the latter as the editorialist with a flare for error stipulates. He urges that self-determination is "the best available U.S. policy toward the internal affairs of post-Stalin Russia," without defending the concept in this ludicrous statement on "internal affairs." The succeeding sentence—"Our knowledge is too limited"—draws our wholehearted agreement as it applies to the writer. He well demonstrates it.

It is to be expected that the character of the questions he raises would partake of equally puerile content. For instance, "how much Great Russian domination of the 179 other Soviet nationalities—these are important questions, but they are for Soviet citizens to answer, not us." First, the reader is supposed to be frightened by the "Balkanization problem" as suggested by the figure 179, then throw up his arms, and vow to leave this problem for the "Soviet citizens"—an excellent preparation for another "victory without peace" and a "power vacuum" for the resurgence of the Russian Empire, actually few and larger states than exist in Central and South Europe would emerge. There is no moral reason why the United States and its allies should not guarantee the future of world peace by destroying the last serious vestige of modern imperialism and on the only sound basis of sovereign and independent states, work to establish a United Europe. In fact, there is every reason for this sensible course. In short, the reasoning as well as the understanding of this editorial writer is specious and nonsensical to say the least, but this should not surprise us, for on his own testimony his knowledge of these matters is "too limited."

