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Moscow's Liberation Policy at Home

**"THE ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE GROWTH
OF RUSSIA"**

An Economic-Historical Analysis

by NICHOLAS L. F. CHIROVSKY

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Picture on the Cover: ALEXANDER Y. SHUMSKY, former Commissar of Education of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, leader of the Ukrainian National Communism called popularly *Shumskism*. Around 1930 deported to Moscow, few years later disappeared.

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■ Ethnographic territory

■ Boundaries of Soviet republics and autonomies

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THE LIBERATION POLICY OF THE KREMLIN AT HOME

Editorial

During the recent televised interview of the CBS with N. Khrushchev, Mr. Daniel Schorr, a news correspondent of the CBS in Moscow, asked him whether there existed in the USSR contradictions between the Soviet regime and the ruled masses as Mao-Tse-tung, the leader of the Chinese Communists, had admitted a short time before. Mr. Khrushchev answered tersely: "We believe that we have no contradictions of that nature." (*New York Times*, June 3, 1957). At the same time at the XX Congress of the Communist Party in blaming Stalin for various crimes, he included among these the annihilation of several small nations and also the plan of Stalin to deport all the Ukrainians to Siberia, a plan which Stalin could not carry out, because there were too many Ukrainians.

That means that there were and still are sharp contradictions between the Moscow Soviet government and the non-Russian peoples enslaved by Moscow and previously the Kremlin saw the only solution in the complete destruction of these peoples: genocide practiced by the Soviet government on millions of its own citizens. That means that the contradictions exist and are very deep and fundamental. The basis of these contradictions lies in the desires of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet colonial empire to preserve their national identity against the wave of russification and finally to become independent. This crime in Soviet semantics is called "bourgeois nationalism" and is persecuted under Khrushchev exactly as it was under Stalin.

Yet there is a *difference between the regimes of Stalin and Khrushchev*. Stalin accepted the fact of the existence of insuperable fundamental contradictions between the interests of Moscow and the Russian people and the interests of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR. Stalin, once Commissar for Nationalities and an expert on the national problems of the USSR, although a Georgian in origin, identified himself with the interests of the dominant nation, the Russians, but he understood that he could maintain the unity of the Empire, i. e. of Communist Russia, only by the destruction of the non-Russian peoples and he worked for that end, but without final success.

For this reason Stalin, whenever he spoke about the peoples of the Soviet Union, constantly said "*the peoples of the Soviet Union*". He acknowledged the primacy and the leading role of the Russians but he could not deny the existence of the non-Russian peoples who formed more than half of the population of the USSR or deny the national identity of at least twelve of the larger non-Russian peoples of the USSR.

Understanding this internal weakness of the Soviet Union, Stalin never spoke about "the task of the Soviet Union to liberate other peoples" for as an old revolutionist and also a representative of Moscow imperialism, he considered it mere hypocrisy. He considered the penetration of Communist influences outside the Soviet Union as a normal penetration of the influences of Moscow with the aid of international communism.

LIBERATION OUTSIDE THE USSR AND ENSLAVEMENT WITHIN IT

The anti-Stalinists Khrushchev and Bulganin have adopted quite different tactics. We remember their theatrical journey through the countries of southern Asia, India, Burma, Afghanistan with winged phrases of the liberation of all the peoples still enslaved by the Western powers. The word "liberation" was constantly on their lips.

In a letter to Mollet, Premier of France, on the Algerian question, the Soviet premier Bulganin with complete cynicism expressed the Soviet doctrine in these words: "the deplorable experience of the recent past shows the danger inherent in the policy of war and reprisals with regard to peoples aspiring to freedom and national independence." (*New York Times*, May 21, 1957). You can hear similar phrases from the lips of Khrushchev and Bulganin in regard to the nations of the Arab world and the peoples of Asia and Africa including the most primitive peoples who have not yet grown up to "national independence". Yet you will never hear from them words about "freedom and national independence" for the peoples enslaved by the USSR and mercilessly russified by Moscow, even though the majority have a culture which is centuries older than that of the dominant Russian people. What has happened to those peoples who have been so incurably infected by "bourgeois nationalism" that the only interest of Moscow was the method of Stalin—their national extermination and the scattering of them throughout the expanses of Soviet Asia, so that they would lose once and for all their national identity?

For Khrushchev and Bulganin this question does not exist in the USSR. For them there are no "*peoples of the Soviet Union*", as Stalin kept saying, but there is "*one Soviet people*." Read the speeches of

Khrushchev and Bulganin and you will never find the expressions "peoples of the USSR" but only "the Soviet people". Not only their speeches, but also such official declarations as the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party dated July 2, 1956 "On overcoming the personality cult and its consequences." i. e. on the anti-Stalin campaign. (*New York Times*, July 3, 1956).

In this official document, the first to appear after the XX Congress of the Party, you will not find in a single place a mention of the Peoples of the Soviet Union nor a single word about the administrative provinces which are formally called in the USSR "Union Republics" but you will find in about 20 places references to the "Soviet People", in 10 places to the "Soviet State (Land)" and in many to the Soviet government and not one to the Soviet peoples or Soviet Republics. Only once is there a mention of the Union Republics and here it is a reference to their local initiative in increasing the strength of the Soviet state and twice praise of Stalin for his struggle against "bourgeois nationalism".

This document of the present Soviet regime shows a complete return by the Kremlin to the internal political system of tsarist Russia, for that took the position that Russia was a single country, that there was "one Russian people" and all others did not exist and if they did, they were to be russified in the interest of the greatness of the one Russian people. The only difference is that under the tsarist regime this people was called the "Russian people" and under Khrushchev "the Soviet people". The return to the old name will come in due time. This is shown by the national policy of the present leaders in the Kremlin under the guidance of Khrushchev and Bulganin. It is a policy full of guile and hypocrisy, so as to show to the outside world that the Soviets have solved the national problems and internally to lull the sensitiveness by shams of an increased autonomy for the Union Republics with an actual complete centralization so as to form from the peoples of the USSR one Russian people which is called for the time being the Soviet people. Molotov, the most extreme representative of Russian chauvinism now as dictator over the Soviet culture is commissioned by the Kremlin clique to direct the policy of russification of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR.

This new policy of Khrushchev and Bulganin has been worked out in detail especially towards Ukraine, for Moscow definitely understands that the fate of the Soviet colonial empire depends upon its success in keeping Ukraine within the USSR. The liberation of Ukraine from the USSR would be the beginning of the complete disintegration of the Soviet colonial Empire into its natural elements.

THE METHODS OF KHRUSHCHEV'S DENATIONALIZATION POLICY

This new national policy exemplarily realized in Ukraine is working approximately on these lines:

1. The demoralization of the Ukrainian people by the favors shown by Moscow to distinguished Ukrainian Communists;
2. Increase of personal security for Ukrainians who stand apart from efforts to secure the national rights of Ukraine;
3. A sham economic decentralization of the Soviet Union;
4. Concessions for the Ukrainian people in minor questions of an ethnic cultural and non-political character;
5. Complete centralization of scientific and political life and especially of historical and social studies;
6. An increased peaceful russification of Ukraine;
7. A slow introduction of conceptions of a Pan-Russian character—"The Soviet People."

Tsar Peter I and Tsaritsa Catherine II, two builders of the Russian colonial empire who crushed and completely liquidated the autonomous rights of Ukraine as a state, *loved to make use of talented Ukrainians who for their personal careers entered the service of the empire*. The Ukrainian origin of such influential Russian statesmen as Stepan Yavorsky and Teofan Prokopovych under Peter I and of Count Bezborodko under Catherine II was to show to the world and at home to deceive the Ukrainians that no wrong was being done to Ukraine because Ukrainians were ruling the empire. Yet the same Peter I gave a death blow to the state character of Ukraine and Catherine II liquidated all traces of Ukrainian statehood.

N. Khrushchev is following the same policy. While he was under Stalin Moscow governor of Ukraine, he succeeded in finding a number of Ukrainian Communists of the type of Kirychenko who for their personal careers would carry on a pro-Moscow policy with more zeal than the true Muscovite. He now has these Ukrainian sycophants in the central government, on the non-Ukrainian territories of the USSR, especially in Asia. Ukraine does not profit by this but rather suffers for the loyal service to Moscow of these Ukrainian traitors is arousing the hatred of the oppressed Asian peoples not only against Moscow but also against Ukraine. Among non-thinking Ukrainians in Ukraine it is creating the appearance that the Ukrainians are very important in the USSR, although the position of Ukraine as a nation is not being improved but worsened.

In Ukraine there is now increased personal security. This is now true only of those Ukrainians who do not oppose the russification of Ukraine and its annihilation as a separate nation. If any one defends

the spiritual values and traditions of Ukraine even legally, the road to exile is as easy as before. In combating the Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalism" the Kremlin clique is still "all Stalinists".

The whole world is pondering the *riddle of the decentralization of the economic life of the USSR*. The handing over of a long series of economic functions to the several republic ministries might give the impression that we are witnessing an increased economic autonomy for Ukraine. But this is only a reform for the organization and increase of production. *Ukraine is now working independently and has the autonomous right of sucking the last juice from the Ukrainian workman but it does not have the right to dispose of the income of Ukraine*. Moscow is keeping that. The increase of the autonomous competencies of the Union Republics is in no way strengthening them economically, and especially Ukraine.

After the XX Congress of the Communist Party there could be felt *a certain relaxation in the field of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian apolitical literature*. In other words, all these relaxations were of a purely ethnic character for Moscow with its understanding of the difficulty and the sensitivity of the national problems wants to inspire in the population of Ukraine a feeling that a period of national relaxation has come. In fact there are no relaxations in the national problems for everything which aids in the upbuilding and strengthening of the national ideology is being savagely persecuted in Ukraine as "bourgeois nationalism".

The present policy of Moscow toward the non-Russian peoples is definitely working to weaken the national organisms of the peoples of the USSR; Moscow can tolerate them for a while as ethnic groups without political aspirations. So complete cynicism marks the last note of the Kremlin to the United States on the nations of the Middle East, whose "national independence" Moscow claims to want to strengthen. The Soviet government must first stop destroying the national political identities of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR, while America is interested alone in the defense of the independence of the peoples of the Middle East, as democratic nations not communized by force.

"SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY"

Yet if some small ethnic concessions in questions of language and of non-political literature are considered admissible by Moscow if they do not threaten the process of the formation of one Soviet Russian nation, *all historical and social studies are centralized exclusively in Moscow, for this is the function of the so-called "Soviet historiography" which is being diligently carried on under the eye of the Central Committee of the Communist Party*.

If there are historical studies being made in Kiev or Tiflis, they are not free to concern themselves with political history or a historical synthesis of Ukraine but only with questions which anarchise the nation, and draw it from constructive national politics. In Ukraine it is possible to treat Ukrainian social movements, peasant and labor revolts, like the Haydamaky uprising, the bandit personages as Karmelyuk — but there are excluded from the halls of historical studies in Kiev independent studies of the separate spirituality of the Ukrainian nation, even in pre-historic times; there is no freedom to study the questions of the old Ukrainian state of Kievan Rus or the political history of the new state of the 17th century in the time of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. That is the task of Russian historiography which passes under the name of Soviet historiography.

If one considers the *meaning of "Soviet Historiography"* which has appeared already at international historical congresses, one sees that it is as nonsensical as if one talked of the Commonwealth Historiography of the British Commonwealth. If the Soviet Union is a union of separate and in their words independent peoples, there can be only a Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian and other historiographies. The political fabrication of a single Soviet people demands a single Soviet historiography and so it is being artificially created. In fact it is the Moscow imperialistic historiography applied to the definite plans for the complete annihilation of the national political entities of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR.

A good example from the scientific point of view of the senseless Soviet historiography is the theory newly discovered in Moscow of the single *proto-Russian Nation in the 9-13th centuries*. There was no Muscovite or Russian people in the 9th, 10th, or 11th centuries anywhere in the world; it began in the 12th century with the foundation of the Suzdal-Moscow state centre. All the sources of that period deny the existence on the territory of Eastern Europe at that time of any single nation. The Ancient Chronicle of Kievan-Rus widely describes the life of Slav and non-Slav tribes in Eastern Europe of the 9-10 centuries. Yet the Central Committee of the Party needed such a nation and the Soviet Russian historians created it as a historical predecessor of the one Soviet nation, which the Kremlin wishes to create on the ruins of the existing non-Russian peoples.

The CC of the Party officially has approved the theory of the proto-Russian nation of the 9-13th centuries and woe to that historian who would dare to question the infallible resolution of the CC. To make sure that no such attempt is made in Kiev, Minsk or Tiflis, the cabinets of historical studies in those capitals are directly forbidden to study the political history of their own territories, since the CC of the Party

has infallibly decided it along the line of the interests of the colonial Moscow Empire.

The policy of the planned annihilation of the non-Russian peoples is proceeding with the steady but *systematic russification of whole territories of the non-Russian peoples*. Some areas as Kazakhstan are now being russified by a massed influx of Russian and enforced Ukrainian population who are destined there to easier russification. The local population, the Kazakhs, are now a minority on territories which have been theirs for centuries and Kazakhstan is now only a territorial unit of Russia.

General *russification is going on also in Ukraine*. Ukraine is at present formally an independent republic with its own coat of arms and its national banner and hymn, which the Soviet love to flaunt before the world. Ukraine is a member of the United Nations. But in Ukraine the scientific publications of the state universities of Ukraine in Kharkiv and Odesa now appear in the Russian language. There are being printed in Russian the truly scientific publications of the Kiev Academy of Sciences, the highest scientific institution of Ukraine. The majority of the important scientific journals appear in Russian and only worthless agitational literature is printed in Ukrainian.

All publications of the Communist Party of Ukraine appear in Russian. The capital of Kiev is so terrorized by the russifying wave of Moscow policy that the population of the capital "of the Ukrainian State" is afraid to speak Ukrainian and Kiev has externally the character of a Russian city.

The fashion has now been introduced of publishing even in the field of Ukrainian culture articles in both the Ukrainian and Russian languages. Moscow knows that an author who naturally wishes to write in his mother tongue is arousing suspicions of "bourgeois nationalism" and that the majority out of opportunism will write in Russian and the bilingual journal will automatically become Russian. There are publications to-day in Soviet Ukraine where the cover and the title page of a journal is bilingual or Ukrainian and the articles are in Russian.

This is true not only of Eastern Ukraine but of Western Ukraine which until 1939 was under Poland and when finally included in 1944 into the USSR was subjected to an unprecedented russification. Now, after only 13 years of Soviet rule in Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine, where before the coming of the Soviet government there was not more than 0.01% of Russians, about 40% of the schools in Lviv at the present time are Russian.

In Ukraine an active factor in russification is the Moscow Patriarchal Church. In almost all churches subject to the Patriarch preaching is

done in Russian. The atheistic Soviet government has given this church almost as much care as did the tsars. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church cannot exist in Ukraine, for it has been practically outlawed.

In Western Ukraine up to 1946 there existed the traditional Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite. Moscow forcibly liquidated it and arrested the entire episcopate (7 bishops) and sent them to Siberia. Moscow forcibly implanted the Moscow Patriarchal Church and is supporting it materially and morally. Although the population is boycotting this forcibly imposed Russian church and is calling for the return of the public existence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the government of Khrushchev and Bulganin is not varying an iota from the old tsarist policy of Pobedonostsev for the Moscow Patriarchal Church is helpful to russification while the Ukrainian Catholic Church supports the spiritual orientation of Ukraine to the West.

SHUMSKISM — THE UKRAINIAN TITOISM

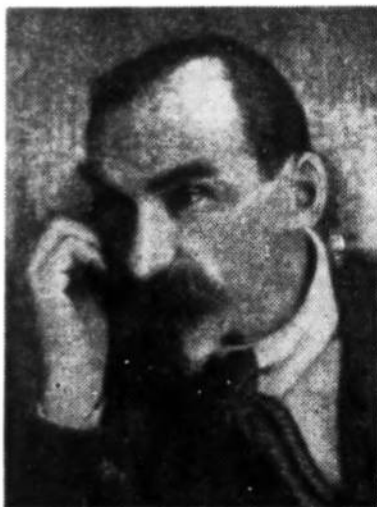
The struggle of Ukraine for its own independent state, and the preservation of its political and national identity was carried on before the establishment of the Communist Soviet government and it still is continuing. In the years 1922-33 Ukraine had its own Titoism, i. e. national communism. There were prominent Ukrainian Communists as Alexander Shumsky, Hryhoriy Petrovsky, Mykhaylo Volobuyiv, Fedir Hrynko, Volodymyr Zatonky, Mykola Khvylovy and, best known of all, Mykola Skrypnyk, a close friend of Stalin and one of the founders of the Soviet Union and many others. Alexander Shumsky, the Commissar of Education of Soviet Ukraine gave his name to this political movement which was called Shumskism.¹ H. Petrovsky was President of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. M. Volobuyev, economist, pressed for real economic autonomy of Ukraine. F. Hrynko was a prominent figure in the Central Government of the Soviet Union (Commissar of Finances). V. Zatonky served over-zealously to the Communist cause. M. Khvylovy created a truly communist Ukrainian story. These men were Ukrainians who were so blinded by international communism that they believed in the possibility of the co-existence of a Ukrainian Communist State in union with a Moscow Communist State. They all were physically liquidated. Only H. Petrovsky, an old broken man, was released from exile after the XX Party Congress. Their miserable endings showed that the existence of independent nations other than the Russian in the Soviet Union was impossible, for Moscow from the days of the Moscow Tsar-

¹ Alexander Shumsky's picture on the cover.

dom of the 15th century had constantly worked for the national annihilation of all non-Russian peoples different in spirituality, language and political tradition.



HRYPHORIIY PETROVSKY, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, President, of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, arrested in the nineteen thirties and sent to a concentration camp, liberated only in 1956. His son, general of the Red Army was executed.



MYKOLA SKRYPNYK, nearest collaborator of Lenin, active in the establishment of the Soviet Union. In 1933 as Commissar of Education of Ukraine committed suicide realizing his mistakes in view of the general russification of Ukraine and the starvation of millions of Ukrainian farmers.

The historical theory invented by the Russian Communist historians and accepted as the only true theory by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR despite its completely unscientific character shows clearly that the present Moscow is looking for a scientific basis for the creation of a single Soviet (Russian) people. In the Kremlin they are reasoning as follows: If before the 13th century there was in Eastern Europe a single proto-Russian Nation, which was divided by the Polish-Lithuanian and the Tatar occupations and formed the Ukrainian and Byelorussian nations (in the 15th century), it is evident that now in the time of socialism which, in the opinion of the Russian Communists, is wiping out national boundaries, the time has come to renew the unity of the never existing proto-Russian nation under the name of the Soviet Nation. This is a straight return to the Tsarist slogan: One Orthodox Faith, One Russian Nation, One Tsar.

RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PAPER "PRAVDA OF UKRAINE" ABOUT
THE ANNIHILATION OF UKRAINE

The imperialistic calculation of Moscow is absolutely clear when we take into account the similarity of sound of "Russian" and "proto-Russian." This makes clear the exterminating colonial policy of Moscow — the planned annihilation of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Nations. These plans of the Communist Moscow ruling class in the Kremlin for Ukraine and Byelorussia have been set forth in the organ of the Communist Party in Ukraine published in Russian, *Pravda Ukrainy* (Truth of Ukraine) in an article of I. Kravtsev, a candidate in philosophy, on December 25, 1956.

The article of this spokesman for Moscow colonialism in Ukraine is entitled: "*The National Policy of Lenin and its Realization in Ukraine.*" In his opinion a nation is a historical and temporary phenomenon. With the triumph of Communism in the world there will come a complete merging of all nations. They will be replaced by a single world Socialist culture with a universal language. It is clear that Moscow wishes this to be Russian. The attitude of the leader of the Chinese Communists, Mao-Tse-tung, is fanning the hope of Moscow for the spreading through the world of the "socialist" (Russian) language but they are now trying to apply this socialist language at least to the Soviet colonial Empire.

Kravtsev further howls that in the transitional period there will be a period of the "liberation of all enslaved nations" which as a result will "voluntarily" unite. "The international unity of the laboring class," says Kravtsev after Lenin, "is more important than the national." Lenin, writes the author, sharply attacked the "chauvinism of the Russian Black Hundred bourgeois parties" and also "local nationalism." Lenin sharply attacked "the hysterical laments of the Ukrainian nationalists on the assimilation, the russification of the Ukrainian proletariat." That means that when the Ukrainian masses were assimilated and russified under the tsars by the Union of the Russian People with Purishkevich at the head, it was evil, but when Molotov and Khrushchev do the same thing, it is good.

In speaking concretely about the USSR, Kravtsev says that "*the USSR is not a conglomerate of nations, not a confederation of republics, but a lasting single many-national state.*" He assumes that there have been made changes which has produced a Soviet patriotism and a society of different nationalities as a Soviet People. Then, he goes on to say, there appeared necessary the union of the peoples around the great Russian people.

KREMLIN CLIQUE WILL NOT SUCCEED

This is a clear program of the Russian Communists for the annihilation of the national identity of all the non-Russian peoples of the USSR and their fusion into one Russian people, as in the times of tsarist reaction. And yet the tsarism was by a whole heaven more moral than the present Red Russian chauvinists because in assimilating the non-Russian peoples, they never spoke of the object of Moscow to liberate all the peoples of the world.

The CC of the Party along with all its Moscow stooges in all the republics of the Soviet Union can be sure that they cannot succeed in doing what the tsar could not do by 300 years of similar violence. "Bourgeois nationalism," i. e. the patriotism of the enslaved peoples, is stronger than the terror of Stalin and the guile of Khrushchev. These bourgeois nationalisms have been proclaimed the greatest crimes in the Stalinist as well as in the present Russian Communist colonial empire, for they will shatter the last colonial prison of nations in the not too distant future.

This deceit of Khrushchev is fortunately beginning to be understood by the Communist world. The new ideological doctrine of the Chinese Communist Mao-Tse-tung definitely rejects the Moscow theory of the denationalizing of the peoples enslaved by Moscow. This Moscow theory is already dead even in the satellite states and among the Communists of the western world. It will not be long before the mask is torn from the face of the Moscow Communists and they are revealed as the "Russian Arrogants" (Russkiy Derzhy-morda), to use the words of Lenin.

So the threats of Khrushchev uttered recently during the visit of the Moscow dictators in Finland (*New York Times*, June 13, 1957) were empty. Mr. Khrushchev should remember the words of his colleague Bulganin written to the French Premier Mollet: "the deplorable experience of the recent past shows the danger inherent in the policy of war and reprisals with regard to peoples aspiring to freedom and national independence."

We think that the last opportunity has come for western democracy and their organs of information to unmask the hypocrisy of the Kremlin clique and courageously to take up the defense of the peoples enslaved by the Moscow Communist clique and their right to a free and independent national life. If the western world will not attack the sham of Moscow, the greatest oppressor of the world will attack in the role of liberator of the nations from the colonial pressure of America and the other western powers.

SANCTITY OF MOTHER LANGUAGE AND ANTI-COLONIALISM

CLARENCE A. MANNING

The Ukrainians and all the oppressed nations included under the iron heel of Muscovite terrorism in that prison of nations, the USSR, have looked with disappointment at the free world which has failed to realize that they are not minorities but historical peoples living on their own territory with their own language, their own history and their own traditions. They have been surprised that the West has insisted upon treating the old Russian Empire as a unit without realizing that in the early days of 1917 that artificial entity fell apart by the wishes of the people inhabiting it and was only brought together again by armed force. They have been more surprised that those nations which were liberated from Western domination since the ending of World War II have shown equal indifference to their fate and in the name of anti-colonialism have been willing to accept the Russian Soviet version of the revolt in Hungary and have been either indifferent or hostile in the United Nations to their aspirations. It seems a strange paradox for it would seem as if these Asian peoples should be the first to hold out a helping and sympathetic hand to the victims of the newest and most terrible form of colonial exploitation.

The answer to this enigma is to be found in a very remarkable series of addresses delivered last December before the Modern Language Association of America and recently printed in its *Publications* (Vol. LXII, No. 2, pp. 23-48). These deal with the language problem in Indonesia, Switzerland, India, Israel and Canada and they are by definite official spokesmen for those states. Thus R. Nugroho, Minister Counselor, speaks for Indonesia, Henry de Torrenté, Minister of Switzerland is the spokesman for his land and the other representatives are D.H. Hingorani, Educational Attache of the Embassy of India, Edward Yeheskeel Kutscher of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for the Embassy of Israel, and Louis E. Couillard, Counselor of the Canadian Embassy.

We can pass very briefly over the address of the Israeli representative, because he devotes his entire time to the very unusual phenomenon

of the replacing of the various languages spoken by the Jews in different portions of the world by Modern Hebrew, a language which has been constructed artificially on the basis of the ancient Hebrew which had been dead as a spoken language for more than 2,000 years and yet has been accepted as the common speech of the modern republic. Yet all of the others contain rich material on the linguistic situation in their respective countries and the political effect which it exerts.

The situation in Canada is perhaps oversimplified, because the Minister deals almost exclusively with the interplay of English and French and he ignores the great role which the Slavic languages, especially Ukrainian, are having in the prairie provinces. Yet he very definitely gives the true impression that the government is not favoring one language over the other and that the two main tongues, English and French, are continuing to exist and to flourish side by side.

The Swiss representative goes even further, for in that small country there are three and possibly four languages spoken, French, German (or Alemannic), and Italian with Rhaeto-Romanche spoken in some valleys of the Grisons. He can say proudly that there is no political and linguistic irredentism in Switzerland and that this is due to the cantonal patriotism of the Swiss who realize that by their division into cantons, each of which can handle its own affairs in its own language, they are insuring the stability and permanence of the state. Here in almost so many words he proclaims that theory which must be the hope of the free world, the recognition of human dignity and the possibility of communicating freely in whatever language he regards as his mother tongue.

When we come to the talks of the representatives of India and Indonesia, we are in an entirely different atmosphere, for they are speaking from the linguistic point of view in that style with which we are so accustomed from the tirades of the Great Russians, both white and red, the advocates of the monolithic nature of Russia-USSR. The representative of India is especially frank in this connection, for he feels himself and his nation menaced by the linguistic differences between the various sections of India.

He argues that thanks to Sanskrit there was implanted in the people of India a vision of a national unity which various leaders as Asoka, Chandragupta and Akbar, men of different races and faiths and not always natives of India, tried to effect. That union was brought about by the English who gave their language as a *lingua franca* to the entire country. "On the other hand, the national movement for

independence was built up by harnessing the forces of regionalism and religious autonomy. . . The Indian National Congress sought, through promises to provinces about their right to self-determination on a linguistic basis, to mobilize their combined strength against the alien British rule. . Linguistic redistribution of provinces was, in fact, an integral part of the programme of the Indian national movement. The Indian leaders hardly realized, before independence, that they had reopened Pandora's box. Immediately after independence insistent demand arose from many directions for fulfillment of the pledges given during the days of struggle. "These demands have become an endemic challenge to Indian nationalism. That, indeed, is the crux of India's almost intractable linguistic problem—how to reconcile the centrifugal demands of regional interests with the paramount need for national unity and security. The Linguistic Provinces Commission appointed by India's Constituent Assembly in 1948 warned against accent on narrow local and regional loyalties. But the demands continued unabated."

"The new Constitution of India, therefore declared Hindi as the official language and decreed that by 1956 the English language should be replaced by Hindi" because it was spoken by the largest number of the population. . . . "A lurking fear of Hindi chauvinism exists, fear that through the Hindi language people of certain provinces may have undue influence and power in government affairs." Then comes the crucial admission.

"The U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia have made efforts to organize political states on linguistic bases. But both countries possess one predominant language—for instance, Russian is spoken by 58.4% of people in the U.S.S.R. and adequate constitutional and non-constitutional so-called ideological correctives are provided for any serious conflicts." The Ukrainians well understand what those correctives are.

"The fears of certain sections of opinion are fanned by caste alignments and extremist political parties. The Communist party, in particular, has tried persistently to encourage the separatist tendencies in the language controversy on the plausible principle of self-determination but with the ulterior objective of weakening the central government. Fortunately, the language controversy has not acquired any religious affiliations." At the same time it has led to a revival of the interest in English.

There is another paragraph worth noting. "Till the advent of the British only one foreign tongue had invaded the speech of India. That is the Persian (with some Turki elements). It was current wherever there was Muslim rule. . . . But its lasting influence was on the creation

and enrichment of Urdu or Hindustani, which is in fact Persianized Hindi developed by Muslims in India." But Urdu is now the language of Pakistan and India-Pakistan relations color India's attitude to the world community.

The address of the Minister Counselor of Indonesia, a country which has lauded the presence of Voroshilov and is troubled by the opposition of the other islands to Javanese rule, tells the same story. The Indonesian state is a multilingual state but it has adopted a modernization of Malay as its state language, even though Javanese is spoken by over forty million people. The reason here is its relative simplicity, for Malay ceased to develop after the Portuguese occupation of Malaka in 1511. "At the same time, throughout the period of colonial rule, the official language for legislation, administration, and official correspondence was the Dutch language.... Little if anything was done by the colonial administration to promote the use of modern Malay or the other vernacular languages. Only since the beginning of this century have organized efforts been made to promote the use of Indonesian as a common language and these efforts have been closely connected with the nationalist movement for independence. With the increasing strength of these movements and the growing awareness of national unity there has developed also a desire for a single national language."

"When the independence of Indonesia was proclaimed in 1945, at the end of World War II, the Provisional Constitution provided that the Indonesian language (i.e. modernized Malay) would be the official language of the nation. Since that time Bahasa Indonesia has been in general use for all purposes in our national life—in the schools, from kindergartens through universities, in business, governmental administration, legislation, press, radio, films, and all other communication media. While the local languages, such as Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Batak, and others, are still used among people of the same area, the Indonesian language is commonly known and used throughout Indonesia."

"This process of unification of language and its adaptation to modern use has been, however, a very real experiment demanding solutions for many difficult problems. . . . Although many problems in the continued development of Bahasa Indonesia as a national language exist, it is now apparent that this language has sufficient potentialities to solve such problems."

As we can easily see, the Minister Counselor of Indonesia is much less frank in speaking of the linguistic problems of his country than is the Indian representative. Indonesia soon after its independence was secured, declared itself a unitary, monolithic state despite the opposition

of the outer islands and that opposition is still going on in the struggle for local autonomy and the reconciliation of that with nationalism.

The Indian representative in fact says of nationalism: "Nationalism, however, seems to be a necessary stage which countries must pass through before the world can achieve an effective international order. National consciousness in India and other Asian countries is a matter of recent growth and represents a vital force for freedom from century-old colonialism. It also represents a creative condition for better economic and social life. National consciousness is still a difficult goal in most Asian countries in view of the tremendous diversity and complexity of their language, social and cultural patterns."

Yet we may well ask if this "national consciousness" has a real existence? "Western countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States (we quote again from the Indian address) have developed strong national consciousness over a long period, until now it has become a natural state of mind with most people living there. The comparative absence of the language problem facilitated such a process in these countries." Is this the whole story?

Out of the turmoil of the Middle Ages and the traditions of Christianity and the theories of human dignity, there emerged in Western Europe national boundaries for national states predominantly inhabited by populations speaking a common language and sharing common ideals. World War I destroyed the Hapsburg and Romanov Empires, the last really multi-lingual states in Europe. The Russians did not heed the lesson and they stubbornly held out for a monolithic Russia with no regard for the non-Russian peoples, their traditions and their cultures and finally in the guise of the Russian Communist state and later the USSR, they were to assert again the iron rule of Muscovite imperialism, but that Muscovite imperialism is still being resisted as the new colonialism by all the non-Russian populations of the USSR.

Both India and Indonesia won their unity through the rule of colonial powers without regard for the feelings or desires of the native populations. There had been no political unit of India or Indonesia prior to the establishment of the Empire of India and the government of the Netherlands East Indies. The successors of those empires like the Russian Provisional Government and later the Communists tried to retain under their own direct control all the territories included in those colonial empires which in fact had introduced at least part of the population to the ideals that had developed in the West. In both states with varying success the new leaders sought to establish a Western type of government but they have been forced to reckon with those elements that expect a free and unrestricted use of their mother tongue and

regard for such traditions as can find a place in a modern democratic state. Where they have not done it, they are menaced with Communism which is hypocritically appealing to those same slogans of self-determination which it ostentatiously denies at home to the peoples that the Russian Communists have overrun as they have also the satellite states behind the iron curtain.

It is one of the tragic paradoxes of the post-War II period that so many of the nations and groups of people that have won their independence from the Western democratic powers are confirmed neutralists with a marked tendency to swallow hook, line, sinker, and fishing pole the Russian Communist arguments of anti-colonialism, even while they are being undermined by the Russian Communist pleas for self-determination addressed to all the peoples who do not speak their new official language.

In India the Communists have already captured the state of Kerala in the south, one of those areas where the language is Tamil rather than Hindi. There have been disturbances around Bombay again for linguistic reasons, and the problem is steadily becoming more acute, as the population feels the secret effect of Communist propaganda while the central government consoles itself with the story told to them by Khrushchev and Bulganin that all national problems have been satisfactorily solved by the Kremlin in its own territories.

Yet we cannot blame too much some of these new appearances on the international scene, for even now the truth of this demand for self-determination and for the right of peoples to develop their own capabilities in their own way has not been realized by the State Department and Ministries of Foreign Affairs of many of the more advanced states. These still persist in their hope that they can treat the entities of the past, however involved they were and however they were built up, as units that must endure into the future. They still persist in thinking of such a prison of nations as the Soviet Union as the old Russian Empire in which the people were happy because they were silent, to quote the words of Taras Shevchenko. They still dream that democracy and freedom of some sort can be secured by a restoration of a past unity which has already proved its uselessness and been condemned by the people that were subjected to it. They can still support in the United Nations representatives who do not in any way speak for the people whom they pretend to represent and they have no way of making their disapproval felt to support a people like the Hungarians who rose in a desperate attempt to regain freedom.

How then can we expect them to understand the still largely voiceless peoples of Asia and to-morrow of Africa, where the process of

reorganization and development is still in its first stages? Yet they must, if disaster to the free world is to be averted with a minimum of cost.

The Kremlin has its own theories as to the future form of humanity—a slave world in the service of Moscow and the Great Russians. To do that, they will stop at no duplicity. They are prepared to spend any amount of money to inflame national leaders and ambitious politicians against the free nations on the charge of colonialism, while they at the same time are training selected young men and women to return from Moscow to their native lands and to overthrow their own national leaders. It is futile to speak of international Communism for the centre of that is the Kremlin in Moscow with its Russian staff and its use of every available resource for the aggrandizement of the Kremlin and the Russians.

That is shown by these addresses before the Modern Language Association, for there the representatives of the Asian governments most directly menaced have stated in clear and definite words that their problems and the problems of their peoples are the same as those existing in Eastern Europe and within the USSR. They would be the last to realize it but if the truth penetrates in time, we can predict that they will form new groupings, will find new solutions for their problems but they can only do it, if they abandon their present policy of trying to build up the national consciousness of a multilingual state by the same methods as the imperialistic rulers of the past.

The best assistance that they can be given is to have the United States and the Western powers speak out openly in the United Nations and give honest intellectual and material support to those nations already suppressed and to recognize and insist upon the seating of freely elected representatives of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Polish, Hungarian, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Albanian, Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian peoples without regard to the threats and arguments of the Soviet leaders or heeding their pleas for a co-existence which gives the Soviets the right to plot and spy and disintegrate the free world.

It will only be when the West ventures to do this, that the source of confusion in Asia and Africa will be removed and the world can move forward to the task of improving living conditions and of developing peaceful relations between peoples and countries. Freedom is indivisible. The world cannot endure half slave and half free and may the time of liberation come soon to the peoples of the USSR so that then their example can be used to bring about the new order in still other parts of the world.

THE SIXTH SOVIET FIVE YEAR PLAN AND THE EXPLOITATION OF UKRAINIAN IRON AND FUEL

MYKHAYLO PAVLYUK

The Sixth Soviet Five Year Plan which began in 1956 and of which the basic goals were worked out at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR is a continuation of the Stalin policy of the hastened development of heavy industry and of the fuel and ore base for this industry. So the Sixth Five Year Plan, as under Stalin, provides for the greatest amount of capital investments to be made in Western Siberia and Kazakhstan. In terms of money, these capital investments will amount to 990 billion rubles and of these 600 billions or 60.6% are to be made in industry. The amount of capital investments surpasses by 67% the amount called for in the Fifth Five Year Plan. Obviously the collective leadership needs the greatest possible "achievements" in planning the Sixth Five Year Plan both before the internal and external forum.¹

The plan set out for the Sixth Five Year Plan calls for an increase in the production of coal to 202 million tons, of pig-iron to 19.7 million tons and of steel to 23.1 million tons. We mention these very high figures, not because we have full confidence in them but because they are the starting point of our short analysis. Basically we believe that the Soviet quantitative indices are not reliable, for they cannot be checked in any way and what cannot be checked, especially when it is given by the Soviets, is not worthy of confidence.²

But a consideration of the outline of the Sixth Five Year Plan for the development of heavy black industry does reveal very interesting and important news.

To the tune of bombastic figures as to the increase in the Sixth Five Year Plan of pig-iron and steel, A. G. Sheremetev, Minister of Black Metalurgy in the USSR, gave at the 20th Congress obviously

¹ Bulganin, N. "Report at the 20th Congress of the KPSS on the directives of the 20th Congress of the KPSS on the Sixth Five Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR for 1956-1960." *Pravda*, February 25, 1956.

² *ibid.*

not all but very important details as to the execution of the plan for the production of iron ore in the Fifth Five Year Plan.³ From his report we learn that in the Fifth Five Year Plan the intended increase in the production of iron ore to 67 million tons was not reached by 26 million tons or 38.8 per cent. We find an explanation for this catastrophic failure in the execution of the plan for the production of iron ore in the address of Laptev, Secretary of the Chelyabinsk Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a responsible party bureaucrat on the whole heavy industry of the Urals. Laptev asserted literally: "The old deposits of iron ore are being exhausted and the new deposits are being exploited very slowly."; and also "In three years it will be necessary to bring to the Magnitogorsk factory part of the ore from across the Urals."⁴ Also from the speech of Bulganin we learn that during these five years the geologists of the USSR have been searching throughout the entire USSR and especially in the Urals, Western Siberia and Kazakhstan for iron ore deposits. Bulganin considers their work "successful".⁵ But the success was in the fact that in all the area of Muscovy, Siberia and Turkestan, they actually discovered only one small deposit of iron ore near Karaganda in the basin of the River Ata-Su. Also in the Turgaisk valley of northern Turkestan, the geologists considered the deposits of Ayat-Lisakovsk and Sokolovsko-Sarbaysk a base for furnishing ore to the Ural heavy black metallurgy. Really the geologists did not discover these deposits of ore, for they were known much earlier, but they were classified as low grade ores, lying at great depths and even the Kremlin previously had taken no steps to secure this ore even with the cheap labor of concentration camp prisoners. It is characteristic that at the Party Congress no one bothered to give the percentage of iron in the ores of the Tugaisk district. It was only stated that the ore needed enrichment. To see how economically and hopelessly unprofitable it is to secure this low grade quality in the Sokolovsko-Sarbaysk deposits, we need only give some data on the amount of work necessary to work these two mines. We find this data in the article of N. Sadrigaylo,⁶ Director of the Sokolovsko-Sarbaysk enriching plant. He explains that to prepare this enriching plant, work must be carried on which is 20 times more than the labor in building the Dniyroges. Also only in 1960 is it planned to increase the production of the enriched agglomerate to 5 million tons a year. To explain the

³ Sheremetev, A. G. *Pravda*, February 23, 1956.

⁴ Laptev, N. V. *Pravda*, February 23, 1956.

⁵ See Note 1.

⁶ Sadrigaylo N. "The Urals, the new ore base," *Journal of Construction, (Stroyitel'naya gazeta)*, February 19, 1956.

difficulties which are facing this construction we must mention that according to the statement of N. Sadrigaylo, the plans have not been drawn for the basic units of the plant. Since the construction of the plant began one and a half years ago and the basic plans are not ready, it is clear that the ore is of such low grade that the known methods of enrichment do not give a satisfactory result and the planned organizations must first discover new methods of enriching very poor ores and only then will it be possible to draw the plans for the appropriate group of buildings. Besides it is made clear that all these colossal expenditures are not being made to develop heavy black metallurgy in Kazakhstan but only to furnish ore from northern Kazakhstan for the metallurgical plants in the Urals which are threatened in the near future with a complete lack of ore. So new railroads are being built to the Ural metallurgical plants. Only the ore from the mines near Karaganda will go to a new planned metallurgical complex only 7 miles from the mines. In the light of these facts the Soviet statements on the building of heavy industry in Kazakhstan appear in an entirely different light. Actually it is a desperate and expensive attempt to save the Ural heavy black metallurgy and the very large machine-construction and army industry from a catastrophic lack of ore by an attempt to make use of the very low grade ores from northern Kazakhstan about 200 miles from the centers of the Ural industry.

Of course Soviet propaganda is shouting about the enormous reserves of ore in northern Kazakhstan, but twenty five years ago they set up the same loud propaganda about the inexhaustible reserves of high grade ore in the Urals where it could be secured from the surface (by open pits). Besides any one who has followed the Soviet method of announcing the discovery of any new ore reserves knows that the Soviets never use such expressions as poor reserves, reserves unprofitable for exploitation and insignificant reserves. The Soviets always announce "inexhaustible" reserves, "sufficient" reserves and "profitable" reserves.

All these facts show that the hastened development of heavy industry-machine-construction and armaments factories in the Urals and western Siberia begun in the second Five Year Plan, is facing a very serious crisis, for at that period the reserves of ore in the Urals were incorrectly estimated. But the crisis is still more catastrophic for two reasons:

1. In the entire USSR only Ukraine and the Crimea have actually large deposits of very high grade iron ore with 30-40% of iron. With the exhaustion of high-grade ore in the Urals, Russia itself with the other republics except Ukraine will have only very low grade ores scattered primarily along the frontiers of the USSR. The production and possible enrichment of these ores is almost the only rich raw

material base for the support and development of heavy industry in Russia itself. So now the question has been raised as to the possibility of securing ore in the region of the so-called Kursk magnetic anomaly where in generally only the presence of very low grade ores can be relied upon. The USSR for almost 40 years has been spending enormous sums on the search for ore deposits and during the last 25 years has had enough prisoners to send them wherever necessary for the production of ore and now if the Kremlin is compelled to use low grade ores, this means that the USSR has no important reserves of high grade ore except the reserves of Ukraine.

2. The Ural and western Siberian industry which began to develop in the time of Peter I on the basis of Ural high grade ores and the use of wood as a fuel at the beginning of this century was forced into a subordinate place by the industry of Ukraine, for the uneconomic destruction of the forests deprived it of its fuel. The development of Ural industry, which for strategic reasons was commenced by the Soviets in the Second Five Year Plan and by 1954 had grown into a very great centre of heavy industry, was supplied by the importation of coal from the Kuzbas and later from Vorkuta for the reserves.

The Kuzbassin is 1250 miles from the Urals and so for the Ural metallurgy the coal costs at least 3 times more than the coal from the Donbas costs the metallurgy of Ukraine in the Donbas itself and on the Dnieper. The supplying to the Urals of coal from Vorkuta which is over 1000 miles from the Ural metallurgical centres somewhat relieved the coal situation. But in any case the Ural metallurgical industry cannot be economically profitable, for it has no near reserves of hard coal. This has been only one uncorrectable mistake of the Ural metallurgy. . . . Now when the ore supplies in the Urals are showing signs of exhaustion, the second fault of the Ural metallurgy is becoming evident. The hopes of the Soviets in the low grade ores of northern Kazakhstan are usually not well founded, for so great a metallurgical heavy industry as there is in the Urals cannot function on only low grade iron ores. So the Kremlin has tried to find sufficiently rich ores outside the borders of the Russian ethnic territory. And the Soviets can secure this ore for the Urals only from Ukraine.

3. So as a result of all this the exploitation of the ore reserves of Ukraine has been increased. Up to this time there has been no transportation of ore to Russia from Ukraine. Moscow has robbed Ukraine by transporting to Muscovy from Ukraine a vast quantity of semi-fabricated material—steel "logs," pig-iron ingots and assorted steels and iron. In such a way, according to our calculations, since the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan there have been carted

to Russia from Ukraine some 50 million tons. More would have been taken, if it had not been necessary to rebuild Ukrainian industry and the railroads which had been ruined in wartime. The Sixth Five Year Plan is adding something new, the mass export of iron ore from Ukraine to Muscovy to an amount of 24 million tons.⁷

This is evident from the fact that the Sixth Five Year Plan provides for the increase of the production of ore by approximately that amount and at the same time it does not call for an increase of the metallurgical plants of Ukrainian heavy black industry. The chief and most important thing is that these half-fabricated materials and ore are taken to the Moscow industrial region and the Urals almost without cost.

The following table shows the rate of growth in the production of ore in Ukraine at certain dates and the percentage of Ukraine in the production of the entire USSR.⁸

(In millions of tons)

Year	USSR	Ukraine	%	Year	USSR	Ukraine	%
1913	9.2	6.4	68.5	1946	18.8	5.8	31.8
1935	26.8	16.5	59.3	1950	40.0	20.0	50.0
1940	27.8	18.9	68.5	1955	83.4	49.0	58.78
		Plan		1960	136.1	73.5	54.0

The outline of the Sixth Five Year Plan indicates that the production of ore in Ukraine and the Crimea is to be reduced in percentage. But our preceding remarks have shown that there are no well founded views that the RSFSR and Kazakhstan can even approximate the execution of the plan for increasing their production of ore by 26.8 million tons. So we must expect a marked increase in the percentage of ore to be secured from Ukraine, not to speak of the unparalleled better quality of the Ukrainian ore.

So behind the smoke screen of Soviet propaganda on the building up of the metallurgical industry in Kazakhstan, the Sixth Five Year Plan was actually planned to save the catastrophic situation of the Ural industry and chiefly by robbing the reserves of Ukrainian high grade ore and then by trying to make use of the very low grade ores of northern Kazakhstan.

⁷ See Note 1.

⁸ Zvorkin, A. *Sketches on the history of Soviet mining technique*, Moscow, 1950. 4 and 48. Ukrainian Volume, Book 5, p. 48.

The Sixth Five Year Plan also calls for a greatly increased robbery of Ukrainian coal, for it foresees its far greater production in 1960 by 76 million tons and the capacity of the new shafts and cuttings in Ukraine is estimated at 80-100 million tons of coal. So we must assume that the total increase in the Five Year Plan will come to 190-200 million tons of coal.⁹

All these colossal amounts of Ukrainian coal will be wholly carried to the RSFSR and primarily to the Moscow region, for since the Sixth Five Year Plan provides for no increase in the metallurgical plants in Ukraine, all this coal is earmarked for export to the Moscow region and some other parts of the RSFSR. This is because the Moscow region has miserable supplies of coal and that little is of very poor quality. There is the Moscow basin of brown coal and the basin in Pechora, the coal of which is not suitable for coking. The Moscow basin is exhausted and the Pechora basin is over 1000 miles north of the industrial centres of the Moscow region and its climate is such that it is worked almost entirely by concentration camp prisoners (Vorkuta).¹⁰ Although the production of coal in Pechora increased during the war, yet at the present time Pechora coal is not carried further south than Leningrad-Vologda-Vyatka and the northern Urals. Even now south of this line Pechora coal does not reach the most important industrial centres of the Moscow area.

Under tsarism and partially under the Soviets, the Volga area and Central Asia (Turkestan) used raw petroleum as fuel for the railroads in the steppe belt and the river boats on the Volga. The comparatively small reserves of petroleum with the astronomically growing call for it for automobiles, tractors and aviation compelled the Soviets to change from oil to coal, even in the Volga area, the northern Caucasus and Turkestan.

The production of electricity from waterpower in the Moscow area is not in as flourishing a condition as Soviet propaganda asserts. The plan for a "Great Volga" with a series of powerful hydro-electric plants is actually at present only in the first stages of its development. It was only during the war when it was impossible to secure coal from the Donbas that three quite large hydro-electric stations were brought into operation on the upper Volga, at Ivanov, Uglich and Shcherbakov with a planned capacity in all of 470,000 kilowatts. Their actual operative capacity is much less. After the end of the war, the Kremlin for 9 years was busy with the construction of the strategic-

⁹ See Note 1.

¹⁰ *Vestnik of the Institute for the Study of History and Culture of the USSR*. (No. 4/17), p. 13.

ally important Kakhivka water net and the Don-Volga Canal. The basic electric plants on the Volga at Gorky, Cheboksary, Kuybishev and Stalingrad are only to be begun in the Sixth Five Year Plan and finished in the Seventh. The hydro-electric plant on the Kama River near Molotov (Perm) with an estimated capacity of 360,000 kilowatts is possibly built, for according to some reports it has military importance. The Soviets give no information about this. But it is 600-700 miles distant from the central Moscow area. All this shows that the production of hydro-electric power at plants in the Moscow area is not able to reduce the growing need for coal.¹¹

We often read about the huge reserves of coal in the USSR. But these reserves are scattered on the whole far from the industrial centres of the Moscow area in northern Siberia, in eastern Siberia and in the Altai (Kuzbas). Besides this, coal which is adapted for coking in sufficient quantity is only in Ukraine (Donbas), in the Kuzbas and in Karaganda (southern Kazakhstan).

After the ending of the reconstruction of Ukrainian industry about 1932, every increase in the production of coal in Ukraine has been accompanied by approximately the same increase in the amount taken to the Moscow area, for the needs of Ukraine throughout the period have been stabilized and could only be reduced by a reduction of the amount left to the population of Ukraine for heating their houses. The following table shows the yearly production of coal in Ukraine for certain years and the percentage in terms of the production in the entire USSR.¹²

(In millions of tons)

Year	USSR	UkSSR	%	Year	USSR	UkSSR	%
1913	29.12	22.76	78.0	1950	260.0	78.5	30.0
1932	69.63	39.2	61.0	1954	346.0	101.0	31.0
1940	166.0	83.8	50.0	1955	390.0	136.8	28.4
		Plan for		1960	590.0	212.0	28.0

The data indicates that since 1954 the production of coal in Ukraine shows a tendency to form a smaller percentage of the production in the entire USSR. Actually the opposite is true, for the

¹¹ A. Lebedev, B. Yakovlev. *The Significance for Transportation of the Hyrdotechnical Equipment of the USSR*. Munich, Institute for the Study of the History and Culture of the USSR, See Chap. 6.

¹² *Ukrainian Volume*, Vol. 5, p.33, *Ukrainian Volume*, Book 7, p. 16. Munich, Institute for the Study of the USSR.

Soviets do not give separately the production of the brown coals with their lesser calories. Even in the last years, the Soviets, so as to show their plan in large figures, are using this method. The percentage of coal should be measured in caloric strength and adaptability for coking as well as in tonnage. Under such a classification the production of coal in Ukraine will rise far above 50% of the production of the entire USSR. Thus Engineer A. Poplyuko came to the conclusion that in 1953 Ukraine burned 53.3% of the total burning of coke in the entire USSR.¹³

The absence of any information as to extent of the use of coal by Ukraine itself makes it impossible to determine the amount of coal sent outside Ukraine and chiefly to the Moscow area. In any case the increase in the production of coal in Ukraine according to the Sixth Five Year Plan is to be so great that in 1960 this increase for the Donbas will amount to 76 million tons for that year alone and this shows the efforts to increase to the limit the robbery of the Ukrainian coal reserves in the Sixth Five Year Plan.

A survey of the execution of the first year of the Sixth Five Year Plan shows the results of the crisis of Ural industry and especially of the heavy industry there. The plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party held in December of last year, removed Saburov from his post as head of the State Economic Commission and some other ministers. At this plenum the plans of the directives for the Sixth Five Year Plan were revised to reduce the goals. It was revealed at the plenum that the goals of the Sixth Five Year Plan were not backed up by sufficient supplies of raw materials, but the nature of those raw materials was not specified. There is no doubt that it was a question of the raw materials for heavy black industry—iron ore but naturally *Pravda* does not mention this. At the same time such changes in personnel as the removal of Saburov and others shows that there has been revised the basic and chief portion of the Sixth Five Year Plan—the heavy black metallurgy (*Pravda*, Dec. 26, 1956).

Summing up our short analysis of the condition of ore and coal production under the Sixth Five Year Plan, we must come to the basic conclusion that the transfer to the Urals and beyond the Urals to Kazakhstan of the centre of heavy black metallurgy has met such obstacles that it has compelled an increased production of iron ore in Ukraine and the distance of the coal deposits of the Kuzbas and Karaganda from the basic mass of Soviet industry in the Moscow area has in turn compelled the Soviets to increase the production of Ukrainian coal.

¹³ *Ukrainian Volume*, Munich, Book 5, p. 50.

A UKRAINIAN POET'S FATE IN THE SOVIET UNION

OKSANA ASHER

NEOCLASSICISM

In 1919, despite the defeat of the Ukrainian independent state, the national reawakening was so widespread that the Bolsheviks were forced to inaugurate a new policy in Ukraine. They promised national autonomy and the guarantee of a full development of Ukrainian culture and language. Although the new Bolshevik policy proved to be no more than a tactical manoeuvre, Ukrainian literature, for a short while at least, received the right to develop. The inaugural year of the new Soviet NEP policy (1922) witnessed the foundation of *Pluh* (Plough), one of the largest Ukrainian literary mass organizations. Its aim was to stimulate the cultural instincts of the peasant masses, now deeply involved in the cultural-national revolution which succeeded the social revolution. To accomplish this purpose, *Pluh*, under the leadership of Pylypenko, developed an elaborate organizational network throughout Ukraine. It is to be noted that these writers, who considered simplicity as their primary artistic criterion, were more interested in social content than in artistic form and technique. A second important proletarian mass organization was *Hart* (Tempering), a society of writers who were either communists or strongly sympathetic with communist aims.¹ Their aim was to create a truly communist culture and combat the "bourgeois" ideology of such literary organizations as *Lanka* (The Link) or of the "neoclassicists."

Ukrainian neoclassicism dates from 1918, but the group as we know it which included Nicholas Zerov, Michael Dray-Khmara, Maksym Rylsky, Paul Fylypovych, Oswald Burghardt (Klen) and (sympathizing with them a Ukrainian author and scholar) Victor Petrov, came together in Kiev in 1922-23. By 1925 they were already guiding the thought and taste of contemporary Ukrainian literature. The "neo-

¹ For the history of these literary organizations see Luckyi, O.S.N., *Soviet Ukrainian Literature — A Study in Literary Politics* (Dissertation), Columbia University, 1954.

classicists" stood apart from the so-called proletarian writers. Their works, compared to the revolutionary literature, demonstrated a superior mastery of poetic technique, more colorful imagery, and a far greater purity of language. They criticized the artistic shortcomings and technical backwardness characteristic of the writers of *Pluh*, *Hart*, and *Zhovten'*, and suggested that writers attain professional levels through close study of the great European literary masterpieces. They protested against 1) current criticism based solely on ideological grounds, 2) the absence of free competition in literature on the basis of talent, and 3) the use of literature as a stepping stone by the literary revolutionary organizations, a practice which often had a demoralizing effect upon the younger writers. These dangerous methods, the "neoclassicists" felt, were responsible for the inferiority of Ukrainian literature to Western European standards.

These poets were artists devoted to a concept of art based on that balance and restraint which we commonly identify with classicism, though the Romantic, Symbolist and Impressionist movements exercised a deep influence upon them. If we search for the origin of Ukrainian neoclassicism we can find it in the oldest sources of Ukrainian culture (*Do Dzerel*). Perhaps equally strong was the effect of classical studies. Thus, if Zerov's translations of Virgil and Horace helped him to develop the classical style which appears in his clear-cut sonnets, masterly polished and emotionally balanced, works which remind us of the most delicate carvings of antique marble, the "neoclassicist" Fylypovych brought to life the old myths by making them intelligible to his contemporaries, as for instance, when he re-created the reality of the Soviet Ukraine by relating it to the *Lament of Yaroslavna*. The profoundly human poetry of Rylsky treated the smallest details of human emotions and senses, such as the smell of apples or the implication of a momentary glance. And Dray-Khmara's use of a poetic vocabulary which he developed out of the ancient and almost forgotten Ukrainian folklore helped him to create countless symbols based on primordial tales. However different and individual these poets were, they agreed on the basic elements of poetic technique, such as perfect form, originality of image and richness of diction. They rediscovered the poetic word, polished it, and thus enriched the modern Ukrainian language, the wealth of which had never before been so carefully cultivated and so brilliantly expressed. These "neoclassicists" had no definite program, and the "neoclassic" tag bestowed upon them is accurate only in the limited sense that they believed that the poet could learn much about the perfection of poetic form through a study of classical models. Victor Petrov described them thus:

There were no formal groups. There were no assemblies, organizations, or programs. Each of them had complete freedom, and a common line was never demanded.... No one had any obligation to do anything. And exactly this made their relationships closer. Freedom of style and poetic creativeness was much more characteristic of the representatives of this group than of neoclassicism as such. Not neoclassicism, but freedom from neoclassicism is characteristic of this school of "neoclassicists." They translated with equal enthusiasm the verse of contemporary German workers, the Latin poets, and the Polish romanticists. They used hexameters and octaves as often as iambic tetrameters and free verse — that is why they preferred to put quotation marks around their name.²

Professor Petrov was right in saying that the complete freedom of the neoclassical group made their relations closer. The "neoclassicists" were all good friends and often gathered in one or another's home to read original or translated poems. The writing of parodies of new poems or collective verse was also in fashion, and Burghardt in his *Spohady pro Neoklasykiv* (Memories of the Neoclassicists) mentions one humorous collective poem, "Neoclassical March," in which all "neoclassicists" took part.³ In the beginning the chorus of "neoclassicists" glorifies their literary movement and its teachers, the French Parnassians. Then Fylypovych's solo mentions the titles of his two volumes of collected poems, *The Earth and Wind* and *Space*. Again the stanza of the chorus prepared for Rylsky's solo, which is a poetic elaboration of the titles of his volumes of collected poems: *White Islands*, *Blue Distance*, *Thirteenth Spring*, and *Through Storm and Snow*. The next solo (Burghardt) tells us about his "iron" sonnets and translations. Dray-Khmara's solo is built from lines from different poems in *Prorosten'*. Thus, after leaving Noah's Ark he came on the "Chervony Shlyakh"⁴ (red road) and soothed the pain of his word in Scheherazade's gardens. Zerov's solo, the last one, is very grotesque. In it he sings of his service to Apollo, the god of poetry.

The "neoclassicists" also took an active part in the literary discussions (1925-1928). In the literary debate it was Zerov who answered Khyvlov's question — "In which direction should we go?" — in his collection of essays, *Do Dzherel* (To the Sources), where he explained the position of the "neoclassicists." The burden of his argument was that Ukrainian writers must steep themselves in the primary cultural sources, i. e., the culture of Western Europe, and that only then would they be capable of creating an indigenous and original culture.⁵

² Yuri Klen, *Spohady pro Neoklasykiv*, Munich, 1947, p. 22.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 18-21.

⁴ At that time Dray-Khmara was a collaborator of the *Chervony Shlyakh* journal, which was printed in Kharkiv.

⁵ Zerov, M., *Do Dzherel*, Krakiv-Lviv, 1943, p. 262.

The "neoclassicists" did not believe in the necessity of literary organizations. Zerov, in 1925, protested against the "organization" concept of literature, arguing that truth was the only indispensable artistic criterion.⁶ He went on to name as the three conditions essential to the development of Ukrainian literature: acquaintance with world literature, reevaluation of the Ukrainian literary heritage, and the development of artistic refinement.⁷ This seems to us elementary but it had its significance at that time, when the Ukrainian Soviet literature needed to find its way.

On March 15, 1925, a reading of the original poetry and translations of the "neoclassicists" was organized by the Commission of VUAN. This event provoked bitter debates in the Soviet press. Two days later the newspaper, *Bol'shevik*, published an article entitled "The Five from Parnassus," signed by A. L—y (for A. Lisovy, pseudonym of A. Khutorian). This critic asserted that "neoclassicists" were "pure esthetes" whose poetry on such subjects as "trembling stars," "the boats," "love," and "eternal humanism," was written only for the sake of art and hence did not reveal the truth of the class structure and struggle. Although he accepted the perfect forms of the "neoclassicists," which he thought could be used in the peaceful reconstruction period in the Soviet Union, he condemned the "unsocial" aspects of their work. The choice of translations, even more than the original poetry of the "neoclassicists" was bitterly attacked. "Look at what they translate!" shouted the Soviet critic, "the old Latin poets—Lucretius, Ovid; the French—Leconte de Lisle, Baudelaire, Rimbaud; and the Polish poet Mickiewicz!"

This glimpse into the attitude of the Soviet press of the period demonstrates how difficult and dangerous it now was for the "neoclassicists" to carry out their poetic and philosophical ideals. Whatever the hardships borne by certain individuals, such public attacks do, at least, demonstrate the great variety of literary groups and the diversity of ideas and tastes—graphic proof that considerable liberty of thought and expression existed in the Soviet Ukraine at that time.

In 1930 the State Publishing House agreed to publish a translated anthology of French poetry which had been prepared by Professor Savchenko. The Anthology included works of the most famous French and Belgian poets. Dray-Khmara contributed translations of Maeterlinck and Mallarmé. He found the work of translation close to his heart. His principal purpose in translating was to transplant the master-

⁶ Yuri Klen, *Spoehady pro Neoklasykiv*, Munich, 1947, p. 22.

⁷ Zerov, M. "Evraziysky Renaissance, Poshekhonski Sosny," *Do Dzherel*, Krakiv-Lviv, 1943, p. 264.

pieces of Western Europe on to Ukrainian soil. But Western esthetes were not in harmony with the dominant and government-approved realistic current in Soviet literature. For that reason, Dray-Khmara's translations of the French Symbolists were never published.⁸

DRAY-KHMARA'S LIFE

My father, Michael Dray-Khmara, one of these Ukrainian "neo-classicists," was born on October 10, 1889 in the Poltava district, Ukraine, of an old Kozak family. His mother, Anna Dray, died when he was only three years old, but he cherished her memory throughout his life.⁹ Cared for by his grandmother in his father's house, he was prepared for the gymnasium by a private tutor. After he finished four classes of gymnasium in Cherkasy in 1906, he won a four-year scholarship at the Pavel Galagan College ("Preparatory School") in Kiev.¹⁰ There he found friends who remained close to him to the end of their lives; among them were a poet, Otrokovsky, and a scholar, Tsikalovsky, both of whom died in the 1920's; Larin, a poet and professor at Leningrad University, who disappeared in the 1930's; and Fylypovych, a scholar and poet, exiled at the same time as Dray-Khmara.



It was under the influence of Kozhin, professor of Russian Literature at the Pavel Galagan College, that Dray-Khmara began his first experiments in verse. In 1910, after graduation from college, he received a four-year scholarship at the University of Kiev.

At Kiev he studied under Professor Peretts, many of whose pupils responded to the character of his instruction by developing into real scholars. In 1911 Dray-Khmara published his first scholarly study, *The Intermedia of the First Half of the 18th Century*. Two years later the University of Kiev, in conjunction with the Slavic Society, sent him

⁸ The poems translated by Dray-Khmara in the years 1927-1930 are listed in Appendix B.

⁹ In his volume of poetry, *Prorosten'*, he dedicated to her the cycle "Maty." *Prorosten'*, Slovo, 1926, pp. 30-32.

¹⁰ Pavel Galagan College (Private Preparatory School) was one of the best private high-schools in Ukraine before the Revolution.

abroad, where he pursued advanced research in Slavic languages and literatures in Lviv, Budapest, Zagreb, and Bucharest.

These labors were not without tangible results. A report of Dray-Khmara's activities was published in the *University News* (of Kiev) in September, 1914. This was followed by his book about the work of Kashich-Mioshich, *Pleasant Discourse to the Slavic People*,¹¹ published in the same scholarly journal. Warmly received in academic circles, the work was favorably reviewed by Professor Lukyanenko in the *University News* in 1914, and was awarded the gold medal of excellence by the Historico-Philological Faculty.

After graduation from the Kiev University (1915), Dray-Khmara continued his studies at the University of Petrograd, where the outbreak of the Revolution was to find him. There he worked under Professors Lavrov, Shakhmatov, and Baudouin-de-Courtenay.

During the following years (1915-1917), when Dray-Khmara was continuing his preparations for a university career in Petrograd, there existed the so-called "zemlyachestva" or national and regional groupings of students. The Ukrainian "zemlyachestvo" was to play an important role in Dray-Khmara's life, for it was through this organization that he first became acquainted with such prominent Ukrainian nationalists as Hontsov and Kushnir. Two other close friends, Larin and Tsikalovsky, the two future Russian scholars who had studied with him at the Pavel Galagan College, were also at the University of Petrograd at this time.

In May, 1917, after the outbreak of the Revolution, Michael Dray-Khmara left Petrograd for Ukraine, where he lectured for a short time in various cities. An interesting facet of Dray-Khmara's decision to return in 1917 to Ukraine from Petrograd in order to participate in the Ukrainian intellectual reconstruction, was his fear that he would find it difficult to keep in step with contemporary life. He wrote:

I had not grown up with my epoch, since for the first twenty years (from the age of nine until twenty-nine) I had been isolated from real life. At the beginning, there was the 'monastic life' in Pans'ke¹² which as a nine-year-old boy I had tried to escape; later in drab Zolotonosha, still later came the gymnasium, college, the university, and finally my wanderings in the mists of archaic philology. Is this not enough to tear one completely away from the earth?¹³

¹¹ This exhaustive monograph analyzed the sources and techniques used in the great poem of Kashich-Mioshich (1762). Dray-Khmara worked for two years on its preparation, studying collections of Serbian and Croatian folk-songs, as well as the Italian and Latin works that were drawn on by Kashich-Mioshich, and assaying the artistic value of this poem.

¹² When Dray-Khmara was nine, his father sent him to the village Pans'ke, where he lived with a private tutor who prepared him for the gymnasium. This

But despite these remarks, it must not be thought that Dray-Khmara kept aloof from the life around him. Active both as a teacher at Kamenets-Podilsky and Kiev and as a poet, he left his mark in both fields. Shortly thereafter, in 1918, he was appointed professor of Slavic Languages at the University of Kamenets-Podilsky¹⁴ where he remained until 1923. While occupying during these five years various important administrative posts, such as Dean of the School of Humanitarian Sciences, 1919-1920, and editor of *Zapysky* (Notes) of the University, 1919-1920, he continued his creative work and published verse in the local literary magazines, *Buyannya* and *Nova Dumka*.¹⁵

In 1922, seeking to establish closer contact with other contemporary writers, Dray-Khmara made a visit to Kharkiv where he became a friend of the writer, Nicholas Khvylovy, who was to leave a deep impression on him. It was to Khvylovy that he dedicated his poem, "The Fields as a Striped Kerchief."¹⁶ It is indicative of the common ties which bound the two that Khvylovy, like Dray-Khmara, saw in the Revolution not merely an act of social justice but an act of national liberation as well.

In 1923 Dray-Khmara left Kamenets-Podilsky for Kiev where he was appointed Professor of the Ukrainian language in the Medical Institute. At that time he carried on research in linguistics at the Ukrainian Academy of Science, where he was head of the Slavic Department from 1923 to 1933.

Dray-Khmara's professional life was not limited to the rarefied atmosphere of the university. His various series of lectures on literary and philological themes were given not only in the Ukrainian Academy

tutor was unusually strict with his little charge; and Dray-Khmara, who was used to great freedom in his father's house, finally ran away; his father brought him back to Pans'ke and after this the tutor showed greater kindness toward the child.

¹³ His diary, January 3, 1925.

¹⁴ In a manner quite different from the social and political movements taking place elsewhere in Russia, the Revolution of 1917 took a nationalistic turn in Ukraine. The hope of an independent national state stimulated great activity in all forms of Ukrainian intellectual life. Thus, in 1918, the first Ukrainian university was founded in Kamenets-Podilsky, and immediately gathered around it the leading Ukrainian intellectuals of the period.

¹⁵ From the cycle, "Moloda vesna," 1920, *Nova Dumka*, No. 1-2, p. 29. "Poky ne vmru, ne perestanu. . .," 1920, *Nova Dumka*, No. 3, p. 11. "Khmeliyut' Khmary, Khvyluyut' v Transi," 1921, *Buyannya*, No. 1, p. 9. (for bibliography see D. Leytes and M. Iashchek, *Desiat' rokiv Ukrains'koi literatury 1917-1927*, Vol. 1, Instytut Tarasa Shevchenka, Kharkiv, Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1928, p. 146.

¹⁶ 1924, *Chervony Shlyakh*, No. 3, p. 79.

of Science, the Historical-Literary Society, and the House of Scientists, but also in more popular forms before teacher and worker groups throughout Ukraine. When the Department of Scientific Workers sent Dray-Khmara to Zhukin to speak to the Workers for Education, he wrote in his diary (May 27, 1927):

Twenty-four teachers came. I began my lecture with a discussion of 'Ukrainian Literature After the Revolution' beginning with Chumak, Mykhaylychenko, and Ellan (Blakytyn). From there I moved to the pan-futurists. I discussed Tychyna and the characteristics of the *Hart* and *Pluh*, and Khvylovy and his debate with Pylypenko and closed with a description of the contemporary literary groups.¹⁷

In the summer of 1930, the Ukrainian Academy of Science sent Dray-Khmara to the Donbas as their representative to help in the founding of the magazine, *Ukrainian Proletarian Culture*. And again in January, 1931, the Ukrainian Academy of Science sent him to Zinov'yevsk to direct a "crusade" for culture. (Such programs of popular education were common in the Soviet Union at that time.) The crusade was organized by the city officials. He enthusiastically undertook this type of activity, for he considered it a means of strengthening Ukrainian culture and the national consciousness, a goal to which he devoted most of his mature years and for the sake of which he was eventually to sacrifice his life.

But perhaps the most significant aspect of his Kiev years was his close association with the so-called neoclassical school of Ukrainian poetry. Such "neoclassicists" as Nicholas Zerov, Maxym Rylsky, Paul Fylypovych and Oswald Burghardt were his colleagues both at the Academy of Science and at the University of Kiev. Together they comprised a poetic school whose verse revealed a style and attitude bearing close kinship to Dray-Khmara's own poetry.

During the '20's and '30's Dray-Khmara continued to publish poetry in various Ukrainian literary magazines.¹⁸ In 1926, his first collected volume of poetry, *Prorosten'* (Young Shoots) was published.

¹⁷ Chumak was executed by the Denikin troops in 1919; see Chapter III, p. 18-19, for the discussion of Ellan 'Blakytyn'; Chapter III, p. 17, for the criticism of Tychyna; and Chapter III, p. 26, for the characteristics of these literary organizations.

¹⁸ "Bredu obnizhkamy: zhytamy," 1923, *Nova Hromada*, No. 7-8, p. 24; "Staye na priu kholodnyj ranok," 1923, *Nova Hromada*, No. 13-14, p. 4; "Osin," 1923, *Chervony Shlyakh*, No. 6-7, p. 4; "Scheherazade. Nastavyla shovkovykh krosen," 1923, *Chervony Shlyakh*, No. 9, p. 40; "Maty," 1923, *Shlyakhy Mystetstva*, No. 5, p. 6; "Lany yak khustka v basamany," 1924, *Chervony Shlyakh*, No. 3, p. 79; "Serpnevy prokholonuv var," 1925, *Zhyttya i Revolyutsya*, No. 12, p. 6; "Holodna vesna," 1925, *Zorya*, No. 7, p. 3; "Na Provesni," 1925, *Chervony Shlyakh*, No. 6-7, p. 68; "Doli svoeyi ya ne klyanu. . .," 1925, *Chervony Shlyakh*,

On February 3, 1933, Michael Dray-Khmara was arrested for the first time¹⁹ by the Soviet government. On his release from prison he devoted all his energies to the composition of original poetry and to his translation of Dante's *The Divine Comedy* which was confiscated by the NKVD after his second arrest (1935). At the same time he finished his translations of the two cantos of the Finnish epic, *Kalevala*, entitled "The Birth and Marriage of Ilmarinen" and "Ilmarinen and Death." He did not despair for he believed that the publication of his second volume of poetry, *Sunny Marches*, would restore him to official favor. Some of his last poems illustrate this pathetic attempt to reflect the prevailing tendencies of the epoch. But the effect was necessarily a forced and artificial one for a person of so frank and sincere a nature.

For two years Dray-Khmara was unable to find a job which lasted more than a few months. This prolonged period of virtual unemployment caused financial difficulties so grave that he was threatened with the loss of his apartment. The time of his second arrest was now approaching. Life had become very difficult. All that could be sold of clothes and books had disappeared from his apartment. On the night of September 4, 1935, he was arrested for the second time and four NKVD men ransacked his apartment. During the search an examining magistrate appeared twice, asking him if he possessed any fire-arms. A large number of books were removed from Dray-Khmara's library, including such wholly non-political works as Skovoroda, Vynnychenko, and even Lesya Ukrainka.

No. 1, pp. 51-52; "Pamyati S. Yesenina," 1926, *Chervony Shlyakh*, No. 2, p. 14; "Zaviryukha," 1926, *Vsesvit*, No. 4, p. 11; "Meni snytsya: ya snov v Podilakh," 1926, *Vsesvit*, No. 10, p. 9; "Bili vyshni shche i bili moreli," 1926, *Vsesvit*, No. 20, p. 18; "Laskavy serpen'," 1926, *Zhyttya i Revolyutsiya*, No. 1, p. 9; "Pered Hrozoyu," 1926, *Zhyttya i Revolyutsiya*, No. 4, p. 3-4; "V selo," 1926, *Zhyttya i Revolyutsiya*, No. 4, p. 3-4; "Zdravstvuy lypnyu kucheryavy," 1926, *Zhyttya i Revolyutsiya*, No. 12, p. 6; "Zustrich," 1926, *Zorya*, No. 15, p. 2; "Na provesni. Na poberezhzhi. Zority nich i plakat' iz vamy," 1926, *Zorya*, No. 19, p. 2; "Pryishlo na rano. . . Pivden'. Kruti," 1926, *Zorya*, No. 21, p. 10; "Nakynuv vechir holubu namitku," from the cycle "More, Na Plyazhi," 1927, *Chervony Shlyakh*, No. 9-10, p. 79-80.

¹⁹ Three months later, on May 2 of the same year, the authorities released him from prison. The certificate (number 1065) given him by the public prosecutor of the Kiev district stated that his case had been closed and that he would receive compensation for the time he had spent in prison. But after his release, Dray-Khmara was not restored to his previous positions, either in the Scientific Research Institute of Linguistics or in the Polish Pedagogical Institute in Kiev. On the contrary, he was excluded from the Union of Scientific Workers and was even forbidden access to state libraries.

So great were the difficulties encountered by Soviet prosecutors in the case of Dray-Khmara that it was found necessary to change the examining magistrates repeatedly. But Dray-Khmara obstinately refused to make any further admissions, insisting that he had stated all that was necessary about himself on the occasion of his first arrest. Later he revealed to his wife that, although the police had submitted him to the cruelest of physical tortures, he had made no kind of confession concerning either himself or any one else. But it is doubtful if any conceivable plan of action could have changed his fate which had, in all probability, been decided even before his arrest. In his letter to his wife, written on June 2, 1936, during his journey to Kolyma, he describes his situation as follows:

... I shall try in a few words to tell about my case... The decision of the special council²⁰ of March 28, 1936, ordered my imprisonment for a five year period in the Northeastern concentration camps for counter-revolutionary activities. I think that this is the camp at Kolyma. The decision of the special council was made known to me on April 13 and on April 16 I was taken from Kiev. I tried in various ways to let you know of this in order to obtain certain things for the coming journey; but all my efforts were fruitless, and I left without seeing you, my dear ...

Thus Dray-Khmara was neither permitted to see his wife nor inform her of his imminent departure. He was deported to the Far East in a "Stolypin car" (a freight car adapted for the transportation of prisoners), and provided with neither money, warm clothes, nor linen, and with only the crudest of dry rations in the way of food. Once in Kolyma,²¹ he was continually transferred from one gold-field to another, Nagayevo, Orotukan, Mine Partisan, Mine Ekspeditionny, Gornaya Laryukovaya, Rechka Utinnaya, Ust-Tayezhna, Neriga, Okhotskoye; these were the steps on that journey to death which sapped his last remaining forces. Only part of his mail was actually delivered and most of the packages of food sent him were either lost or returned to the sender, after some six months of fruitless travel. A similar fate awaited the money sent to him by his wife. Often, when a letter or package reached its destination, Dray-Khmara had already been transferred to another gold-field. The only conceivable reason for such treatment seems to be that of increasing his suffering until it reached the breaking point. The terrible hunger and back-breaking physical work killed Dray-Khmara's will to live long before his actual death. The last of his letters written to his family testify to this gradual physical and spiritual deterioration.

²⁰ The famous Special Council of Three in Moscow.

²¹ Kolyma is well known as the worst concentration camp in the far north of Siberia. It is situated at 60° latitude and 43° longitude.

It is significant that Dray-Khmara seems to have been more severely treated than the other members of the neoclassicists group who had "confessed." He was forced to work in the gold fields or wash gold while standing in freezing water. Wood-chopping for him was a "rest," although daytime temperatures in Kolyma sometimes reached fifty-three degrees below zero (Centigrade) and were often accompanied by frightful winds. Winter interrupted his correspondence with his family for six months. During this time it was impossible to send him food packages or letters; the only possible means of communication was by telegraph.

In the summer of 1937, the Soviet authorities transferred Dray-Khmara's wife and daughter from Kiev to Belebey, a small town in Bashkiriya. The exile of his family not only affected Dray-Khmara emotionally, but deprived him of a source of money essential to his survival. On October 25, 1939, the Kievan marriage bureau informed his wife of the death of her husband.

IN DEFENCE OF THE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN UKRAINE; A LETTER TO NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV

by NICHOLAS D. CHUBATY

[To the kind attention of Messrs. William Foster, Palmiero Togliatti and Jacques Duclos, the leaders of the Communist Parties in USA, Italy, resp., France.]

On December 5, 1956 the Editor of this paper mailed a letter to Mr. Nikita S. Khrushchev, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party calling his attention to the abnormal religious situation in Western Ukraine created by the government of Stalin in this territory through the forceful destruction of the organization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and by the artificial installation there by violence of the Russian Orthodox Church skeleton hated by the whole population of Western Ukraine. The Western Ukrainians were deprived of that fundamental religious freedom guaranteed by the Soviet constitutions. It is noteworthy that this interference in church matters by the Soviet Communist administration was performed not in the interest of the atheistic doctrine of Communist materialism but in the interest of the Russian Orthodox Church, the bulwark of Russian nationalist expansion in Ukraine and especially in Catholic Western Ukraine.

After the XX Congress of the Communist Party and after the de-Stalinization movement in the Soviet Union some Ukrainian Catholic priests, released from the concentration camps, returned to Western Ukraine and were warmly received by their faithful as martyrs. A spontaneous movement arose for the legalization of their Church.

The Swiss paper *Neue Zuericher Zeitung*, March 13, 1957 brings the news from a trustworthy source that a wave of new religious persecutions has been started in Western Ukraine and that many newly released priests have been again imprisoned and deported to the Asiatic part of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Khrushchev in his speeches continuously repeats the necessity of liberating the oppressed peoples of all continents; April 15, 1957 on the occasion of the reception of the Albanian delegation in Moscow, he even declared that he wishes that *"all people could be able to live according to their own conscience."* In the responsible time of the disarmament discussions the Russian leader must prove that his words are trustworthy, because in the Western Ukrainian case his liberal words are hopelessly at odds with his less liberal deeds.

In accordance with the UN Charter the people of Ukraine have the right to live in accordance with their own conscience at least to such a degree as under the centuries long also foreign, non-Soviet domination.

This is an English translation of the letter written in Ukrainian, which safely arrived in Moscow December 13, 1956 and *"was turned over to the Secretariat of N. Khrushchev,"* as the return receipt informs.

The Honorable Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party
Kremlin, Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Honorable Nikita Sergeyevich!

You will probably be surprised by this letter of mine — a historian and journalist unknown to you — so please allow me to introduce myself. I am an American Ukrainian, born in Western Ukraine, a historian by profession and a former professor of the Ukrainian Secret University in Lviv (1920-24), later professor of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv (1925-39).

My emigration was not planned. I came to the U.S.A. in August 1939 to attend an International Congress, and because of the war could not return home and remained in the U.S.A. I became a United States citizen and worked as a journalist. I am the editor of the English-language Journal *"The Ukrainian Quarterly,"* which in my opinion serves the cause of the Ukrainian nation and that of world peace very well. I am a democrat and a believing Christian, and for that reason an opponent of communism, not so much because of its social program (I am the son of a poor farmer and know the hardship of the working masses), but mainly because of its materialistic philosophy. As an opponent of the materialistic philosophy I am a supporter of personal freedom for the individual and a legal order that enables every person to have his individual opinion and worship God according to his own conscience.

I am an American citizen now, but I love the country of my birth — Ukraine — and I am very happy when news comes from beyond the seas telling of the improved living conditions of the Ukrainian masses on their native soil. In the same way I suffer when I hear of the hardships of the Ukrainian nation in Ukraine. This attitude of mine towards the land of my fathers is the reason for my letter to you, Nikita Sergejevich.

When in the years 1944-45 the question was raised in the U.S.A. concerning the problem of joining Western Ukraine — to Poland or the Soviet Ukraine, at the time under the severe rule of Stalin — my friends and I were in favor of a union with the mother-country, so that the living body of Ukraine would not be torn apart. We had not forgotten the purgatory that Soviet Ukraine survived in the years 1932-39, in the clutches of Stalinism and of the Great-Russian chauvinism.

The year 1945 brought a new disappointment for Western Ukrainians outside Ukraine, with the attack by the Stalin government upon the most sacred treasure of the Western Ukrainian masses—the Greek-Catholic Church. The Soviet government imprisoned the Metropolitan Joseph Slipyi and six bishops, four of whom died in prison or in forced exile. In spite of the fact that in the USSR the church was separated from the secular government, the destruction of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church took place with the pronounced help of the Soviet administration and the coordinated cooperation of the MVD and the Patriarchal authorities of the Russian Orthodox Church to expand Russian Orthodoxy and in accordance with the interests of Great-Russian imperialism, in the same manner as it occurred during the reign of the Tsars. It would have been impossible to disband the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Galicia and Carpathian Ukraine, if it had not been for the help of government police; without that same help the usurpation of the bishops' thrones of Western Ukraine by intruders of the Moscow Patriarchate would also have been out of the question.

The liquidation of the Greek-Catholic Church in Galicia and Carpathian Ukraine was carried out in exactly the same manner as it had been done during the reigns of the Tsars Catherine II, Nicholas I, and Alexander II in Ukraine and White Ruthenia, namely after the removal of the bishops, the opposing members of the priesthood were arrested and sent to Siberia and violence was inflicted upon the masses of the believers. At that time the Tsarist regime identified the unification of the dominant church with the interests of the empire and autocracy; in the last instance the administration of the communistic state, governed by Stalin, had taken the same position, namely that the interests of a reactionary force such as the Moscow Patriarchate and that of the Soviet

Union are one and the same. All of this was done in the name of Great-Russian chauvinism so sharply criticized by Vladimir Ilyich (Lenin).

There is no doubt that neither Ukraine nor Russia benefited by the destruction of the Greek-Catholic Church; it did not bring peace in Ukraine, but only drove thousands of members of the church into the underground. It could not have been otherwise; the Greek-Catholic Church had always played a highly positive role in the life of Western Ukraine. This was not a reactionary force in the service of those who exploited the working masses, as it had been in the other sections of Ukraine. The Greek-Catholic Church of Western Ukraine on the contrary had been for centuries a defender of the Ukrainian masses against the national and social oppression of Poland.

The genius of Ivan Franko in his work "Squire's Jokes" gave a vivid picture of the role a Western Ukrainian priest had played as a leader of the resistance of the working masses to the exploitation of the Polish landowners. The Galician clergy were the organizers of farm strikes (1901) against the exploitation of Polish nobility. Before 1939, under Polish rule, Galician clergy filled Polish prisons for the defence of the rights of the Ukrainian nation. And so now, Nikita Sergejevich, I hope you can understand the extent of the hatred against the Stalinist administration because of the destruction of the Greek-Catholic Church, with the aid of the state organs.

The arrest of the Lviv Metropolitan Joseph Slipyi, who was accused of political crimes, just as the arrest of other bishops of Western Ukraine, had no realistic basis, because practical politics was a field completely alien to these ecclesiastical leaders. I have personally known Metropolitan Joseph as the Rector of the Theological Academy. He was a democrat and an opponent of nazism even prior to the war. In everyday life he was primarily a theological scholar and a priest dedicated to his vocation. The history of the USSR will never be able to find an excuse for the arrest of the Metropolitan and the bishops and for the ruin of the Greek-Catholic Church in Western Ukraine. The only logical reason for this act of the Stalin administration in the eyes of history will be the church imperialism of the Russian Orthodox Church and Great-Russian chauvinism. All of this is contrary to the Constitution of the USSR and the Constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, both of which guarantee freedom of faith to the citizens of the USSR.

Honorable Nikita Sergejevich!

Before the XX Congress of the All-Union Communist Party the world press published your proclamation to the youth of the USSR in which you exhorted them not to violate the constitutional right of the

freedom of religion in the USSR. This step of yours filled us, who live outside the USSR, with optimism and we hoped, that a new era had dawned, bringing a fulfillment of the constitutional freedom of religion. After the XX Congress events followed which proved the passing of the ill effects of Stalinism and a new respect for the principles of Lenin. With the removal of the practice of Stalinist terror in the USSR the time had come to rectify the injustice caused to millions of members of the Greek-Catholic Church in Western Ukraine and to return to them the constitutional rights of religious freedom. Unfortunately, such has not happened up to the present time.

In the U.S.A. we are informed that Western Ukrainians of Lviv do not have one Greek-Catholic Church in their capital and that they are forced to use the services of three Roman Catholic churches, serving a very small Polish minority. News reach us, that members of the ruined Greek-Catholic Church seek to satisfy their religious needs secretly with the help of Greek-Catholic priests, who had been forcibly removed from their churches. In other words, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholics in their own state, as you say, are forced either to attend Latin churches or the Ukrainian underground church, a thing unheard of during centuries of foreign rule. You must surely admit the fact, Nikita Sergeevich, that this is an abnormal state of things and more painful, because it occurs in a state, where the Ukrainian nation should rule — in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

In East Berlin a Soviet agency — the Committee of Repatriation — is at work. Could a religious person return to Ukraine under these circumstances, knowing that he would be unable to practice freely his faith and even in the hour of death his religious needs would not be taken care of? You do not understand this, Nikita Sergeevich, because you are an atheist, but for a person who believes in God this is a most desperate situation which one would go to the remotest corner of the earth to avoid.

Honorable Nikita Sergeevich!

Justice, legal order and even the interests of the Soviet Union demand, that the evil inflicted on Western Ukrainians in church matters should be set right in the following manner:

1. Permit Metropolitan Joseph Slipyi, who is still in exile at Krasnoyarsk, to return to Lviv, to the Cathedral of St. George and to the Metropolitan Palace, which is occupied by intruders, members of the Russian Orthodox Church and allow him to carry on his duties as Metropolitan;

2. Permit the bishops and the clergy of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church who are still alive, to return to their parishes and carry on their work according to the Constitution of the USSR;

3. It is necessary, that the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Western and Carpathian Ukraine be given equal rights with the Russian Orthodox Church and the Protestant Churches in the USSR.

The matter of religious freedom for Greek-Catholics of Western Ukraine, is one of the most vital problems of Ukrainian life in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and I believe, Nikita Sergejevich, for the good of future relations between the Ukrainian and Russian nations it is advisable to give immediate attention to this pressing matter and rectify the injustice that has been done in the past.

I end my letter and remain

Yours truly,

NICHOLAS D. CHUBATY

GENERAL PATTON'S STOPPED INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE ROLE OF VLASOV

by JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

On Saturday, May 5, 1945, the people of Prague, Czechoslovakia, heard that American troops were approaching from the south and west, and Soviet troops from the east and north. The German radio was proclaiming that the war was over, although there had been no official announcement by General Eisenhower.

Everywhere, it was reported, German troops were throwing down their arms... everywhere but in Czechoslovakia where Field Marshal Albert Kesserling made no move. He was the same "fox of the Apennines" who had caused the Allied armies such heavy losses in Italy two winters before.

This was the moment for which Prague waited for six years.

Two days earlier the extremely well organized secret resistance forces had come from their hiding places and served an ultimatum on the German commander. His position was hopeless. He agreed to the ultimatum to quit the city with all his troops. The "revolution of the lilacs" apparently had been won with hardly a shot fired.

Then some one broke the truce. The people of Prague never have blamed the *Wehrmacht* itself. Presumably the prime movers were some SS elements in the Prague garrison, spurred by the Nazi "Protector," Karl Hermann Frank, the glass-eyed madman who saw only the gallows ahead for himself and wished to sell his life as dearly as possible.

German intelligence learned that the Americans did not intend to proceed beyond Pilsen. That was the line which had been set by agreement with the Red Army. The nearest Red troops were sixty miles away. The Prague Underground had only small arms with which to fight German tanks and artillery. Yet the determined Czechs fought to liberate themselves from their oppressors. The result was a massacre. The people of Prague fought desperately behind street barricades. Firing into houses, German tanks went wildly through the streets.¹

¹ Thomas R. Henry, "A Tale of Three Cities," *National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. 88 (December, 1945), p. 665.

General Rudolf Toussaint mustered 90,000 Nazi troops to handle the emergency. The Czechs sent calls for help to both the Americans and Reds. General Patton's armor was reported on its way to the Czech capital, but it was merely an armored-car convoy of eight Jeeps under white flags hoping to arrange a cessation of hostilities. The Reds, driving closer, were still two days fighting away. The only American armed intervention occurred on Sunday, when several dive bombers attacked the Ruzyně airport on the edge of Prague, ending its use by German airmen, and forcing them to use fields farther north.

By this time the Nazis were winning the battle of Prague. Suddenly rescue came. General Andrey Alekseyevich Vlasov, until the last fortnight of the war fighting with the Germans, decided to line up with the valiant Czechs. Although the Red Army had placed a price on his head, he marched into Prague and threw consternation into the camp of the Nazi "Protector" by blocking the German escape routes from the city. The Czechs cheered the renegade German-Russian army of 22,000 men which came to their rescue when Soviet and American forces failed to answer their desperate appeals for aid.²

The western world first heard of General Vlasov when Eve Curie characterized him in her book, *Journey Among Warriors*, as a great Soviet hero. She interviewed him before he was captured by the Nazis in 1942, and he told her that he had been in the Red Army for twenty-three years and was an ardent Communist. However, his Nazi captors seem to have convinced him that England was the chief enemy of his country. He promised the Germans that he would create an army of Russian prisoners of war who would fight against the Allies and that later would work for postwar friendship between the German and Russian peoples. From then on, General Vlasov ranged all over Europe, fighting against the partisans in Yugoslavia and against the Anglo-American troops in Normandy.

As Vlasov's men, wearing *Wehrmacht* regalia, but distinguished from the other Hitler troops by the letters ROA on their shoulder patches — *Russkaya Osvoboditelnaya Armiya* (Russian Army of Liberation) — marched into Prague, he broadcast appeals that his columns be spared by the American airmen.³

Vlasov's troops wore white, blue, and red armbands similar to the Czech flag and also had the Czech colors on their vehicles to discourage Allied strafing. Unfortunately, his forces were not much better equipped

² Ivan H. Peterman, "Prague's Four Fantastic Days," *Saturday Evening Post*, Vol. 218 (July 14, 1945), p. 20.

³ Eugene Lyons, "General Vlasov's Mystery Army," *American Mercury*, Vol. 66 (February, 1948), p. 183.

to fight than the patriots, who knocked out seventeen panzers with rockets on Sunday.

Fighting continued on Monday. Monday night the Czech leaders disavowed Vlasov's forces. They announced that, while Vlasov's aid was gratefully received, his role must not be construed as something which would alter the charges held against him by their Soviet friends. Vlasov and his men vanished into the nowhere whence they had come.⁴

The Czechs were now in a bad jam. Luftwaffe planes were bombing the capitol and the patriots had little ammunition for their few guns. American and Soviet help was not yet within reach.

The revolution cost the Czechs about 15,000 men, women, and children, but the people had the satisfaction of knowing that they had liberated Prague themselves.

The first Red Army tanks appeared on the morning of May 9th (Wednesday), when the revolution was almost over. They belonged to Marshal Konev's army and had driven from Berlin to Prague in two and a half days.⁵

This was Prague's first and last battle of the war. Much of the destruction suffered was wrought by the guns of German tanks. They had dashed back and forth along stately St. Wenceslaus Square, the business center of the city, and left piles of rubble. They had shot up the big modern Woodrow Wilson Railway Station, named for the American President, whom the people of Czechoslovakia regard almost as a patron saint. The greatest loss was the Town Hall in the Old Town, which was bombed in a last-minute raid by four German planes. Part of this building dated back to the 14th century. Still serene and undamaged in the square was the statue of John Huss (Jan Hus), the Bohemian religious reformer.⁶

The salvaged city was turned over to the Red Army which promptly arrested all *Vlasovtsy* who did not escape and shot them in wholesale lots. The remnants of the ROA troops in Czechoslovakia and in Austria surrendered to the United States forces.

General Vlasov was taken prisoner and handed over to the Red Army by the Americans. He was hanged in Moscow in August, 1945.⁷

The liberation was a social and political revolution. By one and the same act the German and Hungarian oppressors and their Czechoslovak

⁴ Ivan H. Peterman, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁵ Joseph Wechsberg, "Streetcar Revolution," *Collier's*, Vol. 116 (August 11, 1945), p. 11.

⁶ Thomas R. Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 665.

⁷ George Fischer, "General Vlasov's Official Biography," *The Russian Review*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (October, 1949), p. 227.

collaborators were removed with confiscation of their ill-gotten gains and expulsion or political liquidation for both.

The tasks of the Provisional Government which President Benes led into the liberated country on the heels of the Red Army... first to Košice, then to Bratislava, then Brno and eventually to Prague... were to take over and secure the State territory, recreate an administration and renew the ravaged economic and cultural life of the country.⁸

Why did not the American forces come to the assistance of the beleaguered Czech patriots? History will undoubtedly show that this was a diplomatic, not military question.

Here are the opinions and remarks of several American officials on this point.

"Most of eastern Czechoslovakia had been captured by the Reds and by February 1945, Poland and all of eastern Europe, except for most of Czechoslovakia was in the hands of the Red Army. *As a result of this military situation it was not a question of what Great Britain and the United States would permit Russia to do but what the two countries would persuade the Soviet Union to accept.*"⁹ (The italics are those of the author).

"With his main forces pushing down the Danube, Patton's Third Army was reinforced by the V Corps from Hodge's Army. Patton directed the V push eastward into Czechoslovakia. The corps captured Pilsen on May 6. In this area the Russian forces were rapidly advancing from the west and careful co-ordination was again necessary. By agreement we (Generals Marshall and Eisenhower) directed the American troops to occupy the line Pilsen-Karlsbad (about 50 miles before Prague), while south of Czechoslovakia the agreed line of junction ran down the Budejevice-Linz railroad and from there along the valley of the Enns River."¹⁰

In view of the reports that the Czechoslovakian citizens had taken Prague, I was very anxious to go on and assist them, and asked Bradley (General Omar Bradley) for authority to do so but this was denied. As a matter of fact, however, reconnaissance elements of the Third Army were in the vicinity of Prague, and by that act marked the farthest progress to the east of any western army."

"On the sixth (of May, 1945) it was definitely established that we were not to pass beyond the stop line running through Pilsen for greater

⁸ Ewan Wallis-Jones, "Czechoslovakia's Recovery," *Fortnightly*, Vol. FF (May, 1947), pp. 330-1.

⁹ Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. *Roosevelt and the Russians* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1949), pp. 300-301.

¹⁰ General Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1948).

distance than required by security reconnaissance — up to about five miles. I was very much chagrined, because I felt, and I still feel, that we should have gone on to the Moldau River and, if the Russians didn't like it, let them go to hell. I did not find out until weeks afterward the reasons, which were sound, which implemented General Eisenhower's decision to order us to stop where we did."¹¹

On May 5, the 16th Armored Division under the command of Col. C. H. Noble, passed through the 97th Infantry Division and speared eighteen miles to liberate Pilsen, great industrial center and home of the famed beer."¹²

Common opinion holds that the American forces were stopped at Pilsen by an agreement reached between the Allies at Yalta. Yet, in viewing the text of the Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin statement on the Crimea Conference there is no mention of Czechoslovakia. The future of Poland, Yugoslavia, Germany, and China were discussed in detail but the role of Czechoslovakia is conspicuous by its absence.

The Yalta deals added up to the most important conference in World War II. These deals, counting the secret ones along with those made public at the time, made it possible to finish the war in Europe and Asia, shaped the destiny of Germany, and put Eastern Europe and most of the Balkan area into Soviet hands.

Much of what was agreed upon at Yalta regarding Czechoslovakia may have been due to the then current Czech attitude. For its future security Czechoslovakia looked not west but east. The cornerstone of Dr. Eduard Beneš' rebuilt Czechoslovakia was a Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance, and Postwar Collaboration signed with the Kremlin on December 12, 1943, which supplemented a pact of mutual assistance signed with the Soviets on May 16, 1935. The memory of Munich had erased the memory of Versailles.

Dr. Beneš' own words expressed this pro-Russian view: "Our alliance with the Soviet Union is quite natural . . . it does not mean that we have cut ourselves off from the democracies of western Europe . . . We have simply adapted ourselves to the developments of the war . . ."¹³

Dr. Beneš formed a government in exile in London when the Germans invaded Czechoslovakia. He became violently prejudiced against the British, in part because they delayed so long in formally repudiating the Munich pact. He journeyed to Moscow several times, and formed a

¹¹ General George S. Patton, Jr., *War As I Knew It* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947, pp. 326-327.

¹² Colonel Robert S. Allen, *Lucky Forward* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1947), p. 386.

¹³ "Czechoslovakia: Revolution by Law?," no author *Time*, Vol. 46 (October 22, 1945), p. 35.

close connection with Stalin. When the Red Army reached Czech soil, striking into Ruthenia in October, 1944, it was Dr. Beneš who entered with the Russians and set up a provisional government on Czech territory at Kešice in April, 1945.¹⁴

As a westerner Beneš hoped that the Anglo-American forces would liberate Czechoslovakia, or at least Bohemia including Prague. Beneš, being devoted to only one ambition, the liberation of Czechoslovakia, went to Moscow in December, 1943, against the advice of the British.

The failure of Patton to relieve Prague was a blow to Beneš' hopes for the Communists were able to hail themselves as liberators and to attribute sinister motives to Patton's hesitation. Beneš in May 1947 was still obsessed by the American failure to liberate Prague, harped continually on its adverse effects, and said he had never understood the decision which compelled Patton's inaction. Perhaps the decision was due partly to the enemies that Beneš had in the State Department in Washington.¹⁵

Thus Beneš became convinced that against his wishes, against his warnings, and against their own vital interests, the western allies once again were giving a single Power a monopoly of influence over his country. And General Patton's sudden halt 50 kilometers from Prague, which was desperately entreating help, was corroboration of his forebodings."¹⁶

Another interesting explanation of why the Czechs turned to the Soviets for postwar alliance is offered by a controversial figure, Owen Lattimore, who has often fallen victim to the Soviet line of propaganda.

He states that since Czechoslovakia is a small nation, a secure defense must be guaranteed by an ally. The Czechs were not convinced of this by Soviet propaganda, but by the Munich sellout and their realism. One of the principal reasons why the Kremlin was not able to prevent the Munich sellout, which they dreaded as deeply as the Czechs, was that they did not then control the sub-Carpathian bridgehead. Therefore, say the Czechs, this bridgehead and the Bohemian bridgehead, which allowed Hitler to invade the Soviet Union as far as the suburbs of Moscow, must henceforth be held by a Russian-Czechoslovak alliance.¹⁷

¹⁴ John Gunther, *Behind the Curtain* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), p. 218.

¹⁵ Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart. "The Czechoslovak Revolution," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 26 (July, 1948), pp. 632-635.

¹⁶ Edward Táberský, "Beneš and the Soviets," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 27 January, 1949), p. 313.

¹⁷ Owen Lattimore, "Challenge at the Bridgehead," *New Republic*, Vol. 117 (July 28, 1947), pp. 15-16.

NEW FRIENDS FOR UKRAINE

By JOHN W. VESS, JR.

Under the auspices of the U.S. Army, four former citizens of Ukraine are pioneering today in a field of great potential importance to the future development of a wide-spread American understanding of Ukraine.

As instructors at the U.S. Army Language School, these men are teaching young Americans from all walks of life how to speak, read and write the Ukrainian language.

All four instructors believe that language is the most practical basis for any real understanding of another country. They also are convinced that once their students have learned to speak Ukrainian, they will go on to learn more about the country and to help make fellow Americans more aware of Ukraine's existence.

According to the department chairman, Mr. Boris Alexander, students of the Ukrainian Department receive not only training in the language, but training in the history and culture of the country as well.

"The purpose of our training," Mr. Alexander explains, "is to give each student sufficient knowledge of the language to enable him to accomplish any military mission he may be assigned. But beyond this, we like to think that our training eventually may be of vast importance to the entire world. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that the men we are now training will some day occupy positions of great responsibility."

Mr. Alexander's theory is supported by the fact that language school students include high ranking career officers as well as young enlisted men who will leave the military service for various types of civilian employment. Among the students currently studying Ukrainian is a young Private First Class who hopes to join the United States Foreign Service upon completion of his military duty. He is a Williams College graduate who had embarked upon a State Department career prior to entering the army.

Now in its second year, the Ukrainian Department is among the youngest and smallest of the twenty nine departments that make up the U.S. Army Language School at the Presidio of Monterey, California.

So far, only one class—comprised of ten students—has been graduated in Ukrainian. The current class, which has nine students, is scheduled to graduate July 27, 1957.

Plans for the class starting in September call for more than a fifty per cent increase in the number of Ukrainian students. An additional instructor also will be added to the department at that time. At the present time, the Ukrainian faculty is made up of Mr. Alexander, Mr. Vasyl Hryshko, Dr. Yar Slavutych and Mr. Simon Starow.

While teaching the first Ukrainian class, these men were faced with the difficult task of preparing their own textbooks and teaching materials. Often working at night, they wrote more than twenty regular textbooks, prepared a background reader and book of songs, and produced hundreds of pages of special exercises and student aids.

Like most other languages taught at the school, Ukrainian is given as a one year course. The instruction starts with a phonetics phase, during which students learn the Ukrainian alphabet and repeat simple dialogues. They work at home at night with record players and tape recorders and soon are receiving written homework assignments. Before long, they are studying grammar.

After the first few weeks, the use of English is practically banned in the classroom. Only while explaining grammatical forms do the instructors use English.

When students of the Ukrainian Department are slow to learn, they receive additional instruction on their own time. This is usually handled personally by the department chairman, a giant of a man with boundless energy. Ordinarily quite calm, Mr. Alexander is quick to start waving his hands in excitement when a student repeatedly fails to pronounce a word correctly.

Over six feet tall and weighing more than 200 pounds, he covers the width of the classroom in quick, easy strides. During the first few weeks with a new group of students, he is never able to remain behind his desk. He goes from one student to another, softly repeating the words he wants them to pronounce.

"No, No, No," he sometimes says. Then he will turn to another student. After the other men in the class have correctly pronounced the word, he will come back to the original offender.

Students of the current class still love to tell about an incident which supposedly took place during their first week in school. The word causing the trouble was the interrogative "що." Although Mr. Alexander had patiently explained the sounds involved, one student still had difficulty. So Mr. Alexander went back to the basic sounds, telling students to repeat "SH..CH.." Still the student got it wrong.

Then, as Mr. Alexander turned toward another student, the first man suddenly sneezed. Students swear to this day that the department chairman whirled around exclaiming, "Excellent, Excellent!"

No one enjoys this joke more than Mr. Alexander, because he possesses a keen sense of humor and does not mind a good joke at his own expense. Nevertheless, he is unusually serious about his work and is determined that all graduates of the Ukrainian course will speak the language so well that it will be difficult to tell them from native Ukrainians.

Born of Ukrainian parents in Warsaw in 1910, Mr. Alexander has spent his entire life in school. Under the influence of his school-teacher mother, he began preparing for the teaching profession while still a child, and upon graduating from high school he managed to obtain a job as a high school language teacher.

He had seven years of teaching experience behind him when he entered the Pedagogical Institute of Poltava in 1937. There, in addition to pursuing a regular college study program, he worked eight hours a day as a consultant at the Institute's language library. During his senior year, he taught languages at a nearby high school.

In spite of his full schedule, Mr. Alexander found time while attending the institute to meet and court his future wife, who at that time was also a student at the institute. He and Mrs. Alexander were married in 1941, following their graduation from the institute.

During World War II, they made their way to Germany, winding up in a D.P. camp in the American Zone. There Mr. Alexander worked as a welfare officer and taught the Ukrainian language at a special primary teachers college set up in the camp. He and Mrs. Alexander came to America in 1951 and just recently received their U.S. citizenship. They have both been employed at the Army Language School since February of 1953.

All three of the other Ukrainian instructors have backgrounds similar to Mr. Alexander's. All three qualified as language teachers in Ukraine, all three came to this country by way of Germany following World War II, and all are now U.S. citizens.

Mr. Vasyl Hryshko, who was born in the Poltava area in 1914, is a 1936 graduate of Kiev University, where he qualified as a teacher of the Ukrainian language and literature.

During his last year at the University, he distinguished himself as an "enemy of the people," and immediately upon graduation was given a three year prison term for anti-communist activity. His trial and conviction are mentioned briefly in his book in English *Experience With Russia*, which was published in 1956.*

After his release from prison in 1940, Mr. Hryshko obtained a job as a high school language teacher in Poltava. But with the German invasion in 1941, he gave up teaching to join the underground. Then in 1944, he made his way to Germany. From 1946 to 1949, he edited Ukrainian newspapers in Munich and Ulm. He came to the United States in September, 1949. Here, he worked in Chicago and New York until 1953, then for two years was editor of an American-Ukrainian newspaper in Detroit.

Mr. Hryshko is known among students of the department as the quietest of the Ukrainian instructors. He is a small man with thin brown hair, blue eyes and a soft voice. Although he does not seem to talk much, he always talks at a rapid pace. He never fails to receive the students' undivided attention, because they know that this is the only way they can understand what he is saying.

In addition to his *Experience with Russia*, Mr. Hryshko has published several books in the Ukrainian language. He has been at the Language School since the organization of the Ukrainian Department in August of 1955. He has been married since 1950 and has two children. His wife also came to this country from Ukraine.

Another instructor who has published several books is Dr. Yar Slavutych, who came to the United States in 1949.

He is known to his students as the "grammarian" of the department, due to his particular love of grammar and etymology. Between classes, he often gives additional instruction to the interested students in involved questions of grammar and in word origin. The latter subject can not be covered during regular classes, because the school's training schedule allows time only for subjects actually necessary to the students' learning to speak the language.

Just under six feet tall and weighing around 175 pounds, Dr. Slavutych has black hair and flashing, dark brown eyes. He was born in Southern Ukraine in 1918 and qualified as a language instructor at the Pedagogic Institute of Zaporizhzhya before joining the underground early in World War II. At the end of 1944, he was captured and imprisoned in Germany, but soon escaped to Prague, Czechoslovakia. From there he made his way to Bavaria, just before the arrival of the U.S. Army.

From 1945 to 1949, he lived in the American Zone of Germany, where he edited Ukrainian literary magazines and published four volumes of poetry in Ukrainian. He also studied at the Ukrainian Free

* Publisher — The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 302 W. 13th Street, New York 14, N. Y.

University in Munich. He and his wife, Elwira, were married in Germany in 1948 and now have a seven year old son.

Following his arrival in America, Dr. Slavutych taught at a Ukrainian high school in Philadelphia until 1955, when he came to the Army Language School. During the same period, he continued his studies and earned a fellowship at the University of Pennsylvania. There he earned both an A.M. and Ph.D. degree.

In this country, Dr. Slavutych has published three books on the history of Ukrainian literature, one of which, *The Muse in Prison*, is in the English language. He also has written numerous newspaper articles and book reviews.

One of the most versatile of the Ukrainian instructors is Mr. Simon Starow (Semen Stariw—as he has been known in the Ukrainian press), who not only teaches regular language classes but doubles as a singing teacher as well.

Under his tutelage, students of the department have become surprisingly proficient in the singing of Ukrainian folk songs, even though their practice has been limited to a one hour session every other week.

A graduate of Kiev Pedagogic Institute, Mr. Starow also was in Germany at the end of World War II. Living there as a D.P., he worked with the Central Organization of Ukrainian Emigrants and served as the Secretary General of the Union of Ukrainian Journalists-Emigrants. He also began work on his doctor's dissertation at a German university, but gave up his studies in order to come to the United States.

Mr. Starow and his wife and daughter arrived in this country in 1949. At that time, he did not speak English, but soon learned enough of the language to enter the University of California as a graduate student. From 1952 until 1954 he taught language at the Hollywood, California Evening High School. In addition to writing many newspaper and magazine articles in both the Ukrainian and English languages, he has completed two books in English which are now waiting for a publisher.

A short, huskily-built man with dark hair and blue eyes, Mr. Starow appears far younger than his forty years. He has a keen sense of humor which is particularly appreciated by students during classes in free conversation.

As part of their training, students of the Ukrainian Department have been required to relate jokes and even long anecdotes in the Ukrainian language. On occasion, a student has twisted a Ukrainian word or expression to come up with an original joke of his own.

One student of the current class, for instance, has shown a particular flair for spotting any possible opportunity to make a humorous play of words. Ordinarily, he has kept this activity outside the classroom, but a few times has been unable to restrain himself. One such occasion was the day the Ukrainian expression "струнка як тополя"—slim as a poplar—appeared in the dialogue.

This expression invoked some comment, since the students did not understand why an attractive lady should be compared to a tree and the instructor did not understand the American expression, "slim as a willow."

After both expressions had been explained, the classroom humorist asked (in forbidden English), "When a Ukrainian woman isn't slender like a poplar, what is she then. . . .*un-poplar?*"

On another occasion, after the instructor had explained the relationship of "Kum" in the Ukrainian fellow God-parent system, the humorist caused the class to roar with laughter.

"Oh, I think I'm beginning to understand," he said with feigned seriousness. "This system. . . is it the one called *Kum-i-nism?*"

There are times, of course, when none of the students can see any humor in what they are doing. They are constantly aware that learning a language is a serious business, and sometimes it seems more serious than usual. From the very beginning, the students are told that it is up to them to learn the language. They are given thirty hours of classroom instruction each week, and are advised to spend three or more hours each night in off-duty study. Since, for the slower students, three hours are frequently needed to prepare the written homework, it is easy to understand why some of them find it necessary to study six hours per night.

Like all other students at the school, Ukrainian students represent many different military activities. The Language School has no direct connection with any of these activities, but is set up along the lines of a small, top caliber civilian college.

The school was originally established at San Francisco, California in November, 1941. Later, it was moved to Minnesota and then in 1946 to its present location on California's Monterey Peninsula. From a very modest beginning, the school has grown to be recognized as an educational institution of the highest quality. It now consists of five language divisions teaching Albanian, Arabic, Bulgarian, Burmese, Chinese Cantonese, Chinese Mandarin, Czech, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Lithuanian, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Romanian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, Spanish, Thai, Turkish, Ukrainian and Vietnamese.

Recently the Language School embarked upon a long-range building program which is designed to bring its facilities completely up to date. Already under construction is a \$600,000 academic building—the first of three scheduled for the post—which will provide seventy nine classrooms and twenty one administrative offices. This building will even have a closed-circuit television and radio broadcasting system, so that foreign language film and radio programs can be piped into every classroom.

The building program is a result of increasing awareness throughout the United States today of the importance of language instruction. Recently the *New York Times* reported that America is outdistancing Russia in a race to produce foreign language specialists. The newspaper said that according to information developed by one of its correspondents and intelligence sources, Russia has 300 instructors and 2,500 students at the Moscow State Institute of Foreign Languages. There are approximately 500 instructors and 2,000 students at the U.S. Army Language School, but graduates are turned out faster because courses do not last long. The Russians are concentrating on the teaching of English and their courses last five years.

While the American courses are obviously less complete, it is felt that they are sufficient for U.S. government purposes. The school now trains not only soldiers but also members of other branches of the armed forces, government civilians and occasionally even members of friendly foreign armies.

In the Ukrainian Department, students so far have all been military. They come to take Ukrainian by listing it as their choice of language when they volunteer for the school. Before they can be assigned to the school, however, they must meet certain minimum qualifications, such as having a high school education and a qualifying classification test score, and not having any speech impediments.

Sometimes a student of the department is asked, "Why did you pick Ukrainian?"

Most of them now have a good answer about how Ukrainian is the most favorably situated of all Slavic languages and how they'll be able to get along in several other languages once they've learned Ukrainian. If questioned more closely, however, many of them will admit that they didn't know a thing about Ukraine before coming to the school. They happened to be in a unit which received language school quotas, or they applied for a special quota. And many of them picked Ukrainian without a real reason.

This does not mean that they do not soon become enthusiastic about learning the Ukrainian language in preference to any other. Under

the influence of enthusiastic instructors, each student is soon striving to develop a "feeling for the language," so that he will automatically speak correctly. Nearly all members of the current Ukrainian class have taken one or more books in Ukrainian from the school's research library to read on their own time. Some students have even started their own private collections of Ukrainian books.

Students in the Ukrainian Department range from slow-talking Southerners to fast-talking New Englanders. There is even one man whose native tongue is not English. He speaks some nine languages, one or two of them more fluently than English.

In other departments, the students are much the same. Their backgrounds vary greatly, but all are in school for the same purpose. Each man is striving to learn a foreign language as well as he possibly can.

Upon completion of language training, the students receive many different assignments. In addition to the usual military mission, military attache, and interpreter-translator assignments, there are several special units in the U.S. Army which are required to have qualified linguists among their personnel in order to be prepared for possible wartime tactical operations.

Frequently it is up to the language student himself to keep in practice after he has graduated from the school. As a part of his training, he has been taken on field trips to neighboring communities which speak the language he has been studying. And he has been advised to contact such communities, if possible, wherever he goes.

Although the Ukrainian Department has been handicapped by the fact that there are relatively few Ukrainians in California, the instructors have managed to arrange several outside trips for their students. Christmas this year was celebrated with a huge banquet, complete with Ukrainian food, costumes and dancing.

At another time, a group of Ukrainian students drove to San Francisco to see a film in the Ukrainian language. Then the entire class went to San Francisco to help the Ukrainian community there observe the anniversary of the birth of Shevchenko. The students took part in the observance by singing several Ukrainian songs and reciting poetry in the Ukrainian language. Later, during a social hour, they conversed in Ukrainian with the many American-Ukrainians at the gathering.

It is really not surprising that the Ukrainian students, in developing a "feeling for the language," also develop a feeling for the Ukrainian people. They sympathize with Ukraine's hatred of oppression and they hope that some day they will be able to visit a Ukraine free from Communist domination.

That the students soon divine Ukraine's traditional attitude toward Russia is quickly illustrated: Near the beginning of the current class, one of the students proudly announced that he was part-Ukrainian. His mother, he said, had been born in Kiev, although brought to this country while still a baby.

For several weeks, this student was the envy of all his classmates, as he talked of the day he would be able to write a letter in Ukrainian to his grandmother in Massachusetts. Then at last, with the help of an instructor, he completed his letter. After this, he eagerly awaited a reply.

Days passed. And then weeks. The boy gradually stopped mentioning his grandmother, and even his Ukrainian ancestry. Finally, one of the instructors asked what had happened.

"Nothing," the boy said with obvious embarrassment. "Can you imagine? After all these years of talking about Kiev, she couldn't read my letter. It's beginning to look as if I have either a *fraud* or a *Russian* in the family!"

MOSES OF IVAN FRANKO

By JOHN P. SYDORUK, *Ph. D.*

This paper was read at the 11th Annual Meeting of the American Ass'n of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages at the New Yorker Hotel, New York, N. Y., on Dec. 30, 1954.

The year 1955 marked the 50th anniversary of the publication of the masterpiece of Ivan Franko (1856-1916), *Moses* (1905), "a poem that is regarded by many as being worthy to stand beside the great creations of world literature", because of its poetical beauty, its philosophical depth, and its inspiring belief in the final triumph of the spiritual over the material.

Although there are good English translations of *Moses* by Wladimir Semenyna (1938), and of his other poems by Percival Cundy (1948), Franko's works are hardly known in the English-speaking world.

Franko's life was a novel in itself. He was a peasant's son and lived in the most unfavorable circumstances, but through unusual abilities and hard work, he crowned his education with a degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Vienna University (1894). Because of his sympathy with the poor and exploited Ukrainian peasants, and his arrests for his activities in the socialistic movement,¹ he could not fulfill his scholarly ambition and receive a well deserved university professorship, in spite of his brilliant qualifications. The conservative Polish and Ukrainian elements prevented him from attaining his life-long dream. Franko — with the exception of a few friends and the constant sympathy of the Ukrainian youth — walked almost alone

¹ Franko became a socialist sympathizer only after his first unjust arrest (1877). After that, the old "respectable" intelligentsia of Galicia refused to have any social contact with Franko, and this was for his sensitive, poetical mind the hardest blow. However, Franko's ethical and humanitarian Socialism (Fabianism) had nothing in common with the brutal Marxist materialism. For Franko it was "the spirit which moves to fight for progress, liberty and right", so as to transform the Ukrainian working people into a nation, conscious of its rights and duties.

during his whole life, because, as the writer B. Lepky said, "we did not understand him".²

The literary critic, A. Krushelnytsky, said of his writings that, "not withstanding his novels, short stories, dramas, critical historical and scholarly works, Franko achieved most in the field of poetry, and therefore in assessing his significance, we must give first place to his poetry, as marking him as a spiritual leader, teacher and inspirer of his contemporaries".³

Cundy is right in saying: "As a poet-prophet, Franko could justly speak of himself in the same words he puts into the mouth of Moses in his greatest poem, where the old leader, speaking of his relationship to the Hebrews, says:⁴

"You will progress through centuries to bear
The imprint of my inner seal".

Franko became well-known as a poet, after the writing of an inspiring social poem, "The Stone Breakers" (1878), — the pioneers of human progress, who believed:

"We're breaking through that wall to free the truth we've sighted.
That happiness may come — when none of us remain."⁵

He followed this with his famous hymn, "Eternal Revolutionist" (1880) — "the spirit which moves to fight for progress, liberty and right."⁶, and many other predominantly social and lyrical poems.

But the peak of his poetical fame was reached with his masterpiece, *Moses* (1905), in which he depicted the tragedy of the Hebrew leader and prophet before the entrance to the "promised land".

Hebrew motifs were nothing new in Franko's writings; earlier he had written "Jewish Melodies" (1889), in which he described the suffering of the poor Jewish people, whom he treated in a sympathetic manner and from a humanitarian point of view; the best of these is "Surka" — an "apotheosis of mother love".

In *Moses* Franko turned to the great Hebrew leader, "Moishe Rabeinu" — "Moses, our teacher", who not only freed his nation from Egyptian captivity, but also laid the cornerstone of Judeo-Christian morals through his "Ten Commandments", given to him by God, at the time when other peoples worshipped idols and animals and sacrificed human beings to unknown dragons.

² B. Lepky. *On 5th Anniversary of Franko's Death*. Berlin, 1921.

³ A. Krushelnytsky, *Ivan Franko — Poeziya*, Ternopil 1912. p. 5.

⁴ Ivan Franko, *Selected Poems*. Trans. by Percival Cundy. N.Y. 1948. p.7.

⁵ *Moses* by I. Franko. Trans. by W. Semenyna. N.Y. 1938. p. 8.

⁶ Cundy *op. c.* p. 27.

This poem describes the last days of Moses' life, not strictly in accordance with the Bible (Numbers and Deuteronomy), from which he took his plot, although he treated it with poetic license.

It is impossible in a short article to explore all the depths of this poem. I shall only stress Moses' three conflicts: with his people, with himself, and with God, — the conflicts around which the whole plot of the poem revolves.

MOSES' CONFLICT WITH HIS PEOPLE

It commences in the first chapter, when the Israelites who have wandered through the desert for forty years, are close to the boundary of Palestine not far from the Jordan River. The resigned and unwilling people do not believe their prophet that the long Promised Land is just beyond those naked Moab cliffs; they cry:

"It is not true, the prophets lied!

The desert is our home and here we will die!

How long then must we wait and why?"⁷

Only the Hebrew children, the hope of Moses are playing strange war games. Have the prophet's words influenced them?

The discouraged Hebrews are sitting idly in their ragged tents, and the only active person is Moses who once:

"Like a storm did he tear his people

From Mizraim and slavery,

And from the closeness of the prison walls

Was leading them to liberty."⁸

Now, forgotten by all, he cannot sleep, because all his life work seems to be in vain, and his inspiring words are treated as "a fairy tale," because:

"The meat of their herds and butter and cheese

Is all the favor they will have!"⁹

The Hebrews now have two new self-styled leaders, or two realistic politicians, two demagogues, Dathan and Abiram, and to the prophet's words their reply is:

"Our goats are hungry and in need!"

"Our steeds have not a single shoe."

"The foes are fierce and many, too."

"We are quite satisfied right here!"

The climax of demagoguery is when sarcastic Abiram and bold Dathan — "the bad demon of the Crowd" — accuse Moses of the

⁷ Semenyina, *op. c.* p. 27.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 32.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 33.

highest treason, of leading the Hebrews into the desert, under orders from Pharaoh to destroy them.

As a result, Moses is expelled from the Hebrew camp. In his solitude, he realizes now how much he loves his people. Chapter 10, Moses' farewell to Israel, is perhaps the finest expression of his immense love for his own people, and can be compared with Byron's "Childe Harold's Farewell to England".

MOSES' CONFLICT WITH HIMSELF AND GOD

It starts as he, in his loneliness, contemplates his life's work:
 "For forty years I've labored, taught,
 With all my mind upon Thee bent,
 Out of these slaves to make a folk
 According to Thy prime intent.

As a personification of his doubt and skepticism, there appears Azazel — "the dark demon of the wilderness", asking him:

"Ah, maybe that same Horeb fire
 Ne'er burned on Horeb's mount at all,
 But merely in thy stubborn heart
 Thine own desires did loudly call.
 Maybe the voice which led thee on
 This ruinous campaign to plan,
 Came not from any burning bush,
 But simply from thy inner man."

We can compare this poetical personification of skepticism with the remarks of Mephistopheles in Goethe's *Faust*, on the divine and bestial elements in human nature.

"The little god o' the world sticks to the same old way,
 And is as whimsical as on Creations's day.
 Life somewhat better might content him,
 But for the gleam of heavenly light which Thou hast lent him:
 He calls it Reason — thence his power's increased
 To be far beastlier than any beast."

Also in Byron's "Cain", Lucifer makes the spiteful remark about God, and calls him an "Omnipotent tyrant" and says:

..."Goodness would not make
 Evil; and what else hath he made?"

Now, Moses is confused. Perhaps the Hebrews would have been better off in Egyptian slavery. If Jehovah would only tell him: — if he had been doing His will?

But Jehovah is silent; Moses hears only evil sounds — the weird hyena howling below, and a serpent's swishing tail.

As Moses struggles with himself on Mount Nebo, Azazel, the evil spirit of despair, tries once more to tempt him, first through the voice of his mother, and then like an evil spirit, he shows Moses Palestine as the poor little valley of Jordan, a country not worthy of such big sacrifices and struggles, and says:

“And now, just for a piece of Palestine,
Blood is shed, in battle between
The Amorites, the Hebrews, Hittite tribes,
Amalekites and Philistines.

“That is the Hebrew kingdom! Now, just think
What blood it will have cost, and tears!
And to the world it will have meant as much
As would a fly to a horse’s ears.

“Hear the splash? Those are the foemen’s knives
Which drain, with zeal, your people’s blood.
Hear the cries? Those are the Hebrew girls
Dragged by the horses through the mud.”¹⁰

And Azazel predicts that Israel’s star will fade away and scorn will prevail.

The aged Moses drops his head in grief, and asks impatiently: “Will my people forever stay in slavery?” As he gets no answer, he falls to the earth, crying in despair, “Jehovah fooled us like a herd!” Only the demon’s laughter drifts through the air as an echo of his words.

After claps of thunder, in the warm and floating mistiness, Moses feels with his heart Jehovah’s answer:

“Jehovah fooled us? And since when did we
Come to an agreement, do you think,
And in the people’s presence, sign and seal
A contract bonded with a drink?

“Did you ever see any of my plans
Or read what is written in my book?
Have you foreseen and positively know

That I would break my word? Now look?” (Semenyna, p. 88).

On the poor and barren land of Palestine, the Hebrew people will grow tough and hard “for that great change that will be born”. (89).

The Hebrews should be Jehovah’s witnesses, spread throughout the different lands, with the task of feeding the soul, and not the palms of itching hands. Whoever feeds you with bread alone will decay, but those who feed your spirit will merge with God.

“That is where you will find your Promised Land:

¹⁰ *Ibd.* p. 85, 88.

That is where the glory of your future lies —
 Of all the realms the finest part;
 This Palestine is nothing but a gift
 With which to offer you a start." (p. 90).

And Moses, because he has doubted Jehovah's will, will see
 this promised land but never enter it.

"Here will your bones be bleaching in the sun
 As an example of dismay
 To all who always strive to reach the goal
 And slowly perish on their way." (p. 90).

* * *

Moses' work has not been in vain. His words have found the way
 to the hearts of the youth. After Moses has left, the Hebrews "felt that
 something disappeared, without which none of them could live."

Look what is happening in their camp:
 "A stamping sound! Is that a hurricane?
 Perhaps he prophesied the truth?
 It's Joshua, the herdsmen's chosen prince
 Who is followed by the faithful youth.
 A moment more and Joshua's command
 Will be a hundred-thousand cries,
 And from the lazy nomads, in a flash,
 A race of heroes will arise.
 Thus will they wander through uncertainty,
 While full of yearning and dismay,
 To pave the highway for the human soul
 And slowly perish on their way." (p. 93).

* * *

The meaning of this beautiful poem is, that *a great and workable idea, once disseminated among the people, will one day be incarnated in the deed*, even if sometimes many generations have to wait for its fulfillment. The Hebrew people carried on Moses' idea even after his death, and they entered the Promised Land under the leadership of the young, daring Joshua. This is indeed an encouraging example for every stateless and enslaved nation, never to give up hope in a just cause.

The tragedy of Franko's Moses was that he, under all the adversities and doubts, known probably to every leader as well as to every man, lost his strong faith in that which he preached.

Jesus Christ said that faith can move mountains.

Expelled by his own people, Moses did not have that kind of faith any longer and died on the border of the Promised Land. But the youth, trusting Moses' prophetic words, fulfilled his unfinished work.

In this poem, there are many beautiful thoughts, great ideas and deep insights into the human soul, hence the poem's universal significance. The language of it is quite simple, but vivid, plastic, and picturesque, full of parables, comparisons, and personifications. The rhythm is a little monotonous, but quite fitting for an ancient narrative story.

Such is the general meaning of Franko's poem. But it is written in Ukrainian, for Ukrainians and by a Ukrainian poet. What did Franko want to say to his countrymen? At first glance, it would seem that the poet deals only with the fate of the people of Israel. There is only a dedication, a Prologue, which refers directly to the Ukrainians, and addresses them thus:

"My people, tortured, overpowered,
And like that beggar at the cross-roads
With human scorn, as if with scabs, all covered!
Your future frightens me..."

Then Franko asks:

"Is it inscribed on some gigantic metal tables
For you to be the muck of all your neighbors,
The teams for pulling them all dressed in sables?
Have heroes shed their blood just to be praised in story?
Will not your prairies bloom with health and beauty,
And everlasting freedom shine in glory?"

"Oh no!" — Franko answers...

"...I still believe in will, its power,
In your uprising day and resurrection!"
About his own generation, Franko expresses this doubt:

"...But we on whom all worries settle,
And torn apart with doubt, with shame inflicted,
We are not fit to lead you into battle!"

"The time will come" — concludes the hopeful poet:

"When you will shine among the greatest nations:
Will shake the Cauca's while the Beskid girdled.
Black Sea will echo with your liberation
And you'll behold, once being your own master,
A home of joy and fields of consolation."

Besides the Prologue, there are certain symbolical allusions to Ukrainian reality, and some of Franko's personal experiences as well. As the demagogues, Dathan and Abiram, blamed Moses for leading

the Israelites out of Egyptian captivity, so Franko was often bitterly attacked by the "official patriots", — the conservative, pseudo-religious and pseudo-patriotic parties in Western Ukraine (Galicia), for his progressive ideas and efforts to reorganize the Ukrainian political and social life, and especially to abolish the various abuses from which the peasants and workers suffered.¹¹ In the name of the old order, the conservative elements were, as M. Hrushevsky justly said, interested only "in preserving the Galician want", and favored subservience to the Austro-Hungarian authorities and to the Polish landlords, who controlled the province. The Russophiles constantly appealed to the Ukrainians to turn to the east, to the "big Russian brother", like Dathan and Abiram, saying:

"Our destination's eastward! To the land
Where the sun shows his morning face,
And westward to your promised Canaan
We will not take a single pace."

To all those elements, Franko had said, as early as 1880:

"No longer, no longer should we
The Russian or Pole meekly serve!
Ukraine's ancient grievances lie in the past —
Ukraine doth our whole life deserve.
No longer, no longer should we
Shed blood for an alien throne,
Show love for a Tsar who oppresses our kin —
Let love be for Ukraine alone."¹²

Here we see Franko's chief aim — an independent united Ukrainian State and freedom for all its people.

After all his bitter experiences, (the refusal to him of the chair of Ukrainian literature, betrayal in an election, bitter attacks from the conservatives) Franko was entitled to say with his Moses:

"For two score years have I strived and taught,
Imbued with naught but Thee above,
In order that the slaves may be a race
That would be worthy of Thy love.
And like that blacksmith did I temper them,
Their hearts and souls, for forty years —
And in their estimation I deserve
Nothing else but stones and mocking jeers."¹³

¹¹ *Moses* of Ivan Franko, by C. A. Manning. *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XI, p. 230.

¹² Cundy, *op. c.* p. 115.

¹³ Semenyna, *op. c.* p. 66.

Franko, like his hero, Moses, never gave up hope. Seeing that the people, interested only in material goals and a peaceful, comfortable life, did not understand his high ideas, broken-hearted Moses goes westward alone, to the borders of Canaan in order to lay his aged bones close to the boundaries of the beloved Promised Land. He hoped sincerely that his people one day would follow him.

In conclusion, I would like to quote Prof. Clarence A. Manning who said:

"...*Moses* is not a poem for Ukraine but the world. The lessons which Franko gives his people are as valid for all others as for the Ukrainians. The warning against a blatant materialism and a frenzied nationalism are applicable to all other states. The call to idealism and to the fulfillment of the highest ideals of justice, liberty, and democracy needs to-day to be heard and marked by every country in the world. The time is past, if it ever was, when disregard of human rights can bring prosperity and well-being."¹⁴ Such is the universal significance of this poem.

¹⁴ Manning, *op. c.* p. 235

THE LIFE STORY OF NINA PARANYUK

A Soviet Ukrainian Girl who chose freedom in Melbourne during the Olympic Games

On the eve of the ceremonial opening of the Olympic Games in Melbourne, Australia, the local and then the world press published the sensational news of the mysterious disappearance of Nina Paranyuk, a girl member of the crew of the Soviet steamship *Gruzia* which had brought there Soviet journalists, representatives of the Soviet Olympic Committee and other visitors to the number of about 250 persons. The same ship carried the Hungarian, Bulgarian and Czech contestants. The Soviet athletes arrived in planes. Thus the steamship *Gruzia* carried the Soviet leaders and those with whom they were especially concerned.

Nina Paranyuk was one day among 34 selected members of the crew who were allowed to see the central part of the city through the windows of a bus and to leave the bus to visit the zoo. There Nina... disappeared.

The Bolsheviks put up a terrific howl. The police were informed and they began to hunt for Nina. All were puzzled how a simple girl could disappear, one who did not know the language, had no money and no acquaintances.

A veil of mystery was spread over the event. Weeks and months past and no trace of Nina could be found. No corpse was found anywhere and it was assumed that she was living somewhere in hiding. The police began to be nervous. The immigration authorities let it be known that if Nina did not reveal her place of residence, she would not be given the right of asylum but would be treated as an ordinary deserter from a foreign ship, an illegal immigrant subject to deportation.

All appeals were in vain. The idea even began to spread that the whole mysterious story was an invention of the Bolsheviks so as to have an excuse for restricting the freedom of movement of the contestants, discrediting the Australian hosts, etc. But one day the press published the news that Nina Paranyuk had been found in one of the northern sections of the city. She was taken to the police for questioning and the hearings lasted for some weeks. But the police did not say where and with whom they found her just as they have not yet said where she is being kept.

There is nothing surprising in this for Nina Paranyuk told an interesting story. She had seen and heard much during the journey

from Odesa to Melbourne. The steamship was almost 12 days late for the journey was very long. No one still knows why the steamship was belated but Nina knew. When the mysterious *Gruzia* tied up in port, it was met by the Australian Sovietophiles, and there began the mutual giving of gifts and visits. But this whole idyl lasted until Nina disappeared. After that the ship was barred from the world by barbed wire.

A DAUGHTER OF THE UKRAINIAN STEPPES

Nina told a great deal about herself and her experiences. But of these we actually do not know a great deal.

She was born in 1923 in the village of Hrushka in the Odesa region. Her parents were poor and had only a few acres of land but by working hard on good soil they lived decently until the period of collectivization. Then everything was taken into a kolkhoz. A walled church was torn down for building kolkhoz dwellings. The priest disappeared somewhere but not faith in God.

At the age of ten, Nina went through the terrible famine which destroyed more than 6,000,000 people, including her father. Then came arrests. Many were sent to Siberia. Nina worked in a kolkhoz and became reconciled to hunger like all, until she was assigned to work in a sanatorium for higher members of the party. She worked 16 hours a day and received for it 220 rubles a month. Life was hard and only her faith in God sustained her. "From the time they demolished the church in our village," said Nina, "I often went to sleep without eating but never without praying."

"I prayed for 24 hours that God would give me the strength to get out of this hell in which a person is tortured his whole life. In Odesa I often saw the "black crow" which carried off the people. That was not spoken of, just as no word was said of the longing for the free world from which and to which ships were sailing. My late father had told me, when I was still a child, that it was possible to live freely in the world. The demobilized soldiers confirmed these stories."

Thinking about these tales, Nina one day put in a petition for work on a ship. After several weeks she was called up to the steamship *Gruzia* and accepted for work but not told where the ship was going. There she first saw luxurious surroundings. It was a Polish ship built in England.

The day before departure the authorities told them that the ship was sailing to Australia and carrying the contestants and members of the Olympic Committee. A party politruk came on board and explained that the party had chosen the 250 people, had done them honor and showed its confidence in them by sending them to Melbourne. There

they might meet compatriots but the party and the administration ordered them to have no conversation with them for they were dyed in the wool enemies. They were forbidden to accept any presents whatsoever for the capitalists by these presents wished to buy a "Russian man." Let no one of them dare to flee, for the Soviet government would track every one down and get him, wherever he tried to hide. And besides his punishment would fall on his family.

Nina remembered this speech well but she did not lose her desire to seek for freedom. A dozen NKVD agents searched the ship, turned everything upside down and went through the private possessions of every one. Then on October 7, 1956, the ship left the shores of Ukraine.

ON THE STEAMSHIP *Gruzia*

The journey went on quietly. Every one was more or less limited in his movements. For the first time Nina saw how well it was possible to eat. But after three days of voyage the food deteriorated. On the 14th day there was heard some confusion. All were whispering to each other and then Nina learned that there had been an uprising in Hungary. The steamship reduced its speed and left its course. There was a rumor that it was headed for Red China so as to reach an allied territory.

Radio contact was allowed only with Moscow and so the *Gruzia* did not answer the Australian radio stations which were disturbed by the lack of news. Nina's heart was filled with pain at the thought that instead of getting to a free land she would arrive in Communist China. There were going on revolutionary events. But suppose Ukraine became free and she remained on the floating prison?

Then the steamship again set its course for Melbourne and increased its speed. Then they heard the first communique which said that the Americans had attacked Hungary and the USSR was hastening with help . . . She did not want to believe all this. No one dared to pass comments on the news. When they reached the shores of Australia, they were told that England and France had attacked Egypt and the USSR had sent volunteers to defend the wronged people. This news had little effect upon Nina, for only a wooden barrier separated her from liberty. She prayed God to help her carry out the intention that she had long cherished in her dreams.

When the ship tied up, Nina was not on deck and did not see the welcome to the belated guests. But she saw all running about with presents, almost insane from joy. But the official greeting ended. The captain collected all the passengers and crew and said: "—You have acted like beggars and shown yourself the worst fools. You received the order to accept no gifts and you ran up and down like monkeys so as to get the wretched gifts from the capitalists. Did you

imagine that there would be reporters and they would take pictures and publish them and they will see in Moscow how you obey an order! Suppose our people see how you grab for presents. And be surprised how liberal capitalists are to you."

The captain showed some newspaper which had scenes of anti-Moscow demonstrations after the attack of the Soviet army on Hungary. "— They call us fighters and torturers. And how do you stand towards them? I order no one to dare to go on the side of the ship near land, if his work does not demand it. Move all bedrooms to the other side so that the windows face the water. Every one of these capitalists put on today his best clothes, so as to fool you. All the automobiles which you saw belong to the government which has passed them out today to meet you, so as to trick you and bring out the impression that the population here uses automobiles. Because of the Olympic Games they allow them prosperity but in reality they are beggars groaning under the yoke of capitalism."

The captain punctuated his speech with good old Moscow curses. But who believed him? At least, not Nina. She only had to look at the clothes of the women, their happy faces, the cheerful crowd on the pier, to be sure that life here was absolutely different from that described by the captain.

Sunday Nina had a free day and she applied for a walk in the city. There was no certainty that the captain would grant it. Nina prayed all night that what she had prayed for from childhood would happen. Sunday morning her prayer was granted; her name was on the list of those who were going into the city. The captain, in inspecting the excursionists, looked every one closely in the eye. Nina exercised all her will power so as not to betray her thoughts. But she prayed and this prayer gave calmness to her face. For the last time she went down the ladder of the *Gruzia*. Now liberty or death awaited her.

Nina had no plan of flight. How could she have, without any knowledge of the world in which she was? The bus stopped but there was no opportunity to flee. It stopped again. This time before the gate of the zoo. Nina was the last to leave the bus. She walked along. She stopped but the driver hurried her on.

Nina entered the zoological garden and stopped at the first cage. The group moved on. Then she went out the same gate by which she had entered. Her heart was beating like a hammer. She wanted to run, to dash off, to fly, but her mind warned her that she should not attract attention to herself.

With a slow step Nina walked along the zoological garden toward that great goal for which she had been praying for 24 years — to freedom.

QUARTERLY CHRONICLE OF UKRAINIAN LIFE

I. BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

NATIONALIST PROPAGANDA IN THE SOVIET ARMY

The May number of the Soviet military journal *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star) contains an article by General Major A. Gromov, Chief of the Political Administration of the Kiev Military District, entitled "The Training of Soldiers in the Spirit of Leninist Ideas of Proletarian Internationalism."

In this very remarkable article he writes that: "As is well known, bourgeois propaganda is madly attacking proletarian internationalism and its principles. These attacks have now been especially increased. . . . Now there is a glorification of national communism, the anti-Communist nature of which is evident. There is also a preaching of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. . . . There are also great slanders on the great mission of liberation of the Soviet people and its armed forces."

General Gromov urges the Communists of the USSR and the "people's democracies" to repulse this propaganda.

THE DESTRUCTION OF A MONUMENT TO THE ENSLAVEMENT OF UKRAINE BY MOSCOW

Radyanska Kultura (Soviet Culture) which appears in Kiev, reports that some "drunken hooligans" (the Soviet name for Ukrainian patriots seeking independence) broke into the Palace of Culture, where Muscovite sculptors were working on a monument to the "Union of Ukraine with Moscow" which in commemoration of the 30th Anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav (1654—1954) was to be erected in Ukraine in the city of Pereyaslav—which has been renamed Pereyaslav-Khmelnitsky. The Kremlin attached great importance to the erection of this monument this year because of the 40th anniversary of the October Communist revolution. Now it can hardly be erected. The same journal states that some of the "hooligans" have been arrested, but that the police have not been able to solve this mysterious conspiracy completely.

LVIV HAS CEASED TO BE A POLISH CITY

Josef Klec, a correspondent of the Polish Communist organs who recently on his return from Kiev, visited Lviv, a city that he knew well, because he had formerly lived there. In the opinion of Klec, Lviv has become an entirely different city. Why is this? He writes: "The difference in Lviv lies in the fact that it is no longer a Polish city. I know that this statement will sorely pain all those whose hearts are tied to the city. But that does not change the facts.

"The basic difference between pre-war Lviv and the present city will be felt by every one who walks through its streets which used to buzz with Polish but now only Ukrainian can be heard with Russian occasionally striking his ear. Very few Poles are living to-day in Lviv."

Lviv is a Ukrainian city, perhaps more Ukrainian than any other city of Ukraine (under the Soviets before 1939). This statement stresses among other items the fact that the signs on the streets, squares and institutions are only in Ukrainian, whereas in Kiev and Kharkiv they are in Ukrainian and Russian.

This natural fact cannot be understood by Polish political circles in the emigration and by their American friends and they cannot see that the Polish war against the Ukrainians (1918-19) with the American military aid to the army of General Haller was a crime against the rights of self-determination of nations. Polonized Lviv was situated in the Ukrainian sea and would have been engulfed by it, if the Polish administration had not existed.

THE RAPID RUSSIFICATION OF LVIV

After the departure of the Polish population from Lviv and its return to Poland, Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine, became a purely Ukrainian city. Now Moscow has commenced to send Russians to it at an increasing rate as we can see from the official Guide issued for the city of Lviv. Of the 87 grammar and secondary schools in Lviv, more are Russian than are Ukrainian. The majority of the 10 newspapers published in Lviv are in Russian. We must add that before the occupation of Lviv by the Bolsheviks there was scarcely 0.1% of Russians.

THE SOVIET PRESS IS AFRAID OF A PRAYER FOR UKRAINE IN THE AMERICAN CONGRESS

Radyanska Ukraina (Soviet Ukraine), a Ukrainian Soviet journal, which comes out in Kiev, in a special article attacked the American officials for the allowing of a prayer for Ukraine in the American Senate and in the House of Representatives on the Day of Ukrainian Independence, January 22. The author of the long article considers that this was an interference of a foreign state in the affairs of another state which is a member of the United Nations.

THE PERSECUTION OF THE UKRAINIAN GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE SOVIETS

The Swiss *Neue Zueriche Zeitung* reports that after the much advertised political relaxations in the Soviet Union there has come a new wave of religious persecution of the Greek Catholic Ukrainians whose Church the Soviet government forcibly liquidated and officially dissolved after the arrest of the entire hierarchy including the Primate of the Church, Metropolitan Joseph Slipy. In carrying this on, they have arrested and sent into exile many priests who had just returned from exile.

After the momentary lightening of the restrictions on the population of Western Ukraine, it became possible for them publicly to confess their faith in masses and there began to be public religious services and the rebaptism of children already baptized by the intruded Russian Orthodox priests, among whom many were members of the MVD.

This renaissance of the Ukrainian Catholic movement brought fear to the Russian Orthodox Archbishop in Lviv Pallady to such a degree, that he rushed to Moscow for help, which came from the Kremlin instantly. The returned priests were imprisoned again, among them the former Basilian Superiors J. Chepil of Lviv and H. Balahurak of Stanyslaviv.

A NEW APPOINTMENT BY THE PATRIARCH OF MOSCOW TO THE SEE OF DROHOBYCH

After the mysterious death of Bishop A. Melnyk, who had aided the Soviet government of occupation to introduce Muscovite Orthodoxy into Western Ukraine and destroy the Ukrainian Catholic Church, his successor was one of the members of the same group of conspirators, Rev. Hryhori Zakalyak, who was consecrated in Odesa.

THE INCREASE OF ATHEISTIC PROPAGANDA IN EASTERN (ORTHODOX) UKRAINE AND OF RUSSIAN ORTHODOX PROPAGANDA IN WESTERN (CATHOLIC) UKRAINE

There has been a meeting in Kiev of the Central Board of the Society for the Spreading of Social and Scientific Knowledge in the UkSSR, which has replaced the former Godless Alliance. At it criticisms were made of the branches in the Eastern Ukrainian cities of Chernyiv, Khmelnytske, and Mykolayiv. Not a word was said as to the failure of the branches in Western Ukraine where Ukrainian Catholicism has been ruthlessly combatted by favoring Russian Orthodoxy which has been completely rejected by the population.

In Lviv, the Soviet government provides the means for the publication of the only religious journal and that in the Ukrainian language for the propaganda of Moscow Orthodoxy. The Orthodox priests imported from Russia accept the full material and moral support of the atheistic Soviet administration.

The nearby Pochayiv Lavra, a centre of Russian Orthodox propaganda under Tsarist Russia, has been rebuilt and redecored with governmental money to attract religious pilgrims from Ukrainian Catholic Galicia where the Catholic Church has been suppressed by police action.

The Kremlin can be religious where Russian nationalistic interests are involved, for Orthodoxy in Ukrainian Galicia is the same as Russification.

KOMSOMOLS CONTINUE TO MARRY IN CHURCH

The journal *Molod Ukrayiny* (The Youth of Ukraine) for April 24, urges the MVD and the regional procurator to interest themselves in the secretary of the Komsomol Mykhaylo Trembalyuk from the village of Baronovo, Ternopil District of Western Ukraine, because he was married in church. The same crime was committed by the animal technician Stepaniya Voronyuk who after a civil wedding was married a second time in a church.

THE KOMSOMOL YOUTH OF UKRAINE IS WORKING FOR MOSCOW IN THE DONBAS

So as to overtake America, Moscow has ordered a grandiose increase in the production of coal in the Donbas for factories in Moscow. For the new rapid production they have driven the Komsomol youth from all Ukraine to what is truly prison labor. The living conditions are almost unendurable there, according to the reports in the journal *Molod Ukrayiny* from the end of April.

THE VANDALISTIC DESTRUCTION OF THE CARPATHIAN FORESTS

The Kiev *Literaturna Hazeta* (Literary Journal) at the end of April writes that the forest lumber of Zakarpattya (Carpatho-Ukraine) through the fault of the production trusts are being exploited in a truly barbaric manner. In addition to the export of 2,360,000 cubic metres of lumber provided by the plan,

the administration of the trust has cut on its own account an additional 1½ million cubic metres of lumber and has not spared even the nursery and the reserve at Magura. If Moscow continues to operate in this way in Ukraine, the Carpathians will become bare crags like the Kras in Dalmatia.

THE DEMAND OF THE UKRAINIANS IN POLAND FOR THEIR RIGHTS AS A NATIONAL MINORITY

After the change of regime in Poland in October, 1956, a Ukrainian minority appeared, for previously under the Stalinist regime in Poland the Ukrainians had feared even to show their heads, so as not to be deported to the USSR.

Now it appears that there are in Poland about 300,000 Ukrainians whom the old Polish regime had scattered throughout the whole of Poland, especially in the territories newly annexed from Germany, and had deported them from the border regions west of the present Polish-Ukrainian frontier.

In Warsaw there has been started a Ukrainian journal *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word) and the deported Ukrainians are seeking a return to their old lands where their ancestors had lived for thousands of years.

The Ukrainian Greek Catholics who had on the territory of the present Poland their own diocese with its centre in Peremyshl and which the Moscow regime ordered destroyed, are seeking the return of their cathedral in Peremyshl and the Greek Catholic churches. We know that the last bishop of the Diocese of Peremyshl, Josafat Kotsylovsky, was arrested by the Polish Communist government along with his suffragan Hryhori Lakota and handed over to the Soviets. Both died in a Soviet prison.

REVIVAL OF THE NATIONAL LIFE OF THE UKRAINIANS IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

For some time in the district of Presov, which is inhabited by a Ukrainian population but administratively belongs to Slovakia, with the aid of the Communist government in Prague there has been a revival of the Ukrainian national life, Ukrainian schools are being founded and so are clubs and youth societies.

There is a new policy in this area, for hitherto there has been carried on a policy of russification since the arrest by the Prague communist government of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic bishop Pavlo Hoydych and his suffragan V. Hopko by order of Moscow. Then there ensued a policy of the introduction of Russian Orthodoxy and of russification. Apparently this policy failed because of the resistance of the population whom it tried to unite behind the Ukrainian political Communist and atheistic policy.

This policy in Slovakia, where the Ukrainians form a minority, actually has still another aim—to put pressure on the constantly restless Slovaks, for the Czech government in Prague is not doing it out of friendship for the Ukrainians.

II. UKRAINIANS OUTSIDE OF UKRAINE

THE CONFERENCE OF UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA IN NEW YORK

On May 9—11, there was held in New York a conference of representatives of the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches of the United States and Canada. The Canadian representatives were Metropolitan Ilarion of Winnipeg, Archbishop Mykhayil of Toronto and representatives of the clergy, Very Rev. Dr. S.V. Savchuk and T. Kovalyshyn.

The American Ukrainian Orthodox Church under Metropolitan Ivan Teodorovych was represented by its head and Archbishop *Mstyslav*, Archbishop *Gennadi* and of the clergy Arch-Priest *L. Vesolovsky* and Prof. *V. Zavitnevych*.

The meeting dealt with questions for strengthening the organizations of the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches outside Ukraine into one Orthodox Autocephalous Church. Also discussed were questions as to the training of priests and the publication of a theological journal and the service books of the Church.

THE PUBLICATION OF VATICAN DOCUMENTS ON THE HISTORY OF UKRAINE

Thanks to the present administration of the Order of St. Basil the Great in Rome there have been published during the last years in Rome previously unpublished documents on the history of Ukraine in the Vatican Archives. The editing of these volumes is being done by Fr. *Atanasi Velyky*, Vice-Director of the Papal Seminary of St. *Josafat* in Rome, who is issuing one volume after another with the remarkable diligence of a medieval Benedictine monk and the fervor of a modern scholar.

So far there have appeared 18 volumes, i.e.: Documents of the Roman Popes (2 vols.), Acts of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (5 vols.), Letters of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (5 vols.), Records of the meetings of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (2 vols.), Letters of the Kiev Greek Catholic Metropolitans (2 vols.), Acts of the Canonization of St. *Josafat* (2 vols.).

At the time when Moscow is annihilating the Ukrainian Catholics in Ukraine by fire and sword, there is opening before the world a new and hitherto unknown picture of the struggle of the old Rome of St. Peter with the Third Moscow Orthodox Rome for the souls of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples.

GENERAL MEETING OF THE ANGLO-UKRAINIAN SOCIETY IN LONDON

On May 11 in Kingsway Hall in London there was held the General Annual meeting of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society. From the reports it is evident that the Society has carried on a modest but successful work which has even drawn attacks from the Soviet press. The soul of the work has been the vice-president, Mr. *Auberon Herbert*.

A new administration has been chosen which consists in the majority of Englishmen and a few Ukrainians. The president of the Society for the next year is to be Lady *Hesketh*.

DEATH OF ANTIN HLYNKA, A FORMER MEMBER OF THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT

There has died in Edmonton, Canada, *Antin Hlynka*, a former member of the Canadian Parliament from the Riding of *Vegreville*, Alberta. *Antin Hlynka* was the son of Ukrainian immigrants from Western Ukraine. Especially well known are his ardent interventions for the defence of Ukrainian refugees in the years 1946—1948, when in some camps in Germany they were being handed over to the Soviet government.

DEATH OF MYKOLA HLOBENKO

There has died in Sarcelles, France, in the headquarters of the *Shevchenko Scientific Society* Prof. *Mykola Hlobenko* at the age of 55.

Prof. *M. Hlobenko*, an emigre from Soviet Ukraine in 1944, was known

as an authority on Ukrainian literature and as a keen critic. He was Professor of Ukrainian Free University in Munich and assistant editor of the Ukrainian Encyclopedia, of which the fourth volume has now appeared. Ukrainian humanistic studies have suffered a great loss with the death of Prof. Mykola Hlobenko.

HONOR FOR A UKRAINIAN FILM ARTIST

The first prize for the best acting on television (an Emmy) for the year 1956 was awarded to Jack Palance an actor of Ukrainian birth. His Ukrainian name is Palahnyuk. Jack Palance several years ago was a candidate for an Oscar, a film award.

O. HRYSHCHENKO'S MEMOIRS IN FRENCH

Ukraine of My Azure Days is the title of the memoirs of the Ukrainian painter Oleksa Hryshchenko who has been living and working for more than 30 years in France. This work, edited very artistically, was published by the Paris Colombo publishers and was received by the French art critics very favorably.

THE ITALIAN "PRO CULTURA" INSTITUTE ON THE PRESENT UKRAINIAN CULTURAL STRUGGLE

The Italian monthly *Il Commentario* (1957/3), the organ of the "Pro Cultura" Institute published an article "Destalinization and Restalinization in the Cultural Field in Ukraine" by Dr. V. Fedoranchuk. The author describes how the Ukrainian literary workers cautiously removed the limitations on Ukrainian literature imposed by the Stalin regime and how the present Moscow collective leadership is endeavoring to renew the same limitations on Ukrainian literature, science and the entire culture.

The author compares the national cultural movement in Ukraine with similar movements in Poland and Hungary.

DESLAV'S FILM-ACTIVITY

Eugene Deslav, a Ukrainian film regisseur working in France and Switzerland produced a large film "Vision Fantastique," which was shown for the first time in Cannes May 9th. The European professional critics consider it the best film of 1957.

E. Deslav has started now to work in Switzerland on another big film "*The History of Ukrainian Emigration*." The topic of his new artistic work will be the struggle of Ukrainians living in the Western world for the liberation of their country. The production of this film will take one and half to two years.

BIOGRAPHIES OF SOVIET FIGURES COMPILED

NEW YORK.—A "Biographical Directory of the USSR"—containing biographical sketches of some 2,000 Soviet personages—will be published late this year.

Announcement of this unique publication came today from Howland H. Sargeant, president of the American Committee for Liberation. The biographical work—first of its kind ever attempted in the free world—is being compiled in Munich by the Institute for the Study of the USSR, a body of emigre scholars from the Soviet Union whose aim is to furnish reliable information regarding conditions and trends in the USSR. The Institute is supported by the American Committee for Liberation.

BOOK REVIEWS

Vasyl Markus. L'INCORPORATION DE L'UKRAINE SUBCARPATHIQUE A L'UKRAINE SOVIÉTIQUE, 1944-1945. Louvain, Centre Ukrainien d'Etudes en Belgique, 1956. pp. 144.

This volume describes the transfer of Carpatho-Ukraine to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic shortly after its occupation by the Red Army in 1944. It is one of the least known and least understood of all the Soviet actions in the post-war period with ramifications that extend far beyond the relatively small area involved.

Small as it was and undeveloped as it was, Carpatho-Ukraine before World War II played a disproportionately large role in major European strategic calculations. It contained the chief passes through the eastern Carpathians and also one of the main lines of communication east and west. Whether it was Carpatho-Ukraine, Podkarpatska Rus or simply the northern counties of Hungary, it was the key region through which Russia-USSR was trying to enter the Hungarian plain. Later it offered the Czechs the possibility of a land route to Romania and the countries of the Little Entente. Across it was the road by which Poland and Hungary always had had a contact which they hoped to restore. This must not be forgotten. Each neighbor (later including the Ukrainian Soviet Republic after 1939) wished to get possession of it for its own purposes.

A Czech gendarme in 1927 expressed the Czech view in Mukačevo. "The Czechs were hoping to hold the country under a thinly veiled occupation until the young men and women from the region whom they were training in Prague had matured sufficiently to assume control over the Hungarian-trained who had left the country after World War I and returned after the financial reforms carried out in Budapest by Jeremiah Smith as representative of the League of Nations." There was not a word as to what sort of training the Czechs were giving. That would depend upon the relations between Czechoslovakia and the USSR and as President Masaryk became increasingly older and more and more under the influence of Dr. Benes, these became increasingly friendly.

After 1848 the Ukrainian national movement lost force under Hungarian and Russian pressure, but it revived after World War I under the more favorable conditions. By the time of Munich in 1938, it was strong enough to take over the administration of the country, and during the winter of 1938-9, the anti-Communist Ukrainians were able to set up an administration and even to declare the independence of Carpatho-Ukraine just before the Hungarian occupation.

There was no question in 1944 of returning Carpatho-Ukraine to Hungary. Yet in 1941-1944 Benes noted that the province could belong only to Czechoslovakia or Russia (p. 28) and after his discussion in Moscow in March, 1944, he seems to have become convinced that the USSR had agreed to its inclusion in the new Czechoslovakia (p. 30). In fact when the Red Army entered the country, a Czechoslovak delegation containing a Communist Carpatho-Russian

was sent to administer the country and to cooperate with the Red Army on terms that were apparently agreed upon by both Stalin and Benes.

Yet within the country on November 19, 1944, less than a month later, a congress held at Mukačevo with Soviet approval called for the annexation of Carpatho-Ukraine to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and was allowed to limit the movements of the Czechoslovak delegation and when its leader went to Moscow, he found himself *persona non grata* to Stalin. Events progressed rapidly. Benes, an anti-Communist Russophile of long standing, based the policy of the restored Czechoslovakia on close relations with the USSR. Stalin on January 25, 1945 declared to Benes that "The Soviet government did not forbid and could not forbid the population of Carpatho-Ukraine from manifesting the popular will" (p. 70). On June 29, 1945, a new treaty between Czechoslovakia and the USSR transferred to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic Carpatho-Ukraine.

The rest is history. The transfer of the Orthodox Carpatho-Ukrainian minority from the Patriarchate of Constantinople to that of Moscow, the suppression of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Church of the majority of population, the resistance of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and the complete sovietization of the area.

Dr. Markus has reviewed the story with impartiality but he cannot answer the main question. What went on behind the scenes in the field of international relations? Was Dr. Benes the victim of a double-cross? If so, was it the work of Zdenek Fierlinger who had left his post as Czechoslovak Minister in Washington a bitter anti-American and anti-Westerner and had thrown himself into the arms of the USSR? Did Moscow approve the policy of Benes and was it overruled by its puppet regime in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic? Were the Western Powers and America so intent upon the spirit of Yalta that they blandly washed their hands of the entire situation and tacitly handed the whole Czechoslovakia over to the sphere of influence of the USSR without thinking? Or were they kept in official ignorance?

He is undoubtedly right in view of the present situation that Carpatho-Ukraine is better off in a Communist Ukraine than in a Communist Czechoslovakia or a Communist Hungary. The unity of Ukraine has been reestablished and that is good but we must regret that Ukraine itself is not free to express its mind among the free nations of the world. His account is straightforward and objective. To-day Carpatho-Ukraine can not be a separate problem. It is part of the whole question that confronts the world as an integral part of the Ukrainian question.

From that point of view his book is well worthwhile for it presents vividly and clearly a problem that was openly stated in 1918 and again in 1938 and again in 1944. Each time the West chose to ignore it. At any one of these moments, a free Ukraine was in sight. The opportunities were lost and we can only hope that Dr. Marcus' book will make it certain that the next opportunity will not be lost and that we can see once and for all the downfall of that terroristic system which has menaced Europe since Moscow determined to become the master of the world. May that downfall be an event of the near future.

Columbia University.

CLARENCE A. MANNING

DIE DEUTSCHE SOZIALDEMOKRATIE UND DER OSTEN 1914 - 1945, by Erich Matthias. Arbeitsgemeinschaft fuer Osteuropaforschung, Tuebingen, 1954. 128 pp.

Dr. Erich Matthias' book is an abridged draft of a larger study now in preparation and should be regarded as such. It is a timely book. The Social Democrats have played for a number of decades an important part in German politics and their role is still far from finished.

The study is a well documented one. Although the author devotes more than three-fourths of his book to the period ending with the collapse of the Weimar Republic, when the Social Democrats played what one may term as a crucial role in German politics, the story of the German Social Democracy and its policies toward the KPD and the Third International still awaits its author.

Dr. Matthias shows that the Social Democrats, unlike other German political parties, had a rather definite political program during World War I, although in the realm of foreign policy they often manifested an embarrassing "inertia." This was essentially true at all times of their active participation in German politics. The author explains this "passivity" by the "wider" interests of the Social Democrats such as the problem of supranational democracy and the international socialist movement.

The Social Democrats began talking about the independence of Poland and Finland as early as August 1914; the Baltic area was added to the provinces which were to be detached from Russia after the March Revolution. As far as Ukraine is concerned the Social Democrats began taking notice of the existence of this problem only during the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. The Treaty with Ukraine was supported by the "Reichstag Wing" of the Social Democrats, although they opposed the transfer of the Kholm region to Ukraine. On the whole German policy in the "East" met with the general approval of the majority of Social Democrats, even though there was occasional criticism of the methods employed. The "Socialistische Monatshefte" Group, on the other hand, rejected both the Polish proclamation and the Treaty of Brest.

During the entire period the majority of the Social Democrats pursued a "West oriented" line which was outspokenly critical rather than actively hostile toward the Soviet Union. In the 1933-1939 period, during the first part of the s. c. "emigration period," the Left Social Democrats were able to strengthen their "East oriented" line, but it was subjected to a serious strain during the great purges of the late '30s and came to an abrupt breakdown with the conclusion of the Nazi-Soviet Pact in August 1939.

The best description of the policy of the Social Democrats during the entire "emigration period" (1933-1945) was their readiness to cooperate with anyone who could oppose Hitler, although it should be remembered that the majority of Social Democrats, i.e. the Center and the Right Wing, never abandoned their "West oriented" line.

Dr. Matthias's study of Social Democracy is a valuable contribution to the better understanding of this important political movement in Germany. One may be looking forward to the publication of the work in its complete form in the not too distant future.

HITLER'S OCCUPATION OF UKRAINE (1941-1944). A Study of Totalitarian Imperialism by Ihor Kamenetsky. Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1956, pp. 101.

This is a short synthetic outline of the occupation of Ukraine by Hitler during World War II and of the East European policy of Nazi Germany, intended for persons who are not familiar with events in Eastern Europe during that war.

Because of the range of events which the author has stressed his desire to study, the outline is too brief and condensed. He has chosen much material and literature on the period but he has not developed and analyzed it fully.

Since his main task has been to present the methods and conceptions of Hitler on Ukraine, which were responsible not only for the loss of the war by Germany but for the present international situation, he has given a short analysis of the entire situation during the German occupation of Ukraine.

In places the stylistic brevity of the author produces a lack of clarity and even misunderstanding. I will cite only the policy of Poland and Romania toward Ukraine (p.10). Also we cannot speak of such men as Chubar, Lyubchenko and Skrypnyk as representatives "of the Ukrainian national movement" (p. 9).

In the same way the conclusions of the author are methodologically unconnected with the material of the study itself, but we cannot fail to recognize the ease of the author's narration.

The work consists of five sections: 1. The ideological and political background of the occupation; 2. On the eve of "Action Barbarossa"; 3. German Occupation Policy at Work; 4. Between Anvil and Hammer; 5. Partisan Warfare in Ukraine 1941-1944.

The first section discusses historically the genesis of the German Eastern policy and the source of Hitler's view of the German *Lebensraum* in the East of Europe. He has interesting comments on the attitude of some statesmen of Great Britain on these plans.

The second section treats the preparation of the "Action Barbarossa" and the role in it of Rosenberg and of Hitler himself. The third treats the terroristic administrative policy of the Germans in Ukraine; the fourth and fifth deal with the results of that policy and the reaction of the Ukrainian people in the form of the formation of a resistance, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

DR. ILLYA VYTANOVYCH

THE BUDGET OF THE USSR (Historical and Critical Review) by Dr. P. L. Kovankivsky. Munich. Institute for the Study of the USSR, 1956, (in Russian)

Since of the three basic financial documents of a synthetic character, the balance, calculations and budget, the Soviets give very incomplete data only on the budget and never print the calculations, the study of these few known facts on the budget is almost the only method of finding out the financial policy of the USSR.

We must welcome this work of Dr. P. L. Kovankivsky as an attempt to begin a basic analysis of the Soviet budget. A study of this important and interesting book allows us the following remarks:

1. The author has chosen much appropriate statistical material and classified it by certain periods. This is undoubtedly a valuable achievement for students of the Soviet economy. The book is therefore valuable as an introduction to the previous statistical Soviet material.

2. On the other hand the critical and historical survey of the Soviet budget is given by the author in a very incomplete form and there is really no mention of the basic errors in the Soviet budget. This omission is made more serious since the author does not even raise the question as to the essence of the Soviet budget. Is it a financial document involving estimates or not? How far and in what way are these reflected in the Soviet budget the details of the Soviet planned economy and the Soviet financial policy? Is it even possible to approach the Soviet budget as one does the best budgets of the free world, which are always based on the purchasing power of money?

Since all these questions have not been raised in this large work and there is no hint of the possibility of considering the Soviet budget as a financial document which is not based on estimates, we must conclude that Dr. Kovankivsky considers the Soviet budget basically as a document of the form of an estimate. Thus the author has violated the first and basic rule of a financial analysis of synthetic financial documents and has made no rounded and thorough test of the principles, methods and their practical application by the Kremlin in that part of his evaluation of the Soviet budget as a sign of the methods employed by the Kremlin in the thirties.

At the same time, beginning with the thirties the Soviet budget has fully lost its function as an estimate and been changed into a convenient tool for propaganda and the control of the ruble. But we must take into account that the functions of control in the Soviet budget, after it lost its functions as an estimate, fall into quite a different economic category and do not have the functions of control of a normal budget, when that has the character of an estimate.

In this short review we naturally cannot give a full and lengthy analysis of the Soviet budget and show the many and diverse methods by which the Kremlin completely makes it false and suitable only for propaganda and the control of the ruble. We will merely say that the estimate of the budget in 4 different rates of the ruble is a basic and organic fault in the Soviet budget.

In his work Dr. Kovankivsky pays a great deal of attention to an analysis of the turnover tax but does not inform the reader that all objects and services performed and released for the Ministry of Defense are not burdened with the turnover tax and also everything which is produced for the state is subject to not more than 5% on the production price of the factory or the institutions that supply it.

In summing up, we can express our regrets that the author of this work on the Soviet budget has not given its basic defects and so the work is not a reasonably full explanation of the Soviet budget.

MYKHAYLO PAVLYUK

Michael Boro Petrovich. *THE EMERGENCE OF RUSSIAN PANSLAVISM, 1856-1870*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1956, pp. 312.

This is a very interesting volume which treats of the development of Russian Pan Slavism from the end of the Crimean War to the period just before the Russian interference in the Balkans to help in the liberation of the Bulgarians. It is not a political history in any sense of the word but it is rather a study of the ideology of a movement which has long lacked a careful and detailed treatment.

We have to remember that at the beginning of the nineteenth century absolutist Russia was the only Slavic state to possess political independence. The reforms of Peter I had thrown it into the heart of European politics but the inner

sources of European political life were not well understood. Russia's policy of expansion in all directions had been carried out under an unconscious drive for power at the expense of the other Slavs and Turkey. The old religious slogans had been driven officially into the background but the German tsars had utilized Orthodoxy in their efforts to extend their power.

So when the Slavic revival began early in the century, the leading thinkers and representatives of the other Slavic peoples under the influence of the German and Italian movements for unity responded by creating movements of their own. It would be too long to name all of these but we can cite merely the feeling of Slavic brotherhood inspired by Jan Kollar among the Czechs and the Society of Saints Cyril and Methodius among the Ukrainians as well as Polish Messianism. All of these on a greater or lesser scale responded to the contemporary movements in Western Europe.

The situation in Russia was different. The tsars and the Russian people, so far as they thought, insisted that all the nations that Russia had conquered thereby automatically became Russian. Naturally they could not admit that there could be Slavs in the Empire who were not Russians. Hence the Ukrainians and Byelorussians were treated as part of the Russian people and hence also the violent condemnation of Mazepa and of the Polish revolt of 1831. Pushkin's poem *To the Slanderers of Russia* in that year with its emphatic statement that the Slavic rivers must flow into the Russian sea or dry up (unfortunately not mentioned in this book) shows that there had remained through the decades an intellectual and emotional belief that all Slavs (as well as other peoples) should become Russian but it is out of this soil that Slavophilism took its rise at the end of the 30's.

Despite its name this was rather an analysis of what was distinctively Russian than a program to help the oppressed Slavs. Everything peculiarly Russian was regarded as primitive Slav and the early Slavophiles sought an intellectual basis for their ideas of an opposition to "Europe" with its Romano-Germanic Catholic-Protestant culture. Slav and Orthodox were treated as something opposed to Europe. Naturally the very obvious Westernism of the court was criticized just as the Old Believers two centuries earlier had opposed the arrival of the Kievan scholars in the then isolated Moscow. This was the first step.

Naturally the tsars, especially Nicholas I with his hatred for revolution, was very suspicious of this point of view and the Slavophile writings and papers were often censured as severely as were those of the extreme Westernizers who dared to oppose the official trinity of Autocracy, Orthodoxy and Nationalism (p. 50).

In this early period the non-Russian Slavs played no role, especially those who were Catholic, for the Slavophiles were convinced that Orthodoxy was the sole Slavic religion.

The next step (and this was the early period of Pan Slavism) came when the same and other thinkers began to seek ways of putting their theory into practice and to seek for the unification of the Slavs under the Tsar. Some saw the cultural unification first including unification of language. Others sought first the political unification with the cultural then following along logically.

The author deals carefully and fairly with this period of Pan Slavism, especially the Moscow Slav Congress of 1867 which brought clearly into focus the difference between the Russian view of the future cooperation or subordination and that of the other Slavs almost without exception. He handles fairly too the question of Poland and the Slavophiles after the revolt of 1863 and their attitude toward the

Western (Ukrainian and Byelorussian) provinces. He might have stressed a little more that in their own way the Russians were trying to make sure that their population was Russian by prohibiting the publication of books in Ukrainian but he at least indicates this.

We may well sum up the work with the following paragraph of his conclusions. "There was more than a streak of Great Russianism in Russian Pan Slavism from the beginning, and this tendency grew stronger as the movement developed. The Russian Pan Slavist ideology held as a basic tenet that it was the special vocation of the Great Russian people to liberate the other Slavs and to unite them under the aegis of the Tsar. Though Russian Pan Slavists deplored the inroads of Westernism in the Russian government and higher levels of Russian society, they nevertheless maintained that, of all the Slavs, it was the Russian people which had best preserved the 'Slavic way of life.' Accordingly they judged the non-Russian Slavs by the degree to which the institutions of these ethnic kinsmen resembled those of the Great Russian people. In the 1850's and early 1860's Russian Pan Slavists emphasized Russian cultural hegemony. This emphasis was especially apparent in the proposal that the non-Russian Slavs accept the Great Russian language as an all-Slavic tongue. After 1867, and particularly with the publication of Danilevskii's and Fadiiev's works, Russian Pan Slavism became dominated by the idea that the Great Russian people, with its dynasty, was the natural leader of a future Slavic political union" (p. 286).

To-day the Romanovs are gone and Russia has become the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The "Slavic way of life" has been replaced by the "Soviet Communist way of life." One thing has not changed — that streak of Great Russianism which insists that Moscow knows best, that the Great Russian language is the norm and that the Kremlin is the centre. It is against that that the satellites are revolting, not to speak of the Ukrainians and the other non-Russian peoples of the Union who now as then are struggling to appear in the councils of a free world with their own independent, national states.

Columbia University

CLARENCE A. MANNING

SOVIET UNION IN MAPS. Ed. by George Goodall, Chicago, Denoyer-Geppert Co., 1954.

This atlas is a reprint of a British publication of 1942. It includes 44 maps placed on 32 pages. The first 9 pages show the expansion of the Principality of Moscow to the boundaries of the present USSR including the satellite states, during the last 500 years.

Other pages are devoted to the relief maps of the European and Asiatic parts of the Soviet Union; they are artistically made with the use of proper colors according to the system of Philip and Son of London, and are not overloaded with a great quantity of names. There should only be marked more clearly the boundaries of the Republics of the USSR, which are almost invisible.

The natural geographical regions are presented in general with indications of the technical industrial regions, of the lumber industry and the grain. Special maps give a picture of the administrative and political divisions of the USSR. On pp. 22-23 there are two maps of the geographical distribution of the languages in the European and Asiatic parts of the Soviet Union. The Ukrainians on the first map are indicated by an unscientific and non-ethnic term, for the word "Little Russia" is taken from the tendentious administrative vocabulary of tsarist Russia just as tsarist Russia formed many other fictitious names.

In the "legends" to the map is written: "Ukrainian or Ruthenian (Little Russian) is akin to Russian; White Russian is virtually a dialect of it." Both these people in the author's opinion, "enjoy equal rights in every sphere of life, cultural, economic and to some extent political." This is a repetition of a typical pro-Soviet propaganda.

The Ukrainian ethnic territory in the East is given correctly; in the south on the Black Sea the triangle Kherson-Zaporozhzhya, Berdyansk and the entire peninsula of the Crimea are marked erroneously as ethnic Russian territory, although this territory has a Ukrainian majority and a minority of Russians, Bulgarians and Greeks. The Ukrainian district of Khotyn is given erroneously as Romanian.

The ethnic relationships in the northern Caucasus is given completely wrong. The area of the Kalmyks (who have been deported) is marked "Kazakhs and Turkmens." The many North Caucasian groups are called Cherkasy-Circassians. The Byelorussian ethnic territory is given correctly including the district of Smolensk. Yet northern Pidlashche district, which is Ukrainian, is in error called Byelorussian. On the map of the entire USSR the Ukrainians and Byelorussians disappear, for the author of this map made them all Russians. Similarly incorrect are the ethnic conditions in Siberia, especially in Western Siberia. These are based on old pre-revolutionary material and even the old names are used.

The rest of the maps deal with the economic conditions of the USSR. They have importance, although they are not based on the up to date material. From the technical side not all are clear.

Railroads which have long been in use are indicated as "under construction" (p. 26); others are not indicated as the line Kherson-Dzhonkoy.

Under these conditions the Atlas of the USSR, edited by George Goodall can scarcely be recommended for use in schools or for general use without introducing serious confusion.

H. KOLODY.

THE SOVIET UNION AFTER STALIN, by Helene and Pierre Lazareff, Philosophical Library, New York City, 1956, 254 p.,

Two French journalists, Helene and Pierre Lazareff have written a vivid account of their 1953 travels in the Soviet Union. The authors were there "about five weeks" (p. 239), travelling by car, train and airplane. They visited many cities and moved (in their words) "freely without being accompanied by anyone . . . spoke to numerous Russians . . . took part in no careful prearranged tour of inspection." (p. 11).

Readers who lived in the Soviet Union before World War II may find this described freedom difficult to believe. We may only assume that any spies following the authors on their tour remained completely unnoticed. In any case, the Lazareffs are sincere, and the reader may be almost convinced that it is exactly as they write.

One's general impression from the book is that "things are better since Stalin died" (p. 13). Right now there is a little more freedom in the USSR than before. However the regime remains exactly the same as it was earlier. The authors saw in Leningrad Simonov's play *Ivan the Terrible* which "not merely excuses but actually glorifies the bloodiest reign in the history of Tsars" (86). They severely judge the Russian stage which "is moving more swiftly towards decadence." (92). An editor of *Pravda* told the authors that the Soviet press must be and is "with the Party in view" (218). Thus, every newspaper within the

Soviet Union is nothing other than "a collective propagandist... an agitator" (213). In press, in theatres and even in circus, anti-American propaganda goes on...

"A ridiculous fat man in a top-hat... makes his appearance, smoking an enormous cigar and wearing trousers adorned with the stars and stripes of the American flag, followed by an equally ridiculous woman... holding four dogs on a lead... (94)."

There are 30,500 authors in Moscow alone. They must write "with the Party in view," and no author, as Alexander Fadieeff said in an interview for the Lazareffs, "can have his works published or performed until he belongs to the Association" (99) controlled by the government and party. Newcomers to literature have to attend special courses for writers. The more they obey the Soviet regime, the more they are paid.

In the Hermitage in a "reserve room," the authors discovered many works of art from Watteau to Picasso; Chardin to Matisse; Claude Lorrain to Renoir and Cezanne. These "bourgeois" paintings were not listed in catalogues printed in 1953 or earlier and consequently remain unknown to the public. On the other hand, the section devoted to contemporary art contains an unending series of portraits of Stalin surrounded by children, peasants, workers or politicians. It merely proves that "the artist must be and is in the service of the State" (114), i.e. of the communist party.

While in the Soviet Union, the authors tried to speak with simple men, workers, drivers, etc. It is evident from the answers they received that Soviet citizens usually believe what the Soviet press says about foreign countries. As a rule, Soviet citizens do not condemn their poor life in the USSR because they have been told that workers in France, for example, are illiterate and die of starvation, etc.

Such slogans as "Let us fight for the triumph of Communism in the USSR and the whole world"; (116) are found everywhere.

Just recently much was said in the press about the religious freedom in the Soviet Union. The authors attended the Easter Service in Moscow Cathedral. They saw thousands of people inside and outside the cathedral and even "three Red Army generals in full dress uniform." A choir of the Moscow Opera took part in splendid choral singing. One foreign diplomat, who knows very well Russian tricks, explained to the authors: "They've come by order of the Government" (204). Was it arranged for the occasion of the official visit of the Comédie Française? Probably, yes. Because the Lazareffs saw in other places freshly painted huge slogans "Religion is opium of the people" (202). Soon after the Easter Service, the Lazareffs read in a Soviet newspaper about the reopening of anti-religious museums.

The Soviet Union After Stalin is a good book for everyone who is interested in life in USSR. Among shortcomings of the book, however, we must underline the fact that the authors usually do not distinguish between non-Russians and Russians within the USSR, though they know that the Soviet Union is composed of sixteen republics, "each with its own government" (39). Thus, a famous Ukrainian tenor, Kozlowsky, is listed among Russian singers. But as soon as the authors write about the Jews, they are just. Unfortunately, the Lazareffs did not visit Ukraine.

UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

THE ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE GROWTH OF RUSSIA. *The Baltic Review*, No. 10, March, 1957.

This is a review by Dr. Antanas Trimakas of the book by Prof. Nicholas Chirovsky. While acknowledging Dr. Chirovsky's success in picturing the economic factors in the Muscovite colonial expansion, the reviewer makes some remarks which are difficult for historians of Eastern Europe to understand. Thus he criticizes Dr. Chirovsky for using the term "Lithuanian-Russ State" and asserts that such a combined State never existed. This is an astonishing statement because the existence of this state is generally accepted. There are literally hundreds of volumes of solid historical books devoted to this history of the Lithuanian-Russ (or Ruthenian) State.

The young dynamic Lithuanian State of the late 13th and early 14th centuries rapidly expanded through the former Rus lands (now White Ruthenian and Ukrainian territories) and reached the north shore of the Black Sea, including Kiev, the capital of ancient Rus', and incorporated them in its own state.

It is natural that such a political organism which included territories with the higher Eastern Christian culture though they had been politically weakened by Mongol domination, could not be preserved as a Lithuanian national state, because the Lithuanians consisted of about one fourth of the population. The new political organism with its capital at Vilna was transformed into a Lithuanian-Russ (or Ruthenian) Federation in which the Kievan culture was dominant. The Kievan Old Slavonic literary language remained until the end of the 16th century the official language of the state or rather of the Federation.

THE REVOLUTIONS OF RISING DISCONTENT, by Richard M. Hunt. *The Antioch Review*, Yellow Spring, Ohio, Spring, 1957.

The author endeavors to analyze the causes of the growing revolutionary movement in the satellite countries, especially Poland and Hungary. He comes to the correct conclusion that the main cause is the weakening of the Stalinist terror in the Soviet Union and this results in an increase of the risk of a revolution in the satellites, something that was previously hopeless, before Stalin's death.

The author correctly observes that there was no such movement in Czecho-Slovakia which exploited the weakening of the Soviet fist only to secure some economic concessions from the Kremlin. The author does not try to explain this. There were reasons such as the weakness of Czech Catholicism and nationalism which played a leading role in Poland and Hungary. The strong movement of Slovakia for independence from the Czechs and the traditional Czech Russophilism also played a part. Any revolutionary movement in Czecho-

Slovakia would threaten the disintegration of the Federated Republic and turn it into new separate states, Czechia and Slovakia.

There is a similar situation between Russia (Muscovy) and Ukraine. Any revolutionary movement in the USSR could easily bring about the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the Russians (Muscovites) for that reason will never start a revolution against the Kremlin.

THE HEART OF THE RUSSIAN PROBLEM, by "World's Top Expert on Soviet Affairs" *U.S. News and World Report*, May 31, 1957.

The author, who is so highly praised by the *U.S. News and World Report* tries to give first hand information on the internal situation in the USSR and its relations to the satellites and China and finally to the free world and to the communists in the Free World.

Starting with the internal situation in the USSR, the "world's top expert" chiefly knows the generally accepted situation among the members of the Kremlin clique, but he knows nothing about the internal situation in the various national republics of the USSR, especially Georgia and Ukraine. He mentions the decentralization in justice and the economy but by ignoring the existence of the non-Russian nations, he is unable to explain the reason for decentralization.

Concerning the satellites, the "world's top expert" writes: "There are two important factors in the satellites which don't apply in the Soviet Union. One is that the satellite regimes were imposed by the Soviet bayonets, which arouses nationalist sentiments in the Poles, Czechs and others. Second, even though they were highly imperfect forms of democracy, these countries used to consider themselves as connected to Western Europe and they have some experience with democracy. Bolshevism after all was not imposed in the Soviet Union by foreign bayonets, but by Russian bayonets.

If one of the "world's top experts" would amplify his knowledge of Soviet affairs through a study of the national anti-Russian revolutions, he would not express such nonsense as he has placed in our preceding paragraph. Was the Bolshevik regime not established in Georgia by foreign Russian bayonets? Or were the Russian bayonets in the hands of Red Russians coming from the Russian Soviet Socialistic Republic into the Georgian Democratic Republic not foreign?

Or was the Ukrainian Democratic Republic not invaded by the Red Russians from the north, from the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic? The order of the day, No. 14, Feb. 10, 1918 issued by the Red Russian Commander Muravyeff on the invasion of Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, reads¹: "We go from the distant north to free Ukraine," of course from her democratic national government. This is the best proof that Ukraine was included in the Soviet Union by the bayonets of foreign forces. Were the invading Russian bayonets from the distant north, from Russia, not foreign to the independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic? Why does the author give such misinformation to the American public about the Soviets?

¹ Ravich-Cherkasski, *Istoriya Komunisticheskoy Partii Bolshevikov Ukrainy* (In Russian), Kharkov, Gozizdat, 1923, pp. 49-50. (History of the Communist Bolshevik Party of Ukraine.)

Does the world's top expert on Soviet affairs not know that the First Congress of the Communist Bolshevik Party of Ukraine was held July 5, 1918 in Moscow.²

The Second Congress of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Ukraine was likewise held in Moscow, October 15, 1918 electing the First Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine which was composed of Russians and one Georgian, Joseph Stalin. This in Moscow appointed the first Communist government of Ukraine under a Romanian Communist, Christian Rakovsky.³

On the contrary it would be hard to prove that the first Communist government in Czecho-Slovakia was established with Russian bayonets; the legal President Benes approved it.

The author of the report states correctly that there exists in Poland a hatred of Russia. Does this apply only to Poland? What about Hungary, Ukraine, Turkestan? Besides the author's interchange of the words "Russia" and "Soviet Union" leads us to believe that the author lacks a fundamental knowledge of the national structure of the Soviet Union. America needs better informed experts.

UKRAINIAN FARMERS BACK PLEDGE OF KHRUSHCHEV ON HIGHER OUTPUT, by William J. Jordan, *New York Times*, June 10, 1957.

In his well known television appearance, Mr. Khrushchev pledged by 1960 to surpass America in the production of food (meat and dairy products) per capita. What Nikita said, must be true and so a Potemkin village show was arranged for the reporter of the *New York Times*, Mr. W. J. Jordan. The role of Prince Potemkin in our Communist period was played by one Michail Khazan, the government appointed chairman of the Stalin Kolkhoz near Kiev.

In the time of Catherine II some serious reporters described the flourishing Potemkin villages in the same Ukraine enslaved by Moscow. They told the same tales as to-day in the time of Khrushchev. For example Mr. Jordan writes: "From milkmaid to farm manager Ukrainian workers have promised higher production. . . If Khrushchev says we can do it, we will do it. . .one farmer said. . . Mr. Khrushchev, the head of the Communist Party, seems to be genuinely popular in this region. . . His picture is seen everywhere in this area (Stalin's used to be!!!) His recent statement. . .has fired the imagination of Ukrainian farmer. . . *One reason* the farmers here *have accepted* Mr. Khrushchev's challenge is the prospect they see all about them of a rich harvest this year."

After picturing with all seriousness the enthusiasm for Mr. Khrushchev's televised promise of the Ukrainian kolkhozniks whose parents were starved by millions in 1932-3, Mr. Jordan turns to the negligible matter of the earnings of the farmworkers. They are 20% higher, said Khrushchev's supervisor Khazan. How much is this? Six rubles per work day unit is the average daily wage. Mr. Jordan states this in the fictitious rate of four rubles to the dollar (\$1.50), although the Soviet government knows a more realistic value is 10 rubles to the dollar. This makes the daily wage sixty cents with a 20% increase, seventy two cents. The total day-wage for his enthusiastic worker is seventy two cents and some products, usually 3-5 kilograms of grain (7-12 pounds).

² *ibid.* p. 69.

³ *ibid.* p. 70.

Mr. Jordan's report would be even more adequate if he asked the farm-workers, other than Khazan, how often they ate meat and dairy products, and how they secured clothing for themselves and their families when in the USSR one pair of shoes costs \$120.

MOSCOW LOOKS AT AMERICA. Editorial. *New York Times*, June 11, 1957.

In commenting upon the extremely biased new History of America published in the Soviet Union, the Editor justly remarks that the slandering of America by the greatest oppressors in the world is a piece of cynicism and ill will. He says that "in pointing the finger of scorn at American history the Soviet authors seem to forget that the expansion of Russia from the original tiny principality of Moscow to to-day's huge Soviet empire is a history of the subjugation of the peoples which has no parallel in the annals of any other country. If Moscow's heart bleeds so freely over the fate of enslaved peoples, why does it not free the Ukrainians, the Uzbeks, the Georgians, the Armenians, the Latvians, the Lithuanians, the Estonians, the Tadzhiks, and many other peoples."

The author of the Editorial mentions the effectiveness of the broadcasts of the Voice of America but how much more effective would the American free voice be, if the management selected such topics as the oppression of the old cultural nations by Moscow, in the vein of the Editorial.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMAN-AUSTRIAN WAR AIMS IN THE SPRING OF 1917, by Klaus Epstein. *Journal of Central European Affairs*, April, 1957.

The outbreak of the Russian Revolution in March, 1917, led the Germans to think about the possibility of a separate peace with Russia. This caused the German political groups to formulate their peace aims. This was done in the two Bad Kreuznach Conferences in April and May, 1917. The German militarists (Gen. Ludendorff) still dreamed of annexations in the east (Kurland and Lithuania). Russia was to be compensated by the cession of Eastern Ukrainian Galicia and part of Moldavia. The German civil diplomacy refused annexations. Peace feelers were reached out to the Petrograd Soviet and help was given for the return of Lenin in a sealed car.

When the German plans were revealed to their Austrian and Turkish partners, they rejected the plan of German annexations at Austrian expense (Eastern Galicia). Meanwhile the developments within the Russian Empire and the beginning of the Ukrainian national movement led Austria at the second Bad Kreuznach Conference to propose a demand for Ukrainian autonomy. The Russian Kerensky government refused any peace negotiations with Germany and Austria but prepared an offensive. Thereafter the Germans rested their hopes on Lenin and his group with whom in fact the Germans had to treat in a short time (early in 1918) in Brest Litovsk where they met also an independent Ukrainian delegation.

THE CONTEST FOR EAST CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY, by Otakar Odložilik. *The Polish Review*, Winter, 1957.

The well-known Czech historian discusses the situation in the 11th century in Poland and Czechia as an area of contest between the Eastern Rite and

Latin Rite Christianity and he touches also the Church situation in Ukraine after the break with Rome by Cerularius. In Kiev the pro-Byzantine sympathies were not so clear as the author makes out and until 1110 Kiev wavered between Rome and Byzantium.

Prof. Odhozilik's article is also of value for its part dealing with Ukraine because it touches the question of the extension of the so-called great Moravian Christianity to the East, into Ukrainian territory.

UNEASY MAY FIRST IN THE UKRAINIAN CAPITAL, KIEV. *Labor in Exile*, May 1957. Paris.

"The first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, Kirichenko, flanked by the chief party leaders and the leading ministers, including Kalchenko, president of the council, was reviewing the big May Day parade, informs *Labor in Exile*.

Marshal Chuykov, a member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, made a speech exalting the Soviet military might, emphasizing the necessity for the fight against 'revisionists and nationalists'...

For the leaders the greatest problem is the spirit which prevails after the events in Hungary and Poland. It is true that harsh measures have succeeded in suppressing open agitation in the universities in Ukraine. The students have demonstrated that Ukraine be given the right to 'follow its own path to socialism.' This means independence. To meet this threat, Kirichenko had to write a big article in *Molod Ukrainy* the Komsomol paper, and *Literaturna Gazeta*, the writers' paper, on April 2, 1957, for it is the young people and the intellectuals who are most influenced by the unrest. This article was called: *Our power is in the friendship of nations*.

But this 'friendship of nations' is most seriously threatened. Kirichenko writes that the 'Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists' are doing everything they can to compromise the principles of proletarian internationalism... He then attacks 'national Communism', which 'serves the interests of the imperialists.'

To calm the troubled minds, the inscriptions on and behind the government tribune during the May Day celebrations in Kiev were in Ukrainian. At this time it was announced that the *Fourth Congress of the World Federation of Young Democrats* will be held at Kiev. A model of the new airplane which bears the name 'Ukraine' was shown, and everything possible was done to flatter the vanity of the Ukrainians.

The aim of these maneuvers was to stop the strong movement towards asking for 'the Ukraine's own road to socialism.'

Behind this splendid facade uneasiness reigns. Unrest has spread to the ranks of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Opposition is increasing. Will mere words suffice to satisfy this need of independence?"

Whether Mr. Khrushchev thinks he will be able to solve these Russian-Ukrainian contradictions by neo-Stalinist terror is very doubtful.

KHRUSHCHEV INVOLVES UKRAINE IN THE TRADITIONAL RUSSIAN ANTI-SEMITISM. "*A Yiddish Revival in Soviet Doubted*," by Harry Schwartz. *New York Times*, June 23, 1957.

The Collective Leadership in the Kremlin is continuing the final destruction of the Jewish cultural entity in the Soviet Union started by Stalin, as the French Socialist Pierre Lochak informs in his interview with N. Khrushchev:

"Since then qualified new native leadership has been trained and therefore Jews aspiring to top places naturally arouse resentment among Soviet non-Jews.

The Ukraine is an area where hostility and jealousy against Jews would be aroused if a Jew were named to a high post and then surrounded himself with Jewish assistants."

The anti-Jewish mood and pogroms in Ukraine were always artificially excited by the Tsarist Russian nationalistic Black Hundreds. The Kremlin clique is trying to do the same today.

The Ukrainian population maintained always friendly relations with the Jews, the oldest minority in Ukraine (since the 11th century) and paid high respect to the Ukrainian patriots of Jewish descent as the historian O. Hermaize, the linguist O. Kurylo, or the recently deceased diplomat Arnold Margolin. Moscow (as Poland in the past) often used Jews as tools of her anti-Ukrainian policy, placing some Jews between the Russian hammer and the Ukrainian anvil. Mr. Khrushchev in the tense situation between Moscow and Kiev is trying again to use the Jews as a scapegoat in Ukrainian-Russian contradictions.

This is a very painful situation and in spite of this some Americans of Jewish descent still defend the Russian imperialism in Ukraine.

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