

# The Ukrainian Quarterly

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JOURNAL OF EAST EUROPEAN AND ASIAN AFFAIRS

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# The Ukrainian Quarterly

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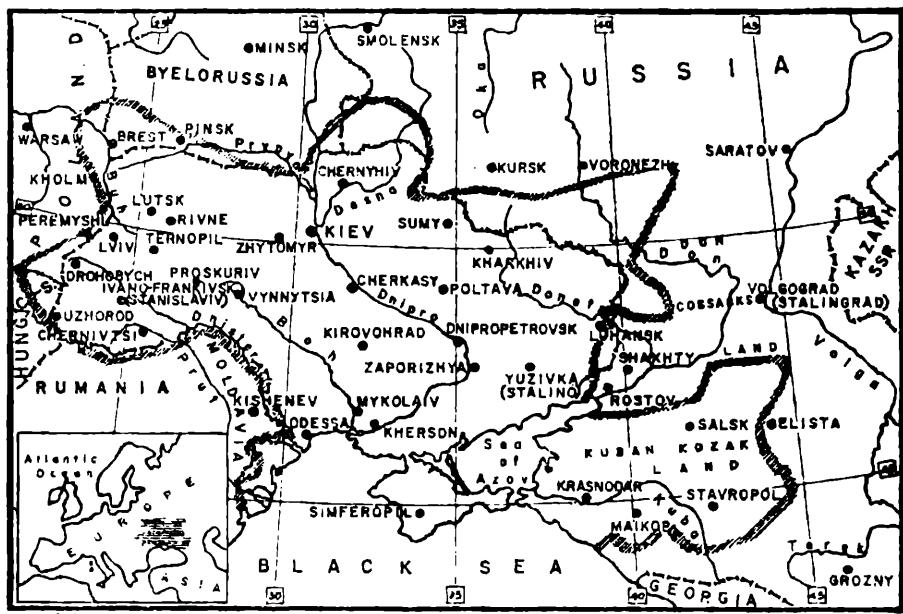
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## THE TWO REVOLUTIONS: AN ANNIVERSARY

### *Editorial*

QUESTION: What about the millions of people in the Soviet Union who are not Russian? Do they think and act the same way as the ethnic Russians?

ANSWER: No, there are some important differences. This could become one of the USSR's toughest domestic problems over the next generation or so. Ethnic Russians are barely a majority of the population in the whole country already, and their birth rate is way below that in most non-Russian areas. So, very soon the Russians will be a minority—the biggest minority, but still a minority—ruling a majority made up of dozens of different cultures and nationalities.

There is lots of lip service to diversity in the Soviet Union, but in the things that matter the country is run by Russians. A lot of non-Russians say it also is being run for the benefit of Russians... The Government is trying to homogenize and "Russify" the entire population. It's another example of how the Soviets talk one way and act another...<sup>1</sup>

The observance of the 60th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution that took place on November 7, 1977, was conducted by the present holders of power in the Kremlin with the usual fanfare, boasting and display of military hardware. The Bolsheviks, who proclaimed themselves the rulers of Russia in October, 1917, dreamed of a revolutionary proletariat, with themselves in the vanguard, leading the world to a "classless society," governed by what Lenin called "the rule of force unrestricted by any laws." This was to be accomplished by the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in the name of a materialistic dream-utopia: the creation of a new "socialist" man who would rule the world of a "classless society," where "everyone would live according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

After sixty years and an estimated 60 million deaths from civil war, purges and manmade famines, the modern Soviet state is a far cry from realizing that utopia. Rather than a classless society, the USSR today features a tiny minority whose lives are sweetened by

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<sup>1</sup> "Russia's 60 Years of Communism: Success or Failure?," Special Section, *U.S. News and World Report*, October 24, 1977, Washington, D.C.

such privileges as access to special stores that sell high quality foreign goods, country houses (*dachas*), limousines, and many other luxuries far out of reach of the average "Soviet man."

The Communist utopia, aspiring to a super-abundant society where people work out of sheer "love for humanity," has degenerated into a brutal and impracticable economic system that poses an example for the world of how *not* to run an economy. To get by the impossibly clumsy distribution system and the shoddy products of the Soviet factories, Soviet citizens are forced to steal and to resort to black market and illegal private tradings in order to make do.

Private plots, which make up less than one percent of the land, produce 20 percent of the Soviet output of vegetables, while the vast collective and state Soviet farms are so unproductive that the USSR has been forced to import millions of tons of wheat from the United States.

In his letter to the Soviet government, that is, as personified by President Brezhnev, Ukrainian writer Heliy Snehirov, now in prison, wrote as he renounced his Soviet citizenship:

I do not wish to be a citizen of a state which during the 60 years of its existence has so managed its economy that it has been forced to make concessions to private initiative in order to raise cattle and domestic fowl on individual plots. One percent of the land has been assigned to such individual plots, while 99 percent has been taken by collective and state farms.

That one percent produces one-third of the foodstuffs of the country!

And how you have bled your citizen of that one percent of the land—you have taken away his cow, destroyed his chicken by heavy taxation; every apple tree, every raspberry bush! Today you realize that your collective and state farms cannot feed the country. So you try to endear yourself to the citizen, to flatter him and assure him: Don't be afraid any more, raise your pigs and chickens, and we promise not to touch you; we even have written it into the constitution. Feed us with your one percent [of land], produce for us not one-third, but two-thirds, inasmuch as the expectations from the collective and state farms are a lost cause, memorials to the glory of rotten ideology that are made of manure...<sup>2</sup>

Soviet factories are plagued by alcoholism, absenteeism and a general lack of morale. The dispirited work force labors half-heartedly at best for the state.

Both Marx and Lenin had prophesied that the state would "wither away," but what has happened is that the Soviet state has become a vast prison camp in which the tiniest details of everyone's private lives are scrutinized and where anyone who stands against

<sup>2</sup> Heliy Snehirov, "An Open Letter to the Government of the USSR" (Kiev, Ukraine, 1977).

the power of the state is punished with imprisonment in slave labor camps or in psychiatric wards in which mind-altering drugs are used to break down political prisoners. Thus, in the name of liberty and justice, the Russian Communists have created an utterly unfree and unjust society that is brutally upheld and perniciously expanded.

But it is not our purpose here to dwell on the origin and substance of the Bolshevik Revolution, the dream that turned nightmare. What we should like to point out is what the West has been so prone to neglect and forget: simultaneously with the Russian Revolution of 1917 there broke out a series of non-Communist revolutions in those countries which had been held in Czarist political thrall for varying periods of history.

#### CONFRONTATION: NON-RUSSIAN NATIONALISM vs. THE CZAR'S EMPIRE

The late Ukrainian-Jewish statesman and diplomat, Dr. Arnold D. Margolin (1877-1956), viewed the prerevolutionary Russian empire as a "Tower of Babel" where "social and ethnic extremism on the part of different nationalities and groups" was confronted with the new Bolshevik force, which proceeded systematically to abolish freedom throughout the former empire, and also with the defenders of the "ancient regime," who "persisted in misunderstanding events that had already occurred."<sup>3</sup>

Prof. Richard Pipes, in commenting on the outbreak of non-Russian nationalism in the Russian empire in 1917, writes:

...The mistake committed by almost all Russian liberals and socialists lay in treating nationalism as an exclusively negative force, a by product of oppression and discrimination, and ignoring the strong affirmative factors present in all national movements. Western history in the nineteenth century had given ample proof that the stirring of democratic sentiments among the masses of the population invariably assumed national forms of expression: that the aspiration to popular sovereignty was accompanied by an awareness of national identity and a demand for some kind of national self-determination. And yet, for all their knowledge of history and respect for its lessons, the leaders of Russian liberal and socialist parties ignored this particular evidence. Hence their surprise and perplexity when in 1917 nationalism suddenly raised its head in all parts of the Empire, presenting an added difficulty in the already formidable task of administering a country whose expectations had gotten far ahead of its capabilities...<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Arnold Margolin, *Ukraine and Policy of the Entente*, trans. from the Russian by V. P. Sokoloff (Temple Hill, MD: McDonald & Eudy, 1977).

<sup>4</sup> Taras Hunczak, ed., *The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution*, with an introduction by Richard Pipes (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1977).

**THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REVOLUTION**

The fall of Russian Czardom through the abdication of Czar Nicholas II in February, 1917, was precipitated by a series of disasters both at the far-flung warfronts and within the empire as well.

The Ukrainian people, as did all the other enslaved peoples in the empire, acclaimed the fall of Czardom in the belief that a new era had begun in their rich yet tragic history. They were faced with the task of answering many questions at once, as the war was still going on; social, political and economic problems clamored for a swift and radical solution.

The question of political autonomy for the non-Russian nationalities immediately divided them and the Russians. The non-Russians met hostility from the Russian Provisional Government, first under the premiership of Prince Lvov and then under that of Alexander Kerensky. The Russian political parties, too, opposed the idea of the decentralization of the empire, although some of the liberal leaders were willing to see the question decided by the all-Russian Constituent Assembly, which was to meet later on.

The Ukrainians were not alone in their national demands. Acting swiftly in establishing their own provisional governments were the Lithuanians, Finns, Poles, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians and the peoples of the Caucasus and Turkestan.

Prof. Pipes is probably correct in his belief that had the Provisional Government acceded to the Ukrainian demands, the Kerensky regime would have survived the Bolshevik coup, having all new governments of the non-Russian nations on its side against the Bolsheviks as well. While the Kerensky regime was granting some concessions to the Finns and Poles, it was stubbornly opposed to granting any to Ukraine. Hence, the Ukrainians, seeing chaos and anarchy in the offing, began acting on their own.

The Ukrainian Central *Rada*, organized on March 17, 1917, became the rallying point of all Ukrainian political and social forces. Under its sponsorship a number of Ukrainian congresses were held throughout Ukraine that gave support and assistance to the *Rada*, led by Prof. Michael Hrushevsky, Ukraine's most prominent historian. It created a General Secretariat, which assumed the role of government and created a new Ukrainian national army by Ukrainianizing Russian army units consisting mostly of Ukrainians and by forming new units.

Through its First and Second *Universals* (June 23 and July 16, 1917, respectively), the *Rada* slowly but steadily established its power

and authority; at least 1,600,000 Ukrainian soldiers were then at the *Rada*'s disposal. It also reached agreement with the Provisional Government, the latter therewith recognizing the *Rada*, and drafted a constitution of 21 articles, named the "Statute of the Higher Administration of Ukraine," which was rather a conciliatory document. The *Rada* also established a Ukrainian administration, a network of Ukrainian schools on all levels and put in motion a system of Ukrainian courts.

On September 21-28, 1917, the First Congress of the Peoples of Eastern Europe convened in Kiev under the auspices of the *Rada*, in which Ukrainian, Tartar, Georgian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Jewish, Byelorussian, Estonian, Mongolian and other representatives voted to create a federation and to support the *Rada* in its struggle against the Provisional Government. But the day of the Provisional Government was over. On November 7, 1917, the rule of the myopic Provisional Government was put to an end; an aggressive Communist regime assumed the power and authority in Russia.

The Bolsheviks, despite or because of their revolutionary zeal, set upon seizing the power in Ukraine as well. Their vision could not be denied; the ends justified the means.

Sensing the oncoming threat of the Bolsheviks—who invariably used the slogan of "national self-determination of peoples" merely for propaganda purposes—the *Rada* issued its *Third Universal* on November 20, 1917. This decree formally and officially proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR). It separated Ukraine from the newly-established Communist administration of Russia. To be pointed out is that most of the Ukrainian leaders in the government still believed in a workable Russian federation, viewing the radical Bolshevik party precisely as not genuinely representing "all democratic and revolutionary forces."<sup>3</sup>

The establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic naturally was dimly viewed by the visionaries, Lenin and Trotsky. They made a final try to seize Ukraine by "legal" means, afforded them by the All-Ukrainian Council of Peasants', Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies, which held a congress in Kiev on December 2-16, 1917. But to their consternation, this congress proved to be a devastating defeat. Despite their violent agitation, the Bolsheviks barely managed to muster 60 delegates out of 2,500. The congress issued an appeal in support of

<sup>3</sup> Walter Dushnyck, *In Quest of Freedom, 1918-1958* (New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1958), pp. 43-47.

the *Rada* and assailed the Bolsheviks for their attempt to contravene the rights of Ukraine and to invade the country itself.<sup>6</sup>

In an "ultimatum" to the *Rada*, signed by a somewhat bewildered Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolshevik government took it upon itself to warn the Ukrainian government not to disarm the Red Guards, which were being secretly formed in Ukraine, but at the same time it paid lip service to the independence of Ukraine:

...Therefore, the Council of People's Commissars recognizes the Ukrainian National Republic and its rights to full separation from Russia, and that it may enter into negotiations with the Russian Republic in the matter of federal or other relations. The demand of Ukraine regarding her rights and independence of the Ukrainian people, the Council of People's Commissars recognizes without limitations and unconditionally...<sup>7</sup>

While recognizing the independence of Ukraine, the Bolsheviks began hastily to organize a "Ukrainian Soviet Government" in Kharkiv, seized by the advancing Red troops. This puppet contrivance in their aggression against Ukraine became the Soviet prototype of Soviet Russian intervention to be perfected by Moscow in East-Central Europe following World War II.

This opened a new phase in Ukrainian-Russian relations, as one-sided as they had been, leading to the proclamation of the full independence of Ukraine, the signing of the separate peace treaty in Brest Litovsk by Ukraine and the Central Powers and the Act of Union with Western Ukraine. Two and a half years more of the Ukrainian-Russian war ended in the reconquest of Ukraine by Communist Russia.

#### A SPURIOUS FEDERATION

By the end of 1920, Ukraine and Byelorussia, and a bit later Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan and the Turkic peoples of Turkestan—all of whom had proclaimed their independence—were back in Soviet Russian thrall. Those which escaped it for the time being were Poland, Finland and the three Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The latter three Baltic nations were occupied by force by the USSR in 1940 and made "Soviet Union Republics," while Poland was "satellized" in 1947; Finland was "Finlandized," that is, made "neutral" with a pro-Soviet orientation.

During the sixty years of its existence the USSR has voraciously added new territories to its already vast territorial domain. Especially after World War II, Stalin made territorial gains along the western frontiers and established a string of satellite states in Eastern Europe

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

as a buffer zone between West Germany and the USSR. In the summer of 1975, 33 European governments plus the United States and Canada met in Helsinki at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and myopically approved Moscow's territorial acquisition in Europe, thus endorsing a division of Europe on a Communist and non-Communist basis.

In the last two decades, during the reigns of Nikita S. Khrushchev and Leonid I. Brezhnev, Moscow turned to political-power expansion by allying itself with "national liberation movements" in Africa and Asia (Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Somalia; and Cuba in the Western Hemisphere, and Indo-China in Southeast Asia).

More than a third of the world's population now lives under governments that call themselves Marxist, of which number 60 percent live in China, with only 10 percent of that total having come to live under Communist regimes in the last 20 years.<sup>3</sup>

Internally, the USSR is supposed to be a "federation" or "confederation" of fifteen "free and sovereign republics," but, actually, these nominal republics are virtual colonies of Moscow, exploited ruthlessly in their economic resources and manpower. In every so-called union republic there are considerable numbers of ethnic Russians who are the mainstays and pretorians of the regime. Each union republic has a "constitutional right" to secede from the USSR, but in reality even an academic discussion of this right is severely punished, as attested to by the trials of political dissidents in Ukraine, the Baltic States and in the Caucasus.

World domination of Moscow is still its overall objective, but the tactics today are subtle and "peaceful," if only because the USSR is in great need of Western technology and other economic support.

The Russian Revolution, in short, has degenerated into a totalitarian tyranny, and therein lies the vulnerability.

Perhaps the most telling indication that the USSR is vulnerable is demonstrated by the dissident movements, which are fueled by the nationalist aspirations of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Uzbeks, Georgians, Armenians, Latvians, Moldavians, and Turkestanis. Millions more are ready for an active role.

The Soviet Union is fused for a new revolution, one which will undo the calamitous turn history took in 1917. The anniversaries of this one will celebrate love of God and country, and reaffirm faith in humanity.

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<sup>3</sup> "Soviet, at 60, Displays More Prudence than Revolutionary Zeal in its World Role." By David K. Shipler, *The New York Times*, November 8, 1977.

## UKRAINIANS IN PRESENT-DAY POLAND

*By ZENON KARPATIUK*

When at the Yalta Conference in February, 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin agreed to delineate the new boundary between Poland and the Soviet Union along the old Curzon Line, Poland received a substantial part of the Ukrainian ethnographic territory—the Lemko Land, the Trans-Sian and the Kholm and Pidliasia areas. Earlier, on September 9, 1944, the governments of the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR had signed an agreement with the Polish Committee of National Liberation, on the basis of which Ukrainians and Byelorussians were to be "repatriated" to the Soviet Union, and the Poles from the USSR to be moved to Poland.

It was an inhuman decision: the Ukrainians and Byelorussians hardly wanted to be wrenched from the places they and their forefathers were born, and to be thrust into the Soviet collective farms at that. The Byelorussians refused to be "repatriated" and, significantly, no one did force them from their native places. They continue to live in compact masses in that part of the Bialystok area which remained under Poland. Remaining in place also were the Ukrainian villages of Northern Pidliasia, which belonged to the Bialystok *województwo*, inasmuch as it had come to be considered Byelorussian. Apparently, this outcome is connected with the fact that the "liberators" annexed the same Ukrainian land on the other side of the boundary, Southern Polisia, to the Byelorussian SSR.

On the other hand, fierce punitive battles were waged for the "clearing" of Ukrainians from the territory abutting on the Ukrainian SSR, including also a part of the Lemko Land, which the Poles had annexed after the fall of Austria-Hungary in 1918.

How many Ukrainians there were after the war in these lands is hard to assess because of lack of documentation. Researchers give various estimates, with the range in estimates some several hundred thousand people. For example, from the 1959 proceedings of the Polish Academy of Sciences, we have General Ignacy Blum reporting

that at that time a total of 1,061,920 Ukrainians lived in Poland.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Henryk Kopiec, in the *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Scientific Council on the Problems of the Recovered Territories*, puts the number of Ukrainians at 701,361 in the Lublin and Rzeszów provinces, but omitting for some reason the Cracow *województwo*.<sup>2</sup>

For over two years—from October 15, 1944 to the end of 1946—Ukrainians were “repatriated” to the Ukrainian SSR by Polish army and police detachments; in some areas Soviet troops helped the Polish units in this genocidal undertaking.

“Repatriation” was conducted by stages. So that no one could escape, a village would be encircled at dawn by troops. Every living soul in the village would then be crammed into trucks, which took the “repatriates” under strong armed guard to the railroad station. Here empty freight cars received them—in cattle-fashion—to transport them to the Soviet border.

So soon, then, as freight trains with empty cars would arrive at a given station, the villagers would take to the woods. Empty and looted villages were set afire by Polish troops. Those who found themselves being herded into the freight cars tried to jump the train. In many instances the “repatriation” trains were attacked by armed units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and, in fierce skirmishes, the guards were killed and the “slaves” liberated.

In such manner about half a million Ukrainians were “repatriated” to the Ukrainian SSR. But several hundred thousand Ukrainians hid in the forests and mountains until the end of 1946, the year “repatriation” came to an end. This remainder, along with an insignificant number of others from elsewhere, was “resettled” in the first half of 1947 by the Poles in the northern and western areas of new Poland, taken from the Germans.

We shall not attempt to depict here the harrowing process of “resettlement,” its barbarity and ruthlessness, nor the gropings at the beginning of a new life on the part of these hapless Ukrainians: this has been done by other writers. We concern ourselves here with the reasons for such drastic and draconian measures by the Communist government of new Poland. The Poles, that is, official Polish government spokesmen and historians, contended then and continue to do

<sup>1</sup> *Polska Akademia Nauk: Sesja Naukowa poświęcona wojnie wyzwoleniowej Narodu Polskiego 1939-1945* (Polish Academy of Science: The Scientific Session Dedicated to the War of Liberation of the Polish People), 1959, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> *The Annals*, Vol. II, Camillus, N.Y., 1975, p. 137.

so now, that the "resettlement" action was essential for the liquidation of the underground warfare of the UPA. This argument is rejected not only by Ukrainians, but also by certain Poles who are acquainted with pertinent facts and figures.

On the basis of statistical data provided by the above mentioned session of the Polish Academy of Science (PAN), by April, 1947, the UPA had been reduced to some 2,500 fighters on the western side of the Curzon Line, squeezed into a small triangle formed by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

In order to annihilate the UPA, the Polish government had first thrown into action the 8th and 9th infantry divisions, the 36th infantry regiment and operative brigades and battalions of the Internal Security Corps. This bristling array of troops then was augmented by a specially created operative army group, "Wisla" (the Vistula), comprising no less than a dozen combined regiments, a combined division of the Internal Security Corps, several detachments of the Citizens Militia (MO—*Milicja Obywatelska*), a regiment of engineers, a regiment of armored cars and an air force squadron. No one now bothers to ask what the strength was of all these formations, but a theoretical reading gives a total of 87,000 regular troops, equipped with all available weapons and technical equipment. Even if we assume that the offensive force was only at half strength, that still would give a killing ratio of 20 Polish soldiers to one Ukrainian insurgent.

In the light of these disproportionate forces, plus the suicidal pocket in which the UPA found itself, "repatriation" of several hundred thousand Ukrainians as necessary to put down the Ukrainian underground force is a palpably absurd contention. The true reason for uprooting the autochthonous Ukrainian population was a political and not a military one. The Warsaw government wanted to clear the areas of Ukrainians west of the Curzon Line and to incorporate the alien land forever, Polonizing those who remained there. The opportunity to get rid of the "Ukrainian problem" in Communist Poland was irresistible. After attaining power, the Polish Communists forgot their cooperation with the Ukrainian Communists in the period between the World Wars. They uprooted defenseless Ukrainians much as Stalin had uprooted the Crimean Tartars in 1943, with one exception: their treatment of the Ukrainians was much harsher.

The Poles from Galicia settled in the denuded Ukrainian villages of the Pidliasia and Kholm areas, while the Lemko Land remained largely desolate. The Polish government tried to bring in Polish colonists from the Cracow area and Central Poland by providing exten-

sive bank credits for reconstruction. The policy had no tangible results: the devastation was too forbidding. Colonists came, built the foundations of buildings, accepted the subsidies, and then ran away. Over debris and uncultivated fields embracing hundreds of thousands of hectares hovered a thick forest. No longer could Poland export wheat; it now had to import it. For almost thirty years after the end of the war Poland was short of meat, the rape of the Ukrainian lands, especially the Lemko Land, playing its part.

For almost two years the German areas were settled with Poles from various parts of the country before the Ukrainians were brought in. What they found there were dilapidated, looted and destroyed buildings of what once were exemplary German homesteads. Ukrainian deportees were so placed that their number did not exceed 10% of the Polish population of a village. This policy was intended not only to prevent Ukrainians from organizing their own national organizations; it also made the small number of local Ukrainians prone to rapid Polonization.

As matters turned out, many Poles, not finding the German villages to their liking, departed, leaving some villages almost wholly Ukrainian.

#### TERROR AND PERSECUTION

For almost ten years after the war the Ukrainians in various parts of Western Poland lived under unremitting terror and inhuman degradation. In this policy the Polish Communist government was abetted in no little way by the Polish population, especially that part of it which had been resettled from Galicia or Volhynia.

Especially harsh was the situation of the Ukrainians in Cracow, which had been a center of Ukrainian activities west of the Curzon Line during the German occupation. With the approaching German-Soviet front almost all the active Ukrainian leaders were evacuated to the West, only those Ukrainians remaining who were not in any way connected with political activities. These hapless Ukrainians were the scapegoats for the Nazi bestialities committed on the Poles. A special concentration camp was established in Jaworzno, which served as a political sieve for all Ukrainians in Cracow. Here they were tortured and abused with the same sadistic delight that characterized the Nazi torture chambers.

Secret agents of the UBP (*Urząd Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego*—Administration of Public Security) fastened on the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Cracow as a hunting ground for victims. Unsuspecting

people coming to church were seized, bound, gagged and thrown into cellars, and when dusk fell they were taken by truck to the concentration camp.

Prof. Lev Getz told this writer personally that he and his wife were tortured for a year in Jaworzno. A condition of their release was to "cooperate" with the UBP, that is, to become informers on their Ukrainian brothers and sisters. Refusing, they were intermittently tortured even after being released. Finally, the couple decided to commit suicide by gas. The professor was brought back to life by neighbors, but his wife died.

#### TIME OF HEALING

As time went on, these anti-Ukrainian passions began to abate. In major concentrations of Ukrainians there soon sprang up Ukrainian parishes (which were illegal, the Ukrainian Catholic Church not being allowed to function in Poland), where people sang Ukrainian songs and held weddings and baptisms. In Banie Mazurskie (Bialystok area), a Ukrainian choir actually sang at some official state programs.

After the death of Stalin, the "thaw" swept Poland as well as the Soviet Union. The Central Committee of the United Polish Workers' Party (Communist Party) decided to bring the national minorities, especially the Ukrainians, out of the "cultural underground" and to dispel the atmosphere of terror and persecution.

Preparations for this new policy had been in the making for some time. Thus, in February, 1956, the Byelorussian Social-Cultural Society was established, followed by the establishment in June, 1956, of the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society (USKT) and a little later of similar societies for the Czechoslovak, Jewish, Lithuanian, and Greek minorities. The old "Russian Charitable Society," consisting of White Russian emigres, which had existed before the war, also was reactivated.

This development had its significant revelations. In the first place, it became evident that new Poland was not free of national minorities, as some officials had dared to claim. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MSW), under which these national minorities were placed, in 1956 there was a total of 300,000 Ukrainians, 100,000 Byelorussians, 20,000 Russians, and a few thousand each of the other nationalities. (According to unofficial Ukrainian estimates, there are at least 500,000 Ukrainians living in present-day Poland, many of whom, fearing persecution, conceal their Ukrainian identity—Ed.).

Since the Ukrainians in Poland found themselves to be mainly in the western areas along the border, they decided that the center of Ukrainian activities be located in Warsaw, the capital of Poland.

The flames thawing the ice of repression waxed brighter throughout Poland as they did throughout the other Communist-dominated countries. In March, 1956, the first concert-celebration after the war (honoring Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's greatest poet) was held in Warsaw, drawing hundreds of Ukrainians and Poles alike. In April of the same year, an organizing committee was set up to establish a national organization; it consisted of Stepan Makukh (Lemko)—chairman; Mykola Shchyryba (born in the Kholm area)—vice chairman, and Mykola Syvitsky (born in Volhynia)—secretary. All three were former political prisoners. The first two, as members of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (CPWU), had been imprisoned by the pre-1939 government of Poland, while the latter had been a political prisoner in Vorkuta (the USSR). A group of enthusiasts, even before the general congress of the new organization was set, began publishing the newspaper *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word) in Ukrainian.

#### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE USKT

The Ministry of Internal Affairs began appealing to all active Ukrainians, both within the party and without, to begin organizational work among the Ukrainians.

Finally, on July 16, 17 and 18, 1956, a general congress of Ukrainians was held at the Palace of Culture in Warsaw; here the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society (USKT) was established. The gathering was an eye-opener for the Poles, especially those of the government, the party and the Polish press. The 239 delegates, called in by the Ministry of Internal Affairs from all parts of Poland where Ukrainians had been dispersed, did not beat around the bush: they spoke freely and passionately about the violations and the terror of Polish chauvinism; they demanded Ukrainian schools, books, newspapers, churches, unrestricted development of national culture. Above all, they demanded the return of Ukrainians to their ancestral lands from which they had been forcibly uprooted after the war. The congress ended with the formal election (all candidates had been designated earlier) of the executive board of the new organization: S. Makukh—president, M. Shchyryba and T. Maryshechuk—vice presidents, and Hryhory Boyarsky—secretary.

After the congress the USKT worked up more and more steam. On July 1, 1956, *Nashe Slovo* began appearing regularly as the organ

of the USKT. Its editor was M. Shchyrba; Adrian Hoshovsky, a former member of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, served as assistant editor, and M. Syvitsky as secretary. By the end of 1956 the USKT had a total of 119 branches, embracing several thousand individual members. (In the last twenty years the Society has doubled its membership (1975), organized in some *województwo* and 14 county administrations and 178 branches).

This was a time when Ukrainian national life in Poland was being revivified in the process of the general Polish political change whereby a new party leadership replaced the old sterile one. The example of Hungary was still fresh. The Polish value of freedom had not died; but the Soviet tanks were as near to Poland as to Hungary. Hence a middle course: Wladyslaw Gomulka was taken out of prison and put at the head of the Polish Communist Party, and with this step many hoped that the serious violations of the previous regime would be rectified. Among these violations was the treatment of its most numerous and most intractable minority, the Ukrainians. But from sincere desire to practical implementation is a long step, especially for a country not its own master. Under the leadership of Gomulka the party soon began returning to its old course. This is best illustrated by the case of the Ukrainian Lemkos.

On February 23, 1958, a convention of Lemko veterans who had served in the Red army, Polish army and the underground of the Polish Workers' Party (pro-Communist PPR) was held in Wroclaw. The convention was approved by the government; therefore, it was not illegal. But when some 400 delegates passed a resolution demanding return to the Lemko Land and sent copies of the same to the supreme commands of the Soviet and Polish armies, the Polish government swiftly declared the convention "illegal" and punished the organizers.

On March 12, 1958, the Polish *Sejm* (Diet) enacted a law by virtue of which all lands without an owner became the property of the state. Should any Ukrainian like to return to his ancestral land, he would now have to pay for his own homestead. (Of course, he could have sold the homesteads he received after the Germans were deported, but there were no buyers). The two members of USKT and the editorial staff of *Nashe Slovo* who had once belonged to the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, S. Makukh and A. Hoshovsky, protested vigorously against this bald lawlessness, but to no avail. Nevertheless, some 14,000 Ukrainian deportees returned to the areas of Kholm and Pidliasia, and a little less than that number to the Lemko Land in the Carpathians.

During the old regime in Poland the areas west of the Curzon Line were heavily Communized, and it was in the Lemko area that in the spring of 1942 (during the German occupation) the first cell of the illegal PPR (Polish Workers' Party) had been established. Gomulka himself had been sheltered in a Ukrainian Lemko home from the Gestapo. No less than some 10,000 went as "volunteers" into the Soviet army in 1944 and 1945. Hence the Lemko Ukrainians thought they had a moral claim in addressing Communist Poland.

Their sentiments were unrealistic. The local administration unleashed a fierce struggle against local USKT branches, and the Polish Roman Catholic clergy chimed in with an attack from their pulpits on the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. In 1971, USKT county administrations in Gorlice and Sanok and some nine USKT branches submitted a lengthy memorandum of protest to the VIIth Congress of the United Polish Workers' Party, enumerating instances of national discrimination. These included the liquidation of 14 centers of study of the Ukrainian language, 12 centers of artistic activities, some 300 Ukrainian churches, and the ban of festivals of Ukrainian song and music in the Lemko area.<sup>3</sup> In addition, complaints were made to various high government officials, even to the USSR Embassy in Warsaw.

The result was that all USKT administration executive boards were suspended, with all organizers being expelled from the party and the USKT. The latter appealed to the USKT convention, where the matter was hotly debated, but, unsurprisingly, the PPR (Polish Workers' Party) and the Ministry of Internal Affairs prevailed. The "rebels" were punished: expelled from all organizations, deprived of jobs and placed under security police surveillance. One of the leaders, Mykhailo Donsky, was relieved from his post as director of an important enterprise; for years he was unable to find employment. He was finally allowed to emigrate to the United States, but officially-inspired whispers followed him to the effect that he was a "Communist agent." He now is living out his life somewhere around Syracuse, New York. Others remained in Poland, dogged by police surveillance.

In the face of these facts, small wonder that the faith of old Communists in the rightness of Communism should have been shattered. Said one veteran Communist, a prisoner in prewar Poland, succinctly: "I spent time in prison for Communism, but was that the Communism that we have today?"

<sup>3</sup> *The Annals*, p. 147.

## EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL PROBLEMS

Among other problems of the Ukrainian population in Poland were those of Ukrainian schools and cultural activities. Before and after the USKT congress the central government had assured the development of Ukrainian education and cultural life, but the local authorities effectively sabotaged and continue to sabotage these ordinances, hiding behind all kinds of "objective reasons," thus employing a double-standard policy. This has been true especially of Ukrainian schools.

On December 4, 1956, the Ministry of Education issued an instruction authorizing school authorities to institute teaching of the Ukrainian language in any public school where at least seven children's parents wanted such instruction. But the difficulties at the outset seemed insurmountable. There were no qualified teachers, no textbooks and other reasons. But the work began to move on. A number of "social teachers" who knew the Ukrainian language volunteered their services, while a few qualified teachers held impromptu training courses in the summertime.

In Bartoszyce (Olsztyn province) a Ukrainian Pedagogical Lyceum was opened, while in Szczecin a teachers' program was instituted for candidates holding degrees from intermediate schools.<sup>4</sup> At Warsaw University a chair of Ukrainian philology had existed since 1953.<sup>5</sup> A number of Ukrainian students from Poland studied at the University of Kiev in Ukraine, and even today a group of Ukrainian students goes to Kiev each summer to study the Ukrainian language.

Thus in a span of twenty years some 300 teachers of the Ukrainian language and literature became qualified to work among Ukrainians in Poland. Among them are a few doctors of philosophy and of economics. The chair of Ukrainian studies at Warsaw University produced at least 60 M.A. holders, some of whom are working as teachers, others in various editorial offices and in the USKT. Recently, Jagiello University (*Uniwersytet Jagiellonski*) set up lectures in Ukrainian studies.<sup>6</sup> Up to 1974, 18 textbooks on the Ukrainian language were published and distributed to various Ukrainian schools.

<sup>4</sup> The director of the program was Volodymyr Posatsky, M.A.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Florian Nieuwazny has been director of Ukrainian language and literature at the University of Warsaw.

<sup>6</sup> Ukrainian studies at Jagiello University in Cracow are conducted by Volodymyr Mokryi, M.A.

There is no doubt that a strong basis for the development of Ukrainian schools has been established. Despite all these attainments, however, Ukrainian schools in Poland, after having reached their apogee in 1958-59, seem to be on the decline. In the above-mentioned school year, there were six public schools with Ukrainian as the teaching language; one pedagogical and three general-purpose lyceums, and in 152 schools the Ukrainian language was taught as a separate subject. The number of all students was over 3,000, that is, about one percent of the population. Another one percent in various teaching places could not be accommodated because of the lack of teachers. In 1976-77, there remained but one public school, two lyceums and about 30 *ad hoc* places of instruction in Ukrainian.

Various objective and subjective causes were responsible for this catastrophic "achievement." The period of postwar terror was replaced by a strong current of assimilation. There is no literature which would support the Ukrainian national spirit. There is no Ukrainian press, no Ukrainian church organization as such. Finally, there is the low national consciousness of the parents. Most of the old activists are gone, either died out or long removed for their zeal and dedication to the Ukrainian cause. In addition, during the school reform, small schools, pedagogical lyceums and teacher courses were liquidated. Today, only persons possessing degrees from the highest educational institutions can become teachers. The Chair of Ukrainian Studies at Warsaw University accepts only ten candidates yearly, although twice as many or more submit applications.

But this is hardly all. The real villain in this disintegrating process has been the hatred and chauvinism of the school and government administrations. During the "exchange" of Ukrainians from Poland and Poles from the USSR, a substantial number was composed of Poles from Galicia and Volhynia, who brought along with them their traditional hatred and chauvinism toward the Ukrainians. Among them were teachers who soon became directors, inspectors, visitators and curators of the school system on the "recovered territories" and who promptly did everything they could to speed up the assimilation of the "descendants of the Banderaites" (Ukrainian nationalists—Ed.).

At present the Ukrainian school network in Poland is in a precarious state. There still exist the lyceums in Legnica and Gurowo Niewieckie, but no one is optimistic about their survival. Indeed, efforts already have been made to merge the Ukrainian lyceum in Legnica with a Polish one. Nevertheless, the Ukrainians who exerted tremen-

dous efforts in its realization are defending it with equal determination.

The three existing Ukrainian schools in Poland play a much more important role than the Polish schools of the same type. In addition to instruction of the Ukrainian language and general educational subjects, they instill in children the national spirit, teach them Ukrainian traditions and culture, and engender a feeling of urgency, not only in carrying these treasures to the people but in creating new, living values as well.

Children from Biały Bór and students from Legnica and Gurowo Ilawieckie perform Ukrainian music, songs and dances in the towns and villages. Living in student dormitories, attending lectures, taking tours, and the dedicated work of the teachers—all generate pulsating electricity, charging young hearts with dedication to the well-being of their own people.

A marked example of such a sense of commitment is Mykhailo Duda. At Legnica Lyceum he organized an excellent choir and a musical group. After a few years of work he lost his sight. A tragedy of that kind would break the average human being. But Duda is not average. Certainly his students did not permit him to be. They took care of him in every way: they brought him to rehearsals, they took him home, they helped him orient himself and to operate without sight. He overcame his handicap brilliantly, successfully directing a Ukrainian festival attended by several thousand people. Still blind today, he functions as an inspiring director.

#### THE WORK OF THE USKT

It is thanks to such dedicated students, intelligentsia and others that the USKT has been able to continue its activities despite all kinds of obstacles thrown up by the local administration. Its leadership began from nothing. There were people, but no leaders, no professional instructors. The latter had to be trained by specially qualified experts, among them Prof. Alexander Minkivsky, director of the Bandura Capella of Kiev. During the first five years of its existence the USKT trained some 120 qualified organizer-instructors.

In 1961 the USKT had 62 artistic groups, including 27 choirs, 21 drama groups, nine ballet schools and five music groups, in all of which a total of 1,200 young men and women were engaged. After two decades the number of groups remained more or less the same, but the number of participants rose to 1,500. In 1970-71, the music and choral ensembles staged a total of 185 concerts for over 50,000 people,

while the drama group presented 55 stage plays, viewed by some 14,000 people.<sup>7</sup> These groups sprang up and disappeared only to reappear elsewhere. Only such Ukrainian choirs as those in Warsaw and Gdańsk have been in existence for two decades. Sometimes they combine their appearances under the direction of Yaroslav Poliansky, a graduate of the Higher School of Music in Warsaw.

The phenomenal creation of this talented Ukrainian Lemko is the Ukrainian Male Choir, "Zhuravli" (Cranes), reputed to be one of the best choral ensembles in the country. The 65 choristers live and work in various parts of the country. They perform on special occasions, at which time members take a leave of absence from their employment and gather in a designated town or city, hold rehearsals, stage two or three concerts, and then return home.

This process is, of course, costly, involving as it does expenses for transportation, food and housing accommodations. It is impossible to require that each member pay his own upkeep, inasmuch as the wages of members are inadequate to begin with. Proceeds from the concerts, on the other hand, cannot cover these expenses *in toto*. A few years ago the Ministry used to make up the difference, but now it refuses to do so. There are also some programs which bring no proceeds at all, as, for instance, the participation in June, 1975, at the "Festival of Ukrainian Song" in Swydky (Czechoslovakia) at a cost of 70,000 *zlotys*, which is about two years wages for a single person.

In the 1960's there appeared a number of youth stage groups, which were mobile and which attracted people with their modern and light repertory, taken from the West and the East. As a rule, they lasted a year or two, disappeared, and then were replaced by new productions. In 1963 in Banie Mazurskie (northwestern corner of Poland), there arose a group known as "Zirka," since replaced by the "Smerichky." In Szczecin there were the "Chumaky," in Peremyshl, "Beskydy" and "Synia Lentochka," and in the Mountains (Carpathian) "Oslaviany" and "Lemkovyna," and in Wrocław, "Trembita." Also, ethnographic groups are active in Lysy and Kalników as well as a national capella in Bobrownik. Youth mandolin ensembles exist as well.

It is more difficult to organize a *bandura* ensemble because of the lack of qualified instructors. There was a group of *bandurists* under

<sup>7</sup> "XX-lichia USKT—1956-1976 roky" (The XXth Anniversary of the USKT— The Years 1956-1976), by Mykola Korolko in *The Ukrainian Calendar for 1976, 1976*, p. 66.

the direction of Petro Lakhtiuk which performed in Trzebiatów, Szczecin and Warsaw, but it could not develop into a stable artistic group. At present, there is a gifted *bandura* player who soon will be graduated from the conservatory in Kiev and who intends to return to train *bandura* players among Ukrainians in Poland.

The Ukrainians also have a number of opera singers who assist the amateur artistic movement. These are soloists of the Polish stage — B. Ladysz, Volodymyr Denysenko, Marusia Szczucka, Olha Tabacznyk, M. Krawczuk and Aya Macihanowska.

The music and choral festivals of the USKT have become a powerful stimulus for the development of amateur stage and choral art. Thus far five such festivals have been held: in Sanok (1967), Kętrzyn (1968), Koszalin (1969) and Warsaw (1971 and 1973). Only the best ensembles can take part in such festivals through the process of county and provincial eliminations, to which only those groups are admitted which have had a series of their own individual appearances. This compels the ensembles to train constantly, thereby raising the quality of their work almost to a professional level.

Such a festival becomes a multifaceted holiday of Ukrainian culture. The last festival in Warsaw saw 420 persons performing for two days at Lazienki's Summer Theater and the People's Philharmony, attracting great numbers of the Polish public. A festival that was scheduled to be held in the City of Peremyshl (at the Polish-Soviet border) was cancelled at the last minute because of "refusal of premises."

The quarters or premises (*svitlytsia*) of the USKT play an important role in its development. There are fourteen main premises, mostly in the cities; in the villages any public building serves the purpose. On these premises take place meetings and lectures, and stimulating encounters with writers, scholars, and literary critics, as well as with Polish historians, translators and philologists. Such encounters take place regularly in Cracow, Katowice, Olsztyn and Gdańsk, but most active are the headquarters in Szczecin, where since 1957 some 700 public meetings and encounters with prominent public figures have taken place. These cultural affairs are called "Literary Fridays."

To round out the picture we cannot omit the Ukrainian radio broadcasts in Olsztyn, Koszalin, Rzeszów and Lublin (all weekly), and in Szczecin (once a month), while the central radio station transmits Ukrainian songs and music for the whole country. On Christmas Day Ukrainian carols and Epiphany carols (*shchedrivky*), sung by the • Ukrainian choir "Dumka" in Warsaw, are broadcast nationwide.

The USKT had a moving van with a projector to show Ukrainian and Polish films, but after grinding out some 110,000 miles, the van gave out, with no money to replace it.

#### THE ECONOMIC SECTOR

Toward the end of the 1950's, the active leaderships of various nationality organizations tried to develop social-economic activities in order to secure a financial basis for the cultural work as well as to provide material support for the memberships. This direction soon gained a pronounced momentum. First to be established was the Byelorussian cooperative, "Betteska," which lasted the longest. It was followed by a similar Russian cooperative, which, however, was soon closed for maladministration.

The Ukrainian cooperative movement had a very auspicious beginning with the founding of the cooperative, "Ferrotex," organized by the USKT. In the locality of Kliszczelie (Pidliasia), beautiful rugs of Hutzul style, fabricated by a Ukrainian cooperative, were rated highly on the Polish export market. In Peremyshl a plywood factory was opened, with others following in Łódź and Silesia (Śląsk). These enterprises soon were businesses turning over millions of *zlotys*, making substantial earnings for economically-backward areas. The economic future of all Poland looked promising.

But the Poles became apprehensive that the "Galician story" of the 1920-1939 period might be repeated, years during which the Ukrainians succeeded in mounting a powerful network of cooperatives and diverting millions of *zlotys* toward the development of their own culture. The president of the Council of Ministers signed a decree forbidding social organizations to engage in economic ventures. This ridiculous rationale was that the move was in the interest of these organizations themselves; once leaders became involved in the economic-business sector, he said, they "tend to forget the culture." In any event, he added—forgetting the van—the state budget makes provisions for the cultural needs of the national minorities.

But it was not only the van, not only the Ukrainian publishing firm in Warsaw. Receiving next to nothing in state subsidies for years on end, the USKT could not have survived at all but for the selfsacrificing ardor of its membership.

The economic tightening-up had the ultimate purpose of intimidating the Ukrainian minority into mindless obedience. Not a few persons of the leadership level and the instructors of the USKT are paid by the government, and they know if they balk others in turn will

take their place and be confronted by the same situation. In a "people's democracy" freedom and democracy are anathema.

#### THE UKRAINIAN INTELLIGENTSIA

Despite these adverse circumstances the Ukrainian minority has to contend with in present-day Poland, it has produced a new type of intelligentsia.

Mykola Korolko, president of the executive board of the USKT, has written about them:

The executive board succeeded in assembling a group of creative intelligentsia, headed by A. Serednytsky, vice president of the USKT and editor of *The Ukrainian Calendar* and a member of the editorial council of *Our Culture*. The members of this group actively engage in the operations of the USKT and contribute substantially to both Ukrainian and Polish science and culture. It includes poets, prose writers, publicists, historians, translators, composers, folklorists, graphic artists and journalists. Let us mention, among others, the following: H. Boyarsky, M. Werbowy, I. Zinych, R. Halan; literati: A. Werba, D. Halytsky, O. Petyk, Yu. Krylach, S. Demchuk, I. Sheliuk, K. Dzuryna, I. Boychuk, M. Tarasenko, Ye. Samochwaleiko, Ya. Hudemchuk, O. Lapsky, I. Zlatokudr, I. Reit, H. Malstranko, P. Shchypawka; composer Ya. Poliansky; sculptor H. Pecuch; painters: W. Waskiwsky (laureate of the state award of second class in 1951), Tyrs Wenhrynowych, M. Smerek, W. Pankiw, M. Sawaniuk, R. Cymbryla, I. Kuzyk, A. Mentuch; folklorists: I. Ihnatiuk and M. Lesiw; literary critics: S. Kozaik, Ya. Hryckowian, A. Werba, M. Sywitsky, W. Nazaruk, I. Hullawy; philologists: M. Lesiw, M. Bally and T. Holynska; historian S. Zabrowarny; specialists in researching the revolutionary movement: M. Shchyrba and M. Korolko; history popularizer M. Truchan, and archeologist A. Cynkalowsky. In the restoration of Warsaw a special contribution was made by B. Bober-sky, and in the restoration of the architectural monuments of Gdansk and Olsztyn provinces, by painter R. Cymbryla...<sup>8</sup>

This intelligentsia is but a part of the active Ukrainian element in Poland, but its attainments are by no means insignificant. It maintains, among other things, fruitful contact with Polish literati and scholars, particularly Polish historians, with benefits redounding to both sides. Hence there appear in Poland works on Ukrainian literature and on the ancient and modern history of the Ukrainian people that are based on critical analysis and thoroughgoing archival documentation. Regrettably, most of these works do not reach the Ukrainian American community at large (although some of these books are to be found, suitably catalogued and collecting dust, in

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

some American libraries, such as the Library of Congress, the library of Princeton University, and in the endless stacks of the New York Public Library).

#### PUBLICISTIC ACTIVITIES

The publicistic activities of the Ukrainian minority in Poland are poor for a variety of reasons; very little has been attained in this sector in the past quarter of a century:

1. The weekly *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word) has a supplement page *Lemkivske Slovo* (The Lemko Word), written predominantly in the Lemko dialect. Originally under the editorship of M. Shchyrba, the weekly is edited now by H. Boyarsky. It is primarily a chronicle of Ukrainian life in Poland. What it seems to lack is a good organizer and a perceptive journalistic pen. Absent is any analysis of current and urgent Ukrainian problems. The weekly is published in good Ukrainian literary language, perhaps finer than that of any other Ukrainian publication in the Soviet orbit.

2. The monthly literary-scientific supplement *Nasha Kultura* (Our Culture) is edited by Myroslav Werbovy. It contains excellent essays on Ukrainian history, literature and culture, as well as accounts of activists of the theater; it also runs articles on local Ukrainian poetry and prose, reviews of books on Ukrainian studies and a chronicle of Ukrainian literary life under the Soviet heel.

3. The monthly supplement *Svitank* (The Dawn) aimed at children and teenagers, is edited in a general educational spirit characterized by elements from the Ukrainian ethnic heritage.

4. *The Ukrainian Calendar* had been appearing for several years under the editorship of Antin Serednytsky. It is a literary-scientific annual featuring articles on *Ucrainica*, and is cited widely by Ukrainian and Polish scholars. The publication, which is avidly read in Ukraine, concludes the list of periodical Ukrainian publications in Poland.

In 1964 there appeared a Ukrainian literary anthology entitled, *Homin* (Echo), while 1974 saw the appearance of collections of poetry by Ye. Samochwalenko, Ya. Hudemchuk, and I. Zlatokudr. In 1976 A. Serednytsky published a book in Polish on the USKT.

But even this modest publicistic show on the part of Ukrainians in Poland seems to threaten Moscow. Ukrainian emigres from Poland report that all Ukrainian publications in Poland undergo a triple censorship; "ultra loyal" officials of the USKT itself, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the official press censorship. It would appear to be

impossible that after passing such sieves anything remotely substantial could remain, much less anything "subversive." Yet despite this stringent control, the "Miezhdunarodnaya Kniga," an official Soviet distribution center of books in Moscow, refuses to list the Ukrainian publications of Poland in its catalogues. As a result, these publications cannot be bought in the USSR or Ukraine, although postage prepaid in Poland, they do reach many people by post in Ukraine, Russia and Siberia.

Although Ukrainian national life in Poland does not beat a robust rhythm, it does indicate that the Ukrainians in Poland can fight for their national heritage much more effectively than can the millions of their brethren in neighboring Ukraine. This is why Moscow considers these publications "dangerous" for Ukrainians in the USSR. Today Moscow is loath to put pressure on the Warsaw government to suppress them lest it be accused of fomenting unwanted protests on the part of Ukrainians throughout Poland. Moscow has enough troubles with the Poles as is.

Some Ukrainian minions of Moscow in Ukraine are perturbed by the development of the Ukrainian publications in Poland. For instance, the underground publication, *The Ukrainian Herald* (Nos. 7-8, 1975, p. 122), reported that Valentyn Malanchuk, one of Moscow's literary satraps in Ukraine, had suggested in a conversation with Consul Tomashewski of the Polish People's Republic in January, 1974 in Kiev, that the Polish government tighten its control over Ukrainian publications in Poland. How much weight such stooges carry is problematical; but it cannot be gainsaid that the struggle of the Ukrainians in Poland for their national self-preservation is a thorn in the side not only of Communist Poland, but of the USSR as well. In varying degrees, both neighbors endeavor to eradicate a great people, although overtly both claim that Ukrainians have full freedom within their borders.

#### THE UKRAINIAN CHURCH

The Ukrainians in Poland belong to two major churches: the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church. In reality, only the Catholic Church can truly be termed Ukrainian, for all its services are conducted in Ukrainian and its activities are directed toward the preservation and development of the Ukrainian ethnic heritage and traditions. In this regard it attracts also a great number of Orthodox Ukrainians. According to unofficial statistics there are at least 100,000 Ukrainian Catholics in Poland embraced in several

dozen parishes, especially in the larger cities, such as Warsaw, Cracow, Peremyshl, Wroclaw and Banie Mazurskie. But its development is hampered by the lack of its own hierarchy, which both the Polish government and the Polish Catholic hierarchy refuse to establish. The Polish hierarchy, it is true, keeps blaming Moscow for its refusal to approve such a Ukrainian Catholic Diocese in Poland. But it is certain that if the Polish Catholic hierarchy chose to support the Ukrainian demand for a Ukrainian Catholic Diocese, such a hierarchy would come into being. However, the Polish hierarchy is known for its hostility to the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

The Orthodox Church in Poland is autocephalous (independent), but Ukrainians benefit from it very little. It is under the spiritual leadership of Metropolitan Vasiliy, a Byelorussian, adjudged to be weak and timid in character and lacking in organizational abilities. The Polish government manipulates this church at will, ever demoralizing it from within and nudging it to the brink of destruction. It has some 217 parishes and two monasteries, and about 150,000 Ukrainian faithful. The selection of priests is arbitrary, that is, most of those chosen are indifferent to nationality problems and are distinguished by low moral standards, as witnessed by their eagerness to cooperate with the organs of state security. Liturgies are celebrated in the Church Slavonic with a strong Russian intonation, while sermons are delivered in Russian or Polish. Through the efforts of the Ukrainians a Ukrainian Calendar was published by the Warsaw Orthodox Metropolitanate, but lately the publications have become replete with translations from Czarist Russian Orthodox literature.

In conclusion, the reality of the Ukrainian minority in Poland is all too bleak. But Ukrainian life, despite all difficulties, thrusts forward, and we doubt whether any restrictive measures from Moscow or Warsaw, short of bald genocide, can stop this process.

## THE UNFORGETTABLE FORD GAFFE

By LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

Over a year has passed since the then President Gerald R. Ford declared in a second debate of the presidential campaign that "there is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe under the Ford administration and there never will be."<sup>1</sup> This incredible statement produced electrifying effects not only in the nation but throughout the non-totalitarian world. Probably for the rest of their lives most Americans will remember it as "the Ford gaffe." In conversation and discussion it re-emerges interminably, and the usual myths and misconceptions associated with it also are thoughtlessly reiterated.

Curiously enough, though the gaffe has become an unforgettable one, no incisive and compact analysis of this spectacular event in the later stage of the '76 presidential campaign has as yet been presented. Individual evaluations were made of its impact on the outcome of the election, but apparently no fitting and fairly authoritative consensus on this score has been assembled. The former First Lady Betty Ford, expressing the thoughts of others, thinks the pardon of Nixon defeated her husband. In the 1977 November issue of *McCall's* magazine she is quoted as saying "Many people who definitely were for Jerry could not bring themselves to vote for him because he pardoned Nixon." The Nixon pardon, the black and labor votes and other particulars have been advanced as causal explanations, but were they, even in toto, decisive in the outcome? A bit of reasoning balanced by perspective will show the opposite.

Another important dimension of the extraordinary event has also been scarcely developed. After all, the Ford declaration bears on foreign policy. It involves assumptions and conceptions regarding Eastern Europe, the captive nations, and the reality of Soviet Russian imperialism. There was far more in the declaration than met the public eye. Comments in this respect, both by officials and opinion-

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<sup>1</sup> *The Washington Post*, October 7, 1976, p. A6.

makers here and abroad, were most revealing for their limitations and defects. Also, as concerns the future, the persistence of these assumptions and misleading views can only place us at an increasing disadvantage in our attempt to cope with the multi-faceted aggressiveness of Moscow.

It is these two main areas surrounding the gaffe that we are concerned with here. And in developing them I have had to select the best material in print to serve the purpose of a compact, essential analysis. Once the reader covers this terrain, he could with ease judge the nature and character of other less determining opinions and observations on the subject.

#### A PRESIDENCY LOST?

Was a presidency lost because of the gaffe? To answer this oft-raised question, one must survey at first the insights and measures of some of the best analytic minds in the field. Two highly respected columnists reported this: "Next came the second debate and Mr. Ford's blunder over Poland. Republican politicians outside the White House agree this was the most decisive single incident of the campaign..."<sup>2</sup> The alleged blunder covered, of course, more than Poland. Another writer who covered the campaign closely observed, "it seems highly probable that had the President not stumbled over a question about Eastern Europe in the second debate, costing his campaign 10 days of momentum, the outcome would have been reversed... the Eastern European affair, which cost the one irreplaceable asset—time."<sup>3</sup> For anyone who has run a national campaign the factor of momentum is crucial. Referring to the gaffe, still another analyst and book author stated, "The remarks precipitated roars of protest from ethnic groups, whose votes Ford was counting on to win key industrial states."<sup>4</sup> The fact was, however, that not only socalled ethnic groups protested but also all Americans with a keen interest in foreign affairs. Is the most essential area of our foreign policy of interest only to "ethnic groups?"

For further insights into the decisive significance of the gaffe, let us review several other authoritative observations. Well before the election a Washington analyst maintained, "What apparently had

<sup>2</sup> Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. "GOP Post-Mortem," *The Washington Post*, November 12, 1976.

<sup>3</sup> R.W. Apple, Jr. "The Election Outcome..." *The New York Times*, November 10, 1976.

<sup>4</sup> Jules Witcover. "Carter's Long Campaign..." *The Washington Post*, November 3, 1976.

happened is that the discussion of the debate, and of Ford's admitted 'mistake' on Eastern Europe, in the press and in ordinary social intercourse had built a swelling consensus against the President."<sup>5</sup> Quoting from the book *Marathon: The Pursuit of the Presidency, 1972-1976*, written by Jules Witcover, who is referred to above, a writer saw fit to emphasize this about unsung heroes: "The whole Ford team after the nomination. Stu Spencer, Bob Teeter, Doug Bailey, John Deardourff, Jim Baker, Dick Cheney—they ran an error-free campaign, a magnificent media campaign, the only thing wrong was Ford's bloopers on Eastern Europe... Hamilton Jordan (for Carter) was the hero of the primaries, but the Ford people outsmarted them in the final."<sup>6</sup>

Of this Ford team, Robert Teeter, the campaign pollster, revealed after the election, "the second debate—the one in which Ford made his mistake on Soviet domination of Eastern Europe—'left us dead in the water for about 10 days.'"<sup>7</sup> Nothing could be more authoritative than this, and the facts fully support this honest observation. To cite another measure offered about two weeks after the memorable debate, "According to a New York Times-CBS poll, Carter has gained 15 percentage points since Labor Day among voters of East European descent."<sup>8</sup> A more academic analysis of voter interviews was presented almost a year later by the Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan. The presentation made to the convention of the American Political Science Association was not without perspectival faults, but it did stress that public evaluation of Ford improved as the campaign progressed, while that of Carter's capabilities "gradually declined throughout the final six weeks of the campaign." With no contradiction it also emphasized, "Evaluations of Ford's ability in the foreign policy area declined significantly following the second debate in which he erroneously stated that Eastern Europe was not under the domination of the Soviet Union."<sup>9</sup> Placing just these two conclusions in juxtaposition makes the marginal, decisive effect of the Ford gaffe quite obvious.

<sup>5</sup> Jack W. Germond. "The 'Great Debates' of '76..." *The Washington Star*, October 21, 1976.

<sup>6</sup> David Nyhan. "Presidential Campaign Is Four Years Long," *Boston Sunday Globe*, August 21, 1977.

<sup>7</sup> David S. Broder. "Carter Rejected Advice to Hit Pardon," *The Washington Post*, November 6, 1976.

<sup>8</sup> *The Washington Post*, October 19, 1976, p. A7.

<sup>9</sup> David S. Broder. "Carter Election Victory..." *The Washington Post*, September 4, 1977.

These and similar analytic accounts of the second debate and the Ford gaffe were duplicated in media across the nation. If each of the accounts exemplified here is read carefully, the factors of time, momentum, trends, given and highly variable voting phenomena, and relative campaign efficiency come to the fore of evaluation. To answer the question of a lost presidency obviously requires a balancing perspective and a sense of distinguishing average phenomena from marginal, decisive ones. With these two conditions vividly present there can be no rational doubt as to the answer.

In perspective, from Labor Day on the Ford campaign gained daily momentum and the sizable Carter lead was steadily shrinking. All reports and polls clearly showed this. On Carter's side the prominent "givens" of the situation were the labor and black vote blocs. These, of course, contributed to his victory, but they weren't marginally decisive. Those who deserted Ford because of the Nixon pardon constituted another "given" contributing to the Carter average. Ford also had his set of "givens" among conservative, middle and upper class, and suburban and rural groups in different sections of the country. As indicated above, he leaned heavily on the so-called ethnic vote in the industrial states, which was a "given" subject to slow erosion as early as 1975. Combining all these main circumstances into a pattern existing at the beginning of October, 1976, it is not difficult to see the crucial, marginal significance of the Ford gaffe and its effect on the outcome of the election.

Objectively viewed, the Ford campaign machine was running smoothly, a vibrant momentum was in full, steady swing, and confidence mounted by the day in the Ford camp. Then the unforgettable gaffe, which "left us dead in the water for about 10 days." No great imagination is necessary to judge the disruptive effect of this event, not only for the ongoing process of the campaign but also the Ford dependence on the ethnic vote. Those who became deeply involved in this new and unexpected situation sensed its gravity and portent with poignant reaction. Some of the details below will indicate this.

In terms, then, of the perspective and factor criteria described above, the answer to our question becomes evident. Yes, the one decisive and marginal element that led to a lost presidency was the Ford gaffe and its disruptive aftermath. Quantitatively, a switch of some 5,000 ethnic votes in Ohio and somewhat more in Pennsylvania or New York would have saved the day for the President. Had the gaffe not occurred, this would have been assured. Psycho-politically, it is well known that the Ford machine regearred itself and resumed a mo-

mentum toward the close of October that cast considerable gloom and pessimism in the Carter headquarters of Atlanta. Speculatively, and with sound reason, many analysts hold that given another week and no untoward development, Ford would have won, regardless of the gaffe and because of the regeared machinery.

#### THE MEANING OF THE GAFFE

There is no need to recount in detail the hectic activity that ensued on both sides after the gaffe was committed. I myself appeared on all major TV networks and a score of radio programs for over a week. The newspaper accounts of my reaction were nation-wide. *The New York Times*, for example, reported, "Lev E. Dobriansky of the National Captive Nations Committee, in a typical reaction, called Mr. Ford's comment 'preposterous' and 'shocking,'"<sup>10</sup> and the *Chicago Tribune* reported, "Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee, called Ford's statement 'incredible' and said that it 'blatantly contradicts the brute realities of Russian colonialism in Eastern Europe'."<sup>11</sup> Mention is made of all this simply to establish the fact that the writer was intimately familiar with developments and maneuvers on both sides of the campaign. But this is a story in and of itself and really not that essential to our subject unless supportive evidence is needed to meet any objection to what follows.

What did the Ford gaffe that lost him the presidency really mean? This is the essential matter here, not only as concerned the campaign itself but also, and more importantly, as concerns our official thinking regarding Moscow and Eastern Europe. The state of thinking that engulfed Ford continues to this day. When the gaffe was committed, some instinctively sloughed it off as a *lapsus lingua*, a slip-of-the-tongue. At the convention of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in New York City, Vice President Rockefeller attempted to rationalize it as a product of TV tension. Even without delving into background and analysis, these excuses can be totally written off by the fact that it took the President almost a whole week to "admit" his mistake. His intellectual predisposition couldn't allow for anything else.

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<sup>10</sup> R.W. Apple, Jr. "A Carter Comeback and End of Erosion of Lead Discerned," *The New York Times*, October 8, 1976, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Aldo Beckman and Eleanor Randolph. "Ethnic Vote At Stake in Campaign," *Chicago Tribune*, October 8, 1976, p. 1.

Max Frankel of *The New York Times* provided the President a second chance during the debate, but he was even more insistent on the freedom that allegedly prevails in Central Europe. The morning following the second debate Senator Buckley implored the White House to call a press conference for the President to clean the decks with a frank admission of his error, but this was not immediately forthcoming. As one perceptive columnist put it, "the President's behavior the following day was even more unnerving. If, after seeing the video tape, he had called a press conference and said, in effect, 'My earlier statements on the subject of the USSR and Eastern Europe make it clear that last night I got momentarily confused and garbled my position,' the event would probably have been a three-day wonder. Instead, while millions of Americans of Eastern European background wondered what world he lived in, he kept throwing gasoline on the fire."<sup>12</sup>

It was almost a week later, on Tuesday, that the President finally "admitted" his mistake at a conference in the White House attended by a number of individuals but only a scarce few of ethnic leaders of national organizations. He said that through military power the Soviet Union does dominate Eastern Europe and that he can never "accept or acquiesce in this Soviet domination."<sup>13</sup> Needless to say, military power alone is not the cement of this domination. Against this whole background the gesture was generally received as a sham pragmatic calculation, and this eventually showed in the marginal determination of the outcome.

The impact of the gaffe on the international scene was one of confusion, bewilderment and even some amusement. Our NATO partners were quick to cite the presence of 31 Soviet Russian divisions in Central Europe, concentrated in Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Comments on the gaffe were registered from Western Europe to the Far East. One NATO official, for instance, said, "Ford is going to have a lot of explaining to do. He made a real bad one."<sup>14</sup> The *China Post*, on the occasion, devoted its whole editorial section to a discussion of "U.S. Foreign Policy Toward E. Europe," bringing out the same and other points.<sup>15</sup> And so it was—aside from momentarily

<sup>12</sup> John P. Roche, "Ford Strengthened Carter on Detente," *The Washington Star*, October 18, 1976.

<sup>13</sup> "President Admits Error in E. Europe Remarks," *The Washington Post*, October 13, 1976, p. A13.

<sup>14</sup> "President Goofed, U.S. Allies Say," *The Evening Bulletin*, Philadelphia, October 8, 1976, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Taipei, Republic of China, October 18, 1976.

not admitting any mistake, Ford did a lot of explaining, only to intensify the confusion of the period.

For some inept reason he was advised to cite repeatedly his support of the Captive Nations Week resolution (Public Law 86-90). As one report had it, "Ford went on to cite his support of the Captive Nations Proclamation, both as Congressman and President, which declares: 'The United States supports the aspirations for freedom, independence and national self-determination of all peoples. We do not accept foreign domination over any nation.'"<sup>16</sup> Another report phrased it this way: "Saying that he was 'very much aware of the present plight of the East European nations,' Mr. Ford cited the Captive Nations Proclamation he signed this year, quoting a passage that said in part, 'We do not accept foreign domination of any nation.'"<sup>17</sup> Regarding the gaffe, Ford's aides then chimed in "that because of Ford's strong support for the Captive Nations Proclamation the mistake wouldn't have a major effect."<sup>18</sup>

It is always interesting to note how in critical situations leaders invoke their support of the captive nations, which in ordinary circumstances would receive only tepid treatment at their hands. That this was a desperate move on the part of Ford cannot be denied. Read his statements as a Congressman when the annual Captive Nations Week observance rolled around; declarations fully in accord with the underlying resolution. Then just compare them with his two proclamations of the Week as President, and the answer to the meaning of the gaffe will become evident. The proclamations are so overgeneralized and innocuous that they bear no direct affinity to the predicative Congressional resolution that squarely points to Soviet Russian imperialism in Eastern Europe and beyond.<sup>19</sup> The difference is sharp and chasmic. So, when Ford seized upon this tactic, those familiar with these basics were thoroughly unmoved, and the situation became even more aggravated.

On this score, the writer, in a press release issued by the National Captive Nations Committee on October 15, 1976, was forthright in stating that Ford's mistake was political, not ideational. Political in

<sup>16</sup> Lou Cannon. "Ford: U.S. Won't Concede Russia's East Europe Grip," *The Washington Post*, October 8, 1976, p. A3.

<sup>17</sup> Charles Mohr. "Ford, Trying to Bind Up Wound, Backs Freedom for Eastern Europe," *The New York Times*, October 8, 1976.

<sup>18</sup> *The Washington Star*, October 11, 1976, p. A6.

<sup>19</sup> See *The Bicentennial Salute to the Captive Nations 1976*. USGPO 1976, pp. 1-2, 5-6.

that it disenchanted sufficient voters and ultimately cost him the presidency; ideational in that substantially he really did believe in what he instinctively asserted. Simply put, Ford the President was no longer in spirit and outlook the Ford as minority leader in Congress. As in the cases of his three predecessors, he underwent the transformation of ostensible sophistication, characterized by suspended convictions, supposedly prudent calculation in the form of pragmatic political "realism," and vulnerability to apparent no-risk theoretical propositions—all the attributes of drift, compromise and near-leadership. His conduct during the second debate, his protracted lateness in admitting his "mistake," and his tactic of seizing upon a meaningless and self-defeating proclamation appear sufficient in evidence to justify this meaning of his gaffe. But to reinforce the evaluation, there is more.

A fitting precedent exists to explain further the qualifications of a previous state of mind and outlook. Prior to the summer of 1968 it was fashionable in officialdom, our governmental educational institutions and elsewhere to avoid the presumably outmoded use of the term "satellites" for the states in Central Europe. After all, polycentrism, Romanian maverickism, Czech and Slovak liberalism, and our own weaning processes showed all the marks of an eroded dependence on the Soviet Union. In short, there was "no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe." That is, until the Russian invasion of Czecho-Slovakia struck many of us between the eyes and restored our senses and a balanced perspective.

The mental conditioning involved above is not unlike that of the Nixon-Ford years, with detente, negotiations with "equals," freer trade, and apparitions of freedom in Eastern Europe. One of the worst consequences of detente was the euphoria it progressively distilled. In this environment, especially at the pinnacle of our government, the Ford of Congress and his grassroot concerns for captive nations and their crucial importance for our own national security were inevitably subject to political transubstantiation.

You read the words of Ford the President above, using his weak proclamation of Captive Nations Week to cover his "mistake." Compare them with the typical and normal words of Ford the respected Representative: "The original resolution told it like it is. It said: 'The imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led through direct and indirect aggression to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia...' And so forth... But whatever is involved in the intricacies

of current diplomacy, we still must tell it like it is."<sup>20</sup> This was in 1969, and every year since, until his designation as Vice President, the principled Minority Leader substantially reiterated the same message. In 1976, was the objective reality of Eastern Europe any different in form and substance? Dr. Kissinger, who during the presidential transition eased himself in as Ford's enduring crutch, has never understood, no less appreciated, the captive nations thesis in toto. Ironically enough, the only top-level spokesman in the Ford Administration who urged that "we tell it like it is" about Soviet Russian imperialism was Vice President Rockefeller.<sup>21</sup>

Finally, to really perceive the meaning of Ford's gaffe, one should familiarize himself with a whole series of events and blunders leading into the '76 presidential campaign. The series provides additional and singular, empirical evidence for the meaning. Following the debacle in Southeast Asia and the emergence of three more captive nations, the National Captive Natinos Committee led the field in June, 1975, for the dismissal of Kissinger, but the President resisted it. A Truman in the White House would certainly not have tolerated the continuance of a Secretary of State who, by his own personal admission, never had a stomach for our stakes in Indo-China and compromised with the Vietnamese Communists from the start.

Second, the snub given to Solzhenitsyn by the President was, of course, on Kissinger's advice. The popular reaction to this was so unfavorable that the White House with embarrassment extended an invitation to the Russian dissident, who naturally refused it. Third, prior to and during the '75 Captive Nations Week the Kissinger-type of detente was placed under heavy fire.<sup>22</sup> The Secretary himself embarked on speechmaking tours to defend the policy, while the Apollo-Soyuz space orbit, wheat deals with Moscow, and the announcement at the end of the Week of the Helsinki conference on European Security and Cooperation seemed almost to have been timed to overshadow the annual observance. If that was the intention, it backfired badly, for in the following week of July the *Congressional Record* was featured by Senate and House colloquies and statements, tying up Kissinger's defense, the Week and the Helsinki conference.

By now the White House completely dropped the term "detente" as a designation of its policy in favor of "peace through strength." But

<sup>20</sup> Mr. Gerald R. Ford. *Tenth Anniversary of the Captive Nations Week Resolution 1959-1969*, USGPO, 1969, p. 13.

<sup>21</sup> *The Washington Star*, May 16, 1976.

<sup>22</sup> See *The Bicentennial Salute to the Captive Nations*, Congressional reprint, USGPO, 1976.

analysts began then to ask "What happened to freedom?" A policy of peace through strength and freedom is the appropriate policy for America. Before the end of that July in '75, the President did stage an unprecedented meeting at the White House with ethnic leaders to explain the reasons for his going to the Helsinki conference. His presentation was excellent and also well received. At the meeting the writer urged that he reiterate segments of it at each free airport so that our people, the West Europeans, and the captive peoples of Eastern Europe would know where we stood. It was so prepared for the next morning at Andrews Air Force base. Once again, on the advice of Kissinger, who always feared irritating the Russians, the critical parts of the President's remarks were deleted. In short, Ford said one thing one day and conveniently omitted it the following day.

Another episode in the series was the Administration's passive attitude in the post-Helsinki period. This passivity caused Congress to create a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe to monitor Communist compliance with the Helsinki accords. Moscow protested the creation of the commission as an intrusion in internal Soviet affairs. Both the President and Kissinger seemed to agree and, as one report had it, they "also demonstrated a lack of enthusiasm for the panel because they feel it could complicate East-West relations."<sup>23</sup> If they had it their way and Congress were not on the alert, no such commission would have emerged, and its subsequent, splendid work would have been denied us as citizens.

This series of peculiar events is by no means exhausted. The public was to be exposed also to the strange Sonnenfeldt doctrine, the firing of Schlesinger, and the Republican convention in Kansas City. Helmut Sonnenfeldt, one of Kissinger's close associates, advanced the notion of "organic relationship" for satellite Central Europe. The best guarantee for peace and perhaps evolutionary change for the Russians would be, according to the argument, a tighter, more organic relationship between the satellites and the USSR. Although Sonnenfeldt didn't say it, in effect it would be an extension of the type of "organic" relationship found in the USSR between the Russians and the non-Russian captive nations. The disclosure of this so-called doctrine produced a furor in this country.

Now, on the surface, the President ostensibly disowned this doctrine in his remarks to representatives of the Greater Milwaukee Eth-

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<sup>23</sup> "Helsinki Accord Bill Before Ford," *The Washington Star*, October 15, 1976, p.A5.

nic Organizations. He declared in part, "Our policy in no sense—and I emphasize this—in no sense accepts Soviet dominion of Eastern Europe or any kind of organic origin."<sup>24</sup> What was curious about this at the time was the almost hidden nature of this presumed disavowal. The President failed to generalize it out of the White House, and he didn't see fit to dismiss Kissinger's associate for what appeared to be a policy contradiction. On the other hand, for really nothing but internal constructive criticism, the Schlesinger firing at the hands of the President was generally regarded as brutal.

The Republican National Convention in Kansas City clearly portrayed to the nation the morass in which the Ford-Kissinger conduct of foreign policy found itself. The repudiation of the Kissinger type of detente and the reincorporation of morality in our foreign policy, particularly as concerns the Soviet Union, were highlighted and planked in the party's platform. Clearly, it set the most recent stage for those with any memory at all to the classic Ford gaffe that occurred a few months later.

#### A NATION LOST?

Certainly more important than all this is the question as to whether a nation—a democratic, free and independent nation—could be lost if these same conceptual blunders and proclivities persist. Rationally, the answer can only be in the affirmative. The real possibility of the United States eventually becoming a captive nation is only a variant of "it can happen here" as a result of an evolving configuration of faulty thinking, global retreat and increasing domestic difficulties. Concentrating solely on the first of these here, a few concluding remarks are in order as we look to the future.

It should be evident that the unforgettable Ford gaffe was a symptomatic boil of the type of thought and conduct in the pursuit of our foreign policy toward the most critical area of the world. The cumulative points of evidence recited here show the environment in which this boil festered. We can always afford the result of a lost presidency for one incumbent or another, but, with the persistence of the same environment and all that it entails, we could ill afford the risk of a lost nation as we have traditionally known it.

During the last presidential campaign and beyond, the term "Eastern Europe" was used as though the area stops at the western

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<sup>24</sup> *Congressional Record* April 6, 1976, p. E1865.

borders of the USSR. This obvious misconception even runs counter to elementary geographical knowledge, no less political knowledge. The Urals are the natural, easterly border of Eastern Europe. Indeed, in numerous respects the greater and more important part of Eastern Europe is in the European sector of the Soviet Union itself. By population, the two largest nations of Eastern Europe are the Russian and Ukrainian nations. Taking Europe as a whole, what Ford, Carter and others refer to as "Eastern Europe" is accurately Central Europe, which includes Poland, Romania, East Germany and so forth.

The fundamental difference in these two conceptions makes a world of difference in our foreign policy thinking as a whole and in our policy actions. This is not the place to elaborate on the difference,<sup>25</sup> but two short examples will suffice. If one holds to the current fixation of "Eastern Europe," his conceptual tendency would be to interpret the USSR as a Euro-Asian "nation" and almost completely ignore the East European nations of Latvia, Byelorussia, Ukraine and so on, which in the policy area, for instance, shows them to be non-existent as signatories to the Helsinki accords. Another example would be to view the captive nations in Europe as solely those of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, etc., that is, in Central Europe, and to ignore those within the European sector of the USSR, which in the policy area, for instance, would sharply qualify any open discussion of Soviet Russian imperialism and exploitation.

Under the new Carter Administration this environment of misconception and short knowledgeability continues, and only in time will we be able to judge any serious attempts of correction and improvement. In what appeared to be the first retreat on the human rights issue, there was an attempt to overlook Captive Nations Week, and only under pressure did the President issue a late proclamation, four days after the annual observance had begun.<sup>26</sup> Taken alone, this incident suggests difficulties ahead. Perhaps, as one editorial put it, "We should like to believe that the tardiness was a reflection of the inexperience of Mr. Carter's staff rather than a calculated attempt to ignore a symbolic renewal of America's commitment to the cause of freedom."<sup>27</sup> Actually, what is involved is far more than just symbolism.

<sup>25</sup> For such elaboration, see author's work *U.S.A. and the Soviet Myth*, 1971.

<sup>26</sup> For a full, accurate account see "Carter's Desperate Moves To Maintain Detente," *Human Events*, July 30, 1977.

<sup>27</sup> "An Unhappy Footnote," *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, September 2, 1977.

## **HELSINKI CONFIRMS SOVIET ECONOMIC STRATEGY**

*By MILES M. COSTICK*

The Iron Curtain remains the great socioeconomic divide of Europe. Two hostile systems confront each other. In Soviet perception, the conflict is between the socialist and capitalist systems, with national differences receding in importance. This systems conflict is seen as following the basic law of dialectics. Soviet policies and actions must conform to this law in order to be effective and permissible.

The Soviet push for an all-European security system was the continuation of a design inaugurated at Berlin in 1954 with the proposal of the "Molotov Plan." The plan has been revised and renewed periodically as conditions allowed. The continuing Soviet purpose is to achieve U.S. withdrawal from Europe. Its designs were aided by the *Ostpolitik* of former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt.

Soviet authorities ridicule Western talk of convergence of systems, holding this to be the wishful thinking of the imperialists. "International relaxation of tensions" is continuation of the struggle in a period of peace. Paraphrasing great Prussian military strategist Karl von Clausewitz, in Soviet strategy, what we call "detente," is extention of the hot war by other means. Capitalist states remain the target of the socialist class struggle. The Soviet interest is above the United Nations Charter and international law.

Immediate Soviet objectives were to win ratification of the *status quo* in Eastern Europe, the withdrawal of the United States from Europe, the harnessing of West European industrial potential, American economic aid and the creation of a Soviet-dominated instrument for consultation on European problems. These measures, from the Soviet point of view, would fulfill the guidance given by Vladimir Ilich Lenin.

The 35-state European Security and Cooperation Conference held in Helsinki in mid-1975 resulted in the Declaration signed by the representatives of all participating governments.

The so-called "Basket One" — of the Declaration — covers broad issues such as political and security cooperation.

"Basket Two" addresses itself to cooperation in the field of economics, of science and technology, and of the environment.

"Basket Three" looks towards major improvement in human contacts, travel, mixed marriages, the exchange of newspapers, books and films across east-west borders.

By Western assessment, as well as by assessment of those who represent the so-called "dissidents" in the Communist system, the response from the Soviet bloc has been negative. Formidable barriers are still maintained by the Warsaw Pact to impede closer contacts. Internal oppression and suppression of all forms of free expression continues unslackened.

The Communist governments are seeking to shift the spotlight from the Third Basket, and appear ready to do battle on broad issues of political and security questions (Basket One) and on economic relations (Basket Two).

Our task is to address the issues related to Basket Two, which in fact reflect the economic detente.

In international trade, the economic and strategic elements are inextricably intertwined. The strategic elements, however, as far as the so-called "superpowers" are concerned, have come to outweigh the economic ones. Therefore, the need for consistency between a nation's strategic goals and its commercial policies must be understood.

Dr. Henry Kissinger introduced a new era in East-West commercial relations known as the "economic detente." According to Kissinger, the essence of economic detente is based on principle of "linkage" of two economies, i.e., American and Soviet. This linkage should be established via extension of subsidized credits to the USSR, via transfer of American technology, via export of grain, via development of Soviet mineral resources, and via U.S.-Soviet joint ventures in the underdeveloped countries of the Third World.

Through a set of economic and strategic agreements, Kissinger argued, the United States sought to "spin a web of vested interests" and thus encourage the Soviet Union to temper its international behavior.<sup>1</sup>

The commercial and political relations between the Free World and the Soviet bloc, however, did not result in the "taming of the unruly power," because what the United States means by detente and

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Kissinger's statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, *Department of State Bulletin*, October 14, 1974, p. 508.

what the Soviets mean by detente are two entirely different things.

In 1921, Lenin made the statement, "The capitalist countries... will supply us with the materials and technology we lack and will restore our military industry, which we need for our future victorious attacks upon our suppliers. In other words, they will work hard in order to prepare their suicide."

In 1973, Soviet Communist Party boss Leonid Brezhnev defined detente in the following statement made to members of his Politburo:

We Communists have got to string along with the capitalists for a while. We need their credits, their technology, and their agriculture. But we are going to continue a massive military buildup, and by the middle 1980s we will be in a position to return to a much more aggressive foreign policy designed to gain the upper hand in our relationship with the West.<sup>2</sup>

Consistently, every U.S-Soviet commercial deal—particularly the transfer of advanced technology and sophisticated capital equipment—is an act of international politics.

#### THE SOVIET TRADE PATTERN

By now, the two general techniques in the Soviet pattern of trade have clearly emerged. One is to tap Western technology and long-term credits in order to develop inaccessible resources rapidly, including oil, natural gas, timber and rare metals in Siberia.

The other is to import complete industrial installations wholesale, especially in the chemical and petrochemical industries, computer production, the automotive field, the energy sector and modern metallurgy. All of which are of strategic significance.

The Communist appetite for Western technology is staggering. Governments of the Soviet bloc have set up more than 800 joint manufacturing ventures with Western firms in the past decade. New plants in three branches of industry — mechanical engineering, chemicals and transportation, all of which are essential to the Communists' military effort — account for about two-thirds of the total. The Soviets have purchased nearly 1,000 "turn-key" plants — ready-to-go manufacturing facilities with training for a technical staff.

In the most current deals the Soviets are buying several chemical plants, a new steel mill with the latest technology, oil-drilling and

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<sup>2</sup> The Pentagon and intelligence community termed Brezhnev's explanation "The New Brezhnev Doctrine"; see *International Economic Policy*, p. 822 (Hearings before the Congressional Subcommittee on International Trade, 1974).

manufacturing equipment, and a complete shipyard from Britain which will be capable of producing war ships and submarines. France is putting up a timber complex at Ust-Ilimsk in Siberia, chemical refineries at Orenburg in the Central Soviet Union and the most modern aluminum production facility. A consortium led by Germany's Krupp iron-and-steel concern is planning to build two coal gasification plants in Poland. Most of the transactions are financed with cheap Western credit.

In 1972 Soviet orders for Western technology ran close to \$2 billion—a figure that rose in 1973 to \$2.5 billion, in 1974 to almost \$4 billion and in 1975 close to \$5 billion. In 1975 alone, Western exports to the Communist bloc totaled about \$31 billion—\$6.3 billion over 1974.

More, however, lies behind the Soviet trade strategy than erecting large new industrial facilities. The major contract with Italian automobile manufacturer Fiat to build an integrated auto plant at Togliatti illustrates another Soviet objective. Fiat not only planned, programmed and supervised construction of the complex, but trained Soviet engineers and technicians and provided technical help in running the installation.

Thus, what Moscow wanted to and did acquire was not just a modern plant, but the very art of modern mass production of cars, plus the management and organization for such mass production. The same thing took place in the case of the Kama River truck plant, which utilizes predominantly American technology.

#### THE FINANCING OF RED TRADE

The irony of red trade is in the fact that commercial transactions with the Communist governments—in spite of their strategic relevance—have been financed with Western and Japanese long-term cheap credits which can be equated with the economic aid given to the underdeveloped countries. For example, these are some of the typical credit arrangements: \$1 billion from Germany for purchase of German steel production facilities; \$1 billion from Germany for purchase of large diameter steel pipes for oil pipeline; \$1 billion in Japanese government credits for expansion of Siberian timber and coal industries; over \$1 billion in American and Western European credits for purchases of equipment for ammonia complexes; over \$1 billion from Italians for automobile manufacturing plant in Togliatti, USSR; \$2 billion from the Italian government for purchase of industrial plant and equipment; so far over \$1 billion in credits for plant, equipment and technology for the KAMAZ—Kama River truck

plant; \$2 billion from the British government for purchase of manufacturing installations and technology in the United Kingdom.

In 1975 the USSR ran a total \$6 billion trade deficit with the West, and it seems that it matched that amount in 1976. According to private banking circles in Europe, Soviet net indebtedness to the West and Japan is assessed at about \$18 billion, of which \$12 billion is held by commercial banks, and only a fraction of that is government backed.

The total foreign hard currency debt of the entire Soviet bloc has reached a sum between \$45 and \$50 billion.<sup>3</sup>

Soviet premier Kosygin indicated to Sargent Shriver that the Soviet Union plans to go on borrowing up to \$30 billion in the Euro-dollar market, if necessary, in order to import what they need to develop energy resources in Siberia and refinance some of the old debt. In this respect it is significant that the USSR is sending out feelers in Western European capitals for a massive loan of up to \$5 billion.

#### SOVIET ECONOMIC WARFARE

Since its inception the Kremlin has used trade for political and strategic reasons, to exploit economic crises and to try to disrupt Western economies. The Soviets compete with the West economically through destructive practices—not so much for the economic gain of the USSR as for the economic damage to the West. For instance, they have been dumping a great variety of products and raw materials such as: automobiles, watches, cameras, aluminum, tin, oil and agricultural machinery.

The Soviets are selling Soviet-made Fiat 124s under names of Zhiguli and Lada, in the Western markets, 40 per cent cheaper than the Italian Fiat's listed price. They carry freight on their merchant ships or on the Trans-Siberian Railway for half the actual costs. This gains the Kremlin some hard currency with which to purchase Western technology but more importantly, it drives "capitalist" ships off the seas because they cannot meet the uneconomical Soviet freight rates.

As an oil-exporting state with customers in Eastern as well as in Western Europe, Moscow had its own political and economic reasons for wanting to see the world price of oil driven upward. The Soviet press and radio, especially Arab-language broadcasts, urged the Arab oil nations to use the "oil weapon." To do anything short of bleeding

<sup>3</sup> See Miles Costick, "Soviet Bloc Debt is a Big Headache for the West," *The News World*, April 12, 1977, p. 7A.

Western countries and their international oil corporations, the organs of Kremlin propaganda argued, was to fail the Arab cause. They fail to use the full leverage of economic power at the disposal of what is, in Moscow's terms, "the worldwide national liberation movement."

At the time of the Arab oil embargo the Soviet oil-exporting agency quickly doubled, trebled, and quadrupled its own contract prices with West Germany, Finland, the Netherlands, and other Western nations reaping hard currency windfall profits. This eased the strain of financing Moscow's purchases of Western technology.

The Soviet Union had explicit political objectives in exhorting the Arab oil nations to impose an embargo and raise the prices of petroleum.\*

By half privately, half publicly promoting the upward spiral of oil prices, Moscow hoped to push the capitalist world toward bankruptcy and economic depression. It was obvious the Kremlin took great comfort in seeing inflation pressures increasing in the West. The Soviet Communist leaders from Suslov to Brezhnev, in a series of private and public pronouncements, linked the economic difficulties of free societies with the Marxist-Leninist predictions about the coming doom of the democracies.

The Soviet media made no secret that Moscow also saw advantages in the rising competitive frictions between Western Europe and the United States as the oil crisis mounted.

#### THE STRATEGIC DIMENSION OF TRADE

In his testimony of April 12, 1974, before an executive session of the Subcommittee on Priorities and Economy in Government of the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress, William Colby, then director of the CIA, stated that the Soviets "have been getting military technology" from the West. In his answer to Senator Proxmire's question Colby was specific: "Computers, some scientific instruments and advanced equipment."<sup>4</sup>

Military power depends on a strong economic and technological base. Imports of Western technology have been and continue to be

\* For relevant discussion of the subject see Miles Costick, *The Economics of Detente*, pp. 59-62 (Heritage Foundation, 1976) and Foy D. Kohler, Leon Goure and Mose L. Harvey, *The Soviet Union and the October 1973 Middle East War* (Center for Advanced International Studies, University of Miami, 1974).

<sup>5</sup> See *Allocation of Resources in the Soviet Union and China*, Hearing before Subcommittee on Priorities and Economy in Government, U.S. Senate, April 12, 1974, p. 19 (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974).

a factor of paramount importance in Soviet economic life. Its significance is increasing and is far bigger even than the figures suggest. As the country has virtually no capability for selfgenerated innovation, flexibility and innovation for industry have to be imported to provide the missing dynamic element in technological progress.

Imports provide means far beyond its own technological abilities for fulfilling key military objectives. In this context, an arresting example of American technological aid was the sale of an astronaut's space-suit to the Soviets for \$180,000. The space-suit had cost the Americans \$20 million in research and development costs.<sup>6</sup>

In 1972, the Departments of State and Commerce granted an export license for 164 of the Centalign-B machines. These are of critical importance in the manufacture of precision miniature ball bearings, which, in turn, are imperative for construction of guidance mechanism used in intercontinental ballistic missiles—ICBMs, and for mechanism for MIRVing of nuclear warheads. The sole manufacturer of these unique machines is the Bryant Chucking Grinder Company of Springfield, Vermont.<sup>7</sup>

The Soviet military-industrial complex gained not only 164 sophisticated machines and accompanied technology, but also acquired the mass manufacturing capability for guidance mechanisms.

According to intelligence estimates, by 1982, the Soviets will have at least 5,000 operational MIRVs aimed at the United States. Without American computer technology and machines for production of precision miniature ball bearings, this would not have been possible.

As it was demonstrated, the Soviets have imported vast quantities of Western technology and some imports have had direct military applications. Further examples of this are automated processes from Italy's Fiat automobile firm and sophisticated gear-grinding equipment made by America's Gleason Works which are now being used to produce Soviet armored vehicles.

Many American and European officials have grown increasingly concerned that the trade transactions have allowed the Kremlin to divert scarce economic resources into a massive military buildup. They believe the increase in communist military potential would not have been possible without the West's unwitting help. Britain's NATO envoy, Sir John Killick, recently declared: "Clearly something is amiss when the Soviet Union's all-consuming military machine continues to

<sup>6</sup> Reported in Dr. Alexander Wolinski, *Western Economic Aid To The USSR* (Institute for the Study of Conflict, London, 1976).

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, Miles Costick, p. 7.

gather speed and strength while its economy is increasingly dependent on Western exports."<sup>8</sup>

At the latest NATO economic meeting in Brussels, which was attended by nearly 100 experts, Arthur Hausman, president of the Ampex Corp., argued that the transfer of technology represents "a long-term threat to our security and our world economic position—and should be conducted with more restraint."<sup>9</sup> U.S. corporations—faced with domestic and international competitive pressures and tempted by the vast Communist market—often argue that the industrial equipment and technology they want to sell is years behind the most advanced American technology, Hausman contended. But, he added, "it still would give the Soviets a major addition in military capability."<sup>10</sup>

Dr. Michael Checinski, a former Polish Communist intelligence officer, said that "Every machine, device or instrument imported from the West is sent to a special analytical group." "Their job is not only to copy technical solutions but to adapt them to the specifications of Soviet military production,"<sup>11</sup> Checinski said.

A former high official of the Soviet Ministry of Armaments gave a sworn statement that, without the use of American and British computers, precision instruments and digital tools in the Soviet military-industrial complex, the communists could not have made advances in the development of high-energy lasers or nuclear devices.

On July 21, 1975, Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham, then director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, testified before a subcommittee of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee in executive session that he was worried about a Soviet breakthrough in "the application of lasers."<sup>12</sup>

In December of 1975 and January of 1976 there were reports that three U.S. early warning satellites in geosynchronous orbit had been either "blinded," damaged or destroyed by Soviet highpower ground-based lasers.<sup>13</sup>

One of the most flagrant examples of the transfer of advanced American technology and automated equipment is the KAMAZ—

<sup>8</sup> See Arnold de Borchgrave's article "Russia's Trade Coup," *Newsweek*, July 26, 1976.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> See *Allocation of Resources in the Soviet Union and China—1975* (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1975) p. 123.

<sup>13</sup> Reported in Miles Costick's article "The Dangers of Economic Detente," *Conservative Digest*, July, 1976.

Kama River truck plant in the Soviet Union. Donald E. Stiegel, president of Swindell-Dresser Co., which is the principal project, testified before the Subcommittee on International Trade of the U.S. House of Representatives, that his firm is providing the USSR with technology yet to be realized even in the United States.

Specifically, the KAMAZ will have an annual production capacity of 150,000 to 200,000 10-ton multiple-axle trucks, more than the capacity of the largest U.S. heavy-duty truck manufacturer. The KAMAZ foundry, the most modern in the world, equipped with the world's largest industrial computer system provided by IBM Corp., will turn out 250,000 diesel engines per year. In addition to it, the foundry will mass produce tank turrets. The irony is that KAMAZ will be capable of producing tanks, military scout cars, rocket launchers and trucks for military transport, but it was approved as "non-strategic!"

#### SALE OF MILITARY COMPUTERS

Viewing the overall Soviet objectives it becomes clear that the USSR also strives to attain scientific and technological superiority, which then can be translated into a margin of military advantage. The superiority in high-technology areas is of paramount importance in effective military systems.

Computer technology, in particular, plays a dominant role in the change of military technology and strategy. Without computers modern weapons systems could not be built, integrated, tested, deployed, kept combat-ready and operated. In fact, weapons such as missiles, aircraft, tanks, high-performance satellite-based surveillance systems, ABM defense systems and submarines incorporate computers as part of their armament.

In the present era of technological competition with the Soviet Union, the United States enjoys now and is expected to maintain a ten to fifteen-year advantage in computer technology, provided that there is no ill-considered export to the USSR and to the other communist dominated countries. For it is known to our Government that any technology transferred to a Soviet satellite, or to Yugoslavia, was in turn made available to the Soviet government.

Computer technology in the USSR is virtually entirely imported from the West (United States and United Kingdom) by overt and covert means. Since the SAM business machine plant was put together in Moscow in 1932, with aid from the West, the production of copies of Western machines was inaugurated. This practice of copying earlier models of Western machines continues to the present day, although

Soviet modifications of Western models are now more frequent, so that the copies are not as faithful as they once were.

About 12 years ago, one of the Soviet officials leaked the Soviet government's decision to proceed with a crash program for development of a family of third-generation computers, closely patterned after the IBM 360 series, which the Soviet agents stole from the West Germany in the middle sixties. The working name for the computer project was RYAD. The project, with the exception of some smaller models and ES-1040—a medium size computer produced by ROBOTRON of East Germany—proved to be a failure.<sup>14</sup>

The United States, on the other hand, is mass producing fourth generation computers, and already possesses the know-how and capacity to produce fifth generation computers. Therefore, the Soviets are making every effort to close the computer gap in the only way possible for them: to get us to give them.

Soviet efforts to obtain from us advanced computer technology has not been without success. Control Data Corporation, IBM, Sperry Rand Corp.'s computer subsidiary UNIVAC, Hewlett-Packard Co., Elliot Automation, RCA and General Electric have all sold computers, related equipment and some technology to the USSR and its satellites. Only during the last four years the U.S. computer manufacturers have sold to the Communist governments over \$300 million worth of computers and related equipment. This sum does not include the clandestine trade.<sup>15</sup>

The addition to agreement with the Soviet government to build in the USSR a half billion dollar integrated plant for production of the most advanced computer systems, Control Data Corporation, so far, has sold to the Communist bloc and Red China about 40 large scientific computer systems. CDC also has a joint venture with the Communist government of Rumania for production of computer peripheral equipment, which is one of the weakest links in the Communist computer technology. In addition to it, Control Data has an agreement with the USSR to manufacture 100-megabit disk memory units in the Soviet Union. It is significant that the main deficiency of all computers produced in the Soviet bloc is their poor memory system.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See Miles Costick, "The Strategic Dimension of the U.S. Computer Exports to the USSR," *Congressional Record*, May 19, 1977, pp. H4736-4738.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

On September 30, 1976 the National Security Council approved the sale of Control Data's Cyber 7300 computer system and associated equipment to the USSR.

On October 12, 1976 the National Security Council has approved the export license for two Control Data's Cyber 172 computer systems and associated equipment to Red China.

The stated purpose of computer sale to the Soviet Union was to improve its oil exploration capabilities. In case of exports to Red China, the stated purpose was oil exploration and earthquake detection.

Both Cyber series—the Cyber 7000 and the Cyber 170—are not only ideal for scientific, industrial and commercial applications, but also for military R&D effort, for antisubmarine warfare, nuclear weapons calculations, anti-ballistic missile systems, and large phased-array radar systems for tracking of enemy ICBMs.

Today Control Data is lobbying with agencies of the U.S. Government to win approval of export licenses for sale of additional military computers to the communist governments. CDC has negotiated with the Soviet Union the sale of Cyber 76 computer systems, which is the world's largest scientific computer. Only a few such installations exist in the world, all of them in the United States, including those at the Pentagon, the ERDA (Energy Research and Development Administration), US Air Force, NASA and the National Security Agency.

Obviously the national security implications of this trade are enormous. Concern in the United States had led the Defense Department's Science Board task force to recommend restrictions on the transfer of strategic technology to the Communist superpowers and their satellites.

Six high-technology trade associations, however, through their spokesmen, have warned Congress against permitting the Defense Department to control transfer of strategic technologies and items. "In a civilian government such as ours, the control and administration must reside apart from the military," argued Peter F. McCloskey, president of the Computer and Business Equipment Manufacturers' Association.

#### CONCLUSION

The Soviet Union is increasingly reliant upon Western aid, in the form of low interest long-term credits and advanced technology; yet the Soviet military machine, already disproportionately powerful, continues to expand. While the flow of Western technology into the

Soviet economy aides the general industrial sector, it in fact releases resources for the military sector—a kind of Marshall Aid in reverse and for counterproductive ends.

The policy of detente must be scrutinized against this situation. On the Soviet side, the policy was principally dictated by a pressing need for Western technology and capital. It was connected with "international relaxation of tensions" only in the Soviet definition of that term, as implying an intensification of the "international class struggle."

The proclaimed objective of eventual victory for "socialism" on a world scale makes it clear that any accommodation with the Western powers is a purely temporary phase, while the Soviet Union and its satellites around the world build up their strength in the advancement of that standing objective. It is paradoxical for the West to rescue a stagnant economy for a regime dedicated to overthrow its creditors.

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## **ALEXANDER A. GRANOVSKY—SCHOLAR, STATESMAN AND PATRIOT**

*By OXANA ASHER*

On November 5, 1976, *The Minneapolis Tribune* announced the death on November 4, 1976 of Dr. Alexander A. Granovsky, internationally known emeritus professor of entomology of the University of Minnesota.

Prof. Granovsky, a worldwide authority on aphids, had three species of aphids named after him. He was credited with controlling the destructive cutworm through the use of modern technology. He was among the first to use DDT to fight the insects that destroyed potato crops. He was the first to use airplane dusting to preserve forests. In recognition of all these contributions, the Minnesota Academy of Science granted him an honorary life membership. He was also named an Honorary Fellow in other scientific organizations and was an honorary member of agricultural societies.

In addition, Granovsky was an extremely gifted teacher. His Soil Insects Seminar, with emphasis on malaria-carrying insects, unfailingly drew a great number of students, especially from the Orient: China, India, Asia Minor, and also Egypt and Ethiopia. All his scientific findings were published in a large number of scientific papers, and his work on the insect transmission of plant diseases became well known.

Outside his brilliant career in science, Granovsky was a native-born Ukrainian leader. For twenty-seven years (1936-1963), he was the national president of the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine (ODWU). This organization named him as its Honorary Life President.

In his capacity as president of ODWU, Prof. Granovsky closely cooperated with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), first under the leadership of Col. Eugene Konovalets and, then after his assassination in 1938 by a Soviet agent in Rotterdam, Holland, under Col. Andrew Melnyk. Granovsky met a number of top-notch

leaders of this organization during their visits to the United States and Canada in the late 1930's. They were Gen. Mykola Kapustiansky, Omelan Senyk-Hrybivsky, Gen. Victor Kurmanovich, Yaroslav Baranovsky, Col. Roman Sushko and Oles Kandyba (O. Olzhych). In the summer of 1939 Prof. Granovsky took part in the meeting of the OUN supreme council, held in Rome.

In May, 1940, he was one of the founders of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA). He was awarded the "Shevchenko Freedom Award" by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Shevchenko Memorial Committee of America at the first World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU), held in the fall of 1967 in New York City.

In his pamphlet, *Ukraine*, written while president of ODWU and published in August, 1944, Prof. Granovsky spoke about the heroism of the Ukrainian people in World War II:

No other people have endured and suffered more from the terrifying experiences of modern warfare which has raged for four years on the war-torn territories. No other country has suffered greater devastation from German military conquest than has Ukraine... The entire stretch of beautiful Ukraine, from the Carpathian Mountains to Stalingrad on the Volga River, has been laid waste, seared and ruined. Innocent women, children and the civilian population have been slaughtered by the thousands...

After World War II, over two hundred packages of food were sent from his home to Ukrainian refugees in Europe.

In 1945, he was a member of the Ukrainian delegation [from Ukrainians in America] sent to attend the founding of the United Nations in San Francisco.

In 1949, he helped to bring more than five thousand displaced Ukrainians to the United States. More than one thousand persons were accommodated in his home during that period. Some of the refugees stayed just a few days; others remained much longer. His wife, Irene, wrote about that time:

Those who came to our home were always welcomed with a good meal, our children were put on the floor to sleep and their beds, for built one, usually accommodated at least two. A dresser drawer often was emptied to make a bed for an infant. Counseling was given. Many were persuaded to return to school and the University made efforts to help them. Jobs were found, newer

clothing provided, household articles were acquired, rooms, rundown houses, inadequate apartments became a haven.<sup>1</sup>

The Ukrainian Free University of Munich named Granovsky an Honorary Doctor of Humanities and Philosophy in 1958.

In 1966 on the occasion of the inauguration of the Ukrainian Library at the University of Minnesota, Prof. Granovsky donated his voluminous personal Ukrainian library and some rare archives related to Ukraine. This "Ukrainian Collection," currently possessing over twelve thousand titles and scores of annual publications, has become one of the richest U.S. collections on Ukraine and its people, and is accessible to scholars and students. It covers many aspects of Ukrainian culture with emphasis on Ukrainians in North America, and contains important monographs in the field of Ukrainian literature.

Alexander Granovsky came to the United States from Ukraine in 1913. He was born on October 22, 1887 in the town of Bereztsi, in the Volhynia Province of Ukraine. He was the oldest of five children.

His father, Anastasius Neprytsky-Granovsky, was a blacksmith and also a minor government official. His mother's maiden name was Emilia Sichnievich.

After graduating from a high school, he entered the A.F. Voronin Crown's Agricultural School in Bilokrynytsia. He was graduated from it in 1906, worked for a while in Korshiv (near Lutsk), then went to Kiev to study at the Economic Institute of Dovnar-Zapsolsky. In Kiev he made some friends among the Ukrainian intellectual elite of that time, such as Mykola Lysenko, noted Ukrainian composer; Lesya Ukrainka, Ukraine's foremost poetess, and her mother, Olena Pchilka-Kossach; poet O. Oles and Borys Hrinchenko, a writer.

While working with the South Russian Book Publishing House, he started to write Ukrainian poetry and became associated with the Ukrainian journal, *Ukrainska Khata* (Ukrainian Home).

While he lived in Kiev, many Ukrainian intellectuals were arrested. His friends prevailed on him to leave Ukraine and to go to New York as an immigrant.

In America Granovsky attended Colorado Agricultural State College (1914). During World War I he was sent to France with the American Army. After the war he got a graduate student scholarship in entomology at the University of Wisconsin, where he received his

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts from 'Who We Are,' by Irene F. Granovsky, St. Paul, Minn., May 30, 1975, p. 116 (Manuscript).

M.S. in 1923 and his Ph.D. in 1925. In 1928, he married Irene Thorp, a graduate from Lawrence College in Sturgeon Bay who became his devoted companion for many years. Their family consisted of five children: Sandra, Philip, Natalie, Ted and Nancy.

Upon completion of his graduate studies at the University of Wisconsin, Granovsky served on its staff until 1930. In that year he went to teach at the University of Minnesota, where he specialized in aphidology and field entomology.

In the early 1930's Granovsky became a member of the International Institute, serving on several of its committees for many years.

In 1934, he established one of the most important biological stations in the United States, that on Lake Itasca in northwestern Minnesota, and directed it from 1935 to 1940. The University of Minnesota gave him an award in recognition of his great contribution in this challenging assignment.

He published seven volumes of poetry in Ukrainian: "Petals of Hope" (1910); "Necklace of Tears" (1911); "Accords" (1914); "Rays of Faith" (1953); "Autumn Tracery" (1958); "Dreams of a Ruined Castle" (1964).

#### REMEMBERING ALEXANDER GRANOVSKY

I was deeply pained to hear of the death of Professor Alexander Granovsky. He was an outstanding scholar and poet, and he dedicated his life to the Ukrainian cause.

In the summer of 1957, when my husband, Peter, a lawyer, was sent to St. Paul, Minnesota on a railroad case, I had to leave New York City for the Middle West. I knew that Aleksander Fylypovych (who had once been a close friend of my father), was living there; but I hardly expected to find such an organized Ukrainian community.

Professor Granovsky was a talented leader of this community. One could see and feel the tremendous respect of the Ukrainians there for him. His attractive home was open to everyone, and Peter and I were there on several occasions.

Once I commented to Professor Granovsky on the beauty of the open fields around St. Paul. He replied, "You have to go to the north, to the real virgin woods, and especially in October, when the leaves are painted so brilliantly!"

Peter and I did not reach the virgin forests, but in the autumn we took a drive along Lake Superior. The splendor of the colorful foliage contrasting with the frigid blues of the lake is unforgettable.

Last summer, twenty years after my trip to Minnesota, I read again his book of collected poems, *Osinni Uzory* (The Autumn Designs),<sup>2</sup> which he gave me so long ago. The book was printed in New York in 1957, and the poems were not arranged in chronological order. Some of them were written as early as 1912, when Granovsky was a young man and still living in his beloved Ukraine while the later poems belong to the 1950's and were written in Minnesota. It seemed to me as if the poet had collected all of his poems about autumn in order to trace the course of the foliage in their magnificent colors in the month of October through their fall in November to the bareness of the trees in cold December.

Granovsky's love for the rich colors of October was reflected in his poems, regardless of the time at which they were written. In his poem, *Tsiluie Osin'* (Autumn Kisses) [1917],<sup>3</sup> he was capable of creating a lovely image, as that of a ripening time. Again in another poem, *Lyst Do...* (A Letter To...) [1945],<sup>4</sup> he spoke of a small forest, dressed in its magnificent garments, as it honors autumn with its colorful rites.

Granovsky explained his ideas about fall in his poem, *Hymny Zolotoi Tuhy* (Hymns to the Golden Sadness) [1949].<sup>5</sup> October removed indifference from his heart, and it was autumn with the color of sacramental fire which released his most profound thoughts.

One can feel those feelings of beauty and sorrow through the whole cycle of his autumn poems, and he related those pensive moods to remembrances of his dear Ukraine. But optimism never left this Ukrainian patriot. Thus he finished his poem, *Krasa i Sum* (Beauty and Sorrow) [1946],<sup>6</sup> with these lines:

*My heart is beating for my native land,  
A quiet sadness comes upon my soul,  
But still for me a hope is there,  
Hence after winter Spring is here!...*

<sup>2</sup> O. Neprytsky-Granovsky, *Osinni Uzory* (The Autumn Designs), New York-Chicago, 1957, 142 pp.

<sup>3</sup> O. Neprytsky-Granovsky, "Tsiluie Osin'" (Autumn Kisses), *Osinni Uzory*, New York-Chicago, 1957, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> O. Neprytsky-Granovsky, "Lyst do..." (A Letter To...), *Osinni Uzory*, New York-Chicago, 1957, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> O. Neprytsky-Granovsky, "Hymny Zolotoi Tuhy" (Hymns of the Golden Sadness), *Osinni Uzory*, New York-Chicago, 1957, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> O. Neprytsky-Granovsky, "Krasa i Sum" (Beauty and Sorrow), *Osinni Uzory*, New York-Chicago, 1957, p. 35.

## **AN APPEAL ON BEHALF OF NATIONAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN UKRAINE**

*EDITOR'S NOTE: Following is the text of the Memorandum, submitted by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America to the U.S. Government before the opening of the Belgrade Conference in the fall of 1977.*

On behalf of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, a nationally representative body of over two million American citizens of Ukrainian ancestry, we submit this Memorandum to you on the plight of the Ukrainian people under the Soviet Russian regime, for your consideration and possible action at the forthcoming conference in Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

In connection with this conference, which purports to assess to what degree the Helsinki Accords have been implemented by the various state-signatories, we take this opportunity to bring to your attention the continued drastic violations by the Soviet government in Ukraine of all basic rights and fundamental freedoms of the 48-million Ukrainian nation, which, although allegedly a sovereign republic of the USSR, was excluded from the Helsinki Conference in 1975.

Basic human rights and fundamental freedoms have long been recognized as having valid universal significance and are currently a subject of pressing international concern. They are spelled out in the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the Convention Against Discrimination in Education. Both the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian SSR have signed these international covenants, and their representatives boast constantly about this in their massive propaganda drives aimed at the Third World nations.

The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has given a new dimension to the humanitarian principles these covenants embody by reaffirming each state-signatory's right to be concerned with the manner in which human rights and fundamental freedoms are respected and implemented by all other signatories.

We submit here that the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian SSR have not lived up to their commitment to these covenants.

Recently, the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe held several hearings in Washington, D.C., which accumulated a great deal of new evidence collected by Helsinki-watchers, detailing wholesale violations of the Helsinki guarantees of civil and religious liberty as well as the *national* rights of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR.

It has been recognized on the basis of eyewitness reports that Soviet Russian repressions are most severe and most systematic in Ukraine.

Mrs. Ludmila Alekseeva, the Russian historian and member of the Helsinki Monitoring Group in Moscow who was recently allowed to emigrate from the USSR, stated at a press conference held on June 8, 1977, in New York:

Repressions in Ukraine are the most severe, enduring and all-embracing; sentences imposed on Ukrainian dissidents are much heavier than those imposed on Russian political prisoners; Ukrainian ex-political prisoners cannot obtain jobs or housing, and frequently they are not allowed to return to Ukraine from exile. My only explanation is that Moscow is very fearful of the secession of Ukraine from the USSR...

*Basket One* contains ten declarations on principles, two of which concern Ukraine and the Ukrainian people, namely:

a) *Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief;*  
b) *Equal rights and self-determination of peoples.*

*Ad a):* Despite the fact that the Soviet Constitution and that of the Ukrainian SSR contain provisions guaranteeing these fundamental rights, the Soviet government *genocided* the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the 1930's and ruthlessly destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1946, subordinating some five million Ukrainian Catholics to Russian Orthodoxy against their will.

Religious minorities in Ukraine, such as the Roman Catholics, Evangelical Christians and Baptists, the Ukrainian Evangelical Reformed Church, the Ukrainian Lutheran Church, the Pentecostals and the Seventh Day Adventists as well as the Jehovah's Witnesses—although they are allowed to exist, are persecuted and harassed by official propaganda. Many Ukrainian religious leaders have been arrested and sent to prison for "religious activities."

There are some 800,000 to 900,000 Jews in Ukraine, but most of the Judaic communities have been dispersed, with only few synagogues extant.

Exercise of "freedom of thought" is a state crime in the USSR and in Ukraine. In 1971-1972 some 600 Ukrainian intellectuals were arrested, tried and sentenced for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation," that is for writings or speeches which met with the disapproval of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

*Ad b):* Ukraine is one of the 15 "equal" constituent republics of the USSR and a charter member of the U.N. The Ukrainian people are not a minority in their own land. They exercised their right of national self-determination in 1917, when in the elections to the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly, the Ukrainian Central *Rada*, standing in favor of national independence, received 76% of all votes. Independence was proclaimed on January 22, 1918. The new state was recognized not only by the Central Powers, but also by a number of the states of the *Entente*. The government of Communist Russia also recognized the non-Communist government of Ukraine in a note signed by Lenin and Trotsky on December 17, 1917, and also at the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty with the Central Powers on March 3, 1918.

But as soon as the Soviet power was consolidated, Ukraine was conquered in 1920, then humbled to the status of a "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic" and, since 1922, has languished as a constituent member of the USSR.

The Soviet government claims insistently that all "Union Republics" have the right to "freely secede" from the USSR. For example, Art. 71 of the new "Brezhnev Constitution," made public on June 4, 1977, states:

"Every union republic shall retain the right to secede freely from the USSR."

In the early 1960's, a Ukrainian lawyer, Ivan O. Kandyba, sent a petition to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, which was entitled, *Ukraine's Right of Secession from the USSR*. For his pains, he was quickly arrested by the KGB and, along with his associates, Lev H. Lukyanenko and Stepan M. Virun, condemned to death for "high treason." Although their sentences were subsequently commuted to long years of imprisonment, this case clearly illustrates the duplicity of Soviet policy on the matter of self-determination.

In fact, all Ukrainian patriots believe that Ukraine should have the full attributes of an independent state. For example, the *Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Ac-*

cords, formed in Kiev on November 9, 1976, in its "Declaration," stated:

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

The document further states that the "implementation of the Helsinki Accords (especially the humanitarian sections) cannot be guaranteed without the participation of the citizenry of the signatory-nations..."

The Ukrainian Public Group was formed with the prime objective of informing the signatory-nations and the world community about the violations in Ukraine of the Universal Declaration of Human rights and of the humanitarian articles adopted by the Helsinki Conference.

The group consisted of ten known leaders of the human and national rights movement in Ukraine, namely: *Mykola Rudenko*, head of the group; *Oles Berdnyk*, General *Petro Hryhorenko* (Pyotr Grigorenko), *Ivan Kandyba*, *Lev Lukyanenko*, *Oksana Meshko*, *Mykola Matusevych*, *Myroslav Marynovych*, *Nina Strokata* and *Oleksiy Tykhy*.

Of these, four have been arrested: *Mykola Rudenko* and *Oleksiy Tykhy* were arrested on February 9, 1977 and taken to a prison in the Donetsk area of Ukraine; *Mykola Matusevych* and *Myroslav Marynovych* were taken into custody in April, 1977. No charges against them have been made public.

#### BARBARIC AND INHUMAN SENTENCES

On July 2, 1977, AP and UPI dispatches from Moscow reported that both Rudenko and Tykhy had been sentenced to terms in labor camps on charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation."

*Rudenko, the 56-year-old Ukrainian poet, was sentenced to seven years at hard labor, and Tykhy, a Ukrainian teacher, was given ten years at hard labor. In addition, both men received five years of internal exile.*

The trial was held behind closed doors in Druzhkivka, a small town 60 kms. north of Donetsk. Members of the Kiev and Moscow Helsinki Groups who attempted to attend the trial were intercepted by

the local militia and confined for the duration of the proceedings. Tykhy's 80-year-old mother was also denied access to the trial, as were workers from Tykhy's factory in Donetsk.

Both defendants pleaded not guilty to charges of anti-Soviet agitation and said that they only spoke the truth. It was not their intent to undermine the state, they said; instead they wished to help the state by illustrating the failure of the implementation of the Helsinki Accords.

During his testimony, Rudenko, who is a war invalid and in poor health, fainted twice.

These sentences, first to be imposed upon members of a Helsinki group in the USSR, are not judicious sentences, but political ones. Moscow is trying to intimidate the Ukrainian people into submission and to deter them from fighting for their national rights.

An editorial entitled, "The Ukrainian Example," which appeared in the July 6, 1977 issue of *The Washington Post*, very cogently perceived the very essence of the Rudenko-Tykhy trial when it said:

Mykola Rudenko and Olekisy Tykhy, newly sentenced to harsh camp-and-exile terms in Soviet Ukraine, are dissidents with a difference. They demanded not just that the Kremlin live up to the human rights guarantees it accepted in the Helsinki agreement. They also demanded that Moscow respect the Helsinki guarantees for "national minorities." That the Soviet Union, like any other totalitarian state, fears a contagion of individual rights is well known. No less important is its resistance to meaningful "national" rights for the 100-plus ethnic or national groups within its borders. Russians, or Great Russians, are a minority in the country they largely control. Of the others, the Ukrainians are the largest (50 million), richest, most sensitively located and historically the most assertive...

Under *Basket Three* there are at least three general principles which are violated daily by the Soviet government in Ukraine, those involving *human contacts* (movement of people), *exchange of oral, printed, filmed, and broadcast information* (movement of ideas), and *cultural and educational exchanges*.

a) *Reunion of families*: The Ukrainian community in the United States is gravely disturbed by the violation of the right of Ukrainian citizens to leave Ukraine of their own free will. Only a few Ukrainian families were allowed to emigrate to the United States,

*although there are thousands of Ukrainians who have families in this country and would like to join them in America, but they do not dare to apply for exit visas for fear of repression and persecution.* Restrictions are applied especially harshly to Ukrainians who wish to be re-united with their families living in the United States or other foreign countries. Owing to the nature of internal Soviet regulations, the process in any event is a very long and tedious one. It is a cruel hardship from the start, in that those applying for exit visas are released from their employment without any assurance of their ever obtaining the visas.

Likewise, very few Ukrainian citizens are allowed to travel as tourists outside the Warsaw Pact countries because of the strict travel restrictions.

b) *Movement of ideas:* The Soviet government forbids any Ukrainian-language publications printed outside Ukraine to be admitted into the country. There are some 90 Ukrainian and English-language publications on Ukraine in the United States, but not a single one is allowed in Ukraine. These publications, as a rule, are denounced by the Soviet press as "anti-Soviet" and "capitalist" organs financed and supported by "American imperialists."

c) *Cultural and educational exchange:* Although the policy of cultural, educational and scientific exchange between the U.S. and the USSR is extremely active, it brings little, if any, benefit for the 50-million Ukrainian nation. Most of the personnel on Soviet exchange teams are *Russians*, despite the fact that Ukrainians constitute 19% of the total population of the USSR. In the past, Moscow had sent to the U.S. Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, and Armenian dance and choral ensembles. Lately, however, only "Russian Festival" teams are being sent to this country, with Ukrainian ethnics hidden under one Russian "cultural umbrella."

There are a number of highly-trained Ukrainian American and Ukrainian Canadian dance and choral ensembles which would like to perform in Ukraine, but the Soviet government, at least in the case of the Ukrainian Canadian group, would not allow them entry. Only those foreign groups which are ideologically attuned to Communism find a raised Iron Curtain.

To summarize, Sir, we are greatly concerned over the wide-scale inhuman treatment of our kin in Ukraine by the Soviet government. In trying to keep the great Ukrainian nation in perpetual slavery, Moscow transgresses the rights and minimal decencies to attain its goal. *Russification* remains one of the ugliest features of Russian colo-

nialism in Ukraine, aiming at the Russification of the Ukrainian language and culture, Ukrainian schools and institutions. Russification, then, is simply another word for *genocide*.

*Religious persecution* was neither stopped nor abated by the Soviet Union's supposed adherence to the Helsinki Accords. We draw your attention to a number of priests in Soviet labor camps and to the incessant arrests and trials of Ukrainian patriot-intellectuals who, as *political prisoners*, outnumber all other nationals in prisons and concentration camps. The four men of the Ukrainian Helsinki group who were arrested this year merely symbolize the hundreds of other Ukrainian political prisoners, such as historian *Valentyn Moroz*, literary critics *Ivan Svitlychny* and *Sviatoslav Karavansky*, *Yuriy Shukhevych*, who has spent over 20 years in prison for refusing to denounce his Soviet-slain father, *Gen. Roman Shukhevych*, commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, journalist *Vyacheslav Chornovil*, and brave Ukrainian women—*Stefania Shabatura*, *Oksana Popovych*, *Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets* and *Iryna Senyk*.

We wholeheartedly support the human rights policies of President Carter because we believe they are wholly consistent with American political tradition and the national interest.

We ask you, Sir, to avail yourself of the facts and events described above to assure yourself that, despite the signing of the Helsinki Accords by the USSR, its policy in Ukraine remains inhuman, dictatorial and contrary to the human rights and fundamental freedoms that have been expressed eloquently in all the official documents of the United Nations. Need it be added that to keep silent in the face of them is—in reality—to condone them?

*July, 1977*

EXECUTIVE BOARD  
UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

## BOOK REVIEWS

**INVINCIBLE SPIRIT: Art and Poetry of Ukrainian Women Political Prisoners in the USSR.** Album design and color photography by Taras B. Horalewskyj. Poetry and Text translated by Bohdan Yasen. Ukrainian Text by Bohdan Arey. Smoloskyp Publishers. Baltimore-Chicago-Toronto-Paris. 1977, pp. 136.

This is an uncommon and extraordinary book and a beautiful one, to boot, ornamented by miniature masterpieces of Ukrainian symbolic-decorative embroidery art. But far more important is the idea behind the book: to collect the poetic and artistic works of Ukrainian women who until recently were or who still are political prisoners in Soviet labor camps.

Despite the Helsinki Accords and the Soviet promises to abide by them, a bitter and perpetual struggle for human and national rights is being waged in Ukraine. On one side there is the Soviet Russian totalitarian regime bent on Russifying more than half of the population of the USSR, and on the other, Ukraine, a nation of 50 million and one implacable in its quest of freedom and independence. Through Russification, national discrimination and suppression and subverting of Ukrainian history, culture, language and the national traditions and religious beliefs of the Ukrainian people, Moscow strives to destroy the Ukrainian national identity. Violated towards this end are the Soviet laws and the Soviet constitution themselves, as well as all international covenants the USSR has solemnly promised to uphold.

As many world Sovietologists have pointed out, dissent in Ukraine differs very much from the Russian dissident movement. Where the latter seeks the recognition and observance of civil and human rights, the Ukrainian dissidents are fighting for the very survival of their nation as a distinct national entity. Hence the Ukrainian movement for national and human rights is characterized by an astonishing strength, determination and refusal to compromise and a willingness to endure prison, labor camps and psychiatric wards.

It is this invincible spirit of the Ukrainian people that has been haunting the Russian enslavers of Ukraine who, mindful of the old adage that "the pen is mightier than the sword," have resorted to brutal repression.

This book tells us of the undying yearnings of the Ukrainian people and of dehumanizing conditions of political enslavement. And yet even these inhuman conditions cannot suppress aspirations and yearnings for aesthetic beauty, as expressed in the Ukrainian underground art.

In the poetry and through excerpts from letters written by Ukrainian women political prisoners we find reflected the human feelings and suffering that make up the lives of these women. In the appeals and letters of protest written by them in the camps we are humbled by their unshaken faith in the rightness of their cause; and in every piece of their work, be it embroidery or poem, there is something that strongly reminds one of their faith in God. Their pride in their Ukrainian heritage is unmistakable.

The embroidered artwork reproduced in the book was smuggled out of Labor Camp No. 3, located near the town of Barashevo in the Mordovian ASSR. The poems of Iryna Senyk, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, and Stefania Shabatura, as well as copies of the open letters of protests and appeals written by the women

in the camps, were circulated by the *samvydav*, the underground press in Ukraine, before reaching the West.

The publishers advise the reader that they cannot attribute any particular piece of embroidery to any one individual but they give the names of those Ukrainian women who were in Camp No. 3 at the time. They are Stefania Shabatura, an artist specializing in tapestries; Nina Strokata-Karavansky, microbiologist and physician; Nadia Svitlychna, philologist; Iryna Senyk, nurse by profession, poetess by avocation, and Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, writer and poetess. All of them were imprisoned in early 1972 for standing up in defense of other Ukrainian political prisoners, for their own roles in the Ukrainian cultural revival of the sixties and early seventies and, in at least two cases, for refusing to renounce their husbands, who had been arrested and sentenced for political reasons.

Also in the same camp, serving 15-25 year sentences for taking part in the postwar struggle for Ukrainian independence, were Maria Palchak, Halyna Didyk, Odarka Husyak and Kateryna Zarytska-Soroka. We do not know for certain whether these women also contributed to the creation of the embroidery art depicted in the book.

*Invincible Spirit* contains a preface, articles on "Symbolism in Ukrainian Embroidery Art" and "Art and Poetry" (mostly by Iryna Senyk and Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets), biographies of ten Ukrainian women political prisoners (in addition to those of the nine women above, that of Oksana Popovych), fragments of letters and appeals and protests signed by women political prisoners, individually or by groups.

The book offers not only important testimony as to the creative spirit of the Ukrainian people. It also is a condemnation of the Soviet Russian regime for its barbarous attempts to destroy humanity at its finest.

New York, N.Y.

WALTER DUSHNYCK

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THE CLOUD OF DANGER: CURRENT REALITIES OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. By George F. Kennan. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977, pp. 234.

Practically every published work of the author has been read by this reviewer, dating back to his *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950*. The substantial directions of Kennan's thinking on U.S. foreign policy haven't really changed over the past twenty years, but each work, including this one, provides new insights and interpretations that one cannot but find absorbing and even challenging. Old thoughts on America maintaining an image and influencing events by example, the conduct of foreign policy by the Executive, the disutility of summit diplomacy, primary reliance on professionals in State and so forth receive further expression in this latest output, but the general format is different from those in the author's previous works, and the data he deals with are also of a different character.

The author undoubtedly possesses a trained faculty for easy prose. The reader will find the transition from topic to topic smooth and engaging as he becomes quickly impressed by the cloud of danger, namely war itself. He is first introduced to the subject of "The United States as a Participant in World Affairs." This first chapter investigates the governmental structure and its habits,

the military-industrial complex, the energy dependence, the developing domestic priorities and concludes with the author's general opinions. This is then followed by a chapter on "The Global Scene," entailing such topics as the impending food-population crisis, the North-South dialogue, and democracy as a world cause. With the exception of the last chapter on "A Global Concept of American Policy," all the others constitute a survey of major developments in various regions of the world, commencing with Latin America and ending with the Soviet Union and our relations with it.

With this kind of political span, it would be only natural for each reader to find some point for criticism and objection. Because of his involvement with the basic issue of captive nations, this reviewer always finds the author's treatment of the issue, whether in one form or another, intriguing. Many of his previous books deal to a greater or lesser extent with the issue, which is always pinpointed in terms of the Captive Nations Week Resolution. By many years Kennan preceded Senator Fulbright, Secretary of State Dean Rusk and numerous others in opposing this resolution and seeking its rescission. In this work, referring to the awareness of the Russian leaders of supposedly hostile forces in the West, the author states, "They have not forgotten the Captive Nations Resolution, still on the books, which commits the legislative branch of the United States government to the overthrow of Communist power everywhere in Russia and Eastern Europe" (p. 191).

Concerning this and other sources of hostility, such as potential German military power, one gets the impression from the author's treatment that their obliteration would mollify the aggressive Russians markedly, to the extent of causing a substantial change in their political behavior. If this is correct, then there exists a strand of fundamental naivete in the writer's trend of thought. The Captive Nations Week Resolution, for example, succinctly and objectively summarizes the full course of Soviet Russian imperialism and, in perfect tune with our American tradition, calls for the eventual liberation and freedom of its two dozen and more victims. Not to state these truths as a constant reminder would be morally reprehensible. Kennan, in consistent form, regards such conduct as "extremist" and would trade it for a sanguine dependence on accommodation and a broad dependence on the simple, unpredictable evolution of events.

Kennan's holistic view of the world situation—or, if you will, the human condition—and his logic are expressed in vivid terms and, of course, are shared by many analysts and professionals in this country. Without oversimplifying it, the pattern of our vital national interests includes Western Europe, Japan and Israel ("These commitments would constitute the hard core of our external obligations, and they would be given all necessary priority" — p. 229). He supports Israel because we created it, but he would not commit troops to its preservation. This illustrates in large measure the vacillating logic employed by the author. South Korea, the Republic of China, South-east Asia, Africa, the Panama Canal, Latin America and so forth are subjects examined in the same manner of logical hedging and caveat. As to Vietnam, the author of course has viewed it as a wrong adventure.

On these and other issues many of the views elaborated by the author are in currency and could be easily refuted from a rational standpoint that assigns more value and weight to Communist ideology, psycho-political warfare, and the contents of Moscow's "peaceful coexistence" policy than the author does. Contrary to what he states in this work, the author did at one time appreciate these forces

of traditional Russian imperialism and placed his name on a liberation plank. Here he writes, "With relation to the Soviet government, our task is not to destroy it or make it into something else but to find means of living side by side with it and dealing with it which serve to diminish rather than to increase the dangers that now confront us all" (p. 216). This in itself gives an idea of the author's live-and-let-live mentality. Then, a few sentences later, he writes, "I have never advocated an American policy aimed at its overthrow—have in fact actively opposed such a policy—not because I do not think it our business to try to determine political developments in other countries, because we would probably not be able to do this even if we wanted to, and because we would not know what to put in the place of the present Russian regime even if we succeeded in overthrowing it. I know of no potential democratic Russian governments standing in the wings" (p. 216).

These sentences are purposely reproduced here to illustrate the nature of Kennan's overview and his type of reasoning, not to mention factual accuracy. An analysis of these could be easily applied to the many other subjects he deals with, but as he says, the USSR is "the central problem of American foreign policy" (p. 150). So, first, as to factual accuracy, in the early 50's the author spearheaded "The American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia," the original title of the body responsible for Radio Liberty today. Now, obviously, the term liberation can have no other meaning in this context than the elimination of Communist power. Second, though in places the author recognizes the existence of non-Russian nations in the USSR, throughout the work the inertia of his early training is seen in his habitual confusion of "Russia" and the "Soviet Union." The latter is an empire, and the former is its center. Morally and politically, we have every right to affect political developments there, especially when our very security as a nation is threatened.

And third, the probability of affecting these developments with favorable results both for the captive nations in that empire and for ourselves is far greater than Kennan and others suppose. Lastly, were this to result, the break-up of the Soviet Union would be inevitable, and the problem of who is to replace the Communist government in Russia would be relatively insignificant. For the central problem of our foreign policy would no longer exist, and one could be certain that the non-Russian nations in this region would be guided by the slogan "Never Again."

It is in this critical manner that other subjects treated in the book should be approached. The reviewer could apply the same critical technique to the author's discussions of international economic problems, the politrade concept and human rights, and strategic military balances. Fundamentally, Kennan's basic views remain the same and have found expression in the course of our foreign policy in these past three decades. As to their strength and validity, empirically assess our posture and stature in the world today as compared to the 50's. The proof is in the pudding, and it could have been otherwise. America's historic significance, meaning and, yes, world mission will not materialize in image-making but in forthrightly and courageously resolving the central problem of our foreign policy. The Kennan way has been tried and has failed. As in Kissinger's case, to lean now on "the cloud of danger," or "nuclearitis," for support will only intensify this failure.

JOURNEY ACROSS RUSSIA: The Soviet Union Today. By Bart McDowell. Photographs by Dean Conger. National Geographic Society, Washington, 1977, pp. 368.

This is a book that could only have been written in Russia, which it was. In text and photographs, two Americans, funded by the National Geographic Society of Washington, D.C., tell the story of their travels across the vastness of the Soviet Union, touching each of the 15 constituent republics in strictly controlled visits.

Their easy-to-read revelations of this obscure empire are in sharp contrast to the stories brought back by other travelers, tourists, and emigres unrestricted by the limitations placed on these two. But because of a commitment to keep much of what they saw and heard to themselves, they were permitted extensive and exclusive access to normally off-limits areas for Western journalists.

Predictably apolitical, the National Geographic Society, which seems to value its own prestige above interests of truth or justice, demonstrates once again ideological indifference via a contract with *Novosti*, the USSR's press arm, for the preferential access. In exchange for a pre-determined itinerary constantly accompanied by an interpreter-guide, the team fulfilled an agreement to submit all manuscripts and photos resulting from their contractual excursions to Soviet authorities for pre-publication review to ensure accuracy and fairness.

In ten chapters and 368 pages, two-thirds of which are attractive color photographs, author Bart McDowell and photographer Dean Conger present their work in a style similar to that of the *National Geographic Magazine* for which they regularly carry out assignments. The book's title is general enough to suggest coverage of such non-geographic topics as human rights, education, nationalism, and other sociological phenomena, but these important subjects are, of course, omitted.

What remains then is a pretty shell, a seven-course banquet which offers only the first and final courses and as interesting as a collation of candy.

It is therefore a controversial book which has caused a stir due to its distortions and omissions even before the publication date. Despite extensive literature on the subject of the Soviet Union from both side of the Iron Curtain, the Geographic Society felt compelled to produce this slanted salute to Soviet socialism.

In his foreword editor Gilbert M. Grosvenor explains that he was shocked by his woeful ignorance of the USSR's rural landscape and the simple vigorous lifestyles of its people, despite extensive reading on the Soviet Union. Emphasis of rarely portrayed physical geography and cultural diversity is the book's aim, he says, and laments that certain disquieting realities of Soviet life are beyond its purview. There is something distasteful about such hypocritical Sovietophilic subservience.

A casual inspection of this book by uncritical readers such as impressionable youngsters viewing it at home or school could lull them into overlooking the many difficulties of the Soviet Union in having with consumer goods, standards of living, dissidents, etc. Although oblique references are made to these realities the main impression given is that the USSR is both enviable and viable, that is, worthy of emulation by other nations and able to support itself with little outside help.

The history of the USSR from its origin to the present is ignored. The eager and helpful mid-wifely action performed for the benefit of the USSR during and after its birth is not mentioned. Ignored are the selfinduced famines, purges, physical and psychiatric brutality to which its citizens have been subjected. The financial and technical assistance it has received from abroad to date are beyond the book's scope.

In several places the book does remind the reader that much material was withheld voluntarily by the team to safeguard the spirit of the contract.

Yes, this book was made in the Soviet Union as a fruit of detente bearing the seeds of further detente. It is no exaggeration to say that the USSR itself was made and still is being made in the capitalist countries. Not only are sophisticated electronic components sold to the Soviets on credit. Even the handcuffs clamped on the wrists of dissidents are marked "Made in the U.S.A."

There is an undeniable need for a book on the USSR written in a fair and honest way. Young people and adults in the U.S.A. too often are exposed to incomplete and inaccurate presentations on this subject in the schools and mass media.

Ignorance on the history of Ukraine is phenomenal. The Great Russian school of history on the origins of Russia is predominant in the American consciousness. This book helps perpetuate the Soviet view.

The title itself, *Journey Across Russia*, which the author defines as the Russian Federated Republic west of the Urals, smacks of Czarist imperialism. Page 51 calls Moscow the heart of Russia and Kiev its mother. Until the 16th century Ukraine retained its original name of *Rus*, while the northeastern areas of the former Kievan state centered on the growing Moscow, were called "Moscovy." It was then that Peter I gave this territory the name "Russia," the inhabitants of which included a mixture of Mongol-Finnic tribes who outwardly accepted the Slavic language and culture. The author on p. 151 states: "Scratch a Tatar and find a Russian."

P. 172 downgrades the fervor of Ukrainian ethnics in the U.S. with the remark that the Taras Shevchenko statue in Washington, D.C., was raised by Americans of Ukrainian descent who were "nostalgic for the old country." His efforts to preserve the Ukrainian language from Russification are ignored.

P. 29 says that languages get strong official encouragement. The fact is that for a preferential use of the Ukrainian language over Russian is construed as a serious political crime against the Soviet state. The Ukrainian language's rarity in Ukrainian cities contrasts with its prevalence in Soviet prison camps.

P. 120 says that Old Novgorod was long ruled by a democratic assembly called *veche* and reflects "how different history might have been had all Russian lands been gathered by the *veche* of Novgorod. Instead, old Russia was shaped by settlements farther South."

In addition to the inaccurate anachronistic interchanging of the terms "Rus" and "old Russia," the existence of the *veche* as an element of democracy in the monarchic rule of Kievan Rus is totally ignored.

P. 193: in Estonia the author was told that the U.S.A. still does not recognize the Baltic republics as a part of the Soviet Union.

One of the results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki in the late summer of 1975 was the recognition of the present political boundaries in Eastern and Central Europe.

Interestingly, some problems such as alcoholism, hooliganism, and dissidents are hinted at. On p. 19 the author assured an outspoken young artist that he would not be quoted by name. "Use my name if you like, I am bored with fear," was the reply. But the outspoken thoughts are not revealed.

"We struggle with illusion not reality," says a young musician, speaking slowly and carefully. "For he was in his cups," adds the author (p. 103). On p. 100 in another allusion to alcoholism the author quotes a dramatist: "To be Russian is to suffer." The interpreter-guide angrily replies: "The man is drunk."

In Volgograd (p. 123) the author managed to take a walk unescorted, and was scolded by the forsaken guide: "You could have fallen among hooligans, dissidents, or blackmarketeers."

The book is sprinkled with gossipy observations:

Russian youngsters are less spontaneous and less unruly than Western youngsters (p. 89). Discipline is emphasized in day-care centers, and a child must be obedient to adults (p. 99). The term "anti-religious" is no longer used to describe "scientific atheistic" radio and TV programs. Gorky said that Russians have a special gift for cruelty (p. 103). Siberian salt-mines are a myth (p. 29), while "the Potemkin fable of false front villages on river banks to impress the cruising Empress Catherine is probably untrue" (p. 23).

The author further discusses his dislike for Russian beer and goose-stepping Russian youngsters, and wonders how a bellydancer performing in a Yalta nightclub for workers can be tolerated in the land of prudish atheists.

On p. 166, a Ukrainian is quoted: "We Ukrainians have a reputation for moving slowly and tardily." Then he tells a joke about two Ukrainians ignoring two calls to board a train. Finally the stationmaster pushes them aboard and one tells the other: "That's our signal!"

The Russian guide adds: "When a man seems timid, afraid to make a decision, we Russians say: 'He has a Ukrainian wife.'"

The author also thinks that "Ukrainians as a group are friendlier, I think, than the Great Russians."

As the team toured the various republics they interviewed regional official in various fields, such as scientific, agricultural, mining, and the Russian presence was felt everywhere. In non-Russian republics, officials had Asiatic-sounding names, but the endings were invariably Russian: *ov*, *ev*, etc.

In this non-scholarly book for the general reader the positive side of the USSR is presented. Of those sample spots they were able to see only the favorable fragments are shown.

The pro-Soviet bias will be unnoticed by readers indifferent to history and current events and insensitive to the book's overt but underemphasized warnings and reservations on the veracity of its contents.

It will not unravel Churchill's "riddle inside an enigma" reference to the USSR. It tends to echo Dewey's claim, "I have seen the future," a remark the famous American educator made many years ago after a visit to the Soviet Union. And it tries to offer an affirmative answer to Amalrik's query: "Will the Soviet Union Survive...?"

A Soviet general once said: "We have enemies like children. With Americans for enemies, we can achieve our goals without a fight. They want to live, but our soldiers are willing to die. Life in America is comfortable, but life in Russia is so difficult that we have an edge."

The book is not only profoundly deceptive, but deceptively profound. By the very nature of its glaring omissions it stimulates skepticism and raises questions pertaining to its true purpose and reason for existence.

New York, N.Y.

BUK REVYUK

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LITHUANIA: THE OUTPOST OF FREEDOM. By Dr. Constantine R. Jurgela.

Published by the National Guard of Lithuania in Exile in cooperation with Valkyrie Press, Inc., St. Petersburg, Florida, 1976, pp. 387.

Dr. Constantine R. Jurgela, the author of the book, is a historian and a lawyer who was for many years the Chief of the Lithuanian Branch of the "Voice of America." He is the author of many scholarly historical works both in Lithuanian and in English, and has made the entire past of Lithuania accessible to the English-speaking public by publishing in 1948 his comprehensive *History of the Lithuanian Nation*.

The present book describes a very important aspect of the history of Lithuania, Russo-Lithuanian relations throughout the centuries, focusing on the period after 1795 when Lithuania was first annexed to the Russian Empire. The first 20 chapters of the 42-chapter book describe life in Lithuania under the Russian Empire (1795-1915). Each chapter, beginning with the chapter, "The Russians Arrive," deals with a specific element of life in Lithuania or of the policy of the Russian government. The author describes the deterioration of the lives of the peasants, the repression of the Catholic Church, the armed resurrections against Russian rule in 1831 and 1863, and the development of Lithuanian national consciousness. A unique form of repression was used after the 1863 insurrection: only Russian characters were permitted to be used for printing in the Lithuanian language while the use of the Roman alphabet was forbidden. As the broad masses of the people refused to accept government-sponsored Lithuanian books printed in the Russian alphabet, a 40-year long (1864-1904) struggle for Lithuanian printing developed, helping to strengthen Lithuanian national consciousness.

The 120-year long rule of Lithuania by the Russian Empire, from 1795 to 1915, was very harsh, especially by Western standards, and no one could foresee that the Communists would be incomparably harsher. The description of Red rule in Lithuania will sound familiar to the Ukrainian reader or to a reader from any other country that is or has been under the rule of the Soviets. Such a reader is well aware of the atrocities routinely committed by a Red regime. On the other hand, *The Outpost* may have the effect of a salutary eye-opener on readers who have spent their lives in the free world, and cannot imagine the reality of Soviet rule.

A chapter called "Era of Peace and Friendship" describes the seemingly friendly relations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union during the period of Lithuania's independence, 1918 to 1940. This peace and friendship was followed by the Stalin-Hitler agreement, invasion of the Baltic countries by the Red army, the annexation of Lithuania to the Soviet Union, mass deportations, and the 1941 insurrection against the Soviets. In the part of the book describing life after World War II, we find chapters entitled: "The Guerrilla War vs. the Soviet Union: 1944-1958," "The Ruling Caste," "Agriculture: Serfdom Restored," and a particu-

larly detailed chapter dealing with the "War on Religious Heritage." Not only Catholics were persecuted, but also Protestants, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Jews.

As the title of the book denotes, there are, as there were for centuries, pronounced differences between the way of life in Muscovite Russia and that in Lithuania and other European countries: the idea of freedom which has been a part of the Western heritage since the early Middle Ages, never took root among the Russians, except for a small westernized minority. The basic difference in culture and traditions, coupled with the imperialism of Russian governments, has been an important factor in the past and the present of Lithuania.

*Lithuania: The Outpost of Freedom* is an important source of information for any person interested in the past of Lithuania, in the Lithuanian view of Russo-Lithuanian relations, or in the methods used by the Russians to rule annexed countries, both under the Czars and under the Communists. It can be useful to those who want to resist Communist aggression or fight for the freedom of a Soviet-occupied country. The wealth of information collected by Dr. Jurgela should not only be read but also put to use by those who are engaged in the struggle for freedom and against oppression.

Bethesda, Md.

**ALEKSANDRAS PLATERIS**

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**UNIFORMS, ORGANIZATION, AND HISTORY OF THE WAFFEN-SS.** By Roger James Bender and Hugh Page Taylor. Vol. IV, R.J. Bender Publishing, San Jose, Calif., 1975, pp. 207.

This is the fourth volume of an ambitious project conceived in 1969 by two men who have to meet each other. Like the previous volumes, this one is richly illustrated, technically meticulous and printed on high quality paper. Because the authors have wisely decided to present a more detailed historical study of each division, this series had to be extended beyond the four-volume presentation initially planned. This fourth volume brings the series up to the 18th Waffen SS Division. Here the following divisions are presented:

14th Waffen SS "Galicia" (Ukrainische No. 1); 15th Waffen SS "Lettische No. 1" (Latvian); 16th "Reichsfuhrer-SS"; 17th "Gotz von Berlichinger," and 18th "Horst Wessel." The German divisions do not interest us here.

The chapter on the Latvian has been reviewed by Prof. Ezergalis in the journal, *Nationalities Papers* (Spring, 1977). Not able to find any "fault" with the chapter, he had to admit that "for accuracy and comprehensiveness of treatment... there is nothing like it in English."

The chapter on the Ukrainian division has not been reviewed. Prof. Stephan M. Horak, however, had previously analyzed Wolf-Dietrich Heike's history of the Ukrainian "Galicia" Division in *The Ukrainian Quarterly* (Summer, 1974). The Bender-Taylor treatment of this division reflects solid scholarship.

The authors establish the historical background by informing the reader that "Galicia is in fact Western Ukraine" and that the "Galicians" that "Hitler was thinking about were nothing other than western Ukrainians," even though at that time it was the vogue for some German racial theorists to think of the "Galicians" as being partly German and therefore racially superior to their Slavic neighbors. This preferential view towards the "Galicians," the authors explain, originated in Hitler's belief that because Galicia had been the largest

province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, it had "benefited from the influx of German culture for 150 years prior to 1918." Lest there be any misunderstanding regarding Hitler's view toward Ukrainians *per se*, the authors are quick to point out that Hitler detached Galicia from the rest of Ukraine in order to weaken the nation as a whole, to negate any sense of Ukrainian unity or continuity with the "Galicians."

Both the extremely successful recruitment of fighters for this division (over 80,000 applied for the 13,000 available positions in May, 1943) and the Battle of Brody are adequately covered in this volume. The high point of this book, however, is the detailing of the bitter struggle of this "Galician" Division to evolve into a "Ukrainian" one. The Germans kept down the Ukrainians, giving commissioned and non-commissioned ranks to Germans for the greatest part. Also, the divisional commander, Gen. Fritz Freitag, was extremely unpopular among the Ukrainians. He resented his posting to a division of "Ukrainians," apparently unable to forgive the Ukrainians for not being "German." In the end, he preferred suicide to surrender with the Ukrainian Division (by then the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army under the command of Gen. Pavlo Shandruk).

It should be remembered (it isn't in this book) that nearly everyone had misgivings about the formation of this "Ukrainian Division," including many Ukrainians (particularly the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which was highly skeptical of German intentions ever since its leaders, Stepan Bandera and Andrew Melnyk, had been arrested by the Gestapo). The Poles weren't overjoyed, either; after all, the Polish government has seen it fit to put Ukrainians into jails even before the Nazis took over Germany.

For the Russians this division was the materialization of their worst fears regarding the Ukrainians. To appreciate the Soviet attitude, one needs only recall the genocidal famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933, the Vynnytsia massacre of 1938, and the countless massacres of Ukrainian political prisoners by the NKVD in the first days of the German-Soviet war in June, 1941 (e.g., Lviv and other cities). In a real sense, these atrocities guaranteed that the Ukrainians would retaliate at the first opportunity.

As for the Germans, they formed this division only after their initially sensational blitzkrieg victories had come to a grinding halt, and, more, their position had begun to lose stability. One of the last things Hitler wanted was to have an army of "sub-human" Slavs contaminating his prized ranks.

On the positive side, it has been pointed out (again, not in this book)<sup>1</sup> that the creation of the division had a tranquilizing effect in that the Nazi terror against Ukrainians in Galicia abated significantly. Even Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky<sup>2</sup> recognized that the division (which, by the way, he blessed) was necessary if only to offer the Ukrainian population some feeling of being defended from the atrocities being committed by the Polish and Russian partisans.

The real irony of the division's history is that after it surrendered to the British on May 8, 1945, General Shandruk was able to convince his captors that the division was technically more "Polish" than "Russian" (since Galicia was legally recognized by the British as belonging to Poland). This argument, whether it makes sense or not, was good enough to save the division from being forcibly

<sup>1</sup> M. Yaremko: *Galicia-Halychyna*, New York, 1967.

<sup>2</sup> John A. Armstrong: *Ukrainian Nationalism*, New York, 1963.

repatriated to the Soviet Union. The authors conclude, "So after struggling to be recognized as Ukrainians rather than Galicians, the men of the former 14th SS Division saved their lives by claiming to be Galicians after all. Rather than be returned to Russia for extermination like the Cossacks, they negotiated with the British Army and retreated from the front..."

When this series is completed, there is little doubt that it will be the standard reference work on the Waffen-SS.

*Sterling Heights, Mich.*

**JAROSLAW SAWKA**

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**A SCHOOL FOR FOOLS.** By Sasha Sokolov. Translated by Carl R. Proffer. Ann Arbor, Ardis, 1977. pp. 228.

It is neither a large nose nor a bug that is looking at people and commenting on what is considered to be a normal world. It is a boy. *A School for Fools* is very much in the Gogolian tradition of seeking people, of transforming people Kafkaesque style, and of interchanging the real and the imagined.

One labelled a fool, or a schizophrenic, is describing the world of the supposedly wise ones, or "normal" ones, and of course we see where there is more wisdom, where there is more concern for the and important experiences in a young person's life. The test and demarcation line between the fool and the others is the ability to memorize passages (failure to do which causes one to be sent to a "special school"); it is thus a metaphorical comment not only upon educators, but on the Soviet system and the world outside that school.

A Soviet prosecutor's unloved schizophrenic son faces his world in such a school (similarly, the author had been confronted by his own general father with the threat of being sent to an insane asylum for wanting to marry a foreigner). The love of the protagonist's mother and discussions (real or imagined) with his favorite teacher (who taught geography) are the two different realities between which the young man oscillates, although it is the latter and his influence which predominates. When the teacher relates a parable about integrity, about one's needs, values and choices, he almost loses his job. In a way the whole novel is also a parable. There are allusions to people in general, parents and the Soviet system (e.g., where a scientist may be punished for his harmless invention or for his truth).

The dialogue of a schizophrenic with others, or with his double, presents the world of "reality" from his point of view, whichever world exists for the beholder—whether one perceived through sight, through memory, or through imagination. In a semi-surrealistic, semi-stream-of-consciousness style and auto-depersonalization approach, the important events to a boy are described. The unpunctuated dialogue, the unseparated questions and answers, the run-on sentences—all are at first a little hard to cope with, but after reading past the third page this style becomes so natural for the whole, the flowing collage so necessary for harmonizing with the thoughts and feelings of the young male narrator. It is this unusual (artistic?, creative? rather than un-normal) point of observation of life that also causes the numerous beautiful synesthesias to be expected and so well integrated and understood.

The thirty-three-year-old recent Soviet exile, Sasha Sokolov, has produced a notable first work indeed, a refreshing contribution to contemporary Russian literature. The translation by Carl R. Proffer is simply a masterpiece.

Rutgers University

LARISSA M.L. ONYSHKEVYCH

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THE SOVIET CAGE—ANTI-SEMITISM IN RUSSIA. By William Korey. The Viking Press, c. 1973, New York, pp. 369.

Dr. William Korcy, a leading United States expert on Soviet Jewry and a contributor of articles on Soviet policy concerning Jews, is the author of this substantive book.

Two chapters of the fifteen in this book are taken from *Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union*, edited by Erlich Goldhagen and published by Praeger in New York, in 1968.

Despite the subtitle, "Anti-Semitism in Russia," it deals with anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union as a whole. (Perhaps the subtitle echoes the old Czarist slogan: "Beat Jews, Save Russia" — *Biti zhydov, Spasai Rossiyu*).

Although the Soviet Union denies it, it pursues a forced assimilation policy not only of Jews, but of all captive nations in the USSR. Several chapters treat of the plight of "Jews as non-persons," of discrimination in civil rights, and of the branding of Israel as "Nazl." Several infamous trials are examined (examples: Leningrad, in June of 1970, and Riga, May 24-27, 1971). In the 14th chapter the author states that "a free country cannot resemble a cage"; indeed, the USSR is a "jail of captive nations" and the last existing colonial empire in the modern world. Small wonder, then, that the plight of Soviet Jewry and the liberation of the captive nations and their fight for freedom, statehood and respect of human rights should be the main issues of the free world and its opinion. Discussing Soviet anti-Semitism, the author mentions T. Kichko's book, *Judaism Without Embellishment*, published in Kiev, in 1963, which was purposely printed by the Muscovites in Ukraine to discharge themselves from accusations of discrimination. It contains references to the Babi Yar holocaust, the town where, by order of Nazi Colonel Blobel (executed in Nuremberg for his crimes), thousands of Jews, Russians and Ukrainians and others were murdered. It mentions that the USSR has voted for two binding international treaties (treating of, among other things, the right of citizens to leave) such as the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1969). Ukraine signed it on March 20, 1969. Also, the USSR has supported the principle of non-separation of families, which in consequence gave the rights to its citizens to leave, a right which is very restricted nowadays by the USSR. We may add that Sen. Henry Jackson attached an amendment to American-Soviet economic deals which is'n directed against this Soviet attitude.

Sum-up: A good account of the plight of Soviet Jewry.

Senior Librarian  
Brooklyn Public Library

ALEXANDER SOKOLYSZYN

THE GULAG ARCHIPELAGO, 1918-1956; AN EXPERIMENT IN LITERARY INVESTIGATION, III-IV. By Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn. Translated by Thomas P. Whitney. Harper and Row, New York, 1975, pp. 712 (paper).

In the initial volume of *Gulag Archipelago*, Solzhenitsyn concentrated on the process of arrest, interrogation, and transport that brought an individual to one of the many concentration camps administered by the Chief Administration of Corrective Labor Camps (GULAG). In this, the second volume of *Gulag Archipelago*, the author takes us inside those camps with chapters on camp officers, women, children, trusties, criminals, "politicals," stoolies, and more. Like its predecessor, *Gulag Archipelago Two* must be read at two levels. It is, as Solzhenitsyn intended, both history and literature. In this sense, the book's subtitle, "An Experiment in Literary Investigation," was most appropriately chosen. Solzhenitsyn not only describes the Soviet concentration camps but also subjects the entire Soviet system, including the ideology upon which it professedly relies, to a searching moral condemnation.

As history, *Gulag Two* provides an eyewitness account of tremendous value. Solzhenitsyn relied on reports, memoirs, and letters of 227 witnesses and on his own years of imprisonment from 1945 to 1953. "I am writing this book," he now tells us, "because too many stories and recollections have accumulated in my hands and I cannot allow them to perish" (pp. 213-214). The author also consulted the collected works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, several official Soviet histories, published party documents, the party's periodical literature, and even documents in the Central State Archive of the October Revolution, Moscow. The credibility of *Gulag* is enhanced by biographical mini-dramas and by a listing of victims, administrators, locations, and specific accomplishments of individual camps. Strenuous objections are registered in response to those historians in the USSR and West who would blame only Stalin not Lenin for the system of terror. Returning to a theme most dominant in the first volume, Solzhenitsyn reaffirms that the Soviet system of injustice was grounded in Marxist-Leninist ideology and born in 1917 "with the shots of the cruiser Aurora" (p. 9). By the end of 1920, 84 camps existed in the Russian Soviet Republic. During the 1920's, "before the cult of personality," the archipelago, spreading from the Solovetsky island complex, "began its malignant advance through the nation" (p. 57).

A comprehensive history of the Soviet Union this is not. It is not even a history of the Soviet legal and penal system, for *Gulag Two* describes only one, albeit important, aspect of injustice in the USSR. Nor did the author intend to write an account of Soviet concentration camps free of moral judgments. For these reasons, *Gulag Two* does not replace such standard works on the general subject as Harold J. Berman's *Justice in the USSR*, Robert Conquest's *The Great Terror*, and *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia* by David J. Dallin and Boris I. Nicolaevsky. But as a documentary record and literary memoir, Solzhenitsyn has contributed a work of enduring value.

Solzhenitsyn regards himself primarily as a writer not historian. His work, therefore, must be tailored to standards he himself articulated for good literature. In his famed 1967 letter to the IV Congress of Writers, Solzhenitsyn wrote that literature "that dares not warn in time against threatening moral and social dangers... does not deserve the name of literature; it is only a facade." Appropriately, in *Gulag Two* Solzhenitsyn exclaimed: "Can we, dare we, describe the

full loathsomeness of the state in which we lived (not so remote from that of today)? And if we do not show that loathsomeness in its entirety, then we at once have a lie" (p. 632). It is this quality of moral indignation and condemnation that adds special impact and makes *Gulag Two*, as its predecessor, a significant literary as well as historical contribution.

Powerful metaphors and imagery dominate Solzhenitsyn's prose. As in the first volume, the *gulag archipelago* remains, in the author's words, like a machine grinding up its victims. But with the second volume, it has become more like a cancer. From the "Solovetsky mother tumor," the archipelago "began its malignant advance; the malignant cells kept on creeping and creeping until new growths swelled" (pp. 57, 70, 72, 183). Like a cancer, the *gulag archipelago* could not help but infect the entire Soviet political, social, and spiritual system. "Everything of the most infectious nature in the Archipelago—in human relations, morals, views and language" penetrated the local area in which the camp was located (p. 564). This area in turn acted as a transmission zone infecting the "Big Zone—the Big Compound—comprising the entire country" (p. 564). Knowledge of Solzhenitsyn's own bout with stomach cancer, which he mentions here occasionally, and in his earlier novel, *Cancer Ward*, add special poignancy to these and similar remarks.

Less emotionally charged, but of equal impact is the author's identification of the *gulag archipelago* with a nation. The lives and habits of the natives of this peculiar nation were, of necessity, remarkably uniform. They had their own language (mother cursing), facial expression (a blank, stupid stare) and standard mentality (secretiveness, indifference, and fatalism). These qualities in addition to those representative of the camp guards and administrators (arrogance, stupidity, sadism, lust) mirrored and even shaped traits ascendant in all of Soviet society. "Thus it is that the Archipelago takes its vengeance on the Soviet Union for its creation" (p. 565).

In his previously published works, Solzhenitsyn probed into the complex interrelationship between material necessity, human nature, morality, ideology, and individual human behavior. This is no less true of *Gulag Two*. His conclusions both depress and excite the reader. On the one hand, Solzhenitsyn seems to maintain that when confronted with camp life, human beings quickly conformed by adapting those unsavory characteristics representative of the archipelago nation. Solzhenitsyn himself, he tells us, at least temporarily succumbed by arrogantly parading about as a former army officer in the hope of receiving special treatment including appointment as a stoolie. For many political prisoners, the very thought of their innocence oppressed them. After a few days, children became beasts. Though life in prison opened new vistas for great literature, those there with literary skills adapted by suppressing the desire to write.

But Solzhenitsyn does not consistently despair over such frailties of human nature. Especially in the final chapters of *Gulag Two* he asserts that camp life, precisely because of its difficulties, could uplift the soul. "Contentment always kills spiritual striving in a human being" (p. 40); "your soul, which formerly was dry, now ripens from suffering" (p. 611). Only in camp, he tells us, did he learn the important truth "that the line separating good and evil passes not through states, nor between classes, nor between political parties either—but right through every human heart" (p. 615). Those whose souls did not so ascend were already predisposed to corruption prior to their imprisonment. Such was the case of many

who had previously joined the party. In "The Loyalists," one of the most captivating and bitter chapters of *Gulag Two*, Solzhenitsyn observes that these Marxist-Leninists could not rise above camp life because they had entrusted their "God-given soul to a human dogma which transformed them into political riffraff" (pp. 332, 349).

*Gulag Two* can become tedious reading. Its value as a work of history does not compel in itself a wading through its many pages. But its moral indignation and spiritual message when expressed by such a powerful and sensitive writer as Solzhenitsyn stimulate a continuing if sometimes flagging interest. The author's descriptive language, often combined with a mocking humor, add special spark. Stalin becomes the "hermit-tyrant and nighttime lunatic" (p. 102), the "great hot owl in the Kremlin" (p. 320); the bread served in camp is "black, gluey, sticky as clay" (pp. 164, 383); the archipelago's annual climate amounts to "twelve months of winter, the rest summer" (p. 507).

*Gulag Two* is well worth the trouble its moral absolutism and length may occasionally provoke. Certainly, it successfully achieves its purpose as an "experiment in literary investigation."

University of South Alabama  
Mobile, Ala.

LARRY HOLMES

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A COMPREHENSIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE STUDY OF ETHNIC MINORITIES. By Wayne Charles Miller, with Faye Nell Vowell & Others. New York University Press, New York, 1976, Vol. I, pp. xix, 690; Vol. II, pp. xix, 1380; *A Handbook of American Minorities*. By Wayne Charles Miller, New York University Press, New York, 1976, pp. xi, 225.

Although there has been a flood of studies of American minorities, especially in recent years, there have appeared only the following bibliographies (so far as this reviewer knows): Otis W. Coan and Richard G. Lilliar, *America in Fiction: An Annotated List of Novels That Interpret Aspects of Life in the United States, Canada, and Mexico* (Pacific Books, Palo Alto, Calif., 1967); Babette F. Inglehart and Anthony R. Mangione, *The Image of Pluralism in American Literature: An Annotated Bibliography on the American Experience of European Ethnic Groups* (Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity of the American Jewish Committee, New York, 1974); *Jewish Book Annual* (Jewish Book Council of America, New York, 1942-1972); Harold U. Ribalow, *120 American Jewish Novels* (Jewish Education Committee of New York, 1962); Joseph S. Roucek, comp., *The Immigration in Fiction and Biography* (Bureau of Intercultural Education, New York, 1945); Joseph S. Roucek, *American Slavs: A Bibliography* (Bureau for Intercultural Education, New York City, April, 1944); and: *The Origins of Ethnicity: Immigrants in America Including the Immigrant in Fiction, Out-of-Print Books and Pamphlets*, Catalogue No. 71 (The Chatham Bookseller, 28 Maple St., Chatham, N.J., 07928, n.d.).

The present large-sized — and expensive publications — certainly supersede all the work done previously. The first two volumes provide a single source in which students of American minorities may find ample English-language materials to facilitate their research. They offer such materials in a format that

makes possible the crossing of disciplinary boundaries; and aim to encourage students of one minority or a group of minorities to take a broader, even a comparative, approach.

The first two volumes contain 29,300 entries. While, obviously, this number does not approach absolute definitiveness, it does furnish the most comprehensive bibliographical coverage of American minorities extant, and includes references to more specialized bibliographies for every minority group (with some minor exceptions) and for every discipline in which they are available. For those minority groups about which much has been written, the editors have included mostly monographs and other full-length studies; for those groups that have received less attention, the editors have included a large number of articles and pamphlets in addition to the few number of books available. (Exceptions to this pattern include the large number of articles on individual American Indian artists and on the various sociological, historical, and literary aspects of the Black American Civil Rights Movement during the quarter of a century following World War II.)

The historical-bibliographical essays preceding each group are designed to present basic overviews and to identify some of the most useful sources for the study of the group considered.

Vol. I covers: "From Africa and the Middle East" (pp. 3-278); "From Europe" (pp. 279-692), divided into the "experiences" of the Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards and Portuguese, Irish, Italians, Jews, Greeks, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Icelanders, Finns, and the Scandinavians as a group; a sub-section covers "From Eastern Europe and the Balkans" (pp. 603-692), divided into the following coverage: American Slavs (pp. 603-630); Czechs (pp. 631-636); Slovaks (pp. 637-644); Yugoslavs (pp. 645-648); Slovnenians (pp. 649-650); Croats (pp. 651-654); Serbs (pp. 655-656); Bulgaro-Macedonians (pp. 657-658); Ukrainians (pp. 659-666); Greater Russians (pp. 667-674); Romanians (pp. 675-676); Lithuanians (pp. 677-680); Latvians (pp. 681-682); Albanians (pp. 683-684); and Hungarians (pp. 685-692).

Vol. II is focused on the American Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos and Asians (pp. 693-756); "From the Islands" includes Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Indians, Mexicans, and "Multi-Groups" (pp. 955-968), the latter subdivided into bibliographies, history and sociology, economics, politics, law, education and literature. Included also are "A Selective List of General Sources," Author Index and Title Index.

*A Handbook of American Minorities* is but a collection of reprints of the basic historical overviews taken from the previous two volumes, although Miller does not specifically mention this fact.

The volumes obviously represent a considerable amount of research, although there are some "holes" in the coverage. For instance, the American Estonians or Lusatian Sorbs are not covered. Or, the numerous authors representing the Slovak League of America (of Middletown, Pa.) are bound to complain about the "under-representation" of their numerous publications herein. And each minority group doubtless will note that some of the works covering their heritage cannot be found in the compilation.

Basically, however, all three volumes are a superb creation.

## **PERTINENT DOCUMENTS**

### **FOR RATIFICATION OF THE GENOCIDE CONVENTION**

***EDITOR'S NOTE: The following Statement was presented in April, 1977 to the House International Affairs Committee by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Professor of Georgetown University, President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and Chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee.***

Mr. Chairman, having testified over a 27-year period twice before in favor of the ratification of the Genocide Convention, I want to take this third opportunity to submit a brief statement within the new context of our human rights discussion and the primacy of the issue for a strong and influential policy. I believe the political climate today is quite different from what it was in 1970 and certainly in 1950, when I first testified on this treaty. It is unfortunate that this highly important treaty has had to be subjected to the vagaries of any political climate, since, dealing with the preservation of life itself, the treaty and its ratification should have received long ago a thoroughly apolitical and objective treatment. President Carter with his emphasis on human rights and your Committee with its patient perseverance are to be commended in striving for such treatment and the treaty's ratification by the Senate.

### **TRIBUTES TO PROFESSOR LEMKIN AND SENATOR PROXMIRE**

It is not my intention here to repeat arguments and data which I provided in the previous testimonies. All of the supporting, substantive data offered back in 1950 apply without any qualification today (*The Genocide Convention, Hearing, Committee on Foreign relations, U.S. Senate, 1950*, pp. 319-413). The same can be said for the legal and constitutional points and arguments stressed in my testimony in 1970 (*Genocide Convention, Hearings, Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, 1970*, pp. 165-174). However, for the record, certain things do require repeating.

One, it was my precious privilege to work with Dr. Raphael Lemkin on this treaty's ratification. Mention is made of this again because few now realize that in fact a life was literally sacrificed to advance this treaty and its ratification by the United States especially. Dr. Lemkin, of Polish Jewish origin and an esteemed international lawyer, coined the word "genocide," knew from experience its special meaning and horrors, and was primarily instrumental in the drafting of the convention and its carefully prepared provisions. He was an outstanding scholar and truly great person who could have leisurely extended his years on the faculty of Yale University, but who, instead, dedicated to the universal realization of this

convention, spent his time and energies, and with increasing personal poverty, in the halls of the United Nations and our Capitol, promulgating this vital treaty. His death was premature. He died as a sad and disillusioned man, not understanding how some have failed to understand the crucial import of this treaty. It was, above all, the United States, his adopted country, that he placed his complete faith in leadership on this.

If, as I believe, the treaty will finally be ratified by us in view of the existence of no creditable opposition to it at this time and of the pressing need to support the human rights orientation of our foreign policy, I propose again the idea of a fitting posthumous tribute by our Congress to the works and efforts of the real father of the Genocide Convention, Dr. Raphael Lemkin. On this basis, he would also be fully deserving of a posthumous Nobel Prize Award.

To coin, help draft, lay the foundation and to struggle unto death are one end of the spectrum of this subject. The other end of dedication and perseverance in the present constitutes an equally important one. This has been provided by the steadfast efforts of Senator William Proxmire. For some ten years on a daily legislative basis he has uniquely covered the ground of all the proffered objections and criticism to the treaty. Without his leadership in this respect, the vast majority of voices in this country for ratification of the treaty would have been stilled for want of direction and concentrated expression. As a reader of the *Congressional Record* and one who was well taught by Dr. Lemkin as to the legal and constitutional aspects of the treaty, I can attest to the Senator's full and objective coverage of the subject. While we pay tribute posthumously to one, we cannot but pay equal tribute to the Senator for carrying on the fight with equal dedication to this day.

#### FURTHER ESSENTIAL POINTS AND A CURRENT CASE

Further essential points that need re-stating are as follows:

- (a) the inordinate delay in ratifying the Genocide Convention has been a disgrace for the United States and a source not only of embarrassment to our representatives but also of impediments to a dynamic foreign policy. Particularly in this period of human rights consciousness, the end of this delay is more urgent than ever before. The Convention has much to do with certain generic categories of human rights;
- (b) the misconceptions of genocide that have mounted for over two decades have militated more against the treaty's ratification than the many relatively petty legalistic misinterpretations. For examples, mass killing in itself is not genocide, whereas mass deportations can be genocidal. The crux of genocide's meaning is found in the treaty's words, "with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such." As so well exemplified by Hitler's assault upon the Jews, Stalin's destruction of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches, which remains a current case, and Mao's attack against the Tibetans, to mention only a few, the intent to destroy in whole or in part, and regardless of motivation or purpose, was realized overtly in the act itself. The consummate aim of the Convention is to prevent such an act in the first place through the force of international

law and morality. The "as such" is the determining qualification here that differentiates this special type of crime from all others;

- (c) once the special meaning of genocide is grasped, it flows logically that this type of crime, heinously denying any of the above groups its very right to exist, is impossible within a democratic society and even an authoritarian one. In a totalitarianism society, such as Nazi Germany, the USSR or mainland China, where political power was and is monopolized, the environment for its commission is fertile and the means for its execution is readily available;
- (d) reflective insights into these two previous points are sufficient to place into perspective the so-called legal objections about foreign dictation to our Congress, the illusory expansion of power of the International Court of Justice, and the United Nations, and vulnerability to charges of genocide in warfare. This gamut of objections and criticisms against the treaty for almost 30 years has been almost entirely one of misinterpretation of the treaty's provisions and safeguards. Most of all, in any given analysis, it invariably was founded on a false conception of genocide and an inadequate empirical insensitivity to the real facts and experiences of genocide as precisely defined in the convention;
- (e) with the American Bar Association finally favoring ratification in this decade and almost all national groups (the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America since 1950) maintaining their previous positive positions, it would be the apogee of arbitrariness for a relative few to stall further the necessary process of Senate ratification; and
- (f) such arbitrary stalling would not only continue to deprive our nation of a politico-moral force in our foreign policy, such as it has done for over a generation, but it would also blindly obstruct at this stage the President's commendable attempt to make human rights the foundation of our foreign policy. In short, how would it look to others throughout the world—a world in which over 80 states have ratified the treaty—for the U.S. to continue its stall without any substantial justification on a treaty that deals with a basic human right, a specified group's right to exist and live, and yet to advocate human rights? It would be an open invitation to becoming a laughingstock at the very time that numerous LDC's look to American moral leadership and friendship.

#### RELIGIOUS GENOCIDE IN UKRAINE

The current case of genocide cited above has to do with Stalin's liquidation of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches. Why should this be pointed out here in this statement? For very practical reasons, pertaining to the Convention itself, the President's human rights advocacy, and our substantive and tactical approach to the Belgrade conference and its evaluation of compliance with the Helsinki Accords. These are all closely interrelated and serve as an exercise of thought bearing on the Convention.

As I emphasized in my recent testimony before our Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe ("Helsinki, Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy"), the annihilation of these two Churches is an act of religious genocide. By concept and definition, it fits to a "T" the provision of Article II in the Convention—an act "committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national... or religious group as such," by killing "members of the group", "causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, and by deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part..." The murders and deportations of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic clergy, the concentration camp incarcerations of their faithful and the obliteration of the two national institutions and all their functioning properties spell, without doubt, religious genocide.

Going a step beyond in the generic order of human rights, this genocide of the soul of a nation and all the mental harm this has caused, also entails in major part the genocide of the national group, the Ukrainian nation as such. As I stated in the human rights testimony, "In speaking of the genocidal surgery of a nation, just imagine what would happen if the Polish Roman Catholic Church were similarly liquidated." Moreover, the fact that this outstanding combination of genocidal operation was committed under Stalin, does not render the cases obsolete. The disintegrative effects of the crime continue with regard to the nation to this very day, and the renewal of the religious groups is possible once the continuing intent perpetuated by Stalin's successors is eliminated. H. Con. Res. 165, submitted by Representative Daniel J. Flood and several of his colleagues, seeks the resurrection of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches in Ukraine on the basis of this logical line of reasoning and empirical validation.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE CONVENTION

In terms of magnitude, intensity and significance for the preservation of a nation, no other contemporary case of religious genocide can parallel this one of the two Ukrainian Churches. Yet, isn't it peculiar and strange that the councils of the world—our democratic governments, the committees and bodies of the United Nations, indeed, the Vatican and the World Council of Churches—scarcely have raised a voice against this heinous, genocidal crime? It cannot be said that they are unaware of it. Is it the fear of irritating the Russian bear, regardless of principle, value and civilized judgment?

It is fervently hoped that this Soviet Russian crime will be placed high on the agenda of the Belgrade conference, where our representatives are expected to uphold human rights. The fact that the completion of this genocidal act under Stalin predates the Helsinki Accords in no way detracts from its continuous impact on the Ukrainian nation, not to speak of the factor of institutional recoverability. Apprehended underground priests still are being murdered or imprisoned, and the faithful still are being subjected to mental harm in order to destroy permanently the two religious groups.

Philosophically, the rational link between human rights and the Genocide Convention is to be found in the two higher generic orders or categories of human rights. The delineation and explanation of the three generic categories of human rights—the personal, the civil, and the national—are provided in my recent testimony before the Commission. For clarity and precision of thought, suffice it here to state that the Convention can be applied only to the civil and national cate-

gories of human rights since, again, the treaty specifically deals with, "in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such." The first relates to national human rights, even for a nation to exist in all of its manifold expressions; the last three relate to the civil rights category of human rights. The Convention has no direct bearing on the first generic category of personal rights.

In making these necessary distinctions, it should be clear that the combined case of the genocided Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches in Ukraine falls under the Genocide Convention and is related only, in terms of the treaty, to the civil and national categories of human rights. Without the guidelines of such necessary conceptual distinctions we would only lend ourselves to the dialectic play of the Russians.

Finally, as I argued in the Commission testimony, the possibilities of human rights serving as the centerpiece of our new foreign policy and laying the groundwork for accountability by signatory states in terms of the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Genocide Convention and so forth are tremendous. Provided we attain to a clear conception of human rights in the objective and even graded quantitative form of three generic categories, this policy application can work toward international order through the rule of law. But, as applied, for example, to the combined genocidal case presented here, how could we with any credibility pursue this course without having ratified the Genocide Convention? The answer is obvious. All the essential ingredients of this statement were offered 27 years ago, again thanks to the guidance and wisdom of Dr. Lemkin, but the climate and environment were short. They appear long now in their total characteristics and, as then, we just as strongly in thought and conviction still favor the necessary ratification of this basic, group right-to-life convention.

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## UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"CAPTIVE NATIONS OBSERVANCE SAVED BY OUTSPOKEN PROFESSOR,"  
a report. *The Spotlight*, Washington, D.C., August 8, 1977.

This is one of scores of reports on the President's near-blunder in his belated issuance of the Captive Nations Week proclamation. As indicated in the sub-caption of this weekly periodical, "President Grudgingly Issues Week Proclamation Before House Patriots Planned to Roust Him." And they would have if he had omitted this national act called for in Congress' Captive Nations Week Resolution.

Quoted at length in this full-page report on events leading to the President's action, the President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and Chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, said that Carter's "indifference to this concrete issue reflects not only poor judgment but also casts heavy clouds of doubt over the substance and directions of your human rights advocacy." The writer of the report states, "Some foreign policy observers say that Carter's attempt to ignore Captive Nations Week marks the collapse of his 'human rights' charade."

Such reactions were actually repeated and enlarged in editorials and columns throughout the country. These have all been assembled and published in the August and September issues of the *Congressional Record*, as part of the permanent national record.

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"AN UNHAPPY FOOTNOTE," an editorial. *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, Cincinnati, Ohio, September 2, 1977.

As just another example of the nationwide reaction to Carter's near-miss on the Captive Nations Week proclamation, this editorial of a highly respected Midwest organ succinctly provides a background to the Captive Nations Week Resolution and then says: "Every President, with varying degrees of outspokenness, has complied with the congressional mandate—except for, of all people, Jimmy Carter.

The protest by Dr. Dobriansky is quoted: "Those in the Kremlin and other Communist totalitarian centers are doubtless happy and delighted... by this generous inaction and certainly will weigh it accordingly." "Finally," states the editorial, "with Captive Nations Week half over, the White House relented: Mr. Carter issued the proclamation."

Many analysts would tend to share the editor's belief expressed in the concluding paragraph. "We should like to believe that the tardiness was a reflection

of the inexperience of Mr. Carter's staff rather than a calculated attempt to ignore a symbolic renewal of America's commitment to the cause of freedom." In reality, Captive Nations Week is far more than just a symbolic gesture, as the Kennans, Fulbrights and others know.

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"EMIGRE QUARRELS RATTLE RADIO LIBERTY," an article by Michael Getler. *The Washington Post*, Washington, D.C., September 11, 1977.

The writer relates the current problems encountered in the Munich base of Radio Liberty. Much of it is centered in RL's "Russian Service." Victor Fedoseyev, a dissident who arrived in the West in 1971, is quoted as saying "what is at stake is the question of free access to a microphone of people with anti-Semitic or non-democratic Russian nationalist tendencies." Those who fought and worked for a sound and stable Radio Liberation, the foundation of the present, moderately titled RL, cannot hide their chagrin over such developments.

In addition to other apparently justified items the writer states also that "In January, the well-known Soviet emigre scientist Leonid Plyushch visited Radio Liberty and during a meeting a staff member disparaged Jews as the source of all trouble in Russia." The incident was leaked out, and complaints hinged on the absence of any American interference with the station for the past year. RL official Frank Starr was sent out to the station last May to solve these and other problems.

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"SOVIETS ARREST UKRAINE 'WATCHERS' IN VIOLATION OF HELSINKI ACT," a published memorandum by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. *The Rising Tide*, Washington, D.C., October 24-November 7, 1977.

This Washington organ has published the human rights memorandum submitted to the Honorable Albert Sherer, deputy chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Belgrade Conference. The memorandum was submitted by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Its preparation was largely the work of Dr. Walter Dushnyck, editor of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*.

In systematic fashion the presentation lists specific cases of Moscow's violations of human rights. For example, "Rudenko, the 56 year old Ukrainian poet, was sentenced to seven years of hard labor, and Tykhy, a Ukrainian teacher, was given ten years at hard labor. In addition, both men received five years of internal exile."

The memorandum has also been given to Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, head of the U.S. delegation in Belgrade. Through this and other means every effort is being made to support Ambassador Goldberg's stance for an open and honest recital of specific cases of violations, including the continuing one of the Russian-genocided Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches.

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"TWO UKRAINIANS CONVICTED OF ANTI-SOVIET ACTIVITIES ARE SENT TO LABOR CAMPS," a report. *The New York Times*, New York, July 2, 1977.

For organizing a group to monitor Moscow's compliance with the Helsinki Accords Mykola Rudenko and Oleksa Tikhy, 48 years old, received severe sentences.

ces at the hands of Soviet "justice." According to this report, the trial was staged in the small town of Druzhkivka, about sixty-five miles from Donetsk in Ukraine. The two were arrested in February.

The charges lodged against the two were anti-Soviet propaganda activity by the group. Rudenko was ousted from the Soviet Writers' Union in April, 1975. He was connected with the Soviet branch of Amnesty International whose sole activity is to aid political prisoners.

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"**2 DISSIDENTS GET JAIL TERMS,**" a report. *Daily News*, New York, July 2, 1977.

This report in New York's largest paper is substantially the same as the one above. The charge of "anti-Soviet" activity is stressed in the cases of Rudenko and Tykhy. By all standards the sentences were extremely harsh.

A monitoring operation is also in vogue in the United States as concerns the firmness of our own Delegation in Belgrade. The Rudenko and Tykhy cases, as well as many others, have been brought to the attention of our people some time ago.

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"**CATHOLIC UKRAINIANS ARE NO LONGER ALONE IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST COMMUNISM,**" a commentary. *Crusade For A Christian Civilization*, New Rochelle, N.Y., March-April, 1977.

In Brazil and elsewhere the TFP—Tradition, Family and Property—has waged for years its crusade for a Christian civilization. Prof. Plinio Correa de Oliveira is the founder of the Brazilian society and a source of inspiration to other indigenous groups. In the United States the organization has taken a deep interest in the position of Ukrainian Catholics, and this number of its magazine more than displays it.

As the commentator states, "The campaign of the TFP in defense of Ukraine, which began on January 28th in extremely cold weather in front of a Ukrainian church in New York City, has been conducted at Ukrainian churches on all Sundays through January, February and March..." The group views the captive nations as "the Achilles' heel of Communism." Its dedicated work, as elaborated here in detail, is appreciated by all organizations with an interest in the captive nations. In this period the TFP is concentrating on Ukraine.

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"**WHOSE SHOES YOU WEARING ?**," a commencement address by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky. *Vital Speeches of the Day*, New York, July 1, 1977.

This well-known national periodical features in this issue a commencement address delivered by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, President, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, at Manor Junior College. The address develops the theme of personal self-development and leads into the whole area of human rights, from the personal to the national.

As the speaker stressed, "Our sole and somewhat irrational fear is nuclear war—a fear that Dr. Kissinger specialized in spreading—yet the deepest fear of

the Russian Kremlin is the restiveness of its majority non-Russian captives." Other contents of the address provide sharp points of contrast to Brezhnev's speech which is also carried in this issue.

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"UKRAINE IN GEORGIA," an article by Brenda Taylor. *Gwinnett Life*, Lawrenceville, Georgia, March 6, 1977.

A very moving account is presented in this lengthy article about a Ukrainian family that left New York for Gwinnett, Georgia. It feared that it would lose its appreciation of Ukrainian traditions and culture. Mrs. Dzikowski put her talents to work, and a school was established for several families of Ukrainian ancestry in the area.

Stanley Foltyn, chairman of the board of directors of the school, is aptly quoted as saying, "We are Americans. We are here to stay. We love America." And as the story is related, they are manifestly demonstrating it. One mother puts it this way, "I have more of a chance to teach my children Ukrainian ways here than I would in Ukraine."

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"FORD'S POLISH BLUNDER," an article by Jeffrey Hart. *The Boston Herald American*, Boston, Massachusetts, October 3, 1977.

In reading this piece one should do it against the background provided in an article on President Ford's gaffe appearing in this issue. The blunder was more than just a "Polish" one. But the writer, who is a professor at Dartmouth College, brings out some interesting points concerning the gaffe.

Relying on Jules Witcover's book *Marathon*, Nixon phoned Kissinger to pass on to Ford his advice on how to defuse the gaffe. The advice called for Ford to state immediately, "Of course everyone knows that the Polish government is Communist. But the Polish people have never been Communist, and they never will be." This wouldn't have done the trick, but the important point is that Kissinger never did pass the advice on. Instead, according to Witcover, "Ford did receive a phone call from Kissinger after the Polish blunder. Kissinger told Ford that he had done just fine in the debate." And Ford lost the election!

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"CELEBRATION OF UKRAINIAN DAY," an address by the Honorable Charles J. Carney. *Congressional Record*, Washington, D.C., August 5, 1977.

Ukrainian Day is celebrated annually in Youngstown, Ohio, and on this 46th event Congressman Carney relates the long struggle of Ukraine for independence. His address goes back to medieval times and traces the development of the Ukrainian national struggle to the present. "With the Russian revolution of 1917," he declares, "the Ukraine declared itself an independent republic, thus establishing the first modern Ukrainian Government."

The Congressman praises the sponsors of this traditional event and concludes: "As the 46th annual Ukrainian Day approaches, we salute both the efforts of the Ukrainian people to achieve self-determination, and the courage which enables them to persist in their centuries-old struggle."

"BOOK DESCRIBING 'ORDINARY' SOVIET TRIAL CAUSES STIR IN PARIS," a commentary. *The New York Times*, New York, December 17, 1976.

The book described here is about the trial of Dr. Mikhail Stern, a Jewish Ukrainian endocrinologist, who was sentenced to eight years at hard labor on charges of swindling. The book, titled "An 'Ordinary' Trial in the U.S.S.R." was published by the doctor's son, August. It was a hit in Paris and contributed to the father's release.

August Stern, the son, is quoted as saying, "It was a typical Soviet situation, which I saw in many scientific institutes where I worked." Regarding the jealousy shown his father, he continues, "These are ignorant people who can't meet real competition but have important party and personal connections. And then, there was the typical Ukrainian anti-Semitism." The last is an unfortunate and inaccurate statement. Aside from overwhelming evidence contradicting it, the recent visit by Dr. Stern to the States alone contradicts it. In short, there's nothing "typical" about a so-called Ukrainian anti-Semitism.

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"DIGGERS UNEARTH THE PAST AS KIEV SAVORS SUMMER," a letter by Kevin Klose. *The Washington Post*, Washington, D.C., July 23, 1977.

This interesting letter—really an article—by an American correspondent describes the work of the Institute of Archeology of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The institute is under the direction of Ivan A. Artemenko. The Ukrainian archeologists have uncovered spectacular artifacts for years.

As the writer phrases it, "Modern Ukrainians point out that Kiev was founded in the Sixth Century and for hundreds of years was the most powerful city-state between London and Peking..." Several ancient Greek vases have been recovered, containing gold coins. Other discoveries have included nearly perfectly preserved wooden homes dating back to the 11th century.

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"U.S. DOSEN'T NEED GENOCIDE CONVENTION," an article by Don Carpenter. *The Ledger*, Glendale-Burbank, California, June 8, 1977.

An attempt is made in this piece to argue against the ratification of the vital Genocide Convention by the U.S. Senate. Supposedly, the treaty does not apply to Communist states because "its provisions would not apply to the persecution of political minorities of the Soviet Union." How one arrives at this absurd conclusion is not explained.

In addition, the writer states, "Yet the extradition of millions of Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Poles, Ukrainians, Manchurians, etc., etc. is acceptable because these, under Communist guidelines, are political matters." The fact is that regardless how the Communists might distort the treaty, genocide is a heinous crime, and the United States, which ironically promulgated the treaty, has been remiss in not ratifying it. If human rights are to be furthered, the treaty must be ratified.

"UKRAINE: A TRAGEDY WITHOUT FRONTIERS," a commentary. *Crusade For A Christian Civilization*, New Rochelle, New York, January-February, 1977.

The Society of Tradition, Family and Property devotes virtually this entire issue to the tragedy of Ukraine. The commentary outlines the development and hardships of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Portraits of Bishop Nykyta Budka, Metropolitan Count Sheptytsky, Cardinal Josyf Slipyj, Bishop Velychkovsky and others.

What is most impressive is the interlacing of this story with the broader events of each epoch. Just this one paragraph is indicative of the treatment undertaken: "It is against this background that one must consider the attitude of Cardinal Willebrands in 1971 at the enthroning of Pimen as the 'Patriarch' of Moscow."

The paragraph continues, "In his sermon, Pimen, speaking in a victorious tone, reiterated the total destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the 'end' of the Union of Brest, and, according to his own words, the 'triumphal return to the ROC.'" Willebrands was present as an official representative of the Vatican, but not a single protest from him. As the commentator says, "Now, then, in a matter as grave as this, he who is silent consents."

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"CONGRESS BILL ASKS SOVIETS TO 'RESURRECT' 2 CHURCHES," a column by William F. Willoughby. *The Washington Star*, Washington, D.C., May 28, 1977.

The entire column of this outstanding religious editor is devoted to a Congressional measure that addresses itself to the reestablishment of both the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches in the Soviet Union. Sponsored by Representative Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania, the resolution is supported by other legislators and is pending before the House International Relations.

As the columnist puts it, "The Flood bill asks the Soviet Union to permit the two churches to have legal existence in accord with provisions of the Soviet constitution, the United Nations charter and Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accord." "Such a measure in the American Congress is unusual," the writer continues. He also quotes at length from an article on the subject published earlier in this journal.

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"DOOMED TO FAILURE," an article by Yevhen Kaminsky and Fedir Sidorenko. *News From Ukraine*, Kiev, Ukrainian S.S.R., May, 1977.

This grossly inaccurate article starts out in this vein: "The so-called Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) is among those forces in the USA which obstinately oppose cooperation among nations, linking their future hopes only with war." Proof? None.

What seems to disturb the writers is UCCA's opposition to a Kissinger-type of detente, which conforms nicely with Moscow's "peaceful coexistence" policy. If there were no UCCA in the U.S.A., things would be much easier for the Russians and their puppets.

UCCA and its leadership is also accused of standing for a militarily strong America. As such, it is supposed to be for an arms race. What is not said is that it takes two to make such a race. Other items in this lengthy tirade could be similarly handled with rational ease.

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"SOVIET EMIGRE DETAILS HORRORS IN PRISON CAMP," a report by Dena Kleiman. *The New York Times*, New York, September 18, 1977.

Dr. Mikhail Stern, who is referred to earlier, arrived in the United States for a Ukrainian-American rally in New York. His mission, as he put it, is to support "the common struggle for freedom." In this interview he praised President Carter for his human rights stand.

Stern spent time in a Russian prison camp. With this background he said, "Every American should spend one day in this camp, to eat the food that even pigs would not touch... That would help the great struggle for freedom." The message has been heard before, but it does require repetition at the hands of a new witness.

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"UKRAINIAN-AMERICANS JOIN THE PARADE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS," an article by Steven McElroy. *The News World*, New York, September 19, 1977.

As shown in photo form, Dr. Stern, a prominent Jewish Ukrainian doctor, meets with candidates Barry Farber and Representative Edward Koch during the Ukrainian American rally for human rights. The rally on September 18 was held in New York under the auspices of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

The main purpose of the rally was an appeal to President Carter to reaffirm his stand on human rights in the Soviet Union. Since May the Administration has been mute on this. The near-omission of Carter's Captive Nations Week proclamation was the first indication.

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"POLICE ARE OVERRUN NEAR SOVIET MISSION," a report by Robert McG. Thomas. *The New York Times*, New York, September 19, 1977.

Some 2,000 young demonstrators almost stormed the Russian mission on 67th Street in New York. Their chief protest was Russian domination over Ukraine. The Ukrainian Student Organization spearheaded the march.

Most of the demonstrators had been in the parade on Fifth Avenue that wound up in a rally in Bryant Park on 42nd Street. They later assembled for the march to the mission. As the reporter has it, "Barry Farber, the Conservative Party candidate for Mayor, climbed atop the police barricades and used a bull-horn in an attempt to placate the crowd."

## CHRONICLE OF CURRENT EVENTS

### I. UKRAINIAN LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES

#### **20,000 In New York Protest Violations of Human Rights in Ukraine.**—

Over twenty thousand Ukrainian Americans, according to police estimates, marched down Fifth Avenue from 59th to 42nd Streets and then held a protest rally, on Sunday, September 18, 1977 in New York City. The marchers came from some 30 cities in east coast states to participate in the march and protest rally at Bryant Park, organized by the Executive Board of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the United Ukrainian American Organizations of New York, with the support of other eastern UCCA branches.

a) **Protest March:** The protest march began at 1:00 P.M. At the front a large banner identifying the marchers as "Ukrainians" was carried by girls in Ukrainian national costumes, members of the Irvington SUMA branch. They were followed by march marshal Roman Huhlewych, his co-marshals, flag bearers, members of the UCCA Executive Board and National Council, clergy, representatives of national organizations, distinguished citizens and guests.

Taking part in the marching formation were Ukrainian veterans organizations, SUMA, PLAST and ODUM youth organizations, the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, the Women's Association of ODFFU, the Gold Cross, the Ukrainian Bandura School of New York, the Ukrainian Music Institute, the Organization for the Defense of Lemko Land, the "Providence" Association of Ukrainian Catholics, Organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, and many others.

Marchers carried homemade posters and signs calling attention to the plight of the Ukrainian people under Soviet Russian domination. Lt. Harry Polche of the New York Police Department was in charge of a group that kept order during the march, which proceeded smoothly and without incident. A sound-car preceded the march, with loud-speakers announcing the purpose of the protest.

b) **Rally at Bryant Park:** The rally began with the singing of the American and Ukrainian national anthems, led by Mary Lesawyer.

The Most Reverend Basil H. Losten, Apostolic Administrator of the Ukrainian Catholic Archdiocese of Philadelphia, recited the opening prayer. Letters from Patriarch Joseph Slipyj and Metropolitan Mstyslav of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S.A., were read by Ivan Bazarko, UCCA administrative director, and Rev. Volodymyr Bazylewsky, respectively, while Rev. Dr. Volodymyr Gawlich, OSBM, read greetings from the Most Rev.

Joseph M. Schmondiuk, Bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Stamford. Opening the program in Ukrainian was Eugene Ivashkiv, chairman of the manifestation committee and president of the United Ukrainian American Organizations of New York, who condemned Soviet Russian oppression in Ukraine. Dr. Askold Lozynsky then addressed the crowd in English, urging them to prod the U.S. government and its delegation to the Belgrade Conference into making mention of the denial of human rights in Ukraine. The main part of the program was chaired by Joseph Lesawyer, UCCA executive vice president.

The main speaker at the rally, Dr. Mikhail Stern, who described himself as a "Ukrainian of Jewish descent," spoke in literary Ukrainian; his remarks were translated into English by Dr. Walter Dushnyck, editor of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*.

Dr. Stern called on those assembled to continue to fight for national and human rights and for the release of such Ukrainian political prisoners as Valentyn Moroz, Vyacheslav Karavansky, Yuriy Shukhevych, Mykola Rudenko, Oleksiy Tykhy and others. He stressed the necessity for Ukrainian-Jewish understanding, and stated that charges that the Ukrainian people are anti-Semitic are a lie and a fabrication of the Soviet regime. He further said that although enslaved, Ukraine has not bowed in submission to Moscow and will never be Russified.

Other speakers who addressed the record-breaking crowd included Andriy Hryhorenko, Ukrainian human rights activist and son of dissident Gen. Petro Hryhorenko (Grigorenko); Luydmyla Alekseeva, member of the Moscow Helsinki group; Barry Farber, Conservative candidate for New York City mayor; New York State Senator Roy Goodman, Republican candidate for New York City mayor; Congressman Christopher J. Dodd (D-Conn.), who also greeted the crowd in the name of Congressman Edward I. Koch (who took part in the protest march but could not appear at the program because of previous speaking engagements); Michael Mann of the AFL-CIO, who spoke on behalf of George Meany; Horst Uhlich of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, and Osyp Zinkevych, editor of the "Smoloskyp" Ukrainian Information Service.

A "Ukrainian Human Rights Day" proclamation, signed by New Jersey Governor Brendan T. Byrne, was read by the governor's representative, James J. Sheeran, New Jersey Commissioner of Insurance. Also present at the rally were Anatoly Radygin, Jewish Russian political emigre; Dr. Jan Papanek, former Czechoslovak ambassador to the U.N.; and Dr. Bronius Meneckas, vice-president of the Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania.

Messages were read from Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, UCCA President (who was unable to attend the manifestation because of illness), and Pastor Oleksa Harbuziuk of the All-Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Fellowship. The rally concluded with a prayer by Rev. V. Bazylewsky of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and the singing of "Oh, Mighty God," a Ukrainian religious song.

c) **Anti-Soviet Demonstration:** After the termination of the program in Bryant Park, marchers proceeded along Madison Avenue to the Soviet U.N. Mission at 67th Street between Lexington and Third Avenues. When police stopped them, the peaceful march turned into a confrontation between the police and demonstrators. Some 2,000 to 3,000 marchers knocked down bar-

ricades and forced their way to within half a block of the Soviet Mission headquarters. Police succeeded in barricading the rest of the marchers at 66th Street and Lexington Avenue.

Also, at the intersection of 67th and Lexington, the demonstrators were stopped by a second police detachment, but only after the police beat off the fighting demonstrators with their sticks, and mounted police forced the crowd back with horses. Nearly 100 police officers were dispatched to the scene. Several demonstrators and police were injured in the ensuing melee, but reportedly only two persons—a police officer and a demonstrator—were taken to the hospital with minor injuries. One woman was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Barry Farber negotiated her release in exchange for an end to the demonstration.

The march, the rally at Bryant Park and the demonstration were extensively covered by *The New York Times*, *Daily News*, *N.Y. Post*, *The News World* and *WCBS*, *WNBC*, *WABC* and *WNEW* television news programs.

**Dr. Stern's Speaking Tour in the United States.**—In connection with the promotion of his book, Dr. Mikhail Stern, Jewish Ukrainian doctor and recent prisoner from the Soviet Union, the Executive Board of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America had arranged a series of appearances of this world-noted physician in a number of Ukrainian communities in the United States. Dr. Stern was born in Ukraine and had been practicing medicine in the city of Vynnytsia as well as other localities of Ukraine. He speaks the literary Ukrainian language and knows Ukrainian history and the present situation of the Ukrainian people exceedingly well. It was in 1974 when his two sons, Victor and August, applied for exit visas to Israel that Dr. Stern incurred the ire of Soviet authorities. He was called by the KGB, Soviet secret police, and was told to dissuade his sons from emigrating to Israel. When he refused to comply with the wishes of the KGB, Dr. Stern was promptly arrested and charged with bribery and swindling. Out of some 2,000 pretrial witnesses, almost all Ukrainians, only a few testified against Dr. Stern, and those changed their testimonies in his favor at the trial. Nevertheless, he was sentenced to 7 years at hard labor; 3 years of that sentence he spent in a concentration camp in the province of Kharkiv in Ukraine.

Through worldwide publicity of his case, conducted by his sons who were allowed to emigrate, Dr. Stern was released and emigrated to Israel in March, 1977. During his trial the sons were able to tape the court proceedings and smuggle them abroad. On the basis of this record Dr. Stern was able to publish his book, *The USSR vs. Dr. Stern*, which, besides the English, appeared also in the French, German and Portuguese languages.

In addition to his appearance as the principal speaker at the Ukrainian rally on September 18, 1977 in New York City, Dr. Stern also appeared a week later before some 400 people in that city. Subsequently he spoke to Ukrainian groups in Chicago, Washington, Kerhonkson, Detroit, Boston, Cambridge (Harvard University), Philadelphia, Buffalo and Newark. Although the American Jewish community received Dr. Stern coolly and boycotted his appearances, the American press has given extensive coverage to his appearance. In all his speeches Dr. Stern denounced Soviet Russian totalitarianism and stressed the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian people for free-

dom and independence. He has continuously denied that the Ukrainian people are anti-Semitic.

"We categorically deny that Ukraine is a nation of anti-Semites," he said. "It's a lie and a fabrication (by) the Soviet Union... (to) divide and conquer" (*The Evening Bulletin*, October 25, 1977, Philadelphia). "The fact that so many Ukrainians resisted the KGB—in a case involving a Jew—proves, as Stern put it, that 'the thinking of the people has changed—they now see Moscow as the common enemy'" (*The Jewish Week-American Examiner*, November 6, 1977). "Ukrainians and Jews should be natural allies, as they share a common enemy—Soviet Russian Communism... Although many Jews would disagree with Dr. Stern's assessment of Ukrainian-Jewish relations, no one could fault his noble attempt to build a bridge of friendship between two traditionally hostile peoples..." (*Genesis 2*, November, 1977, Boston, Mass.). "Calling attention to the international need for human and national rights, he (Dr. Stern) cited the plight of the Soviet satellite countries to gain independence. He said it was the people of Ukraine who most actively participated against Communist Moscow and linked that to the fact that 90 percent of all political prisoners incarcerated in Russian prisons were from Ukraine..." (*Buffalo Courier-Express*, October 31, 1977).

Everywhere Dr. Stern was hosted by Ukrainian communities, beginning with a reception given in his honor by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America on September 17, 1977 at the Ukrainian Institute of America, following a press conference at Kennedy Airport immediately after his arrival from Europe.

**UCCA Submits Memorandum to U.S. Belgrade Delegation.**—On September 9, 1977 the UCCA Executive Board submitted a memorandum to the State Department on the suppression and violation of human and national rights in Ukraine in crass contradiction to the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords. The memorandum was submitted to Ambassador Albert W. Sherer, Jr. by Dr. Walter Dushnyck, editor of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*. Ambassador Sherer, who led the U.S. delegation to the preliminary session at Belgrade in June, 1977, became a deputy to Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, named the chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Belgrade conference, which began on October 4, 1977. The UCCA document, entitled, "Violations of the Final Act and Arrests of and Repressions Against Watchers of the Helsinki Accords in Ukraine," deals in detail with the Helsinki provisions under Basket One and Basket Three regarding all basic human rights and freedoms and self-determination, as well as contacts of people and ideas. Copies of the document were sent to all U.N. Missions in New York, foreign embassies in Washington, and the American press.

**Ukrainian Women Protest Soviet Repression with Hunger Strike.**—A group of Ukrainian American women from the metropolitan area of New York held a nine-day hunger strike to protest Soviet human and national rights violations in Ukraine. The strike, held under the Isaiah Wall, located across the street from the United Nations at 43rd Street, lasted from September 26 to October 4, 1977. Mrs. Daria Stepaniak, a spokesman for the group, said that several thousand leaflets were given out to members and staffs of the United Nations and to the general public.

**UCCA Executive Board, National Council Hold Sessions.**—On September 23, 1977, the UCCA Executive Board and the National Council held

meetings at the UCCA headquarters in New York. After the minutes of the last meeting were read by Ignatius M. Billinsky, UCCA secretary, administrative director Ivan Bazarko proposed new members for UCCA organs: Dr. Achilles Chreptowsky and Dr. Peter Mociuk, both from the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America, to the UCCA Executive Board and the National Council, respectively; Dr. Roman Drazhniowsky, head of the UCCA Educational Council, to the Executive Board; Dr. Roman Trach and Dr. Lesya Tkach to the National Council.

In turn, Mr. Eugene Ivashkiv, president of the United Ukrainian American Organizations, reported on the national manifestation on September 18, 1977, in which some 20,000 persons took part. Mr. Bazarko reported on the visit of Dr. Mikhail Stern, who was to visit a number of Ukrainian communities in conjunction with appearances at American universities relative to the promotion of his book.

UCCA treasurer Mrs. Ulana Diachuk reported on the finances of the UCCA, including a special fund-raising drive for the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, which netted \$24,000. She also dwelt on the preparation for the 1977 campaign for the Ukrainian National Fund.

Mr. Bazarko also reported on the financial support given by the State of New York to Ukrainian youth summer camps through the UCCA. Mrs. Yaroslava Rubel, UCCA Youth Coordinator, reported briefly on planned activities by youth organizations, including a number of panels on the Belgrade conference.

At the close of the session Joseph Lesawyer and Ignatius M. Billinsky were designated to represent the UCCA at the forthcoming congress of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, while Dr. Bohdan Hnatiuk and Dr. Alexander Bilyk would take part in the sobor of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Philadelphia and present the "Shevchenko Freedom Award" on behalf of the UCCA to Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S.A.

The session of the Ukrainian National Council was opened and presided by Mr. Lesawyer, who is head of the body. At the session three basic papers were presented relative to the economic, educational and informational aspects of UCCA activities.

Mr. Omelian Pleshkevych, head of the newly-established Ukrainian Economic Council, spoke about the necessity of preparing economic foundations. He said that Ukrainians in America have about \$500 million in their cooperatives, savings banks and other financial institutions. Dr. Roman Drazhniowsky, head of the UCCA Educational Council, spoke on the status of Ukrainian schools in America. Finally, Mr. George Nesterczuk, head of the UCCA Branch in Washington and acting director of the Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS), reported on the newly-established UCCA Information Bureau.

**Prof. Dobriansky Reelected Head of the American Council.**—Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, President of the UCCA, was reelected president of the American Council for World Freedom (ACWF) at the organization's annual meeting, held at the Capital Hilton Hotel on October 4, 1977 in Washington, D.C. Also reelected were Dr. Walter Dushnyck to the board of directors, and Ignatius M. Billinsky as a member-at-large of the board.

During 1977 the ACWF sponsored two highly successful conferences, "The U.S. and the USSR After Detente" and "Human Rights After Helsinki." The detente conference drew 23 American and foreign experts, including British parliamentarians and writers. The Helsinki pact conference was chaired by Prof. Dobriansky, with Dr. Dushnyck participating as one of the 15 experts-panelists. He delivered a paper on "Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Peoples of the Caucasus."

Among other projects of the ACWF are publications, such as "The Task Force on the Panama Canal" and "International Terrorism: The Communist Connection," now in the final stages of editing by Dr. Stefan T. Possony and Lynn Bouchey. The ACWF also publishes the **International Digest**, a bimonthly newsletter, **Inter-American Review**, and its Spanish version, **Revista Inter-Americana**.

Future projects of the Council include a review of the Belgrade Conference and human rights; U.S.-China relations; SALT talks; the captive nations and the 20th observance of Captive Nations Week Resolution in 1978; the 60th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, a conference on terrorism, and so forth.

**"Ukrainian Heritage Month" at Sacred Heart University in Bridgeport.**—Over 300 Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians filled the auditorium of Sacred Heart University in Bridgeport, Conn. on October 2, 1977 for the program of the "Ukrainian Heritage Month," the second of a series of ethnic events held as part of the University's 15th anniversary celebration.

The inaugural Ukrainian program on October 2 was opened by Dr. Thomas P. Melady, President of Sacred Heart University, who stressed the fact that America is beginning now to recognize the treasure-house of American ethnic cultures. He said that the University will look forward to co-operating with ethnic American organizations in the "noble work of preserving and transmitting their cultural heritage."

The principal speaker at the program was Dr. Walter Dushnyck, editor of **The Ukrainian Quarterly**. Introduced by Dr. Melady, the speaker spoke about the many contributions of Ukrainians to the U.S. For over a century Ukrainian immigrants have been coming to the shores of this great country, giving their sweat, blood, toil and talents to its growth and development, and helping to make America great and prosperous.

One of the features of the "Ukrainian Heritage Month" was the Ukrainian cultural exhibit, arranged by the committee under the guidance of Mrs. Lesya Shust, wife of the local Ukrainian Catholic priest, Rev. Yaroslav Shust, and displayed in eight large windows in the Central Lounge. The exhibit included Ukrainian national costumes from various regions of Ukraine; paintings by outstanding Ukrainian artists, arranged by Mrs. Roma Hayda, herself a painter; Ukrainian ceramics, Easter eggs, Ukrainian artifacts, books and maps of Ukraine.

On Sunday, October 9, 1977, a Ukrainian Craft Film and Fashion Show of Ukrainian Costumes were shown at the University Library Lecture Hall. Two lectures on Ukrainian history and literature by Dr. Ihor Shevchenko and Dr. George Grabowicz, both of Harvard University, were presented on October 16. The final program was held on October 30, 1977 with a concert of Ukrainian songs. On November 6, 1977 a Pontifical Liturgy was celebrat-

ed at the University by Metropolitan-designate Joseph M. Schmondiuk, who was presented with an honorary degree by Sacred Heart University.

**Ambassador Goldberg Urged to Take "Aggressive Stand" for Human Rights at Belgrade Conference.**—Ambassador Arthur Goldberg has been challenged to take an "uncompromising aggressive stand for human rights" at the Belgrade Conference now going on in Yugoslavia.

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, president of the American Council for World Freedoms, expressed the organization's "deep concern" over publicized comments that the U.S. delegation to Belgrade would avoid "confrontation" by discussing human rights "categories" rather than individual cases.

In a telegram sent on October 11, 1977, Prof. Dobriansky requested Amb. Goldberg to call attention to the "many violations of the Helsinki Accord by the Soviet Union and other Communist countries."

The ACWF president asserted that "to do any less would be a cynical repudiation of the Helsinki Accords... as well as the human rights crusade which President Carter launched with so much fanfare this year."

In his reply via the American Embassy in Belgrade, Ambassador Goldberg told Prof. Dobriansky:

"Your cable to me of October 11 is a welcome expression of sentiments which I share fully. I have stated, in my opening speech, the need for a thorough, factual presentation of our views on the record of the past and the need for better Final Act compliance in the future. The United States will be active, indeed a leader at this Conference, and has been greatly assisted by the excellent, thorough data compiled by private groups to buttress our presentations. Sincerely, Arthur J. Goldberg, Chairman."

In a statement issued by the American Council for World Freedom on November 14, 1977, Amb. Arthur Goldberg was commended for his pledge that "the United States will be... a leader" at the Belgrade Conference on human rights now in progress in Yugoslavia.

"We are encouraged and heartened," said Dr. Dobriansky, president of ACWF, "by Amb. Goldberg's forthright response to our cable expressing concern about the U.S. delegation's full commitment to human rights. We look forward to the presentation of specific human rights cases before, to use President Carter's language, 'the court of world opinion.'"

"In this regard, we are sending Amb. Goldberg a list of 13 human rights cases, political prisoners of different nationalities and backgrounds, some well-known, others not so well-known, but all victims of Soviet Russian injustice."

The thirteen human rights cases sent to Amb. Goldberg by Dr. Dobriansky, include the following:

**Alexander Ginzburg**, Russian writer and poet, now in prison near Moscow;

**Yuri Orlov**, Russian scientist, now in prison in Moscow;

**Igor Ogurtsov**, Russian scholar, now in Camp No. 35, Perm Oblast in the Russian Republic;

**Vyachelav Chornovil**, Ukrainian journalist and literary critic, now in Mordovian Camp No. 1 in Northern Russia;

**Valentyn Moroz**, Ukrainian historian, now in Mordovian Camp No. 1 in Northern Russia;

**Iryna Senyk**, Ukrainian poetess and nurse, now in Mordovian Camp No. 3 in Northern Russia;

**Stefania Shabatura**, Ukrainian divan specialist, now in Mordovian Camp No. 3 in Northern Russia;

**Yuriy Shukhevych**, son of a Ukrainian nationalist leader, imprisoned since the age of 15, now in Vladimir Prison in the Russian Republic;

**Paruyir Ayrkian**, Armenian, now in Mordovian Camp No. 19 in Northern Russia;

**Jiri Muller**, a Czech student, now in Litomerice Prison in Czechoslovakia;

**Yosyp Mykhailivych Terelya**, Ukrainian poet, now in the Berehovo Psychiatric Hospital in Ukraine;

**Mykoia Rudenko**, Ukrainian writer, and head of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group, arrested and sentenced to seven years at hard labor in 1977; exact whereabouts today unknown;

**Oleksa Tykhy**, Ukrainian teacher, sentenced in 1977 to ten years at hard labor; exact whereabouts today unknown.

**Orthodox Sobor Honors Metropolitan Mstyslav**.—The Ninth Sobor of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S.A., meeting on October 7-9, 1977 at the Marriott Hotel in Philadelphia, Pa., honored Archbishop Mstyslav Skrypnyk, Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, at a banquet on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of his ordination as Bishop. Some 500 persons, among them many leaders of Ukrainian community life, attended the banquet which followed a Pontifical Liturgy at St. Vladimir Cathedral. A commemorative address on the life and work of Metropolitan Mstyslav was delivered by Prof. W. Zavitnevych.

Prof. Bohdan Hnatiuk, a vicepresident of the UCCA, assisted by Dr. Alexander Bilyk and Rev. Volodymyr Bazylewsky, members of the UCCA Executive Board, presented the Metropolitan with the "Shevchenko Freedom Award" on behalf of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in recognition of his services to the Ukrainian community in the free world.

Metropolitan Mstyslav, in expressing his appreciation and thanks, related some milestones in his pastoral work and cited the reasons who he chose service for God and his people.

**Ukrainian Lemkos in America Hold 16th Congress**.—Mykola Hryckowian of New York City was elected president of the Organization for the Defense of Lemkivshchyna (Lemko Land) at its 16th Congress, held on October 8-9, 1977 in the Ukrainian Youth Center in Yonkers, N.Y. The congress, attended by scores of delegates and many guests, was opened by outgoing president, Myron Mycio. Following his report and reports by other executive officers—D. Barna, P. Harajda, D. Kulyka, M. Dupliak, M. Shashkevych, J. Chomko and J. Blycha—discussions were held.

Both the reports and the discussions centered on the principal project of the organization in the past few years—assistance to Ukrainians behind the Iron Curtain; recent executive boards have initiated broad programs to aid Lemkos and other Ukrainians in Poland. The organization also introduced projects to mark the 30th anniversary of the forced deportation of Ukrainians on the Polish-Ukrainian border to the so-called "recovered territories" in the west.

Principal speaker at the congress was Prof. John Hvozda, president of the World Federation of Lemkos. At the banquet, Mrs. Katherine Mycio, the principal speaker, described the inhuman and brutal deportations of some 600,000 Ukrainians by Polish Communist authorities in 1946-47.

**UCCA Assails Polish Deportations.**—The UCCA Executive Board issued a statement on the 30th anniversary of the forced deportations of the Ukrainian population from the Ukrainian-Polish border areas to western Poland. Citing historical facts, the UCCA called on its member organizations to stand in defense of Ukrainian Lemkos, who were uprooted from their ancestral lands and dispersed throughout northern and western Poland.

The UCCA scored the Polish Communist government for discriminating against Ukrainians currently under Polish domination, and said present Polish policies are leading to the full assimilation of the Ukrainian minority in Poland, in crass violation of the U.N. Charter, U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Final Acts of the Helsinki Accords.

**Conference on Violations of Human Rights in Ukraine Held at John Carroll University.**—On November 19, 1977, the Institute for Soviet and East European Studies at John Carroll University in Cleveland, Ohio, in co-operation with the Ukrainian American Association of University Professors, held a Public Conference on "Soviet Violations of Human Rights: Case Study: Ukraine," attended by both students and the general public.

Welcome remarks at the morning session were offered by Rev. Henry F. Birkenhauer, S.J., President of John Carroll University, while the opening address was delivered by Dr. Ihor Kamenetsky, professor of Political Science at Central Michigan University.

Three topics were discussed at the session, namely, "Plight of Dissidents in Ukraine since Helsinki," read by Mr. Andrew Fedynsky, instructor at West Junior High School; "Political Aspirations of Dissenters in Ukraine," by Dr. Yaroslav Bilinsky, professor of Political Science at the University of Delaware, and "The Plight of Writers and Artists in Ukraine," by Dr. John Fizer, chairman, Department of Slavic Studies at Rutgers University.

After luncheon a panel discussion was held, moderated by Dr. Michael S. Pap, Director of the Institute, dealing with "Soviet Violations of Human Rights in Ukraine." Taking part in the discussions were Profs. Bilinsky, Fedynsky, Fizer and Kamenetsky.

**Ukrainian National Information Service Bureau Opened in Washington.**—Some 40 persons representing various Ukrainian, American and ethnic organizations participated in the official opening of the **Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS)**, the agency of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

A brief opening ceremony was held on November 18, 1977 at the reception room of the National Press Building, where the bureau has its office; it included special prayers, brief speeches, introduction of guests and a reception.

Mr. George Nesterczuk, acting director of UNIS, welcomed the guests and explained the purpose of the new organization. Subsequently, Mr. Joseph Lesawyer, executive vice president of the UCCA, was called upon to serve as the program chairman. He in turn asked Rev. J. Denyshchuk, pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Washington, to deliver the invoca-

tion. After further explaining the significance of the Ukrainian information office, Mr. Lesawyer introduced Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, President of the UCCA, for his remarks. The UCCA President, who has many outstanding achievements to his credit, including his vital part in the erection of the Shevchenko statue in the nation's capital in 1964, spoke on the importance of Ukraine in the USSR and that the activities of the Ukrainian ethnic community in the United States fully warrant the establishment of such an information bureau.

Among the invited guests was the Hon. Mykola Livytsky, President of the Ukrainian National Republic-in-Exile, who was on a visit in this country from Munich, West Germany. In his brief remarks he said that the Ukrainian National Information Service symbolizes further progress in the Ukrainian struggle for freedom.

Former president of the National Press Club Warren Rogers in his brief comments congratulated the UCCA and said that the National Press Building had hosted many American Presidents and expressed a hope that one day a president of a free Ukraine will also be a guest of the club. The program concluded with the benediction delivered by Rev. D. Budny of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Washington.

Ethnic guests included representatives from Polish, Czech, Slovak, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian and Hungarian organizations.

In addition to Mesrs. Dobriansky and Lesawyer other members of the UCCA Executive Board present included administrative director Ivan Bazzko, treasurer Mrs. Ulana Diachuk, secretary Ignatius M. Billinsky, editor of *America* (Philadelphia), Dr. Walter Dushnyck, editor of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, and Anthony Dragan, editor of *Svoboda* (Jersey City).

Present also at the program were Mr. Michael Terpak, deputy chief of the Soviet section of the VOA; Mrs. Oksana Dragan-Krawciw, acting chief of the VOA Ukrainian service, and Roman Ferencevych and Dmytro Corbett, present and former editor of the VOA Ukrainian service, respectively; Oleh Zwadiuk of Radio Liberty-Radio Free Europe; Eugene Iwanciw, assistant to Sen. Harrison "Jack" Schmitt of New Mexico; Phil Yachmets, assistant to Cong. R. LeFenta of New Jersey; Dr. Roman S. Holiat, Ukrainian Journalists Association of America; Very Rev. Dr. W. Makuch, rector of the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary; Dr. George Starosolsky and Dr. Michael Kushnir, as well as members of the Washington UCCA Branch, who sponsored the reception.

The address of the information bureau is:

**Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS)**  
**Room 1241**  
**National Press Building**  
**14th and F Streets, N.W.**  
**Washington, D.C. 20045**  
**Telephone (202) 638-0988**

**Ukrainian Economist Elected President of American Friends of ABN.**— Bohdan Fedorak of Detroit, Mich. was elected president of the American Friends of ABN (AF-ABN) at the organization's congress, held at the Chicago Sheraton Hotel in Chicago, Ill. on October 21-23, 1977. Mr. Fedorak, an economist by profession, a graduate of Wayne State University, is presi-

dent of the Detroit Branch of the UCCA and a member of the UCCA National Council.

The congress was attended by representatives of the Ukrainian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Slovsk, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Albanian, German, Cuban, Croatian and Vietnamese organizations in the United States.

The congress began with the presentation of a report by Dr. Anatole Bedriy, the outgoing AF-ABN president, and other executive officers.

On Saturday, October 22, 1977, a banquet was held with 450 persons in attendance, at which the principal speaker was Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations world executive board in Munich, Germany. Joining him on the dais were Archbishop Constantine of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Hug O-yang, General Consul of the Republic of China, G.J. Dauvardis, Consul General of Lithuania, and representatives of the nationality organizations. Master of ceremonies was attorney Boris Antonovych, Illinois Assemblyman from Chicago.

During the congress two panels were held for delegates and guests. On Saturday the first panel dealt with "U.S. Foreign Policy and the Captive Nations," with the following panelists: Dr. A.E. Ronnett (Rumanian), Ernest Anderson (German), Olaf Tamark (Estonian) and Nestor Shcheriby (Ukrainian). The moderator was Dr. N. Labrada (Cuban).

The following day's panel was dedicated to "National Liberation Struggles and the Captive Nations." Panelists were Mrs. Slava Stetzko (Ukrainian), Dr. Nohemi Labrada Bernal, former Cuban ambassador to the United Nations, Dr. A. Bonifaciu (Croatian), and Dr. Do Dang Kong (Vietnamese). Moderator was Dr. Y. Paprikoff (Bulgarian).

Mr. Fedorak is joined on the AF-ABN executive board by heads of all nationality sections making up the AF-ABN, with the Rumanian representative as vice-president of the organization.

**OBITUARIES:** a) **Prof. Borys Martos**, former Prime Minister of the Ukrainian National Republic, and prominent Ukrainian statesman, economist and educator, died on September 19, 1977 after a prolonged illness; he was 98 years old. He was one of the last remaining members of the Ukrainian government during the War of Liberation (1917-1921).

He was born on May 20, 1879, in Horodyshche in the Poltava region of Ukraine; in 1908 he graduated from the University of Kharkiv with a degree in mathematics.

Until the outbreak of World War I, Prof. Martos worked for several Ukrainian cooperatives and banks; his Ukrainian patriotism was manifested by his participation in a Ukrainian underground student organization. In 1901 he joined the Ukrainian Revolutionary Party (RUP); later he became a leading member of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Revolutionary Party. With the outbreak of the Ukrainian National Revolution in 1917 he plunged into political activities and took part in several congresses. He became a member of the Ukrainian Central Rada and minister of agriculture in its government, and later minister of finance. From 1919-20 he was head of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian National Republic.

With the end of the Ukrainian War of Liberation, Prof. Martos emigrated to Czecho-Slovakia, where he lectured at the Ukrainian Technical Husbandry Academy in Podebrady, of which he was one of the founders.

Prof. Martos emigrated to the United States in the early 1950's and became active in the Ukrainian community and social-political life. He was buried at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery in South Bound Brook, New Jersey.

b) **Myroslav Stachiw**, head of the Bridgeport Branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, died on October 21, 1977 in Bridgeport, Conn. at the age of 56. Born on December 1, 1920 in Lviv, Western Ukraine, Mr. Stachiw finished a **gymnasium** there, and in 1938 went to Berlin, Germany, to study engineering. With the outbreak of the German-Soviet war in June, 1941, Mr. Stachiw returned to Ukraine, and in 1943 was mobilized into the Ukrainian Division, with the rank of lieutenant. After the war he lived in DP camps in Salzburg (Austria) and Ulm (Germany), and in 1947 emigrated to the United States. In New York he continued his studies, earning a degree of manufacturing engineer. Surviving him are his wife, Daria, and two sons, George, a captain in the U.S. Army in Germany, and Myron, an archeology instructor at Brown University in Providence, R.I.

c) **Col. William Rybak**, a Ukrainian American leader, died on October 23, 1977 in Washington, D.C. after a prolonged illness. He would have been 60 years old on January 2, 1978. Born in New York, he spent his high school and college years in that city, and took part in a number of Ukrainian American youth associations. While attending New York University in the late 1930's, he was a member of the Young Ukrainian Nationalists (MUN) and was on the editorial staff of **The Trident**, an English-language monthly magazine, published by the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine (ODWU).

After his graduation with a diploma of civil engineer, Mr. Rybak was drafted into the American army, and took part in a combat engineers' unit in Africa, Italy and France, attaining the rank of full colonel.

In postwar years, Col. Rybak served for some time on the executive board of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, representing Ukrainian American veterans; upon moving to Washington, D.C. he headed the Washington Branch of the UCCA and also served on the Shevchenko Memorial Committee of America during the groundbreaking ceremony and the unveiling of the Shevchenko statue in 1963 and 1964, respectively.

For the past several years he was associated with the George Hyman Engineering firm in Washington, D.C.

Col. Rybak was buried at the National Cemetery in Richmond, Va. Surviving are his wife, Olga, daughter of the late Mr. & Mrs. Peter Zadoretsky of New York City; two sons, William Hillary, an artist, and Mark Roman, a civil engineer, and his sister, Olga Slobodian, and near and distant relatives.

d) **Dr. Neonila Pelevovich-Hayvoronska**, a retired general practitioner and wife of the late Ukrainian composer, Mykhailo Hayvoronsky, died in New York Hospital on November 4, 1977 at the age of 78.

Dr. Pelevovich was born in Western Ukraine, then under Austria, and came to the United States as a child and settled in Boston, Mass. For the past 45 years she had lived in Forest Hills, N.Y.

Dr. Pelevovich was a graduate of Tufts Medical School in Boston. In 1929 she opened her private practice in Manhattan, but after she married she gave up her practice and worked as a physician at Macy's and as an as-

sociate physician for the New York Infirmary Hospital. She retired in 1967 due to ill health.

Inasmuch as her husband was widely known for his musical works which he composed as a member of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen and then in the Ukrainian Galician Army, their home in Forest Hills hosted many prominent Ukrainian political leaders who visited the Ukrainian American community in the decade preceding the outbreak of World War II. They included Col. Eugene Konovalets, Generals Mykola Kapustiansky and Victor Kurmanovych, and such nationalist leaders as Omelian Senyk-Hrybiwsky, Col. Roman Sushko, Yaroslav Baranovsky and Oleh Kandyba.

Dr. Pelecovich was a member of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America and the New York Medical Society. She is survived by a niece, Joan Roberts.

## II. UKRAINIANS IN THE DIASPORA

### CANADA

**UCC Holds 12th Congress in Winnipeg.**—Attorney Serhiy Radchuk, a 50-year Ukrainian lawyer, was reelected president of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) at its 12th congress, which was held in Winnipeg, Man. on October 7-11, 1977. A total of 369 delegates took part in the congress, which was somewhat incomplete due to the boycott by representatives of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. The rift occurred over the censure of the Ukrainian Liberation Front organizations by SUSK (Association of Ukrainian Students of Canada) because it opposed a proposed invitation to Leonid Plyushch to be a principal speaker at the Congress.

But although the Ukrainian Liberation Front, especially its principal component, the League for the Liberation of Ukraine, officially withdrew from the Congress, many of its individual members took part in the proceedings as members of other organizations.

The agenda of the three-day conclave included reports by outgoing members of the executive board, discussions, addresses by important leaders, a congress banquet and the election of new executive organs of the UCC, and a concert.

Addressing the congress were Sen. Paul Yuzyk, who spoke on the dissident movement and the status of human rights in Ukraine; Dr. Peter Kondra, who discussed "Ukrainian Canadians and Multiculturalism"; Joseph-Philippe Guay, Minister of National Revenue; Norman Cafik, recently appointed Ukrainian Canadian Minister of State for Multiculturalism; Very Rev. Msgr. Basil Kushnir, president of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, and others. Mr. Joseph Lesawyer, UCCA executive vice-president, delivered greetings from the UCCA in the United States.

Joining Dr. Radchuk on the executive board are: M. Danyliuk, Natalia Kohusky, L. Tkhil and I. Ivanchuk, vice-presidents; A. Yaremovych, general secretary; Dr. P. Kondra, treasurer; I. Novosad, financial secretary; G. Hvozdunych, liaison; P. Bashuk, organizational chairman, and W. Rebeniuk, coordinator. There is also a UCC auditing board and a presidium, which include several members.

**Sen. Yuzyk Named Rapporteur on Human Rights to NATO Assembly.—**

Sen. Paul Yuzyk was unanimously elected as the rapporteur to submit the annual report on human rights to the NATO Assembly next year. The election took place at the 23rd Annual Session of the NATO Assembly, held on September 17-24, 1977 in Paris, France. The Assembly, consisting of 15 NATO countries' representatives, unanimously approved a strong stance on human rights for democratic countries in dealing with the Soviet Union and the Belgrade Conference.

Sen. Yuzyk was praised highly for his work in the field of human rights, which he regards as the strongest weapon in defense of freedom, democracy and peace. Several NATO countries have been actively pursuing the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. Among these are Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the United States. The most comprehensive report on compliance with the Final Act provisions was produced by the United States Commission on CSCE, composed of the nominees of the Senate, the House of Representatives and the President, which was issued August 1, 1977, the second anniversary of the Helsinki Accords.

The 24th annual session of the NATO Assembly, to which Senator Yuzyk will report, will take place in the fall of 1978 in Portugal.

**OBITUARIES:** a) Oleh Shtul-Zdanovych, the head of the Supreme Council (**Provid**) of Ukrainian Nationalists, died on November 4, 1977 in a hospital in Toronto, after a prolonged illness. He was 60 years old.

Mr. Shtul-Zdanovych was born on July 1, 1917, in the town of Lopatystia in the Polissia region in Northwestern Ukraine. There he completed his elementary education. He graduated from a secondary school in Kremianets, and then entered the University of Warsaw as a student of history and Ukrainian philology; he graduated with a master of arts degree.

In addition to being a key figure in the Ukrainian liberation struggle during World War II. Mr. Shtul-Zhdanovych was also a journalist, and many of his assignments with the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) dealt with publications and cultural development. As a young student he contributed to *Visnyk* (The Herald), edited by the late Ukrainian nationalist theoretician Dmytro Dontsov. In 1937, he wrote a historical essay on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Ukrainian National Revolution.

In 1943, he was arrested by the Gestapo and incarcerated in the notorious Sachsenhausen concentration camp, from which he was liberated by the U.S. army. After the war, he emigrated to Paris, France, where he became the editor of *Ukrainske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word); he was its editor-in-chief for 15 years.

In 1963 Mr. Shtul-Zdanovych was elected deputy to the then head of the Supreme Council of Ukrainian Nationalists, the late Col. Andrew Melnyk. On November 1, 1964, after the death of Col. Melnyk, he assumed the responsibilities of the Supreme Council, a post to which he was elected at the sixth assembly of the Supreme Council. Surviving him are his wife Kateryna, daughter Antonina Iryna and son, Danylo Victor. He was buried in St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery in South Bound Brook, N.J.

b) William Kurelek, noted Ukrainian Canadian artist who documented Canadian life in paintings, died in Toronto on November 3, 1977 of cancer, at the age of 50. His works, published in 10 books and displayed in over 30

one-man shows and in many group exhibits, are found in numerous private and public art collections.

The son of Ukrainian immigrants, Mr. Kurelek had a great awareness of his Ukrainian heritage. Many of his works deal with Ukrainian life in Canada. He was born in 1927 in Whitford, Alberta, north of Edmonton, but spent most of his youth in heavily Ukrainian-populated Manitoba. He grew up in dire poverty as the son of a dirt farmer during the Great Depression. He graduated from the University of Manitoba in 1949 with a B.A. degree and went on to study art at Ontario College and the Allende Institute in Mexico.

Mr. Kurelek's paintings are found in the private collections of prominent individuals, such as Queen Elizabeth of England, and in many public collections, among them the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa, and the Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto.

## GERMANY

**OBITUARY: Prof. Stepan Lenkavsky**, former head of the Units of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad and a key figure in the nationalist movement in Ukraine for the past four decades, died on October 29, 1977 in Munich, Germany, at the age of 72.

Prof. Lenkavsky was a founding member of the first congress of Ukrainian nationalists, that is, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in 1929 in Vienna, Austria, and was one of the principal architects of the Ukrainian liberation struggle prior to and during World War II. He served in the underground OUN executive council in Western Ukraine and was also an ideologist of the Association of Ukrainian Nationalist Youth in Ukraine. He was incarcerated in Polish and German prisons and concentration camps, and after the assassination of Stepan Bandera by a Soviet agent in 1959 in Munich, Prof. Lenkavsky became head of the Units of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad. Many of his essays, articles and brochures on Ukrainian nationalism were published extensively in free Ukrainian publications outside Ukraine.

## YUGOSLAVIA

**Vatican Protests Persecution of Catholics in the USSR.**—In one of its most blunt diplomatic protests yet, the Vatican representative at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe held in Belgrade cited religious persecution, especially that of still-repressed Eastern rites in Communist-held countries.

Msgr. Achille Silvestrini, undersecretary of the Vatican Council for Public Affairs of the Church, told the 35-nation conference reviewing progress in activating the Helsinki Accords that more cooperation between Church and people has been permitted since the accords were signed in 1975.

But he accented the Vatican's displeasure that within various nations "the situation is still far from normal within sufficient freedom."

The most significant shift in Msgr. Silvestrini's speech was its open appeal for freedom for Eastern Rite Catholics in Soviet Ukraine, estimated to number over five million.

## ITALY

**Thousands of Ukrainian Catholics Mark Patriarchal Anniversaries.**—Thousands of Ukrainian Catholics from Western Europe, the United States, Canada and Australia flocked to Rome to mark the 85th anniversary of the birth of Patriarch Josyf Slipyj and the 65th anniversary of his priesthood at the end of September and the beginning of October, 1977. For five days Ukrainian Catholics celebrated these important anniversaries with Liturgies, a concert, a banquet, several meetings of different territorial patriarchal groups and a press conference. Attending these festivities were six Ukrainian Catholic bishops: Bishop Isidore Borecky and Neil Savaryn (Canada), Metropolitan-designate Joseph M. Schmondiuk and Bishop Jaroslav Gabro (United States), Bishop Platon Kornyliaik (Germany) and Bishop Ivan Prasko (Australia).

A Pontifical Divine Liturgy on September 30, 1977 drew over 1,000 faithful to the St. Sophia Cathedral, and over 50 Ukrainian Catholic priests from the free world. On Saturday evening a gala jubilee concert was held in the Palazzo Pio Hall. Among the non-Ukrainian dignitaries present at the concert were two Eastern Rite primates—Melkite Patriarch of Antioch Maximos Hakim and Syrian Patriarch of Antioch Ignace Antoine Hayek, as well as scores of cardinals, archbishops, bishops, ambassadors and government representatives. Principal speaker at the banquet was Bishop Isidore Borecky of Toronto, who also read a letter of felicitations from Pope Paul VI.

Sunday evening a banquet was held at Rome's Hilton Cavalieri Hotel, with 850 persons in attendance. Speaking at the banquet were Prof. Constantine Bida of Ottawa, Bishop Prasko and Rev. Ivan Hryniuch.

The World Patriarchal Society called a press conference, which was reported by many Western media services. Replying to the journalists' questions were Prof. Vasyl Markus, Rev. Ivan Hryniuch, Miss Eva Pidubchysheen and Dr. Volodymyr Kosyk.

**Ukrainians Rap the Soviet Union on Human Rights.**—Exiled Cardinal Josyf Slipyi, Archbishop-Major of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, in an unexpected appearance at a human rights forum in Rome at the beginning of December, 1977, denounced the Soviet Union's "liquidation" of the Church in Ukraine.

He was joined in his denunciation by Leonid Plyushch, a Ukrainian Marxist and mathematician who lives in exile in Paris.

The two men were among a number of exiled churchmen and non-believers from Eastern Europe who condemned authorities in their countries for religious oppression at the second annual International Sakharov Hearings on Human Rights.

The Ukrainian Cardinal said the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was "liquidated" by the Soviet government in 1929-30 and that "the same treatment was accorded" to the Ukrainian Catholic Church between 1946 and 1949, when it was forcibly incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church.

"Of the more than 3,000 Ukrainian Catholic parishes and 4,198 churches and chapels that existed at the end of World War II, not a single one remains. There is no longer a single Ukrainian Catholic monastery, seminary or school, and any kind of pastoral care for and meetings of Ukrainian Catholics are forbidden."

Mr. Plyushch told the Cardinal that he extended to him the greetings "of all Soviet dissidents."

"Believers and non-believers," he said, "we join forces with Catholics on behalf of the dignity of human life."

Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal of Austria, Chairman of the International Sakharov Hearings, shook Cardinal Slipyi's hands warmly.

### III. IN CAPTIVE UKRAINE

**Heliy Snehirov Arrested.**—Heliy Snehirov, a Ukrainian writer who urged President Carter to stand firm with Brezhnev on human rights, was arrested in Kiev on September 22, 1977. Snehirov, who is 49, was charged with anti-Soviet activity, according to **The Washington Post** of September 22, 1977. His wife, Halyna, said he was arrested by KGB agents in his home in the Ukrainian capital.

Snehirov renounced his Soviet citizenship after Mykola Rudenko and Oleksiy Tykhy were arrested. He was also expelled from the Union of Writers of Ukraine and the Union of Film Workers.

"I don't want to remain a citizen of a state that has destroyed the elite of my Ukrainian people, the best of the peasantry and intelligentsia, that has denatured and slandered our past and humiliates our present," wrote Snehirov at the time.

In his letter to President Carter, Snehirov said that if the American Chief Executive gives up his defense of human rights, "the monstrosity will take over the world."

"Do not yield, Jimmy Carter. Flex your muscles and exert your will. Do not listen to cowardly advice. Let the cowards crawl under the table, let them tremble and wait, as long as they do not aid the monstrosity," said Snehirov.

He also reminded President Carter that when he greets Soviet leaders, he will be shaking "a hand that is red with blood of millions destroyed by what is called Stalinism... These hands, from which the old blood has not yet washed away, are ready to shed oceans of new blood," he declared.

**Ukraine's High Court Confirms Sentences of Rudenko and Tykhy.**—The Soviet Ukrainian Supreme Court confirmed on September 15, 1977 the severe sentences imposed on Mykola Rudenko and Oleksiy Tykhy by a Donetsk *oblast* court, according to the "Smoloskyp" Ukrainian Information Service.

Rudenko and Tykhy were sentenced on June 30, 1977, to a total 27 years of imprisonment and exile for allegedly slandering the Soviet Union. Rudenko, chairman of the Kiev Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords, was sentenced to seven years imprisonment and five years exile. Tykhy, a member of the group, received a sentence of ten years incarceration and five years of exile.

Rudenko and Tykhy were the first two members of the monitoring group in the USSR to be tried and sentenced.

**KGB Attempt to Blackmail U.S. Diplomat of Ukrainian Descent.**—A KGB agent attempted to blackmail an American diplomat of Ukrainian descent into working as a Soviet spy, after the agent forced his way into the U.S. official's hotel room in Tbilisi, Georgia, and accused him of being a former Nazi collaborator, reported Western news services on October 29, 1977.

Two weeks after the initial accusations by the Soviet officials came to the fore, TASS repeated the Nazi atrocities charges against Constantine Warvariv, and also against his wife, Elena, who, TASS said, worked as a Gestapo translator in Dnipropetrovsk in Ukraine.

"Competent Soviet authorities have irrefutable materials to prove that Constantine Warvariv, who is now a permanent United States representative to UNESCO, served with the Nazi SD police and participated in mass executions of peaceful Soviet citizens during World War II," TASS charged on October 31, 1977.

The Soviet agency went on to allege that Mrs. Warvariv, whose maiden name is Kozar, "worked as a translator for the German Gestapo in Dnipropetrovsk, led a wild life and was in close relations with officers of the Nazi Army."

Mr. Warvariv upon his return to Paris, told UPI that the charges were a "smear campaign."

"What they want is to keep hounding us. It's smear, smear and nothing but smear. I believe that what the Soviets want is to keep smearing us in the hope that somebody will believe something," said Mr. Warvariv.

The incident was kept secret by the American Embassy in Moscow until the Soviet press agency Novosti released the article claiming that Mr. Warvariv was Nazi collaborator. After the article was distributed, Ambassador Malcom Toon authorized the release of the American protest which was sent to the Soviet Foreign Ministry on October 19.

Not satisfied with its reply, the American Embassy in Moscow sent another protest to the Soviet Foreign Ministry on October 31. The statement reiterated the American view that the Warvariv case constitutes a serious violation of the principle of diplomatic immunity.

The note read:

"The Embassy of the United States strongly protests this highly provocative unacceptable treatment of a U.S. diplomat as a clear violation of the Vienna Conventions and an impermissible abuse of the norms of behavior which should govern relations between our two nations... Such violations as this can only serve to retard the growth of mutually beneficial relations."

Mr Warvariv, based in Paris, France, is a deputy U.S. delegate to UNESCO. He was in the Soviet Union in mid-October to attend a UNESCO-sponsored conference on environmental education, in Tbilisi, Soviet Georgia. Mr. Warvariv was born in Rivne in the Volhynia province of Western Ukraine in 1924. The Soviet agency claimed that he participated in many mass slayings there while serving on the Nazi police force.

**Mr. Warvariv** denied the allegations, saying that during the time in question he was imprisoned in a German labor camp and never held a gun in his hands during the war.

**Continue Harassment of Kiev Helsinki Group Members.**—With four members of the Kiev Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords already imprisoned, the KGB is now harassing other members of the group, reported the press service of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (abroad).

In October, 1977, Petro Vins, son of the incarcerated Baptist leader, Georgi Vins, was accosted on a Kiev street by the KGB and warned about his behavior. This harassment against the younger Vins began earlier with slanderous remarks made about him and his friends at school.

Raissa Rudenko, the wife of Mykola Rudenko, the imprisoned leader of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, has been fired from her job and now faces eviction from her apartment.

A. Holumbiyevska, a resident of Odessa who at one time signed a petition in defense of Vasyl Barladianu, has been questioned by the KGB and threatened with arrest. Barladianu is currently on a hunger strike in jail.

The press service also reports that Leonid Siry, author of a letter to Brezhnev in which he renounced his Soviet citizenship and demanded an exit visa, also began a hunger strike because he was denied the right to emigrate.

**Politburo Calls for Destruction of Ukrainian Dissidents.**—The "Smoloskyp" Ukrainian Information Service reported from Helsinki, Finland that the Soviet Politburo has ordered that Ukrainian dissidents be destroyed.

"Smoloskyp" received information about a special meeting of the Politburo during which the fate of the dissident movement in the Soviet Union was being discussed. Two factions came to the fore in the discussion. One group, the liberals, was led by Leonid Brezhnev and Volodymyr Shcherbytsky (Ukrainian party boss), and the other wing, the conservatives, consisted of KGB Chief Yuri Andropov, Suslov and Ustinov.

The right-wing faction prevailed, and the Politburo ruled on a motion by Andropov to exile Russian dissidents and to destroy Ukrainian and other dissidents.

The UIS said that the Soviet government has already exiled many leading Russian dissidents, while in Ukraine and other non-Russian republics the KGB initiated widespread repressions aimed at breaking up the opposition movement.

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