

# The

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# Ukrainian

# Quarterly

**A JOURNAL OF EAST EUROPEAN AND ASIAN AFFAIRS**

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# The Ukrainian Quarterly

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## **OUR BI-NATIONAL HERITAGE**

### **American Bicentennial and Centennial of Ukrainian Immigration in America**

#### *Editorial*

"... As we commemorate the 200th anniversary of our Revolution, more and more Americans are mindful of their bi-national heritage. In this regard I was especially pleased to learn that your community is celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Ukrainian immigration to America in conjunction with our Bicentennial. Your contributions to this nation are recognized and appreciated. I know you will continue to enrich our country's heritage with your art, your architecture, your music and the individual contributions of your many talented individuals..."

(From President Ford's taped message accepting the "Man of the Year" award from Chicago's Ukrainian Americans, played at the banquet in commemoration of the 58th anniversary of Ukrainian Independence on January 25, 1976 in Chicago, Illinois).

**E PLURIBUS UNUM!**

This is our national motto: One of Many. One nation made up of many ethnic components that have joined together to form—in the brief time span of 200 years—one of the most powerful nations in history. This year, in celebrating the bicentennial of its birth, we extol not merely its power but that traditional American spirit which still characterizes our country as a "land of opportunity," in which social, political, economic, and religious freedom prevail, a climate in which every man can achieve.

In coming up with his term, "bi-national," President Ford has extended official recognition to what long has been a fact. Since about 1860, the population of the United States has not been homogeneous. The "old-stock" Americans—white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant (WASP)—today comprise only about 45 percent of the total population of over 216,210,000.

Scores of millions are Americans of Polish, Lithuanian, Czech, German, Italian, Ukrainian and other descent. Eleven percent

are blacks, five percent are persons with Spanish surnames. There are Oriental Americans with strong family ties and cultural pride; 800,000 Indians (the only Americans who can truly be called native) and some 6 million Jews.

The long-held belief that this country has been a great "melting pot" blending people of all nations and cultures into what are called "Americans" is finally being acknowledged as a myth. There are those, of course, who long have confronted the reality: sociologists in their studies of the minorities, politicians getting out the ward vote, the churches and their intimate knowledge of their flocks.

Yet for all to see has been the flourishing non-English press in the United States.

Some 54 years ago, an American writer by the name of Robert E. Park predicted the gradual disappearance of the non-English press in America. "As the older immigrants learn the language [English] of the country," he wrote, "their foreign-language press will be replaced by the English press..."<sup>1</sup> Almost half a century later, another American scholar, in his study on "language loyalty" in the United States, reported that in 1960 there were 377 publications in foreign languages, 107 that were bilingual, and 214 in English—for a total of 698 ethnic publications.<sup>2</sup> In 1972 Lubomyr R. Wynar, a Ukrainian American scholar at Kent State University, reported a total of 908 ethnic publications in America, appearing in some 40 non-English languages: 410 in foreign languages, 207 that were bilingual and 286 in English.<sup>3</sup>

For many American ethnic components the Bicentennial of the American Revolution coincides, or nearly so, with some "nth" anniversary of their own settlement in America. Although some of them came in the early colonial period, the overwhelming majority of "new Americans" arrived in large immigration waves after the Civil War, clustering in time a couple of decades before and a couple of decades after the beginning of the present century (15,000 arrived one spring day in 1907). The last great wave washed these shores after World War II. Today but a handful of immigrants come here annually for permanent settlement.

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<sup>1</sup> Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922.

<sup>2</sup> Joshua A. Fishman, *Language Loyalty in the United States*. The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1966.

<sup>3</sup> Lubomyr R. Wynar, *Encyclopedic Directory of Ethnic Newspapers and Periodicals*. Libraries Unlimited, Littleton, Colo., 1972, p. 10.

As the Bicentennial bells ring out around the country, we cannot but admire anew the Founding Fathers for their wisdom and resolution in grappling with the greatest empire of the time, the British Empire, and breaking free of the colonial pattern to establish a *republic*, ruled by representatives of the people for the well-being of all the people. Had they not done so, America probably would have remained a substandard British colony for a century or longer, no better off than other British colonies in Asia, Africa, and Central America.

For two hundred years the United States has continued to be ruled by the people, and not by any "strong-hand" dictatorship or military regime, because its political system has been reasonably balanced by a three-way division of power—executive, legislative and judiciary—that was spelled out in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights and the Constitution. The system, one of "checks and balances," has proved viable. It has survived a series of wars, including the well-nigh fatal Civil War, the Great Depression and international confrontations, and is coping today with a series of weighty problems.

Unlike the French Revolution of 1789, the American Revolution had a great impact upon the peoples of the world. The French Revolution soon degenerated into tyranny, as did the Russian [Bolshevik] Revolution of 1917. The American Revolution, on the other hand, achieved lasting *freedom and independence for all who* lacked and sought it. It has greatly influenced, above all, the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe—the Ukrainians, Poles, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Finns, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Croats, Macedonians and Slovenes. All of them have been inspired by the American example in their struggle against the Russian, German, Austrian, and Ottoman imperialism and oppression.

#### THE CENTENNIAL OF UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENT

At the time the American people gained their independence, Ukraine was losing the last vestiges of its autonomy and independence to Russia. In 1775 Empress Catherine II delivered a *coup de grace* by destroying the Zaporozhian *Sich*, the last military establishment of the Ukrainian people. A huge Russian army was thrust into Ukraine, while the country itself was divided into malleable administrative provinces (*gubernias*), the Ukrainian administrative apparatus, courts schools, etc., were abolished, and serfdom was imposed upon the U-

krainian peasant. The Ukrainian aristocracy, scholars and high-ranking Kozak officers were given a choice: to accept privileges and serve the Russian Czar or to be exiled to Siberia or the White Sea in the north. Russian absolutism with all its oppressive features engulfed Ukraine. In 1795 the third partition of Poland brought an end to the independence of Poland.

Under these circumstances one may well wonder how the Ukrainian people, or at least their literate upper classes, could know much about the American Revolution and its dynamic slogans of freedom and independence. But the Czarist state was not sealed off as tightly as its Soviet counterpart would be. George Washington and his "program of liberation" were known and discussed in these countries. Many Poles and some Ukrainians accompanied Kosciuszko and Pulaski to America and engaged in the fight for the independence of America. Those of them who returned to Poland and Ukraine linked the ideas of George Washington with their own philosophy of national liberation from Russia.

One of the truly enthusiastic admirers of Washington in Ukraine was Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), Ukraine's great poet and national hero. Both while at liberty and during his ten-year exile in Siberia and the Caspian steppes, Shevchenko met and became the friend of many outstanding Poles and Russian liberals who were well acquainted with the political philosophy of George Washington. Shevchenko read, in Russian translations, Washington Irving's works, *Biography of Columbus* and *Life of Washington*. He also met and developed a warm friendship with the American Negro actor, Ira F. Aldridge (1807-1876), who, touring Europe, spent some time in the Russian capital of St. Petersburg. Aldridge spoke of Negro slavery in America, Shevchenko of the serfdom of peasants in Ukraine and Russia. Shevchenko who was also a gifted artist, drew a portrait of Aldridge; in turn, Aldridge taught him some Negro songs. Long conversations between the two dwelled on "the similarity of their fate."<sup>4</sup>

Shevchenko was one of the founding members of the secret society known as the "St. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood" in Kiev, dedicated to the liberation of all Slavic peoples and the formation of a vast federation of states in which all the Slavic peoples would enjoy full equality, freedom and independence. Shevchenko was arrested and in 1847 was exiled to Siberia, where he learned a good deal more about the American Revolution from a number of Polish, Ukrainian,

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<sup>4</sup> Roman Smal-Stocki, *Shevchenko Meets America*. Milwaukee, Wis.; Marquette University—Slavic Institute, 1964.

and Russian political exiles. Upon his return from exile in 1857, Shevchenko wrote a poem in Ukrainian, entitled *Yurodyvy* ("The Feeble-minded" or "Mad" [the Czar], which contains the lines:

". . . When will we have our own Washington,  
With a new and righteous law?  
And have him we will one day . . ."

As the poetry of Shevchenko was widely read by the Ukrainian enlightened classes of his time, it is fair to assume that George Washington and the ideals of the American Revolution made a deep impact upon the Ukrainian intelligentsia, in whose minds the memory of the Ukrainian *Hetman* State, destroyed a half century earlier, was still very fresh. It became their hope that a similar revolution would erupt in the Russian Empire, permitting Ukraine, Poland, Finland, Byelorussia, and other non-Russian lands to realize their liberation.

For home consumption, the Soviet scribes have had to address themselves to the vexing problem of Shevchenko's admiration for the Founding Fathers. One such scribe, Leonid Novychenko, in 1961 on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the bard's death, managed the following:

... They [Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists] have gone so far as to try to represent Shevchenko as a propagator of the ill-famed "American way of life." Taking out of context a few lines about George Washington from the poem, "The Feeble-Minded," the nationalist "experts on Shevchenko" are trying to prove that the poet "dreamt about Ukraine as a replica of the democratic United States . . ."<sup>6</sup>

Shevchenko, a lifelong foe of oppression who was imprisoned for his resistance, obviously did dream of such.

#### COMING OF UKRAINIANS TO AMERICA

During the great immigration influx of Europeans into the United States in the XIXth century, Ukraine was divided: a great part of Ukraine was under the rule of Czarist Russia, while Galicia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia (later to be known as Carpatho-Ukraine) had gone to Austria with the third partition of Poland in 1795. There was neither means nor opportunity to emigrate from Czarist Russia; only a few Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, and others

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<sup>6</sup> Leonid Novychenko, "Shevchenko and They," in *Literaturna Hazeta* (Literary Gazette), March 7, 1961, pp. 1-3, Kiev, Ukraine.

managed to make their way to Prussia, Austria, and the Scandinavian countries and eventually the U.S. and Canada. Only from Galicia and particularly the westernmost Ukrainian Lemko area and Carpatho-Ukraine did Ukrainians begin coming to America in large numbers after 1860.

One of the first nationally-conscious Ukrainian immigrants in America was Rev. Agapius Honcharenko, a Ukrainian Orthodox priest of Kiev who in 1865 came to America via Turkey and Greece. He went westward to San Francisco, founding there *The Alaska Herald*. The U.S. government subsidized it in order to communicate with elements of the Alaskan population, Honcharenko rendering official materials in Russian and Ukrainian as well as English. But Honcharenko also used his publication to take up the cudgels in behalf of the Alaskan natives (Aleuts) against the harsh administration imposed upon them by the Americans after Alaska's purchase from the Russians.

According to Honcharenko, Kozaks [Ukrainians] made their way from Kamchatka to the Kurile Islands, whence they sailed in their boats (*baidak*) to the shores of America, reaching San Diego and Mendocino in California and Astoria in Oregon. Of these, most returned to Kamchatka. A number of the Kozaks, however, settled in Alaska, especially on the islands of Atignaka, Kadiaka, and the Aleut archipelago. When Alaska was sold to the U.S. in 1867, the Czarist government ordered some 20,000 Kozaks to return to Kamchatka, an order they promptly ignored. The new American governor of Alaska believed that Alaskans were "Indians" until he asked them who they were. Their reply was: Kozaks.<sup>6</sup>

Father Honcharenko penned an article, "The Cossacks [Kozaks], An Enslaved People," which appeared in 1899 in *The Oakland Enquirer* (Oakland, Calif.), which was reprinted in *Svoboda*, No. 8, 1899. The article, very anti-Russian in essence, was signed: *Agapius Honcharenko, Kozak of Free Ukraine*. The first issue of *The Alaska Herald* carried an article, "Curious Ideas of the Poet Taras Shevchenko," containing summaries of Shevchenko's fiery poem, "The Caucasus," which condemned the slaughter and enslavement of the Caucasian peoples by Czarist Russia.

The real Ukrainian emigration to America, however, did not begin until about 1865-70, and did not assume mass proportions until the period 1899-1914, by the end of which about a million Ukrainians

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<sup>6</sup> See Honcharenko's article printed in the Ukrainian review *Narod* (The People) under the title *Ukraina v Amerytsi* (Ukraine in America), Nos. 19 and 20, 1893, Kolomeia, Galicia, reprinted in *Svoboda* (Shamokin, Pa.), No. 11, 1894.

had entered the United States. Several thousand Ukrainians came in the period between the two World Wars, and some 100,000 were admitted in the period 1946-1955, mostly under the U.S. Displaced Persons Act.

The early newcomers tended to settle in Pennsylvania, especially in the coal and steel districts, and in those in Ohio, West Virginia, and Illinois. Many went on to work in the iron ore regions of Michigan and Minnesota, the gold and silver districts of Montana and Colorado, and the farm states of Nebraska and the Dakotas. Some went as far as the West Coast—California, Oregon and Washington—while hundreds found their way to Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana. But thousands of them made their homes in the great metropolitan areas of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Buffalo and Pittsburgh, among others.

Driven from their native land by economic, social and political oppression, they found upon their arrival here that the country was not quite that land of plenty the steamship agencies had pictured it to be. Unlike the other nationalities, who upon coming here found many of their countrymen occupying positions of power and influence, the Ukrainians had no one to extend a helping hand to them. In most cases, they were not even recognized as Ukrainians, but were called "Russians," "Polacks," "Austrians," "Slovaks," "Hunkies" and other names.

Arriving here, as they did, after an exhausting trip of many days in the cattle-like steerage and a nerve-racking confinement at Ellis Island, it was a bitter disappointment for them that the promised land should mean but a bare and cramped flat in a malodorous and teeming tenement district of a large city or a miserable little "company" home in a coal or steel district. From dawn until late at night the Ukrainian immigrant had to toil in a factory or to burrow into the bowels of the earth, ever in danger of serious injury, even of death itself. To a man, they were exploited and abused.

Their ability to adjust and their perseverance, however, ultimately carried them through. The promised land became a reality.

#### TRANSFORMATION OF UKRAINIAN AMERICAN SOCIETY

Since 1865 four generations of Americans of Ukrainian descent have been born who, along with the postwar Ukrainian immigrants, today form a well-knit ethnic community. This community has acquired a more equitable distribution as regards means of livelihood and income. The early distinguishing characteristics of a laboring

class have given way to a diversity of callings, including the professions and business. Thousands of them are scientists, doctors, dentists, engineers, journalists, priests, musicians, commercial artists, bankers, librarians and teachers. A host are civil servants. Other thousands are industrialists, corporate executives, merchants, building contractors, hotel, motel and restaurant owners, importers and exporters, owners of small and large commercial concerns, and so forth. In short, all are in the mainstream of American life.

On the other hand, in the course of the 100 years of their settlement in the U.S., the Ukrainians and their progeny have developed a thriving ethnic community. Proven loyal Americans, they nevertheless continue to cultivate and expand their ethnic heritage, including their native language, national and cultural traditions, and their religion. Their dynamic life is manifested in a variety of forms and expressions.

In religion, there are the Ukrainian Catholic Church (one metropolitan and three bishops), the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (one metropolitan, one archbishop and one bishop) and the Ukrainian Evangelical and Baptist congregations.

Impressive are the fraternal associations, banks and credit unions. There are four Ukrainian fraternal associations with an aggregate membership of 130,000 and 59 million dollars in assets, and several banks and credit unions, with a combined capital of 119 million dollars.

In education and scholarship, there are a Ukrainian academy of sciences, a scientific society, a Catholic college, a seminary and two high schools, and three chairs of Ukrainian studies at Harvard University. Sixty-five Ukrainian-language Saturday schools function; the Ukrainian language, history and literature are taught at some 15 American colleges and universities.

A myriad of organizations dot the Ukrainian American communities, including women's organizations, youth associations, veterans and sports clubs, and many social, political, cultural, and charitable organizations. There are several Ukrainian professional associations of doctors and dentists, engineers, veterinarians, university professors, lawyers, journalists, and librarians. In addition to ballet schools, active are several dozen Ukrainian choir and dance ensembles. Ukrainian artists, sculptors, actors, singers and musicians enrich the American cultural fabric.

Finally, there are over 90 Ukrainian-language publications—two daily newspapers, weeklies, semi-monthlies, monthlies and quarterlies, including a number of bilingual and English-language publications.

Across the generations the Ukrainians in America have unstintingly given of their sweat, blood, toil and talent to the growth and development of America. Thousands of Ukrainians have served in the U.S. armed forces—in the Spanish-American War, World I (30,000), World War II (at least 250,000), and the Korean and Vietnam Wars. Thousands never returned.

#### RECOGNITION, BUT . . .

Following in the footsteps of other U.S. ethnic communities, the Ukrainians in America acted in the past and are acting now for the recognition of Ukraine as an independent and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people.

During the Ukrainian Revolution (1918), the Ukrainian National Committee unceasingly exerted efforts to have the U.S. government recognize Ukraine. The Committee found staunch supporters for the Ukrainian cause in the persons of Congressmen James Hamill (New Jersey) and Fiorello LaGuardia (New York), and Senators Henry Cabot Lodge (Massachusetts), Joseph S. Frelinghuysen (New Jersey), William King (Utah), and many others.

President Woodrow Wilson, his Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, and his special emissary Col. E. House—all decided against the recognition of Ukraine because they saw Ukrainian independence as "a German-Austrian invention."

President Wilson, author of the famous "Fourteen Points" embracing national self-determination, made it abundantly clear that this principle was to apply only to the peoples of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, and not to the peoples of the Russian Empire, especially the Ukrainians. Of course, had the independent Ukrainian state survived, it would have been recognized by America, as America did with respect to Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Ukrainians as an entity were not truly acknowledged despite the efforts of a Ukrainian Extraordinary Mission, headed by Dr. Julian Bachynsky (who was never officially received), and despite the fact that President Wilson did proclaim a "Ukrainian Day" on April 21, 1917. It is true that there were a number of resolutions in Congress calling for the recognition of Ukraine. For instance, on December 13, 1918, Congressman Hamill introduced such a resolution (H.J. Res. 369), and on September 9, 1919, Congressman LaGuardia introduced

a bill to "Provide for the Salaries of a Minister and Consuls to the Republic of Ukraine."

But there has persisted a strong opposition to the recognition of Ukraine on the part of the White House and the State Department during the tenure of ten U.S. Presidents and 14 Secretaries of States: Bainbridge Colby, Charles E. Hughes, Frank B. Kellogg, Henry L. Stimson, Cordell Hull, F.R. Stettinius, Jr., James F. Byrnes, George C. Marshall, Dean G. Acheson, John Foster Dulles, Christian A. Herter, Dean Rusk, William P. Rogers and Henry A. Kissinger.

The reasons for this opposition range from ignorance and short-sightedness at the outset to, in latter years, a timid hands-off policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Russian colonial empire. Thus, since the end of World War II, we find the United States enthusiastically taking part in the dissolution of the British, French, Dutch, Belgian, and Portuguese empires. But the USSR has been taboo.

Ironically, had America recognized and abetted Ukraine in Wilson's time, the great Russian bear, deprived of its most valuable source, Ukraine, would long have been sent up a tree.

Ironically, again, as America studiously has averted its eyes from the most ravaging of all imperialistic regimes, the Kremlin has been afforded the effrontery to erect a blatantly fraudulent "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic," even to secure for it a charter seat in the U.N. America has gone along; but when a Clement J. Zablocki (Wisc.) gets up in Congress and calls for the establishment of diplomatic relations between this Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR, America turns deaf—with ominous consequences for her priceless heritage.

#### TAKING STOCK

But besides progress and development in the economic, social and cultural areas, the Ukrainian component in America has made gains, if modest ones, in the political field as well. Two merit mention.

For the past 25 years the "Voice of America," an official agency of the U.S. government, has been broadcasting in Ukrainian to the captive people of Ukraine; these Ukrainian broadcasts are fully on a par with the broadcasts in other languages. On July 17, 1959, the U.S. Congress enacted the "Captive Nations Week Resolution," enumerating Ukraine and 21 other nations enslaved by Communist Russia as entities entitled to freedom and national independence. The resolution was signed into Public Law 86-90 by President Eisenhower.

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<sup>1</sup> H.R. 9316, 66th Congress, 1st Session, *Congressional Record*, LVIII, 5554, September 9, 1919, Washington, D.C.

In 1960 the U.S. Bureau of Census recognized "Ukraine" and "Ukrainian" as terms to be used in census-taking.

These are heartening signs, perhaps indicating that U.S. foreign policy will someday no longer consign the true Ukraine to some melting pot called the Soviet Union.

Ukrainians in America salute the Bicentennial of the American Revolution not because this revolution was against an alien power. In point of fact, it was the mother country of most white settlers. Nor because it was for something "American." This concept was to develop in time; meanwhile, it was primarily the work of sons born here of Englishmen. Nor even of taxation, however celebrated the Boston Tea Party.

Not these reasons; but because of a remarkable and magnificent conjunction of ideas and men in a particular time and place. Born and realized here two hundred years ago was the idea of the overriding worth of the individual. The individual free to develop, checked from excess by concern for his fellowman, with a resulting sense of balance finding its enlightening way to law, ethics, religion.

When Taras Shevchenko, voicing the woe of an oppressed people, called for a Ukrainian George Washington, he was speaking for all on earth, dead, living and yet to be born.

And so Ukrainians in America, in saluting the Bicentennial and their good fortune in having been able to share in this country's destiny, salute what is unmeltable, what is common to us all: insistence on each being allowed to be himself, yet on the humbleness of all in the eyes of the Creator.

## AGAPIUS HONCHARENKO: PORTRAIT OF A UKRAINIAN AMERICAN KOZAK

By MICHAEL BURYK

His face, deeply lined and framed by a full, white beard, appears at once both pensive and drawn. The dark, deep-set eyes look out with a steady gaze, revealing a resolute character fired by an intense nature. With his head slightly bowed to one side, he seems eager to listen to all that you have to say. Loved and respected by those who knew him, Father Agapius Honcharenko was often the eye of a storm of controversy.

The date was January 1, 1865. America was on its knees—doubled over from the blows of a long and bloody civil war. Far away from the theatre of battle, the ship *Yarington* dropped anchor in Boston Harbor.<sup>1</sup> Among its passengers was a well-traveled Orthodox priest, formerly a citizen of Greece. Five days later, after making his way to New York City, this new arrival from the Middle East officiated at the first Greek Orthodox service in the United States.<sup>2</sup> By celebrating this Christmas liturgy at the home of the Greek Consul (which also served as the Greek Consulate) in Manhattan, Father Honcharenko was already setting the independent tone which would characterize his life in America.

Andrew Onufrievych Honcharenko was born August 19, 1832. His father was pastor in their village of Kryven, Province of Kiev, Ukraine. Like his father, Andrew's mother, Evdokia, was a proud descendant of an ancient Ukrainian Kozak family—Bohun.<sup>3</sup> In 1651 during the Ukrainian-Polish struggle, Colonel Ivan Bohun had taken command of the Kozak Army at the battle of Berestechko, Ukraine, when *Hetman* Bohdan Khmelnytsky was abducted by the Tartars. Dr

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<sup>1</sup> Theodore Luciw, *Father Agapius Honcharenko: The First Ukrainian Priest in the United States* (New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1970), p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Agapius Honcharenko, *Spomynky* (Edmonton, Alberta: Slavuta Publishers, 1965), p. 11. These memoirs have also been published in English. See: Agapius Honcharenko, *Memoirs*, translated and ed. by Theodore Luciw (Minneapolis, Minn.: The Rev. A. Honcharenko Committee, 1965).

<sup>3</sup> Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, pp. 7-8.

L. Bohun, a personal friend of Captain John Smith (the founder of the first permanent English outpost in the New World in 1607), arrived at Jamestown, Virginia in the early days of that colony and became its official physician. Although it is unclear whether Dr. Bohun was a Ukrainian emigre, he at least belonged to the same family line which had engendered the Ukrainian Bohuns—their ancestry is traced to St. Georges of Bohon, located on the Cherbourg peninsula in France.<sup>1</sup>

A child of well-to-do people, Honcharenko entered the Kiev Seminary in 1840. Early in his life, he was able to witness firsthand the sufferings of the ordinary Ukrainian people. "While on vacations, I was able to see how the Polish lords treated our Orthodox people and how their servants beat girls with whips," wrote Honcharenko in his *Memoirs*.<sup>2</sup> Young Andrew tried to avoid such unpleasant life in the village. In 1853, he graduated from the Theological Seminary. Donning the garb of a monk, he moved to the Pecherska Lavra Monastery in Kiev. Ahapius was shocked to see the worldliness of the monks.<sup>3</sup> Their lives contrasted sharply with the poverty and sufferings of the village folk with whom the youthful novice came into contact while performing his duties as the assistant of Metropolitan Philaret of Kiev.

On July 12, 1857, Honcharenko had an eventful meeting in Kiev with Prince Sergei Trubetsky, a returned political exile of the abortive Decembrist uprising of 1825.<sup>4</sup> This group of rebels, which had a significant following among the officer corps, had aimed at abolishing those two pillars of the Russian Empire—autocracy and serfdom. Secret societies were formed in both Russia and Ukraine in 1818. These conspirators never came to grips with the political problem posed by Ukraine, but many of their writers expressed sympathy for Ukraine's heroic traditions—especially the saga of the Kozaks. The Decembrist movement acted as a catalyst in the development of 19th

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* L.C. Loyd, *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families* (Leeds, Eng.: Harlein Society Publications, 1951), Vol. CIII.

<sup>2</sup> Honcharenko, *Spomyvky*, p. 4. Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> Honcharenko, *Spomyvky*, pp. 5-6. The young Ukrainian received the name "Agapius" (Ahapius), when he became a monk. See: Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> S. Svatikov, "Agapii Honcharenko: O novatel' Russkoi Pechati v Severnoi Amerike," *Obshchestvo Druzei Russkoi Knigi, Vremennik* (Paris, 1938), Vol. IV, p. 252. Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 30. Also, Honcharenko, *Spomyvky*, p. 16.

century Ukrainian political and cultural consciousness.<sup>5</sup> His encounter with Trubetskoy inspired Honcharenko to pursue the Decembrist cause.

The fall of 1857 found Honcharenko in Athens, Greece. The Holy Synod (the governing body of the Czarist Russian Orthodox Church) had recommended that an archdeacon be appointed to the Russian consular Church in Athens. Metropolitan Philaret of Kiev chose his young assistant for the post. Ahapius quickly became absorbed in Greek culture and began to learn the language of the philosophers. While in Athens, he made contact with Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogarev—two famous Russian political exiles who were publishing anti-Czarist materials in London.<sup>9</sup> Remembering vividly the sufferings and cruel treatment of the villagers near Kiev, and the immorality and drunkenness within the monastery, Honcharenko started to write articles for these London publications, in particular for *Kolokol* (The Bell).

At noon on February 2, 1860, the Kievan archdeacon was invited to join Alexander Petrovitch Ozerov, the Russian Ambassador in Athens, for dinner aboard the ship "Rusalka." After boarding this vessel, Honcharenko was handed a slip of paper informing him that he was under arrest and would be deported to Russia.<sup>10</sup> The "Rusalka" carried the Kievan monk to Constantinople, where he was thrown into prison with "thieves and drunkards of Russian extraction."<sup>11</sup> In the twelve days that it took the Russian man-of-war to reach this city, Honcharenko's friends in Athens had communicated with their contacts in the Ottoman capital. On February 16th, the young monk was assisted in escaping from prison and he immediately headed for London.

Ahapius reached London on March 4th and remained there some eighteen months. While there he met Herzen, Ogarev and the Italian political exile, Giuseppe Mazzini. Honcharenko was employed by the

<sup>5</sup> Volodymyr Kubljovyc, ed., *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), Vol. I, pp. 671-672.

<sup>9</sup> Ivan O. Sweet, "Ahaply Honcharenko," *Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A., Calendar for 1963* (South Bound Brook, N.J., 1963) 110-111, Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 30. Also, Y.S. Chyz, *The Ukrainian Immigrant in the United States*, reprinted in pamphlet form the *Almanac of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Assoc. for 1940* (Scranton, Pa., 1939), pp. 4-5.

<sup>10</sup> Honcharenko, *Spomynky*, p. 7. Sweet, "Honcharenko," 111.

<sup>11</sup> Honcharenko, *Spomynky*, p. 7. Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, pp. 30-31.

British Museum as a classifier and numismatist.<sup>12</sup> He continued writing for Herzen, and also worked as a printer in the shop of Ludwik Czarnecki. Ahapius earned good money for his work. He managed to financially assist the many Russian refugees who flowed into London during those years of political uncertainty under Czar Alexander II.

In late 1861, the Kievan monk returned to Greece by way of Turkey. He went to visit his uncle, Dmytro Bohun, at Mount Athos in January, 1862. Later that month after submitting his request to be consecrated there, he was ordained a priest.<sup>13</sup> From Greece, Fr. Honcharenko journeyed to Jerusalem. When the Russian Consul in the Holy City learned of his presence, Ahapius was threatened with arrest and deportation. The young priest possessed a letter of introduction given to him by Prince Ivan Gagarin, a Russian Roman Catholic. This afforded him the protection of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. At Gagarin's suggestion, the Ukrainian exile taught for a while at a Jesuit school in the Lebanese mountains. He eventually moved on to Alexandria, Egypt, where he found asylum with an Englishman, Sir Samuel Baker.<sup>14</sup>

Fr. Honcharenko opened a small store near the Cairo railroad station. It was here that he experienced the first attack on his life. His Greek assailant confessed that he had been hired by the Russian Consul to "persuade" the priest to leave Alexandria.<sup>15</sup> Ahapius' Hellenic friends urged him to return to Greece to apply for citizenship. He did so, and became naturalized on June 6, 1863.

The following year, this Ukrainian emigre travelled throughout the Greek Islands and Eastern cities as an interpreter for two Russian scholars, Iamonsky and Pertzov, who were searching for Slavic relics. Honcharenko gradually came to the conclusion that, perhaps, it was possible for his people to fully realize their intellectual and cultural potential abroad. Conversations with the influential Russian political exiles in London convinced him that he should emigrate to San Francisco to open a Russian publishing house.<sup>16</sup> The young priest hoped to unite the Slavic people of America's Pacific Coast into a strong organization. He bid farewell to Athens on October 18, 1864. The ship

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<sup>12</sup> Sweet, "Honcharenko," 112. Honcharenko, *Spomyinky*, p. 7. Also, Luciiv, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 31.

<sup>13</sup> Sweet, "Honcharenko," 113. Luciiv, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 32.

<sup>14</sup> Luciiv, *Fr. Honcharenko*, pp. 34-35. Honcharenko, *Spomyinky*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>15</sup> Luciiv, *Fr. Honcharenko*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Svatikov, "Honcharenko," pp. 255-256.

*Yarington* transported him from Izmir, Turkey to Boston, Massachusetts. On New Year's Day 1865, this Ukrainian Orthodox priest arrived in America.

#### THE NEW WORLD

The first unofficial Greek Orthodox Church service conducted in America by Fr. Honcharenko on January 6, 1865 aroused the interest of local members of that faith. In February, this Ukrainian exile was a guest at a dinner given by the Episcopal Bishop Potter of Trinity Chapel in New York City.<sup>17</sup> At this gathering he learned from the clergymen present that the previous year Orthodox chaplains accompanying the visiting Russian fleet (whose commander was, incidentally, a Ukrainian Admiral, S. Lessovsky) were invited to celebrate their liturgy in the Episcopal Churches of that city. The priests refused on the grounds that Orthodoxy forbade them to serve in Protestant Churches. They said, "we will have no dealings with heretics."<sup>18</sup> Bishop Potter offered Fr. Ahapius the opportunity to celebrate the Liturgy in Trinity Church located on 26th Street, New York City. On March 2, 1865, this Ukrainian priest celebrated the first public Orthodox service in the New World.

Honcharenko was thirty-two years old when he first caught the attention of two American newspapers, *The New York Evening Post* and *The New York Times*.<sup>19</sup> *The New York Evening Post* (March 2, 1865) printed a long account of the Orthodox service celebrated in Trinity Church, characterizing it with the headline, "Significant and Political Ceremony." *The New York Times* (March 3, 1865) also devoted several columns to a review of this Liturgy and its significance for Russo-American relations. One paragraph revealed an interesting description of the Ukrainian exile priest:<sup>20</sup>

The Russo-Greek clergyman, the Rev. Agapius Honcharenko, is an amiable and dignified-looking clergyman of some fifty years of age. He is a Russian by birth, and a graduate of the ecclesiastical academy of St. Petersburg. The ship *Alexander Nevsky* that some twelve months ago left this city for Athens brought word to the Grecian capital that there was a large number of the Orthodox Church in this country without a pastor, and he came on, volunteering his services, accredited by the Metropolitan of Athens and the Holy Synod of the Kingdom of Greece.

<sup>17</sup> *Luciw, Fr. Honcharenko*, pp. 36-37. Honcharenko, *Spomyvky*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> "The Russian Church in America." *The New York Evening Post*, March 2, 1865. "Novel Religious Service," *The New York Times*, March 3, 1865.

<sup>20</sup> "Novel Religious Service." *The New York Times*, March 3, 1865.

Perhaps Honcharenko's five years of constant travels and his full beard made him appear much older (50) than his actual age (32). More than likely, the cleric himself slightly altered these printed details of his life to camouflage his presence in New York City from the watchful eyes of the Czarist government.

The Kievan cleric was soon contacted by the Russian Consul in New York City, Baron Robert Osten Sacken, to teach this official the Greek language. Honcharenko's fugitive past remained hidden for the moment.<sup>21</sup> But the sharp eyes of the double-headed Eagle (the symbol of Czarist power) soon traced the elusive outlines of Fr. Ahapius' earlier "criminal" activity. The Baron was asked to have the Ukrainian exile arrested. The Consul refused to initiate this action.

Honcharenko again made the headlines on April 15, 1865 as the celebrant of an Orthodox service in St. Paul's Church, New Orleans, La.<sup>22</sup> He officiated at the blessing of this first Greek Orthodox Church in the United States. The Imperial government took determined steps to isolate him from his Greek friends. On May 13, 1865, the Greek Consul in New York City, Kyr Botassi, was paid a visit by the Russian Ambassador, Baron Edward de Stoeckl. The Russians agreed to provide funds for a new Orthodox Church in the City complete with a pastor, Father Nicholas Bjerring. The Greeks were told to sever their ties with Fr. Ahapius, "enemy of Russia."<sup>23</sup>

Honcharenko was forced to seek new employment. The American Bible Society hired him to translate the Bible into Arabic and Church Slavonic. Through his acquaintance with the Italian revolutionary, Mazzini, the Ukrainian made his way to the household of John Citti in Philadelphia, whose home was a meeting place for immigrant Italian patriots.<sup>24</sup> On September 28, 1865 in New York City, Honcharenko married Albina, the daughter of Mr. Citti. Albina Citti was this Ukrainian emigre's lifelong companion, and she made important contributions to his publishing work on the Pacific Coast.

The life of this Kievan exile in New York City was carefully observed by Czarist spies. While busily engaged in Bible translations, he never forgot his earlier discussed plan to open a publishing house on the West Coast. The year 1867 finally convinced this political emigre to realize his dream. Negotiations for the sale of Russian

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<sup>21</sup> Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 43. Wasyl Halich, *Ukrainians in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 21-22.

<sup>22</sup> "The Oriental Church Service," *The Daily Picayune*, New Orleans, April 16, 1865. An excerpt of this article appears in: Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>23</sup> Honcharenko, *Spomynky*, p. 12.

<sup>24</sup> Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 43.

America to the United States took place during the winter and spring of that year. On October 18, 1867, the Russian flag was taken down for the last time at Sitka, Alaska.<sup>25</sup> The exact nature of Honcharenko's involvement in this purchase remains hidden. It is likely that he did contact Secretary of State Seward sometime during 1867. The Orthodox priest's first American publications (1868) were initiated at Seward's request.<sup>26</sup> Fourteen days prior to the departure of the Russians from Alaska, Fr. Ahapius and his teacher-wife boarded the steamship *America* at New York and sailed for the Isthmus of Panama. He and Albina had accumulated a sizable sum of money—\$2,500. On their journey westward, a \$1,600 Cyrillic type machine was included among their belongings.<sup>27</sup> A train carried them fifty-seven miles across Central America, whence another ship brought them to San Francisco on November 6th.

The Ukrainian exile had considered establishing his publishing house in Alaska, but he feared censorship from the American military authorities in control there. San Francisco, the main port of shipping and communication to and from Russian America, offered a more suitable location. 536 Market Street became the home of the first Russian-English newspaper published in the United States, *The Alaska Herald (Svoboda)*. During the next five years, this priest's printing shop was also a gathering place for former Alaskan inhabitants, as well as refugees from Russia and Siberia.<sup>28</sup>

#### THE ALASKAN PERIOD

The reign of Ivan (IV) the Terrible (1547-1584) witnessed the beginnings of Muscovite expansion eastward. A growing Western appetite for the furs exported through Archangelsk on the White Sea urged flocks of traders often accompanied by bands of Cossacks and Kozaks (i.e., "Cossacks" of Ukraine) farther and farther across the vast, thinly inhabited wilderness of Siberia. These icon-bearing adventurers reached the Pacific by the end of the 17th century. Not long after the demise of Peter the Great (1682-1725), Vitus Bering, a Danish captain commissioned by the Imperial government, with the

<sup>25</sup> Archie W. Shiels, *The Purchase of Alaska* (College, Alaska: The University of Alaska Press, 1967), pp. 13-21; 151-152.

<sup>26</sup> Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 45. Agapius Honcharenko, "Avtobiographia Redaktora Pervoiy Ruskoj Gazety v Amerike," *Progress* (Chicago, Ill., June 7, 1893), No. 18, 11-13 Svatikov, "Honcharenko," p. 257.

<sup>27</sup> Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 45.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47. Honcharenko, *Spomynky*, p. 13.

aid of Kamchatka sailors\* discovered Alaska's mainland.<sup>29</sup> Cossacks and Kozaks then emigrated to Russian America through the remainder of the 18th century. In August, 1799, Fort Archangel Gabriel was christened at Sitka under the governorship of Alexander A. Baranov. The original Sitka settlement was swept from the earth in 1802 by the bloody rage of the hostile, native Tlingit people.<sup>30</sup> Sitka was later rebuilt, and the Russians began to exploit the rich, easily-obtainable resources (i.e., furs and fish) of "Unalaska."

Russians and Ukrainian Kozaks explored the Pacific Coast of North America during the 1700's. In 1809, Fort Ross was established near San Francisco, California, as a warm-weather colony. Ukrainian Kozak exiles from Siberia and Alaska were among the inhabitants of this settlement.<sup>31</sup> When the Russian government was forced to abandon this fort in 1839, many of these Kozaks migrated back to Alaska. During the 1860's, partly because of the proximity of hostile English territory (Canada),<sup>32</sup> the Imperial government sold its North American foothold to the United States.

Honcharenko was deeply interested in the history of Russian America and its people. He related in his *Memoirs*:<sup>33</sup>

In November, 1867, a great number of people from Alaska gathered in my printing shop. They spoke Russian, although some were Creoles, children of the refugees from Russia or Siberia. They loved their homeland where they were born and began to tell me about rich deposits of gold and silver coin in the mines of Alaska and where they were to be found. I made this information known through several of my publications. This became useful to prospectors, investors and adventurers, etc. To this day many people keep telling me how grateful they are for the information they received about Alaska from my publications. They nicknamed me "The Alaska Man."

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\* ) These scamen were descendants of Russian Cossacks and Ukrainian Kozaks.

<sup>29</sup> Agapius Honcharenko, "North America or Alaska—A Kozak Country," *Narod*, January 15, 1894, No. 2. This is reprinted in: Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, pp. 55-57. E.N. Matrozov (Baron Leliva), "Zaokeanskaya Rus'," *Istorichesky Vestnik* (St. Petersburg, 1897). Vol. LXVIII, 89-104. Part of this essay can also be found in: Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, pp. 148-151.

<sup>30</sup> Mrs. (Florence) Barrett Willoughby, *Sitka, Portal to Romance* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930), pp. 57-60.

<sup>31</sup> Myron Kuropas, *The Ukrainians in America* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Lerner Publications, 1972), p. 37. Hallich, *Ukrainians in the U.S.*, pp. 19-22.

<sup>32</sup> Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 44.

<sup>33</sup> Honcharenko, *Spomynky*, p. 13.

The Ukrainian exile's first Alaskan publication was printed at the request of the U.S. Secretary of State, William H. Seward. Describing this incident, Honcharenko wrote:<sup>34</sup>

Before my departure for San Francisco, Secretary of State W. H. Seward called me to Washington and promised me a subsidy for my printing in Russian about the new Republican order for Russo-Americans in Alaska... The first thing I had to print was *The Russian and English Phrase Book* for the U.S. Army in Alaska. For that I received \$500.

The *Phrase Book* was completed in March of 1868 and it appeared in print that same year. Its conversational approach to the Russian language included a description of grammar followed by situation phrases. The *Phrase Book* was geared to the needs of the U.S. Army, as well as merchants, teachers and other Alaskan travellers.

Fr. Honcharenko began a second American subsidized project on March 1, 1868. On that date, the first issue of the eight-page, semi-monthly, *The Alaska Herald*, appeared in print—half in English, and the other half in Russian.<sup>35</sup> Ahapius' Italian-American wife, Albina, edited the English language section. The Kievan emigre noted in an 1893 autobiographical article: "Upon the recommendation of Secretary Seward, the Army Command had allotted me a sum of \$50 for every issue of my Russo-English newspaper."<sup>36</sup> The Ukrainian editor was required to "acquaint the Alaskan natives with the American Constitution and the regulations put out by the new American Army Administration." The first four issues of *The Alaska Herald* (March-April 1868) conformed to this stipulation. The U.S. Constitution was translated into Russian on the pages of issues No. 1 and No. 2. Translations of the U.S. Army regulations in Alaska appeared in this newspaper during April. Honcharenko also included some articles on Russia—describing both the country and its oppressive government. Throughout his publishing career, this Ukrainian cleric always wrote what he believed was the truth. His independence of expression would eventually contribute to his resignation as editor of *The Alaska Herald* in April, 1872.

In an editorial dated July 1, 1868, Honcharenko printed an appeal to the Aleuts and Creoles of Russian America not to work for less than five gold dollars a day.<sup>37</sup> The Ukrainian priest quickly ac-

<sup>34</sup> Honcharenko, "Avtobiographia," 11-13. Svatikov, "Honcharenko," p. 257.

<sup>35</sup> Agapius Honcharenko. *The Alaska Herald*, Vol. I, No. 1, San Francisco, March 1, 1868.

<sup>36</sup> Honcharenko, "Avtobiographia," 11-13.

<sup>37</sup> *The Alaska Herald*, July 1, 1868. Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 61.

quired the title, "agitator," from the American companies that were busily engaged in exploiting Alaskan wealth—both physical and human. After the Purchase in 1867, all the resources of the Russian monopoly in the land of the midnight sun passed from the hands of the Russian American Company to the San Francisco concern, Hutchison, Kohl and Company. Later renamed the Alaska (Commercial) Company, this Pacific firm would obtain in 1870 through its political influence in Washington exclusive right to the fur seals of the Pribilof Islands.<sup>38</sup> The Company eventually branched out into various activities throughout Alaska and often substituted as a government for the inhabitants in remote areas. The Ukrainian exile's action incurred the wrath of the Russian Ambassador at Washington who claimed Honcharenko was attacking the Hutchison Company (formerly the Russian American Company).<sup>39</sup> The editor of *The Alaska Herald* now found his subsidy from the U.S. government terminated.

The Kievan cleric served for a brief period under the appointment of the Treasury Department as a customs inspector in San Francisco. He became disenchanted with the customs machinations regarding Alaska, and quit his job.<sup>40</sup> The emigre editor continued publishing *The Alaska Herald* until 1872. The withdrawal of government subsidy made it difficult to finance this effort. Fr. Agapius maintained the practice of furnishing 500 or more free copies of each issue to be distributed throughout Alaska and Siberia. He hoped that Siberia would be annexed by the United States. In sending his newspaper to Siberia, this Ukrainian cherished a dream that the exiles there would liberate themselves—either joining with the United States, or establishing an independent state.<sup>41</sup>

*The Alaska Herald* continued to serve as a forum for the voiceless people of Russian America—many of whom found their lives increasingly falling under the shadow of paternalistic monopolies. The editor published their letters and petitions. He also pronounced his own opposition against the undemocratic practices of both the military authorities and the companies. The highpoint of Honcharenko's struggle with the Alaska Commercial Company came on November 1, 1871. Publishing under the pseudonym, "Veritas," this Ukrainian pamphleteer defended the Alaskan publication of a "suppressed" petition from the native workers of St. George Island (one of the fur seal

<sup>38</sup> Luciwi, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 71.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

<sup>40</sup> Honcharenko, "Avtobiographia" Luciwi, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 62.

<sup>41</sup> Editorial, *The Alaska Herald*, March 1, 1871. Luciwi, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 63.

islands within the domain of the Alaska Co.).<sup>42</sup> A bitter and vicious campaign was launched by the monopolistic Russian American interests to completely discredit the editor. Honcharenko was even the victim of physical violence. A Russian traveller, P. Ogorodnikov, visited the priest during the days of this ordeal. He depicted that meeting in an account published in 1872:<sup>43</sup>

I knocked at the door of the printing shop and found Honcharenko on the top floor. 'Enter!' sounded a deep voice. Walking into a small room, I saw, seated at the printing table beneath the sole window, a pale withered figure with the suntan and dark eyes of a typical Ukrainian. 'Mr. Honcharenko,?' I asked him. 'I am he,' he answered with a quiet, tired voice...

In discussing the attacks leveled at him by the Russian Consul and the Orthodox clergy in California, "Honcharenko's face became more pale than ever; his eyes glittered and his chest heaved with the effort of speech." Ahapius' Italian-American wife also suffered from the persecution of her husband:<sup>44</sup>

At that moment there entered into the printing shop a slim, miniature-like lady with striking lines and a rather darkish face. She reminded me [Ogorodnikov] of our young Ukrainian girls, as if she were not as yet acquainted with the harsh experience of life. It was Honcharenko's wife.

She looked rather sad, saying nothing. She seated herself at a small table in the corner of the room and quietly began correcting the English part of *The Alaska Herald*.. Her husband turned to me. 'Just as you see now, this angel carries patience as a heavy cross of the load of work that belongs to all of us.'

The succession of ridicule in the press, financial pressure, slander, bodily violence and plain hard work wore down this vocal Ukrainian critic until he no longer felt able to continue his publication. The final edition of *The Alaska Herald* under Honcharenko appeared on April 19, 1872. An excerpt of his last editorial merits quotation here:<sup>45</sup>

In the great and multiplied affairs of this life, men of principle are the master powers. The cunning, scheming, thieving plotters may gain temporary triumphs, but the man who is ready to offer up his life in advocacy and defense of just and noble principles is triumphant for all time. As regards ourselves we have persistently and unswervingly attacked the

<sup>42</sup> Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 71.

<sup>43</sup> P.V. Ogorodnikov, *Strane Svobody* (St. Petersburg, 1882), Vol. II. *Ot New Yorka do San Franciska Obratno v Rossiyu* (St. Petersburg, 1872), pp. 114-118.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Editorial, *The Alaska Herald*, April 19, 1872. Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 65.

monopoly of Hutchison, Kohl & Co., because we conscientiously believed it was a curse to Alaska. Our labors have not been barren of some good results. Lately, Congress passed an Act which, in a certain measure, insures a correction of some of the evils existing in Alaska . . .

Like an avenging angel *The Alaska Herald* has marked its victims. It has followed them step by step, has tracked their infamous schemes and brought the whole piratical crew before the American people to be lashed, condemned and crucified on the altar of public opinion...

Whatever truth there may be as regards our local press, *The Alaska Herald* is convinced that right and justice will gain a final victory over wrong and tyranny. In its war of principle against the shameless monopoly it is sustained by the New York Chamber of Commerce and leading journals outside San Francisco... This gigantic swindle dead and gone, the Republic will be cleansed of one of its foulest and most loathsome monopoly cancers.

The English portion of *The Alaska Herald's* printing press was sold to A.A. Stickney of San Francisco. The journal continued under the same name, but with a different point of view.<sup>46</sup> Ironically, while editor of his newspaper, Fr. Ahapius wrote an American school book, *The School and Family Russo-American Primer*, for the Aleut families living on the Pribilof Islands of Russian America. The Alaska Company financed this project.<sup>47</sup> Apparently, the Company found the Ukrainian exile the most qualified person for the job—despite their mutual antagonism. For his part, this Orthodox priest hoped that his work would be the beginning of the education and enlightenment of the Aleut people. In a final note to the *Primer*, he wrote, "We send this little messenger to our Alaskan friends as a remembrance that they are not entirely forgotten, and with it our heart's best wishes for their future welfare and happiness."<sup>48</sup> From 1872-1873, Honcharenko, still in possession of the Cyrillic part of his printing equipment, published five issues of a Russian and Ukrainian language newspaper, *Svoboda*. This publication included poetry by his former London associate, Ogarev, as well as his own articles concerning the aspirations and sorrows of the Ukrainian people.<sup>49</sup>

Throughout his publishing career, this Kievan writer poignantly pleaded the case of the Alaskan people before the jury of the American public. Besides his sympathy for those oppressed, the Ukrainian exile had another compelling reason for his absorbing interest in the welfare of the Russian American population. He sincerely believed that a portion of the native inhabitants were descendants of the Kozaks of

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<sup>46</sup> Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 65.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67. Svatikov, "Honcharenko," pp. 29-260.

Ukraine.<sup>50</sup> In article printed in the Ukrainian publication *Narod* (January 15, 1894, No. 2), Honcharenko expressed this notion:<sup>51</sup>

When Bohdan Khmelnytsky—unwise son of Ukraine—extended a hand of friendship [by the Treaty of Pereyaslav of 1654] to the Muscovite Czar, Alexis Mikhailovich Romanov, the freedom-loving people of Ukraine, guided by their inner common sense, left their land under Czarist oppression, and migrated far and wide in search of freedom elsewhere... By the end of the 18th century, the Kozaks knew well the way from Kamchatka to the Ural Mountains. Then from there, sailing in the 'baydaks' (small Kozak boats), they went as far as San Diego and Mendocino in California, and as far as Astoria in Oregon... In 1724, the Muscovites sent a Danish captain, by the name of Bering, in search of new land. His navigators were Kamchatka sailors [i.e., Kozaks from Ukraine], who had been to this land before and who knew the way well. And while Bering slept late in his luxurious bed, Kozak A. Cherikov and others Kozaks from Kamchatka began to emigrate, together with their families, to those islands on the North American continent that were later renamed the Aleutian Islands. Not long ago, when the residents of these islands were being questioned by the Governor of Alaska as to who and what nationality they were, they answered: "We are Kozak-Aleutians. We are not Russians..." subsequently, our Ukrainian brothers from Poltava, the Chornomore (Black Sea), etc., residing on the Aleutian Islands, were classified as tribesmen of American Indians... In 1885 they were given a good Governor, a man by the name of Alfred P. Swineford. Taking their side, he announced before the whole world that these people of Alaska were not Indians.

This former Kievan monk believed that the majority of the white population of Eastern Siberia, the Aleutian Islands and Alaska was Ukrainian. Ahapius was not alone in this opinion.

E. N. Matrosov (Baron Leliva), a Russian writer who was a native of Ukraine, spent the greater part of his life in America conducting historical research. In his article published in *Istoricheskyy Vestnik* (1897), "Transoccanic Rus'," Matrosov agreed that Ukrainian Kozaks had reached the West Coast of North America and settled in the Alaskan peninsula:<sup>52</sup>

A remnant of these Kozaks [i.e., those who were dispersed when the *Zaporozhian Sich* was destroyed by the forces of Catherine II in 1775]... traveled across the vast, bleak Russian territory into Siberia... they continued their travels... Their light boats, 'chaiky,' now sailed on the Pacific Ocean towards the West Coast of North America. Thus they reached the Alaskan Peninsula and having settled there began a new life, ...the U.S.

<sup>50</sup> Luciw, pp. 55-59.

<sup>51</sup> Honcharenko, "North America," *Narod*.

<sup>52</sup> Matrosov, "Zaokeanskaya Rus'," *Istoricheskyy Vestnik*, pp. 99-104, 1897.

government in Washington, D.C. mistook the descendants of the Ukrainian Kozaks for one of the Indian tribes in North America, and treated them accordingly. It was not until 1870, when a Ukrainian Orthodox priest by the name of Agapius Honcharenko, who himself was a Kozak: descendant, traveled through Alaska, that the true identity of these early settlers was recognized... In due course, Rev. Honcharenko succeeded in having a commission appointed by the Government to investigate this matter fully, and their report confirmed that the so-called Indians were indeed the descendants of Ukrainian Kozaks.\* This report proved to be, great boon to the whole of Alaska... the farm which Rev. Honcharenko purchased in 1873 from Joseph Krushevsky [a Ukrainian from Podillia], as well as the surrounding countryside, has been settled by Ukrainians for the last hundred years...

Writing in 1965, Mr. K. Jackson of the Museum, Mendocino, California mentioned that the Indians in the Mendocino region possess a legend which describes how in the early 18th century:<sup>53</sup>

...white military men arrived with scalp locks; they lived there for some time, and kept very friendly relations with the local Indians, teaching them how to fish better, to hunt better, to share their game and goods, and to conduct their meetings, the Indians called them 'Waugies.' It is said that the Indians still retain some Ukrainian words in their language...

#### OTHER FACETS OF HIS DAYS IN SAN FRANCISCO

Fr. Honcharenko established a library of Russian publications and Russian American books and maps. He made these materials available to all who were interested in North Asia, the Russian Empire and Alaska.<sup>54</sup> The Kievan cleric ministered to the Greeks and Slavs in San Francisco from 1867 to 1872. He was compelled to use the Sunday School room of the Howard Street Methodist Church because of the Russian clerical ban against him. Subsequently, the Russian Orthodox Church organized its own community in that city, branding the Ukrainian emigre as a "heretic."

On December 14, 1867, Fr. Ahapius founded the "Pan-Slavonic Organization in Honor of the Decembrists." Its purpose was to ease the adjustment of immigrants from Russia and Siberia to the rhythm of American life. Through this association, the Ukrainian editor hoped to improve the public image of the Slavic emigre. The San

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\* ) This author has not had the opportunity to see the report.

<sup>53</sup> Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 58.

<sup>54</sup> Svatikov, "*Honcharenko*," p. 261.

Francisco Academy of Science included the Kievan linguist as a member from 1869 to 1873.<sup>55</sup>

Another important cause whose banner Honcharenko raised on the pages of his California newspaper was the issue of prejudice towards the Chinese, Mongolian and other immigrants on the West Coast. He wrote articles in *The Alaska Herald* defending these newcomers. Typical of these essays is the following:<sup>56</sup>

There are a number of citizens in this city who persecute the Mongolian race... We are Cossack by birth, and we tender our thanks to all those who have no prejudice against our race and who protect it. The ignorant class should learn something about the history of the Mongols. The Mongolians who have carried on trade with Moscow for centuries are deemed traders of the highest moral character. We have in Russia, from the Mongolian race, able statesmen, brave generals, shrewd bankers, and honest merchants—perhaps more so than the Christians who persecute those who differ from them in faith and nationality.

On September 20, 1869, the Ukrainian editor was dealt a "blow in the face with a brass instrument, that sent him reeling to the ground, bleeding and unconscious."<sup>57</sup> His would-be-assassin shouted at the priest the epithet, "Chinaman, Tartar!" This was not the last time that the Kievan critic would be beaten on the streets of San Francisco for his views.

The local press also launched a verbal attack on this exile and his activities. Despite these persecutions, Ahapius had some influential and loyal friends and supporters. Among this group of defenders were: Horace Greeley (editor of the *New York Tribune*); Dr. William H. Dall (a naturalist with a Russian American telegraph project); George Kennan (an author who studied the penal system in Siberia); Henry George (who bought the editor's English printing press); Governor A.P. Swineford of Alaska; and Sheldon Jackson and N.H.R. Dawson (school inspectors in Alaska).<sup>58</sup> General H.W. Halleck, the chief of the U.S. Army at San Francisco, often agreed with the Ukrainian writer's criticism of certain government officials in Russian America (although he did not always support this emigre's cause).<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Halich, pp. 21-22, Chyz, *The Ukrainian Immigrant*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>56</sup> *The Alaska Herald*, July 15, 1869.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, October 1, 1869.

<sup>58</sup> Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 92.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

## A NEW "UKRAINA" ON THE PACIFIC

This far-travelling descendant of the Kozaks of Ukraine grappled with an elusive dream. He hoped that an independent Kozak Ukraine would be created on the combined territory of Siberia and Alaska. His idea was not so new. According to E. N. Matrosov:<sup>60</sup>

Kozak Byniak, who organized a large company of Kozaks (there were some women and children also in this group), [had a plan] to flee from Yakutsk to the islands on the Pacific Ocean, and establish a new, independent and free Ukrainian state. (This actually took place in 1770, only to have a tragic end when Kozak Byniak and all of his helpers and leaders were killed by the French...).

Honcharenko never succeeded in realizing this dream. After resigning as editor of *The Alaska Herald*, the Ukrainian went to Alaska to find a place in which to settle. He returned to California in July 1873, and together with his wife purchased some land near Hayward Hills from a Ukrainian resident, Joseph Krushevsky.<sup>61</sup> Originally eighty acres in size, his *khutir* (farm) was called, "Ukraina." It was here that the Kievan exile partially pursued his utopian scheme of establishing a free American Ukraine. He helped to organize the "Ukrainian Brotherhood" (a cooperative association) which the priest hoped would be the foundation for a larger community.<sup>62</sup>

After settling on their newly purchased farm, the Honcharenkos began to cultivate a great variety of vegetables, fruits and berries, and to raise domestic animals and bees. Perhaps one of Fr. Ahapius' motivations for moving to Hayward Hills was the security that nature offered him there. The Alameda Hills were a quiet refuge for both Albina and the Ukrainian exile (whose capture price the Czarist government had set at 5,000 rubles), as well as other emigres from the Russian Empire. Honcharenko and his wife became innovators and pioneers in California agriculture.<sup>63</sup> They wrote about their accomplishments in the fields of "Ukraina," and contributed these articles to the periodical, "California Horticulturist and Floral Magazine."<sup>64</sup> The "Ukraina" homestead was well-known as a friendly, interesting place to visit, where the wonders of horticulture could be observed first-hand.

<sup>60</sup> Matrosov, "Zaokeanskaya Rus'," *Istorichesky Vestnik*, p. 103.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, Honcharenko, *Spomynky*, p. 18.

<sup>62</sup> Luciw, *Fr. Honcharenko*, pp. 103-104.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96-101.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

By the turn of the century, the Honcharenkos were finding it difficult to continue to carry out their tasks of farmer and rancher. On New Year's Day in 1903, several guests gathered in the Ukrainian priest's house in order to make plans for a "Ukrainian Brotherhood." Among its early members were Dr. Harry Danys, Cyril Ghenyk (who assisted many Ukrainian immigrants in Canada), J. Sorotiuk, Ivan Danylchuk and others.<sup>65</sup> Personal friction soon developed between those Ukrainians who were members of the "old immigration" and the newcomers.

The cooperative hoped to carry on trade with old world Ukraine. Reflecting on the days spent on "Ukraina," Mrs. Danys (wife of Dr. Harry Danys) recounted in the 1960's:<sup>66</sup>

The very idea of a cooperative Brotherhood was great and important. It tried to put all the mental as well as physical workers together to work. From the profits of this work, they planned to buy machinery not only for 'Ukraina' in California but also for their brothers in Galicia. In exchange for the machines the European Ukrainians were to receive from their brothers in California, they were to send the beautiful Ukrainian embroidery and woodcraft. In that way, the new world was to start to do business with the old world, with Ukrainians in between...

This plan was never realized.

The chief problems which the Brotherhood faced were lack of money and the unsuitable farmland which Honcharenko owned.<sup>67</sup> About these obstacles, Cyril Ghenyk said:

...And now about the farm: in order to succeed on that farm we needed water, irrigation. On the whole, the farm was too hilly. Roughly, it had three elevations. The top of each elevation was suitable for plowing; the remainder was ravines. Of the surrounding farms, Honcharenko's was located farthest in the hills... George Syrotiuk had plowed several acres of land and planted peas.

When the weather permitted we would hoe; otherwise, we would search for more land for the Ukrainian Brotherhood. We would travel upwards and downwards inquiring about prices, which were so high that we could not even dream of buying...

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<sup>65</sup> Tekla Danys, "Ukrainska Kolonia v Kalifornii," *Ukrainian Workingmen's Assoc., Calendar for 1936* (Scranton, Pa., 1935), 52-57. Also, Myroslav Stechyshyn, "The Ukrainian Brotherhood in California," *The Ukrainian Calendar for 1940* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: *The Ukrainian Voice*, 1939). And, Luciwi, *Fr. Honcharenko*, pp. 101-107.

<sup>66</sup> Luciwi, *Fr. Honcharenko*, p. 103.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104-107.

The type of organization for the Brotherhood also caused some dissension among its members.<sup>68</sup> Some wanted to live in the old Zaporizhian Kozak style of the *Sich*. Others preferred it to be a business venture. Another group desired a cooperative establishment. Personal conflicts with Mrs. Honcharenko caused some of the members to move away from "Ukraina." A ten-acre orchard was leased not far from Hayward, but lack of machinery and capital forced some of the Ukrainian Cooperative Brotherhood to leave their families in these new living quarters in search of work. Gradually, certain members and their families began to drift away to different areas. Although some remained near Hayward for years, by 1905 the Brotherhood began to melt away.<sup>69</sup>

#### A LOCAL LEGEND

During their last years on "Ukraina," the Honcharenkos were visited regularly by school groups and various organizatinos. They came to hear the tales of the exile-priest's colorful life and the pioneering accomplishments which he and Albina had undertaken. One such visit was recorded on the pages of the local press:<sup>70</sup>

The El Tout Ensemble recently planned a ramble for Election Day to the highland farm of Mr. and Mrs. Agapius Honcharenko, known throughout the country as the 'Russian Exile.' The party left Decoto at 9:30 a.m. and tramped through the May canyons, then over hill and dale through the Garin property, then half an hour of strenuous climbing up the brow of a high mountain to 'Ukraina,' meaning a piece of land, where Mr. and Mrs. Honcharenko reside. When the party arrived, the venerable gentleman was busy sorting apples, but promptly left his work and came forward with the heartiest greetings to the entire party, who told him they had come to spend the day if it was agreeable with him. He considered the pleasure all his own and as a guide led the way to the luncheon spot near a mineral spring, where everything was in readiness for hungry travelers to spread their lunch. The genial host supplied them with a pail of apples, grapes and walnuts—the products of his farm. Later at our request Father Honcharenko, as he is affectionately called, told of his exile from Russia... It was only with love and reverence that we bade them [the Honcharenkos] good-bye. Although their heads are bowed with the joys and sorrows of more than three score years and ten, they expressed a desire to see us again and extended a perpetual welcome to 'Ukraina.'

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<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> "A Visit to Honcharenko," *The Washington Press*, Niles, Alameda County, Cal., Saturday, Nov. 14, 1908. This account is reprinted in: Luciw, *Father Agapius Honcharenko*, pp. 107-108.

Other visits to the farm were also described in the West Coast newspapers.<sup>71</sup>

The Honcharenkos spent their final days penniless.<sup>72</sup> The soil of "Ukraina" provided them a meager living. Donations of kindhearted Hayward people enabled the couple to purchase tea and the flour for their bread. Cabbage from their garden and fruit from the few remaining apple trees completed their meager meals. Eviction always loomed on the horizon because of the Ukrainian emigre's inability to pay his taxes. The financial plight of this legendary pair received coverage in the California press. Typical of these accounts is the following excerpt:<sup>73</sup>

**UKRAINIAN EXILE IN DIRE NEED IN HAYWARD**

Father Agapius Honcharenko and his wife, too old to work, may lose home—Friend of Tolstoy, driven from Czar's domain, penniless and fears being dispossessed: Fr. Agapius Honcharenko and his wife are soon to be dispossessed of their home, a meager, barren ranch, hid away in the hills six miles southeast of Hayward... he is penniless and unable to meet the mortgage, overdue, on his ranch of 53 acres. Contracted ten years ago, when he was stronger and was able to till a large vegetable patch, the original loan of \$1,850 has grown to \$2,475. And the feeble priest, dependent upon a cane for every step, could as easily meet an obligation of half a million, for it is only through the donations of kindhearted Hayward people that the aged couple are able to purchase their food. Unless fellow patriots and friends of Fr. Honcharenko come to his aid, the new year will witness his being turned out into the world, a penniless, broken man...

The Honcharenkos' friends came to their aid, and the couple was able to live out their days in the hills of "Ukraina."

His wife, Albina died at 81 in March, 1915. "Friends and neighbors buried her on the crest of a hill overlooking a wild canyon, read a religious service, placed a fence around the grave and planted a pine."<sup>74</sup> Ahapius was 84 in May 1916 when he joined his wife in their solitary cemetery in the hills of Hayward. His passing was recorded

<sup>71</sup> Luciw, *Father Agapius Honcharenko*, pp. 107-110.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

<sup>73</sup> *San Francisco Examiner*, December 23, 1912. This is reprinted in: Luciw, *Father Agapius Honcharenko*, p. 111.

<sup>74</sup> "Exile with a Price on His Head Made Legend Here," *Oakland Tribune*, August 15, 1962. This article is reprinted in: Luciw, pp. 159-161.

by the California press, and was also mentioned in *The New York Times*.<sup>75</sup> One such account yielded this portrait:<sup>76</sup>

Like a child dropping to sleep Father Agapius Honcharenko passed to eternal rest last Friday at his hermit home in the hills back of Hayward. For nearly half a century this remarkable Ukrainian exile lived with his wife in this secluded spot, and he was beloved by all who knew him for his gentleness, openhearted hospitality and charity.

Numerous sketches in the press described his long life and controversial activities.

The Rev. W. J. Johnstone gave the eulogy over the Ukrainian emigre's final resting place. In his tribute, the Reverend recalled the important work of Honcharenko in America and cited one of the priest's most cherished ideals:<sup>77</sup>

He preached freedom to his own people, whom he generally called the Kozaks; he preached freedom to the Polish, the Jewish—to all deprived of freedom. Let us hope that from this bloody war in Europe [World War I], freedom will come to Honcharenko's homeland, Ukraine.

#### POSTSCRIPT: A LIVING MONUMENT TO FR. HONCHARENKO

Sixty years have passed since the death of Fr. Ahapius Honcharenko. While America intensifies the celebration of its two hundred year history of independence, the homeland of Honcharenko has yet to drink from the life-sustaining water of the springs of freedom. The cup was filled in 1917, only to be spilled away three years later. A fitting monument to the ideals and dedicated work of Fr. Ahapius should be established on the West Coast of the United States. This Ukrainian exile made significant contributions not only to the lives of California immigrants and the people of Alaska, but also to American life itself. His fight against ethnic and racial discrimination was undertaken at a time when to criticize the prevalent tone of prejudice meant virulent public verbal attacks and physical violence.

During the period of America's Bicentennial celebration, the Ukrainian American community, assisted by the U.S. government, should take steps to have the area of Honcharenko's "Ukraine" declared a national historical site. When this has been accomplished,

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<sup>75</sup> *The New York Times*, "Father Agapius Honcharenko Dies," May 8, 1916. Luciw, pp. 112-118.

<sup>76</sup> "Honcharenko, The Ukrainian Exile," *The Hayward Journal*, Hayward, California, May 12, 1916. This is reprinted in: Luciw, pp. 112-118.

<sup>77</sup> Luciw, pp. 116-117.

Ukrainians in both the United States and Canada should jointly undertake a project to establish a museum and cultural center on the grounds of this estate. Especially appropriate would be the founding here of a Ukrainian home for the elderly.

In 1970, Mr. John D. Meincke owned a farm at 29900 Fairview Avenue in Hayward, California, which contained the former Honcharenko land—including the gravesites of Ahapius and Albina.<sup>18</sup> In tribute to this historic priest, Ukrainians in the United States under the leadership of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America should immediately initiate a full-scale, determined campaign to set aside this area as a public, living monument to the memory of this famous Ukrainian immigrant. A free, American "Ukraina" could serve as a source of spiritual inspiration for all those people throughout the world who suffer from political and national oppression in our time—especially those dissidents who presently are held against their will in Soviet political prisons. Such a museum and cultural center would be a fitting tribute to Fr. Ahapius Honcharenko, a Ukrainian American lover of freedom and fearless proponent of the truth.

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 123-129.

# **UKRAINE, BYELORUSSIA AND THE U.S.A.**

*By Lev E. Dobriansky*

## **Part II**

### **(Conclusion)**

The second article of pertinent importance is article 14, which clearly demonstrates the centralization of powers in Moscow along with several indications of legal observance for the rights of the non-Russian republics. It begins: "The jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, embraces: a) Representation of the U.S.S.R. in international relations, conclusion, ratification and denunciation of treaties of the U.S.S.R. with other states, establishment of general procedure governing the relations of Union Republics with foreign states;..." The legal competencies allocated to the center range to item x) and entail also questions of war and peace, control over the observance of the USSR constitution and ensuring the conformity of the republican constitutions with it, confirmation of boundary alterations between republics, confirmation of new regions and autonomous republics within the Union Republics, and organization of the defense of the USSR, the direction of its armed forces, and the "determination of directing principles governing the organization of the military formations of the Union Republics."

Just taking these first few relevant competencies, a careful reading of them on the dimension of the Russian/non-Russian complex, or functionally centralist/decentralist pulls, clearly shows the marks of the underlying empirical continuum of contending forces and the ingression of non-Russian concerns and interests. For instance, provision a) of course places the power of representing the USSR in the Union organs, or Moscow, as far as external relations are concerned, but it also is concerned with procedures relating to "the relations of Union Republics with foreign states." This stands in sharp contrast, for example, to our federal system and constitution. Furthermore, the acts of confirming alterations of republican territories or new autonomous regions clearly indicate that powers of origination are vested

in the republics. The feature of legal or nominal compromise is also seen in the provision governing the armed forces. Again, it should be obvious that if there were no empirical basis and groundwork for the wise these provisions are written, the qualifying and concessive wordage itself would be non-existent.

This particular article weighs heavily in the usual assessment made of the sovereign right of the non-Russian republics to participate directly in international relations. For example, one apologist declares as follows, "when considering the main aims of Article 14, that is, the necessity of providing unity of action, the Ukrainian SSR and other republics can themselves directly take part in international relations which touch upon the questions enumerated in the Article."<sup>24</sup> Citing the 1947 peace treaties and the U.N. Charter, he holds that the republics can participate in a treaty alongside of the USSR. He also makes the valid point that, as in the case of Byelorussia on December 11, 1946, signing and ratifying the protocol on the narcotics convention before the USSR signed it on October 25, 1947, the republics can take some initiative in "drawing up the treaty provisions and display independence." And his final and equally valid point is that legally the republics can participate in such relations without the co-participation of the USSR. Of course, harking back to the matter of circular reasoning, in several places the apologist emphasizes the need for unity of action, mutual interests, and basic aim and principles of the USSR and its republics.

With regard to article 14, additional aspects of essential note concern the questions of sovereignty, independence, and statehood. In legal interpretation the first two are not identical nor given to accurate interchangeability. Although differences of opinion do exist, it appears that a logical consensus views independence, a condition of non-subordination to the will of another state, as implying sovereignty, which is a more positive concept referring to a given state's authorization and legal competence. Considering the nationality principle and base underlying the federation of the USSR, this important distinction assumes poignant significance in sharp contrast, for instance, to the state sovereignty concept in the U.S., and readily accommodates the political idea of sovereignty as resident in the popular national will, no matter how circumscribed or reduced. On these quite logical grounds, supported naturally by the familiar empirical

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<sup>24</sup> Professor Igor Lukashuk. "The Soviet Republics and International Relations," *News from Ukraine*, Issue No. 20 Supplement, October 1970, p. 2.

elements, limited sovereignty is a feature of the non-Russian republics.

On the face of it, we are not dealing entirely with ghostly matter when we find legal support for the preceding provisions and their elaborations in article 15 of the USSR constitution. It specifically stipulates: "The sovereignty of the Union Republic is limited only in the spheres defined in Article 14 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Outside of these spheres each Union Republics exercises state authority independently. The USSR protects the sovereign rights of the Union Republics." A full reading of article 14, from item a) to x) is enough to convince one that most of the major power is concentrated in Moscow and that really little of determinative importance is left to the republics. However, this fact in itself fails to explain the constitutional trappings that nevertheless do exist.

In attempting to reconcile the two articles Soviet legalists indulge in a great deal of sophistical argumentation and employ at length the non-antagonism argument, which, strangely, is found also in the realm of economic ideology between supply and demand. Here it is contended that no antagonism exists between the sovereignty of the Union and that of the republics. Though contrary to ultimate fact, it is argued that in creating a voluntary union, the republics did not thereby lose or renounce their sovereignty. On the contrary, their sovereignty was actually ratified and guaranteed by the constitutions of both the Union and the several republics. The existence of state organs in the republics is a concrete manifestation of this. Moreover, on the reiterated basis of unity of action by all the nations in the USSR, the sovereignty of the Union actually complements and strengthens the sovereignty of the respective republics. Ergo, it is in the interest of every republic to support the sovereignty and collective strength of the Union because in doing so it reinforces and intensifies its own sovereignty.

Essentially, this is the type of apologia that is characteristically meted out by non-Russian legalists more so than Russian ones of the caliber of Vyshinsky. Frequently the authority of Lenin is invoked to buttress the argument, as, for example, "a federation is a union of equals, a union which requires a general agreement." From this is derived the proposition that the USSR, as an entity, cannot hover above or beyond the constituent, sovereign republics. It exists and survives by virtue of the sovereign unity of the republics and the concrete participation of their representatives in the organs of the Union. Thus the sovereignty of the republics is constantly realized and replenished both through the organs of the republics and those of the

Union. As one apologist states it, "In creating the Union of SSR as a federal state, the Communist Party used as its starting point Leninist principles of full equality of the Soviet republics and preservation of their sovereignty, rejecting the idea of so-called 'autonomization,' that is, the union of Soviet republics via their entry into the RSFSR on the basis of autonomy..."<sup>26</sup> He continues: "Entering the Union of SSR on its own initiative, the Ukrainian SSR, similarly to other Soviet republics, remained an independent sovereign state." From all this, it is evident that conspicuous traces of the familiar circular and specious reasoning recur. The apologia and argumentation are self-reinforcing and could be applied to justify any state of captivity, whether of nations or individuals.

With the vantage point of having essentially examined the two previous articles, one can with relative ease evaluate the next three and even all the succeeding ones of related importance. Alluded to often above, article 16 simply states, "Each Union Republic has its own Constitution, which takes account of the specific features of the Republic and is drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R." Soviet legalists invariably refer to this article in the USSR constitution as further evidence of the basic sovereignty and statehood of the republics. In the Ukrainian SSR constitution, which, like all the other republican documents, is in strict conformity with the Union constitution, government or state power receives assertion in articles 13 and 19, as well as in numerous subsequent provisions extending largely from 20 to 79. These deal with the highest organs of state power, those of state administration, and about 25 with the local organs.

Undeniably, the existence of such a republican constitution and its specifications and elaborations of state powers represent an element of statehood. With a few amending adjustments and liberation into freedom on the part of the given nation, the constitutional structure would be easily adapted to the new condition of free rather than servile statehood. Other attributes of distinctive nationality, citizenry, territory and engagement in foreign relations would serve to reinforce the character of such statehood. In both a nominal and somewhat existentialist sense an observation which runs in the following vein cannot be said to be totally invalid: "Soviet Union republics have all the attributes of sovereign states: their own constitutions, their own territories within the boundaries of which they independently

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<sup>26</sup> V. Terletskyj. "Leninist Teachings on the Socialist State and Contemporaneity," *Ekonomika Radyanskoji Ukrainy*, No. 4, April 1970.

implement their own legislation, their own citizenship, the right to establish international relations."<sup>26</sup> The sharp qualifier is, of course, the relative lack of freedom in exercising these attributes and rights; though viewing freedom in the form of a process for expansion or further contraction, they take on a different light and significance. The term "conformity" is an obvious give-away.

In discussions of this general subject on recognition or no, one of the articles most quoted is article 17. It unequivocally states, "The right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R. is reserved to every Union Republic." In the constitution of the Ukrainian SSR article 14 provides for the same right of secession of the republic from the Union. As in previous cases, these articles are flaunted about as "facts" and "proofs" of the sovereignty and independence of the republics, and one is exposed to the same verbal cycle of circular reasoning. For instance, it is argued by some that the voluntariness of the Union cannot be associated solely with its formation but rather must be viewed as applying continuously in the present and the future. Why? Simply because of his right of secession that admittedly is lacking in other federal and constituent constitutions.

Now, on grounds of such facts and related ones what is conspicuously absent in the rationalizations of Soviet apologists is references to criminal code caveats and offsets to article 17. For instance, article 56 in the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR clearly states that a USSR citizen faces the severest punishment for any act undermining the territorial inviolability of the Union. A concerted move in this direction would undoubtedly mean the death of its instigators. Also, article 1 in "The Law of the USSR concerning penal responsibility for the Crimes against the State" contains the same provision of stern punishment. Soviet legal dissertations go to the extent of characterizing such acts suggestive of secession as acts of "treason against the fatherland." All of which clearly means that in fact the constitutional right is completely nullified by the criminal codes of the Soviet Union.

The third provision, article 18, deals with another essential element of statehood, namely the territory of a given people. It declares, "The territory of a Union Republic may not be altered without its consent." In the Ukrainian SSR constitution this element is referred to in articles 6, 15 and 18. Conforming with the Union constitution, article 15 also stipulates that the republic's territory may not be changed with-

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<sup>26</sup> S.O. Makohon. "The Soviet State—A State of Equality and Friendship of Peoples," *Komunist Ukrainy*, No. 4, April 1972.

out its consent. Here, too, special stress is placed by Soviet legalists on this attribute of statehood. As one describes it, "Territory is one of the integral features of the nation that formed the union republic, and together with this, the material basis of its independence. Hence it follows that the territory of any union republics may not be changed without its consent."<sup>21</sup>

But, again, the situation is not as simple as it seems by the wording of a single provision. Constitutional offsets and varying interpretations demonstrate the compromised state of affairs and the decisive point as to where the ultimate power of determination resides. Article 6 of the Union constitution plainly states that the entire territory of the USSR, necessarily composed by those of the republics, is Union property and belongs "to the whole people." Thus, the territory of any republic does not belong to it alone but rather also to the Union in what is patently a condition of double ownership of land. Moreover, the evident restriction on a republic's sovereignty is extended further in article 14 e), which we observed before, placing the power of confirmation as concerns alterations of boundaries between republics in the Union organs. So, in effect, no alterations without the consent of the republics, but likewise none without the confirmation of the Union, with the obvious balance tipping easily in favor of the latter. Nonetheless, at risk of irritating repetitions, the stake of the republics, essentially the non-Russian ones and more nominal than real, is there. It showed itself in part in the April 11, 1957 agreement between Iran and the USSR, realigning the borders between the two states and involving representatives of the government of Azerbaijan and the Turkmenian SSR.

The above note on treaty agreement with foreign states leads us to consider the next article which has the direct bearing on our subject. Conceived as an amendment to the 1936 USSR constitution during the years of World War II, article 18(a) outrightly provides that "Each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange representatives with them." The constitutions of the republics were similarly amended. In the Ukrainian one, for example, the matter of maintaining relations with foreign states is mentioned in articles 15b, 30j and k, and 43h. As specified in the last, for instance, the Council of Ministers of Ukraine "exercises direction in the sphere of relations of the Ukrainian SSR with foreign states, following the generally

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<sup>21</sup> A.P. Taranov. *Osnovni pryncypy konstyuttsii Ukrainської SSR*, Kiev, 1962, p. 104.

established procedure by the USSR in mutual relations of the Union Republics with foreign states." Article 30j specifies that the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian SSR "appoints and recalls plenipotentiary representatives of the Ukrainian SSR to foreign states," while article 30k has it receiving "the letters of credence and recall of the diplomatic representatives of foreign states accredited to it." These articles support the basic one of 15b that, like article 18(a) of the Union constitution, affirms the right of the republic to enter directly into diplomatic relations with foreign states, maintain diplomatic missions abroad and receive them at home, and to negotiate international agreements separately.

By all appearances the sovereignty, independence and statehood of the republics should become crystal clear with the addition of this further element of prerogative and power of state performance. Actually, as in the previous cases, it is far from being so clear and engenders once more what has been encountered time and time again, namely circular reasoning and constitutional restrictions and offsets.

As one should expect, this article is heavily seized upon by Soviet legalists in their endeavor to prove the foregoing attributes of the republics. Smacking again of circular reasoning, one such apologist holds that the "following principle is of great significance to the understanding of the powers of the Union republics in the sphere of external relations."<sup>28</sup> Invoking the non-antagonism argument, he expounds, "In so far as there is no antagonism between the interests of the Union and the republics, there is no antagonism between their powers in the international arena. Therefore, it is totally incorrect to counterpose, for example, the international agreements of the Union and the international agreements of the republics. By their nature the agreements of the Union constitute the collective agreements of the republics."

Before turning to the next amending provision, other circumscribing and qualifying articles should be noted. In the literature there appears to be a heavy reliance on certain expositions of Soviet administrative law that in unmistakable terms underscore the subordinate role of the ministries of foreign affairs in the republics to that of the USSR in Moscow.<sup>29</sup> Article 68d) in the Union constitution prescribes that the Council of Ministers of the USSR "Exercises general guidance in the sphere of relations with foreign states." Supporting

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<sup>28</sup> I. Lukashuk. "The Ukrainian SSR — A Member of the United Nations," *Radyanske Pravo*, Kiev, No. 9, September 1970.

<sup>29</sup> E.g. V.A. Vlasov et al. *Sovietskoe administrativnoe pravo*, Moscow, 1959.

this are articles 43h) and 50-51 in the Ukrainian SSR constitution that affirm the subordinate status of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers. One can also turn to article 49p) and q) in the Union constitution, which deal respectively with appointments of USSR representatives abroad and acceptances of foreign representatives to the Union, for further confirmation of this status.

Related to all of this are also the questions of war and peace. Strikingly, the republican constitutions have no provision for declaration of war. This is reserved exclusively for the Union and its supreme organs. Article 14b) places "Questions of war and peace" within the sole jurisdiction of the Union. Then article 49m), with reference to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, explicitly states that "In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., proclaims a state of war in the event of military attack on the U.S.S.R., or when necessary to fulfill international treaty obligations concerning mutual defense against aggression."

Here, bearing on international relations external to the USSR, it is patently clear that only the supreme organs of the Union in Moscow can decide on these questions of war and peace. The republics enjoy no such right other than through their collective participation in those organs, and this logically flows from article 13 in the Union constitution which, it will be recalled, emphasizes the voluntary union of the republics and, among its many aims, that of common defense. Plainly, an attack on one of the republics is an attack on the Union in its entirety. On this score, the complete lack of legal competence on the part of the republics is quite pronounced. But here, too, it cannot be denied that this deficiency does not completely overshadow the republics' rights and actual participation in direct relations with foreign states. Speculations about motives behind the 18a) amendment have included justification and sought-after recognition of the forcible incorporation of the Baltic states and the numerical game in the U.N., but in the historical perspective shown here and the intense nationalism expressed in the non-Russian republics during World War II, such speculations appear to be rather flimsy. If they bear any credence, then why the need for the other amendment in article 18b) ?

According to this second amendment, "Each Union Republic has its own Republican military formations." This is paralleled in article 15a) in the Ukrainian constitution just as 15b) parallels 18a) of the Union constitution as concern "direct relations with foreign states." The republic's constitution makes general reference to armed forces in articles 19 and 43 but nowhere spells out powers governing establishment of military ranks, high-level appointments and the similar

like. In article 49 of the Union constitution, roughly from h) to m) these powers are vested in the Union organs. The position of the Union in this case is further buttressed by article 68e) whereby the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. "Fixes the annual contingent of citizens to be called up for military service and directs the general organization of the Armed Forces of the country." Significantly, the preceding article in the Union constitution, 67, unambiguously states "Decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. are binding throughout the territory of the U.S.S.R." Since there is no counterpart to article 68e) in the Ukrainian constitution, which, as a matter of fact, stipulates in article 112 that military service "in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the USSR is the honorable duty of the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR," the hollowness of this second amendment is quite evident. The condition is further evidenced by the simple but determining fact that no Ukrainian or other non-Russian military formations were ever created down to present date. From a practical viewpoint, the readiness with which nationalist Georgians, Ukrainians and other non-Russian entities were anxious to take up arms against Moscow's forces during World War II would scarcely encourage the creation of such military formations.<sup>80</sup>

The remaining articles of pertinent importance to the subject of recognition or no are those covering the laws of the Union, the posited superiority of these laws, and the matter of citizenship. In other connections we necessarily have taken note of two of these articles. Article 19 in the Union constitution affirms, "The laws of the U.S.S.R. have the same force within the territory of every Union Republic" and, as a clear reinforcement of this provision, Article 20 provides, "In the event of divergence between a law of a Union Republic and a law of the Union, the Union law prevails." Other articles, such as 30 and 67, stipulating respectively that the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is the highest organ of state power in the USSR and that the decisions of the Union's Council of Ministers are "binding throughout the territory of the U.S.S.R.," demonstrate without doubt the double jurisdiction, the two governments, that exist on the territories of the republics. More, they show who and what take precedence in these republics. In effect, these few articles offset the elaborate provisions for governmental machinery and administration in the republics found in Articles 57-63 and 78-88 in the Union constitution. The picture,

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<sup>80</sup> Harry Schwartz. "Beria Seen Victim of Great Russians." *The New York Times*, July 13, 1953.

therefore, of the relationship of the republics to the Union is a mixed one, with the balance of power clearly residing in the latter.

As though to place an exclamation mark on all this, Article 21 provides, "Uniform Union citizenship is established for citizens of the U.S.S.R." It continues, "Every citizen of a Union Republic is a citizen of the U.S.S.R." Here, too, a duality exists in citizenship status, which is obviously not characteristic of the federal union of the U.S. and others. Article 17 in the Ukrainian constitution precisely states in conformity with this that a citizen of the Ukrainian SSR is a citizen of the USSR, but it also points out that a USSR citizen residing on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR is a citizen of the republic. In support of this, article 19w) in the republic's constitution speaks of the republic's right to confer citizenship of the Ukrainian republic, and Article 30g) specifies it further with the power of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian SSR to do this. The latter was accommodated in August, 1938 in a law passed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on "Citizenship of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

Several complications are immediately seen in this dual arrangement. Since a citizen of a republic is by constitutional definition a citizen of the USSR, it logically follows that conferring citizenship in the former automatically means citizenship in the latter. The bestowal of USSR citizenship by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR extends into the republics, but, significantly, on the basis of the 1938 law, only this presidium can eliminate the right of citizenship in the USSR, and thus including citizenship in the republics. Neither by this law nor its own constitution has a republic this power in any of its organs.

In this particular area of sovereignty credentials the only obvious conclusion to be drawn is that, once again, the latitude afforded the republics is severely curbed and limited by constitutional and other means. Certainly the ideas of full sovereignty and independence within the borders of a republican state scarcely apply. But, in treating this and similar articles, one's thoughts can't but turn constantly to the real background for such wordage, verbal maneuvers and ostensible concessions. Continually relating all this to the oft-mentioned struggle is actually the only way of comprehending the twists and turns in the constitutional developments of both the USSR and the constituent republics. For example, one of the summit expressions of this struggle was given at the time of Stalin's death when the chief orations reiterated such points as "the liquidation of national strife," or "the unity and friendship of the nations of the Soviet Union," or

"the firm union of all the Soviet national republics."<sup>31</sup> Such concerns have been perennial in the entire history of the USSR and cannot rationally be disassociated from its constitutional development.

Brought down to recent date, the struggle and all its ramifications again gained summit expression at the 24th Communist Party Congress in the USSR. Held in the spring of 1971, the Congress resounded with the Russian/non-Russian theme. Brezhnev, for example, had this to stress: "All the nations and nationalities of our country above all the great Russian people, played their role in the formation, consolidation and development of this mighty union of equal nations that have taken the road to socialism." The Armenian Kochinyan put in his praise for "the role of the culture of the Great Russian people"; the Azerbaijan Alyev hailed "the friendship and mutual assistance of Soviet peoples, headed by our elder brother, the great Russian people"; and the Turkestanian Rashidov observed "the great striving of people of all nationalities to learn the Russian language" as "convincing evidence of the dedication of Soviet peoples to this union, of their love and respect for their elder brother." However, as one accurate report put it, "Many observers have recorded resentment of domination by Great Russians, sometimes assisted by Ukrainians and Byelorussians. The latter resent Russian domination in their own right, too."<sup>32</sup> It also pointed out that the trend has become more explosive as "Soviet peoples have become aware of national liberation movements around the world."

Material along this basic line of multinational struggle in the USSR is extensive and illuminating. These few examples are given here to emphasize again the crucial importance of the empirical circumstances and struggle to an appreciative understanding of the nominal content in the respective constitutions in the USSR. The meaning and significance of the nominal, as contained in the constitutions, can only be found in a perceptive knowledge of the empirical continuum described here. This being so, the constitutional development of the USSR, as a reflector of the empirical and all its twists and turns, must be viewed in terms of an evolutive process, with notable events and changes from its very beginnings to the present.

#### SUBJECTS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

With the constitutional base seen in its accurate and perspectived light, it becomes relatively easy to extend the analysis further in

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<sup>31</sup> "Texts of the Funeral Orations Delivered by Malenkov, Beria and Molotov," *The New York Times*, March 10, 1953.

<sup>32</sup> "Congress Halls Brezhnev Policies," *The Washington Post*, April 6, 1971.

the cognate areas of international law and politico-economic policy and action. Without an iota of exaggeration, questions and issues arising in these areas cannot sensibly be divorced from the basic content and determinations of the internal laws of the USSR.

One doesn't require a degree in international law or the possession of extensive knowledge in the field to recognize and appreciate the apparent difficulties posed by the USSR republics in their relations with foreign states. A careful reading of the literature on this problem is sufficient to show the range of differences in opinion held by authorities and the determining criteria resolving the difficulties. The conclusions reached in the preceding section emphasize the restricted and limited sovereignty of the republics and the peculiarity of their states in the Union federation. Whether this view, founded on detailed factual analysis, is reconcilable with dominant opinion in international law for the justification of these states as proper international legal personalities is the fundamental issue here. On the question of a sovereign state, to merely assert, as most Soviet legalists do, that the republics possess the constitutional right to engage in international relations and that the "large representation of the Union republics in USSR organs of state power and administration prove that these republics are guaranteed sovereign rights" obviously would not do.<sup>33</sup>

In a general way it has been traditionally held that subjects of international law are sovereign states.<sup>34</sup> By this general definition sovereign states are deemed to be independent, and thus member-states of a federal state cannot possess an international personality since they are represented in international affairs by the central government of the federal state. In essence, then, from this viewpoint the federal state and not its constituent parts is the international legal personality, the subject of international law. That this interpretation applies to federal states like the U.S. goes almost without saying, since its Constitution reserves powers and control over foreign relations to the central, federal government exclusively. It is not clear that it would apply to the peculiar federal state of the USSR whose constitution makes no such exclusive reservation and thereby does not deny the republics the opportunity of being subjects of international law.

Apart from this fact of constitutional uniqueness in the USSR, it appears that numerous international legal authorities do not share

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<sup>33</sup> E.g. S.O. Makohon, "The Soviet State—A State of Equality and Friendship of Peoples," *Komunist Ukrainy*, No. 4, April 1972.

<sup>34</sup> E.g. Phillip C. Jessup, *A Modern Law of Nations: An Introduction*, New York, 1948, p. 15.

this rigid and narrow interpretation of an international legal personality, and with regard to member states of a federation allow for limited international personality. According to these international jurists, component states can enjoy the rights and privileges of such personality to the degree allowed in the constitutional arrangements of the federation. Switzerland is a case in point.

Without elaborating further on these points it becomes manifestly evident that the factually-based ideas of a partially sovereign state and constitutional accommodation readily justify the status of the republics in the USSR as international personalities and subjects of international law, at least in a limited degree. As we have seen, the constitutions of the USSR and the republics permit the expression of some latitude for sovereign exercise internally and uphold the rights of the republican states to participate individually in international relations. In connection with this defensible view it is equally evident that a number of supporting observations should be constantly borne in mind. First is the observation we applied in other respects and connections, and which is well expressed by an international law professor at Kiev State University when he emphasizes, "One of the distinct features of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is that it is a federation of a completely unique type."<sup>35</sup> Another observation points to the exercise of some degree of sovereignty by the republics in the international sphere. Here it could be mentioned that the treaty on repatriation with Poland in 1957 involved participating representatives of the Byelorussian SSR, Ukrainian SSR and the Lithuanian SSR. Earlier, the Ukrainian SSR ratified in 1947 the peace treaties with Romania, Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland.

Since factors of historical, political, economic and cultural importance cannot be arbitrarily excluded from any comprehensive and meaningful discussion of the subject and its manifold aspects, a further observation deals with the relative significance of the republics for not only purely objective evaluation but also pragmatic policy action. This consideration naturally would lead one into an analysis of each republic and the major national groups. As many other disciplines, international law and its paramount concepts would suffer from theoretic aridity if they were disassociated from essential facts and realities pertaining to nations and states that are engrossed in international dealings and relationships even within a larger state and other nations therein, not to speak of relations with those beyond

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<sup>35</sup> Igor Lukashuk. "The Soviet Republics and International Relations," *News From Ukraine*, October 1970, p. 1.

the given state. The republics within the larger state of the USSR stand in this peculiar situation, and one often wonders, after perusing some of the authoritative literature in international law and its applications to this case, whether this and related facts are adequately understood. It is doubtful that the multinational texture of the USSR, and therefore its internal international complex, is sufficiently appreciated. The usual parallelisms between the US and the USSR are enough to suggest this.

What's more, a sound historical perspective on this matter of an international being is likewise applicable and in order here. Needless to say, few of the international lawyers, who quite naturally hew to the letter of documents rather than the background of substantial reality, are hardly familiar with this concrete dimension. Using once more Ukraine as a prime example, one international jurist begins an article on the theme in this vein: — "The Ukrainian state, re-established forty years ago, has returned to the international community: among the various manifestations of its international legal subjectivity is, in the first place, the use of the active and passive privilege of legality."<sup>36</sup> The note on returning to the international community presupposes activity in it before, and historical evidence on this is abundant.

The events of the past fifty-five years are not mere indications of some people emerging from colonial rule into some nation-building and state-performing stages of development. Rather, they represent a tradition of international concourse marked by periods of complete sovereignty and independence—and thus full international personality—and of limited sovereignty and varying domination by other centers, and thus limited and suppressed subject status in the eyes of international law, as is the case now. Briefly, this line of analysis opens up new vistas on the matter of an international person, and it could be applied just as readily to other republics in the USSR.

Regarding the UN, it need scarcely be emphasized that the presence of Ukraine and Byelorussia has precipitated considerable comment as to the reasons and validity of their admission and membership. It may very well be that the two republics were admitted into the UN as a concession to the political demand of Moscow, but the legal justification for it on grounds of constitutional adequacy and subjects of international law had nevertheless to be established so that the legal clothes would fit the two bodies. Logically, if there had been a

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<sup>36</sup> Bohdan J. Halajczuk. "The Ukrainian State—A Legally Constituted Entity," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, December 1958, p. 357.

complete misfit, this would have been easily demonstrated and the new organization would have been spared the embarrassment of absurdity in membership from the start. In other words, the crucial point here is that regardless of the political causes of the admission, legal competence and justification had to be sufficiently established, and their requisites amply satisfied, if the world body were to enjoy with all its fluctuations long-run credibility. With this accomplished, the significance of both Ukraine and Byelorussia was legally rooted and developed from that time on in the form of increasing participation and acceptance.

To be sure, authorities in the field of international law are not unanimous in their judgment on this. One, for instance, expresses his position in this manner, "the constitutional language and the separate UN membership of the two Russian member states are, from a legal point of view, manifestly irrelevant; they constitute one of those anomalies which demonstrate the frequent incongruence of juristic theory and political practice."<sup>37</sup> The writer's conception of Ukraine and Byelorussia as "two Russian member states" is enough to indicate his over-indulgence in juristic theory. Others, clinging to the narrow notion of a sovereign state, admit somewhat the growth of international personality on the part of the two republics as members of the UN but rigidly hold to the anomaly thesis whereby these two alleged non-states are members of an international organization of states. It is evident that these positions fail to accommodate the reality of a peculiar federal union and its constitutional base for deeming the two republics as partially sovereign states and thus subjects of international law.

Yet, regardless of these negative positions, the accepted membership of Ukraine and Byelorussia in the UN has unquestionably strengthened their juridical situation, based on the provisions of the UN Charter itself. Disagreements among international lawyers—many of whom, as we have seen, realistically understand some or all of the fundamental issues on the empirical continuum of struggle, the unique multinational configuration of the USSR, the relationships between the Union and republican constitutions, the specific rights and latitudes of the republics in direct international relations, and the concrete events and deeds justifying the exercise of these rights as well as the international legal personalities of these states—cannot befog the fact that in the framework of the UN Charter the two

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<sup>37</sup> E.g. Kurt von Schuschnigg. *International Law: An Introduction to the Law of Peace*. Milwaukee, 1959, p. 77.

republics do have a full equality of rights with regard to third states and a *de jure* capacity for the exercise of these rights as members of the world body. Article 2 par. 1 of the Charter clearly affirms, "The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members."<sup>38</sup> Article 3 stipulates "The original Members of the United Nations shall be the states..., which includes Ukraine and Byelorussia as original Charter members, and paragraph 1 of Article 4 specifies, "Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations."

From a pure legal point of view, then, and aside from ill-founded characterizations of "anomaly" and so forth, all of the above applies to the Byelorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR, and there are no qualifying reservations or exceptions in the Charter to the contrary. With relation to Ukraine, one juridical scholar puts it this way, "the juristic status of the Ukrainian Republic in the United Nations is clear: the Ukraine, in spite of the fact that it is a member of a 'federation,' is a sovereign state, equal to other members, having an international legal personality and being a subject of the law of nations."<sup>39</sup> Indeed, for a general assessment of this UN stamp of significance on the two republics, it can be concluded that both of them partake as full and competent subjects of international law by virtue of their membership in the UN. In the light of its Charter both are complete international personalities, sharing rights and obligations meted out to every other member of this international community. In obvious fact, on the basis of our analysis here and all the essential factors taken into account, they fare far better under the UN Charter than under the USSR constitution or their own republic constitutions. Thus we witness a sort of hybrid type with a full international personality in one environment of principles and laws and a definitely qualified and limited one beyond this environment, as restricted by their own and the center's constitutional bases. Yet, with realistic legalism and an underlying evolutionary viewpoint concerning all this, extended back at least to the formative stages of the USSR itself, there is nothing strange or irregular about this condition.

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<sup>38</sup> *Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice*. The United Nations, New York, p. 4.

<sup>39</sup> Konstantyn Sawczuk. "The Ukraine: A. Sovereign and Independent State." *European Studies Review*, University of Lancaster, Great Britain, pp. 394-395.

If one properly views the subject in terms of evolutionary process, it becomes a real question as to whether the next stage might not be the establishment of U.S. Embassies in two or more non-Russian republics of the USSR, given the advantages and benefits of such a move. On the basis of promoting peace and people-to-people friendship, nation-to-nation understanding and all that accrues from these, one of the first arguments in favor of the move is that beyond question of international legal doubt the U.S. has already recognized Ukraine and Byelorussia *de jure* by voting for their admission into the UN. Elaborating convincingly on several of the points described above, one jurist holds that this "opinion is shared and expressed by such an authoritative source as the *American Journal of International Law* (1945). The rule of international law permits no doubt that the United States has recognized Ukraine and Byelorussia *de jure*."<sup>40</sup> Citing Kelsen, Wright, Lauterpacht, Marshall Brown and numerous other authorities in international law, this authority shows that a majority of such jurists maintain that admission to the UN is tantamount to recognition of the state *de jure*.

Considering the thrust of our analysis here, it is difficult to see how this could be otherwise. The natural and logical consequence of such recognition is a *de facto*, bilateral extension of diplomatic relations, assuming the presence of no serious frictions between the states. In the nature of a con to this, a communication from the Department of State on March 13, 1953 to the Honorable Robert B. Chipfield, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, states, in effect, that despite the U.S. agreement to the two republics' admission to the UN, it "appears probable that an attempt on the part of the United States to establish relations with the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics would have the result of bolstering up the Soviet myth that the constituent Republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics actually enjoy sovereignty in the field of foreign affairs."<sup>41</sup> The curious position taken here is that the agreement for admission did not imply the right of legation on the part of the two republics or, in other words, in the UN both have the capacity for multilateral relations but outside of it they have none for bilateral relations, this in the face of the subserviency of Warsaw, Sofia and so forth to indirect Moscow dictates.

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<sup>40</sup> Bohdan Halajczuk. "Has the United States Recognized Ukraine?" *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Winter, 1955, p. 28.

<sup>41</sup> Thruston B. Morton. *Communication*, Hearing, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, GPO, 1953, p. 78.

Now, apart from the mentioned facts of bilateral acts by both over the years, the Department's position then was plainly self-contradictory. On the one hand, to assent to the republics' admission to the UN, and all that this means in terms of rights and duties of a full international personality, and yet to withhold their rights to legation along bilateral lines is tantamount to saying in the same breath—yes, you are a legal body in international law but at the same time you're not. In the light of the entire course of the analysis presented here, the Department was somewhat vulnerable on this point. Also, from a strictly objective point of view, it was not particularly illuminating for a departmental publication to state that though the two republics are in the UN "they are regarded by the U.S. Government only as constituent parts of the Soviet Union." Nor, as it continued, to say that "the U.S. Government does not recognize Byelorussia and Ukraine as independent states."<sup>42</sup> Clearly, such observations fall below the par of refined legal distinctions.

It was maintained that direct relations would "have the result of bolstering up the Soviet myth that the constituent Republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics actually enjoy sovereignty in the field of foreign affairs." This was expressed at a time when ostensibly the "satellites," with whom we had relations, were "sovereign," but Hungary, Cuba and Czecho-Slovakia were episodes yet to be witnessed, not to mention the increasing involvements of the two republics in international affairs. That differences in exercise of sovereignty do exist, cannot be denied, but at the same time if one bears in mind the salient points established in this analysis, this argument cannot but appear rather simplistic today.

Another point raised in the past in opposition to the proposal centered on the probability of Moscow making the decision as to whether Kiev and Minsk could exchange embassies, and this would most likely be in the names of the two republics, "thus maintaining the fiction of constitutional sovereignty for the constituent republics and their theoretical right to exist as independent states." Apart from the fact that Moscow's influence is not exactly non-existent when it comes to the diplomacy of the satellite governments, a familiarity with several of the constitutional provisions examined earlier well nigh guarantees that this would be the case. To advance the argument in the above vein is tantamount to ignoring the peculiar federal set-up in the USSR and the limited sovereignty afforded to the republics. Whether through the Union and the republics the offer is accepted

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<sup>42</sup> "Status of the World's Nations," *Geographic Bulletin*, No. 2, 1967, pp. 8, 13.

or not really doesn't affect the legal constitutional arrangement found in the USSR, but if it should be in the negative, it would in some degree affect the political complex and all the forces it entails. As one analyst commented earlier, with reference to the Smith resolution, "a clever legislative proposal, well calculated to create difficulties for Soviet Russia..."<sup>43</sup> In another place he also observed, "2 months after the introduction of the resolution it has been discovered by the State Department. And several alert officials there are of the opinion that the proposal should be seriously pressed..."<sup>44</sup> The climate is different today.

It should be evident by now that this examination of both official and unofficial expressions of what largely had been secondary agreements against the proposal discloses a conspicuous loss of environment for their justification and thus punctuates their inherent anachronicity, regardless of whatever validity they might have had two decades ago. The "peaceful coexistence" theme was not in vogue then, but in the present context such an offer would be a "natural" in response to this theme and, at the same time, prominently expressive of diplomatic initiative calculated to serve mutual interests over the long haul. At the time a prominent columnist evaluated the Smith resolution in this manner, "It would put Russia on the spot in a variety of ways."<sup>45</sup> The only spot sought then, as now, is the opportunity for greater national assertiveness on the part of the non-Russian nations in the USSR and for closer American relations in trade, cultural activity, athletics and so forth with their respective populaces. In short, we would be pursuing "peaceful coexistence" in its genuine sense, with a sensible recognition of constitutional accommodation for it and one of the international legal subject basis to support it.

Finally, some have been concerned about the possible reactions of our allies should we make a move in this direction of direct diplomatic relations with at least the two UN-stamped republics. Briefly, considering the general orientation of the West European countries and their trade activities for more than a decade, not to mention the valid French conception of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, this concern is scarcely a serious one. In fact, the move, if successful, would not only stimulate these and other non-Communist countries to follow suit, but it would offer an equal stimulation for such countries

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<sup>43</sup> Felix Morley. "Three Envoys to Russia," *Barron's*, April 13, 1953.

<sup>44</sup> Felix Morley. "Diplomatic Poker in The Cold War," *Congressional Record*, April 23, 1953, pp. A2251-2.

<sup>45</sup> Bob Considine. "Encouragement for Slaves," *The New York Journal American*, April 27, 1953.

as Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia and Hungary to do likewise. On lower levels of official activity direct relationships already exist between the two republics and several of the "satellites."

Back in March, 1954, Secretary of State Dulles in an address to the Overseas Press Club of America set forth one important criterion of recognition when he declared, "Let me first recall that diplomatic recognition is a voluntary act. One country has no right to demand recognition by another. Generally, it is useful that there should be diplomatic intercourse between those who exercise *de facto* government authority and it is well established that recognition does not imply moral approval." That neither Byelorussia nor Ukraine exercises complete *de facto* government authority is evident from the peculiar nature of the federational Union, founded politically in the ultimate of central Russian domination. However, over and above the symbolisms in these and other republican cases, sufficient internal government within the republic is exercised along respective national lines so long as no serious problems arise in relation to the solidarity of the Union as viewed by both the officialdoms of Moscow and the republican capitals. However, as has been stressed often before, beyond this lies the potential for national assertiveness in international affairs on the part of the two republics, and perhaps more, as provided for both constitutionally and, in the two cases, internationally, via UN membership. In terms of the Dulles definition this would be more special than general, and in whatever respect it would not imply moral approval. However, there is a firm moral basis underlying all this. One that was best expressed not by an American but by an eloquent Filipino leader, Carols Romulo, when he declared, "The true power of America does not rest on the dollar and the atom bomb. It still rests on the conviction held by the free peoples of the world that America stands for justice, for freedom, for equality, for progress, for all great values of our civilization. If this faith is lost, the dollar cannot redeem it, and the atom bomb cannot restore it." Trade and nuclear arms are essential, but they do not represent the essence of American life which is best summed up in the growth of freedom for ourselves and necessarily for others if we're to preserve our own in a community of nations.

#### SEVERAL CONCLUSIONS

Whether one is for or against the different approaches toward the Slavic tripod in the USSR, he cannot but logically consider several of the conclusions intimated by the long evidences on the subject. One, for a full comprehension of the subject, a close familiarity with and perception into what is called the empirical continuum in the

USSR, highlighted particularly by centralist Russian and decentralist non-Russian forces, are *sine qua non*. As shown, the very formation of the USSR, the treaties of federal Union, and the constitutions mirror this continuum. The non-Russian forces have been punctuated by a ceaseless struggle for national and human rights within the constitutional frameworks of this peculiar federation. The structure of the USSR and its constitution have the earmarks of compromise and concessions resulting from this continuum of national struggle and assertiveness in the respective republics. They cannot, therefore, be viewed in some legalistic vacuum.

Second, on careful examination of the formed constitutional bases underlying the statehood and sovereignty of the non-Russian nations, at most the republics are legally only partially sovereign. The prime aspects of the continuum, marked by centralist Russian control, the unique multinational character of the Union federation, and the interlocking nature of the CPSU and the national Communist parties, largely account for this. Third, with partial constitutional support, the two republics of Ukraine and Byelorussia nevertheless enjoy in international law the status of full subject and sovereignty, almost entirely by virtue of their membership in the United Nations and numerous evidence of international participation.

Fourth, both from the constitutional and international legal points of view, we are in an inconsistent position with regard to these two republics, recognizing them *de jure* in the UN and its many organizations but withholding direct recognition largely because of misunderstanding their peculiar status in the Union federation and some fear that such direct action would appear provocative to Moscow, especially when a detente is being cultivated. And, fifth, if all of this is correct, to resolve this inconsistency, to extend our nation-to-nation contacts and understanding, and with initiative to seize mutual advantages, a prudent move for direct diplomatic relations with Ukraine and Byelorussia would follow in the spirit of genuine peaceful coexistence and a respect for the constitutional allowances of the USSR. In the case of Ukraine, it would represent a direct relation with the largest non-Russian nation both in the USSR and Eastern Europe, one fraught with significant ramifications and potentialities throughout both. Such a move of constitutional observance may well, indeed, contribute to the present struggle for constitutional rights within Ukraine and the other republics. In none of this, supported strongly by constitutional and international legal data and principles, and legally accepted by Moscow itself, is there legitimate room for the imputation of any intent to dismember the USSR.

## **NEGLECTED ASPECTS OF THE SLAVS IN AMERICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY**

*By* JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Generally speaking, it is quite evident that among the current demands of a few conscious ethnic groups for recognition (and even special privileges), we find very little, if any, awareness of the needs for a proper treatment of the numerous Slavic groups in American history. There have been several specific studies of the various individual Slavic communities and some general histories, usually sponsored by the immigration organizations or by individual specialists; but, on the whole, these have had hardly any impact on the American public mind, if we consider the prevailing general ignoring of the American Slavs. This is shown, for instance, in the persistence of identifying the concept of the Russians with that of the Ukrainians—and especially in omitting consideration of the Ukrainians in most academic textbooks in the field of racial and ethnic minorities.

Yet this deplorable situation is nothing else but the continuation of the treatment the American Slavs have received at the hands of the dominant tendencies in American historiography.

### **PUBLIC OPINION CLIMATE DURING THE 1800s**

It can be safely claimed that, on the whole, the dominant trends of American public opinion paid hardly any attention to the Slavs before the 1880s—except when some individuals got involved in one or another political scheme, which was then promptly classified as “socialist” or “anarchist.”

Seldom noted is that there are records in American history of rather active Slavs, especially the Czechs, who came to America imbued with socialist ideas and who thereby acquired a rather unfavorable image. Socialism was not then (nor even now) popular among the masses in the United States. But the socialist and other “radical” movements were an important reason why the Slavs were eventually consigned to the category of undesirable “racial” elements. (In fact,

Glazer points out that American Slavic socialists were the founders of the American Communist movement in 1919.<sup>1</sup>)

It seems that the Czechs led the "radical" movements in the United States during this period. Capek notes that J. Palda was "the father of Czech socialism in the United States";<sup>2</sup> together with Frank Skarda, he founded in Cleveland in 1875 *Delnicke Listy* [The Workingmen's News] as the "organ of the Socialist Workingmen's Party in the United States." Leo Beilbek, a member of the Illinois legislature, "classified himself as a Social Democrat, and Palda's business partner, Frank Skarda, was nominated, but not elected, on the socialist ticket for Lieutenant-Governor of Ohio." In 1877, Palda moved to New York, where he organized socialist clubs.

Then there were also other refugee socialists in the 1870s operating in New York and Chicago. One was Leo Kochmann (1844-1919), who was New York's strong man in the colony of Social Democrats (until 1913) and who for a quarter of a century was editor-in-chief of the New York daily *Hlas Lidu* [The Voice of the People]. In 1882, Johann Most reached the United States, after serving jail terms for his beliefs in Austria, Saxony, Prussia, and England; he made a successful speaking tour through the country and established anarchist

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<sup>1</sup> Nathan Glazer, *The Social Basis of American Communism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace). See also: Theodore Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia* (New York: Viking Press, 1961), pp. 18, 190. Scattered information can also be found in: Sally M. Miller, *The Radical Immigrant* (New York: Twayne, 1974); John Laslett, *Labor and the Left: A Study of Socialist and Radical Influences in the American Labor Movement, 1881-1924* (New York: Basic Books, 1970); R. Laurence Moore, *European Socialists and the American Promised Land* (New York: Oxford Press, 1970); Gerald Rosenblum, *Immigrant Workers: Their Impact on American Labor Radicalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1973). Since the Jews, especially those from Russia and Poland, were frequently classified as "Slavs" (or "Slavish"), it is worth noting that some of them were anarchists. According to Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control*, (New York: Harper, 1922), Chapter IX, pp. 214-47, of the anarchistic movement of the 1870s only the *Yiddish Freie Arbeiter Stimme* survived in 1920; the radical Spanish and Italian papers which appeared during World War I were suppressed. See also: Ronald Sanders, *The Down Jews: Portrait of an Immigrant Generation* (New York: Harper, 1969), pp. 56-79 (Chapter 3 — "The Radicals of Rivington Street"), pp. 80-96 (Chapter 4 — "Anarchists, Socialists, and Labor Unions") and pp. 80-96 (Bibliography).

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Capek, *The Czechs (Bohemians) in America: A Study of Their National, Cultural, Political, Social, Economic and Religious Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1920), p. 137.

clubs.<sup>3</sup> The main feature of his propaganda was the "glorification of terrorist acts," and Capek admits that he "found ardent sympathizers among those Czech Social Democrats who were dissatisfied with the orthodox scholarly socialism of Marx and Lasalle, and who clamored for deeds..." (p. 143). There were also anarchists and other radicals publishing seven periodicals and various leaflets and pamphlets, especially in Chicago, Cleveland and New York.

The activities of the foreign-born socialists (who had four newspapers) and the socialist anarchist proclivity among the immigrants, culminating in the railroad strike of 1885 and the Haymarket Square Riot the following year in Chicago,<sup>4</sup> had very serious repercussions as regards the subsequent re-evaluation of the American immigrant from East-Central Europe.<sup>5</sup> The "melting pot" concept began to stir up controversy after 1886, the major argument being that the nation would have to close its doors to such immigrants because recent arrivals had been impervious to its ideals. (The spokesmen for the immigrants, on the other hand, justified their views by claiming that America's mission was not that of a refuge, but a showcase for liberty). In the background of this debate was the dominant attitude that "the people [were] frightened by the conflicts of these years, [and] the immigrant became the scapegoat for every grievance: political corruption, labor conflicts and vice were strictly foreign products disseminated 'through the land' by corrupt invaders."<sup>6</sup> In general, immigrants, and especially the "new immigrants," came to be regarded as agents of doom carrying destruction to America.

#### THE PERIOD BEFORE WORLD WAR I

In general, the years of the numerous strikes and up to the Spanish-American War "were filled with confusion, fear and—for some—despair." There was labor's militant growth, whose "large per-

<sup>3</sup> Capek lists him as a Czech, but Max Nomad states that he was born in Bavaria. See Nomad, *Political Heretics: From Plato to Mao Tse-Tung* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1963), pp. 224-27.

<sup>4</sup> The Haymarket Square Riot (May 4, 1886, Chicago) led to the death of 11 persons and more than 100 being wounded. It was reputed to have been staged by anarchists, who were charged with throwing a bomb. Four anarchist leaders were hanged, though conclusive proof of their guilt was lacking; others were later pardoned by the Governor of Illinois, John P. Altgeld. See Henry David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair* (New York: Farrar Rinehart, 1936).

<sup>5</sup> John Higham, *Strangers in the Land* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955), pp. 54-55, 56, 62, 111, 138.

<sup>6</sup> F.C. Jaher, *Doubtfuls and Dissenters* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1964), p. 50.

centage of membership came from Central-Eastern Europe, which remained in the cities" and which "dominated leftist centers of New York and Chicago." Thus, logically, "immigration was the source of the trouble. Obviously, American institutions had failed not because they were faulty, but because an alien element had undermined them."<sup>7</sup>

All the forces contributing to the pessimism of the Eighties increased in magnitude in the next decade: strikes were bigger, more frequent and more violent; cities were growing bigger—and the "wrong" kind of immigrants were pouring in. Social hostility resulting from these difficulties was directed against groups that could be classified as "un-American": immigrants, socialists and unions. The conviction grew that "alien groups were blighting the nation's future and swindling the native-born of their just reward."<sup>8</sup> Political corruption was traced "to a desire to capture the foreign vote."<sup>9</sup> Vice and crime were strictly foreign products; degenerate actions were the result of decadent blood and inferior race which "drags down the stronger"; and the American stock was in danger of "physical degeneration" through crossbreeding.<sup>10</sup> The persistent "clannish spirit" of the immigrant disturbed national unity. Above all, the threat of social revolution was feared: "anarchists, ultra-socialists, and dynamiters" had "found here... a safe place in which to preach their doctrines of hate, revenge, murder and plunder."<sup>11</sup>

After 1893, eugenic experts forecast race suicide if the canons of evolution continued to be violated by "inferior hordes" diluting native stock. By the mid-1890s, the business community was also committed to restrictions. Labor also rejected the immigrant, the unions looking upon him with increasing disfavor because of job competition, strikes, and difficulties of organizing him.

#### THE IDEOLOGY OF RACISM AND THE CONCEPTS OF "NEW" AND "OLD" IMMIGRATION

Of importance for our discussion is the fact that most of the immigrants after 1880 were composed of Slavs, together with Jewish and other ethnic groups from Central-Eastern-Balkan Europe, with

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>9</sup> T.T. Munger, "Immigration by Passport," *Century*, XXXV (March, 1888), 797; John H. Denison, "The Survival of the American Type," *Atlantic*, LXXV (January, 1895), 16.

<sup>10</sup> Munger, "Immigration by Passport," 793-94.

<sup>11</sup> E.A. Hempstead, "Shall Immigration Be Restricted?," *Chautauquan* VIII (July, 1888), 610-612.

a smaller group coming from Russia's occupied territories.

Before 1880, about 85% of the immigrants had come from the British Isles, Germany, British America and Scandinavia. Although people from these areas continued to arrive in large numbers for some time after 1880, they represented less than 20% of the total during the decade of World War I. The number of immigrants from the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires (and from Italy) steadily increased, by 1896 amounting to more than half of the total immigration.<sup>13</sup>

The increased scale and new sources of immigration aroused much political interest, which generated a voluminous academic and popular literature,<sup>13</sup> as well as the infamous major congressional investigation, whose proceedings were published in 1911 (which we shall discuss momentarily).<sup>14</sup>

The term "old immigrants" was employed to distinguish, on the basis of both source and destination, those aliens who had arrived before 1880 from the "new immigrants," who landed after that date. This division was prejudicial, since all the evidence shows that members of all the various Slav nations had reached the shores of this country from the very beginning of American history. Furthermore, the majority of "old immigrants" who arrived from northwestern Europe before 1880 differed from native Americans in either language or religion, but their assimilation was facilitated by their widespread distribution and by their settlement on the land as well as in the cities. In contrast, a larger proportion of the "new immigrants" from

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<sup>12</sup> U.S., Congress, Committee on the Judiciary, *The Immigration and Naturalization Systems of the United States*, Report No. 1515, 81st Cong., 2nd Sess. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950), pp. 43ff; Irene B. Taeuber and Conrad Taeuber, *People of the United States in the 20th Century, A Census Monograph*, U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971); Marion T. Bennett, *American Immigration Policies: A History* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1940) and *The Immigrant in American History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940); George M. Stephenson, *A History of American Immigration, 1820-1924* (Boston: Ginn, 1926), pp. 283-302 (Bibliography); Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, eds., *One America* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952); David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford Press, 1973).

<sup>13</sup> U.S., Library of Congress, *Immigration into the United States: A Selected List of References* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943).

<sup>14</sup> U.S., Congress, Senate, *Report of the Immigration [Dillingham] Commission*, Document No. 338, Serial No. 5665 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1911).

Central-Eastern Europe were concentrated in the ghettos of north-eastern industrial cities where they scarcely encountered the society and institutions of native-born Americans. The fact that they settled primarily in cities was often attributed to ignorance of opportunities elsewhere and to lack of occupational skills. Yet it was actually the demand for low-paid unskilled labor that funneled most of these "new" immigrants to industrial and commercial employment into the urban centers. In addition, the distinction between "new" and "old" neglected the effects of length of residence in the new country on both the distribution and assimilation of immigrants, and, further, obscured major differences in the vocational characteristics of individual groups—since many of them went into farming and other occupations.

Complicating factors were the linguistic and cultural (as well as religious) differences. Eventually, it was believed that the "new immigrants" were "racially inferior" to northern Anglo-Saxons, more inclined to crime and unable to adjust to the dominant American culture patterns and system. Involved in these judgments was the perennial glorification of the Puritan heritage, along with the doctrines of Anglo-Saxonism, Teutonism, Social Darwinism, Eugenics, and "Super Racism."<sup>15</sup>

Of importance also was the influence of several American academicians, headed by two Progressive reformers: David Starr Jordan (of Stanford University) and Professor Edward Alsworth Ross (one of the founders of American sociology); both agreed with the theories of the most rabid of the Social Darwinists. For Jordan, America was basically a Nordic nation, hereby accounting for much of its progress. The best stocks were those which most closely approximated the blond, Nordic type; the worst were the South and East European "races."<sup>16</sup> Ross showed a strong antipathy to the "hordes" of Eastern Europeans, finding them "low-browed, bag-faced persons of ob-

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<sup>15</sup> For details, see: Edward McNail Burns, *The American Idea of Mission: Concepts of National Purpose and Destiny* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957), pp. 209-210; William Peterson, "The 'Scientific' Basis of Our Immigration Policy," in William Peterson and David Matza, eds., *Social Controversy* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1963), pp. 197-205; David Starr Jordan, *The Strength of Being Clean* (San Francisco: Viavi Press, 1898); Barbara Miller Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 211-221 (Bibliography); Edward N. Saveth, *American Historians and European Immigrants, 1875-1925* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), pp. 225-238 (References).

viously low mentality." They ought to be garbed in skins and living "in wattled huts at the close of the Great Ice Age."<sup>17</sup>

#### INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL FACTORS AGAINST THE SLAVIC IMMIGRANTS

Through a combination of circumstances, the international situation was also influencing the attitude toward the "new" immigrants. Russian-American relations were deteriorating at precisely the same time that Slavic immigrants were coming to the northeastern seaboard and the Midwest. Czarist "absolutism," Russia's "insatiable ambition," and the Slavic menace to Anglo-Saxon supremacy made Russia "the natural foe of England and the United States." Numerous observers anxiously awaited the "final grapple" that would determine whether "the future of civilization" lay with "the English-speaking people of the world or the Russian empire."<sup>18</sup>

#### THE DILLINGHAM REPORT

Academic support for the bitter arguments against "new" immigration was given forceful expression by the distinguished anthropologist of the American Museum, Madison Grant, in his enormously popular book *The Passing of the Great Race*, published in 1916, wherein he proclaimed that the "new immigration contained a large and increasing number of the weak, the broken, and the mentally crippled of all races drawn from the lowest stratum of the Mediterranean basin and the Balkans, together with the hordes of the wretched, submerged populations of the Polish ghettos. Our jails, insane asylums, and almshouses are filled with this human flotsam, and the whole tone of American life, social, moral, and political, has been lowered and vulgarized by them."

These theories supported neatly the conclusions of the detailed study by the Immigration Commission under the chairmanship of

<sup>16</sup> E.M. Burns, *David Starr Jordan: Prophet of Freedom* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1953), Chapter IV.

<sup>17</sup> Edward A. Ross, *The World in the New World* (New York: Century, 1914), pp. 285-86.

<sup>18</sup> B.O. Ellower, "The Proposed Federation of the Anglo-Saxon Nations," *Arena*, XX (August, 1898), 232; A.H. Ford, "The Warfare of Railroads in Asia," *Century*, LIX (March, 1900), 794; Frederick A. Ogg, "Saxon and Slav: The Lion and the Bear in the Far East," *Chautauquan*, XXXVII (March, 1903), 14-15; Franklin Henry Giddings, *Democracy and Empire* (New York: Macmillan), p. 289.

Senator Dillingham. Its recommendations influenced directly subsequent legislation (1921, 1924), for they supported popular opinions which now appeared to be official and were based, presumably, on scientific proof. Widely quoted, the report figured prominently in the deliberations which produced the Johnson Act of 1921 and laid the groundwork for the restrictive legislation of 1924. Clearly most unscientific in its assumptions and conclusions, the Commission claimed that the good, "old" immigration was different in racial type from the "new." For instance, the Serbo-Croats had "savage manners." The Ukrainians as such were not noted at all, but the Russian (also designated as Great Russians, Little Russians, White Russians, and Ruthenians) rated highly as charity seekers in charity hospitals, in insanity and mental defects, crime, etc.<sup>19</sup>

World War I produced two contradictory tendencies in America's public opinion. The exploits of the Czechoslovak Legions in Siberia and their fight against Trotsky resulted in a flurry of sympathy for their stand (a sympathy which died rather quickly after the war). On the other hand, there were difficulties connected with soldiers not well acquainted with the English language; this led to the division of a battalion at Camp Gordon, Georgia, into two companies, a Slavic one under Polish and Russian-speaking officers, and an Italian one.<sup>20</sup> But very little was made of how many members from the Slavic American groups had joined the U.S. Armed Forces.

The most damaging blow to the repute of American Slavs was the Bolshevik revolution and the interest of some of them in supporting communism—a stigma which persists to this day owing to the fact that the general public is still prone to identify the concept of the "Russian" with those of the "Slavs," "Slavish," "Bohunk," and the like.<sup>21</sup>

A somewhat similar situation appeared again during World War

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<sup>19</sup> Of considerable influence on the legislation were the ideas of Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks of New York University, who collaborated on the work of the Commission and popularized its conclusions in his widely-used textbook, Jeremiah W. Jenks and Lauck W. Jett, *The Immigration Problem: A Study of American Immigration Conditions and Needs* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1913).

<sup>20</sup> Bruce White, "The American Military and the Melting Pot in World War I," in J.L. Granatstein and R.D. Cluff, eds., *War and Society in North America* (Camden, N.J.: T. Nelson, 1971).

<sup>21</sup> See Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, pp. 14, 18-20; Glazer, *The Social Basis of American Communism*, pp. 41ff.

II when Moscow sponsored an All-Slav Congress, chaired by the redoubtable Slovenian writer Louis Adamic.<sup>22</sup>

#### IMMIGRATION ACTS OF 1924 AND 1952

Immediately after World War I, Congress gave increasing weight to all the arguments we have noted briefly with a view to implementing ways and means whereby the admission of immigrants from Central-Eastern Europe could be diminished. Basically, the Immigration Act of 1924 contained the principle of numerical limitation as first established by the Act of May 19, 1921 and changed the quota base from the census of 1910 to that of 1890 in order to cut down further the proportion represented by the "new" immigrants. The Act reduced the quota admissible in any one year from 3% to 2%, based on the 1890 census, thus substantially cutting down the total quota; nationality was determined by country of birth, with few exceptions. Under the interim 2% formula, using the 1890 census, the annual quota immigration from all countries, except the independent countries of the Western Hemisphere, fell from 258,000, under the 1921, law, to 164,667 per year; when the national origins formula went into effect on July 1, 1929, the annual quota was further reduced to 153,714.

Nobody was satisfied with this controversial law; all the people from Central-Eastern Europe were especially incensed in their protests against all these restrictive formulae. But the national origins and quota restrictions remained the law (with varying modifications) even when the McCarran-Walter Act was passed over President Truman's veto in December, 1952; it affirmed the national origins quota systems and the nonquota status for the independent countries of the Western Hemisphere.

#### THE IMMIGRATION REFORM ACT OF 1965

Early in his administration, President Kennedy committed himself to work for immigration reform, but it was only in 1965 that a

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<sup>22</sup> U.S., Congress, Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Committee of the Judiciary, *Communist Activities Among Aliens and National Groups*, 2 vols., 81st Cong., 2nd Sess. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950); U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Un-American Activities, *Report on the American Slav Congress and Associated Organizations* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, June 26, 1949); Henry A. Christian, *Louis Adamic: A Checklist* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1972).

new law was enacted during the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson. As signed by the President at the Statue of Liberty on Sunday, October 3, 1965, the national origins quota system was abolished as of July 1, 1968, and a ceiling of 20,000 visas annually was imposed for any one country.<sup>23</sup>

#### THE PASSING OF PAN-SLAVISM

Soviet-sponsored Pan-Slavism during World War II was especially intended to allay the widespread fears of revolutionary Communism and Russian imperialism. The stratagem fitted well into the Western image of a postwar Europe in which the Slavic East was envisaged as a counterbalance to Germany; also, Pan-Slavism was interpreted as an expression of wholesome nationalism, a welcome departure from Communist internationalism. Western experts on Soviet Russia believed the rebirth of Russian nationalism, under the impact of war, to be a salutary deviation from Communist orthodoxy; they saw the Soviet Union dropping the internationalist revolutionary elements of Marxism.

A Pan-Slav Congress Committee, under the chairmanship of General A.S. Gundorov, was founded in Moscow shortly after Hitler's attack on Russia; the first Slav Congress was held in August, 1941. A manifesto exhorted the Slavs to fight against the common fascist enemy (and, ever since, anybody tilting against Communism is immediately branded as a "fascist"); it disavowed the Pan-Slav imperialism of Czarist Russia, and proclaimed the equality of the liberated Slav nations. "No interference in the inner affairs of other nations!" proclaimed Stalin on November 6, 1941, when he reiterated the guiding principles of the new Slav movement, stressing that the sole aim of the Soviet Union was to liberate the enslaved nations from Hitler's tyranny, and then to leave them absolutely free to decide under what kind of regime they wished to live.<sup>24</sup>

As indicated in previous discussion, the American branch of the Pan-Slav Congress fortunately disintegrated soon after World War II. Most American Slavs had been completely disillusioned with the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. This course of events was defini-

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<sup>23</sup> For a convenient summary, see: Abba P. Schwartz, "Foreign Born, Immigration Of," in Robert Morris, ed., *Encyclopedia of Social Work*, 16th issue, I (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1971), 453-458.

<sup>24</sup> Hubert Ripka, *Czechoslovakia Enslaved: The Story of the Communist Coup d'Etat* (London: Gollancz, 1950), p. 11.

tely of considerable help in changing America's opinion of the Slavic world (together with Tito's defection from the Communist camp).<sup>25</sup>

#### GAINS IN THE REPUTE OF THE AMERICAN SLAVS

The war against Hitler and the support of Soviet Russian resistance, together with the invasion and suffering of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia did generate an upsurge of sympathy for the Slavs, but as individuals rather than for the general concept of the Slavs. Since then there has been a marked increase in Slavic studies and the appearance of several periodicals carrying the word "Slav" in their titles; and the same applies to the number of monographs studying the various aspects of the Slavic nations and of the American Slavs.

To some people, especially teachers, the word "ethnicity" connotes something strange, foreign, alien, even un-American; to them, American education should ignore the country in which students or their parents were born. Any non-American traditions, languages, customs, or even history are regarded as being un-American.

Nevertheless, to growing numbers of teachers and academicians—and students—ethnicity is the very essence of America, both as a nation and as a "nation of nations." To them, America, past and present, consists of immigrants (even the Indians who emigrated from Asia). To them, America means pluralism, diversity, difference, contrast, creativity. The responsibility of the schools is to understand the various ethnic backgrounds of its students and to help them become sure-footed individuals who will further enrich American society because of—and not in spite of—their ethnic backgrounds.

Historically, the early attitude towards ethnic immigrants, especially the Slavs, going back to the very founding of America, might be termed Anglo-Conformity. Generally, immigrants were viewed with ambivalence: they were wanted for their muscle power yet were sus-

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<sup>25</sup> For details, see such studies as: Hans Kohn, *Pan-Slavism: Its History and Ideology* (New York: Random House, 1960); Joseph S. Roucek, "Pan-Slavism as an Ideological Weapon," *Problems of Communism*, III, No. 4 (July-August, 1954), 20-27; Joseph S. Roucek, "Pan-Slavism, an Ideological Weapon," *Central European Journal*, XVII, No. 5 (May, 1969), 163-171; Joseph S. Roucek, "Pan-Slavism in Our Day," *Central European Journal*, XVII, No. 9 (September, 1969), 256-295; Walter Dushnyck, "Stalin's Pan-Slavism in the United States," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, IV, No. 1 (1948), 67-77; Clarence A. Manning, *History of Slavic Studies in the States* (Milwaukee, WI: The Marquette University Press, 1957), pp. 117ff.

pect because of their "foreignness." The educational goal projected was to assimilate immigrants in the image of the Founding Fathers.

During the 19th century, another philosophy about ethnics arose. Called "the Melting Pot," it was more liberal, generous and optimistic about immigrants than the Anglo-Conformity view. The hope was that the "Melting Pot" would dissolve the immigrant's cultural heritage and produce a new type of American, uninfluenced by the past, pragmatic about the future and indistinguishable from one another in the present.

In the 20th century, many observers began to see that new or old immigrants were not readily meltable, nor that they should be. The philosophy of "Cultural Pluralism," inspired by Horace Kallen, came into being, viewing students and their ethnic backgrounds as necessary and desirable pieces in the rich mosaic of America.<sup>26</sup>

Nevertheless, it was not until the race revolution of the 1950s and 1960s some racial and ethnic minorities began demanding more attention and care. According to a 1971 Bureau of the Census Report, there were some 56 million Americans who described themselves as being of German, Irish, Italian, Polish, or Russian (mostly Jewish) backgrounds, in addition to several million Slavs. (Furthermore, there were some 11 million persons who reported themselves as being foreign-born.) Somehow, American ethnic minorities felt that the schools and public institutions were, at best, taking them for granted and, at worst, shortchanging their identities and backgrounds.

Thus, in recent years, there have been protests, pressures and programs to eliminate prejudice from textbooks, schools and mass media. At the same time, demands have escalated for the addition of minority-group courses and curricula in the high schools and higher institutions of learning. Numerous colleges have set up Slavic studies programs, a development spilling over into the elementary and secondary schools.

#### THE ROLE OF "THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY" IN THE EMERGENCE OF ETHNICISM

The need to provide understanding of one's own and other ethnic groups was recognized in a bill passed by Congress in June, 1972, that established the Ethnic Studies Heritage Programs Act, which would prepare materials on the contributions of minority groups to America

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<sup>26</sup> Brown and Roucek, eds., *One America*, Part Five: "Trends Toward Cultural Democracy in America," pp. 545-660.

for use in schools and in the training of teachers. In addition, a number of ethnic action and research institutions have come into being (the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, Washington, the Center for the Study of American Pluralism in Chicago, etc.).

It is interesting to note that the publication *The Ukrainian Quarterly* has consistently propounded the ideas of "cultural pluralism" and of ethnicity from the very beginning of its existence—but has as yet to achieve recognition of its systematic and rather extensive efforts as far as the general public is concerned. Although the review has been quoted in various periodicals, scholarly books, government publications, even the Soviet press, it has still to gain universal acceptance (*academe*, all libraries, etc.).

In analyzing the causes, one can suspect that the old idea of identifying the Russian world with that of the Ukrainians, in spite of the persistent campaign of *The Ukrainian Quarterly* to stress the basic differences involved, is still very much with us.

It is also to the credit of the *Quarterly* that it has carefully avoided excessive sensitivity of filiopietism, echewing exerting subtle pressures on second-generation Ukrainian to be ultra Ukrainian. Instead, it contributes sensitively to the sense of community in Ukrainian immigrant life in contrast to the aseptic, rational drive toward mastery of the Nordic Protestants. "People who had learned in life that nothing is done without family, without community, without loyalty, without cooperation, had to learn that the right way is to count only on yourself."<sup>27</sup>

In this respect, the bent of the editorial policy of the *Quarterly* to present reliable empirical facts, rather than to carry on a preaching crusade, gives the distinction to the periodical of being the outstanding and most reliable exponent of the best that contributors can offer in terms of modern American historiography (we note that there is no dearth of Ukrainian publications in Ukrainian and in English<sup>28</sup>). At the same time, it is a rich and indispensable source of current events covering Ukrainian life in the United States and other countries. Its 30 years of existence have shown that it meets the best evaluation criteria, since it has been making definite contributions to a study of real people and real issues relevant to the needs of the modern stream

<sup>27</sup> Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics: The New Political Force of the Seventies* (New York: Macmillan, 1972), p. 96.

<sup>28</sup> For their list, see: Lubomyr R. Wynar, *Encyclopedic Directory of Ethnic Newspapers and Periodicals in the United States* (Littleton, CO: Libraries Unlimited, Inc., 1972), pp. 201-219.

of American life. Learning resources that deal with reality are bound to be objectionable to certain groups in certain instances. Every group's history contains both positive and negative aspects. Yet if all questionable material were removed, such a policy of any periodic publication would violate all the principles of sound scholarship. Balanced presentations concerning any ethnic group must go beyond the heroes and highpoints.

Basically, and on balance, *The Ukrainian Quarterly* has been able to achieve the status of being one of the most reliable links in the present attempts to rediscover the roots of American history, without emphasizing the racist and ethnocentric aspects of American life—the narrowness and the prejudices of the Founding Fathers, the oppression and suffering of all minority groups, with each competing today for the distinction of having been treated the worst by the “Americans.” It has been giving us an honest picture of Ukrainian life in the United States, one into which the facts of ethnic diversity as a constituent part of American life, culture, and politics are introduced.

## UKRAINE MINUS HER OWN HISTORY IN THE BRITANNICA

By VOLODYMYR SAWCHAK

Robert M. Hutchins, Chairman of the Board of Editors of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, claims that the newest, fifteenth edition, published in 1974 "...is a revolution in encyclopaedia making..." because it "...combines the reference and educational functions."<sup>1</sup> This claim, however, proves to be empty from the point of view of a reader who is interested in learning about the history of Ukraine, "one of the 10 most economically developed countries in the world..."<sup>2</sup>

Scanning the very sketchy references about the Ukrainian language, literature, churches, etc., in *Micropaedia* (10:240-41) one finds therein a reference to the article "Kievan history and modern times" (*Macropaedia* 10:468 ff.). Surprisingly, this article deals only with the history of the capital *city* of Kiev<sup>3</sup> and not with the history of the medieval *state* known as Kiev-Ruś (also Kievan Ruś or Kiev Ruś), which existed in Southeastern Europe for almost five hundred years and flourished as an important socio-political, cultural, and economic center during the 11th and 12th centuries and the first half of the 13th.

One searches further and finally resorts to the article, "Russia and the Soviet Union, History of" (*Mac.* 16:39-89), where, in the opening paragraph, one reads that "...the title of this article... is used

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<sup>1</sup> Foreword to *Propaedia*. The new *Britannica* consists of one introductory volume, called *Propaedia*; ten volumes of *Micropaedia*; and 19 volumes of *Macropaedia*. Hereinafter these volumes are cited as "Mic." before volume and page number.

<sup>2</sup> *Mac.* 18:833.

<sup>3</sup> The transliteration used throughout this article is the Ukrainian one. The editors of the *Britannica* erroneously and persistently use the Russian transliteration of Ukrainian names, even the titles of the books written in Ukrainian. There appears no justification for such unnecessary Russification in this country and in the English language. One hopes that the editors realize the difference between these two languages. In parentheses are the forms generally accepted in English usage, although they differ from the original form and pronunciation in Ukrainian.

very loosely to describe the European part of the Soviet Union from ancient times as well."

Should the reader come across the article, "Livonia" (Mic. 6:278), he will be surprised to find that the history of this "European part of the Soviet Union" is presented fully and independently of the history of "Russia and the Soviet Union," thus a contradiction of the above-quoted statement. One starts to wonder. Why did the editors of the *Britannica* see fit to afford the readers an opportunity to learn the history of presently non-existent Livonia but not the history of a still existent Ukraine?

This discriminating treatment of the histories of LIVONIA and UKRAINE demonstrates that the editors of the *Britannica* violated their own guidelines as expounded in the *Propaedia*: "objectivity and neutrality."

Trying to squeeze many diverse historical variables into a single article under the fallacious heading, "Russia and the Soviet Union," the editors created a monstrous mixture of the histories of such medieval states as Kiev Ruś, the Czardom of Muscovy, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Polish-Lithuanian-Ruś Commonwealth, and Kozak-Ukraine under the *Hetmans*.

Such a "unified" treatment of these diverse entities casts serious doubts on the editors' competence. Moreover, such a treatment seems to promote the centuries-old "traditional scheme of 'Russian' history"<sup>4</sup> supported by the "Court historians" in Czarist Russia and since 1934 by the "Party historians" in the Soviet Union.<sup>5</sup> And this is neither "revolutionary" nor, for that matter, new.

#### UNEVEN AUTHORSHIP AND BASIC FALLACIES

The article under review consists of five different parts written by different authors, whose initials appear at the end of each part.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> "The traditional scheme of 'Russian' history" was rejected by the Ukrainian historian Michael Hrushevsky in 1904 in the publication of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, *Zbornik stattey po slavyanovedeniyu* (Symposium of Slavic Studies). A.E. Presniakov in his *The Formation of the Great Russian State* confirms that "Hrushevsky's views can find support in a number of conclusions and opinions developed and accepted in the literature of general Russian history."

<sup>5</sup> Lowell Tillett, *The Great Friendship: Soviet Historians on the Non-Russian Nationalities*. University of North Carolina Press, 1969; also: Konstantin Shtepa, *Russian Historians and the Soviet State*. Rutgers University Press, 1962; Cyril E. Black, *Rewriting Russian History*, revised edition, Vintage Books, 1962.

<sup>6</sup> Initials and names of Contributors and Consultants are listed in *Propaedia*, pp. 7-106.

*Part I*, entitled "From the Beginnings to c. 1700" (Mac. 16:39-49), was written by E.L.K. (Edward Louis Keenan, Harvard); it contains the greatest number of misguiding statements, errors, and omissions, thus rendering this period of history misleading and incomprehensible. One can only wonder what prompted the editors of the *Britannica* to commission Prof. Keenan, a specialist on 16th-century Muscovy, to write about pre-historic, pre-Slav and early Slavic historical developments in Eastern Europe.

In the first paragraph dealing with pre-history, Keenan fails to even mention many important sources: the Greek historian HERODOTUS and his description of the SCYTHIANS: "At the Ister [Danube] begins the ancient Scythian land..." and "...ends at the Eastern Sea [Black Sea]. For the Sea to the South and the Sea to the East are two of the four boundary lines of Scythia..."; the excellent study THE SARMATIANS by T. (Tadeusz) Sulimirski<sup>8</sup>; the writings of Pliny the Elder and the Greek geographer Ptolemy, wherein one can find many references to the early Slavs, and the relatively recent accumulation of archeological sources, among them the interesting study *ROMAN COINS ON THE TERRITORY OF THE UKRAINIAN S.S.R.*<sup>9</sup> The author's omissions are even more numerous than these cited, but some of his factual statements are really startling.

"In the 9th century Scandinavian traders... established a new center near Ryazan," writes Keenan. Unfortunately, according to the *Britannica* (Mac. 8:730) itself, Ryazan's existence was not recorded until the 11th century (1055)!

"This Volga-Ruś kaganate may be considered the first direct antecedent of the Kievan state" is the unsupported "discovery" of Keenan; is he not familiar with the state of the ANTES, which existed from the 4th to the 7th centuries on the territory between the Danube and the Sea of Azov?

Jordanes, the 6th century historian of the Goths, and the Byzantine historian, Procopius of Caesarea, as well, write about the first Slavic state without any mention of the mythical "Volga-Ruś kaganate." Virtually all historians agree that "the political antecedent of the Kievan state" was the state of the Antes; only Keenan thinks

<sup>7</sup> Herodotus, *Works*, Book IV, translated by A.D. Godley. Harvard University Press, 1963, 301; see also Aubrey de Séllincourt, *The World of Herodotus*, Little, Brown and Company, 1962.

<sup>8</sup> (Tadeusz) Sulimirski, *The Sarmatians*, Praeger Publications, 1970.

<sup>9</sup> M.Y. Braichevsky, *Rymska moneta na terytorii Ukrainy* (Roman Coins on the Territory of Ukraine) in Ukrainian with an English summary. Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, Kiev, 1959.

otherwise. And on page 42b, one reads another unfounded statement: "The lands of Galicia and Volhynia were always ethnically and economically distinct from the Kievan region proper..." If this is historically accurate, Keenan should describe where this ethnical distinction lies and what his sources are.

By now it is clear that the author adheres to that school of Russian historiography which believes that all Eastern European histories should be treated as "Russian" history and that neither Ukraine nor Byelorussia have had any history independent of the "Russian mainstream." This theory of "one stream" of Russian history has existed in Russian historical science since the times of Karamzin and Pogodin, who were "court historians" and whose writings were the histories of the Russian *state-empire*, not of the Russian people. The confusion of the two terms—state and nation—leads to the omission of an important segment of East-European history: the histories of Ukraine and Byelorussia. Is this "educational?"

*Part II*, entitled "The 18th Century," signed by M.Ra. (Marc Raeff, Columbia) describes the reign of Peter I and the "Petrine state" (pp. 49-52), the reigns of Czrinas Anna, Elizabeth and Catherine II (pp. 53-57) as well as that of Czar Paul I. The author does not even mention the name of the Ukrainian *Hetman*, Ivan Mazepa, in his discussion of "Peter's decisive victory over Charles XII at Poltava in 1709" (p. 50), yet no historian, from Voltaire to R.M. Hatton, is guilty of such an omission. Nor does he say a word about the destruction of the Kozak republic, "the Zaporozhian *Sich*," in 1775, the abolition of the *Hetman* state system (an autonomy) and the extension of serfdom in Ukraine by Catherine II. How, then, can the history of Ukraine of the 18th century be learned and evaluated by any interested and knowledge-thirsty reader?

*Part III* deals with "Russia (a more proper term would be the "Russian Empire") from 1801 to 1917" and was written by H.S.W. (Hugh Seton-Watson, University of London), an expert on East European affairs. In this part the treatment of Ukrainian historical events is the most objective. The editors of the *Britannica* have fallen down badly by not finding scholars of similar stature to treat parts I and II.

*Part IV*—"The USSR from 1917 to 1939" (pp. 68-78), written by R. V. D. (Robert V. Daniels, University of Vermont), has a misleading heading; it is a fact, of course, that the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" (USSR) was created only at the end of 1922 by the "Treaty on the Formation of the U.S.S.R (December 30, 1922),"—and not in 1917.

Had the first pages of this chapter followed Richard Pipes' book *The Formation of the Soviet Union* or Robert Sullivant's book *Soviet Politics and the Ukraine 1917-1957*, the reader of the *Britannica* would have received far more objective information. Curiously enough, however, neither of the aforementioned books even is listed in the bibliography in spite of the fact that Prof. Pipes is listed among the Consultants!

*Part V*—"The U.S.S.R. Since 1939," written by M.F. (the late Merle Fainsod, Harvard), presents a well balanced history of the last 30 years (to November 1969). One wishes that certain aspects of the Communist Party's policies toward the Ukrainians and the Ukrainian S.S.R. during WW II and after were presented in more detail [e.g., the incorporation of Western Ukraine in September 1939, the Ukrainian partisans (UPA) resistance from 1943 on, and the admission of the Ukrainian S.S.R. to the United Nations in 1945], but the reader can always acquire quite detailed knowledge of these events from such excellent books as John Armstrong's *Ukrainian Nationalism*, Yaroslav Bilinsky's *The Second Soviet Republic* and Konstantyn Sawczuk's *The Ukraine in the United Nations Organization*—probably not known to the author.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Western European literature on Ukraine is a vast one and is easily accessible<sup>10</sup> to historians who want to write an objective history of *nations*, not only of *empires*, past or present, Czarist or Communist!

Even many Russian historians acknowledge that the "one stream" theory of "Russian" history is basically inaccurate. This is reflected in the works of V.O. Kliuchevsky, who referred to the "complete breakdown" of the Kievan socio-political forms, laws, cultural and ecclesiastical structures in the XIII-XVth centuries and the de-

<sup>10</sup> Elie Borschak, *L'Ukraine dans la littérature de l'Europe occidentale, Le Monde Slave*, Vols. III & IV, 1933; I, II, & IV, 1934, and Vol. I, 1935. Available in special reprint of 1935.

Volodymyr Sichynsky, *Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Descriptions*. Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1953.

Paul Harecky, *Russia and the Soviet Union: A Bibliographic Guide*, University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Peter A. Crowther, *A Bibliography of Works in English on Early Russian History to 1800*, Basil Blackwell, 1969. First published in the United States, 1969 by Barnes & Noble, Inc. and many other bibliographies.

velopment of new forms of life, new social types, and new relations arising from local conditions in the upper Volga country. F.M. Vladimirsky-Badanov, an authority on Russian law, writes, "As early as the 14th century in the Muscovite state there no longer were traces of the influence of the legal system of *Ruška Pravda*..." A.F. Presniov in a 3-volume work *Kievan Rus', West Russia and the Lithuanian State*, and in *The Formation of the Great Russian State* stimulated the revision of many theories formerly held unchallenged.

After careful reading and examination, therefore, one can state that the article "Russia and the Soviet Union, History of" in the newest edition of the *Britannica* fails both as a "reference" and as an "educational" source on the nations of Eastern Europe, especially Ukraine, which has been deprived of her own history in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Contrariwise, in the *Encyclopedia Americana* (Vol. 27) and even in the very specialized *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Vol. 15), one can find articles wherein the history of Ukraine is presented independently of the history of "Russia and the Soviet Union." The editors of the *Britannica* might well keep this in mind when the new 15th edition of the *Britannica* is being prepared.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**THE RUSSIANS.** By Hedrick Smith. Quadrangle-The New York Times Book Co., pp. 527, New York, 1976.

In the sea of publications dealing with "Russia" or the Soviet Union, Hedrick Smith's *The Russians* has bobbed up as an outstanding book in many respects. Unlike many other books on "Russia," which, as a rule, are perfunctory accounts based on Soviet official versions of everyday life in the vast Soviet Russian empire, this book has been written from firsthand experience with the Russian people. (Here, of course, by the "Russian people" the author means all the inhabitants of the USSR; as he admitted to this reviewer personally, the author planned to include a chapter on the non-Russian nations, but was prevented from doing so by the time element and the pressure of the publishers to hasten the manuscript to the printers).

Mr. Smith, the Pulitzer Prize-winning Moscow Bureau Chief of *The New York Times* from 1971 to 1974, has succeeded admirably in uncovering the paradoxes of Soviet life in this volume.

His close contacts with the rank-and-file of Soviet citizenry firmly convinced Mr. Smith that the masses are wholly "unruly," even anarchistic, and not totalitarian in outlook and practice, as so many Western "experts" on Russia would have us believe. In his "Introduction" the author points out:

The most surprising to me, however, were the chance encounters with people all over the country. Ann [Mr. Smith's wife] and I found that the farther we went from Moscow, the less inhibited and less strictly indoctrinated people seemed to be. In minority [non-Russian] republics like Georgia, Lithuania, Armenia, Uzbekistan, Estonia, Azerbaijan, Moldavia, even in the Ukraine, people were usually more candid than politically sensitive Muscovites, and a fair number of them were critical of the Soviet system because of their outspokenly anti-Russian feelings...

In discussing "Solzhenitsyn and the Russianness of Russia" the author briefly touches on the problem of Russification, contending that "its milder forms are tolerated, and even officially encouraged as Russia proper presses its cultural and political influence outward among the other nationalities which have been absorbed into the Soviet Union and which now outnumber ethnic Russians—a demographic fact that worries ethnic Russians so much that some government officials and specialists advocate a higher birth rate in Russia proper to stem the trend" (p. 428). This manifestation of Russification, he contends, is working in a subtle way, such as the glorification of the Russian culture and people ("first among equals"), and by the use of such non-Russian leaders as Nicholas Podgorny, a Ukrainian, who has dutifully asserted that the Russian language "is a mighty instrument of unification and interconnection" among diverse "Soviet peoples." The author further states that in many "minority areas that we visited

we found persistent official efforts to promote learning of Russian, as the modern, scientific language, 'the language of Lenin,' and schools organized so that in big cities more children were often being encouraged to take Russian as a compulsory subject than their own native language" (p. 429). From 1959 to 1970, millions of ethnic Russians moved into the Baltic States, Central Asia and Ukraine (more than 2 million to Ukraine alone), so that in some republics ethnic Russians outnumber the main local nationality, causing serious frictions and growing antagonism against the Russians.

Furthermore, party functionaries across the USSR constantly attack local nationalist sentiments in countries like Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, Ukraine and Uzbekistan, "because such feelings have broad latent popular support and contain the most serious threat of decentralization and disloyalty faced by the Russian-dominated state" (p. 429).

This aspect of the relationship between the Russians and non-Russians is only cursorily treated by the author, something which, from the viewpoint of this reviewer, mars an otherwise excellent work. Even in the chapter "Dissent," preceded by the statement of the outstanding Ukrainian political prisoner, Valentyn Moroz ["It is very important to silence the man who first cries out, 'The king is naked,' before others pick up the cry"], there is hardly any reference to the mass dissent and opposition in Ukraine, the Baltic States and among the Crimean Tartars and Soviet Jews.

But outside this important omission, conceded by the author himself, *The Russians* is one of the best books to appear recently on the USSR. It provides an absorbing and perceptive account of the nature of Soviet society; it demonstrates the author's scrupulous honesty, never traduced by personal prejudice or sentimentality. A keen observer, Mr. Smith has produced an unusually revealing picture of Soviet life, not least the machinery of Soviet *apparatchiks* operating on all levels. Invaluable here was his knowledge of the Russian language, a key which opened many closed doors in that strictly-controlled society.

Finally, it is to be hoped that Mr. Smith's candid account will contribute to some mind-changing in many quarters here and there. For instance, the Soviet technological achievements are also properly assessed, the author pointing out that USSR industrial development is far beyond that of the United States. In this aspect (and in that of military strength), Soviet statistics are very misleading.

Here, then, is an outstanding contribution to the knowledge of the Soviet Union, its government, its citizens, including (if scantily) the party reign over a restive Russian and non-Russian citizenry. Highly recommended.

New York, N.Y.

WALTER DUSHNYCK

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**DETENTE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.** Edited by George Schwab and Henry Friedlander, Cyrco Press, New York, 1975, pp. 171.

And still another book on "detente." In the past five years dozens of works have been devoted to the subject, some good, some bad, and this one represents a recent addition which in numerous respects is a welcome contribution to a critical understanding of the subject. As will be shown, it suffers from the same basic defect that most of the others do, but it does provide many interesting perspectives on the nature of detente and its operations in the historical frame-

work. The work consists of presentations and discussion transcripts occasioned by the "first CUNY Conference on History and Politics," which was held at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York in the fall of 1974.

Though the general orientation is historical and political, the work is replete with analytic observations concerning economic, ideological and philosophical issues. This is inevitable where detente is discussed in connection with Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union or any other totalitarian power that can only be adequately grasped in totalistic or holistic terms. This integrative, interdisciplinary tendency is seen throughout the book and its respective divisions. The work is divided into three parts: the historical setting, covering the period from 1919 to 1939 with emphasis on Germany and other Western powers; detente since 1945, including the Kissinger phase and Brandt's *Ostpolitik*; and a continuation of the preceding, with consideration given to so-called imperialist subsystems. Each part is followed by rather enlightening notes of discussion. Among the many participants, names such as Hans J. Morgenthau and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., highlight the list.

If the reader is seeking a commonly-held conception of detente in the work, he will be sorely disappointed. But, then, considering the wide disagreement on the term, this circumstance shouldn't be surprising. For example, Professor Keith Eubank of Queens College in New York views detente as a reduction of tension between states, an improvement of international relations, derived from the verb "detendre," meaning to relax, to unbend a bow, to evolve toward appeasement (p. 6). He then proceeds to apply his concept to the period of 1919-1939, which he characterizes in his paper as "A Study in Failure." For him, detente is a policy and, as he accurately states it, once set in operation, it "takes on a life of its own, defying efforts to change it even when the available information underlines the need either to rethink the policy, curtail it, or kill it" (p. 23). As demonstrated earlier in Britain in relation to Hitler's Germany, he rightly emphasizes that no politician wishes to admit that his policy has failed. Furthermore, in his excellent paper the professor stresses that for detente to succeed, it "requires reciprocity, sincerity, and agreement on the basic issues" (p. 23). All of this is so applicable to the present.

On the other hand, the equally thought-provoking paper by Professor Morgenthau on "Detente: Reality and Illusion" furnishes a different slant on the concept. He argues that the detente concept is in the same category as those of peace, general and complete disarmament, security and peaceful coexistence, in that each has a positive moral connotation which precludes rational analysis from the very start. Thus to be against detente would mean to be for "bigger and better tensions" (p. 71). In short, according to him, detente in itself is not a policy but rather a semantic cover for some concrete policy being pursued. Most of the presenters and discussants speak of detente as a policy. However, there are valid grounds for Morgenthau's conception, particularly if one views detente as a process that places a premium on negotiation, equilibrium of forces, and relative stability. Yet even Morgenthau is compelled to distinguish further between "detente" and "a genuine detente."

Several years ago reviewer covered pretty much the same ground in a number of testimonies in Congress. Along the Morgenthau line, he elaborated on the process-like, instrumental and even strategic character of detente, behind which foreign policy principles and applications tailored to specific regions were more or less upheld. In this conception, detente can be paralleled to the Soviet

Russian concept of "peaceful coexistence." At the same time, in terms of the Eubank conception mentioned above, and without any logical contradiction, detente can be viewed as a policy of pragmatic instrumentation oriented toward the realization of certain objectives, such as the containment of Soviet Russian imperialism, the furtherance of liberalizing forces within the Soviet Russian Empire, the advancement of nationalism in that empire, yes even the liberation and independence of the captive nations.

On this last point, Professor Morgenthau comes the closest among the participants in the conference to show the hypocritical content of these terms. As he puts it, these and similarly abstract concepts "the Soviet Union has floated in order to muddle our thinking and to gain the reputation of moral superiority over the United States" (p. 78). He goes on further to observe that under the cover of these concepts and similar rhetorical pronouncements the USSR "has pursued the age-old policies of Russia which, in the Middle East as elsewhere, have a very respectable ancestry under the aegis of Czarism." Unfortunately, this basic and fundamental perspective on Soviet Russian imperialism receives not even peripheral notice in this work, and yet it is crucial to clear thinking about such concepts as the Cold War, peaceful coexistence and detente. Professor Schlesinger also reveals his instinct in this matter when he quotes at the end of his instinct in this matter when he quotes at the end of his presentation the his presentation the words of André Fontaine that detente is simply "the cold pursued by other means—and sometimes by the same" (p. 136).

Herein lies the grave defect in this and similar works, namely the failure to vividly and unmistakably see the Soviet Union for what in reality it is, a land-empire that dynamically seeks expansion of influence and even territorial control under cover of supporting wars of national liberation, "progressive" proletarian forces in the advanced countries, and repressive means within the empire. At the 25th CPSU Congress, Brezhnev stated explicitly that detente with the West is no encumbrance for Soviet Russia expansionism. In the light of this and my preceding points, there is much of crass nonsense in the work. Mr. Herz, for instance, exudes some typical professorial sarcasm when he characterizes George Meany as "one of our foremost self-appointed experts on foreign affairs" (p. 26), but when one reads his statements on the Soviet need to expand its empire to build "a defensive belt around a much invaded country" (p. 32) or that Moscow's goal of world dominion is not a present, driving force, one cannot but side with common sense and Mr. Meany. To cite another example, a Professor Rustow of CUNY, misinterpreting Professor Himmelfarb, professes for the first time "that history holds no lessons" (p. 51) (this I imagine would include personal medical history) and then, obviously not knowing much East European history, sees the U.S. and, mind you, "Russia" as two "multinational nations" with "great powers of cultural assimilation" p. 115). The concept of empire escapes him completely. Such nonsensical aspects of the work could be extended.

An interesting and commendable sidelight of the work concerns the attitude of the American Historical Association toward the treatment of Soviet historians like Amalrik and Moroz. Professor Schlesinger points to its silence "with particular chagrin" (p. 133) and Professor Fringsheim discusses the issue in adequate length regarding American behavior at a recent joint conference in Canada (pp. 162-163).

## PERTINENT DOCUMENTS

### PLYUSHCH'S INTERVIEW IN 'LE MONDE': "I AM FOR A SEPARATE UKRAINE"

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** On February 3, 1976, Leonid Plyushch, Ukrainian mathematician, held his first public interview in Paris, attended by some 120 newspapermen and 30 cameramen. On the same day, *Le Monde* published an exclusive interview with Plyushch, which was reprinted in English on February 8, 1976 by *The Manchester Guardian*. The interview, taken by Amber Cousoglou, is preceded by the following biography of Plyushch:

Born on April 26, 1939 in the town of Naryn in Kirghizia, he [Leonid Plyushch] lost his father when he was two. After the war, his mother took him and his sister to live in a small Ukrainian township. At nine, his bone TB required him to be placed in an Odessa sanatorium, and in order to be with him, his mother sent away her daughter to an aunt at Frunze and went to work in the sanatorium kitchen for a pittance—30 rubles a month. He was 14 when he was finally cured and he shared a bed with his mother in the dormitory of a home for women while he went to school. Young Leonid was an excellent pupil. He went on to university and won even the top prize in the regional mathematics competition. That was when he joined the Comsomol (Young Communists League). After three years of university he volunteered to teach in a small village school; after all, shouldn't every individual do his little bit for socialism?

When he returned to the university, he paid no attention to anything but science. In 1962 he joined the Ukrainian Academy of Science's Institute of Cybernetics in Kiev. It was the time when the first issues of the *Samizdat*, the underground newspaper, were beginning to appear. Now he was able to study the real history of Stalinism.

His first ideological shock came in 1956 when Khrushchev denounced Stalin's "personality cult" at the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress. He was ousted from his job in 1968.

Before worrying about how he is going to make a fresh start at 37 after all these ordeals or about the future of his two sons, Plyushch wants all those who helped him recover his freedom to also help those who have been left behind "over there" and who are still suffering.

### Interview

*You began the news conference you gave with a reference to five of the 60-odd political detainees who are among the 1000 patients at the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital. Who are they?*

Mykola Plakhotniuk is a Ukrainian patriot. He was a doctor. Vyacheslav Yatsenko, an engineer and a Ukrainian Marxist, was taken to Dnipropetrovsk two weeks before I was. Vasyl Ruban is a Ukrainian poet who arrived at the "psykhushka" (a familiar term for "psychiatric hospital") a week later. Then there is Boris Evdokimov, a Leningrad journalist with links to [Russian emigre organization] NTS, who was transferred from a similar institution in Leningrad to Dnipropetrovsk.

There is Anatolij Lupynis whose case is horrible. In the early 1960's this young student was sent to a camp on the ground that he was an "agitator." He came out ten years later, crippled and unable to move without crutches. He could

only find a job selling tickets for a choral group. He was again arrested in 1971, under the following circumstances: every year, on May 22, the Ukrainians hold ceremonies marking the transfer in 1861 from St. Petersburg to Kiev of the ashes of the revolutionary Ukrainian poet and painter Taras Shevchenko. In order to eliminate any nationalist overtones to these ceremonies, the authorities used to organize a festival of friendship among peoples around the Shevchenko statue which stands in the middle of an open space opposite the university. But the Ukrainians would meet there later to recite verses or sing songs. It was here that Lupynis was picked up one day and charged with being a "nationalist." He has been held ever since.

### **Who else should be helped?**

There is the case of Victor Rafalsky, a teacher who was a member of an illegal Communist party after the war. Between 1954 and 1959 he was subjected to six psychiatric examinations. The first three, conducted in Leningrad, found him mentally sound: the next three, given in Moscow, discovered he was "mentally deranged." In the early 60's, he was held in a special Leningrad psychiatric clinic for having "friendly and written" contacts with a Ukrainian Marxist organization. After the discovery, during a search at his house, of *A Story of Bygone Years*, which he had written years before, he was sent in 1968 to the Dnipropetrovsk institution.

On several occasions he was told he would be freed provided he found himself a "legal guardian" to take care of him. But this 50-year-old man has only his mother, and she herself is in an old folks' home in Leningrad. So a nurse at the hospital agreed to stand surety for him and completed all the formalities necessary to become his legal guardian. But she was dismissed and the hospital's assistant administrator, responsible for enforcing regulations, told her: "As long as I am here, he's not going to leave the hospital." When he heard of the harassment the nurse was subjected to, Rafalsky begged her to abandon the idea.

I then gave him the address of one of our acquaintances who I thought could take care of him. Rafalsky wrote to her, but she never received the letter. But what happened was that the young woman was summoned by the authorities who told her: "Hildman, you want to go to Israel?" An hour later Rafalsky heard she could not be made his guardian because she knew me.

There is also the case of the Shatravki brothers, put away merely because they wanted to leave the Soviet Union. The older is 25. They managed to slip to Finland, but were extradited and sent back to the USSR.

I call upon world opinion to impress on the Finnish public the injustice of such procedures.

Finally, there is the case of the young Odessa man, Vyacheslav Igrunov, who was arrested in the spring of 1975. His trial, due to be held last December, was postponed. He was made to go through a medical examination which found him mad. The court has yet to sentence him to be held in a "psykhushka." It's a Plyushch case in reverse: Igrunov could be saved before he is forced to go through the full horrors of internment.

*Are nationalist issues cropping up in the USSR?*

They are, and increasingly every year. Take the example of Ukraine. Russification of this republic has attained an intolerable degree. Ukrainian has all but disappeared in the big cities. Of course, there are Ukrainian schools, but their syllabuses are not based on the republic's traditions, history or culture. They are carbon copies of Soviet schools. Ukrainian schools are offered as national heroes such figures as Peter the Great, the scourge of Ukraine, or even the traitor, Kochubey. In this way, the Ukrainians are given a warped version of their own history.

The revival of Ukrainian culture in the early '20s—it was called "the renaissance of the shot men"—did not last ten years. The sudden resurgence of literary works, paintings, plays and historical writings was totally snuffed out in 1934. Leninist policy of Ukrainization. At that time all civil servants had to speak Ukrainian and a public drive was made to get the people to adopt the language voluntarily. But at the beginning of the '30s the men in charge of Ukrainization were accused of "bourgeois nationalism" and wiped out.

There was a new cultural revival in Ukraine in the sixties: a school for translating Ukrainian works, Ivan Honchar's private museum, the wonderful poetry of Vasyl Symonenko, Lina Kostenko, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, the literary criticism of Ivan Dzyuba, Ivan Svitlychny and Vasyl Stus, the paintings of Alla Horska. Now all that has been snuffed out.

*That's why I am all for separating Ukraine from Russia, for only in an independent Ukraine will it be possible to build socialism and save Ukrainian culture.*

Even more tragic than the lot of the Ukrainians is that of the Crimean Tatars, Greeks and Meakhals, for they have all been deported to Siberia or Central Asia and are struggling today to get back to their native land and obtain cultural autonomy.

*You have been saying, since you left the USSR, that you are a Communist. But though you were a member of the Comsomol, you were never a card-carrying Communist. What does being a Communist mean to you?*

It means fighting for a society in which there is no Darwinian style tooth-and-nail struggle for material well-being. It means fighting for a society where the mind would be freed from the primacy of the belly to the advantage of creativity. For all human beings are talented in their innermost being. But that talent must be discovered and they must be allowed to express it.

*Do you know of at least one country headed in this direction?*

No. Czechoslovakia was in 1968.

*And the Soviet Union?*

Certainly not! They have erected a state capitalism there. Should it come to terms with the West one day, I fear it would only be a meeting of technocratic fascism.

State capitalism offers some advantages over a society underpinned by private capitalism. It enables vast amounts of capital to be amassed. The patriotic war (the Second World War) was won partly with the help of this concentration. Undoubtedly this makes it possible to undertake certain social measures, but these should be carried to greater lengths.

*Could the spirit of Prague's springtime and the policies advocated by Dubcek and his supporters go down with the USSR and with its people?*

Dubcek's ideas are wholly unacceptable to Soviet bureaucracy. It does not want to lose the prerogatives and material benefits it enjoys. As far as the Soviet peoples are concerned, however, it would seem to be the only possible and acceptable way out of the social, political and spiritual dead-end they are in.

*What do you think of Solzhenitsyn?*

He's a great writer who played a major part in reawakening spiritual life in Soviet intellectual circles. I like him very much as a person and thinker. But I don't go for his political views any more than I go for Dostoyevsky's. But, as in Dostoyevsky's *The Possessed*, the seeds of nationality are to be found in him. I need to think it over more deeply.

## UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"THE CAPTIVE NATIONS, THE WEEK, AND RUSSIAN LOBBYING," a statement by the Honorable Daniel J. Flood. *The Congressional Record*, Washington, D.C., December 16, 1975.

Toward the close of the first session of this Congress, Representative Flood of Pennsylvania directed the attention of his colleagues to the captive nations, the shortcomings of detente, and a spate of Russian lobbying on the Hill. He began by saying "as many analysts know, the last Captive Nations Week was a most outstanding one in terms of the unique convergence of events during that week—the Apollo-Soyuz orbital detente, Solzhenitsyn, Kissinger's apology of detente and the announcement of the European Security Conference." To disclose further insights into detente and the captive nations, the Congressman appended to his remarks several illuminating items.

One of the items is an article in the Free Chinese *Asian Outlook* of June, 1975, titled "New Captive Nations—The Tragedy in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos." The article takes off on the standard list of captive nations provided annually by the National Captive Nations Committee and develops in detail the tragedy in Southeast Asia. It observes in part, "On the occasion of observing the Captive Nations Week this year, we free people, who also have the feeling of being endangered, shall think more of what we can do and what we should do in the future."

The second item is most interesting. It is a letter by Maximilian P. Hodder to *Human Events* of September 22 on "Captive Nations Week." The letter criticizes President Ford and his predecessors for their weak proclamations of the Week and then quotes the "beautiful and noble address" delivered by Minority Leader Ford on July 11, 1970. The quote is as follows: "There are some Americans who think that Captive Nations Week should be soft-pedaled or forgotten. I strongly disagree. Americans must continue to make known their deep concern about the people of the Captive Nations and convey this message to the Captive World. Americans should continue to make known their refusal to accept the regimes imposed upon these unfortunate victims of tyranny." Doubtless, this quote will be repeated over and over again in '76.

As to the third item, it is a well-written editorial on "Soviet Russian Lobbying In Washington," appearing in the Ukrainian daily *America* on November 20, 1975. The editorial dwells on the recent attack on Dr. Dobriansky by the KGB's "Novosti Press." It also shows the Russian Embassy circulating the attacking article among Members of Congress. As the editorial points out, "Needless to say, such lobbying by Soviet diplomats is contrary to the Helsinki agreement which supposedly bars such 'meddling' in the affairs of other nations."

"THE PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE," a commentary. *Time*, New York, December 1, 1975.

Discussing the plight of some 10,000 "prisoners of conscience" in the Soviet Union, this excellent commentary highlights the case of the Ukrainian cyberneticist, Leonid Plyushch. Based on a study by Amnesty International, there are at least 10,000 such prisoners of conscience. The commentary points out that "Not one dissenter who has been charged is known to have been acquitted." After describing the horrible conditions of the labor camps, it states that even worse are the prison psychiatric institutions, using the Plyushch case as a notable example.

The commentary states, "A typical case is that of Leonid Plyushch, a cyberneticist whose aspirations for Ukrainian cultural freedom led to charges of 'creeping schizophrenia.'" It continues, "He has been given massive doses of depressant drugs. After two years in one of the USSR's seven police-run lunatic asylums, the noted scientist has been driven to a state of mental and physical collapse." In the so-called super-power, old, barbarian institutions with modern techniques, still prevail.

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"WELCOME TO FESTIVAL '75," A Bicentennial preview. *Ukrainian Times*, Los Angeles, California, October 1975.

Published by the Ukrainian Culture Center in Los Angeles, this first issue of the *Ukrainian Times* contains twelve magazine-sized pages with highly interesting accounts of professional Ukrainian personalities in California. The publication is actually a Bicentennial Year event, highlighting contributions of Americans of Ukrainian heritage notably in the film industry. "Welcome to Festival '75" is a preview festival advertisement combining the festival in October with the Bicentennial spirit.

The paper highlights, among other things, an article written by the British reporter David Floyd on "Ukraine, The Forgotten Nation." Unfortunately an error is made in saying that "Ukraine is the largest country in Europe." But aside from this the article is quite informative. Actor Mike Mazurki, actress Anna Sten, John Hodlak and others are featured in this cultural festival issue.

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"CAPTIVE NATIONS HONOR ROLL," a statement by the Honorable Daniel J. Flood. *The Congressional Record*, Washington, D.C., December 16, 1975.

At the close of each year the National Captive Nations Committee issues publicly the Captive Nations Honor Roll. The honor roll consists of names of officials, outstanding individuals and media that participated in the '75 Captive Nations Week. From year to year, it of course does not include all who have contributed to the success of the Week, and the criterion of some unusual accomplishment in connection with the Week is prudently applied.

The veteran Congressman from Pennsylvania puts it in part this way: "Mr. Speaker, each year at this time the National Captive Nations Committee releases the honor roll of outstanding Americans and others who remembered the con-

tinuing plight of the captive nations during and after the period of Captive Nations Week." He continued in part, "The 1975 honor roll is an impressive one, and it is my distinct pleasure to introduce it into the *Record*." President Ford leads the list, followed by Senators, Representatives, Governors, Mayors and others. Following the composite roll is a tract on "The New Captive Nations" written by the chairman of NCNC and published by The Americanism Educational League in California.

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"«INDEPENDISTS» ON ORDERS OF THE CIA," an article by M. Varvartsev.  
*Visti z Ukrainy*, Kiev, Ukrainian SSR, July 1975.

This piece was supposedly written by a candidate of historical sciences who shows little compunction in dramatizing his output by such terms as "bastards," "hirelings" and the like. Its focus of attack is on emigre Ukrainian organizations which are alleged to be in the pay of the CIA. The writer starts with a rhetorical genuflection to the peace program drafted by the 24th congress of the CPSU, which ostensibly "is exerting an increasingly beneficent influence on the development of international life," and then goes off on his literary rampage.

Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and its representatives are painted as criminals in the pay of the former Nazi German, Japanese and Italian imperialists and now—whom do you think?—the CIA. The OUN, its leader Melnyk, Allen Dulles and others are cited. Concerning Radio Liberty, the writer declares, "At the time of its founding, leading posts in its aparat went to regular officers of American intelligence, who conducted 'conferences' especially with the representatives of the New York group of ultra right-wing extremists—the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), for the purpose of engaging the hirelings of Hitlerite Germany in radio diversion." A careful reading of the piece indicates an insecurity on the part of the writer as to the validity of his data which he is forced to dress up in somewhat dramatic language.

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"SOVIET-BLOC AIDES WALK OUT IN PEKING," a report by Peter Griffiths.  
*Reuters*, Peking, People's Republic of China, October 7, 1975.

Officially, the Red Chinese are more truthful and accurate in defining Moscow and its behavior than is American officialdom. The "social imperialism" of Moscow has relevancy with regard to its treatment of the non-Russian nations and peoples in the Soviet Union. The concept still is inadequate when compared to that of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, which no doubt Peking would use should it be attacked as were the non-Russian nations by the Russians.

The speech of Vice Premier Teng Hsia-ping, who seems to be in functional command of the Red Chinese regime, caused some five envoys of the USSR and close associates to leave the hall where, on October 6, the Yugoslav premier Dzemal Bijedic was being honored. Teng said in allusion to Moscow, the "other superpower," as "the most dangerous source of war." He also praised Yugoslavia for its love of freedom and independence and for opposing imperialism and "hegemonism," another Peking term for Soviet expansionism.

Coincident with the Teng address, *The People's Daily* also attacked the Kremlin. It compared Moscow's policy with that of Nazi Germany and likened the Helsinki accord to the Munich "peace in our time" agreement. It also observed that "Soviet revisionist social imperialism, having a voracious appetite and stretching its tentacles in all directions, is more frantic and dangerous than old-line imperialism." Except for some missapplication of terms, how true. It is hoped that on these scores the Red Chinese made a deep impression on President Ford during his recent visit to mainland China.

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"SOVIETS PRESS DRIVE ON JEWISH OUTFLOW," an article by Peter Osnos.  
*The Washington Post*, Washington, D.C., February 14, 1976.

In a rather perceptive report on Moscow's shams concerning the Helsinki Accords, the writer exemplifies it by reference to Leonid Plyushch. The sham on emigration involves the extension of the option to emigrate to Israel. As the writer puts it, "Leonid Plyushch, for example, a Ukrainian nationalist who went to Paris last month after almost three years in a mental hospital, consented to the Israel option, although it was a fiction."

A pattern of Moscow's tactics is emerging with a play on Zionism within as a source of opposition to the state and, externally, the options for emigration to Israel and elsewhere as a demonstration of compliance with the Helsinki agreement for the easing of the movements of people and ideas. In this potemkin pattern, the Soviet Jew, Valery Kuvent, who emigrated to Israel and returned disenchanted, is used as a pawn and shows it when at a staged press conference in Moscow he asserts, "The Nazi fascists did less harm to the Jews than Zionism is doing today in Israel."

Outwardly, in similar tactical, potemkin fashion, Moscow is accelerating the issuance of visas for exit, reducing the application fee, and eliminating detailed character references. All formalities as yet. The proof will be in the pudding, and the time has come for a reassessment of Helsinki.

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"FREED SOVIET TELLS OF STAY IN ASYLUM," a report. *The Washington Post*, Washington D.C., February 4, 1976.

The release of the Ukrainian mathematician Leonid Plyushch from the nuge concentration camp system called the Soviet Union has received world-wide attention. His press conference in Paris has also been reported throughout the free press world. As reported here, the young dissident has made it clear that he is

still a committed Communist, holding that the Soviet system is "sick... and a shameful taint on the bright ideals of socialism."

The sordid facts described by Plyushch are described in this account without any form of embellishment. For example, he was placed in a ward at Dnepropetrovsk next to a patient "who had gone completely insane, whose face had lost human form and who masturbated all the time." Similar facts, which really are not new to the barbarities of the Soviet system, are also given in detail.

What is of importance about Plyushch now are his convictions as he states them. His Communist stance is being evaluated in several American circles. Moreover, his views concerning the Communist Parties in the West are likewise being assessed. At this conference he stated, "We Soviet neo-Marxists have always hoped that the Italian, French and English Communist parties will carry on the work of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and will rehabilitate Communist ideals, putting the Soviet Communist Party in the position of having to choose between Mao-Stalinism and Communism with a human face."

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"EUROPE'S RESTIVE TRIBES," a column by C.L. Sulzberger. *The New York Times*, New York, January 18, 1976

In 1964 the writer was most vehement in his criticism of the Republican Party platform which listed the captive nations and stressed those in the Soviet Union. He viewed this as unrealistic and groundless. It is interesting to observe, with approval of course, when he writes "The USSR contains the seeds of its own potential destruction in the form of Ukrainian, Baltic, Armenian, Georgian, Turkic, Kirghiz, Uzbek and Khazak nationalism." Unfortunately, he still is somewhat confused when he introduces this observation by saying "the contemporary nation where tribalism is most dangerously latent is Russia." As though the USSR, a land-empire, is "Russia."

The parallel the writer appears to draw between African tribalism and "Europe's Restive Tribes" is on false grounds. For the nation-building process in Africa this is a real and in time a surmountable problem. It is hardly similar to the nations in the USSR seeking to throw off the yoke of a Russian Empire. As concern the Flemish, Welsh, Scotch, Basque and similar cases the democratic process should be upheld for the consequences of secession would be observable even to the least literate in those areas. Greater autonomy and participation would be the likely result. In any event, they are not coerced parts of an over-extended empire, which is the case of the USSR.

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"SELECTED QUOTATIONS ON THE NATIONALITY PROBLEM IN THE USSR," an itemization. *Radio Liberty Special Report*, Washington, D.C., January 9, 1976.

Much of the output of Radio Liberty is of high quality and generally respected by analysts. This report, unfortunately, fails to meet the standard, and if the perspective of those responsible for this limited account continues to prevail, there can be no alternative but a renewed criticism on this vital issue.

The observations of Solzhenitsyn, Professors Pipes and Brzezinski as well as others are interesting and on general course, but they hardly strike at the

real nature of the USSR. Sakharov's notion of "the rights of the national minorities" is amateurish from the standpoint that Latvians, Ukrainians and others are scarcely "minorities" in their respective homeland. Chalidze's observation comes close to a concept of the Soviet Russian Empire, but does not say so. The same applies to Dzyuba and his stress on Russification, as it does to Conquest's statement on "demands for independence."

There are far better quotes available in official and academic circles than what is presented here. It's odd that the listing omitted Congress' Captive Nations Week Resolution to which every President since Eisenhower has had to respond over the past 17 years. The true and accurate concept of the USSR as the last remaining land-empire is provided in this on-going resolution and in many works. A stricter accounting of this piece would disclose a number of conceptual contradictions that indicate a fuzziness on the part of those quoted.

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"THE 58TH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE AND OUR AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL," an official observance led by the Honorable Daniel J. Flood. *Congressional Record*, Washington, D.C., January 29, 1976.

The 58th Anniversary of Ukraine's independence was properly and forthrightly celebrated in the U.S. Congress. Congressman Flood of Pennsylvania led the observance. In his opening remarks the legislator minced few words about Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism and its destruction of the independent Ukrainian National Republic.

Dovetailing the themes of Ukrainian independence and the American Revolution Bicentennial, the Congressman dwelled on the slogan "Lasting Independence From Empire (LIFE)," which Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, has advanced as the timely theme of the Bicentennial. As he put it, "Bridging 200 years, the theme raises the real question as to whether this unique American independence will be lasting—whether it will survive the mortal threat of the Soviet Russian Empire in our day."

The address also stressed the final eclipse of spurious detente and, with reference to the Secretary of State, pointed out, "Observe the sole fact that under his tenure three more captive nations in Southeast Asia emerged." The address included the full text of the UCCA President's letter to all Members of Congress, which concluded with the statement, "No responsible American leader concerned with vital US-USSR relations can continue to accept Kissinger and his myopic brand of detente." The appeal to President Ford for his proclamation of Ukrainian Independence Day—which could have been issued by Executive Order—is also appended.

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"SOVIET DISSIDENT TELLS OF ORDEAL," a report by Bernard Valery, *Daily News*, New York, February 4, 1976.

This report is another concise report on Leonid Plyushch's first press conference in Paris. It covers the three-year ordeal of forced drug injections, torture and human degradation in a Soviet hospital. The reporter emphasized the aus-

icious occasion of the conference, namely the eve of the 22nd congress of the French Communist Party.

As related, "Speaking on the eve of the 22nd congress of the French Communist Party, Plyushch urged the French Reds to reject the Soviet line and adopt a "human vision of Communism." The Ukrainian dissident also appealed to the Italian and British parties to do likewise. He reaffirmed his convictions as a neo-Marxist.

According to this report, the American folk singer Joan Baez attended the press conference. She said that she worked for Plyushch's release. "This is a great moment for us, too," she said. The worldwide campaign for the dissident's release stemmed from many continents.

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"A LIE IN BEHALF OF THE COLD WAR," an article by Boris Bannov. *Novosti Press Agency*, Moscow, USSR, September, 1975.

As a response to the '75 Captive Nations Week, the KGB's press agency circulated this short article denouncing a Congressional reprint of an extensive article written by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, who is also chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee in Washington. The reprint was under the title *The New Captive Nations*.

The Bannov article is interesting, as always, for its distortions and motives. As one example of its character, it states, "Dobriansky increased the 'new captive nations' list by adding South Vietnam, apparently ignoring such fruits of Democracy as napalm and genocide." Similar non sequiturs are contained in the article.

As a follow-up, the Russian Embassy in Washington indulged in a bit of lobbying, seeking the inclusion of the Bannov article in the *Congressional Record*. Commenting on this, Dr. Dobriansky stated "One need hardly wonder what the Kremlin's reaction would be if the U.S. Embassy in Moscow indulged in similar activities."

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"THE 58TH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE," statements. *The Congressional Record*, Washington, D.C., January 29, 1976.

Prior to and after the above date of the official observance of Ukrainian Independence in Congress, numerous addresses and statements were made on the 58th Anniversary. Examples of these can be found in the *Record*. However, their themes are reflected in several of those presented on the 29th. For instance, Congressman McCollister declared, "Our actions and those of thousands of Americans today will reassure the Ukrainians that their desire for independence, their struggle against aggression, and their hope for human rights endures interminably."

Another example is furnished by Congressman Pettis when she observed "Let the plight of these 48 million people in the Ukraine be a reminder to us, in our bicentennial of independence, of how truly fortunate we are to live in America." Congressman Biaggi emphasizes, "As the greatest free nation in the world, America must continue to champion the rights of oppressed people everywhere."

Congressman Walsh points out, "All hope to regain that independence is not lost as the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America continues its drive to fight for freedom for the Ukrainian people." Congressman Whalen and others strike similar themes in this Bicentennial observance of Ukraine's Independence. It all makes for worthwhile reading, especially for those who fear that idealism has waned in America.

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"DISASTER PREPAREDNESS," an article by Ron Miller. *Air Line Pilot*, Washington, D.C., August 1975.

This highly absorbing article is about Captain John X. Stefanki, an experienced airline pilot who is an American of Ukrainian background. The thrust of the article is on Stefanki's almost personal crusade for airport emergency disaster drills to reduce casualties resulting from airport crashes. The pilot began this project some five years ago, and today he is the country's outstanding advocate and implementor of disaster preparedness programs.

As described by the author, "In between his regular flights for United, Captain Stefanki constantly bustles about the country, gathering weighty accident reports and bulky files on safety procedures with the zeal of a private eye on a \$1,000-a-day retainer." In 1971, Stefanki established the first full-scale civilian air disaster exercise ever held in the U.S. This was at the Oakland International Airport. The Captain is quite optimistic about the programs. He says, "When an idea's time has come, nothing can stop it. From here on out we're going to see nothing but improvement."

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"A WEEK OF SLANDERERS," an article by Boris Bannov. *Golos Rodiny* (Voice of the Fatherland), Moscow, USSR, September 1975.

Another article written by the writer of *Novosti* attacks the Captive Nations Week and the chairman of the National Captive Nations Week. The tone and character of this piece is no different from the one commented on above. It appeared in the *Replica* column of this Russian organ that is directed at Russian emigres.

The type of thinking reflected in the piece can be gathered from this quote, "The organizers of anti-Soviet 'weeks' resort to all sorts of slander in order to save the 'cold war.'" It's evident the Russian totalitarians enjoy the fruits of detente, which conforms well with their peaceful coexistence warfare concept. In short, when the Russians call you a slanderer, you know that you're on the truth track.

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"BOHDAN KRAWCIW; DR. ANTIN RUDNYTSKY; HELEN LOTOTSKY," obituaries. *The New York Times*, New York, November 24, December 2, 4, 1975.

In the space of a few days three outstanding Americans of Ukrainian background passed away. Short accounts of their lives appear in this New York organ. Bohdan Krawciw was a poet who for many years served as an associate

editor of *Svoboda*, a Ukrainian American daily in New Jersey. He specialized in Ukrainian literature at the University of Lviv in Ukraine.

Dr. Rudnytsky was a pianist, composer and conductor who before coming to the United States had conducted the Kharkiv and Kiev Operas. He taught at the Philadelphia Musical Academy, Indiana University and other institutions, and served as president of the World Association of Professional Ukrainian Musicians.

Helen Lototsky was the founder of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America and served as president of the League for many years. She also served on the executive committee of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America before her retirement.

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"PROTEST: SOVIET CIRCUS IS TARGET," a report. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Philadelphia, Pa., December 9, 1975.

The Philadelphia chapter of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America placed citizens in the Philadelphia area on notice concerning the Soviet Circus at the Spectrum. Before each performance a large mobile billboard would circle the Spectrum with pointed messages.

The messages that were conveyed were "Torturing Ukrainians Is Expensive" and "Buy a Ticket to the Moscow Circus, Help Kill a Life." The protest seems to have made an impact.

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"SENATOR 'SHOCKED, INDIGNANT' AT OTTAWA'S NEW ETHNIC POLICY," a report by Nicholas Van Hijn. *The Toronto Star*, Toronto, Canada, December 2, 1975.

The shock and indignation expressed by Senator Paul Yuzyk of Winnipeg was over an announcement by John Munro, federal minister responsible for biculturalism in Canada, that the multicultural program would be transformed to combat racial and ethnic discrimination. The Senator is chairman of the Canadian Folk Arts Council which has been furthering multiculturalism in Canada.

A demand at the annual meeting of the council was made for meetings with Trudeau and Secretary of State Hugh Faulkner. For over two years the Canadian government has spent over \$4 million on its multicultural programs. It appears that a move is on to divert future expenditures in the direction of reducing differentiations and differences among the Canadian citizenry.

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"UKRAINIAN TOWN," a letter-to-the-editor by Don J. Fontana. *The Washington Post*, Washington, D.C., February 6, 1976.

The writer of this letter is responding to one written by Stefan Korbonski on "Soviet Oppression," which was printed in the January 23 issue of the *Post*. His criticism pertains to the city of Lviv. He writes, "The Ukrainian city of Lwiw—or Lvov, as the Polish and Russian occupants like to call it—is not and never has been Polish."

In pungent form the writer states that the historic city is Ukrainian territory. Neither Russia nor Poland has any legitimate claims to it. The writer further points out that "due to Russian imperialism and Western apathy, the Ukrainian people cannot exercise the right of determining their own destiny."

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**"DISSIDENT TELLS OF TORTURE IN SOVIET ASYLUM,"** a report by Elias Antar. *New York Post*, New York, February 3, 1976.

This additional report on the press conference held in Paris by Leonid Plyushch covers much of the same ground of torture, painful sulphur injections, beatings and breakdowns found in other newspaper accounts. It tends to be more specific in parts of the account. For example, Plyushch is quoted as saying "Another ward, No. 5, was a veritable bedlam, with patients screaming and yelling, urinating on the floors and fighting for the toilet. Some ate their own excrement."

An appeal is made by the Ukrainian dissident in behalf of Mustapha Djemilev. He points out that Djemilev, an advocate for the rights of the Crimean Tartars, is in the seventh month of a hunger strike at a psychiatric hospital in Omsk. At the end of the report Plyushch is quoted as calling on Western Communists and civil libertarians "to fight for man's rights in Russia—it is your international duty." His commitment to so-called Marxist ideals is stressed.

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**"SOVIET PROTEST MOVEMENT GROWING,"** an article by John Dornberg. *Newsday*, New York, February 4, 1976.

This writer has concentrated on the dissident movement in the USSR for some time. His main point here is that the movement hasn't spread sufficiently as yet among the workers. It is represented largely by intellectuals. However, a number of evidences of workers' interest is emerging.

For one, there has been an increase of samizdat documents affected by workers' interest. Their thrust is in on better wages and reduced prices. This probably is indicative of a widespread interest that surely can be intensified by less contributions mainly in grains from the West.

**L.E.D.**

## **CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS**

### **I. UKRAINIAN LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES**

#### **Ukraine's Independence Anniversary Observed Throughout the Nation**

—Following the established tradition of several decades Ukrainian communities across the U.S.A. observed with appropriate ceremonies this January 1976, the 58th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukraine's independence and the 57th anniversary of the Act of Union, which occurred on January 22, 1918 and January 22, 1919, respectively, in Kiev. Rallies, concerts and other public manifestations were held in almost every community, with mayors and governors in many cities and states issuing special proclamations, designating January 22 as "Ukrainian Independence Day."

**UCCA President's Appeal to U.S. Legislators.**—On January 19, 1976, UCCA President Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky sent a special letter to all U.S. Senators and Congressmen, urging them to voice their support of the Ukrainian people in their struggle for freedom and national statehood. Titling his missive "Lasting Independence from Empire," Prof. Dobriansky said that "we cannot ever shrink our moral responsibility to help other nations—especially those at the very core of the Soviet Russian Empire—partake in this God-ordained essence" [U.S. Bicentennial].

"In this globally meaningful spirit of '76, we cordially invite you to observe this 58th Anniversary of Ukraine's Independence. Words are powerful weapons of truth, and yours will help immensely the struggle for independence by the Ukrainian nation... We urge the Congress to seize this historic opportunity for the indispensable revision of our policy toward the USSR on grounds of a genuine detente marked by strict politico-economic reciprocity and renewed conformity with our traditions and principles of '76, which in the nuclear age bear even greater meaning. Once the land-empire nature of the USSR is truthfully faced, concrete, winning measures to cope with Moscow's hostile 'peaceful coexistence' will evolve... No responsible American leader concerned with vital US-USSR relations can continue to accept Kissinger and his myopic brand of detente."

**Observance of Ukraine's Independence Anniversary in the U.S. Congress.**— On January 29, 1976 Bishop Constantine of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S. led a joint session of Congress in the annual prayer service, commemorating the 58th anniversary of the independence of Ukraine and the 57th anniversary of the Act of Union.

The full text of Bishop Constantine's prayer reads:

"Almighty, we thank Thee for Thy manifold blessings upon our Nation. Commemorating the birth of America's freedom we implore of Thee, guide us in wisdom, sanctify us through Thy strength that we, a light to all nations, might dedicate ourselves to the spirit of '76' which, through divine

providence, is the cradle of liberty. In this light remove not from our sight the darkness known to captive nations under Communism.

"We beseech Thy great mercy for Ukraine and her people which, 58 years ago, experienced restoration of independence as the Ukrainian National Republic, only to have her liberty usurped within 3 years by Red Russian tyranny. We beseech Thee, O Giver of Life and Liberty, terminate the enslavement of Ukraine that Ukrainians might realize freedom.

"Bless our President, leaders, Congress and all Americans with Thy illumination so that, with one mind and spirit, we might always seek freedom for all nations through the word of Thy truth. Amen."

The following U.S. Congressmen made appropriate statements in the House of Representatives, which subsequently appeared in the **Congressional Record**:

Mark Andrews (R., N.D.), Frank Annunzio (D., Ill.), Mario Biaggi (D., N.Y.), Lawrence Coughlin (R., Pa.), James J. Delaney (D., N.Y.), Edward J. Derwinski (R., Ill.), Christopher J. Dodd (D., Conn.), Daniel J. Flood (D., Pa.), Jack F. Kemp (R-C, N.Y.), Edward I. Koch (D., N.Y.), John Y. McCollister (R., Neb.), Joseph G. Minish (D., N.J.), John Joseph Moakley (D., Mass.), Lucien N. Nezi (D., Mich.), Henry J. Nowak (D., N.Y.), Shirley N. Pettis (R., Calif.), Matthew J. Rinaldo (R., N.J.), Robert A. Roe (D., N.J.), Paul S. Sarbanes (D., Md.), William F. Walsh (R. N.Y.), Charles W. Whalen, Jr. (R., N.Y.), and John W. Wylder (R., N.Y.).

Also, the following U.S. Senators introduced appropriate statements on the anniversary of Ukrainian Independence, which were read into the **Congressional Record**:

Birch Bayh (D., Ind.), J. Glenn Beall, Jr. (R., Md.), James L. Buckley (C-R, N.Y.), Quentin N. Burdick (D., N.D.), William V. Roth, Jr. (D., Del.), Richard S. Schweiker (R., Pa.), Harrison Williams, Jr. (D., N.J.), and Milton R. Young (R., N.D.).

In the House of Representatives Congressmen Flood and Derwinski led the observances by delivering extensive addresses, expressing the bipartisan support to the cause of freedom for the Ukrainian people.

Several public observances especially well-organized and with the participation of U.S. Congressional and State leaders were held in the following communities:

a) **Clifton, N.J.:** On January 17, 1976, under the auspices of the Passaic-Bergen Counties UCCA Branch, an anniversary luncheon was held at the Robin Hood Inn in Clifton, N.J. attended by some 600 persons, at which Governor Brendan T. Byrne was the guest speaker. Other dignitaries attending the observance included Cong. Robert Roe, State Senator Joseph Hirkala, State Assemblyman Emil Olchowcy; Mayor Frank Sylvester of Clifton, Mayor Paul T. Jordan of Jersey City and Mayor Robert Müller of Irvington. Representing the UCCA Executive Committee were its Executive Vice President Joseph Lesawyer and Treasurer Mrs. Ulana Diachuk. Severyn Palydowych, UCCA branch chairman, opened the ceremony.

b) **Albany, N.Y.:** On January 20, 1976, the New York State Legislature unanimously passed a resolution calling on Governor Hugh Carey to proclaim January 22 "Ukrainian Independence Day" in the Empire State of New York to give "encouragement to... these brave people [Ukrainians] by the people of America" in their struggle for national independence.

The resolution was sponsored by State Senators, Edwyn E. Mason and Warren Anderson, Senate Majority Leader. On the initiative of State Sen. Mason, the UCCA sponsored a program at the State Capitol, dedicated to the 58th anniversary of Ukraine's independence, which was attended by over 300 persons.

The program, held in the large marble hall of the legislature, included special prayers by Very Rev. Dr. Bohdan Woloshyn and Rev. I. Kulish, of the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, respectively; introductory remarks by Dr. Walter Dushnyck, who also acted as master of ceremonies, and brief addresses by Lt. Governor Mary Anne Krupsak, Senators Mason and Anderson and Assemblyman James Tallon; entertainment was provided by singers Orysia Hewka and Marusia Shtyn, bandurists M. Bandera and T. Semchynshyn and the dance ensemble from Watervliet under the direction of W. Kocur.

Representing the UCCA Executive Board were its Executive Director Ivan Bazarko; Ivan Kedryn-Rudnytsky, editor of UCCA *Visti*; Michael Shashkevych and Dr. Dushnyck, members of the Board. Most of the 300 Ukrainian Americans came from Albany, Amsterdam, Binghamton, Cohoes, Elmira, Glen Spey, Hudson, Hunter, Kerhonkson, New York, Schenectady, Troy, Watervliet and Yonkers.

c) Washington, D.C.: Seventeen U.S. legislators, officials and representatives of various organizations took part in the program and reception, held on January 22, 1976 in the Rayburn Building's banquet hall under the sponsorship of the Washington UCCA Branch. The program, presided over by George Nesterchuk, UCCA Branch organizational chairman, was opened with the rendition of the American national anthem by Laryssa Diachok and included short addresses by UCCA Executive Vice President Joseph Lesawyer, Congressmen Edward J. Derwinski (R., Ill.) and Christopher Dodd (D., Conn.), and Dr. Mary V. Beck, who greeted the guests on behalf of the Ukrainian State Center (UNR).

The entertainment part of the program included solos by Mme. Renata Babak, accompanied by Thomas Hrynkiw, piano-violin duets by Laryssa Diachok and Irene Kohut-Ilychshyn, and bandura music by soloist Markian Komichak.

Attending the reception and concert, in addition to Congressmen Derwinski and Dodd, were the following U.S. legislators: Sen. Quentin Burdick (N.D.), Congressmen Dominick Daniels (N.J.), Henry J. Nowak (N.Y.), Gladys Noon Spellman (Md.), Marjorie S. Holt (Md.), Paul S. Sarbanes (Md.), J. Herbert Burke (Fla.), Matthew F. McHugh (N.Y.), Matthew J. Rinaldo (N.J.), and Peter Rodino, Jr. (N.J.); in addition, personal representatives came from: Sen. Henry M. Jackson (Wash.), Cong. Robert A. Roe (N.J.), Sen. Robert P. Griffin (Mich.), Cong. Millicent Fenwick (N.J.), and Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia.

Also present at the ceremony were: Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, Special Assistant to the President for Ethnic Affairs, and Mrs. Kuropas; K.R. Strawberry of the State Department; Col. Julian Niemczyk, Director, Heritage Division of the Republican National Committee; Andrew Valucek, Nationalities Council of the National Democratic Committee, and Michael Terpak, Chief, Ukrainian Services of the "Voice of America."

Representing the UCCA Executive Board, in addition to Mr. Lesawyer, were Ivan Bazarko, Executive Director; Dr. Walter Dushnyck, editor of **The Ukrainian Quarterly**, and Dr. Peter Goy, member of the Policy Board; and Walter Sochan and Mrs. Ulana Diachuk (Ukrainian National Association); Edward Popil (Ukrainian Workingmen's Association); Dr. Yaroslav Bernadyn, Bohdan Kazaniwsky and Mrs. Stephanie Wochok ("Providence" Association of Ukrainian Catholics); Dr. George Starosolsky (Plast) and Very Rev. Dr. Vasyl Makuch, Rector, Ukrainian Catholic Seminary; Rev. Stepan Shevel and Rev. Joseph Denchuk—all from the Ukrainian Catholic parish, and Rev. Peter Budny of the Ukrainian Orthodox parish.

d) **President Ford Named "Man of the Year" by Ukrainians of Chicago.**—President Gerald R. Ford became the first President of the United States to be named "Man of the Year" by Ukrainian Americans, at a banquet, held at the Sheraton Chicago Hotel on Saturday, January 24, 1976 on the occasion of the 58th anniversary of Ukraine's Independence proclamation. The festive ceremony, attended by some 600 persons, including many federal, state and local public officials, was sponsored by the Chicago UCCA Branch under the chairmanship of Dr. Julian Kulas.

In a video-taped message to the local Ukrainian community, which concentrated on the cultural contributions made by Ukrainians to the development of the U.S. over the past years, President Ford expressed his pleasure in accepting the award:

"...As we commemorate the 200th anniversary of our Revolution, more and more Americans are mindful of their bi-national heritage. In this regard I was especially pleased to learn that your community is celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Ukrainian immigration to America in conjunction with our Bicentennial. Your contributions to this nation are recognized and appreciated. I know you will continue to enrich our country's heritage with your art, your architecture, your music and the individual contributions of your many talented individuals.

"I commend you for your continued contributions to our national legacy, to our durable system of representative government. I salute you for your struggle on behalf of all human freedom."

The message was brought from Washington by Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, newly-appointed Special Assistant to the President for Ethnic Affairs, who also served as master of ceremonies.

Principal speaker at the banquet was Rep. Henry R. Hyde (R. Ill.), who appealed to all Americans to "raise their voices for the people of the captive nations in Eastern Europe." The keynote address in Ukrainian was delivered by Attorney Kulas.

Also speaking at the observance was Anthony Fornelli, past president of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans, and David Roth of the American Jewish Committee.

The banquet was opened with an invocation by Bishop Constantine of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, while Bishop Jaroslav Gabro of the Ukrainian Catholic Church blessed the food. Pastor Oleksa Harbuziuk, president of the Ukrainian Evangelical-Baptist Alliance of North America, delivered the benediction.

An entertainment program was provided by the "Verkhovyna" youth chorus from the St. Nicholas Cathedral under the direction of H. Mrysh-

chuk and J. Prociw, and the SUMA "Vatra" choir, directed by Oksana Ferenc and M. Hawryluk.

e) **Cleveland, Ohio:** On February 1, 1976, the Ukrainian independence anniversary was commemorated with an elaborate program. Sponsored by the local UCCA Branch, headed by Dr. Bohdan Futey, the program was attended by Senator Robert Taft, Jr. (R., Ohio), who was presented with the "Shevchenko Freedom Award" in recognition of his outstanding services to the Ukrainian community in America and his support of the aspirations of the Ukrainian people to freedom and national independence. The presentation was made by Joseph Lesawyer, Executive Vice President of the UCCA.

Other observances were held in New York, Boston, Detroit, New Haven, Jersey City, Binghamton, Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Baltimore, Portland, Carteret, Passaic, Newark, Yonkers, Philadelphia, Maplewood, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Hempstead, Youngstown, Phoenix, Seattle, Miami, Houston, Minneapolis, Trenton, Willimantic, and elsewhere.

**Dr. Myron Kuropas Appointed Special Assistant to the President.**—Dr. Myron B. Kuropas, educator, author and one of the most prominent Ukrainian American activists of the American-born generation, was appointed Special Assistant to the President for Ethnic Affairs, a post created for the first time in the history of the United States.

In a special announcement, dated January 6, 1976, the White House Press Secretary stated:

"The President today announced the appointment of Myron B. Kuropas, of Chicago, Illinois, as Special Assistant to the President for Ethnic Affairs. This is a new position and he will be assigned to the White House Office of Public Liaison.

"Since December 1972, Mr. Kuropas has been Regional Director of ACTION in Chicago. Prior to his appointment he had served as Deputy Director during 1971. He served as a school principal in Chicago, Ill., before joining ACTION.

"Born on November 15, 1932, in Chicago, Illinois, Mr. Kuropas received his B.S. from Loyola University in 1953 and his M.A. degree from Roosevelt University in 1955. He attended the University of Chicago and received his Ph.D. in 1974. He is a Supreme Advisor of the Ukrainian National Association and has served on the National Advisory Board of the National Project on Ethnic America.

"Mr. Kuropas is married to the former Alexandra Waskiw and they have two sons."

Apart from his involvement in the Ukrainian National Association, Dr. Kuropas was active in such Ukrainian youth organizations as the Ukrainian National Youth Federation and the Ukrainian Youth League of North America. He is the author of a condensed history of Ukraine, entitled, *The Saga of Ukraine, and Ukrainians in America*, which was published by Lerner Publications of Minnesota in 1972.

**UN NGO Status Denied to Ukrainian World Body.**—The UN Office of Public Information has rejected an application of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU) for membership in the Non-Government Organizations accredited to the U.N., citing "dissident opinions" and "statements in (the Congress) publications directed against Member States of the United

Nations" as reasons, according to a letter from Gilberto Rizzo, Chief of the UN Relations Divisions.

The application, submitted on December 22, 1975, was to secure Non-Governmental Organizations status in order to enable the WCFU to receive and disseminate information concernig the UN to its members.

Mykola Plawiuk, vice-president of the WCFU, called the rejection of the application "an act of blatant discrimination against the three-million-strong Ukrainian community in the Western world." He pointed out that the Ukrainian community has more members than over forty UN member-states have populations.

In his statement, Mr. Plawiuk said that "the Ukrainian Congress has, without success, made every possible effort, through all existing channels to secure representation at the UN."

With respect to this latest development, he expressed his personal mystification over the reasons given in the letter of rejection.

"The claim that the WCFU represents dissident opinions and makes statements against member-states of the UN in publications is surely not to be taken as a serious objection, since every newspaper in the world at some time or another carries such views. By this logic, none of the present NGO's would meet the criteria of membership."

Mr. Plawiuk indicated that the WCFU will continue its efforts to obtain representation at the UN and appealed for support from UN member-states.

**Los Angeles Ukrainians in Bicentennial Observance.**—The Ukrainian Culture Center here staged a three-part Ukrainian Bicentennial program early in October, 1975, which consisted of a concert, a folk craft exhibit, and the publication of a 12-page English-language newspaper about Ukrainians in the U.S. A two-hour Ukrainian Festival was held on Sunday, October 5, 1975, at Maple Leaf Park in La Puente, Calif. Taking part in the program were the Center's own ensemble "Spirit of Ukraine," the Smaltzoff Dance Ensemble, a SUMA chorus, the "Poltava" Quartet, a Ukrainian string orchestra and an accordion soloist.

The Ukrainian exhibit was held prior to the concert, and featured Ukrainian cultural artifacts and a film about the local Ukrainian community, produced by So-Lux Film. The display included ceramics, *pysanky*, weaving, embroidery and woodcarving. A special brochure provided information about Ukraine and its people.

The newspaper was published by the Ukrainian Culture Center through a grant from the Ukrainian American Professional and Businessmen's Association. It highlighted the history of Ukrainians in America, describing their accomplishments and achievements; and of Ukrainian in the arts, and other areas.

The Ukrainian Culture Center's board of directors includes Volodymyr Stoyko, president, and Ksenia Boyan, Orysia Bulczak, Oleh Chaikovsky, Myron Couzak, Ostap Gatz, Lesia Melnyk, Alexander Muc, Andrew Olesijuk, and Zenon Zachariasewych.

**New Issue of 'Nationalities Papers.'**—The sixth issue of *Nationalities Papers* (Vol. III, No. 2, Fall, 1975), published by the Association for the Study of the Nationalities (USSR and East Europe) in Charleston, Ill., contains two papers and comments that were delivered at the Seventh Na-

tional Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) in Atlanta, Ga., on October 10, 1975.

Prof. Stephan M. Horak discusses "Problems of Periodization and Terminology in Ukrainian Historiography," and Prof. Jan Zaprudnik "Problems in Terminology and in the Periodization of Byelorussian History." Comments were offered by Prof. Herbert J. Ellison and Prof. Lubomyr R. Wynar, while introductory remarks were provided by Prof. Lowell Tillett.

A timely article by Prof. Andrew Ezergailis on "Nationalism in World Politics and History," together with three book reviews by Prof. Joseph S. Roucek, a list of publications received and announcements of two books by Prof. Wynar, complete this attractive volume of 95 pages.

**Nationalities Papers** is the official publication of the Association for the Study of Nationalities (USSR and East Europe), issued semi-annually since 1972. It should be noted that **Nationalities Papers** is the only scholarly journal in any language devoted exclusively to the problem of the non-Russian peoples in the USSR and national minorities living within the East European countries.

Articles in the fields of social sciences and humanities should be submitted to the Editor, Prof. Stephan M. Horak, Department of History, Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, Ill. 61920. Books for review and book reviews are to be sent to the Associate Editor, Prof. Andrew Ezergailis, Department of History, Ithaca College, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850. Applications for membership should be sent to the Managing Editor, Prof. Andrew Skreija, Department of Sociology, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska 68101. Annual dues are \$6.00 per year (\$10.00 for two years) and include a subscription to **Nationalities Papers**. The rate for libraries and institutions is \$8.00 per year. Back volumes are available at \$3.00 per issue.

**UNA Marks Its 82nd Birthday in Shamokin, Pa.**—On February 21-22, 1976 some 2,000 visitors from Berwick, Shenandoah, Hazleton, McAdoo, Centralia, Ashland, Frackville, Olyphant and Mahanoy City, as well as those from Allentown and Binghamton gathered in Shamokin to commemorate the 82nd anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian National Association (UNA), the oldest and largest Ukrainian fraternal association in the U.S., as well as to launch observances of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution and the Centennial of the Ukrainian settlement in America. The observance included an elaborate musical and dance program, featuring Andrij Dobriansky, bass-baritone of the Metropolitan Opera of New York, soprano Mary Lesayer, a native of Shamokin, Thomas Hryniw, a pianist, and a native of Wilkes-Barre; the "Echoes of Ukraine," a dance ensemble from Detroit-Windsor under the direction of Joanna Draginda-Kulchsky and the Bandura Ensemble from Windsor under the direction of Eugene Ciura. Addressing the audience was Joseph Lesawyer, president of the Ukrainian National Association, which originated in Shamokin eighty-two years ago. There was also a 12-table display of Ukrainian cultural artifacts—embroidered towels and pillow cases, **pysanky**, ceramics, woodcuts, and so forth, staged by the Women's Sodality of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Shamokin.

**UCCA Executive Committee Holds Plenary Session in New York.**—On March 6, 1976 the UCCA Executive Committee held its plenary session in New York City, attended by 25 executive officers and presided over by

UCCA executive vice president Joseph Lesawyer, with the minutes of the last meeting read by Bohdan Kazaniwsky, a UCCA secretary.

In his report Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, UCCA President, touched on a number of points relative to his activities in Washington. These included efforts to have President Ford issue a proclamation on Ukrainian Independence Day; this year's observance of Ukraine's independence anniversary in Congress; communication from the State Department pertaining to the work of the U.S. government for the release of Valentyn Moroz and Leonid Plyushch; a new resolution introduced in the House by Cong. Daniel J. Flood and in the Senate by Sen. James L. Buckley on the Bicentennial of the American Revolution, tying in Russian imperialism; events in Angola, etc. He also reported on the case of a Ukrainian family, reunited with their son, who emigrated from Ukraine through the efforts of Sen. Buckley, and on the UCCA membership in the WACL and the latter's organization congress in Seoul, Korea, this spring.

Mrs. Ulana Diachuk, UCCA treasurer, reported that the overall results of the 1975 fund-raising drive for the Ukrainian National Fund brought a total of \$133,140,50, the second highest amount attained since the establishment of the fund in 1949.

UCCA Executive Director Ivan Bazarko also dwelt on the 1975 fund collection, and said that the success was due largely to the work of individual UCCA branches and their collectors; he also reported on the commemorative meeting in honor of deceased UCCA officials—Vasyl Mudry, Dr. Volodymyr Kalyna, Volodymyr Hirniak and Peter Sahaydachny.

Mr. Bazarko also reported on the format of the forthcoming XIIIth UCCA Congress, to consist of plenary sessions and a dozen working committees, two of which—the nominating committee and by-laws committee—are elected by the Board of Directors, while the other committees will be elected at the Congress.

Dr. Anthony Zukowsky, chairman of the Committee for the Study of Ukrainian Life in the U.S.A., and Prof. Bohdan Hnatiuk, chairman of the Committee for the Study of Political Situation and Human Rights in Ukraine, reported extensively on the work of their respective Committees. In turn, Mrs. Christine Kulchycky, chairman of the UCCA Conference of Youth Organizations, reported on gathering collective signatures among the various strata of society in defense of Ukrainian political prisoners.

During the luncheon intermission the UCCA Executive Committee welcomed Prof. Yuri Mazurkevich, outstanding Ukrainian violinist who recently emigrated from the USSR to Canada. He and his wife Dana, also a violinist, were to give a concert that night at Lincoln Center in New York City.

**Leonid Plyushch, Family on Short Visit in the United States.**—Leonid Plyushch, his wife Tatyana and their two sons, Dima and Lesyk, arrived on March 21, 1976 for a three-week visit to the United States and Canada. Born in 1939, Plyushch was a talented computer scientist in the Kiev Institute of Computer Science where he did work in bio-mathematics. In 1972 he was arrested for writing a series of letters and articles in defense of national and human rights in Ukraine, and held incommunicado in Lefortovo Prison in Moscow; he was "diagnosed" in the Serbsky Institute for Forensic Psychiatry, and finally confined indefinitely in June, 1973, to the Special Mental Prison Hospital in Dnipropetrovsk, in Ukraine.

His arrest, imprisonment and inhuman "treatment" with "mind-dulling" drugs evoked worldwide protests by Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians alike, including Georges Marchais, first secretary of the French Communist Party. On January 8, 1976, Plyushch was released and allowed to emigrate to the West with his wife and two sons. They received political asylum in France and will remain there for the immediate future.

On March 23, 1976, in his first meeting with some 200 leaders of the Ukrainian community at the Ukrainian Institute of America, Plyushch called for a multi-national effort in defense of human, national and individual rights in the USSR. The meeting was held under the auspices of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, its Commission for the Defense of Ukrainian Political Refugees and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Greeted by UCCA President Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, and welcomed by Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk, Archbishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S., Joseph Lesawyer, Executive Vice President of the UCCA and Vice President of the WCU, and Ostap Balaban on behalf of the Ukrainian Institute. Mr. Plyushch spoke on the rebirth of Ukrainian culture in the 1960's and the subsequent repressions by Moscow. He cited the names of such intellectuals as Alla Horska, Vasyl Symonenko, Lina Kostenko, Mykola Lukash, Anatole Lupynis, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mykola Braychevsky, Eugene Sverstyuk, Vasyl Stus and others who contributed to the revival of the Ukrainian national movement. The most remarkable person in this movement, he said, is Valentyn Moroz.

Mrs. Tatyana Plyushch spoke about the Ukrainian women political prisoners and appealed to all to continue efforts for easing their plight.

On March 25, 1975, Amnesty International sponsored a press conference for Mr. Plyushch, held at the City University of New York, which was conducted by Dr. Lipman Bers, professor of mathematics at Columbia University and President of the American Mathematical Society, who led protests of U.S. mathematicians against the imprisonment of Mr. Plyushch.

Mr. Plyushch, who spoke in Ukrainian, with translations by Marko Carynyk, urged Ukrainians and other freedom-loving people to continue informing the West about the repressions and persecution in Ukraine. He said that Russification in Ukraine is pursued vigorously by the Soviet government and the party organs. "Sometimes the government urges the study of Ukrainian culture, and then again it suppresses it," he added. "Under the Khrushchev reign Ukrainian culture progressed, but once he was deposed, repressions followed. In 1965 some twenty Ukrainian intellectuals were arrested on suspicion of espousing 'Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism' and the arrests continue to this day... Only in an independent Ukraine can socialism develop and Ukrainian culture flourish," he said.

All religions in the USSR, he continued, are persecuted, especially the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Catholic Church in Lithuania, and the Buddhist, Baptist and Jewish religious confessants are harassed as well.

Anti-Semitism is officially fostered by the Soviet government, which is afraid of cooperation between Ukrainians and Jews. But close cooperation exists between Ukrainians and Jews, and a journal, entitled, *Babi Yar*, was planned to be published. Ukrainians are also cooperating with the Baltic groups, Armenians and Crimean Tartars. He concluded:

"Despite the fact that the awakeners of the Ukrainian national movement in Ukraine are in concentration camps, the spirit of resistance exists in the masses, especially the intelligentsia, youth and students, who will generate new fighters for freedom."

On March 26, 1976, Mr. and Mrs. Plyushch were guests of Metropolitan Mtyslav Skrypnyk at the Consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Bound Brook, N.J., attended by some 80 guests.

On Saturday, March 27, 1976, Mr. and Mrs. Plyushch spoke at a mass rally at New York's Manhattan Center, attended by over 3,000 people, mostly Ukrainian Americans who ended the rally with the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem. Addressing the gathering were also Pavel Litvinov, Simas Kudirka, Bayard Rustin, Michael Harrington and Congressman Edward I. Koch of New York and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington.

Also, on Sunday, March 28, Mr. Plyushch addressed the New York Society for Ethical Culture, and on March 30, 1976, he appeared before the Subcommittee of the House Committee on International Organizations under the chairmanship of Congressman Donald Frazier of Minnesota. On March 31, 1976 Mr. Plyushch was a guest at a reception sponsored by the Ukrainian group in Morristown, N.J.

Finally, on April 3, 1976 Mr. Plyushch took part in a panel discussion on "The Left and the Soviet Union," held at the Washington Square Methodist Church in New York City, along the I. F. Stone, Grace Paley, E. P. Thompson, Victor Gotbaum and Daniel Berrigan. On Sunday, April 4, 1976 Mr. and Mrs. Leonid Plyushch departed for Toronto, Canada.

**OBITUARIES:** a) **Theodore Mynyk**, the "Dean of Fraternalists," and an executive officer of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association, (UWA), died on July 10, 1975 in Scranton, Pa. at the age of 81. Born on July 3, 1896 in the village of Tershiv, county of Sary Sambir, Western Ukraine, he emigrated to the United States in 1912 at the age of 15, settled in Scranton and began working in the coal mines of the nation's anthracite region. He attended night school and learned English, thus adding to his linguistic ability (Ukrainian, Polish and Russian). In 1916 he moved to Binghamton, N.Y. to work for Ansco Camera Works, where he also enrolled in the International Correspondence School, from which he graduated with honors. His career in the UWA began in 1919, when he was elected to its Supreme Council, and in 1925 he was raised to the rank of auditor; in 1927 he was named Recording Secretary of the UWA, to which post he was elected for several consecutive terms and which he held until his retirement in 1974.

Mr. Mynyk was one of the founders in 1940 of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) and served as a vice president of this national Ukrainian American representative body for a number of terms; he also was a member of the executive board of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (UUARC); for twelve years he served as president of the Ukrainian Citizens Club of Scranton, was president of the Ukrainian Community Chorus, and a member of the executive board of the Fraternal Congress of the State of Pennsylvania. He was also a member of many other Ukrainian American organizations and societies, where he was always an inspiration and example of good citizenship and leadership.

b) **Maj. Jan Vano Nanuashvili**, former officer of the Georgian and Polish armies, outstanding political leader and writer, died on August 15,

1975 in San Francisco at the age of 73. He was born in Tbilisi, Georgia, in 1902. As a cadet of the Georgian Officers' School, he took part in the Georgian-Russian war in 1921. After the takeover of Georgia by Communist Russia, he and other young officers retreated with the Georgian national government abroad; he also attended the Greek Military Academy and subsequently transferred to Poland, where he served in the Polish army during World War II. While in Poland, he was active in the Georgian Officers' Association and was associated with the Promethean Movement. He was a German POW from 1939-41, but was saved by some influential Georgians, and went underground. In 1944 he succeeded in crossing the front and rejoined the Polish army fighting in Italy.

In 1951 he emigrated to the United States and became a U.S. citizen. In 1973 he authored a book, **What Everyone in the Free World Should Know about Russia**, describing Communist Russia's aggressive policies. He also contributed two articles to *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, "The Middle East and the Cold War" (Vol. XIV, 1958) and "Our World at the Crossroads" (Vol. XIX, 1964).

c) **Dr. Michael Sonevytsky**, noted Ukrainian classical philologist, educator and author died on November 30, 1975 in New York City at the age of 83. He was born on April 22, 1892 in the village of Hadyntkivtsi, Husiatyn county, Western Ukraine. A specialist in Greek and Latin, he taught both those languages at the Theological Academy in Lviv; from 1930-41 he was a senior lecturer at Ivan Franko University and became a senior researcher at the Institute of Literature of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences branch in Lviv. During World War II he taught at the gymnasiums in Lviv and Krynytsia. Immediately after the war Dr. Sonevytsky resumed his teaching career in Vienna and Munich and lecturing at the theological seminary in Hirschberg; he also was a professor at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, and since 1963 had been a professor at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome.

Dr. Sonevytsky was the author of several scholarly works, including **The History of Greek Literature**, of which the first volume was published in Rome in 1970; he was working on the second volume at the time of his death. He was a member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.A. and other organizations.

d) **Dr. Antin Rudnytsky**, noted Ukrainian composer, conductor and music teacher who headed the recently established World Association of Ukrainian Professional Musicians, died on November 29, 1975 in Toms River, N.J. at the age of 73.

Born on February 7, 1902 in the village of Luka, near Sambir, in Western Ukraine, Dr. Rudnytsky acquired his secondary education in Lviv, where he also completed the Polish Conservatory. In 1926 he graduated from the Higher School of Music in Berlin and from the local university with degrees in philosophy and musicology. In 1927 he was invited to become the conductor of the Kharkiv State Opera in Soviet Ukraine and to teach at the State Conservatory there. He later occupied similar positions in Kiev and Lviv. It was in Kiev that he married Maria Sokil, lyric soprano of the Kharkiv, Kiev and Lviv Operas, and the couple collaborated on many musical projects, including tours of the United States and Canada in 1937 and 1938, whereafter they remained in the United States, settling in Toms River, N.J.

Dr. Rudnytsky was a faculty member of the Academy of Vocal Arts in Philadelphia as well as the Conservatory and the Academy of Music there. Dr. Rudnytsky's major contribution to Ukrainian music was his introduction of Western European elements and techniques into that music. He composed two operas, *Dovbush* and *Anna Yaroslavna*, a ballet "Storms over the West," three symphonies and a number of orchestral and vocal works, including the symphonic cantata, "The Message." He was conductor of the Ukrainian mixed choir "Kobzar" in Philadelphia. A member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and many other professional societies, Dr. Rudnytsky was the author of the 400-page work in Ukrainian, entitled, **Ukrainian Music: A Historical and Critical Outline**, published in Munich in 1963, and he wrote scores of articles and critical reviews in the Ukrainian press.

e) Helen Lototsky, prominent Ukrainian American woman leader, who was one of the founders and long-time president of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America (UNWLA) and acting president of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations (WFUWO), died on December 2, 1975 at the home of her son in West Sand Lake, N.Y., at the age of 81.

Born in Western Ukraine in 1894, the daughter of Rev. Antin Folyts, she completed her elementary education in Peremysyl and her higher education in the United States, where she arrived with her first husband, the late Rev. Vasyl Dobushovsky. She later married Volodymyr Lototsky, Ukrainian journalist and national leader. In 1925 Mrs. Lototsky with a small group of Ukrainian women organized the first branches of the UNWLA. She assumed the presidency of the organization and retained that post for many years, guiding the UNWLA and helping it to become a national organization, now with some 4,000 members, organized in over 100 branches and nine regional councils throughout the U.S. In recognition of these services, the UNWLA bestowed upon Mrs. Lototsky the title of Honorary President in 1965, the first in the organization's history. Upon her initiative, two international Ukrainian women's congresses were held in the U.S., in 1932 and in 1948. Mrs. Lototsky, as head of the UNWLA, took part in international women's congresses in Helsinki and Washington. For many years she was a vice president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and was on the board of directors of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee. She was a recipient of the "Shevchenko Freedom Award" bestowed upon her by the UCCA in recognition of her outstanding services to the Ukrainian community in America.

## II. UKRAINIANS IN THE DIASPORA

### CANADA

**Official Number of Ukrainians in Canada Set at Over 580,000.**—On the basis of the 1971 Canadian population census, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee reported that a total of over 580,000 Ukrainians live in that country, constituting 2.69% of the total Canadian population.

Since the 1961 census, the Ukrainian population in Canada increased by 107,323, or 22.6%. Over 81% of the Ukrainian population was born in

Canada, whereas 76.6% said during the 1961 census they were Canadian-born.

A plurality of Ukrainians, 159,875, live in Ontario, while the 114,415 Ukrainians in Manitoba make that province the most densely Ukrainian populated province.

The Ukrainian population in other provinces is as follows: British Columbia—60,150; Alberta—135,510; Saskatchewan—85,920; Quebec—20,330; other provinces—4,460.

Winnipeg, with 64,305 Ukrainians, is first in the number of Ukrainians inhabiting a major metropolis, while Edmonton, with 62,650 Ukrainians, has the densest Ukrainian population (12.63%).

Other cities in the top nine categories are: Toronto—60,755; Vancouver—31,130; Montreal—18,050; Calgary—15,850; Saskatoon—14,390; Hamilton—14,385 and Thunder Bay—10,890.

British Columbia has the largest increase of Ukrainians from 1961 to 1971 with its population almost doubling from 35,640 to 60,150. Among the cities, Edmonton, Alta., saw the largest increase of Ukrainians with a jump of over 70% from 38,164 in 1961 to 62,650 in the latest census.

The latest population census also revealed that the first Ukrainians to settle in Canada were Vasyl Yaleniak and Ivan Pylypiv, who arrived in Canada in 1859 from the village of Nebyliv in Western Ukraine.

**World Congress Calls for Actions in Defense of Church.**—The Presidium of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU) designated 1976 as "Defense of Ukrainian Religion and Church Year," and called on all Ukrainian Christians in the world to initiate campaigns on behalf of religious freedom fighters in Ukraine. The appeal was made in conjunction with the hierarchs of all Ukrainian churches in the free world.

All details of the defense, the WCFU statement said, are left to individual churches and Protestant congregations, while the world body will act as a coordinator and will present their demands before the Western governments, the U.N. and international organizations. In its appeal, the WCFU cited the destruction of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the 1930's and 1940's and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the 1940's and 1950's.

It also related the current repression against Ukrainians who stood up in defense of the religious, cultural and national rights of Ukraine, among them Valentyn Moroz, Nina Strokata-Karavanska, Vyacheslav Chornovil, Borys Soroka, Ihor Kalynets, and others.

Several U.S. legislators have introduced in the U.S. Congress a series of appropriate resolutions documenting the destruction of religion in Ukraine and authorizing the U.S. government to intercede in the matter, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

## UNITED KINGDOM

**British MP Defends Persecuted Ukrainians.**—A British parliamentarian asked his government to tell the Soviet regime that Britain is concerned with the systematic violations of human rights in Ukraine.

"I hope that my right honorable friend the Foreign Secretary will not miss a single opportunity to convey to his opposite numbers in the Russian government our abhorrence of the situation in Ukraine," said William Whit-

lock, a representative of Nottingham North, on the floor of the House of Commons on November 10, 1975.

Mr. Whitlock further said that the Helsinki document should bind all signatory states into implementing human rights within their territories, and that the British government should set up a special committee to oversee the implementations.

"The early release of Ukrainian political prisoners would be an earnest show of Russian intention to live up to those matters to which they so far paid lip service. Let us see the undertakings at Helsinki reflected in the lives of the people of Ukraine," said Mr. Whitlock.

Mr. Whitlock stated that Ukrainian prisoners are thrown in cells where the conditions are worse than for common criminals. He added that the Ukrainian prisoners committed no crimes, and have been convicted for beliefs which the constitutions allow a person to profess. He told his colleagues that while the Soviet and Soviet Ukrainian constitutions guarantee human rights and other freedoms, "yet for many years, the Russians have tried to stamp out the aspirations of the Ukrainians to maintain their own culture and their own national identity."

## **GERMANY**

**OBITUARIES:** a) Dr. Vasyl Oreletsky, noted Ukrainian scholar and authority on international law, died on January 9, 1976 in Munich, Germany, at the age of 81. He was a professor of international law and sociology, and three-term Rector of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich; he also was a dean of the faculty of jurisprudence and social-economic sciences at the same university. Dr. Oreletsky was also a member of the Ukrainian Technological-Husbandry Institute in Munich and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. In the years 1925-1933 he was president of the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (CESUS) and for a number of years headed its international department.

b) **Elizabeth Skoropadsky**, daughter of the last Hetman of Ukraine, Paul Skoropadsky, and head of the Ukrainian Hetmanite Movement, died on February 16, 1976 in Obersdorf, Germany, at the age of 77.

Mrs. Skoropadsky-Kuzhim became the leader of the Ukrainian Hetmanite Movement, after her sister Maria died in 1959.

She was born in 1899 to a noble and ancient Ukrainian family which played an important part in the history of Ukraine. One of her ancestors, Ivan Skoroparsky, was Hetman of Ukraine, from 1709-1722 (after the defeat of Hetman Ivan Mazepa and King Charles XII of Sweden at Poltava).

Her childhood days were spent on the family estate in the village of Trostianka in the Poltava region. At the age of 14 Mrs. Skoropadsky-Kuzhim enrolled in the study of sculpture at the St Petersburg studio of M. Dillon, while her older sister, Maria, embarked upon a career in medicine. Both of them completed their secondary education with honors, but neither of them could pursue their studies because of the outbreak of World War I.

In April, 1918, her father, General Paul Skoropadsky was elected **Hetman** of Ukraine, and for eight months Elizabeth, her sister Maria and brother Danylo became immersed in the study of the Ukrainian language, history and traditions. In November the Hetman government was over-

thrown and a new government of the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic was installed, compelling the Skoropadsky family to flee Ukraine. It finally settled in Berlin, where Mrs. Skoropadsky-Kuzhim resumed her study of sculpture. She enrolled in an art school in Berlin and also studied in Florence, Italy. She received a number of awards and prizes for her work at exhibits across Europe; she displayed her sculptures in Germany, Holland, Finland and America.

Since their childhood, the Skoropadsky girls, along with their brother Danylo, took a keen and active interest in Ukrainian affairs. When their father was killed in an air raid over Germany in 1945, the brother took over the leadership of the Hetmanite movement until his death, at which time the older sister, Maria, took over the helm until her death in 1959.

## **BRAZIL**

**Ukrainian Professionals Plan Permanent Organization.**—Some 100 Ukrainian Brazilian professionals met in Curitiba to discuss various problems faced by the Ukrainian community in this South American country. The gathering, the first of its kind, marked the 80th anniversary of the Ukrainian immigration to Brazil and the 40th anniversary of the Basilian seminary.

The participants, of whom 90 percent were born in Brazil, adopted a series of resolutions calling for the establishment of a permanent Ukrainian Brazilian professional organization and created a steering committee to plan the next meeting.

The conference was attended by Bishop Joseph Martynets, who addressed the gathering and expressed his satisfaction at the large number of delegates. The Portuguese-language address was delivered by Auxiliary Bishop Efraim Krevey, who stressed the importance of the meeting and outlined its objectives.

Speaking also at the conference were Rev. Valdimiro Haneiko, Mykola Getz, Rev. Valdimiro Burko, Rev. Jaroslaw Szkorobot, and Dr. Mykhailo Matiysky. After a Divine Liturgy, a concert program was held, dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the Ukrainian Catholic seminary.

There are over 200,000 Ukrainians in Brazil, most of whom live in the States of Parana, Santa Catarina and Sao Paulo.

## **III. IN CAPTIVE UKRAINE**

**Group of Ukrainian Political Prisoners Renounce Soviet Citizenship.**—Twenty-three Ukrainian political prisoners, including Ivan Svitlychny and Ihor Kalynets, have submitted statements renouncing their Soviet citizenship, according to the Press Service of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council.

Last year, Danylo Shumuk and Vyacheslav Chornovil made similar statements, and Chornovil, the author of *The Chornovil Papers*, went even further by applying for Canadian citizenship. It was also reported that other Ukrainian incarcerated intellectuals had demanded the status of political prisoners, placing them under the protection of international covenants.

The Press Service also reported that Vasyi Stus and Vasyi Lisovy were transferred to the KGB headquarters in Kiev for intense questioning. Dissident sources in Ukraine feel that they were being pressured by the secret police to recant their political convictions.

Still other reports from Ukraine cited by the Press Service reveal that Malva Landa, a Russian dissident, appealed to Amnesty International on behalf of Mykola Baduliak-Shragin, who, she said, is suffering from severe hypertension. Baduliak, 50, was deported forcibly by the Nazis from Ukraine at the age of 16. After the war he moved to England, where he completed engineering studies. In 1968 he visited the USSR as a representative of an English company. He was arrested and charged with "treason," and incarcerated in the Mordovian labor camps. After signing several petitions to the UN Commission on Human Rights about the treatment of political prisoners, he was transferred to the Vladimir Prison, notorious for its severity.

**Lithuanian Underground Calls for Independence of Ukraine and Byelorussia.**—A document of the Lithuanian underground movement called for the "dismantling of a U.S.-USSR hegemonial system and the fragmentation of the USSR into its constituent units." The document was issued in June, 1974 by the "Lithuanian National People's Front," an underground organization in Lithuania, which allegedly was formed in 1955 and is an umbrella for a number of organizations. Its authors are believed to be young Lithuanian nationalists, or "socialists" and "national Communists."

It said that the "National People's Front," "the ideological nucleus of resistance for the entire subjugated land of our fathers, in raising anew the question of self-liberation in the light of our disappointment with the Western world, places foremost our internal strength, which in solidarity with the entire Baltic area, the Ukrainian and Caucasian nations, along with progressive Russian minds, can by a long and difficult struggle attain national political freedom—separating ourselves from ethnographic Russia and creating free and independent states..."

Assailing the political persecution of the non-Russian nations in the USSR, the document went on:

"Echoes of revolts in the countries of Eastern Europe reached the youth of the Baltic states, Ukraine, the Caucasus, and even of Russia, and led to student demonstrations in Vilnius, Kaunas, Tartu, Riga, Leningrad, Moscow, Kiev, and Tbilisi..."

The document contains a "Minimum Program" and a "Maximum Program" of 6 points each, dealing mostly with Lithuania, and an 18-point set of "Demands," ranging from the abolition of the Warsaw Pact bloc and the NATO to the establishment of a "United States of Europe" from "Lisbon to the Urals." It calls for full implementation of national statehood of Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, a federation of free states of the Islamic republics of Uzbek, Kazakh, Turkmen, Tadzhik and Kirghiz in Central Asia; the reunion of the Karelians with their brothers, the Finns, in "a Finno-Ugartic state," and the reunion of Moldavia with Romania; it called for the restoration of the federation of the Siberian nations. In Point 12, the "Demands" stated:

"To give the Ukrainian and Byelorussia nations the right of establishing their own states in friendly association with the Russian and other Slavic nations."

[The document was first published in the Lithuanian Canadian newspaper *Teviskes Ziburial* on July 1, 1975, and subsequently appeared in No. 1, 1976 of *Lithuanus*, the Lithuanian quarterly published in Chicago, Ill.].

**Father Romaniuk Appeals to the Pope, World Council of Churches.—**

Rev. Vasyl O. Romaniuk, a Ukrainian Orthodox priest who is presently serving a ten-year sentence in a labor camp in the Mordovian ASSR for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," has appealed to Pope Paul VI and the World Council of Churches in Geneva to take a stand against violations of human rights in the USSR, according to a release of January 7, 1976 by the "Smoloskyp" Information Service (SIS).

In separate statements written in the summer of 1975, Rev. Romaniuk asked the Holy See and the World Council of Churches to help form international commissions which would "examine the facts relating to the trampling of human rights in the USSR." Both statements contain special appeals on behalf of Ukrainian women political prisoners and Ukrainian political prisoners in general confined in psychiatric prison-hospitals. In the same statements, Rev. Romaniuk declared that he would begin a hunger strike on August 1, 1975, in protest against suppressions of national and human rights in Ukraine. As far as it is known, Fr. Romaniuk is still on his hunger strike, sustained, no doubt, by forced feeding.

Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk was 22 years old when he was first arrested in 1944 for "nationalist and church activities." His brother, Tanasiy, was shot that night by NKVD agents who had come to take the whole family to Siberia. His father soon died from the severe conditions and hard work in exile, while Vasyl himself served a ten-year term in a concentration camp. After completing his theological studies at the seminary in Moscow, he became a parish priest in the village of Kosmach in the Ukrainian section of the Carpathians. In 1970 he was suspended for preaching from the pulpit that the people should hold on to their traditions. He also protested against Valentyn Moroz's arrest and trial in November 1970 in a letter to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR.

Fr. Romaniuk himself was arrested in January 1972 during the mass arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals and sentenced to ten years in special-regime camps and five years of exile. He is reported in a critical state of health, due in large measure to his continuing hunger strike.

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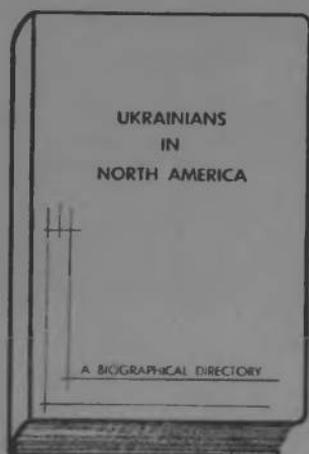
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