

# THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY.



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Vol. VIII—Number 3

Summer, 1952

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Picture on the cover: *A coming member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.* This woodcut by Nil Khasevych (Bey-Zot), the artist of the Ukrainian Underground, was circulated in North-Western region of Ukraine (Volynia) in 1949.

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RIGHT REVEREND  
DR. WOLFF MYR LEWYTEKYJ  
STREET, N. E.  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.



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UPPER INSERT: DISMEMBERMENT OF UKRAINE AFTER THE WORLD WAR

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*Editor-in-chief* NICHOLAS D. CHUBATY

*Associate Editor* LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

*Artistic Adviser* SVIATOSLAV HORDYNSKY

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50 Church Street, S 252, New York 7, N. Y.

*Editorial Address:* DR. NICHOLAS D. CHUBATY

250 Franklin Turnpike, Mahwah, New Jersey

*Tel:* CRagmere 8-3767-M

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## C O N T E N T S

The Fifth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent <i>Editorial</i> .....	197
The Relations of Russian and Ukrainian Literature <i>Clarence A. Manning</i> .....	201
The Transportation in Ukraine in 1951 <i>S. Y. Protsiuk</i> .....	208
The Crimean Tatars — Annihilation or Survival <i>Nicholas Poppe</i> .....	220
Ukrainian Underground Publications in USSR <i>Lev Shankovsky</i> .....	226
Soviet Simulation of Ukrainian Independence <i>Lev E. Dobriansky</i> .....	239
Why the Bolsheviki Support Lysenko's Genetics? <i>Nestor Korol</i> .....	246
Is There Really A Russian Underground Friendly to America <i>Historicus</i> .....	251
How They Tried To Make Me "Enemy of the People" <i>Peter Kolymsky</i> .....	258
Resolutions of The Ukrainian-American Congress .....	267
 BOOK REVIEWS:	
Nicholas Prychodko. One of The Fifteen Million. <i>N. Chubaty</i> .....	272
Clarence A. Manning. The Siberian Fiasco. <i>Wasył Halich</i> .....	273
Antoni Gronowicz. Pattern of Peace. <i>N. Chubaty</i> .....	274
Godfrey Blunden. The Time of The Assassins. <i>Clarence A. Manning</i> .....	276
Semen Bytovoy. Tykhookeanskaya Vesna.—Yu. Liverovsky. Priroda Yuzhnoy Poloviny Sov. Dal. Vostoka. — V. K. Arseniev. V Debrakh Ussuriys- koho Kraya. <i>S. Y. Protsiuk</i> .....	276
Naum Jasny. The Soviet Economy During The Plan Era. <i>S. Y. Protsiuk</i> .....	277
Jules Nonnerot. La Guerre en Question. <i>S. Y. Protsiuk</i> .....	279
Albert Camus. L'Homme Revolte. <i>S. Y. Protsiuk</i> .....	280
Bohdan T. Halajczuk. Los Estados Conquistados Ante El Derecho Inter- nacional. <i>B. I. Lonchyna</i> .....	281
Ucrainica in American and Foreign Periodicals, <i>L. E. D.</i> .....	282

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

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CLARENCE A. MANNING, Professor of Russian and Ukrainian Languages and Literatures at Columbia University. Author of *The Story of Ukraine, Ukrainian Literature and others*.

S. Y. PROTSIUK, Ukrainian economist, former assistant professor of Lviv Polytechnical Institute. Now in Australia.

NICHOLAS POPPE, historian of Eastern Europe, instructor at Washington State University.

LEV SHANKOVSKY, Ukrainian historian and journalist. Now in this country.

LEV E. DOBRIANSKY, Ph. D., Professor of Economics at Georgetown University and author. President of The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

NESTOR KOROL, biologist, former professor of Moscow University. Now in this country.

PETER KOLYMSKY, (*pseudo*), former agricultural researcher in Kiev, resident of slave labor camp in gold mining region in Kolyma, in sub-arctic zone for past several years.

## THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF AMERICANS OF UKRAINIAN DESCENT

### *Editorial*

Every three years the Americans of Ukrainian descent assemble in a congress to review their position as a part of the American people and to take account of their obligations as American citizens toward their old enslaved fatherland of Ukraine. The economic need and the political persecution of their faith and their Ukrainian nationality in the homeland have forced thousands of Ukrainians to seek abroad freedom for their work and their development throughout the entire free world and now there are more than one million Ukrainians who have found a refuge in the United States.

During the 1870's there began an emigration from Western and Carpathian Ukraine of people seeking to improve their material position across the seas. Yet their Slavic sentiment and their attachment to their native land spiritually supported their living interest in the fate of the land from which they came. Then during World War I, and especially after the outbreak of the revolution in Russia in 1917, Ukrainians commenced an active struggle for the liberation of their own country and there came to America a wave of political emigration. A still greater stream of this political emigration came in the most recent years, when America opened its gates for the D. P. war victims.

America became for a million Ukrainian emigrants their true second fatherland, to which they were bound not only by legal and material links but also by a deep spiritual attachment for the country of Washington. The Ukrainian emigration found satisfied on American soil the most ardent desire of its existence — that freedom which it did not have in Ukraine and for which it had struggled for centuries. It is not to be denied that the high standard of material existence here has elevated the life of the Ukrainian immigrants to America but American liberty has been the life-giving element that changed the often slightly educated and poor Ukrainians into full American citizens and fanatical partisans in the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine.

The Ukrainian group in America has always been on the side of those political currents here which are for the complete equality of all citizens, the ending of all racial and religious discrimination and for

the full rights of the laboring population of America. There are no Americans of Ukrainian descent who are working for the economic exploitation of any individual or for promoting discrimination. The democratic traditions which have long been implanted in the Ukrainian soul have been brought by the Ukrainian emigrants to their new land beyond the seas.

The Ukrainians have brought with them to America also their deep attachment to the old traditions of their people, their church culture and their religion. These qualities have made the Ukrainian immigrants immune and hostile to the propaganda of materialistic Communism. When in 1917 the Ukrainian Nation in Europe commenced its hard and still uncompleted struggle with Russian Communism, the Ukrainian group in America became the most irreconcilable portion of the entire American people in its opposition to world Communism. The anti-Communist position of the Ukrainians in America passed a fiery test especially during World War II. At the very time when a wave of sovietophilism and of toleration for Communism flowed over our American continent, the Americans of Ukrainian descent maintained their unwavering opposition to Communism and the USSR and not rarely brought upon themselves persecution from the Communists and the American fellow-travellers.

It was not a rare occurrence, even at the height of the war when there was a shortage of labor, for Ukrainians to be discharged from work in defence plants on the ground they were "unreliable Americans" or people "of suspicious loyalty" to America. Yet this did not defeat the Ukrainians even when the tide of American sovietophilism was rising ever higher and in 1944 the Ukrainian Congress Committee renewed its activity and the Second Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent called to meet in Philadelphia in 1944 began the publication of this Quarterly with the express purpose of warning the American people against the danger of Communism and their own Ukrainian kinsmen against the double betrayal of their own new and old countries, America and Ukraine. Neither the Ukrainian Congress Committee nor this Quarterly has ever deviated a particle from that mission. The correctness of this position of the Ukrainian Congress Committee and of the political line of this Quarterly has been well shown by the accomplishments of the past eight years and the participants in the Fifth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent found a deep moral satisfaction in gathering this year on the American Independence Day for their meeting in New York.

It is not to be denied that there is a small group of Americans of Ukrainian descent who have allowed themselves to be harnessed to the service of Russian Communism, but the Ukrainian Communist group is numerically weak and what is most important, it has been constantly



and is now completely isolated from the American Ukrainians not only in organization but also in daily life. The great mass of the Americans of Ukrainian descent have always regarded these Communists as traitors to America and to Ukraine, even when they were encouraged and protected by some prominent Americans. This attitude of the Americans of Ukrainian descent has brought it about that the group of Communists of Ukrainian descent has remained small and without importance.

What was the Fifth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent? It was primarily a manifestation of the complete unity of all Ukrainian groups from the extreme right to the extreme left which consider themselves bound by three principles: loyalty to America, faith in the democratic principles of social life and faith in the ideal of an Independent Unified, Democratic Ukraine. Beyond these three principles, the Americans of Ukrainian descent united in the Congress Committee and represented on its Executive Board have no other bonds and each organization in it has complete freedom of action.

Its position toward American ideals and toward the old fatherland of Ukraine the Fifth Congress expressed in the series of political resolutions published elsewhere in this number.

As regards Ukraine the Fifth Congress affirmed as the basis of Ukrainian-American policy those freedom-loving declarations of the free humanity of our period; i. e. the unfalsified right of self-determination for all nations of the world, the honorable application of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the ideas of the American Declaration of Independence and consequently the right of national independence for the Ukrainian people who by the acts of January 22, 1918 and January 22, 1919 established their own united democratic Ukrainian state. The Ukrainians have defended it for more than thirty years with superhuman heroism and at the cost of some twelve million Ukrainians who have given their lives for the free united democratic Ukrainian nation.

These great declarations for the freedom of humanity the Fifth Congress recognized not only for the nation of their fathers, Ukraine, but for all the peoples of the world and especially for the neighbors of Ukraine.

There is a popular proverb of the Ukrainian people, "We seek not another's but our own rights." The Ukrainian people does not desire a single acre of land in which the majority of the population does not wish to belong to Ukraine. In doubtful border districts there must be held a plebiscite and the wishes of the majority must be respected. The Ukrainian people, once freed from foreign domination, desire to be a solid part of all humanity, to live in the closest relations with its neighbors and eventually as a free nation to enter into a broader union with the free

nations. This can come about only when the Ukrainian people recover their freedom and become the masters of their own destiny.

The Americans of Ukrainian descent do not consider themselves competent to decide Ukrainian policy but they consider themselves competent as Americans of Ukrainian origin and most interested in justice and the democratic solution of the Ukrainian problem to support the position of the Ukrainian people solidly expressed by the representatives of the Ukrainian Underground and the representatives of those political circles which maintain the traditions of the Ukrainian democratic government in exile, for this is in thorough harmony with American ideals.

The Fifth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent was a special moral triumph for them. The greeting of the President of the United States, and the address of the representative of the American government, Hon. O. L. Chapman, Secretary of the Interior, delivered in the spirit of the finest American ideals were for the Americans of Ukrainian descent a moral satisfaction, for they showed that they were maintaining the traditions and ideals of the American people and the freedom-loving traditions of Ukraine, of which the French writer Voltaire said in the middle of the 18th century: "Ukraine always struggled for freedom."

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#### GROVING POLISH INDUSTRY

A Communist economist was explaining the situation to a friend. "Poland's foreign trade is growing steadily," he said.

"Good," replied the friend. "Why?"

"Well, let us say we produce bricks and send them to the USSR. The Soviets pay by sending us wool. We use the wool for cloth, which we send to Roumania. From there we get corn, which we send off to Hungary. The Hungarians deliver meat to us and we send it to Czechoslovakia in exchange for clay."

"But why the dickens should we import clay?"

"Well, didn't I tell you that we exported bricks to the USSR?"

## THE RELATIONS OF RUSSIAN AND UKRAINIAN LITERATURE

by CLARENCE A. MANNING

When Khvylovy issued his well-known appeal to the Ukrainian writers of the twenties to depart from Moscow and to seek to build Ukrainian literature upon the great traditions of Europe, he was not uttering a new word. Almost from the beginning of the modern Ukrainian literature nearly all the prominent authors have endeavored to do exactly this and there is scarcely one of whom it can be said that their works, if written or translated into Russian, would be an inherent part of the literature of that language.

It was of course natural that Russian literature should exercise an important influence. From the time when Ukraine lost her political independence and was brought under the power of Moscow and later of St. Petersburg, the Russian government spared no efforts to uproot the national Ukrainian traditions and to replace them with those of Moscow. The Ukrainians were compelled to study in Russian schools, to read Russian books, and if they were intellectuals of any degree and sought governmental or educational posts, they were forced to use Russian as their ordinary medium of communication with their superiors and their associates.

Despite this fact and despite the additional fact that many Ukrainian books were published in St. Petersburg, the literature did not undergo as thorough a russification as it might superficially seem. On the other hand Russian literature reveals remarkably little influence of Ukrainian writers or of Ukrainian thought. The masters and the mastered had little in common and each went his own way to a far greater degree than might be supposed.

There were two reasons for this. There was the history of the past and the geographical limitations self-imposed upon Russian literature during the greater part of the nineteenth century. Let us take the second point first.

During the great period of the Russian novel, the period of Turgenev, Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky, which extended from about 1840 to 1880, not a single outstanding Russian author came from Ukraine or had any especial relations with it. If these men thought at all of Ukraine, even

in the sense of Little Russia, they thought of it only in terms of the past, of the romantic deeds of the Zaporozhian Kozaks and they made no attempt to understand them as in any way different from the Cossacks of the Don or of those further to the east. But they were not interested in the past. The iron straitjacket imposed upon the lesser men by the demands for a serious treatment of the present cut away those romantic episodes and those ideas of history which might have made Ukraine and its fate attractive even to those who denied Ukrainian existence.

For all practical purposes the background of the Russian literature of the nineteenth century was confined to the capitals of St. Petersburg and Moscow and to a few of the *gubernias* immediately adjacent to Moscow as Orel, Tula and Kaluga. The Black Sea, the Caucasus, the area to the east of the Volga and Siberia, other than as a place of exile, did not exist. Exactly as Russian literature failed to present serious studies based on the lives of the average landowner who was forced to take a personal interest in his estate, so it calmly ignored in its desire to solve the significance of Russia in its attitude to Western civilization the vast bulk of the lands of that Empire which they felt was destined to continue to expand. It was not until the very end of the century that men like Korolenko seemed to be aware not only of the details of Ukrainian life but of the existence of *gubernias* which were included within the boundaries of Ukraine or were distant areas populated by Great Russians. Russian literature as presented by its greatest writers was in every sense of the word a regional literature and dealt with only a small part of the area inhabited by Great Russians.

This lack of interest in the life of the Empire as a whole along with the emphasis on those aspects of Russian life which were most alien to the inhabitants of the Ukrainian towns and villages, the *mir*, the village community with its frequent distribution of land and its corporate but non-individual security made the Russian literature unintelligible or unsympathetic to the Ukrainian writers, — even in Eastern Ukraine. It made it a sealed book to all but a few of the more broadly educated and travelled Western Ukrainians and the fantastic efforts of the present Soviet scholars to find signs of Russian cultural supremacy are based on the will of Stalin and Marxian dialectic rather than on a study of the lives and writings of the authors.

On the other hand it must not be forgotten that the original impulse for the production of a modern Russian literature had been given by Ukraine. In the seventeenth century the Orthodox of Kiev carried to Moscow their traditions which during the centuries had been considerably influenced by the dominant Poles. Simeon Polotsky, a White Ruthenian trained in Kiev, and his associates brought for the first time to Moscow



an appreciation of what was happening in the European arena. Had they not also been intent upon preserving the Church Slavonic language, albeit in a very modified form which definitely showed Ukrainian influence, their contributions would have been even greater.

Peter the Great personally preferred the influences that were brought into the foreign quarter of Moscow, the Nemetskaya Sloboda and his reforms placed French and German customs and modes of thinking in the favored position. Yet many of his associates as Feofan Prokopovich talked Russian with a marked Ukrainian accent, as we can see by their consistent use of Ukrainian pronunciations in their poetical works.

This early Ukrainian influence exerted at the very dawn of modern Russian literature did not die away all at once but it was submerged in the new stream of Western borrowings. It was strengthened by the presence in Russian literature of many prominent russified Ukrainian authors as Bogdanovich and Kapnist who wrote in Russian but maintained strong Ukrainian sympathies, even though they superficially seemed to be typical of St. Petersburg life.

As a result of all this, when Kotlyarevsky in 1798 broke the old tradition and introduced the modern Ukrainian vernacular, he was in one sense following the Russianized norms of Western literature based upon the principles of the French theoreticians but in another he was not straying in content from much that was already inherent in Ukrainian society. This is even more evident in his two plays *Natalka Poltavka* and *Moskal Charivnyk* that it is in the *Eneida*. The ardent Ukrainian character of his works and their clear democratic tendencies at once set the embryonic Ukrainian literature apart and marked it as something more than a provincial or even a dialectic product. Neither in content nor in spirit was Ukrainian similar to Russian and even though the forms might seem to be common, they were clearly distinct in purpose as well as in setting. This is clearly seen when we remember that these early writers as Kvitka-Osnovyanenko were able to produce small but significant writings in Ukrainian and mere provincial journalism in Russian, although they had been trained in the latter language in schools and public life.

It must not be forgotten also that the Polish influences in eastern Ukraine had not been eliminated. The Russian occupation had not dispossessed many of the Polish landlords who still dreamed of recovering the independence of their country and were only superficially Russianized. It was thanks to them that there was established a Ukrainian Polish school of writers who applied the new Romantic feelings for describing the country. The Ukrainians had not forgotten the events of their struggle with these Poles which were enshrined in the *dumy*, the old Kozak poems which were still sung everywhere. Even so, the Polish influence was

present and this added still more elements to the new and struggling literature.

On the other hand Russian literature to secure themes suitable to Romantic treatment saw themselves forced to turn to Ukrainian history if they were to have stories and themes of interest. The Muscovite period was on the whole too grim, drab and autocratic to furnish the type of episode needed and it is no coincidence that men like Ryleyev drew their themes from the Ukrainian past, a policy that was followed even by Pushkin and his circle.

The closest actual link between the two literatures was furnished by Nikolay Gogol and Ukrainian and Russian scholars are still divided as to his essential position in literature. The son of a small Ukrainian landowner who had won a local fame for his early Ukrainian writings, Gogol made his successful entrance into Russian literature by his stories of Ukrainian life. His picture of the idealized Zaporozhian Kozak Taras Bulba brought home to the world the valor and the daring of those doughty riders of the steppes, their manners and customs and their opposition to the Poles but no Kozak even of the most extreme pro-Muscovite party would ever have indulged in that eulogy of the Russian tsar that Taras makes as he is being burned by the Poles. It is out of keeping with the spirit of the Zaporozhians. Then Gogol turned and in more unforgettable stories from the life of Great Russia, he painted the emptiness of the Russian system and sought to lead humanity to an acceptance of it. It is small wonder that he went abroad and spent the last years of his life in sterile meditation and prayer for a solution of the great dilemma.

Far different was it with Taras Shevchenko, his contemporary. Born a Ukrainian serf on the right bank of the Dnieper, Shevchenko became fully conscious of his Ukrainian nationality in Warsaw and Wilno, where he studied painting and became familiar with the writings of Mickiewicz and the other Poles who prepared the way for the uprising of 1831. Then when he was liberated in St. Petersburg through the efforts of the painter Bryulov and Zhukovsky, the friend of the tsar and of Pushkin, he turned to poetry. His *Kobzar* which appeared in 1840, the year before the death of Lermontov was in very fact the declaration of independence of Ukrainian literature and the sign that it had come of age. There is not a poem in it which could have been Russian and yet with the exception of *Kateryna*, there is scarcely a mention of the Russians or the Moskals. It is Ukrainian to the core, written in a style that Russian literature never knew and which it could not appreciate. The Russian intelligentsia who flattered and used Gogol were aghast at this proof that there was a Ukrainian poet. Byelinsky tiraded against him and his efforts to make "Little Russian" a literary language. On the other hand,

Grigoryev, a sound but unconventional critic, hailed him as greater than Pushkin. Count Aleksyey K. Tolstoy, an ardent Russian but a believer in the superiority of the culture of Kiev over that of Moscow, became his friend and later under his own name and that of his satirical clerk Kozma Prutkov, gave many sly digs at the Muscovite system and the Russian bureaucracy that were quite in the style of Shevchenko. For all this Tsar Nicholas I, who almost executed Dostoyevsky, sent Shevchenko to a prison battalion in Western Asia with a prohibition of writing and painting. That Russia which had flattered Gogol into a condition of near-insanity broke Shevchenko by brute force and then in his later years tried to picture him as a Russian radical. It was all in vain for Shevchenko remained true to the Ukrainian cause and finished his life with the vain hope that some day he might return and live a happy life on the banks of his beloved Dnieper.

Shevchenko became the immortal standard-bearer of the Ukrainian cause with his opposition of Ukraine and Ukrainian culture to Moscow and Russian, of justice to tyranny and of democracy and brotherly love to autocracy. He seemed too bold even for many of his admirers and many Ukrainians were tempted to listen to the siren songs of the Russian intelligentsia with their ideas of a universal order in which Moscow as the Third Rome would be the dominant factor in promoting human brotherhood on the Russian model. Their writings passed unnoticed in Russian literary circles, though they attracted the notice of the police. Yet in their modest way their emphasis upon Ukrainian ethnography and customs kept them independent. Still more the action of Count Valuyev in forbidding the printing of Ukrainian books forced the writers beginning with Kulish, to look to Lviv in Western Ukraine for publication.

It became inevitable that from this time the influence of Vienna and of the Poles grew stronger even in the east. It is highly significant that the young Ivan Franko took up with him to Lviv at his entrance to the university translations of many great European writers but not of a single Russian. Even the Galician Moscovophiles who argued against many of the Ukrainian developments knew little of the Russians or Russian literature and the castigations of Russian society and the Russian system by the Czech Havlicek and the American George Kennan had a deeper effect on the Western Ukrainians than did the Russians whom they knew often in Polish or German translations.

Thus from Western Ukraine came again the possibility of European influences which spread unconsciously to the east. Many politically minded Ukrainians may have been drawn into the sphere of the Russian revolutionary organizations as the only hope of effective action but the literature, thanks to its emphasis on the ethnographical separatism of the

Ukrainians, did not follow them and remained true to the traditions of Shevchenko. The influence of Drahomaniv who first carried the cause of Ukraine abroad since the time of Orlyk in the eighteenth century served to accent this and Ukrainian literature consistently nourished its own ideals of democracy and culture.

It is not without significance that Lesya Ukrainka, the niece of Drahomaniv, commenced her literary work with translations from Heine and then through her short but suffering life brought into Ukrainian literature new interpretations of the great themes of European literature as seen through the eyes of an oppressed people. Little of her work save the *Forest Song* and the *Noble Woman* dealt with Ukrainian themes. They were largely drawn from the ancient world but they were prophetic of the situation at home and of things to come for again they had the flavor of the great European ideals of civilization and of culture. Even Kotsyubinsky, the friend of Gorky, writing at the same period, might treat of political events in the Russian style but such a masterpiece as *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors* reached back into the past of Ukraine with its customs and its superstitions.

So time went on and as the writers of Eastern and of Western Ukraine grew closer together, they reflected no more strongly the Russian influence than had the older writers. The years before World War I when it seemed as if the political boundaries were permanent were discouraging years but they witnessed a new maturing of Ukrainian literature, a new turning away on the part of the educated and thinking classes from the rigid adherence to Russian models.

That explains the growth of Zerov and the Neo-classicists who appeared about the time of the ill-fated Ukrainian National Republic. It explains the early works of Tychyna and Rytsky, who moved along a quite different path from that taken by the Russian symbolists. There was a deeper appreciation of the outside world, a feeling of kinship with Europe, a refreshing lack of the messianism or the complete disillusionment that dogged the footsteps of the Russians.

This does not indicate any lack of patriotic seriousness and fervor. It was a preparation for the restoration of Ukrainianism and though the Ukrainian National Republic perished before the arms of Russian Communism and the lack of understanding by the democracies, the twenties were a golden period in the life of the Ukrainian people and again helped them to find themselves.

Khvylovy, an ardent Communist, was still a Ukrainian. He stood for the independence of literature, of Ukrainian literature from the autocratic orders and missions imposed upon it by the Moscow Kremlin. He sought to strengthen the European influences and in the last years of his life



he came to distrust Russian Communism as he had formerly done the Russian autocracy. Under the old regime silence or Siberia was the answer to daring thinkers, as Shevchenko had learned to his sorrow. Now it was execution or suicide as Khvylowy well knew and he chose the latter course but not until he had made his views thoroughly clear to his own people and to that part of the world which wished to hear and understand. The lesser men like the poets Tychyna and Rylsky who valued life and fame more than honor recanted and by writing poetry on the leadership of the great Stalin and the Communist Party, and by denying their entire past, they have been able to exist but not without periodical public confessions of their mistakes.

For the first time in a century and a half Ukrainian literature at home has been forced to speak with an alien voice but even so it has made no impression on Russian literature. Why should the masters of St. Petersburg, of Leningrad and of Moscow hearken to a message from their inferiors? Soviet Russian works, even on the period of the Civil War, do not recognize the efforts of the Ukrainian Communists. They still condemn any and all Ukrainian authors who may try to be Communist in essence and nationalist in form for even this involves an implied criticism of the elder brother.

It is small wonder that outside of those brave individuals who are serving in the Ukrainian underground, Ukrainian literature has only been able to find its voice among the emigres, the inmates of camps in Western Europe and those who have escaped to safer and more distant shelter. The revival of Ukrainian literature even under these terrible conditions is a miracle of the modern world. It shows that Kotlyarevsky and his associates, that Shevchenko and his friends, that Lesya Ukrainka and the later writers had builded better than they knew. They found the way to the hearts and minds of their people and they encouraged their aspirations. It makes no difference if the uncrowned potentates of the Kremlin order otherwise to their dupes and slaves. Ukrainian literature has had a tradition of democracy, love of the people and of justice. It has drawn in varying degrees upon the literature and the ideas of Christian civilization throughout the ages and it has spoken its own word, humbly and nobly.

Today we can see clearly that whatever may be the relations between Ukrainian and Russian literatures now and in the past, it is Ukrainian that has given to Russian more than it ever received. Ukrainian literature may never have produced a Tolstoy or a Dostoyevsky but it has never been a slavish imitator of Russian and like the other literatures of Western Europe it has taken its stand on the heights of the human spirit and it deserves its place in the independent literatures of the world.

## THE TRANSPORTATION IN UKRAINE IN 1951

by S. Y. PROTSIUK

In looking over the critical surveys of the Soviet economy, — whether general or specialized, — we always return to the one idea that transportation is an especially weak side of the national economy of the USSR. Various authors repeat this idea so insistently that sometimes it is difficult to escape the feeling that they are exaggerating.

We find these expressions in the works of those authors who regularly speak too positively about all other fields of the national economy of the USSR, especially industry, agriculture and energy and assign the the obvious failure or lack of success in the Soviet economy exclusively to the failure of transportation. There have even been attempts to explain the situation in World War II by emphasizing the defects in Soviet transportation and to make these responsible in large part for the unsuccessful operations of the Red Army in 1941-1942.

Such statements are not entirely justified since by or against the will of the authors they cast into the shadow numerous and even more important weak points in other fields. The defects in transportation in the USSR are not greater than those under that government elsewhere. The reason why we hear more frequently of these defects in transportation than in other sectors we believe to be due to the fact that they are especially evident, particularly in regard to the railroads and can be noticed by the entire population which suffers from them directly and therefore remembers them. We understand better the disillusionment and dissatisfaction of the population of the USSR, when we take into account the indifferent attitude typical of the Soviet regime toward the needs of the individual, which produces all the painful gaps in the civilian sector of transportation. The satisfaction of the needs of this *civilian* sector is considered by Moscow as very far behind the needs of transportation of the *military* sector and the *industrial* sector of *all-Union* significance. When we look at the great expanse of the USSR, their recent inhospitable territorial arrangements, and especially the complicated character and artificiality of the territorial arrangement and of mutual connections of the productive centres of the USSR, we must indeed confess, whether we wish or not, that in the last two divisions of transportation, especially in the construction of means of communication in the Asiatic and northern sections of

the USSR the Soviets have made a marked success. It is to be borne in mind that we are speaking only of the definite results of Soviet enterprises and not the methods and means whereby these results have been secured and which we decidedly condemn. Besides this we do not see any successes in the development of transportation in Ukraine, even if we take into consideration the new, post-war plans.

Here we must pause briefly on some of the newest Soviet plans in transportation which concern the economy of Ukraine. We know that the communication net of Ukraine is not uniform. The Western districts and also the Trans-Carpathian area are provided with a relatively thick net of roads and railroads; the net of railroads in the Donbas is also good. But the position of all other districts of Ukraine is much poorer. Only the largest localities are connected by roads and railroad lines; the smaller ones, including even many regional centers must be satisfied with wretched dirt roads. This is even more true in the case of river transportation and aviation. Unfortunately as a result of the Soviet occupation of Ukraine, the program of developing transportation on the Ukrainian area is on one hand delayed in every way and on the other (even if we take into account its expansion), is arranged solely for the specific exploitation of the country by Moscow and the realization of these plans will do more harm to the national economy of Ukraine than it will help it.

Among such measures we must note the construction of the railroad Donbas-Moscow (finished in the second five year plan) and its extension to a two track line. The chief station of this road is Dovzhansk, which is the meeting point of the Donbas roads from the north to the south and from the west to the east.

Of the most recent projects the most significant is the construction of the DonVolga canal. This was planned and is being carried out under the guise of many economic purposes but nothing is said of the main one—the increased exploitation of Ukraine and of the Don and Kuban lands. The Don-Volga canal extends from Kolachen on the Don to Stalin-grad. Its length is 101 km, of which 45 consist of rivers and watercourses and the rest is an artificial ditch. In view of the different levels of the Don and the Volga it has been necessary to pump water from the Don to a height of 44 m. and to build 13 locks in the canal. In the complex of the canal is included the so-called Tsymlyansky hydro-electric plant, i. e. a reservoir for irrigation on the Tsymlyansky river, an area 180 km. long and 30 km. broad, covering 126 billion cubic metres and a hydro-electric plant (160,000 kw.). Soviet sources emphasize its significant value for the irrigation of the Don and Salt steppes but from all the technical data it seems that it will be primarily an artery by which the wealth of Ukraine can be exported much more cheaply. — Proofs of this are:

the chief port of the canal is located where the Northern Donets empties into the Don. This port will be greatly mechanized and will permit the loading of a ship of 4000 tons in a few hours. Usually there is talk of the use of barges for the transportation of Donets coal. To accelerate the stealing of this coal there are being built at the same time (at the Sormovsky factory) barges of special construction several of which can be placed together on one ship. At the head of the Don-Volga canal it is said that hurried reconstruction of the Northern Donets lock system is being carried on so that it will be possible to bring these ships as far as possible into the Donbas. It is interesting to note that in the thirties the administration of the Donets coal trusts (which were then in Kharkiv) along with the hydro-electric research institutes had worked out in detail a plan for the reconstruction of this system, but this plan did not receive the approval of Moscow.<sup>1</sup> The reason was that the plan took into consideration the needs of Ukraine and tended to connect the system of water transportation of the Donets and Don with that of the Dniester. *The present plan, however, separates, so to speak, the eastern districts of Ukraine from the central and connects them arbitrarily and artificially with the system of the Volga.* Through the Don-Volga canal Moscow can easily secure Ukrainian coal, Ukrainian metal, north Caucasian grain and other agricultural products, as well as manganese from Ukraine and the Caucasus. In the reverse direction will travel wood and chemicals and paper. Soviet sources mention also automobiles and tractors which have to be imported into Ukraine as a result of the criminal policy of Moscow, which does not permit the construction of these branches or industry in the Ukrainian lands, although conditions there are especially favorable.

The Soviet press and radio now blare out that a River Fleet is being built for the purpose consisting of new diesel propelled ships, each holding 500 passengers. In the coming future the exploitation of the resources of Ukraine will be greatly increased. The scheme of the Gosplan indicates in the near future the construction of the Dnieper-Oka canal and the Dnieper-Northern Donets-Oka canal, the character of which in view of the nature of the Bolshevik-Moscow regime has the same significance.<sup>2</sup>

All the other projects of the Gosplan in regard to transportation in Ukraine show the same tendencies as that in the scheme of the Don-Volga canal. Thus in 1945-1947 an automobile road was constructed from Kiev to Stalingrad, the route of which went artificially in a south-

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<sup>1</sup> For further details, see the article of Khymnych in the *Ukrainski Visti*, January, 1951.

<sup>2</sup> Khachaturov, T.: Transportation in the period of transition from socialism to communism, *Voprosy Ekonomii*, No. 8, 1951.

east direction and passed near the industrial centres of the Dnieper region and Kharkiv so as to facilitate the securing of Ukrainian metals, building materials and finished machines for the rebuilding of Stalingrad and the securing of the uninterrupted work of its factories. It is known that the Stalingrad industry works exclusively with the iron and steel of the Dnieper region. An even clearer example of exploitation is the automobile road Symferopil—Kharkiv—Moscow which was finished in 1950.

Soviet sources are very silent about those economic projects in the USSR which affect concrete plants and also transportation in Ukraine. Thus we know that the metal factories of Poland receive a great deal of Ukrainian manganese ore and also pig-iron and steel. Similarly the Czechoslovak Republic receives from Ukraine great quantities of iron ore, synthetic rubber and cotton. In the one year of 1950 the Czechoslovak Republic received from Ukraine 1,500,000 tons of iron ore<sup>3</sup>. The transportation of these quantities from the Dnieper area and the Donbas to the west inevitably demanded the improvement of the Donbas—Silesia road, for the communications existing there before the war were not of the best. On the other hand, although work was carried on in the construction of this road, nothing is yet known of the technical details. If it has improved connections between the Donbas and Western Ukraine, this has been, so to speak, a by-product, accidental and outside the will of the initiators of the work.

The conditions of the railroads in Ukraine is especially bad. At the 18th Congress of the Communist Party, it was resolved to pay particular attention to the development of river transportation and aviation. The Soviet institutions and their leaders are cowed by permanent terror and being under psychic fears of deviation, they receive such resolutions timidly, unthinkingly and uncritically; hence there have developed great delays in other forms of transportation. The directives of this party congress mentioned the further extension of railroad transportation basically on the main lines of the USSR, which would involve the total neglect of the net of feeding railroad lines. The locomotives which are now used in Ukraine (types SO, FD and L) are very flimsy in construction, the capacity of the two-axled cars is (because of the weakness of the construction of their frame) extraordinarily low and barely amounts to 16,5 tons, while the weight of the strongly built cars is so great that it hinders the formation of trains of many cars. On the other hand the greatest damage to the roads is done by the weak rails (of the type of the P-43, Ia). Employing fast locomotives and increasing the capacity of the cars, in view of the poor condition of the rails which are not suited to great

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<sup>3</sup>*The Times Review of Industry*, 1950, p. 83.

speeds or heavy trains, the losses through the excessive and premature deterioration of the rails will be more than normal in favorable conditions. Therefore a sensible prerequisite for increasing the speed of the trains (which is far lower than that of the Western European countries, even 30-50% according to Soviet data) is the rebuilding of a great part of the lines, and this involves not only the use of more resistant rails (of type 50-65 kg./m) but often such an expensive measure as an increase in the radius of the curves of the given line. So the modernization of the railroads in Ukraine is proceeding at a snail's pace and will not be accomplished in the near future.

An unchangeable idea in the modernization of the railroads is also the electrification of the lines. On the other hand from 1943 to 1951 in Ukraine only a few short lines in the neighborhood of Krivy Rih were electrified. In 1947 there was a great deal of talk of the electrification of the Kiev net; its execution, thanks to the "protection" of Moscow was blown away with the breezes exactly as was building of a "metro" in Kiev. At the same time the partial electrification of the railroads is a necessity in Ukraine, since the locomotives use more than 30% of all the valuable coal produced in Ukraine (while the percentage of the efficiency of the coal used in the locomotives is at best 72% and 28% is lost without recourse). By using electrified lines, this lost supply can be utilized and it is also profitable because the weight of the trains can be increased (under certain favorable conditions the weight of a train reaches 45,000 tons); also the quantity of electric locomotives needed is less than the number of locomotives now needed. Unfortunately the electric locomotives now used in Ukraine (VI.-22, 0-3+3-0) which have been constructed by the Soviets since the war seem too weak. The indifferent attitude of Moscow to the question of the electrification of the Ukrainian railroads is shown by the fact that even its execution is not found in any of the long range plans of Moscow, although at the same time there is talk of the electrification of the lines which link Moscow with Ukraine and the Volga (the local Moscow net is now completely electrified). A special problem of transportation in Ukraine is the loading in stations and ports, and also the automatic signaling; both are not on the necessary level. Still worse is the situation in the rationalization of the long lines. The basic object is to reduce to a minimum unnecessary transportation and to arrange the securing of raw material and the delivery of the finished products so that the transportation should be as brief as possible. At the same time we see concrete evidence of senseless transportation over long distances such as when the Main Ministry of Sugar Industry in Kharkiv sends sugar from the district of Vinnytsia to Leningrad and then from the Baltic area to Stalino, or let

us say, potatoes through the Donbas to the Caucasus.<sup>4</sup> The newly built hydro-electric net of Kakhivka received pneumatic hammers from Alma-Ata and Stalingrad, transformers from Baku, bulldozers from Sverdlovsk,<sup>5</sup> although these objects were turned out in some factories of Ukraine, which again paradoxically were compelled to send their products to Moscow and the Urals. We know also that the Ministry of the Lumber Industry in Moscow in 1951 assigned for Ukraine lumber from the Urals and for Moldavia from a greater distance, — the neighborhood of Archangel. Such unthinking arrangements bring their own reward, among others, in that the amount of the transportation costs on the goods sold in Ukraine in the state trading establishments in sale prices is on the average more than 20%.

Recently the situation has become much worse as was said by I. Maltsev, director of the division of transportation in the Obkom of the KP(b)U in Stalino<sup>6</sup>. From his words we see not only the wretched conditions of the railroad in Ukraine but also the increased exploitation of Ukrainian metal and coal. Maltsev describes the condition of two important railroads in Ukraine, the Northern Donets and the Southern Donets. First of all he confirms the great excess of loading over unloading in the Donbas. Of course, as an appointee of the Kremlin, he is disturbed by the great lack of empty cars, to which he attributes the failure to arrange to send more carloads of Donets coal to the central Russian districts. We are also struck by the disproportionately great excess of trains sent out over trains arriving, a situation that is an incontrovertible confirmation of the robbery of the Donbas by Moscow and a direct denial of the propagandistic and loud statements of the Kremlin that the Donbas receives outstanding help in view of production of the Russian factories.

The second fact (which we have already mentioned in other articles) shows that the Soviet authorities are disturbed to-day only by the condition of those *railroads, by means of which Russia drains off the wealth of Ukraine*. The railroads of importance to Ukraine are more neglected. Thus in 1949 a plan was worked out to improve the technology of the net of communications of Sartan, the coal centre of the Donbas (Volnovakhsy section) and the feeding lines of the factory, Oziystal. The plan was to be carried out with the local railroad supplies and to hasten the return of the cars; but the Ministry in Moscow has held up its approval for three years.

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<sup>4</sup> *Pravda*, No. 77, of March 18, 1949.

<sup>5</sup> *Pravda*, No. 264 of September 21, 1951.

<sup>6</sup> *Pravda*, July 18, 1951.

In analyzing the situation of transportation in Ukraine we can also see, as we have said, the nightmare-like exploitation of the Donbas and the other regions. Soviet statistics confirm that the use of Donets coal has doubled in the so-called Volga districts (the regions between the Volga and the Urals) in 1950 as compared with 1940. More than that, in its robbery of Ukraine, Moscow is moving Donets coal even into those areas which should use the coal of the Kuznetsk or Karaganda basins. We need only mention that in 1950 the Orenburg railroad, 1,000 kilometres from Donbas, used Donets coal.<sup>7</sup>

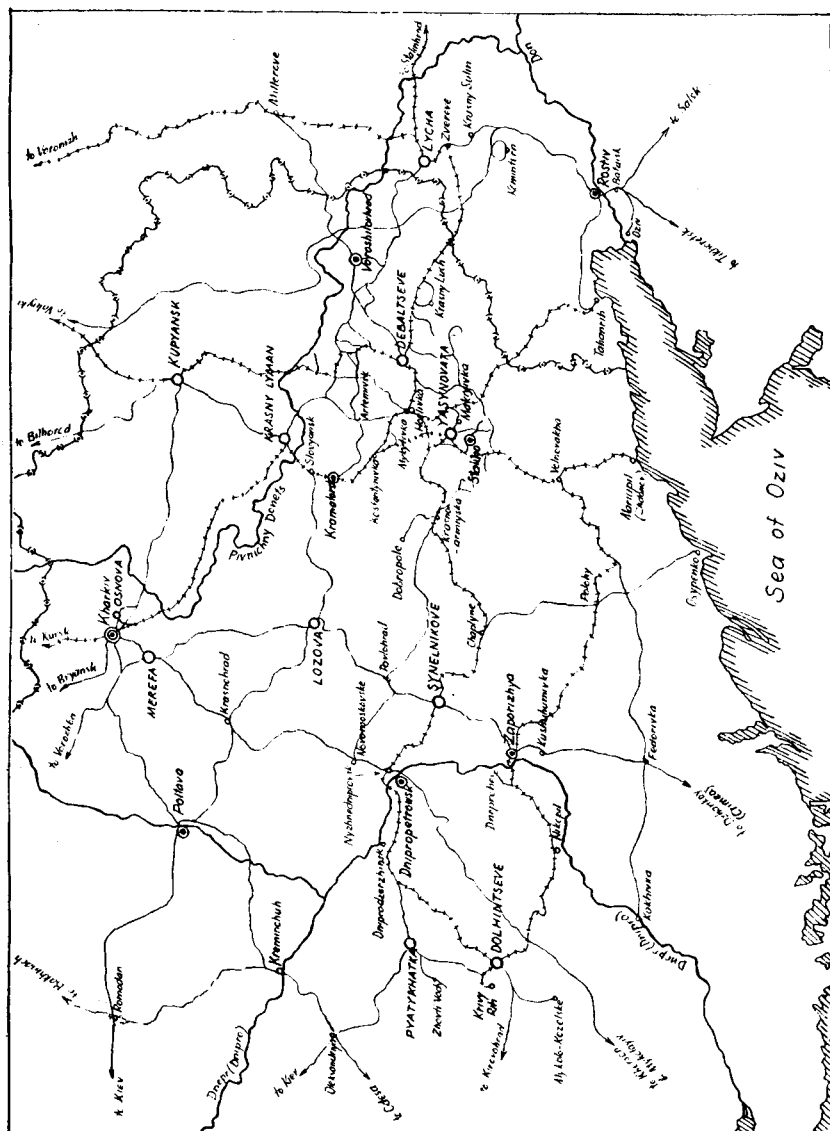
If, thanks to the abnormal and artificial development of the coal area near Moscow, there came in 1950-51 some reduction in the needs for the colossal amount of Donets coal for the central Russian districts, Moscow has been able to send increased supplies of Donets coal across the Volga (although this is very inconvenient and expensive), so as not to leave it at the disposal of or for the benefit of industry in Ukraine. On the other hand, they have to a certain degree fostered the supply of metal from the Urals to the central Russian factories and have replaced it steadily with new deliveries from Ukraine. Thanks to the fact that the metallurgical industry in Ukraine is in a colonial position, the production of raw iron noticeably exceeds the manufacturing capacities of the local Valtsovalky and Livarno-Lovalev factory groups and they bring to Ukraine as a paradox, iron from the Urals. In other words instead of fabricating the Ukrainian iron directly in Ukraine they carry it in a semi-finished condition and bring the finished products from Russia, while the Ukrainian pig-iron and ingots are carried off for fabrication in Russian factories.

The same can be said about the transportation of the various kinds of steel from the Centre and the Urals to Ukraine; the reason is that Moscow does not permit the fabrication of high quality steel in Ukraine and has allowed the steel factories there to make only a few of the simpler kinds. This is because the principle of Moscow in the past and present is to consider not the profit and the economic value but the political-imperialistic motives. It is not strange then that at the time when Moscow is working for cheaper modes of transportation (especially by water) from Ukraine to Russia, the roads and modes of transportation necessary for the improvement of the industrial position of Ukraine are in a bad way. For example, without paying attention to the great use of liquid fuel in Ukraine, there is no chain of pipelines for petroleum just as there are no refineries and cracking plants adapted to the needs of industry. Even the State Plan has recognized these defects as harmful for the national economy not only of the UkSSR but of the whole USSR

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<sup>7</sup> *Planned Economy*, No. 3-4, 1951.





RAILROADS OF DONBAS—KRIVY RIH AREA IN UKRAINE  
 Legend: Large Industrial Centres (dotted circles). Most important junctions (circles). Extremely heavy freight traffic lines (crossed lines).

Remarks: 1) The main function of trunk lines Krasny Lyman-Osnova-Kursk, Debaltseve-Kupiansk-Valuyki and Lycha-Millerove-Voronizh is to handle the freight of Ukrainian coal, iron and steel to Moscow region. 2) The outlet route Kharkiv-Voroshba was build to increase the exploitation of Donbas for needs of Leningrad industrial area. — 3) Fedorivka-Kakhivka line was completed on Feb. 10, 1952.

and has worked out an appropriate plan for remedying them but the party workers are in no hurry to carry out this project.

Sometimes we read the ideas of some Soviet technicians who point out the defects in the transportation in the UkSSR and indicate ways by which these defects could be eliminated or reduced. One of the favorite ways which is often mentioned in economic outlines, publications and special technical journals and with which we can fully agree is to plan for the construction of industrial enterprises in regions as close as possible to the centres of raw material, which they are to use, especially when they use it in enormous quantities. Unfortunately the practice of daily life shows in the USSR something else and no attention is paid to the opinions of the experts but everything is done for a political purpose, even when the result is contrary to common sense.

When we speak of transportation, we at once touch the question of light automobiles in the USSR for these play a great role in passenger transportation everywhere in the world and in such countries as the United States, Canada and Australia, they furnish the basic and principal mode of passenger transportation. It is not possible to avoid this question because Soviet propaganda is constantly producing data on the number of miners in the Donbas or workers in the Dnieper area who have secured automobiles of their own.

It is true that very recently the manufacture of light automobiles in the USSR has greatly increased. The automobile factories of the USSR are putting out such types as ZIS-110, Victory, Muscovite and ZIM. The ZIS-110 is a copy of the 1940 Packard with a 140 hp. motor 3,600 revolutions a minute. This machine is used only for purposes of show and for high Soviet officials. The average citizen cannot even dream of buying one. The automobile Muscovite is a copy of the German Opel-Cadett model of 1939. In 1945 the USSR secured as reparations a complete set of the plants in German factories of the Opel etc. They then commenced the production of the Muscovite. The Victory has an adapted American motor Continental F 4140. The newest car ZIM of 1951 (the Molotov factory, Gorky) is more independent. It has a 95 h. p. motor, 3,600 revolutions per minute; but this model is still to be purchased only by important people; the average citizen has only one way of securing it: to secure a sufficiently important place in the Soviet hierarchy for which the ZIM is allotted. Practically in 1949-1951 there were in use in the USSR only two types, the Muscovite and the Victory. When we look at the cost of these machines, we see that even when they are available it is not easy to buy them. The Muscovite cost in 1949 9,000 rub. and the Victory 16,000; in 1951 the prices were reduced to 8,000 and 12,000 but when we remember that the Soviet worker

receives the average monthly pay of 620 rub., he would have to work 12 months to earn enough to pay for the cheapest automobiles, without taking into account the wretched possibilities for saving in the USSR. Besides the production of light automobiles is extraordinary low. The plan for 1950 called for the production of 72,000 cars, but according to another summary of the State Plan the production in 1950 was to be 141% of that in 1949, which would give scarcely 28,200 in 1950.<sup>8</sup> We cannot then be surprised that the citizen of the USSR who has the 8,000 or 12,000 rub. must usually go to the ruling Moscow to buy an automobile. As to the Soviet "records" the fact speaks for itself that one of the largest automobile salesrooms in Moscow (and there is nothing like it anywhere else in the USSR) sold in 1951 "up to" 15-18 cars a day.<sup>9</sup> It is very intelligible that in his last speech in commemoration of the anniversary of the October Revolution, on November 7, 1951, Lavrenty Beria, despite his exceptionally arrogant boasting on the Soviet successes did not say a word about their achievements in automobiles. The difficulties of purchasing automobiles in the USSR is very complicated by the fact (naturally not published at home) that Moscow in its search for foreign currency to buy certain raw materials and chemicals which in spite of their efforts the USSR cannot produce, tries to export automobiles at prices below the cost of production. Thus the Muscovite cost in 1951 in Brussels, Belgium 980 American dollars and in Buenos Aires only 840 American dollars. The price of the Muscovite is especially low in the countries of South America (despite the great cost of shipping the automobiles from the place of production to such distant places). This is connected with the efforts of the Kremlin to profit by the unwillingness of some of these countries to import from the United States. Both cases are typical examples of Soviet "dumping".

However not all difficulties and troubles are over for the person who has "happily" been able to buy a machine. The bad condition of the roads<sup>10</sup> the painful lack of spare parts, the great difficulties in securing gas and oil and their frequently poor quality, are the reason why countless owners of automobile in Ukraine rarely are able to make full use of their machines. This is even true in such a great industrial centre

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<sup>8</sup> For comparison the United States in 1950 produced 6,672,700 cars. The production of light cars in the USA is 5 times more than of trucks but in the USSR the production of trucks is 5 times that of light cars. English sources give 63,500 according to the 1950 plan. *The Economist*, Nov. 17, 1950.

<sup>9</sup> A report from the Susliny store on the Moscow radio.

<sup>10</sup> The most recent type of Soviet automobile (ZIM, 1951) has on a paved road an average speed of 36-42 miles per hour but on a mountain road only 24 miles per hour.

as Stalino. At the beginning of 1950 there was only one store in Stalino which could vulcanize tires. During the summer of that year that closed and the owners of automobiles had to seek out with difficulty the individual acquaintance of workers willing to help them. These workers were from vulcanizing factories (of course their help was illegal). In 1951 not only in the city of Stalino but in the entire district there was no automobile repair shop which could repair cars for citizens; the shops worked exclusively on state business. If any one wanted and could repair his own automobile, it was still hard to do for it was impossible to buy the necessary tools in Stalino. We must not forget that this district as part of the Donbas is one of the privileged regions of the USSR (from the point of view of supply) and this shows what the situation was in other parts of Ukraine.

At the same time the question of local suburban transportation in the Donbas is very serious, and because of its lack of development the population suffers great hardships and loses much time. The example of Horlivka is to the point. In 1949 attention was drawn to the wretched tramway system in the city, even the newspapers wrote about it.<sup>11</sup> The party workers also planned to make certain changes aimed to correct the situation. It might be thought that the situation would then change for the better but two years later in 1951 we have a description of the same disordered conditions as in 1949<sup>12</sup>. This illustrates well the care of Moscow for the lot and position of the industrial workmen.

This illustrates the present condition of transportation in Ukraine in certain selected divisions. The situation is cheerless and not subject to rapid improvements. The defects are not so much the result of the weak conditions of transportation as of the perversion, the local unutilized specialties, which have been brought about because of the one-sided, narrowly non-objective employment of the possibilities exclusively to increase the exporting power. Let us emphasize again that the widening of the communications net in Ukraine (which we have noticed in some fields, especially in the establishment of air connections between the larger cities of Ukraine) is not motivated by the actual needs of the Ukrainian economy, but by the specific purposes of the Kremlin. Lviv and Odesa, for example, have recently been made centres for aviation of prime importance only because their airfields are starting points or important junctions for air contact between Moscow and the capitals and important centres of the satellite states and Eastern Germany. The Ukrainian work-

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<sup>11</sup> E. g. *Izvestia*, No. 152 of June 30, 1949. For a criticism see the article "Labor Conditions in the Metallurgical Industry" of Ukraine," *Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. I., pp. 38-48.

<sup>12</sup> *Izvestia*, of July 21, 1951.

men and villagers and even the intelligentsia receive no benefit from the creation of this air net just as they receive none from the Kiev-Stalingrad automobile road or the various "blue expresses" which dash along the Donbas railroad lines from Leningrad to Moscow to the Black Sea and Crimean resorts. The workmen of the industrial districts of Ukraine are compelled to arise before sunrise to be able to board a train which requires hours to reach their place of work. The villagers still must walk several kilometres to reach the railroad station where they have to remain for whole days, waiting for the arrival of a train.<sup>13</sup> When there is talk of airplanes, there is not in Ukraine a single person who does not know that they appear in especially large numbers at the Ukrainian air-fields only at the time of the harvest of the early vegetables and especially fruits to take them rapidly to insatiable Moscow as gift from "the younger brother." They return to Ukraine with the matrices of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* for the Kievan printing houses and that is all. The only improvements in transportation in Ukraine are those which Moscow specifically approves and these are in fact unnecessary plans to quiet the chief needs of the population of Ukraine. To overcome these defects, it is necessary first of all to remove the cause which have created the present abnormal condition in Ukrainian transportation, and that is the liquidation of the Muscovite occupation of Ukraine.

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#### NO RED INK

A fact-finder promised to write from Russia his true impressions of the country in the blue ink. If he wrote in red, the friend had to believe the opposite of what he wrote. When it came, the letter said: "Everything is fine in Russia, only I cannot get red ink here."

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<sup>13</sup> In 1946-47 it was possible to read in the Soviet Ukrainian papers descriptions of the painful conditions of travel in Ukraine and the sharpening of the travel in 1947. As a whole these descriptions disappeared at once.

## THE CRIMEAN TATARS—ANNIHILATION OR SURVIVAL

(Remarks on the book of Edige Kirimal: *Der nationale Kampf der Krim-tuerken mit besonderer Beruecksichtigung der Jahre 1917-1918,*" Verlag Lechte, Emsdetten, Westf., 1952).

by NICHOLAS POPPE

This book by Dr. Kirimal, a native of the Crimea, is an important contribution to historical science. It contains carefully collected data on the tragic fate of the Turkic population of the Crimea. It gives a thorough description of the events of the second half of the 19th century, but its main subject is the national struggle of the Crimean Tatars for their liberation from Russian domination during the revolution and the civil war in 1917—1918, and the Soviet period. This book raises many problems which are still important, though the Crimean Tatars, as a compact ethnic group, no longer exist. The developments in the Crimea reflect, like a mirror, the complicated situation resulting from the policy of both the Tsarist and Communist governments toward the non-Russian peoples, the struggle of the latter for their liberation, and the mutual relations of the non-Russian peoples. What has happened in the Crimea since 1917 is, *mutatis mutandis*, the same as in all the non-Russian areas of the USSR. Therefore, justification or condemnation of the national policies of the Russian regimes or of the attitude of the natives toward their masters are problems of general significance, extending far beyond the borders of that small area which is the Crimean peninsula.

World War II resulted in the annihilation of several ethnic groups in the USSR, namely the Kalmucks, Karachai, Balkars, Ingushes, Chechens, the Germans of the Volga region, and the Crimean Tatar population. Their expulsion from their homelands and deportation to areas behind the Urals were declared punitive measures for alleged collaboration with the Nazi Germans. However, genocide began in the USSR long before the outbreak of the war or collaboration with foreign powers. Let us mention here the expulsion of the Finns from the northern districts of the Lenin-grad region and the deportation of the Greeks from the Crimea and the Caucasus as early as 1935-1936. We may add the mass deportation from the Baltic republics immediately after their annexation in 1940, when war had not started yet in the USSR. The Turks of the Crimea have also

been victims of World War II. Before we proceed further we should, however, explain the term "Turks."

The Turks of Asia Minor, Turkey, formerly part of the Ottoman Empire, belong to a large group of Turkic peoples. Turkic is not identical with Turkish. While "Turkish" pertains to Turkey only, "Turkic" refers to all the peoples speaking the so-called Turkic languages, i. e. Azerbaijani, Uzbek, Turkmen, Kazakh, Volga Tatar, Altai Turkic, Yakut, etc. The Turkic peoples are called in Russian "Tyurki", while the Turks of Turkey are generally known as "Turki." In a word "Turkic" is a scientific term with a much broader meaning than "Turkish," because "Turkic" comprises, among others, also everything Turkish.

The Turkic population of the Crimea was never homogeneous. The South of the Crimean peninsula was populated by natives not differing in their language and customs from the Turks of Turkey. Only a small group of these remained in the Crimea after the annexation by Russia in the 18th century, because the majority of them returned to Turkey. Another group are the so called Crimean Tatars who constituted the largest group of the Turkic population in that area. The northern part of the Crimea was inhabited by the Ukrainians and by the Nogai, another Turkic tribe. Both the South Crimean Turks and the Tatars were Moslems. There were also two smaller groups, the so-called Krimchaki and Karaims. These two groups were by religion Jewish. The Krimchaks were destroyed by the Germans under the Nazi racial policies (cf. R. Loewenthal: "The Extinction of the Krimchaks in World War II, *The American Slavic and East European Review*, Vol. X., p. 130 ff.).

When the Crimea was annexed by Russia in 1783 the Turkic population was deprived of all its fundamental rights. Russia has often been called a prison of peoples, and under the Soviets it has become a cemetery for many of them. It is obvious that the oppressed nationalities fought desperately for their survival. Sometimes their struggle was admired by the free world, and when the Finns and Poles during World War I fought on the German side against Tsarist Russia, their participation in the war was not called collaboration, and Marshal Pilsudski, a former Russian subject, was not labelled as a Quisling. When, on the other hand, the oppressed nationalities, the Ukrainians, Crimeans, Kalmucks, the Caucasians, and Turkestanians rose against the Soviets during World War II, their struggle was labelled as collaboration with the Germans and the peoples concerned were declared war criminals. The reason for the struggle of the non-Russian nationalities against the Soviet are often misunderstood by the outer world and, therefore, we think Dr. Kirimal's book renders a great service not only to his native people, the Crimeans, but also to all the non-Russian nationalities of the USSR.

The history of the Turkic natives of the Crimea is sad. The first expulsion of the Moslems from the Crimea took place in 1785, soon after the Russian conquest. In this connection we may point out that deportation and expulsion have always been a part of Russian policy toward their national minorities. When Russia conquered the Caucasus in the 19th century, the first natives expelled were the Circassians. Two hundred thousand emigrated to Turkey where they still live, while the present population of the Circassian region in the Northern Caucasus does not exceed 80 thousand. Various groups of Caucasians were ordered to leave their homes in the mountains and settle down in the plains where they could be more easily watched. The exodus of the Circassians was not a unique event in the history of Russia. In 1771 all the Kalmucks, a Mongolian people, living on the left bank of the Volga River, abandoned that area and fled to Central Asia, because the oppression by the Russian authorities was unbearable. The right bank Kalmucks remained and their descendents were deported by the Soviets in 1943 except those who escaped to Yugoslavia.

It is obvious that the Crimean Tatars had no reasons to be satisfied with their position or to have a friendly attitude toward Moscow. The Soviets have created the myth about the Stalinist friendship of all the peoples of the USSR, going far back in history. According to this myth there was a solidarity of all the peoples of the USSR. The non-Russian peoples always loved and admired the Great Russian people and the latter was always the best friend and defender of all the non-Russian nationalities in Russia. It was only the ruling class and the Tsarist government who oppressed all the nationalities and, therefore, were hated by the latter, — preaches the Russian myth. In reality the Tatars in the Crimea hated all the Russians as much as the Caucasians or Turkestanians did, because it was the Russian peasants who came and took the best lands from the natives.

The national self-consciousness of the Crimean Tatars awoke in the second half of the 19th century and was shaped by Ismail Gaspirali, an outstanding writer, thinker, and political leader. He was not a narrow-minded local nationalist, but he thought in terms of Islam in general. He was responsible for a school reform and was the first promoter of the idea of the unity of all the Turkic peoples. This explains why he was an odious person to both the Tsarist and, posthumously, to the Soviet government, because nationalism and separatism are enemies common to all the Russian regimes. Gaspirali (in Russian Gasprinski) was a Pan-Turkist and Pan-Islamist. The Soviets label all the nationalists and particularly the Pan-Turkists as foreign agents, especially of the "Anglo-American imperialists." It is striking, however, that this Soviet method of discredit-



ing their political and national adversaries is not new and has not been invented by the communists. When several years before the revolution of 1917 the Tsarist police learned of the existence of illegal political groups among the Crimean Tatars, Turkish agents were made responsible for their activities (Kirimal, p. 29). Later on, when in the late 1920's the surviving members of the Crimean nationalist party Millij Firka were liquidated the old tommy-rot about foreign agents (this time British) was dragged out from the drawer. An amazing lack of imagination!

Did the Crimean Tatars have allies in their struggle against national oppressions? What were their relations to their non-Russian neighbors and fellow sufferers? These questions are more important than one might believe. Suppose the old dream of many nationalities comes true and a new order is created in Russia. Are the Crimeans able to obtain their full independence being even after their return from exile a minority group among the Crimean multinational population?

Contrary to Dr. Kirimal who disagrees with the pessimistic conclusion of Berthold Spuler ("Die Krim unter russischer Herrschaft," *Blick in die Wissenschaft*, 1948, p. 363) that in consequence of the deportation of the Tatars their history has arrived at its end (Kirimal, p. 329), we are afraid that Spuler can be right. Therefore, it is absolutely unrealistic to make speculations about the future of the Crimea. But suppose there are still many Tatars in the Crimea, as before World War II the Soviet census of 1928 figured the number of the Tatar population at 25% of the whole 700,000 Crimean inhabitants, what then?

When Tsarist Russia in 1917 broke down, Crimea tried to establish at first her autonomy and later her independence. Very soon a conflict with Ukraine arose which showed that the latter was, for its own security reasons, deeply interested in the Crimea, because the most important sea ports of the Black Sea, as Sevastopol are there, if for no other reasons. There are now no Tatars in the Crimea any longer and even if all the emigrants from the Crimea and those few surviving deportees return to their homeland, the Crimea will obviously have a very scanty Turkic population economically entirely dependent upon the Ukrainian mainland.

The example of the Crimea is nevertheless important: a similar situation can be observed elsewhere and the struggle of many nationalities in the USSR for liberation is a combination of a struggle against communism, a struggle against the Russian imperialism, and a competition of the non-Russians among themselves.

The last chance of the Crimean natives to liberate themselves from the communist domination came during World War II. When the German troops occupied the Crimea there was no time to deliberate. Communism was temporarily defeated. But did freedom come? Did cooperation with

Germany pay? Dr. Kirimal shows that the German occupation brought only new hardships (p. 316). It is beyond doubt that National Socialist Germany would never have recognized the independence of the Crimea. The Crimea would have been transformed into a German stronghold for the domination of the Near East.

Though the creation of a Crimean National Committee was permitted by Rosenberg on March 17, 1945 (Kirimal, p. 321), we do not believe that Germany would have offered to the Tatars of Crimea any sort of autonomy. Hitler's Germany had its own plans concerning East Europe. At the same time the attitude of the Crimean natives toward General Vlasov, the leader of the anti-communist Russians, was also negative, because of the deep distrust and fear that he would establish a united non-communist Russia (Kirimal, pp. 319 ff.). The Crimean Tatars were supported in their anti-Vlasov attitude by Rosenberg's "Ost-Ministerium" which started negotiations with the German Foreign Office, concerning the recognition of the Crimean Committee as a diplomatic representative of the people of Crimea (p. 322), but it was very far to independence. In this connection may we point out that a struggle for national liberation, conducted with the help of a foreign power, especially such as Hitler's Germany, was a utopia. It is also more than doubtful that such a struggle can be successful while carried on with no allies among the peoples of the USSR. Crimea is geographically and economically so closely connected with Ukraine that the future life of the Crimean Tatars eventually after their return from exile, can be established only as an autonomous unit connected with the independent democratic Ukrainian Republic.

Hitler's regime broke down, Vlasov died on the gallows, the Crimean natives were deported, and most of them died. Crimea is inhabited by people brought from other parts of Russia. It is a reality of today, but the valuable book of Dr. Kirimal, we hope, will teach the peoples of the USSR a better and wiser way of selecting allies and making friends among themselves with the aim of creating an order under which all of them will be able to live and let the others live in a dignified manner.

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## UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND PUBLICATIONS IN USSR

1945 — 1951

*by* LEV SHANKOVSKY

No one who has had a chance to be behind the iron curtain has failed to report unrest in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic but some under Russian emigre or Communist influence have declared that it is unorganized, sporadic and unimportant. The best answer to this are the publications which have appeared against the Soviet regime in Ukraine and which have been brought to the West chiefly by the armed detachments of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which have cut their way to the American Zone in Germany and Austria, only to be met with impartial justice or a stony silence from a government and press dominated by Russian emigres (White or Red) and American Russophiles.

A considerable amount of this Ukrainian underground literature is in the West and it has been collected in two centres at least — in New York in the archives of the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and in Munich in the archives of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O. U. N.) and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A. B. N.).

The authenticity of these publications is undoubted. The best proof of their authentic character is the fact that they have been brought from Ukraine by soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (the U. P. A.), who under arms have fought their way to the West, under the orders of their Commander during the more than five years since 1947. At the present time there are in the West and on the American continent more than 500 officers and soldiers of the U.P.A. who have cut their way under arms from Ukraine to the West and laid down their weapons before the American military authorities in Germany or Austria. The last groups arrived only recently. Among the soldiers who came through 5 per cent were girls.

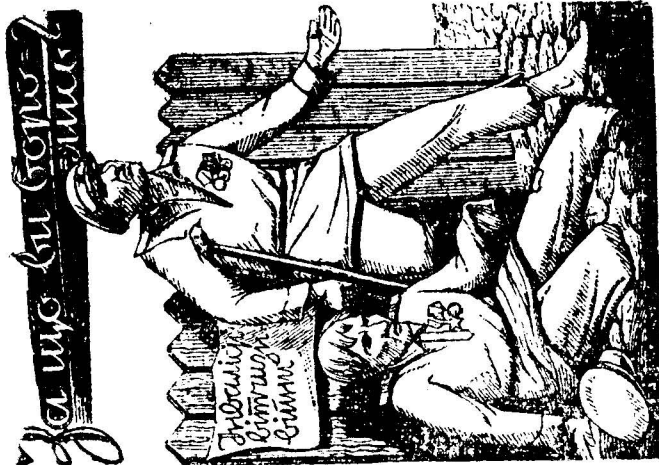
At the risk of their lives they have brought these out and there have been cases when the soldiers threw away their possessions and even food in tight spots but have kept their knapsacks with underground publications and pictures. In handing themselves over to the American constabulary, they have often evoked the surprise of the latter because

they were carrying in their knapsacks what seemed a mass of useless papers. But a closer examination of these papers by the American officers revealed that these papers were needed for "studies" and they were very often not returned, for their contents seemed so important that the papers were sent on for more detailed study. Little information on these arrivals has been given out by the American government.

The proof of the authenticity of these Ukrainian underground publications is not confined to the fact that they were brought to the West by soldiers of the U.P.A. or underground revolutionists. We wish to emphasize that the slightest glance at them would convince the greatest sceptic that they were actually printed in Ukraine. Thus the paper, on which they are printed is typical for Soviet conditions. It is gray or grayish brown, a very typical Soviet unsized paper sometimes with the watermarks of the "Cigarette Paper Factory" in Ternopil, or packing paper with pentagonal watermarks. Very often the paper has been taken from Soviet blankbooks with various rulings and there has been left the binding on which was printed the prize of the blankbook (10 kopecks) and the name of the Soviet factory as "Hero of Labor" and the place: "City of Dobrush, BSSR" (Byelorussian SSR). In other cases, there has been used paper from Soviet school blankbooks with the typical lines which are used for the teaching of writing. In another case the paper was grayish-yellow of the type used in printing Soviet textbooks.

The types used in these underground printing plants is a further proof of their authenticity. The usual form is the "Petit" and sometimes the "Garmond" typical of the Soviet work. Sometimes they are printed in various forms of type and many have been set up in different printing plants. Sometimes the types have been carved out of wood and these are called the "insurgent Guttenberg." Sometimes the entire page is carved out of wood and this gives a very definite character to the work. At other times some have been printed with the type that was used when Western Ukraine was still under Austria. The types which were then used for school books had marked accents so that the child could learn a word with the correct accent which was shown in the work. Such types which were typical for the Zhovkiv printing plant of the Basilian Fathers were not used later but they are now in the underground printing establishments.

By no means all these publications have been printed. Some have been manifolded or directly written on a typewriter. It is a characteristic feature of these that they have been very carefully executed and corrected so as to have a fine graphic appearance. The ornamentations have been carefully and artistically executed on the machine and very often the hand drawings and the sketches show that they could only have



...Не за Україну,  
А за її ката довелось пролити  
Кров добру — не чорну; довелось  
запити  
З московської чаші московську  
отруту".

(Т. Шевченко. „Кавказ“).

# УКРАЇНЦІ — ІНВАЛІДИ бувши учасники т. зв. „Вітчизняної війни“.

Сталін, загнавши Вас силоміць на фронт, непо-  
сильним терором змушував Вас проливати кров за  
ворожі Вам і всьому людству інтереси. Більшовиць-  
кі імперіалісти використовували Вас, як знаряддя  
для поневолення наших країн і народів.

За що Ви боролись?

Не за те Ви проливали Вашу кров, щоб далі бути  
голодними, босими та простягати руку за шматком  
хліба. На кожному кроці зриваєте сталінські плани,  
домагайтесь покращення побутово-матеріальних умов  
Вашого життя!

**СМЕРТЬ СТАЛІНСЬКО-БІЛЬШОВИЦЬКИМ ІМПЕ-  
РІАЛІСТАМ!**

**ХАЙ ЖИВЕ НАЦІОНАЛЬНО-ВИЗВОЛЬНА ВО-  
РОТЬБА ВСЬОГО УКРАЇНСЬКОГО НАРОДУ!**

**ХАЙ ЖИВЕ ВОЛЯ НАРОДАМ І ЛЮДИНІ!**

**ХАЙ ЖИВЕ УКРАЇНСЬКА САМОСТІЙНА СО-  
БОРНА ДЕРЖАВА!**

**Українські Повстанці**

been made in an insurgent bunker, an underground hiding place where the producers had the time to work out the general appearance of the piece. So it can be said that the *Povstansky Styah* (The Insurgent Flag), the underground songbook of the U. P. A. is one of the finest underground publications. It contains the texts of hundreds of songs sung by the Ukrainian insurgents, the staff for the notes was typed and the notes were then inserted with chemical pencil. In Volyn in 1947 500 copies of this book were thus made! How is it possible to question such a work as the *Lists of fallen Heroes of the Ukrainian Revolution*.

Take the *List of the Fallen Heroes of the Ukrainian Revolution from the Ternopil District*. This includes three volumes. The first volume contains the list of those fallen from the Velyko-Borkivsky, Mykulynetsky, Kozlivsky, Zborivsky, Zalozhtsivsky and Velyko-Hlibochotsky regions arranged in the following form: A. Those from Ternopil who died there; B. Those from Ternopil who died outside of the Ternopil district, and C. Those from outside who died in the Ternopil district. On the 158 pages, size 7 1/2 x 11 inches, there have been given in typewriting short biographies of the men and women revolutionists who perished from 13.3, 1944 to 31. 12, 1948. The lists include in A. 565 persons, in B. 83 persons and in C. 84. In addition there is an alphabetical list of the fallen for ease in finding the names. The edition was made on stout paper of a violet color and the subtitle page bears the inscription: "You will secure a Ukrainian State or perish in the struggle for it." Then comes an article on the struggle of the Ukrainian insurgents in the Ternopil districts and the heroic acts in the struggle. In this book on page 31, we read among others of a native of the United States who laid down his brave head for Ukraine in the ranks of the U. P. A.:

80. Shumeyko, Mykhaylo—"Siry, Kopchyk, Bohdan" (units), born in 1919 in the USA, in New York. As a small child he came with his parents to Ukraine and lived in the village of Lysychyntsi, Novosilsky region, district of Ternopil. There he finished 5 classes of the grammar school and worked on the land of his parents. He belonged to all cultural-educational societies and took an active part in their work. In 1941 he became a member of the OUN and in 1943 entered the detachment of the UPA under captain "Rubacha". Military rank bulavny (sergeant), assignment chotovy (platoon leader). He took part in many battles with the German-Hitler and Moscow-Bolshevik occupying forces. For his wounds he was decorated with a silver star... 7. 1. 1948 he perished in battle with the Bolsheviks in the village of Dvorishchya, Mykulynetsky region.

Among these publications of a documentary nature which show the authenticity of the underground publications can be included: *Book of the Military Actions* of various units of the UPA (as for example *The Chronicle* of the "Vovkiv" unit of the UPA, or *Books of the Acts of Enemy Terror*, which methodically illustrate the acts of enemy terror on the Ukrainian population. Here is an extract from this work:

31. I. 1946 in the village of Ispas, region of Kolomya, the Bolsheviks captured 3 nurses of the UPA and 2 sick insurgents. Insurgent Khmil and nurse Varka at once told the Bolsheviks that they would reveal nothing about the underground. The Bolsheviks shot them on the spot. The others were taken to the barracks of the garrison for examination. During this the nurses revealed nothing. The Bolsheviks tortured them brutally; with a heavy rod they broke their arms and ribs and then shot them. They were shot by Senior Lieut. Leshchov, the chief of the Kolomya NKGB. He took the nurses in front of the windows of the houses of their parents (they were from the same village). Before shooting, he asked the girls if they knew for what they were dying: "We are dying for an Independent Ukraine." After this the girls were shot before the eyes of their parents. The bodies of the shot nurses lay for two weeks unburied on the snow and so that no one would dare to bury them, the garrison placed a guard over them. After two weeks dogs tore apart the bodies of the murdered girls.

Any one who doubts the authenticity of such an entry in the *Books of the Acts of Enemy Terror* (Stanyslaviv district, Vol. II., p. 17) may be convinced by the testimony of the enemy camp. This is from Peter Pirogov, a lieutenant of the Soviet Air Force, who with another lieutenant, Barsov, fled from Ukraine in an airplane into the American Zone of Austria in 1948. Later Barsov returned to the USSR but Pirogov remained in the United States and published a book *Why I Escaped* (Duell, New York, 1950, 376 p.). In this book Lieut. Pirogov paints on a large scale the conditions in Western Ukraine in 1947-1948, where he was at the time and as he admits, took part in the Soviet punitive expeditions against the Ukrainian insurgents. In this book Pirogov writes:

A young MVD lieutenant told me a while ago how he does it. He was drunk, of course, and bragged how he forced a young girl to confess that she was a courier for the Bandera gang in the Ukraine. He had caught her on the road between Striy and Mykolaiv. He strapped her to a post, then tied a string around her tongue and started pulling. It was his own bright idea, he said... And was he surprised to see how long the human tongue was!... Well, he pulled and pulled and had almost pulled it out altogether. Still the girl was silent. She started talking only after he'd jabbed a live cigarette into her tongue a couple of times.

It might be added that Mr. Pirogov is rather anti-Ukrainian. He is a Russian and in America associates with a group of Russian emigres who profess Russian imperialism.

One of the best proofs of the authenticity of the Ukrainian underground publications is furnished by the work of the well-known Ukrainian graphic artist Nil Khasevych, which constantly appear in Ukraine and some of which were brought to the West in 1950 by soldiers of the UPA. Mr. Khasevych, a prize-winner in the International Exhibition of Graphic Arts in Warsaw in 1936-1937 where he obtained a third prize for his bookplates has been since 1943 in the UPA where he is employed as illustrator for Ukrainian underground publications. There he has even succeeded in organizing something like an underground art school and

has trained his pupils (Svyryd, Myron, and Artem) as graphic artists able to replace him, if the enemy succeeds in putting an end to his artistic work. The woodcuts of Bey-Zot or D. Bey, the pseudonyms of Mr. Khasevych have become an important instrument of Ukrainian anti-Soviet propaganda. These which appeared in 1947-1950 in Ukraine have been collected and published in a special album.<sup>1</sup>

It is possible to defend the authenticity of these woodcuts of Khasevych, for in this country there are artists who have been the companions and friends of Khasevych. Thus there is in Philadelphia Prof. Petro Mehyk, a well-known Ukrainian painter, a fellow student of Khasevych in the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts and his special friend. There is also in Philadelphia another painter, Mr. Petro Andrusiv, likewise a fellow-student and friend. Both know in detail the artistic characteristics of his work. Both have subjected the woodcuts brought from Ukraine to expert artistic analysis and have no doubt that they have been produced by the tool of Mr. Khasevych.<sup>2</sup>

Another evidence of the authenticity of these publications is their definite Ukrainian patriotic and anti-Bolshevik content, which contradicts the possibility of any provocation or disinformation from the enemy. In many cases the contents indicate definite observations made on the spot under Soviet conditions which are not known in such details in the West. In others we find definite cases of polemics with Soviet publications or newspapers which are not known in the West as for example the regional journal *Red Berezhany*. This is another proof that the publications were produced in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian political leaders who have received this material from their native land have felt it their duty to inform the Ukrainian groups in the emigration of the existence of these publications and their contents. So abroad there have appeared reprints of the Ukrainian underground publications so far in the Ukrainian language. The organ of the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) — *Suchasna Ukraina* (Contemporary Ukraine) which appears in Munich

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<sup>1</sup> *Ukrainian Underground Art. Album of the Woodcuts made in Ukraine in 1947-1950*, by artist of the Ukrainian Underground Nil Khasevych—"Bey-Zot" and his Disciples. "Prolog Philadelphia, 1952. See also pictures on the covers of the *Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. VII & Vol. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Another artist who worked on the Ukrainian Underground publications is the sculptor Mykhaylo Chereschnyovsky, a sculptor. Unable to work in this field in the underground, he also turned to illustrating and finally reached the West with an armed detachment which reached the American Zone of Germany after crossing Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1947. Cf. Sviatoslav Hordynsky, "A Ukrainian Sculptor Comes West", *Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1951.



systematically reprints the articles of the Ukrainian underground publications in Ukraine.<sup>3</sup>

The publications that are in this country have been concentrated in one archive. There has already been organized an art exhibition which is being shown among the Ukrainian settlements in the United States and Canada and along with these, there have been arranged lectures on the underground publications and the work of Nil Khasevych. At the Conference for the carrying on of psychological warfare in Washington February 22-23, 1952 there was organized an exhibition of Ukrainian Underground publications for the members of the Conference. Prof. James Burnham, who had the opportunity to examine it wrote the author:

"The woodcuts themselves are an astounding witness of the spirit of freedom which fills the people of Ukraine, which has sustained them in their heroic struggle, and which will in the end win through to an inevitable and glorious victory."



*Stalin The World Troublemaker.* A underground leaflet circulated in Ukraine 1948.

<sup>3</sup> There have appeared articles on the Ukrainian underground publications and in a separate pamphlet in Ukrainian. The author of this article has attempted to give a bibliography and description of all the underground works which have appeared in Ukraine from 1945 to 1950.

As we have indicated, these underground publications are very diverse in form and content. There are journals and newspapers issued periodically and non-periodic pieces as books, pamphlets, sheets, placards, appeals and summonses. There are printed, manifolded and typewritten works. Besides political publishing there appears artistic literature: tales, sketches, novels, satires, poetry and even dramas. Besides works in Ukrainian there are others in English, French, Polish, Russian, Slovak and Czech. One special group consists of publications which aim to achieve their purposes not by words but by artistic means. Still another group has a documentary character; lists of losses, chronicles of military actions, and works on the enemy terror.

The journals and newspapers were a very widespread form of the underground printed word in the first period of the new Soviet occupation, that is in the years 1945-1947. There were then mountain regions and dense forests in which control was held by the Ukrainian insurgents who were in a certain degree the masters of the situation. This allowed the existence of printing establishments, some of which were well developed and could turn out various propaganda pieces satisfactory from the printing and technical side. At the same time in the Ukrainian lands came out many underground journals and newspapers, some of which were in excellent graphic form.

There were central publications, published by the leading centres of the Ukrainian Underground, and also products of the local centres and even of smaller areas. These were divided like the entire Ukrainian liberation movement into A. The publications of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR). — B. The publications of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). — C. The publications of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Of the publications of the UHVR were the *Visnyk* (Journal), last known number 4/7 for August, 1945,<sup>4</sup> and *Samostiynist* (Independence) (the last number appeared in the second half of 1946;<sup>5</sup> the printing press along with another number ready for print fell into the hands of the enemy in April, 1948.

Of the publications of the UPA there appeared the journal *Povstanets* (The Insurgent)<sup>6</sup> which contained articles on military and political subjects, chiefly in connection with the revolutionary and insurgent struggle.

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<sup>4</sup> Reprinted in Rome, 1946, 76 pp.

<sup>5</sup> Reprinted in Munich, 1949. Publications of ZP UHVR. 188 pp.

<sup>6</sup> The last 8-9 number in September 1946.

A great humorous illustrated journal, *Ukrainsky Perets* (Ukrainian Pepper).<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note that to counteract the *Ukrainian Pepper*, the Bolsheviks founded in Kiev a humorous journal *Chervony Perets* (Red Pepper), to the editorship of which they called the well-known Ukrainian Communist humorist Ostap Vyshnya and liberated him from prison where he had been more than 10 years. In accordance with the Bolshevik directives the journal *Red Pepper* was to devote a great deal of space in its feuilletons and caricatures to the struggle with the Ukrainian underground.



*Buro of Information of the Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation. Underground periodical. Our Liberation Struggle and Problem of Victims. A Ukrainian illegal publication 1949.*

The regional units of the UPA published also their publications. The press bureau of the UPA group "Buh" published the manifolded *Striletski Visti* (Rifleman's News) and the *Litopys UPA* (Chronicle of the UPA) (1947), the UPA group "Hoverla" the journal *Shlakh do Peremohy* (The Road to Victory) and the UPA "West" the journal *Lisovyk* (Forester)

<sup>7</sup> The last number 7 in 1947 contained the celebrated caricature of Nil Khassevych on the decree of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Tsk VKP(b) on manure delivery.

(last number 10, 1946). The UPA group "Chorny Lis" published the journal *Chorny Lis* (The Black Forest) which still appears.<sup>8</sup> At the present time the journal *Chorny Lis* appears in typewriting on a page of 6 X 8 inches with 24-56 pages in a cover of heavy paper with hand painted ornamentation. Its editor is the well-known insurgent poet and writer who goes under the name of Marko Boyeslav. This publication has the character of a literary journal.

Of the publications of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), we must mention first the great political journal, the official publication of the Organization, *Idea I Chin* (Idea and Action). 10 numbers appeared of this in print, the last in the second half of 1946.<sup>9</sup>

The last number contained 72 pages of print in a format 7 1/2" X 11" and appeared in the Legenda printing press of the OUN, named for E. Legenda (a Ukrainian revolutionist murdered in Lviv in 1942 by the Gestapo). Besides this in the first years of the Bolshevik occupation the OUN issued a newspaper *Za Ukrainsku Derzhavu* (For a Ukrainian State), the last two double numbers of which appeared in 1945, the journal *Za Ukrainu* (For Ukraine) and the regional journals *Propagandist*, the organ of the OUN in the Carpathians, and the *Informator* (Informer), the organ of the OUN in Volyn and Polissya. None of these newspapers and journals are now appearing.

At the present time in Ukraine, beside the journal *Chorny Lis* there appear two official bulletins and journals for youth. The official bulletin of the UHVR which appears from the Information Bureau of the UHVR is printed as a journal in a format 7 3/4" X 11"; 16-32 pages; the last known abroad was No. 9 for May, 1951, from the printing press of the UHVR of S. Petlyura. The title page is cut in wood with quite clear printing on wretched, grayish yellow paper. It contains official resolutions, communications, instructions of the UHVRada, official materials from the Main Command of the UPA, articles which express the views of the UHVR on various general national questions and the military communications of the Chief Command of the UPA in a fixed heading "From the military actions of the UPA and the revolutionary underground on the Ukrainian lands under Bolshevik occupation."

To characterize the information printed in the Bulletin of the UHVR, we will quote the statistical items on the Bolshevik terror in the Ukrainian lands printed in No. 2 of the Information Bureau of the UHVR for August, 1948. In this number on p. 14 is written:

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<sup>8</sup> The last number known abroad was No. 3/16 for May, 1950.

<sup>9</sup> Reprinted in Munich, 1949 as No. 12 in the *Zbirka peredrukiv pidpilnych materialiv* (Collection of reprints of underground materials). Publication of the ZCh OUN, 108 pp.

In the region of Krakovets, Lviv district, data from the villages of Lyubyni, Vilka Rusnivska, Maryantsi, Nakonechne, Vovcha Hora, Serny, Buniv, Peredbirya, Semyrivka, Lyubynska Volya, Chernylyava, Ivanyky, Hniynytsi, Nashachiv, Lipo-vets. In the period from 20. 7. 1944-20. 7. 1947 the Moscow Bolshevik occupants: arrested — 1074; sent to Siberia and carried off to forced labor in the Donbas — 149; killed — 139; mobilized by force in the Red Army — 1488; of whom perished — 394, became invalids 190, returned healthy 762; made raids in villages — 462; made raids in woods and fields 222.

(Note: The number of persons arrested does not include those who were arrested for a short time but only those who received judicial sentences or were a long time in prison. Thus in the Krakovets region, for illustration, in 1946, before the "elections" to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in the village of Chernylyava, 515 were arrested).

We find also in the same number data from the regions of Sudova Vyshnya, Mostyska and Yavoriv of the Lviv district and from the region of Krukenychi, Drohobych district, as well as special reports on 12 regions of the Lviv district.

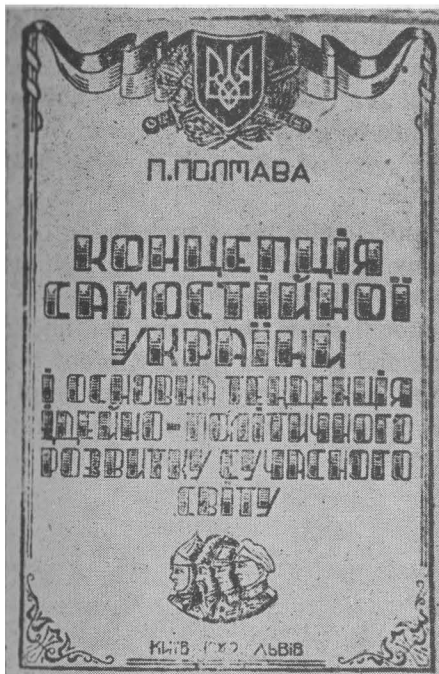
Again the official Bulletin of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) appears under the title: "Centre of Propaganda and Information at the Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists." This journal is also printed, format 8" X 11 1/2", the title and emblem of the organization are cut from wood, it is usually 12-24 pages in print on a wretched, grayish-yellow paper. This journal contains articles on political subjects and the views and communications of the OUN. In the 2nd number of the *Bulletin* for August, 1948 was a very interesting review of the underground publications in Ukraine which existed in 1947. Four numbers of this journal which are known abroad have appeared; the last in May, 1950.

Besides at the present time, the OUN publishes a journal for Ukrainian workers, the so-called *Ukrainsky Robitnyk* (Ukrainian Workman), of which 5 numbers are known abroad, the last in 1948 and which is circulated among workmen in the cities, and also journals for the young: *Na Zminu* (For the Change), *Na Chatakh* (At the Observation Post) and *Za Volyu Ukrainy* (For the Freedom of Ukraine). These journals contain material on the history of Ukraine, memoirs and materials on the struggle of the Ukrainian people against Moscow, articles on educational subjects and political articles which expose the true face of Bolshevism. There is also a literary section where there are published works of Ukrainian writers that are banned by the Soviet regime. We must emphasize that this struggle for the souls of the Ukrainian youth which is being carried on by these journals and other publications intended for the young is of the greatest importance for the future of the Ukrainian people, for the Bolshevik regime tries its utmost to win over the young.

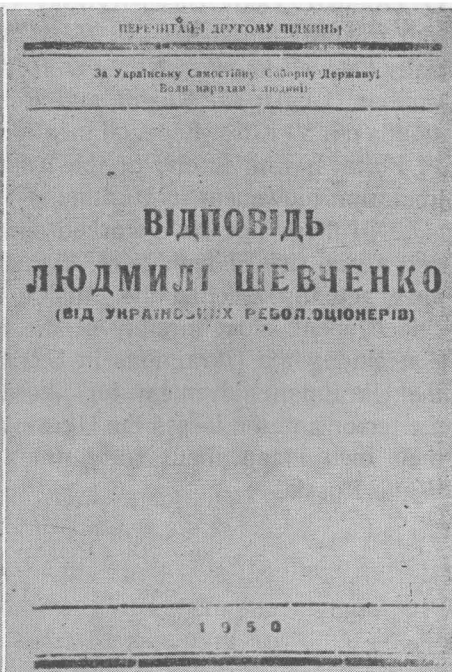
The underground newspapers have appeared everywhere where the Ukrainian revolutionary movement has been active and there were underground bunkers which had radios which could listen to foreign broadcasts. It was the task of these as of every press to inform the reader of the important events in the world, i. e. to secure the true information which could not be had by the reader of the Soviet press. Of such newspapers there are known the *Shchodenni Visti* (Daily News), the publication of the High Command of the UPA, the *Radievi Visti* (Radio News), the publication of the OUN, the *Informatyvni Visti* (Information News), the publication of the UPA "*West*", which as a periodical publication lasted longer than the others. But even to-day there still appear many similar publications which contain 2-4 pages of typewriting and give the most important news from the "Voice of America," the BBC and other stations. Unfortunately the Ukrainian underground is quite dissatisfied with broadcasts of the *Voice of America* and *Free Europe*. The head of the Division of Information of the UHVR, a prominent underground publicist, Major P. Poltava of the UPA sent in August, 1950 a letter to the State Department in Washington in which he expressed the ideas of the Ukrainian underground on it. For example the Ukrainian revolutionists in an underground bunker in the Carpathians heard a lecture on Shevchenko in Russian in 1949. "It hurt us to the quick," reported a soldier of the UPA who reached Germany in September, 1949. "In the bunker for a long while there was talk of nothing but this broadcast. "Shevchenko a Ukraino-Russian peasant poet" complained the soldiers, repeating the words of the speaker. "Even the speaker on the Kiev radio would not have allowed himself such vulgar nonsense." And in fact on the Shevchenko days of 1949, the Kiev radio gave a very fine musical and literary program on Shevchenko in which the best Kievan reciters repeated the immortal works of Shevchenko, which were well-known throughout all Ukraine. And also "In the *Voice of America* there was nothing for which it was worth while for the Ukrainians to risk their lives by listening secretly to forbidden broadcasts," write the Ukrainian underground in letters printed abroad in the Ukrainian press.

Books and pamphlets are the best beloved form of publications of the Ukrainian liberation movement. The largest of such publications is the *History of Ukraine* by the well-known Ukrainian revolutionist Yaroslav Starukh who perished Sept. 20, 1947 in a battle with the Polish Bolsheviks. This book which was printed on the territory of the UPA "West" (under Poland) was spread in large numbers among the members of the Ukrainian underground and the Ukrainian youth for the study of the unfalsified history of Ukraine. There were also large editions of the military handbooks for the UPA which its High Command issued in 1945-46. These

were all printed on the UPA press "Vporyad", *Boyovy pravylnyk partyzanky* (Military Instruction of a Partisan Woman) (76 pp), *Boyovy pravylnyk pikhoty* (Military Instructions of Infantry) (2 parts, 119 pp.), *Striletsky kurin* (Rifle Battalion), *Striletsky Polk* (Rifle Regiment), "Reydy" (Raids), *Rolya poodynokoho povstantsya i revoliutsionera v tsilosty vyzvolnykh zmahan ukrainskoi natsii* (Role of the individual insurgent and revolutionist in the entirety of the liberation efforts of the Ukrainian nation), *Osnovy taktyky povstanskykh partyzanskykh i boivkarskykh viddiliv* (Basis of the tactics of the insurgent partisan and battle



*The Conception of Independent Ukraine and the main trend of ideological-political development of present World by P. Poltava. Underground publication.*



*Reply of Ukrainian Revolutionist to Ludmila Shevchenko. 1950. Underground publication addressed to a relative of the greatest Ukrainian poet T. Shevchenko.*

units) (1947, 17 pp.) Among these larger works must be included also the collection *U borotbi za volyu pid boyovymy praporamy UPA* (In the struggle for liberty under the military banners of the UPA) which appeared under the editorship of the well-known insurgent poet Petro Volosha - Vasylenko in 1946 and the similar *Volyn v Borotbi* (Volyn in the struggle), 1949, a work of similar character.

However pamphlets were the most widespread kind of these publications. They were usually pocket size with 4-60 pages, printed or mani-

folded. They almost always had political topics and each pamphlet usually treated one problem. It must be emphasized that these were usually on a very high level. They were quiet, serious and maintained a cultured attitude (in contradistinction to the nature of those put out by the Moscow Bolsheviks), and well buttressed by quotations from various publications. An example of such a political publication is printed in this journal<sup>10</sup>.

Among the underground high class publicists who distinguished themselves by their approach to the problems were P. Duma (the pseudonym of Dmytro Maivsky, who died 19. 12. 1945), Z. Savchenko, O. Orlenko, Yakiv Busel-Kyivsky (d. 15. 9. 1945), Yarlán (pseudonym of Yaroslav Starukh (d. 20. 9. 1947), R. Mokh, O. Nazarevych, and especially the well-known triad — O. Hornovy (true name Osyp Dyakiv, d. November, 1950), U. Kuzhil and P. Poltava. Among the newer authors stands out V. Kosa. Especial mention must be given to the works of Major P. Poltava, who is one of the leading representatives of the Ukrainian liberation movement in Ukraine.

All these men have worked constantly under the overwhelming odds and at the risk of their lives. Many have perished. Few of their writings have actually reached the outside world but those that have been received speak most forcibly of the national spirit and desire for liberation among the Ukrainians in Ukraine and serve as the best proof that the Ukrainian movement for liberation is still active and that despite the terror and the losses the Ukrainian people are still determined to have their own independent state, free from the tyranny of either Red or White Russia.

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<sup>10</sup> *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 4, 1950. Article by O. Hornovy: "The Attitude of the Ukrainian Resistance toward the Russian People."



## SOVIET SIMULATION OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

by LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

One of the most dependable measures of the real depth and strength of the Ukrainian movement for genuine national independence is the remarkable degree to which the Soviet Russian imperialists have extended themselves to simulate the independent statehood of Ukraine in the course of their genocidal domination over this, the largest non-Russian nation in Central and Eastern Europe, these past thirty years. Aside from the conclusive and indisputable historical circumstances surrounding the popular establishment of the truly independent Ukrainian National Republic in 1918, an objective analysis of systematic Soviet simulation of Ukrainian independence, ultimately due to the very existence of the former, is significantly in itself sufficient to convince one of the solid reality of this progressive historical movement and its explosive revolutionary implications. Needless to say, from a logical viewpoint it should be quite evident that if there were no empirical cause for this pretense which has been predominantly verbal in character and content, the Soviet overseers with their acknowledged reputation for businesslike activity would scarcely squander their time and energies in a patently irrational undertaking.

The significance of this calculated pretense, manufactured for both quisling Ukrainian and non-Soviet consumption, is diverse and manifold in nature. For one, in the light of such increasing simulation of the dominant objective of the Ukrainian nation itself, the reactionary use in certain insular and ignorant quarters of the Tsarist myth, "the peoples of Russia", is not only misleading but plainly ludicrous. Moreover, the successive refinements of this pretense and its extended forms serve to reflect the enduring strength of the underlying cause, namely the patriotic and national consciousness of the Ukrainian people, which stubbornly seeks concrete and valid fulfilment in a political state unhampered and unhindered by foreign influence and dictation. This in turn leads to the logical conclusion, admittedly reinforced by other determining events as well, that a firm objective base exists in this quarter of Europe for successful American efforts in psychological strategy and subsequent East European reconstruction.

To ramify further the broad outline of this logical sequence of thought, the sheer mechanical causation of events punctuated by an enhanced aggravation of Soviet-American relations will undoubtedly produce the necessity for a great intensification of the existing centrifugal national forces at work in the Soviet Union. This by all odds is the most powerful weapon available to us in the coming collapse of the fraudulent Soviet structure. Simultaneously a just and solid foundation for the reconstruction of East Europe and Asia will unquestionably be in the making as independent non-Russian states emerge to take their respective places as sovereign and equal partners in the greatest undertaking of contemporary history. Simple logic dictates that plans for any type of federation or confederation are unthinkable without the prior condition of national independence and sovereign equality, for the elementary reason that such reconstructive action for enduring peace and rational international organization is by nature and in essence not a unilateral one.

#### EARLY STEPS IN SIMULATION BY VERBAL CONCESSIONS

The above unelaborated formula for realistic American action toward the Soviet Union under the cited conditions of mature development assumes a more impressive meaning as the successive steps in Soviet simulation by verbal and other concessions are carefully surveyed. Indeed, this survey has led to the formulation of a resolution which may deserve the studious attention of several of our legislators for the purpose of entering it as a concurrent resolution for passage in the Congress, chiefly of course as a device of psychological strategy. In this respect the writer is confronted with numerous pros and cons on the issue, and consequently seeks to stimulate constructive discussion on it before any decision is reached on whether to take action in the suggested manner. The editors would deeply appreciate well reasoned comments and observations concerning the prepared resolution which follows, indeed is based on, the contents of this essay.

The first major act of simulation and fearful concession undertaken by the Soviet imperialists found expression in the First Union Constitution in 1923. Significantly, it was only a short period after the wars for national independence came to an end, with the independent Republics of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan and others becoming the first forgotten victims of Soviet Russian imperialism. Lenin, who denounced the overt Great Russian chauvinism of Kerensky and other alleged democrats, never fulfilled his own promise of November 1915, when he righteously declared: "We demand the freedom of self-determination, i. e. independence, i. e., the freedom of separation for the oppressed nations, not because we dream of an economically atomized world, nor because we cherish the

ideal of small states, but on the contrary because we are for large states and for a coming close, even a fusion of nations, but on a truly democratic, truly internationalist basis, which is unthinkable without the freedom of separation." He condemned others, but Lenin himself degenerated into a chauvinist. The aspirations of the long tortured non-Russian peoples, though squelched in objective realization, were nonetheless too deeply rooted. During the war against the Ukrainian Democratic Republic 1917-1919 the Soviet Russian Government established with the help of a few Ukrainian Communists a rival Ukrainian Communist Government in Kharkiv.

The independence of Ukraine proclaimed January 22, 1918 was so favorably accepted by the Ukrainian people that after the final defeat of the Ukrainian Democratic Army the puppet Soviet Government of Ukraine with Moscow's approval decided to return the apparent independence of Ukraine. It was only in 1923 that Ukraine joined the Soviet Union.

Against this immediate background, the semblance of independent national wills appeared in Article 4 of the First Constitution to the effect that "Each one of the member Republics retains the right to freely withdraw from the union." Of equal importance, the ethnically nonsensical and reactionary concept of "peoples of Russia" was prudently abandoned by the Russian Bolsheviks.

The second step in simulation by verbal concession occurred in the drafting of the Stalin Constitution of 1936 which remains in nominal existence today. With the rise of Ukrainian Titoism in the period of 1928-32 and the heroic national resistance of the Ukrainian peasants in the man-made famine years of 1932-33 still echoing in the halls of the Kremlin, in November 1936, Stalin spoke on the Draft Constitution in this vein: "But since the right to secede from the U.S.S.R. is reserved to the Union Republics, it must be so arranged that this right does not become a meaningless scrap of paper." The note of independent will is still implied in Article 17, "The right freely to secede from the USSR is reserved to every Republic." There is little need to stress that if the subjugated non-Russian peoples enjoyed the liberty of exercising this nominal right, the artificial Soviet Union would vanish from the face of the globe. Very simply, what constitutes the source of Stalin's foremost fear, as well as that of every imperialist Great Russian emigre, is the specter that one day this note of independence will ring in liberty for all the freedom-seeking non-Russian peoples.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, p. 72

## LATER ACTS OF SIMULATION BY VARIED CONCESSIONS

As in the preceding instances, the later acts of Soviet simulation of the independent stature of Ukraine and Byelorussia were preceded by the phenomenal events of mass desertions, military resistance, and general national rebellion that occurred during World War II in the non-Russian regions of the Soviet Union. These developments precipitated certain major amendments to the Stalin Constitution and the creation of nominal representation of these two republics in the United Nations. Thus on Feb. 1, 1944, Article 18a was instituted by decree to provide that "Each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange representatives with them." Also Article 18b stipulates that "Each Union Republic has its own Republican military formations." In the provisions of Article 60 the Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic is vested with the power to decide and determine these matters. Soon thereafter the Union Republics of Ukraine and Byelorussia were to be represented individually in the United Nations under the guise of independent states operating by choice in striking unity of mind and spirit with the chief Soviet delegation.

The interest of our Government in the Ukraine and its people, as demonstrated by the establishment of the Ukrainian section in the *Voice of America*, seemed to cause a marked uneasiness in the Kremlin. For no sooner had the section been created in November 1949, than Ukraine within the next five months was endowed with a new "Ukrainian" anthem, a distinctive emblem of state and an individual national flag with a broad band of blue across the lower third, and there was established a Ukrainian War Ministry. All the fineries and institutional furniture of an independent state were provided in this wave of appeasement, but the substance and spirit of independence, which is the very antithesis of the forced union in existence, were naturally lacking.

Frequent contributions to this process of simulation are made by Soviet organs. For example, the official organ in Ukraine, the *Radyanska Ukraina*, in an issue last Fall called upon Western Ukrainians to be "eternally grateful to Stalin" who "liberated them from the Polish yoke" and "enabled them to live in a truly independent Ukrainian state." More recently, on April 27, 1952, the same publication declared in its editorial that "It is due to the great Russian people, headed by their heroic working class, that the road was opened for the Ukrainian people to fulfil their centuries-long dreams for statehood..." Clearly, these and similar assertions are merely parts of a colossal fraud and fiction perpetrated to enshroud the true subservient state of Ukraine and to offset through the favorite Soviet medium of the lie the wholesome movements and forces

both within Ukraine and without that are feverishly at work for the national independence of the major Ukrainian nation.

#### THE PROPOSED RESOLUTION

As indicated above, this concise survey has laid the basis for the formulation of a resolution which warrants careful thought and a prudent balancing of advantages and disadvantages to our country before any concrete action can be taken. The points of criticism and objection to it are weighty and must be judiciously evaluated and solidly countered in succinct argumentative form to amply justify appropriate action. The contents of the proposed resolution are presented first, and are then followed by a series of pros and cons offered to facilitate the reader's judgement on the issue:

Whereas the Soviet Government in Moscow fosters, through the media of its divers organs, the appearance of independent will and status on the part of The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic; and

Whereas, in the historical order, The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was known to have manifested its complete sovereignty as a signatory, along with the separate states of Poland and the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, to the Treaty of Riga in 1921, the official text of which appeared in three languages — Ukrainian, Polish and Russian; and

Whereas on the formation of The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the semblance of sovereign and independent will was vouchsafed to the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. in Article IV, Part II, Chapter II of the First Union Constitution of 1923, which declared that "Each one of the member Republics retains the right to freely withdraw from the Union"; and

Whereas it is known that in November, 1936, Mr. Stalin in his examination of the draft constitution imputed reality to the sovereign and independent wills of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and Byelorussian S.S.R. by his averment that "since the right to secede from the U.S.S.R. is reserved to the Union Republics, it must be so arranged that this right does not become a meaningless scrap of paper"; and

Whereas the note of national sovereignty and independence applied to the Ukrainian S.S.R. and Byelorussian S.S.R. again is verbally sounded in Article 17 of Chapter II in the Stalin Constitution of 1936, providing that "The right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R. is reserved to every Union Republic"; and

Whereas in the nature of a reinforcing amendment, decreed on February 1, 1944, Article 18a of the Soviet Constitution provides, with implied

historical reference to the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R., that "Each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange representatives with them;" and

Whereas the additional amendment, Article 18b in the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, renders further nominal affirmation of the sovereign and independent wills of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and Byelorussian S.S.R. by stating that "Each Union Republic has its own Republican military formations;" and

Whereas partaking of the fundamental law as expressed in the Soviet Constitution, Article 60, in its application to the highest state organs of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R., provides that "The Supreme Soviet of a Union Republic; e) Decides questions of representation of the Union Republic in its international relations; f) Determines the manner of organizing the Republic's military formations;" and

Whereas in contrast to the conditions prevailing in other Soviet Republics, the distinctive national banners and emblems of state maintained by the Ukrainian S.S.R. and Byelorussian S.S.R. are presumed to manifest symbolically the sovereignty and independence of these states; and

Whereas this Government recognizes the delegations selected to represent the Ukrainian S. S. R. and the Byelorussian S. S. R. as accepted members of the United Nations; and

Whereas the American people welcome the sovereignty of the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians as a direct consequence of the ideas expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, and therefore would be happy to render these peoples, as also all peoples in the Soviet Union, any assistance for the strengthening of their freedoms and economic development; and

Whereas it is clearly incongruous from every viewpoint to maintain the recognition by this Government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. in the United Nations without the opportunity to establish direct diplomatic concourse with their respective capitals of Kiev and Minsk; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, that it is the sense of the ..... that this Government proceed to the establishment of direct diplomatic relations with the Governments of the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. and to the creation of posts of representation in the capitals of Kiev and Minsk respectively.

#### THE PROS ON THE ISSUE

a) As a clear expression of the sense of Congress, it will undoubtedly serve as a powerful psychological weapon in the cold war by precipitat-

ing grave concern in the Kremlin over America's demonstrated interest in the two most unstable and restless national areas in the Soviet Union.

b) The utter novelty of this step will enhance the significance and power of our counter-Soviet propaganda.

c) By strong implication it will formally expose the fraud built on the alleged independence of these two major captive non-Russian nations in the Union.

d) Signaling in concrete and specific form our interest in the peoples of these two nations, it will, through underground and other media, serve to offset the spurious propaganda now being circulated among them to the effect that their hopes and aspirations lie with Moscow rather than Washington to a great extent will thereby solidify their natural alliance with us.

f) The realization of the proposed resolution will serve also as a valid test of the currently publicized peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union inasmuch as it will constitute on our part an intent to establish peaceful relations with the capitals of two presumably independent states which we recognize as members of the U. N.

g) In the highly improbable event of Soviet acceptance of American diplomatic representations in the mentioned capitals, we will have gained additional listening posts in two of the most forbidden and critical areas in the Union.

h) There is no ground for argument that the Soviets might wish to apply this principle of representation to the other republics, for the resolution is conceived solely within the present legal framework of our recognition of the two republics in the U. N. Nor can this issue be haphazardly confused with that of China's recognition.

#### THE CONS ON THE ISSUE

a) This proposal would never be published by the Soviet press and radio, and in the probable event of Soviet refusal would be distorted by its media with thus negligible propaganda effects from our viewpoint on the underlying peoples.

b) This operation would involve the possibility of establishment in the U. S. of two additional communist missions with a detrimental effect on the psychological disposition of the American people.

c) A rejection of the proposal by the Soviet Government would be effected in the name of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Governments and thus reinforce the fiction of their sovereignty.

d) It would lay the basis for the Soviet Government to advance the admission of its other republics into international organizations.

## WHY THE BOLSHEVIKS SUPPORT LYSENKO'S GENETICS

by NESTOR KOROL

Since about 1935 the science of genetics in the Soviet Union has assumed a peculiar character which has attracted the attention of the outside world. This new current among the biologists of the USSR is closely connected with the name of Trofim Lysenko and is known in Soviet scientific circles under the disdainful name of Lysenkovianism.

It would be a mistake to think that genetics is represented in the USSR only by Lysenko and his group. There exists a fairly strong and numerous group of the older generation of scientists and scientific workers who are particularly noted for their work in the field of plants and animals. These support the traditional principles of genetics. This group is headed by the Vice-President of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, A. Sapihyn, and has in its ranks such noted workers as Lisitsin, Konstantinov, Meyster, Serebrovsky, Koltsov and many others. Some of these as Meyster and Serebrovsky are strong Communists. These people are very highly esteemed by the Communists, and so they can afford to disagree to some extent with Lysenko without the danger of being reprimanded — at least for the time.

Lysenko's group is considerably stronger than the above mentioned group and is today the dominating one in the USSR. It consists chiefly of young men educated in the USSR in the Soviet period as is Lysenko himself. The majority of these young people are Communists: Tsitsin, Derzhavin, Yakovlyev, Shlikov, Pereverzev, although many of them are non-Communists as, for instance, Pisarev, Rudnitsky and a few others.

The advantage of this group of scientists and followers is that they are in favor with the ruling Communist ideologists of biology: Prezent, a half-qualified agronomist, and Mitin, editor of the Bolshevik ideological journal *Under the Banner of Marxism*, a man who has had nothing to do directly with biology or genetics before or now. Having the power, money and means of printing in the USSR, they provide financial and other support for Lysenko and his work. Lysenko himself occupies a very high position in the Soviet hierarchy — he is deputy Chairman of the Council of Nationalities — the counterpart of the American Senate or the British House of Lords.



His opponents not only lack money and support, but also are often persecuted for their views which do not follow the Marxist line or still better, the party line.

The principal differences between the theory of Lysenko and genetics are seen in the following points:

1) The new group denies the theory of genes. They claim that "nobody has seen them," that "they are an invention of the Morganists." But when A. Shmuk and a little later Doncho Kostov produced artificial mutations then the former began to fear their own statements about the existence of the genes and expressed a somewhat different view: "... even if they (genes) do exist they have changed to such an extent, due to external conditions, that they may as well be considered as non-existent." Lysenko and his followers do not contest the existence of chromosomes, because they can be well seen under the microscope. It is not certain what would become of this denial should the recently constructed new powerful microscope (of 100,000 times enlargement) become accessible to all and reveal, as it is hoped, the genes.

2) They deny the pure lines of Johannsen: "In nature only few plants are self-pollinating and even fewer animals multiply in this manner." But at the same time they forget that the most useful plants for man are the self-pollinating plants such as wheat, barley, peas, beans, peanuts, rice and many others.

3) They ignore all research work on the fly *Drosophila*, saying "it behaves entirely differently in nature than in the laboratories of the Morganists." As we know the theory of genes has been exemplified and convincingly substantiated by research work with this same *Drosophila*. Therefore, denial of all this work deprives the theory of genes of its experimental foundation, the very thing for which it is considered reliable. Analogically, it must then be that research work such as on the cross-breeding of domestic animals in the laboratories of scientific cattle-breeders, should also be denied, for "they also would behave differently when free." It is known that experiments in cross-breeding are being conducted on carefully worked out schemes in order to obtain the desirable traits in the new race, that is, on the grounds of the theory of genes and the experimental work on the fly *Drosophila*.

4) They deny the "inbreeding;" Lysenko's favorite expression is that "Free crossing has its blessing from nature." An example of the superiority of free crossing, as observations have demonstrated, are for instance, the Americans and the Japanese, who are of mixed ancestry and therefore, more gifted and capable than other nations. However, thereby they ignore and forget that no less mixed a bastard is the Finno-Mongol-Slav, Russian people which has not many of the qualities the

Americans or the Japanese possess. As far as freedom is concerned, the Russian people have never known it, nor do they know it now, nor will they, perhaps, ever know it. In order to substantiate the theories of Lysenko the Bolsheviks probably therefore assert that all scientific and technical inventions are the fruit of Russian mind and capability. Lysenko's antithesis to "inbreeding" is "marriage by love not only for people, but also for animals and plants." It would be interesting to see, for instance, the results of "marriage by love" in a herd of highly productive cows, if bulls from a high milk-producing breed and wild bulls from Mongolia or Tibet, a breed of extraordinary low milk productivity but very enduring and strong, were to be allowed to practice "free love" in this herd. Naturally, calves would be born only from these wild bulls. And the offspring — cows — because of the stronger but unproductive breed, would yield very little and inferior milk.

5) They adhere to the theory of evolution of Darwin and deepen and develop it. "Nature should not be forced, but helped to crossing and mutations." The theory of Darwin in the sense of Mendelianism-Morganism has not yet been thoroughly worked out and explored and therefore, followers of the Mendelian school are studying this theory, developing it and completing it. As apparent from the above, Lysenko's theory is not real and true genetics, but something between the already forgotten Neo-Lamarckism in biology and Weismann's theories. However, the question arises: how does it happen that the Communists, being materialists, agree with the theories of Lysenko and tolerate them, while at the same time he denies the materialistic theory of genes? The true reason for such tolerance and support of the theories of Lysenko can be explained in that:

1) Lysenko's theories give a "scientific basis" for the ever-present contempt of everything emanating from the "rotten West;" they stress the superiority of the Russian culture over the West "of Germans, Englishmen, and other vermin," and emphasize the "messianism" of the Russian nation. This conception dates back to the Middle Ages and was formulated in the well-known thesis: "Moscow is the third Rome, and there will never be a fourth Rome." Especially during the 18th and particularly during the 19th centuries this conception was ably developed and perfected and assumed the role of a starting point — a moral ideological basis for the further advance and expansion of Russian imperialism. This is true for the past as well as for the present, since only the appellative "rotten West" is being replaced by the more modern: "the rotten capitalistic world."

2) These theories help create in the minds of the people of the USSR the myth that "the Russians have always been the advance guard of science and technology." Therefore, all inventions and scientific discoveries were and are the fruit of the "Russian mind." Therefore, all inventors were

and must have been Russians and with Russian names; anything the West claims as theirs either happened later or was stolen from the Russians, etc. Such assertions can be found in the Soviet press as well as in the Russian emigre press.

3) Besides all this, the theories of Lysenko are a good device for obscuring the minds of people of the USSR and giving the impression that "Soviet science" is on a higher level than that of the West, for Lysenko and Michurin have earned world acclaim.

4) Lysenko's theories are favored by the Bolsheviks also because by denying a materialistic basis for heredity, they can put up the antithesis that "the individual acquires his form not from the materialistic foundation of heredity, but from the conditions of life and environment during his development." This is exactly the thing that serves the Bolshevik self-advertising: "Man can live best only under the Soviet system of life."

For the sake of this Russian messianism and imperialism, a deviation from the Marxist materialistic dialectics is permissible as has been the case before in the other fields of science. There is reason to believe that the theories of Lysenko will encounter the same fate some day as did the theories of Pokrovsky in Russian historiography or the theories of Marr in philology. It is not known what the theories of Lysenko will look like tomorrow. One thing, however, is certain: they are implacable opponents of the theories of Mendel and Morgan. Being materialists as they are, the Communist scientists, however strange, deny the theory of genes, probably also because it does not fit into their views of social order (equality of men, heredity of acquired characters). Lysenko himself claims to be the successor and an adherent of Michurin's theories. Therefore, the root of Lysenkovianism is to be found in the works of Michurin.

Michurin was no scientist, to begin with. He did not even have any higher education than that of an elementary school. Being an amateur gardener, he concerned himself with the acclimatization of grapes, cherries, apricots and other southern vegetables and fruits (melons, tomatoes, etc.) in the northern regions of Russia, in Kozlov, the town where he lived and carried out the experiments. Michurin resembles the famous American gardener Luther Burbank. The latter, however, has not been considered a scientist, and his name figures in American literature only as the "prodigy" from Santa Rosa. The Soviet science of Lysenko places the works of Michurin among the "foremost scientific activities."

It would not be redundant to mention here the fact that Michurin was discovered by an American farmer from the North-Western States who like himself was an amateur fruit grower. This farmer wrote to Michurin asking him to send some little fruit trees and seeds of garden vegetables. The letter, of course, was written in English and had to be translated.

In the Soviet Union, correspondence with foreign countries may bring suspicion against the person receiving or writing letters abroad. The translator, fearing reprisals at the hands of the authorities, preferred to refer the letter to the authorities. The Agitprop (Agitation and Propaganda Department) made use of it in its propaganda as "a further proof that a modest Soviet scientist is known in far America, which avails herself of his works." Michurin became a man of world fame on a par with Darwin, Timiryazev and Lysenko.

Therefore it is not worthwhile for the scientific world to concern itself too much with the genetic theories of Lysenko. Their significance is only temporary and political; when they have served their term, they will be forgotten as were the theories of Marr in philology and those of Pokrovsky in historiography — or will meet with the same fate as their predecessors, i. e. they will be declared "detrimental."

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#### THE FRIEND AND THE ASS

A man went to his friend to ask for the loan of his ass, but as the friend had no wish to lend it, he said that it was out working on the land. At that moment, however, the ass brayed in its stall.

"What kind of a liar are you?" — cried the man who wanted the loan of it. "The ass is in the stable."

"And what kind of a friend are you," retorted the other, "to believe an ass rather than a friend?"

The Communist Party has the same kind of conversation with members who venture to reason with their own minds: "What kind of Communist are you to put more credence in the evidence of facts than in the Party?"

## IS THERE REALLY A RUSSIAN UNDERGROUND FRIENDLY TO AMERICA

by HISTORICUS

Is there an organized and active revolutionary movement against Stalin on the ethnic territory of the Russian people? This question is exceptionally important for a practical American policy. If Stalin in case of war with the Western democratic powers can count seriously upon the assistance of a fifth column, the Communists of the Western world, who in a critical moment will give aid to the Kremlin, the Western powers including America should know if and on how much help they can rely on the territory of the USSR. The most important thing is to know if there exists among the Russians an organized Russian force which at a critical moment would be against Stalin and if there are in the USSR potential forces friendly to America.

*There is not the slightest doubt of the existence of anti-Stalin centres among the non-Russian peoples of the USSR.* It is known beyond all doubt that during World War II there were very strong active anti-Communist forces in Ukraine. We have even Soviet documents confirming the existence of an anti-Soviet Ukrainian Underground in 1950.<sup>1</sup> There are proofs that this Underground still exists in Ukraine. We had similar undisputed evidence of the existence of an anti-Soviet Underground in Byelorussia, the Baltic states, among the Caucasian peoples and in Turkestan in the last years. A further proof is seen in the liquidation of three Soviet Autonomous Districts, really republics of the second class, in the Crimea, the Caucasus and on the Volga as punishment for their anti-Soviet attitude during the war. In a word there can be not the slightest doubt of such existence during the last war and now on the territory of the nationally mature non-Russian peoples, strongly anti-Stalinist and natural allies of America.

On the other hand, after the war at the Victory banquet in Moscow in 1945, Stalin proposed the first toast to the Great Russian people and affirmed that it had never betrayed the confidence of the Soviet government, had remained faithful to it and was the chief cause of the victory of the USSR.

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<sup>1</sup> See the *Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. VI., pag. 296, Autumn 1950.

Of course the weak Vlasow movement created by the Nazis during the war, when it seemed as if the Soviet power would crumble, cannot be considered as a revolutionary movement among the Russian people. It is impossible to know how much this movement was inspired by the ambitions of its leaders and how much by the Nazis; we must not forget that it contained many adventurers without a definite political program from all the peoples of the Soviet empire.

In any case the revolutionary movements among the most important non-Russian peoples are facts, while we cannot speak positively of the existence of any revolutionary anti-Soviet movement among the Russians, the basis of the Soviet government. In addition the revolutionary anti-Soviet movements among the non-Russian peoples who touch the territory of the Russian people on the west and south, from the borders of Poland to the Altai in central Asia, have an ideological program which does not agree with the political program of all Russians, whether they are white or red. It is not directed exclusively against the Soviet Communist regime as such. The revolutionary programs or the Underground movement of the non-Russian peoples is in general directed against the domination by Moscow and by the Russian people. The non-Russian people oppose the Soviet power because it is the most brutal form of Russian domination over them.

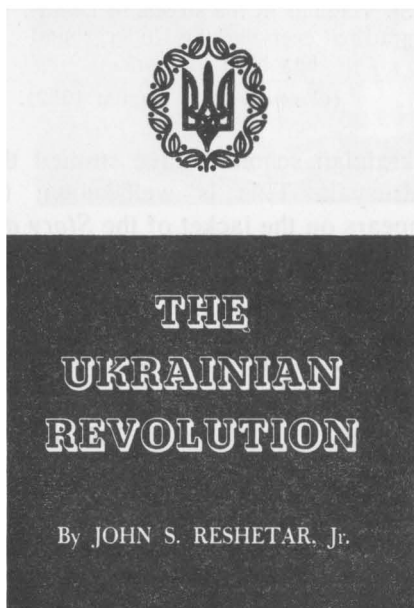
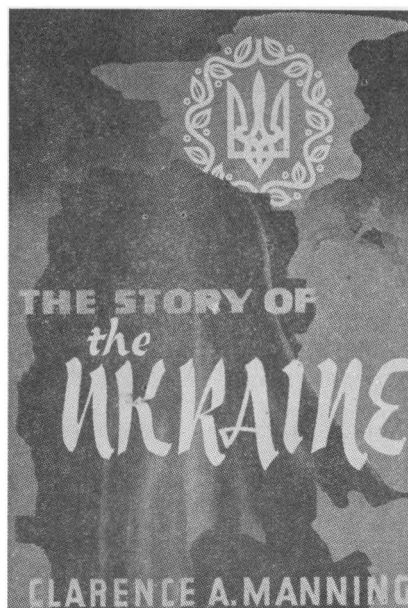
Thus these movements are anti-Communist and at the same time highly patriotic movements for liberty, since they aim to throw off the foreign yoke. They are similar in character to all the attempts of all nations in the world to secure their freedom. The revolutionary Undergrounds of the non-Russian peoples have a double hate for the Soviet regime. They hate it as a Communist government which deprives man of his personal freedoms and as a Russian Communist government which oppresses all nations as spiritual collectives.

It is therefore natural that such Underground movements are opposed not only by the Soviet government in the Kremlin but also by the Russian emigration. The Russian emigration like Stalin and the Politburo does not wish the liberation of those nations which have been forcibly included in the USSR but which are in fact under the control of the centralized Russian Communist empire which has expanded since World War II far beyond anything in the past history of the Russian Empire.

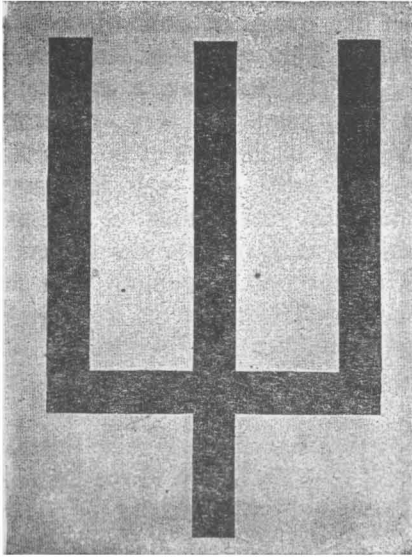
As we have said, *there is no proof of the existence of an independent revolutionary movement organized among the Russian people.* Not a single Soviet document alludes to one and there are no material proofs of its existence now. Despite this there appear in popular American periodicals from time to time articles either written directly by Russians or inspired by them on the theme of a Russian Underground. The articles in

*the Reader's Digest* and recently in the *Cosmopolitan* usually are from the pen of partisans of the Russian Fascist-like group of Solidarists, who call themselves the National Labor Union. This group in America is headed by a Russian emigre from the Soviets, Boldyrev, a lecturer in Georgetown University in Washington. This small but very vociferous group of Russian emigres has taken advantage of the lack of information of the Americans on the questions of the USSR and their ignorance of the Ukrainian language and without any real proofs of the existence of a Russian Underground has claimed as its own the revolutionary activity of the very strong Ukrainian Underground, beginning with the national emblem of independent Ukraine, the Trident of St. Volodymyr and ending with the Ukrainian Underground publications, despite the fact that for the Ukrainian Underground the clique of Stalin and of Boldyrev are ideologically hostile and hateful.

An example of such a deception of the Americans by the Russian emigres is the article, *They Live to Revolt* by Tris Coffin in the *Cosmopolitan* (August, 1952). The article was evidently inspired by the group of Russian Solidarists and the extent of its mockery of the Americans is shown by the fact that it calls the anti-Soviet partisans using the



Trident of St. Volodymyr, the state emblem of independent Ukraine in its revolutionary publications — Russian. In the same article there is a beautiful illustration of an Easter broadsheet of the Ukrainian Under-



Leaflets with the forbidden Fork of St. Vladimir in the streets of Lenin-grad tell everyone the Underground has been at work.

(*Cosmopolitan*, August 1952).

Ukrainian scholars have studied the subject and most recently Dr. M. Adrusyak. This is well-known to American scholars. The Trident appears on the jacket of the *Story of Ukraine* by Prof. C. A. Manning and of the *Ukrainian Revolution* by Dr. John Reshetar (Princeton University Press, 1952).

It is therefore natural that the Trident should be used by all revolutionists fighting for Ukrainian independence in their many illegal publications printed and distributed in Ukraine.

The Trident as an honored symbol of Ukrainian independence is hated by the Russians and they often contemptuously call the symbol of Ukrainian independence a "fork". The credulous American author has allowed himself to be duped by the Russian Solidarists and at the beginning of his article he pictures a sign like the fork used in cleaning manure from stables rather than the Trident of St. Volodymyr. It is under this „fork of St Volodymyr" that his supposed Russian Underground is working.

At the same time that the article of Mr. Coffin in the *Cosmopolitan*, so as to deceive, ascribes the Ukrainian revolutionary anti-Stalin activity to the Russian Solidarists, another Russian organization still less known,

ground which represents a Ukrainian Kozak playing on a bandura, the Ukrainian national instrument and an inscription in the Ukrainian language which expresses the ideology of the Ukrainian anti-Soviet partisans. The article translates this into English and omits the words "Ukrainian partisan". It would seem that it was a member of the Russian Solidarists operating in Ukraine.

Even the superficial student of Eastern European questions knows that the Trident of St. Volodymyr was adopted as the state emblem of independent Ukraine in 1917 along with the proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic. The Central Rada, the Ukrainian Parliament, adopted a resolution that the emblem of Ukraine should be the Trident of St. Volodymyr which is found on the oldest Ukrainian coins from the end of the tenth century. Many



the "*Russian Revolutionary Forces*" publishes in its pamphlet a striking falsification and plagiarism.

Let us look at these two woodcuts. The one on the left is the Ukrainian original widely circulated in Ukraine in 1949. It is the work of Nil Khasevych, an artist of the Ukrainian Underground. The original woodcut shows representatives of all the nations enslaved by Russia, as they are shattering the Russian prison of nations.



The woodcut on the right is an altered cut by Khasevych reworked in the Russian manner; it is a counterfeit. On the first is the inscription in Ukrainian: *The USSR—the Prison of Nations*. The individual windows from which stream out the fires of revolution, represent the different nations. On the top floor is the Ukrainian inscription *Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia*. On the lower floor *Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia*. Over the main entrance is the inscription *Ukraine*. In the Russian counterfeit all of these names have been inked out by a black line.

The original shows a Ukrainian revolutionist wearing the typical *Mazepa cap* worn by the Ukrainian army and carrying a banner on which is the Ukrainian Trident and the slogan *Freedom for Peoples, Freedom for the Individual*.

The Russian imitation has erased the Trident and substituted the tsarist double-headed eagle, the emblem of Russia. In place of the slogan "*Freedom for Peoples, Freedom for the Individual*" is the inscription: *R.R.S.* (Russian Revolutionary Forces). The two-colored blue and yellow

Ukrainian banner is replaced by the Russian flag in three colors with the inscription "R. R. S." Under the counterfeit woodcut is the slogan "*We will wipe out the cursed power! For Russia!*"

The "Russian Underground" must be very weak, if it does not have its own literature and tries by way of counterfeiting to ascribe to its own activity as specifically Russian the work of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR.

It is natural that the "Russian Underground members" on the sidewalks of New York and Paris should be definitely aware of the true situation. It is in their interest to conceal the struggle for liberty of Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic peoples, the peoples of the Caucasus and Turkestan against red Moscow and Moscow of any other color. *By falsifications like this the Russian emigre imperialists are trying to lead the American people to false conclusions about the revolutionary forces active in the USSR which are friendly to America.*

They have adopted the double policy of concealing the revolutionary movements of the non-Russian peoples against Stalin, especially the fight of the Ukrainian people, and on the other hand of creating in America a fiction of non-existent revolutionary movements against Stalin with the aid of which America could shatter the Soviet government in case of war but on the one condition that it "must not anger the Russian people" which are greatly interested in maintaining the rule of Moscow over the 55% non-Russian population of the USSR, who are truly seeking for liberty.

It is natural that as the Kremlin does not wish to be involved in a great war, so the Russian emigres do not wish a great war against the Kremlin to free the Russian people from the totalitarian rule of the Politburo. They understand better than any one else that a great war must result in the falling apart of the USSR into national states. But war may come against their wishes and the fate of the Russian Empire may become a real question and so the Russian emigres feel that America must reject any policy of liberating the nations enslaved by Moscow and maintain a policy of supporting the unity of Russia.

Our policy of containment the Bolsheviks have up till now been successful in preserving the Russian Empire. It has given the Bolsheviks the power to consolidate their forces and at the same time to weaken the revolutionary ardor of the nations enslaved by Moscow. The policy of the official *Voice of America* and the grave-like silence of the American government as to its concern for the liberation of the enslaved nations weakens it.

It is not a question of war with the Communist world, for every nation of the USSR and especially the Ukrainian knows what atomic warfare

can bring to its territory. *But the nations enslaved by Moscow are bound to know what America will bring them in case of war — freedom or a new Russian yoke under the leadership of Russian Fascists, who by changing the color from red to bronze will continue the policy of Kremlin.* It is natural that it will be better for them in the second case to seek a reconciliation with red Moscow than at the price of the destruction of their country to obtain another Russian Fascist tyranny.

Likewise the American people must know who is their friend and who is their enemy. The American people, deceived by the Solidarists and the apocalyptic "Russian Revolutionary Forces" is gaining the impression that they must make a practical distinction between the policy of the Kremlin and the Russian people. The existence of a fictitious Russian Underground is intended to support the thesis that the Russian people could sometime be on the side of America against their own Soviet government which has increased the power of Russia to the greatest height in its history. There can be no greater self-delusion.

At the outbreak of an international conflict the American air men will be opposed not by the 14 criminals of the Politburo but by Russian flyers. The regiments of the Western world will meet not the divisions of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) but regiments of the Russian people, that people which did not betray the confidence of Stalin in the last war and will not do it in the next. That is realism in our relations with the USSR. If there is war, it will be a war against Russia. If we can count upon desertions from the Red Army, — they will be among the non-Russian peoples who have no interest in fighting for their oppressor-Russia, if they are convinced that their desertion will bring freedom to their people.

This should be clear but it is hidden for some people even in very high positions. The sovietophile agitation during World War II brought us terrible defeats through the fiction of the possibility of friendly cooperation with the Kremlin against which we have warned the American people since 1944. The fiction of friendship with the Russian people will bring us new defeats, for it will turn from us the peoples enslaved by Moscow, weaken, if not destroy their revolutionary temper and finally leave us in a crisis before the stern reality that we will have against us the entire USSR, the Russians as active defenders of their "fatherland" and the non-Russian peoples as passive spectators of the struggle between Moscow and Washington. May the American people soon learn the truth that, as Stalin has asserted, the Great Russian people will never betray the confidence of the Soviet government.

## HOW THEY TRIED TO MAKE ME "ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE"

by PETRO KOLYMSKY

### MY ARREST

Of the 125 persons who worked or studied in the institution where I worked, before my arrest in the beginning of 1937, nine were arrested. These were mostly candidates who had taken the course of study in the scientific research institute. The reason for the general arrest of this group was that in the summer of 1933, these persons as students of the Kiev Institute of Agricultural Chemistry and the Study of Soils, had been sent to a village and became involuntary witnesses of the cannibalism in Ukraine in the summer of 1933. On their return to their studies in the Institute, in a lecture on dialectical materialism they had asked their professor, Zvada, whether it was possible to call the eating of human flesh in Ukraine in the summer of 1933 — cannibalism. The professor gave the positive answer that the "cannibalism was produced by hunger."

Professor Zvada was arrested at the end of 1936 and those who had asked him the question and had taken part in the discussion were seized in the spring and summer of 1937. Two weeks before my arrest, a Director of the Scientific Research Institute where I was working was arrested. Constant meetings were held in the Institute and they were constantly looking for sabotage and denouncing people who were close to him. In the evening of the day before my arrest there was a long meeting of the workers in the Institute. A representative of the Molotov regional party committee of Kiev appeared with a report and asserted that the Ukrainian nationalists had introduced a nest into the Institute. He demanded that the associates give the names of those who in their opinion were nationalists. 90-95% of the associates of the Institute were Ukrainian and every one was afraid that suspicion would fall upon him. These meetings commenced at 5 P. M. and ended at 1 A. M.

During almost the whole summer of 1937 I, like the entire population of Ukraine, kept hearing at night the roar of motors. We feared the trucks might stop near our building. After this meeting I became even more uneasy than I had been previously. It was the rule in Kiev that the porter of the building was the agent and assistant of the NKVD. It was his duty to follow carefully all the residents of the house and to note who

visited whom and when each resident returned home; he usually accompanied the NKVD during an arrest.

One morning late in September, 1927, at 4 A. M., all the residents of the apartment (five families numbering 17 people, residing in 6 rooms), heard a knock on the door. The person nearest opened it and into the hall came two men of the NKVD and the porter of the house. He led them to my room (where I, my wife and son had lived for 10 years in a single room of 18 sq. metres). The porter knocked on my door. I opened it and two men in civilian clothes and the porter came in.

On crossing the threshold, the men without a word immediately separated; one stayed at the door and the other went to the window and only after that did they show me the "order" for my arrest. Perhaps they were afraid that I would jump out of the window and escape from the sixth floor. Mentally I put quotes around the word "order", for it was a mere fiction. The order which the NKVD gave me in my room was signed by the division judge advocate of the Kiev military district. In 1940, in a review of my case, it was based upon another order dated October 7, 1937, or almost two weeks after my arrest.

After reading the order, I was told to dress. When I, my wife and son asked on the basis of what accusations I was being arrested, we were told that in two or three days the NKVD would reveal what was necessary and I would return home. Under the escort of an armed member of the NKVD I left my family and the two men in civilian clothes remained in the room. In front of the house was a special automobile with bright shades which I was told to enter. Inside the auto it was dark for instead of glass in the windows there were iron sheets. The driver's compartment was barred by iron bars, hidden by draperies.

The car started forward with great speed and in 4-5 minutes it stopped. When they told me to get out, I saw that I had been taken to the NKVD of the UkSSR on Instytutska St., No. 5.

#### PRISON EXPERIENCE

I was taken from the car into the basement of the building and shut up in a wooden booth, of which there were a great number directly against the stone walls of the corridor. All these structures were new and had evidently been built in 1937. Each was about a metre in length and breadth. The doors were barred from the outside and had small round holes which were covered on the outside with lead discs. The height of each was about 2 metres. To the wall was fastened a bench 13-15 cm. wide and 85-87 cm. high, on which it was possible neither to sit nor stand. As I learned later, through these booths passed all the prisoners under investigation. These were called "dog houses," and so I shall

henceforth use this term. Since I was unaccustomed to whispering, I apparently spoke aloud to the NKVD man escorting me; my voice was recognized for when the escort left, some one called me by name from a neighboring booth. Since the NKVD might have done this deliberately I made no answer to the greeting.

In 30-40 minutes, I was called into a room in the cellar and told to undress. All my clothing was carefully inspected even the seams. All metal buttons and buckles were cut off, the strings were taken from my shoes, and my belt and necktie were removed. They looked into my mouth and compelled me to sit down several times and then told me to dress. After that they took me to a cell in the basement in the so-called "tyurpid of the NKVD" (prison underground). I found four men who were dressed, and either standing or walking in the cell. For perhaps 4-5 hours no one spoke to me; all were sitting or standing in thought, for they had been arrested earlier that day. When they got oriented, they began to ask me where I came from, who I was and where I worked. I told them and then learned who they were and from where. Three were from Kiev and one from Stalino (Yuzivka) in the Donbas. The Kievans had been arrested like me, and Vsevolozhsky from Stalino, as a candidate for a member of the Executive Committee KP (b)U, had been called to Kiev by a telegram from the first secretary of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U—S. Kosior. On arriving at the Kiev station, he had gone to the hall for members of the administration. Here an unknown man had met him and told him that by orders of S. Kosior he had brought an automobile for him. He got into it and instead of going to the Central Committee of the KP(b)U, he was taken to the UkSSR NKVD on Instytutska Street.

At dinner time the hole in the door opened and they passed us our food. No one that day ate it and the guard washed down the food into the *parasha*. This was a tank holding 2½-3 buckets, which the prisoners used instead of a toilet. It was always in the cell. That day the guard did not touch us but only taught us how to behave in the cell and corridors, and told us to be up by 6 A. M. During the day it was forbidden to rest one's arm or back against the wall or to sleep sitting up. Each prisoner had to sit in the middle of the cell on a bench with his face to the door, and was allowed to go to the toilet only once a day; the prisoners were to use the *parasha* the rest of the time. It was permissible to lie down to sleep only after lights were put out at 11 P. M. Each prisoner had a cot and bed clothes.

The first night in the prison about an hour or an hour and a half after we lay down to sleep, the door opened with a great noise and five armed men of the NKVD entered. They told us to get up. We rose from our cots and gathered in the centre of the cell. One took his position

near us and the four began carefully to search the cell, the bedding and our clothes. On finishing the search, they told us to fix our beds and go to sleep. I cannot say how much time passed but again the window opened in the door and the command was given to stand up and for all to approach the door. We walked nearer and the guard asked in a whisper whose name began with V. Vsevolozhsky answered and he was told to dress at once and go for examination.

At 6 in the morning there sounded the opening of the door and Vsevolozhsky came back to the cell. All began to ask him how the first examination had gone. He told us that he had passed a sleepless night in a "doghouse", standing on his feet (for there was no bench in the booth to which he had been taken) and he had not had an examination. So that he might not fall asleep, standing on his feet, every minute an NKVD man looked through the window and warned him that it was not permitted to sleep there.

In the morning of the next day they brought us each 600 gr. of bread and absolutely unsweetened tea. No one drank the tea but we hid the bread in the columns that were by each bed. The watch warned Vsevolozhsky that it was categorically forbidden to sleep in any position in the cell before 11 P. M. Every 3-4 minutes he looked in through the glass window in the door. At one o'clock they called us out for a walk but before this the guard came into the cell and gave us the following instructions:

1) On going out from the cell, the prisoner must place his hands behind his back and keep them in that position, until he returns.

2) The prisoners are not to talk among themselves in the corridors and the courtyard.

3) They are to answer the questions of the guard in whispers.

The walk was had in an enclosed space of 60-70 square metres. The enclosure was so high that even at noon the shadow on the opposite wall was higher than a man's height. So at the end of September and in October the sun was invisible in this enclosure. The walks lasted from 10 to 15 minutes. We were not let out for walks on Sunday.

On the third day of my arrest, at eight o'clock in the evening I was called for examination. Although the "tyurpid" was in the same building with the investigation section, all the prisoners of the "tyurpid" as in the Lukyanivsky and Pechersky prisons went through the "dog-houses" of the NKVD. Calling me out of the cell, the guard put me in a "dog-house". At 10 P. M. I was taken from there and led along long corridors to the office of the examiner. Every time when we had to turn a corner of the corridor the guard "clicked" his fingers to warn another guard and to prevent the meeting of two prisoners.

In spite of the large movement of prisoners in the corridors of the NKVD, the technique of conveying was so well organized that prisoners rarely met in the long corridors. In such a case, the prisoners were treated as I was at the first visits to the examiner. As I was going through a long corridor, around the corner came another guard with a prisoner. My guard quickly stopped me, turned my face to the wall and covered my head with a cloak. I remained standing there until the second NKVD man with his prisoner had turned the next corner and then the guard took me into the office of the examiner.

#### NKVD EXAMINER KOZACHENKO

I was taken into a large, light room on the second floor. Behind a table sat a large fat fellow with an iron bar in a rope. This was my examiner Kozachenko. He showed me a place at a small table on which were the articles necessary for writing confessions. First the examiner filled out a blank with my name and surname, date and place of birth, social position and origin of my parents and myself. He asked who of my family and of my wife's was abroad, who of my family had been arrested, and whether I or any of my family had taken part in the armed struggle against the Communists during the civil war or at any other time.

After he finished the form, the examiner asked me about the people whom I knew among those who had been arrested both in the Institute where I worked and in the city of Kiev in general. Everything that I said he carefully noted down and when it came to the name E. of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of Ukraine, he asked me to characterize in more details our mutual relations. More than three hours had passed since the beginning of the interview but the examiner had not revealed the charge against me and only insisted that I confess with whom of the people I had mentioned I was "in an organized group for counter-revolutionary activity." I answered that I took no part in counter-revolutionary work.

My answer irritated my examiner. He told me over and over again to tell the whole truth on the examination, that it would be better for me. I answered as the first time that I had nothing to tell him, for I took no part in counter-revolutionary work. Then at 4 A. M. the examiner left me with a student practitioner and until 6 A. M. this student kept insisting upon a confession. I categorically denied my guilt as I had to the examiner. After the bell at 6 A. M. the examiner returned to the office and asked the pupil whether I had confessed. On receiving a negative answer, the examiner warned me that I would be in a bad spot, if I did not give the desired information.



He called a guard and ordered me to a cell, so that I could have a good sleep, for the next night he would continue the examination. From the example of Vsevolozhsky I knew that his words were nothing but a mockery of me. On putting me into the cell, the guard warned me that it was forbidden to sleep in the cell during the day. He advised me to sit on the bench in the middle of the cell and to look at the door. I passed the entire day in a struggle with fatigue and I could not sleep to renew my strength for the next night.

At 7 P. M. I was again called before the examiner. As on the first occasion, I was placed in a "dog-house" in which I sat until midnight. I admit I might have slept for one or two minutes but the watch was so strict that there could be no question of going to sleep. Every minute the guard kept looking through the window and if he saw my eyes shut, he quickly opened the door and awoke me with a heavy kick of his boot. At midnight I was taken to the office of the examiner. I noticed that the examiner was nervous and from his first words he spoke in a raised voice and read me an instruction on how to behave in the office of the examiner: ,

- 1) On entrance into the office, it was necessary to greet the examiner.
- 2) When during the examination any of the staff of the NKVD came into the room, I was to stand up.
- 3) I was so to sit on the chair that I did not lean against its back; the chair was to be at such a distance from the table that I could not rest upon the latter.
- 4) When I was not writting, my hands were to be on my knees.
- 5) I was to refer to all persons who had not been arrested as "citizen" and not "comrade".

After this he asked me whether I had slept well for the whole day in the cell and whether I had decided voluntarily to confess my criminal activity. I again answered him that I had committed no crime which I could confess. He jumped up from his seat, ran up to me with clenched fists and quickly rained a shower of hard blows on my head and shoulders and then he returned to the table and read me the charges against me based on article 54, Par. 8-11. I did not know to what these articles and paragraphs referred. The examiner explained to me that counter-revolutionists, "enemies of the people" who were trying to overthrow the Communist government were charged under article 54 of the Ukrainian Code procedure. Par. 8. meant that the person accused under it had committed a terroristic act against the leaders of the party and government or recognized terror as a proper means in the struggle with Communism. Par. 11 meant that the person belonged to some counter-revolutionary organization. Concretely in my case I was ac-

cused of belonging to a Ukrainian nationalistic organization which recognized individual terror as the basic means of the struggle with Communism. The examiner suggested that I sign the accusation he read to me. I categorically refused to sign, because I did not belong to a Ukrainian nationalistic organization and knew nothing of the existence of such.

I am a Ukrainian. I loved, love and will love my country and like the overwhelming majority of the population, I felt its sufferings with pain in my heart. But under the conditions of the cruel Communist terror, where any anti-Communist action leads to physical annihilation — death, I was indisposed to act and I did not act against the existing governmental order. The Almighty grants only to selected individuals, true revolutionists, to be ready to die to win a better fate for their people. It is perfectly natural when of the 170 millions of the population of tsarist Russia, the number of active revolutionists even in the years of revolutionary fervor, never exceeded 300,000—350,000, but in 1937-39 the Stalinist oprichnina imprisoned 11-13 million people, accusing them of being active counter-revolutionists, "enemies of the people." It is possible that among the millions arrested, some hundreds of thousands were true revolutionists, ready for battle with the Stalinist tyranny and to accept death in case it was necessary but the rest of these 11-13 million people were simply innocent people who did not differ in any way from the other millions of the population. Like the whole population of the country, they did not love in their hearts the existing order but they never admitted this to any one, even to their closest friends. I belonged to the millions of innocent that were arrested and so I categorically denied the accusations brought against me.

After reading me the accusations, the examiner Kozachenko struck his fist on the text before him and warned me that my silence would not help me for in the text was the material confessed by E. who had given exhaustive testimony against me. He warned me again that if I did not voluntarily confess the charges against me, he would subject me to cruel torture.

So about 3 or 4 A. M. the examiner telephoned and two uniformed men entered the office. They took their stations near the windows and pulled over them thick cloth hangings which would prevent the sounds of the torturing from being heard in the street. Then they approached me and began to yell at me in the most uncensored language which exists only in the vocabulary of the Russian folk tongue. They ran around me with their fists clenched and demanded my confession to the charge brought against me. They tore my hair, struck me in the face, spat in my face, and then went out.

In spite of everything I categorically denied the charges brought against me. Before morning the examiner began to read different passages from the record of the confession of E., in which he described the conditions of my "joining" the Ukrainian nationalistic organization. I thought that this was an invention of the examiner, for I was convinced that E. himself had never belonged to this organization but the examiner showed me the true signature of E.

At that moment there was no time to think what had compelled E. to give this testimony, for I had to find a proper answer in my own examination. Before morning the examiner handed me over to his pupil for further terrorization and he himself lay down on a couch. At 6 A. M. the bell sounded and awoke him. As on the previous time, in sending me back to a cell, the examiner smiled and advised me to have a good sleep and to think over my confession.

On returning to my cell I found all the inmates already dressed. The two days passed without sleep invited me to sleep but sleep was strictly forbidden in the cell. Lack of sleep is the chief weapon of the NKVD for breaking in a man the will to resist. In the morning when the guard distributed the bread and tea and took us to the toilet, sitting on the bench in the centre of the cell, I several times fell asleep for 2-3 minutes. The day was harder than the day before for of the 5 inmates, 2 were called for an examination during the day.

I understood that I would not be left until they had secured the necessary statements and so, when the third evening came, I was waiting from minute to minute to be called. At 9 P. M. I was called out of the cell and placed in a "dog-house" under still stricter watch than in the cell. Then at 1 A. M. I was called before the examiner. I found there all those who had been there the night before. My examiner Kozachenko first turned to me with the question as to whether I had decided during the day to confess the accusations brought against me or whether I wished a repetition of the torture. During these words he took from the table a thick rubber truncheon. At that moment from nearby came a cry of despair and a plea not to beat. When the crying and pleading stopped, the examiner again asked me whether I would make a voluntary confession or wished to plead for mercy as I had heard from the next room. I answered that the NKVD could do with me what it wished, for I would never confess to what I had not done. The examiner bared his teeth at this answer and went on shouting: perhaps I wanted to die and hide my secret in the grave, but I was mistaken, for the NKVD would get that secret from me and then help me go to my grave.

At the end of this tirade, the examiner took from the table the rubber truncheon and walked up to me. He stopped two paces from me

and asked me again whether I would confess. I categorically refused because I had nothing to confess. At that moment with all of his strength the examiner began to beat me with the rubber truncheon but the wall and the bench were in his way. Then at his order the two men in uniform threw me to the floor with my back up and held me by arms and legs, while Kozachenko continued to beat me with still greater ferocity than he had when I was seated. My lack of sleep for 3 days and all that I had experienced during the last days deprived me of strength to resist and after 27-30 blows I lost consciousness. On recovering I felt that my head and face were wet (I had obviously been drenched with water) and all of those were still there who had been in the room when the beating began. The two who held me while the examiner beat me, picked me up and seated me on the bench but I was unable to sit for my entire body ached. The examiner then said that this was enough for the time being but that if I did not confess the next night, he would beat me worse. He called a guard and they took me back to the cell. When they took us to the toilet and I took off my shirt, my whole body was black from the blows of the night.

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#### COMMUNIST COMPETITORS

In 1945 a Hungarian boy met a Russian boy on the frontier. The Hungarian boy was eating a large slice of cake and the Russian boy stared at him with obvious envy.

After a while the Hungarian boy said: "I have cake, you haven't,"

"But I have Stalin as my little Father and you haven't."

"I too shall have Stalin as my little Father one day."

"Then you'll not have cake either!"

## RESOLUTIONS OF THE FIFTH UKRAINIAN-AMERICAN CONGRESS

*adopted at the Fifth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent, held on July 4, 5, and 6, 1952 at Hotel Statler, New York City.*

### E X C E R P T S

We, the delegates and representatives of hundreds of Ukrainian American organizations, fraternal associations, political citizens' clubs, veteran organizations, parishes, women's societies, youth clubs, sport groups and civic societies — all of which are organized into branches of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America — have gathered on this memorable and glorious Day of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America to discuss and deliberate problems which have a direct bearing upon us as citizens of this great and democratic republic. On this occasion it is fitting to recall that this is the fifth congress of our organization which, founded in 1940, at a time when the world was gravely threatened by the totalitarian forces of Nazism, Fascism and Communism, has proved to be one of the most spirited and ardent anti-totalitarian and anti-communist organizations in the country. Even during World War II, while so many in this country recklessly glorified Stalin as a trusted ally and even a democrat, our organization never permitted opportunistic exigencies and political expediencies of the moment to besmirch its democratic ideology or to becloud its realization of the ever-growing universal menace of Russian communist imperialism.

Strongly supporting the efforts of our Government in maintaining peace, our organization boldly and without hesitation stated that a lasting peace could not be achieved without granting freedom and independence to the nations enslaved by the forces of Russian communist imperialism, among which nations is Ukraine, the country of our fathers' origin. In a memorandum addressed to Cordell Hull, then our Secretary of State, the UCCA stated:

"... We, Americans of Ukrainian descent, are primarily concerned with the establishment after this war of security, lasting peace, freedom and democracy throughout the civilized world. For that is one of the principal reasons why our country is engaged in this war..."

This unshakeable belief of our organization in the vital necessity of having freedom for all nations, including the enslaved peoples of the Soviet empire, was strictly maintained through the course of the twelve years' existence of the UCCA, as attested to by its congresses in 1940, 1944, 1946 and 1949.

Today, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, being a national organization consisting of branches and affiliates in every state of the Union and representing one million and a half Americans of Ukrainian descent and East European background, in the light of contemporary international developments has of necessity come to assume an important and unique role in disseminating the truth concerning Russian imperialistic communism and in the task of forming enlightened and realistic policies with respect to the Soviet Union. Its practical services and achievements in this field are by no means negligible, and are to be measured by its wide and vital

relations with the American political leadership as well as with many national groups and organizations which have come to recognize and appreciate its role in assessing and evaluating political realities as they pertain to Eastern Europe. The most fitting expression and recognition of this fact was given by President Truman in his commendatory message to this organization on the occasion of its Fourth Congress held in Washington in November 1949.

#### A. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The United States of America has given shelter and refuge to many thousands of Ukrainians and other people from Eastern and Central Europe, proving once again that America is still the beacon of liberty and the hope of the oppressed. As in 1940, at which time our organization fully supported the peace effort of the United States Government, so do we now fully and unequivocally state:

WHEREAS, the present international peace is gravely threatened by the deadly tension created by the systematic aggressive and expansionist policies of the Kremlin, the self-appointed leader of a vast communist conspiracy to enslave the world and to subordinate it to the dictatorial power of Moscow, the traditional center of enslavement and despotism;

WHEREAS, the United States of America, has become by virtue of its position as leader of the free world, the principal target and the object of covetousness of Russian imperialistic design;

WHEREAS, the American people have long accepted the basic principles set forth in the American Declaration of Independence, which stresses the tenets that "all men are created equal," that they are entitled to the enjoyment and exercise of freedom and independence, and that they believe these principles are universal and applicable to all nations everywhere, at all times and under all forms of government,

#### WE DO RESOLVE:

1. To support fully and unhesitatingly the ever-increasing endeavors of the United States in its policy of maintaining peace in the world, and in its growing determination to oppose and challenge the aggressive and imperialistic policies of the Soviets, whose ultimate goal is imposition of slavery upon this country and the destruction of its freedom and independence, as it has already done in Ukraine and in many other non-Russian countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Asia.

2. To endorse unqualifiedly the far-reaching statement of Secretary of State Acheson of June 26, 1951 to the effect that the present Soviet policies are an indisputable prolongation of a 500-year-old Russian imperialism, clothed in communist garb and fitted out with international slogans of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

3. To call the attention of the United States Government to the fact that the Soviet Union, with a population of 200 million, is not a monolithic state of the Russian people, but a conglomeration of many nationalities, among whom the non-Russian peoples, comprising 110,000,000 were conquered by Moscow by force and are kept in slavery and subjugation against their will. Their desire for freedom and independence presents the weakest link in the Soviet system which, if properly capitalized upon could greatly enhance our chances of success in combating Soviet Russian imperialistic communism.

- 4 To urge the speedy adoption by the Congress of the United States of the following measures, which would greatly enhance our prestige and win over friends and allies among the enslaved peoples of the USSR and its satellites:

a) The Kersten Resolution (House Concurrent Resolution 94) calling for the expression of friendship on the part of the American people for the 110,000,000 non-Russian peoples in the USSR, and of their conviction regarding the inalienable rights of these peoples to their freedom and full national independence upon the fall of communism.

b) The speedy and full-fledged implementation of the Kersten Amendment to the Mutual Security Act of 1951, which provides assistance to friendly nations and escapees from behind the Iron Curtain.

c) An early ratification of the Genocide Convention by the United States Senate in order to bring about the international investigation and condemnation of crimes of genocide as perpetrated by the Communists upon the people they have enslaved.

d) Senate Resolution 269, calling for an early establishment of a United States of Europe in the hope that once the Soviet menace is vanquished, the federation might be joined by the free peoples from Central and Eastern Europe to the Caucasus.

5. To call upon the United States Government and all free government members of the United Nations to reject the so-called "Draft Code of Offenses Against Peace and Security of Mankind" which was introduced into the U. N. recently by Soviet-inspired members of the international organization. The above draft would sanction Soviet territorial acquisitions and enslavement of free peoples, and would declare as criminal offenses the helping of the oppressed peoples to regain their freedom, and would outlaw the national liberation movements, one such movement being the Ukrainian liberation movement. The United Nations Code of Offenses, if adopted, would frustrate the liberation efforts of the friends of the enslaved people, as expressed in congressional resolutions and in platforms of certain political parties.

## ***B. THE ENSLAVED UKRAINE***

The sufferings of the Ukrainian nation have been largely due to the brutal and enslaving policies of Soviet Russia, which fact is recognized today by everyone save the stooges of Stalin and die-hard Russian imperialists. Mass deportations and executions of Ukrainian patriots, ruthless destruction of all Ukrainian Churches, Russification of Ukrainian culture and language, the unrestricted genocidal policy of Moscow with respect to the Ukrainian people — all these crimes express the fundamental and traditional Russian policy aiming at the destruction of the Ukrainians as a separate ethnic entity. Because Ukraine, by virtue of its geographical position, its numerical strength and its natural resources has been and is a natural springboard for aggressive Russian imperialism, its full and unqualified liberation from the brutal rule of Moscow would contribute considerably to the strengthening of international peace,

### **WE DO RESOLVE:**

1. To support fully and unswervingly the aspirations of the 45 million Ukrainian people in their efforts to regain their political freedom and national independence. We call the attention of the United States Government and the free world at large to the fact that the Ukrainian people had achieved their full freedom when on January 22, 1918 they proclaimed their independence and on January 22, 1919 they united all the Ukrainian ethnographic territories into one independent and sovereign Ukrainian Democratic Republic, established through a due process

of democratic election and endorsed by the overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian people.

2. To make it known that the legal government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic was forcibly expelled from the country by the aggressive forces of Moscow, and that today the Ukrainian National Council (*Rada*), which functions in Western Europe, is the continuation of the legal government of the Ukrainian people in exile. Therefore, the so-called Ukrainian Soviet government, installed by Moscow in Kiev, is not the representative government of the Ukrainian people.

3. To call the attention of the United States Government and the free world at large that in Ukraine there exists and resists Russian domination an indomitable Ukrainian Insurgent Army and its political leadership, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, as well as an entire network of underground resistance, which oppose the domination of Moscow and strive for the attainment of a free and independent Ukrainian democratic republic and a free world as well.

4. To support the basic and democratic desires of the Ukrainian people to have all their ethnographic territories united, so that the liberated Ukrainian nation would not be carved again as it was after World War I. We also call attention to the fact that even the Soviet government did not dare to destroy the frame-work of the Ukrainian state and even demanded a separate Ukrainian representation in the United Nations.

5. To denounce those undemocratic Russian anti-communist leaders here and in Europe who, in unison with the Kremlin rulers, agitate against the democratic and just aspirations of the Ukrainian people for their basic freedom and independence, thus strengthening the power of Moscow over Ukraine and all other non-Russian countries within the USSR and the satellite orbit.

At the same time, guided by the sense of Christian charity and compassion, we recognize the important distinction between the perennially-oppressed Russian masses and the traditionally undemocratic and aggressive Russian leadership; therefore, while denouncing the Russian chauvinist leaders and imperialists who would keep Ukraine in perpetual slavery of Moscow, we deeply sympathize with the Russian masses who are entitled to a better life and unrestricted freedom, as are the Ukrainian and other peoples enslaved in the USSR.

#### WE DO RESOLVE:

To appeal to and urge the United States Government to make it known to the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain that it upholds the rights of the non-Russian peoples within the present USSR, as well as of the Russian people themselves, to their basic and inalienable freedoms which include the right of unqualified self-determination and independence. Such a step ranks in importance with the NATO, which is primarily designed to safeguard Western Europe against the encroachment of Russian communism and messianism. In so doing the United States Government will bring encouragement and hope to those peoples oppressed by Moscow, peoples who are fighting against the same tyrannical power which is killing the flower of our youth in Korea and which threatens to thrust into ignominious slavery not only our country, but the entire world as well.

### RESOLUTION REGARDING WESTERN UKRAINIAN TERRITORIES

#### I.

The strengthened action of Polish groups in Europe and especially in the United States, for the restitution of the Eastern frontiers of 1939, is in actuality



a renewed demand to reconquer Western Ukraine with its 13 million population with the help of the democratic powers. Western Ukraine is a centuries-old Ukrainian land, where the Ukrainian people throughout their entire history formed a compact majority of the population, while the Poles were only a colonizing element there brought by the former Polish government. According to the will of its population and the right of self-determination, Western Ukraine on November 1, 1918 proclaimed its independence as a Western Ukrainian National Republic which on January 22, 1919 united Great Ukraine into one sovereign and democratic Ukrainian National Republic.

Poland, reconstructed in November 1918, under the leadership of Joseph Pilsudski and, with the assistance of armed forces designated by the Entente for the struggle against the Bolsheviks, broke down its defenses after almost a year-long war and occupied it militarily.

The Western world did not recognize this Polish occupation, as indicated, among other things, by the line of the San River, proposed by the British Minister, Lord Curzon, as a frontier between Poland and Ukraine. The same frontier was recognized after World War II also by the United States as such approximatively, and although to the detriment of Ukraine, corresponds to the ethnic majority on this territory.

During the short-lived Polish occupation of Western Ukraine (1920-1939), the Ukrainian-elected deputies to the Parliament in Warsaw lodged an official declaration in their behalf, stating that Western Ukraine did not recognize the Polish occupation, but wanted an union with Eastern Ukraine.

Taking all this into consideration, the Fifth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent states that Western Ukraine is a Ukrainian land and an integral part of the Ukrainian National Republic. Polish attempts upon this Ukrainian territory, unjust and illegal, provide today only fresh material for Kremlin propaganda and thus weaken the uniform anti-communist front.

## II.

Other parts of Western Ukrainian territories, specifically Carpatho-Ukraine and the Ukrainian provinces of Bukovina and Bessarabia, are integral parts of the Ukrainian ethnographic territories and were always parts of the Ukrainian political system.

On January 21, 1919 Carpatho-Ukraine, proclaimed its union with the Ukrainian National Republic in Kiev. On March 14, 1939 Carpatho-Ukraine proclaimed its independence and fought desperately when it was invaded by a voracious neighbor.

In the same wise, the Bukovinian Ukraine, this old and integral part of Kievan Rus-Ukraine proclaimed its union with Western Ukraine on November 7, 1918 with the purpose of uniting into one and sovereign democratic republic of the Ukrainian people.

The Fifth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent, taking into consideration these historical facts and present reality, asserts that these Ukrainian provinces are parts of the Ukrainian National Republic and any attempts by its former occupants to regain them would meet with a determined opposition of the Ukrainian people.

## BOOK REVIEWS

ONE OF THE FIFTEEN MILLION by Nicholas Prychodko. *Little, Brown and Co.*, Boston, 1952. pp. 236.

There has recently appeared a number of books written by former prisoners in the Soviet concentration camps. Most have the serious defect of attempting to give a synthesis of the Soviet system of terror instead of presenting a realistic picture of Soviet reality. It is very natural that no synthetic work on life in the Soviets can take the place of a true picture of Soviet existence at liberty, under arrest during the investigation and life in the concentration camps. There are only a few of these volumes that give a true picture and among them the first place must be assigned to the volume of Nicholas Prychodko, *One of the Fifteen Million*.

The author, a Ukrainian from Kiev and a young student of agriculture, became the victim of the terror during the period of the so-called Yezovshchyna. He was arrested without any reason as the result of some denunciation and was placed in the Kiev prison on Lukiyanivka. The investigation of this case was carried on amid scenes of terrible horror and the devilish hatred to which the man-beast without God can descend. Then came a temporary respite, for the investigation ended and the author joined a mass transportation of prisoners to a Siberian concentration camp at Yurkino.

With true talent, realistically and without exaggeration the author paints for us life in the camp or rather the several camps assigned to cut wood in the Siberian tayga. The control of the food ration forced the prisoners to intensive work which finally sapped their strength. Any disobedience or failure to fulfill the required amount of work was handled in the Soviet labor camps by incarceration in the so-called *kartsery* (jails), i. e. a small section surrounded by high wooden palisades like medieval fort. The prisoner, left there in the cold, rarely came out fit for further work.

The author's Ukrainian mother was his guardian angel, for she spent her last money on a journey to Moscow to beg in the Kremlin for the release of her son. By a fortunate train of events she met in front of the Kremlin a fellow Ukrainian serving as an officer in the Red Army and he made it possible for her to meet Kalinin, the President of the Supreme Soviet, who pardoned her son.

The author returned from Siberia with the right of living in the small cities of Ukraine, went to Kiev and soon, thanks to the favor of a former student who was a Communist, at that time making a career, he received work in a school for farm tractor-drivers. The constant watch of the NKVD made his life difficult and with the outbreak of the war truly hellish.

He was miraculously saved from a new arrest by the sympathy of the Ukrainian peasants on a kolkhoz. He waited in hiding, continuously menaced by arrest and shooting as did thousands of others, for the coming of the Germans, who in their advance to the east occupied Ukraine west of the Dnieper and also the kolkhoz where he was hiding. The iron curtain moved rapidly to the east and Nicholas Prychodko, the former Soviet prisoner and inmate of a Siberian concentra-

tion camp, moved west to Germany and then to Canada, where he is now working as a journalist.

His volume is one of the best memoirs on life under the Soviets. Its simplicity and directness of description, its Ukrainian patriotism and the deep democratic faith of the author as an ordinary Ukrainian once living under Soviet rule show us the real Ukraine as it exists under the rule of red Moscow. The book can be read with great interest and the reader will not lay it down until he has reached the final page.

N. CHUBATY

THE SIBERIAN FIASCO. *By Clarence A. Manning.* New York: Library Publishers. 1952, pp. 210. \$3.75.

The general reader as well as the student of history will find in this book some clarification, as much as is possible, for the complicated problem of the American military intervention in eastern Siberia from Sept. 1918 to March 31, 1920. Since some secrecy and vague instructions surrounded Gen. Graves' expedition to Siberia, students of history were often puzzled, especially in view of the Red propaganda.

More than a third of the book is devoted to the historical background of the interest of big powers in Siberia — Russia and China being depicted by the author as they expanded hither. These two Asiatic powers did not exactly clash, as the Europeans often had over a coveted area, but negotiated agreements. Thus at first they stopped each other, but after a time the Muscovites prepared a new strategy of penetration of Manchuria and Mongolia, both economic and military. To further complicate the matter, a third power, Japan, entered the scene of action at the close of the 19th century and proved to be the most aggressive of the three until her defeat in 1945.

Chapters IV to VIII give the possible causes of foreign intervention. Among them are: Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war in Siberia, especially the Czechs, various Russian military chiefs, general confusion and insecurity. Along side of these, fear of the Red terror from the West was apparent. Thus we find the Japs landed their marines in Vladivostok and began to meddle in local affairs by supporting some of the local Russian chiefs, as Semenov, but obviously attempting to advance their own interests in Siberia. Chapters IX to XVI deal with the Americans in Siberia and the last two chapters discuss their withdrawal and the final verdict.

The chapters dealing with the American occupation of Siberia are valuable because they throw an impartial light on the conflict in Wilson's Cabinet, where the President trusted the War Department more than he did the State Department. The description of the conditions in east Siberia present a picture of the local selfish, often barbarous Russian military leaders, who did not want to recognize progress and imagined themselves, singly, to be little tsars. An attempt to create a parliamentary system for the huge Siberian empire failed because of the selfishness and incompetency of such leaders as Kolchak, Semenov, and others. The position of the Czechs as a group probably merits more attention than they receive in the book. They are really entitled to a chapter by themselves.

One point which Dr. Manning has clarified in connection with this was the presence of a very large Ukrainian population in the Amur district of eastern Siberia and their urge for freedom. As the author is more conversant with Ukrainian history than all others who have previously written on our occupation of Siberia,

he described how the Ukrainian settlers got there, how the Russians of the "old" and "new" regimes tried to ignore their racial aspirations; and how on the first opportunity in 1917, these Ukrainian settlers organized their autonomous government in the Amur Province and thus set up an example for other groups. Semenov, being half Buryat, tolerated such self-government; Adm. Kolchak, however, attempted to crush all such manifestations and himself perished.

The American occupation troops took quite the proper attitude by not favoring any of the local leaders. That was the spot where the Japanese got into trouble. Gen. Graves revealed considerable diplomatic skill in Siberia in dealing with local problems, and when he concluded that his troops were no longer performing useful service and suggested their withdrawal, the government in Washington followed his request. And thus ended the adventurous undertaking, which thanks to Dr. Manning's book, will now be much better understood.

WASYL HALICH

PATTERN OF PEACE, by Antoni Gronowicz. New York, Paramount Publishing Co. 1951, pp. 215.

This book of Gronowicz which has the sub-title, "The History of Poland and its Relations to Germany" deals more with the present than the past. In this history the author tries to find proof for support of the rights of Poland to the present Western Polish boundaries along the Oder and the Neisse. Consequently Polish-German relations are not set forth impartially. The book is written in a spirit hostile to the German people and cannot produce a good impression either among the Allies or in the Soviet Union. The period of war hate against the German people is past and to-day both the democratic powers and the Soviets are seeking the friendship with Germany.

In this connection the solution of the Polish-German boundaries provisionally adopted at Potsdam in 1945 on the Oder and the Neisse became a very difficult problem; it has been seriously questioned in the west. At present it is only the Kremlin that is protecting these boundaries treated by all Poles as just, but this is compelling Poland, a decidedly Catholic and anti-Communist country, to seek support in this matter in Moscow. Gronowicz is aware of this and so he expressly relies upon red Russia. He believes even that the Polish-Russian relations have been settled for centuries and that the natural place of Poland has been found in the Slav world which he identifies with Russia. Whether this is to the advantage of Poland is another question.

The history of German-Polish relations is treated by the author as a brutal German *Drang nach Osten*, although in the name of historic truth it must be said that the German colonization in Poland for centuries had a rather peaceful character and that the German colonists brought with them a more progressive economy and were welcomed for that reason. Even the Germanization of the old Polish province of Silesia with its capital of Wroclaw was carried on by peaceful means. The brutal *Drang nach Osten* was started by the Teutonic Knights and continued by the Kingdom of Prussia. We must add also that Poland used the German colonists in the Ukrainian lands from the first moments of its occupation of Ukrainian Galicia with its capital of Lviv (1340) for stabilizing the Polish domination in the East.

The author has paid no attention to the most important cause of the Germanization of the western Polish lands and their loss in the 14th century, i. e. the

basic mistake of Polish policy from the time of Kazimierz (Casimir) the Great, for then Poland turned its attention to the conquest and control of the Ukrainian lands and paid less attention to the preservation of the old Polish lands which were being systematically Germanized by German colonists. So it happened that at the very time when Poland was conquering the western Ukrainian lands and beginning the struggle with the Ukrainian population with its separate Eastern Christian culture, a struggle which has now gone on for 600 years, it lost Silesia to the Czech Germanized Luxemburgs and it lost Prussia and the access to the Baltic sea to the Teutonic Knights. This was the basic mistake of Polish policy which in its zeal for the conquest of the Ukrainian lands ceased the defence of its purely Polish lands.

Thus for 600 years there have been really two distinct cases of a *Drang nach Osten* (Pressure to the East), — the German drive against the western Polish lands and the Polish drive against the western Ukrainian lands. Neither one in 600 years has had much success for both the Germanized belt in the west and the Polonized belt in the east have been only about 40 miles in breadth. Poland lost Silesia and the seacoast and Ukraine the area between the Wisloka and the San and west of the Buh river. At the present time both of these belts, the Germanized Western Polish belt of Silesia with Wroclaw and the eastern Polonized belt of Ukrainian territory with its capital of Peremysl and Kholm are in Poland. Will Poland keep them? To facilitate the Polish holding of them Stalin at Potsdam arranged for the removal of the remaining Ukrainian population from the eastern Polonized belt to the Soviets as a compensation for the Polish territory ruined by the Germans.

Thus Poland indeed became a state with defensible boundaries, a broad outlet to the sea, economically stronger and ethnically more homogeneous than was the Poland of 1939.

The main problem of Polish policy to-day is whether Poland can keep the western boundaries on the Oder and the Neisse, definitely freed of the Germans. The Germans have support of the Western Allies; the Poles, of the Kremlin. The Kremlin also took care that the east German Communist government would agree with Poland on the Oder—Neisse line. This is one of the most difficult problems in Europe for into its decision come the old historical rights, the ethnic position in 1939 and the ethnic situation brought about by the expulsion of the Germans to Germany and Ukrainians to Ukraine and Poles from east to Poland. The Poles then moved about 6,000,000 people to the territory abandoned by the Germans. What will happen, if this remains in effect for along while? Will Stalin succeed in turning back the wheel of history and destroy the accomplishment of the German *Drang nach Osten* during 700 years? If Poland remained on the Oder and the Neisse, all that work of the 700 year-old German *Drang nach Osten* would have been in vain but will it remain?

Poland has the difficult choice of accepting the position of Gronowicz relying entirely on red Moscow, a position contrary to the whole spirituality of Polish people and being in danger of becoming the 17th Soviet Republic or of relying on the Western Allies and facing a compromise on its western boundaries.

It is an inappropriate time for Poland to repeat its 600 year-old mistakes in the East and begin with Ukraine a senseless struggle for Western Ukraine with its capital of Lviv, which historically formed part of the old Ukrainian Kievan state and during six centuries permanently preserved the majority of Ukrainian population. The country is now filled with a primarily Ukrainian population. The Polish

minority from this territory is resettled to Western Poland. At present time the intellectuals of former "Polish Lwow" are working successfully in Wroclaw.

It will be a great sacrifice on the part of the Ukrainians, if they consent to the maintenance of the present Polish-Ukrainian boundaries placed by Stalin east of the Curzon line leaving to the Poles this 40 mile belt of historical Ukrainian territory in some districts inhabited in 1939 by a majority of Ukrainians with the two ancient capitals of the Ukrainian principalities of Peremysl and Kholm. Only the very moderate Ukrainians are able to accept such settlement.

N. CHUBATY.

Godfrey Blunden. *THE TIME OF THE ASSASSINS*. Philadelphia and New York. J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1952, pp. 375.

The author of this novel was for a time a newspaper correspondent in Moscow and was one of the group allowed in the last days of the war to visit Stalin-grad and Kharkiv. It gave him an opportunity to study at first hand the similarities and differences between the two groups of assassins, the SS of the Nazis and the NKVD of the Communists. Both groups denied all principles of humanity in their pursuit of abstract doctrines and neither was willing to recognize any of those instinctive human feelings that mankind has always regarded and which sooner or later cannot be eradicated.

This attitude and the reaction to it of people of all types and classes in Ukraine form the backbone of the novel and give it its chief interest. The author presents them in a masterly manner, as he shows the confusion and uncertainty in the minds of the native population, their dislike of both the occupying forces and their efforts to preserve some of the human values among the intelligent barbarism of the two contending parties.

The weakest part of the book deals with what we may call the Ukrainians by themselves. The author is somewhat confused as to the events of 1917-1920 and this has led him to an unreal presentation of the surviving characters as Prince Dolov and his friends and even Karandash and to a lesser extent Prof. Shevchenko who perhaps represents the deathless tradition of the Ukrainian people. It has inclined the author to see the entire partisan movement as the result of Communist inspiration.

Despite these faults, the novel is an important contribution to the understanding of the behavior of both the Communists and the Nazis and of the life of suspicion and conspiracy which they both encouraged. As such it should have a wide circulation.

CLARENCE A. MANNING.

- 1). Bytovoy Semen: *TIKHOOKEANSKAYA VESNA*. (The Spring of the Pacific Ocean. Leningrad, Sovetsky Pisatel, 1949, pp. 229.
- 2). Liverovsky, Yu. A. and Kolesnikov, V. R.: *PRIRODA YUZHNOY POLOVINY SOVETSKOHO DALNOHO VOSTOKA*. (The Nature of the southern half of the Soviet Far East). Academy of Sciences, Moscow, 1949, pp. 379.
- 3.) Arseniev, V. K.: *V DEBRAKH USSURIYSKOHO KRAYA*. (In the wilderness of the Ussuri Region). Gos. Izd. Geogr. Literatury, Moscow, 1949, p. 547.

The Green Wedge or the so-called Green Ukraine is unknown part of the Ukrainian body. All those (even foreigners) who have had occasion to be in the valleys of the Amur and the Ussuri emphasize unanimously that these lands remind

them of the regions of Ukraine—the architecture of the houses and villages, the names of the villages and localities, the beautiful orchards, especially of cherries, the poplar-fringed roads, the fields of grain, the tradition, customs and the language of the population. Only the blue summits of the distant mountains on the horizon show that this is not Poltavshchyna or Slobozhanshchyna. On the other hand, without being surprised that we often emphasize exclusively the local Ukrainianism of the Green Wedge, our knowledge of this part of the area colonized by Ukrainians is quite bad. We have not studied especially the changes which have taken place in Green Ukraine during the last 20 years and we are not yet oriented as to the results of the study of the folklore and the territory in its geographical, geological and economic aspects. These new Soviet publications are devoted to the study of Green Ukraine and its borders. In the notes of Bytovoy we see an attempt to magnify the “accomplishments” of the Soviet occupation of the territory but we cannot deny the value of the book which gives us much hitherto unknown or hidden information. The works of Liverovsky and Kolesnikov and of Arseniv are throughout of an important character; their content and illustrations (unfortunately the printing technique of the pictures is very poor) give us much material on the geography and natural history of the lands of Green Ukraine. We are struck by the strange reserve which the authors have in speaking of the Ukrainian character of these lands. The Muscovite terror has spread so terribly that even the underlining of the national character of the Ukrainian population seems to the Kremlin a source of danger for Russian imperialism and the authors make every effort to escape the charge of Ukrainian nationalism, an accusation of which under the occupation involves a severe prison sentence or exile to Siberia. It is interesting to note that while Moscow on one side is savagely persecuting all manifestations of the national Ukrainian life in the Far East, it is also trying to flatter the Ukrainians there by giving them high posts (but God forbid, not in Ukrainian lands). Thus for example we know that the Soviet representative in command of the occupation zone of Japan and the Pacific areas was until May, 1950 Lieutenant General Kuzma Derevyanko and is now Major General Oleksa Kyslenko, both Ukrainians from the Far East. But even these “outstanding individuals” as they are called in the USSR are not as Ukrainians reliable for Moscow as is shown by the way in which they have been removed and replaced by others.

S. Y. PROTSIUK.

*Naum Jasny: THE SOVIET ECONOMY DURING THE PLAN ERA.* Stanford University Press, Stanford 1951, pp. 116.

Naum Jasny made a name for himself as a specialist in questions of Soviet economics by his book *The Socialized Agriculture of the USSR*, which he published in 1949. He has also published a number of distinguished articles in the leading American economic journals as *The Review of Economic Statistics*, *The Journal of Political Economy*, etc.

In his last book he has tried to make a survey of the previous five year plans. Since the Soviet statistical data on the national economy deserve no confidence, he has worked out a method of individual calculation and an estimation of values approximating reality. We have no other figures for the economics of the USSR except those of the Soviets and Jasny's method starts from an attempt to reveal the perversions, concealments and especially the exaggerations of the official data. On the basis of these corrected figures he tries to analyze the conditions.

Jasny emphasizes very correctly that if we wish to believe naively in the fantastic picture offered by Soviet statistics, we can only be astonished why Stalin has created an iron curtain, why he has not revealed his "miracle" to the entire world, why they still talk in the USSR of efforts to build "socialism" which still stands ahead and is not fully "realized".

In introducing a corrective into the Soviet statistical data of the periods of the five year plans, data which basically refer to the so-called people's income, he dwells upon two questions: a) what are the sources of this income and b) the use that Moscow makes of this income. We have to admire him for revealing all the errors and especially the falsifications of the Soviet figures in his analysis of the first question. He reviews in order the data on the total production in all fields of the national economy, analyzes their influences on the national income, about which Soviet statistics are silent as on the influence of the movement of population in the USSR, the growth of Soviet territory, the income from state trade, the noticeable increase in payments and taxes, and the changes in productive work in the USSR. Especially valuable is his brilliant discussion of the so-called unchanged prices of 1926/27 by which Moscow has falsified all the data on the value of the production of the various branches of the USSR. Furthermore he gives interesting details from January, 1950 when in official Soviet terminology the term "people's income" was changed into "national income", a change which he regards as indicative of the influence of Soviet Russian chauvinism even in this field.

In considering the second question, Jasny is interested most in the expenditures for the arming and militarizing of the USSR. It is obvious that it is extremely important to seek concrete data here in Soviet statistics and that to find it, it is necessary to make a very clever analysis. How carefully this data is hidden is shown by some examples. Thus the building of new military plants and factories is covered not in the budget (the so-called expenditures for defense) but they are included in the investment in general for the national economy of the USSR. On the other hand the building of important military roads and bridges is not reckoned to the Ministry of Transportation but to the budget of the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs), for it has control of all road transportation in the USSR, although in fact there is in the budget of the MVD no concrete data on investments of this character. The expenditures for maintenance (i. e. clothing, food and pay) of the soldiers of the Soviet army or for the maintenance of the various concentration or near-concentration camps, are not listed in the Soviet budgets, but investigators of Soviet problems noticeably disagree in their opinions on this. Jasny, without being overwhelmed by these difficulties, has analyzed these expenditures so thoroughly that he even tries to find and define the expenditures for the atomic arming of the USSR. He comes to the conclusion that these expenditures are hidden either in the investment for geological exploration, investigation and exploitation or, what he regards as more likely, in investments for education and hygiene. This second hypothesis is the more probable because the building of schools, medical centers and polyclinics are counted in the USSR as capital investments in the national economy and thus in the budgets of the ministries of education and national health there are left large sums to be disposed of. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that there are carried in the budgets for education expenditures for VUZ and the scientific research institutes and it is obvious that there is no practical difference between "research" on atomic energy and the arranging for the manufacture of atomic weapons.



In his conclusion Jasny points out that in the USSR there is spent for new construction and armaments approximately *half* of the total national income. He also says correctly that the country which thus disposes of half of its total income is dangerous to its neighbors and cannot be undervalued. It is still more true because the USSR as a country in which the Kremlin has compelled the population to become accustomed to a relatively low standard of living can allow itself to risk a war with a far lower national income per capita than can the United States.

S. Y. PROTSIUK.

*Jules Nonnerot: LA GUERRE EN QUESTION.* Gallimard, Paris, 1951, p. 262.

This volume is a continuation of the preceding book by the distinguished French sociologist, in which he discusses the problem of Communism, *Sociologie du Communisme*. (Gallimard, Paris, 1949.) In this new volume Nonnerot lays special emphasis on the tactics and strategy of Communism and stresses the importance of the ideological front. The West, he maintains, has come off well in the struggle by returning blow for blow, as in the rule, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." But this method is applicable only in the field of actual, aggressive moves of Communism or more precisely, of the imperialism of the USSR. The author is not satisfied with this method of the West but he demands that the West carry on against the USSR the same kind of warfare that the USSR is waging against the West, i. e. chiefly in the field of ideology and of world outlook. He emphasizes absolutely correctly that the basic goal of the policy of the Kremlin in its relations to the West is not only the shattering of the organized power of its opponent but primarily of mastering and devaluing all of its future reasons for existence, all its hopes and aspirations. Communism is thus waging such a war in its psychological form and profiting ruthlessly by all the inner contradictions which exist in the Western world.

Nonnerot in discussing the question of tactics advises the Western world to carry on a similar campaign against Moscow and to exploit constantly those contradictions which exist in the USSR and in Communism as such. Among the most important of these contradictions which have recently appeared with especial force in the ranks of world Communism outside the USSR, the author places the difference between the mentality of the Bolshevik of the "Stalinist" type and the mentality of the leaders of the October Revolution, and also the difference between the contemporary red but equally chauvinistic Russian empire and the Marxist ideas of a world revolution. As regards the situation within the USSR, he stresses the "tight spots", the revelation of which will give a specially severe blow to the Moscow Bolshevik propaganda — the colossal growth of separatism among the different nations which have been forced unwillingly into the USSR, thanks to the strong and constantly increasing russifying tendencies of Moscow; the dislike and even the hostility of the peasants to the kolkhoz system, something that is not weakening but even growing stronger with the passage of time; the terrible difference between the historical past of the nations of the USSR and also between what they were in reality and what the Soviet propagandists now preach about them; (here he refers to the unparalleled falsification of history in the USSR which is marked by such items as the glorification of such crowned torturers as Peter I and Ivan the Terrible and also the efforts to persuade the nations oppressed by Moscow that the overthrowing of their governments even by tsarist Russia gave them the "advantages" of the "noble" influence of the Russian pseudo-culture);

also the outstanding position of the new Soviet ruling class (of an administrative and technical character), which in truth possesses certain privileges but which is none the less conscious that it can lose them at any moment. He stresses the fact that these contradictions in the USSR must lead to an open revolt and if this has not taken place, it is an irrefutable proof that there is in the USSR a savage police terror, for that alone is able to check the outbreak of this natural revolt. As we see, the author definitely argues for the changing and perfecting of the strategy of the cold war.

Nonnerot also advances certain concrete plans for the organization and mobilization of the anti-Communist forces and in detailing these he even falls into a kind of poetic pathos. Basically he visualizes the anti-Communist block as a form of order and in line with this conception he calls Communism the Islam of the twentieth century. Yet this weakly based transition of Nonnerot from a brilliant and realistic evaluation of the defects of Communism to a mystical medieval scheme for an anti-Communist order does not convince, even when he declares that the basic idea of the order will be that of an all-embracing toleration. Despite this the book is very valuable as a sober sociological analysis of the signs of degeneration and barbarizing of Bolshevism.

S. Y. PROTSIUK

*Albert Camus: L'HOMME REVOLTE.* Paris, Albin Michel, 1951, pp. 390

Albert Camus, one of the deepest contemporary thinkers of France comes also to the conclusion that Bolshevism is barbaric and degenerate. He rejects Communism because he sees in it absolutely no revolutionary, constructive force and no human element, but he comes to this conclusion by an entirely different path from Nonnerot. Camus analyzes and deepens the already deep problem of the tragedy of the contemporary man. This began, in his opinion, at the moment when man on the best tendencies and values of man are connected with this or as he puts it, *un lieu commun qui fond sur tous les hommes la première valeur*. On the basis of his that the superman character of revolutions makes them inhuman and ahuman. It passes rapidly and sharply from the deification of man to terror and tyranny over him. He opposes to revolution as something noble, the tendency of man to revolt permanently and thus he opposes revolution to revolt. He even ascribes to this eternal tendency of man to revolt the same role which is played in the realm of thought by *cogito* and he declares that to revolt means to exist. He adds that all the best tendencies and values of man are connected with this or as he puts it, *un lieu commun qui fond sur tous les hommes la première valeur*. On the basis of his careful observations and analyses he shows that revolution has given itself the same goals as the "bourgeois". The triumphing revolution must prove by show-trials and savage purges that humanity does not exist. Therefore the man of a noble revolt, stifled and oppressed by this revolution, must give mankind by his sufferings and defeats a human, humane content, a content of pain and hope. Life and life alone has shown that it is impossible to reconcile the freedom of man (paradoxically called revolutionary freedom, in the name of which revolution is carried on) with the practice of the revolution, the dry reality, which the victory of the revolution brings. This is a brief resume of his ideas in a clever essay placed in a form used by a definite school of French intellectuals.

For us the most valuable thing is his assertion of the fact that all the progressive powers of mankind reach a social result from which they can never support

the ideas of Bolshevism. Whether it is the opinion of an economist who analyzes the objective development of the economy of the country, or the ideas of a learned sociologist or social worker, who seeks proof of the evident improvement of conditions for human existence or the opinion of a philosopher who considers questions from an all-human aspect, the development of man as man, all condemn the efforts of Moscow (in all fields and not only political) and all Communism as a phenomenon reactionary in its character, not progressive, outlived, inhuman, a phenomenon which has nothing in common with the eternal noble aspirations of the human spirit.

S. Y. PROTSIUK

*Bohdan T. Halajczuk: LOS ESTADOS CONQUISTADOS ANTE EL DERECHO INTERNACIONAL. Buenos Aires, 1950. 148 pages.*

The Institute of International Law at the Buenos Aires University has published in Spanish this book "*The Conquered States before the International Law*". written by a Ukrainian scholar Dr. B. T. Halajczuk who lives now in Argentina as a political refugee.

The author is aware of the fact that the problems treated in this book will scarcely find any objective and generally recognized solution in international law. The book, therefore, has a rather theoretical and scientific than a practical value. In the first part Dr. Halajczuk analyzes the *total occupation* of one country by another, different types of total occupation and the juridical situation of a state under such an occupation. The second part deals with the problem of the *subordination* of a state which continues its existence after the occupation but depends upon a conqueror. In the third part he discusses the problem of the *conquest* of one state by another, its stability and legality. The most interesting is the fourth part dedicated to the *governments in exile*. The author discusses the character of such governments and states that they are the supreme organs of a conquered nation (not of a state) as well as delegates of the future normal government. They are subjects of a law but different from the state.

The author gives many examples from recent world history to illustrate the problems he is discussing. A rich bibliography is given at the end. Without doubt this work is a valuable contribution to the study of one of the most difficult, controversial and undefined problems of the international law.

B. I. LONCZYNA

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## UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"THE ASSASSINS AND THE ADMIRAL," by Jaro Halat. *The New Leader*, July 28, 1952, New York.

Any truthful person in a position to assess this undignified piece of supposed journalism would conclude it to be highly fitting for the Communist organ *Pravda* the dateline of which contains the only positive element of truth. For the techniques employed, techniques of deliberate misreporting, vilification, and the distended lie for the uninformed reader are certainly not dissimilar. This may well account for the necessity of a protective pseudonym on the part of the authoring Judas. However, by his own hand he betrays his inferior dexterity in the use of these techniques when compared to the masters of *Pravda* for the latter are rarely caught in the web of self-contradiction.

The very first paragraph discloses the inferior and thus lamentable capacity of the phantom writer to misrepresent convincingly. We are told that at the Fifth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent, held this past July in New York, amid certain imaginary shouts of "murderer", "assassin", "nearly half the delegates ...stomped out of New York's Statler Hotel..." In the very next sentence we are told that "The incident was a highlight in the struggle between a small minority of Ukrainian democrats and an aggressive majority of extreme nationalists who control the organization". Plain logic would dictate that if this was the "highlight", conjured up by the rationally unbridled imagination of the author, then surely "nearly half the delegates" couldn't have hypothetically "stomped out", when in this fictitious struggle there is supposed to have been only "a small minority of Ukrainian democrats".

In the light of all this it is strange and curious, beyond all rational comprehension, that this Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent demonstrated an unprecedented unity for such organizations. With this as a measure of the spurious journalism engaged by this allegedly liberal organ, it is scarcely worth the time, energy or space to dwell further on the ridiculous falsehoods and inept misrepresentations that make up the rest of this contemptible article.

"ADMIRAL KIRK AND RUSSIA", AN EDITORIAL. *Ukrainian Commentary*, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, July 1952, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

The editorial comments and current reports in the initial issues of this new publication sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee are deserving of the highest praise and attention. The several well placed strictures in this editorial on the contents of an article written by Admiral Kirk, entitled "America and World Freedom", are rationally irrefutable. To equate the USSR and Russia, rather than as the essential part of the new Russian Empire, is of course nonsensical. To refer to the non-Russian nations in the USSR as "the peoples of Russia" is derivatively and equally nonsensical.

These are plainly terminological incongruities which reveal an insufficient grasp of the historical realities of Eastern Europe and Central Asia, but in time the Admiral will be virtually compelled by the sheer force of events to show a sounder understanding of the potential and actual forces at work in that quarter of the world. By that time, and of necessity it will have to be soon, the Admiral will surely not commit such indiscretions as this — "Our pride in America has nothing in common with narrow-minded nationalism". The force of nationalism is hardly narrow-minded when it seeks realization of the same state of national independence and self-government that we in America take pride in. And, needless to say, the forces of nationalism rampant in the USSR are not only of the same substance that we take pride in, but also an efficient means accessible to our realistic formulation of psychological strategy against the mortal enemy.

"THE UKRAINE AND RUSSIA — THERE IS A DIFFERENCE", by Frank Jackman. *Notre Dame*, A Magazine of the University of Notre Dame, Summer 1952, Indiana.

Centered about the varied background and present research activities of Dr. Michael Pap, a newly arrived Ukrainian serving as a special research assistant to the Committee on International Relations at this renowned institution, this fascinating article contains all the basic material necessary to accurately distinguish a Ukrainian from a Russian. As Dr. Pap says in part, "In 1864, the Russian Foreign Office declared that there never had been any such place as the Ukraine. This they thought effectively disposed of all resistance. How wrong they were!" In summary fashion the Ukrainian struggle for independence is recounted to the present day. Obviously talented and resourceful, Dr. Pap has a fertile area in the United States for the production of his studies, and should contribute substantially to the steady obliteration of Russia's Iron Curtain in this country regarding the true state of the many non-Russian peoples and nations in the USSR.

"THIRTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF LITHUANIA'S INDEPENDENCE COMMEMORATED." *Current News on the Lithuanian Situation*, the Lithuanian Legation, May-June 1952, Washington, D. C.

The thirty-fourth anniversary of Lithuania's independence has really been a grand success, and may the hopes and prayers for liberation from its present enslavement, as so amply expressed in the countless messages commemorating this glorious event of thirty four years ago, be in good time realized. However, with reference to all the non-Russian nations in Central and East Europe the promotion of the splendid idea of national liberation tends to be somewhat hollow without the corollary display of warm feeling and understanding of the terrible plight of these peoples under the scourge of Soviet Russian genocide.

It is noteworthy that in his remarkable comments the Honorable Ray J. Madden of Indiana dwells on this vital point and stresses that "The Soviet policy of genocide is being inflicted today upon Lithuania, Poland, Bulgaria, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Armenia and other nations and races". These other nations and races consist of the other non-Russian nations in Eastern Europe and Asia. It is highly significant that no evidence exists in connection with any genocide perpetrated on the Russian nation. In effect, the higher levels of culture and civilization among the non-Russian nations are to be reduced to the Muscovite level. This is the chief tragedy surrounding all the non-Russian peoples throughout the Soviet Russian Empire.

"THE SOVIET CRIME OF GENOCIDE", an address by the Hon. Edward M. O'Connor. *Latvian Information Bulletin*, Latvian Legation, August 1952, Washington, D. C.

In commemoration of Baltic Genocide Day this past June, at the Washington meeting an exceedingly instructive address was delivered by the Hon. Edward M. O'Connor. The speaker provided an excellent explanation for contemporary Soviet genocide. Among the fundamentals he mentioned were "1. The Soviet Union is not a nation or a state. It is, in fact, an empire" and "5. That so long as this unnatural empire exists it must of necessity continue its drive of penetration, encroachment, and consolidation. Failing to pursue this predatory course will result in the downfall and eventual break-up of the twentieth-century empire of Muscovy..." He stresses also the misunderstanding that has been created about genocide, especially its unfortunate confusion with the civil rights issue. The quality and depth of Commissioner O'Connor's addresses over the past two years have earned him the distinguished reputation of being one of the relatively few men in Washington possessed with a sound, working knowledge of the realities of Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

"POLICY POST-MORTEM" by Watson Kirkconnell. *Public Affairs*, Autumn 1951, Halifax, Canada.

This essay is a superb review of the political international situation created by the victorious Allies. The writer, a brilliant expert on Communist Russia, portrays the Roosevelt policy as a disastrous one for America and the world at large. He cannot understand the crass naivete of many supposedly responsible officials who have clung to the belief in a durable friendship with Moscow in the face of the stubborn facts of Russian Communist enslavement of millions of Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples. He quotes the incredible naive expressions of the American ambassador to Moscow, Joseph E. Davies, and the British Information Minister, Brendan Bracken. According to the former, "In my opinion the word of honour of the Soviet government is as safe as the Bible"; the latter, "Soviet Russia had never broken its word".

The author extends his cogent survey over the area of far-flung Communist power on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and soberly warns the Allies not to repeat the old blunders. As he phrases it "In the case of the East European Golgotha, we must not confuse the crucifier and the crucified and insult the latter by lavishing political kisses on the former — as the peace plotters would urge us to do. An international of freedom must include the 194 millions of the USSR." Prof. Kirkconnell's record of sound political observations is an enviable one, and he knows whereof he speaks. While many just a few years ago were honeymooning with the Communists, Dr. Kirkconnell was one of their fiercest antagonists.

"POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE UKRAINIAN EXILES AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR", by St. J. Paprocki. *The Eastern Quarterly*, January-April 1952, London.

For any one seeking a succinct and just account of the Ukrainian national liberation movement in its ramifications beyond the territory of Ukraine itself, this well written and factually packed article represents about the finest exposition yet produced on this vitally important subject. With a balanced historical back-

ground of preceding political Ukrainian emigrations, occasioned usually by the collapse of Ukrainian efforts toward independence under the weight of insuperable odds, the survey traces in a most engaging manner and with all the signs of understanding on the part of the writer the many political convolutions of this activity in Europe, the United States and Canada since the end of World War I. His treatment of the political and tactical issues which have brought disagreement and division into the organized Ukrainian emigration is remarkably fair and instructive.

Regarding political activity in the United States relevant to the Ukrainian cause, the writer displays an adequate familiarity with the general objectives and operations of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, but is somewhat unaware of the solid American character and nature of this widely representative organization. He is correct that the UCCA makes every endeavor to transcend the inter-party strifes characterizing the Ukrainian emigration in Europe, but the author does not appear to realize that this is a necessary result of the very nature of the group, not to mention its complete and uncompromising devotion to the liberation and independence of Ukraine and all the enslaved non-Russian nations as a prime objective of American foreign policy. A further significant consequence of this is its unqualified stand to aid and support the democratic actions of every Ukrainian group in Europe and elsewhere operating unselfishly toward the realization of the same general end. As the writer well states it, "Nobody is better aware of these realities than the Muscovite rulers. No wonder that they consider the Ukrainian problem, like the problem of the other subjugated nationalities, as a most vulnerable point of the Soviet State."

"THE ATTITUDE OF THE RECENT RUSSIAN EMIGRES TOWARD THE JEWISH QUESTION", by Anatole Goldstein. *Institute of Jewish Affairs, World Jewish Congress, New York.*

This is an extremely important analysis of a very fundamental question, handled in a cool, factual manner and in certain respects supported by adequate and convincing documentation. It is not entirely an examination of the attitude of recent Russian emigres toward the Jewish question, for a short section is devoted to recent Ukrainian emigres as well. In the greater portion of the analysis dealing with Russian emigres, specifically the Solidarists, the Russian All-National Movement, and the Vlassovists, the treatment is solidly founded on stubborn facts and detailed knowledge, and gives a more authoritative impression than appears to be the case with the Ukrainian portion. The clue to the general tone of the analysis is provided on the first page where the writer emphasizes that "One of the paradoxes of the Russian emigration is that, contrary to practice elsewhere, the Russian collaborators who fought for Germany and against their own people still continue to play an important role among the new Russian emigres".

The Russian Solidarists, widely known as hate-breeding anti-Semites, receive a thorough going over in a context studded with evidential facts. "During the pre-war and war periods the Solidarist paper *Za Rossiyu* occasionally published attacks upon 'the rulers of Moscow in the persons of the 'Zhids' (Contemptuous Russian name for Jews) Kaganovich and Litvinov-Finkelstein, Trotsky-Bronstein and Kameney-Rosenfeld'." Unlike many credulous persons, the writer is not taken in by some recent Solidarist propaganda. Very clearly he avers that "When the possibility of immigration to the United States became a reality, the Solidarists began to camouflage their Fascist tendencies and to conceal their anti-Semitism."

The Russian All-National State Movement is also shown to be permeated by strong anti-Semitic tendencies, and as the author points out, "Closely connected with this movement is the aforesaid paper *Nabat*, which from time to time publishes anti-Semitic and anti-democratic articles". Bearing on the special article in this connection, this lucid analysis concludes on the following note: "This article is a brilliant example of how an extremely anti-Semitic article can be written without exposing the writer to the risk of prosecution for criminal propaganda. But at the same time it is serious warning of what Jews can expect if the so-called 'national right democratic circles' should be given a free hand". The case against Vlassov and his imperialist-minded Russian followers, despite their glib post-war apologies, is equally devastating. "Concerning the Jewish question", the writer confidently shows, "Vlassov declared in his Riga speech that in the new Russia there would be no place for Jews. His deputy, General Malishkin, said that in liberated Russia all people would be free and equal, except the Jews."

The author's analysis of the Ukrainian attitude is challenging in numerous respects. One, he alludes on two occasions to the alleged Petlura pogroms following World War I. This is merely a repeated assertion, and no substantiation is given. Many prominent Ukrainian Jews who held high positions in the Petlura government have testified to the falsehood of these allegations, and two years ago an article was published in this journal, presenting a fair and objective study of this issue which received a favorable reception in many Jewish quarters. It would be both interesting and profitable in the interest of truth to note the author's reaction to it. Second, the writer singles out Stephen Bandera and Nikola Lebed as leading anti-Semitic Ukrainians. His sources, unfortunately, are Russian publications about which there is always a reasonable doubt concerning their treatment of Ukrainian affairs, and when the writer refers to the "favorable appraisal" of Mr. Lebed's activities in "the secret archives of the Gestapo," the reader becomes disappointed at his failure to produce at least a few excerpts from this source. The accusation against Mr. Lebed does not square off with the contention, for which proof can presumably be offered, that a price was placed on his head by the Germans for harboring and protecting Jews. In a desirable conference between representatives of the Ukrainian cause and those of the World Jewish Congress on this general and vital subject it would be most absorbing to devote some time to the sifting of the evidence both sides claim to possess in support of their individual positions.

Before considering briefly his third challenging point, it should be mentioned that the writer errs badly in his view that the "most important issue which now divides the Ukrainian emigres is the question of the status of the Ukraine after its liberation from the Bolsheviks." If he were more fully acquainted with Ukrainian emigre organizations here and abroad, he would discover, perhaps much to his surprise, that there is no such division in existence due to an overall unity on the goal of Ukrainian independence. Now, concerning the third point, it is simply not in accord with the facts to state that "it is amazing that Ukrainian politicians do not declare categorically that there must be no Jewish question in liberated Ukraine..." Such categorical pronouncements even appeared under the Petlura government, and in the United States the American Ukrainian Congress Committee has often stated as much, not by any means for any imputed reason of political expedience but on the firm basis of sheer moral principle. More, it has earnestly sought to initiate conferences with leading American Jewish representatives for the purpose of upholding this mutual position about which all representative Ukrainian bodies abroad could rally, and thereby advance the preeminent cause of harmonious



Ukrainian-Jewish relations and the untarnished principle of absolute equality among all groups and races in the liberated Ukraine. Its efforts in this direction must be redoubled in the sincere hope of meeting with warm response.

UKRAINIANS IN NORTH DAKOTA by Wasyl Halich. *North Dakota History*. 1951/1954.

In this interesting article the author deals with the Ukrainian immigration in North Dakota, the first settlers and the real pioneers in this rural state. The Ukrainians started to settle in this state sixty years ago, when North Dakota was a waste region of uncultivated prairies. Hard work of the Ukrainian settlers enabled them to share in changing this North west state into an agriculturally cultivated land.

Even now in the region of Belfield one can find very primitive clay houses of the first pioneers. Today the former pioneer families are well to do farmers equipped with modern machinery and producing chiefly wheat. They also raise cattle in large numbers.

One can find there such settlements as "Ukraine", "Kyiv" and similar other Ukrainian names. The first Ukrainians started to settle in North Dakota in 1896 coming via Canada from Western Ukraine and Eastern Ukraine. The Western Ukrainians of Austrian Galicia were Catholics of Eastern rite, whereas the Eastern Ukrainians of Russian Ukraine were mostly baptists (Ukrainian Stundists); but among them were also the Greek Orthodox Ukrainians. This religious division exists at present time.

The Ukrainian farmer population strived to give their children higher education and as a result there are about 250 teachers, three doctors, several engineers working in majority out of their native state.

The Ukrainian population settled in North Dakota in three waves. After the first pioneers of 1896 the next group arrived in 1897 and the third in 1899. The newest settlers, the D. Ps. from Europe formulate a separate group of settlers. In the professional field, ten Ukrainian doctors have already acquired a fine record in placing on a high level the health service in the state.

TIMASHEFF'S BOOK REVIEWS ON RUSSIA, *Thought*, Spring & Summer 1952.

It is a very useful arrangement of the editor of the *Thought*, a Fordham University quarterly to submit a systematic review of new literature on Russia respectively on the USSR. Prof. Timasheff a well-known expert on the USSR is best suited for this type of work. Two last issues of the *Thought*, Spring and Summer editions carried reviews of English literature on the Bolshevik Tsardom.

In the Spring issue, Mr. Timasheff gives a new review of the well-known book of the Marquis de Custine "Journey in Russia" edited by the former American Ambassador to Moscow Gen. Bedell Smith.

The leading idea of re-editing of this originally French book was to show that Russia of Nicholas I, of a hundred years ago, and Russia of Stalin's regime are very similar. Despotism in Russia is nothing new.

Prof. Timasheff is of a different opinion. In his opinion, despotism is not exclusively Russian product; it is to be found all over the world. Russia also had periods of freedom although without constitutional rights for her citizens. Pertinent to Russia of Nicholas I, Mr. Timasheff writes: "Under Nicholas I, the Russian govern-

ment was afraid lest subversive ideas and agents should penetrate Russia. *In our day the American government wants to stop subversive ideas and agents at the gates of this country.* At that time these were liberal and socialist ideas; today they are Communist ideas. But the reaction to the situation is similar."

We have a serious doubt as to the similarity of the American and Russian reaction at the times of Nicholas I and Stalin, just as to the similarity of the American FBI as compared with the Tsarist Ochrana or the Bolshevik MVD.

Mr. Timasheff is of another idea. He proposes to Americans to put aside the facts on Russian cruelty and stupidity and primarily to keep the Russian Empire intact. "Russia would then become — writes this reviewer, — one more country to be re-educated, like Germany and Japan". *Perhaps prior to re-education, Russia would be partitioned, an absurdity in a day of political integration of formerly independent nations*". (Pag. 150).

Timasheff is wrong when he thinks that anyone has the idea to partition Russia, the territory of the Russian people. No one is planning such undemocratic adventures. Russia can be safe insofar that her territory will not be partitioned. If there are any plans to change the territorial possessions of the USSR, only one plan is in the making, that all nations subjugated by Russia will be free and the non-Russian territories stolen by Moscow during the past three hundred years will be redeemed to their legal owners.

Mr. Timasheff knows that no people can be integrated into one politically federated body with Russia, until Russia will be re-educated for decent international life as the author of the review states.

In the Summer issue Mr. Timasheff gives a very complete review of the recent English literature on the USSR. I think that only by omission did he forget to mention the new book on the USSR, a very fundamental book "*The Ukrainian Revolution*", by John Reshetar, Jr., published by the Princeton University Press, 1952. This book deals with the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian people for democracy and independence from Russian domination. A book for the use of the students of the USSR.

L. E. D.

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