

THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY.



Vol. VI—Number 1

Winter, 1950

UKRAINIAN FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM

William H. Chamberlin

diasporiana.org.ua

THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY

Subscription: Yearly \$5.00; Single Copy \$1.25

Managing Office: THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY
50 Church Street, Room 252, New York 7, N. Y.

Checks Payable to: UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

Editorial Address: PROF. NICHOLAS D. CHUBATY
250 Franklin Turnpike, Mahwah, N. J.
Tel. CRagmere 8-3767-M

DR. J. M. ...
1927
... N. E.
... MONTANA, U.S.A.

THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY

VOL. VI—NUMBER I



LOWER INSERT: UKRAINIAN TERRITORY IN EUROPE UPPER INSERT: DIMMEMBERMENT OF UKRAINE AFTER THE WORLD WAR

WINTER, 1950

\$1.25 A COPY

Published by UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Anglo-Saxon World and Information on Ukraine	
<i>Editorial</i>	5-8
Ukrainian Fighters for Freedom, <i>William Henry Chamberlin</i>	9-15
Health Protection in the Soviet Union, <i>Michael Mishchenko</i>	16-22
Revolutionary Currents in Modern Ukrainian History	
<i>Borys Krupnitsky</i>	23-28
My Experiences with the Soviets, <i>Volodymyr Hordynsky</i>	29-37
Labor Conditions in the Metallurgical Industry of Ukraine	
<i>Stephen Protsiuk</i>	38-48
Germany's Disastrous Eastern Policy and the Role of General Vlasov	
<i>Nicholas Prychodko</i>	49-56
A French Description of Ukraine 300 years ago	
<i>Volodymyr Sichinsky</i>	57-64
A Psychological Interpretation of Ukrainian Occidentalism	
<i>Volodymyr Yaniv</i>	65-72
Ukrainian Writers in Exile 1945-1949, <i>S. H.</i>	73-76
BOOK REVIEWS:	
<i>The Coming Defeat of Communism</i> by <i>James Burnham</i>	
N. Chubaty	77-79
<i>National Self-determination</i> by <i>Alfred Cobban</i>	
Ivan Kedryn	79-81
<i>An Introduction to Russian History and Culture</i> by <i>Ivar Spector</i>	
Wasył Halich	81-83
<i>De Potestate Metropolitaram Kieviensium Catholicorum in Clerum Regularem</i> by <i>Dmytro Blazejowskyj DD.</i>	
<i>De Regimine Basilianorum Ruthenorum a Metropolita Vele- min Rutskyj Instauratorum</i> by <i>Meletius M. Wojnar OSBM</i>	
N. Chubaty	83-84
<i>The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1950</i> by <i>Harry Hansen</i>	
S. Hordynsky	84-86
Ucrainica in American and Foreign Periodicals— <i>L. E. D.</i>	87-90
Current Ukrainian Chronicle	91-96
<i>Picture on the cover: Ukrainian Partisan-Woman (Terra-cotta), by Fedir Yemets.</i>	

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN. Foreign correspondent in the Soviet Union for the *Christian Science Monitor* 1922-1932, author of several works on the Soviet Union.

MICHAEL MISHCHENKO. Doctor of medicine and professor of psychiatry at Kharkiv University under the Soviets. He was member of Psycho-Neurological Academy as well as of Institute for Experimental Medicine in Kharkiv. Now in USA.

BORYS KRUPNITSKY. Prominent Ukrainian historian. Author of *History of Ukraine* (in German), and others.

VOLODYMYR HORDYNSKY, Ukrainian chemist and industrialist. Now in USA.

STEPHEN PROTSIUK. Ukrainian economist, former professor of Lviv Polytechnical Institute.

NICHOLAS PRYCHODKO. Ukrainian journalist and author, living between the two world wars in the Soviet Union. Now in Canada.

VOLODYMYR SICHYNSKY. Professor of Ukrainian arts at the Ukrainian Free University in Prag and Munich. Author of "The Foreign Voices on Ukraine," "History of the Ukrainian Engraver Art." Now in USA.

VOLODYMYR YANIV. Assistant professor of psychology at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich.

THE ANGLO-SAXON WORLD AND INFORMATION ON UKRAINE

(After five years of existence of the *Ukrainian Quarterly*)

(*Editorial*)

SEVEN years ago, when the Second World War was in white heat, a small group of workers in Detroit established what they termed *the Ukrainian Cultural Society*. Their principal objective was to inform the American public in matters pertaining to Ukraine, the land of their birth. They managed to collect about 4,000 dollars and commissioned a Canadian author of Ukrainian origin to write a modest book on the culture and historical struggles of the Ukrainian people. This book appeared with the title *Ukraine's Call to America*.

What message did these Detroit workers present to America? In the first place, they desired to remind the land of Washington and Lincoln of the existence in Eastern Europe of a nation of forty millions that had at that late hour still to taste the fruit of liberty. And this task was undertaken in a grave moment when American public opinion was being seduced by a falsified and dishonest attack upon the Ukrainian nation. It was pointed out that the American public was being infiltrated and corrupted by the same tactics that twenty-five years previously had betrayed the independent Ukrainian democratic republic into Soviet slavery. These Detroit workers desired in this book to alert America to the threatening danger.

Perhaps it was inevitable that at a time when the Russian communists were considered the allies of Western democracy the voice of these workers should be "a voice crying in the wilderness." Indeed, it could hardly be otherwise, when we reflect that at that time many lofty centers of American culture and university publications put out books by "experts on the Slavic world" who preached that no Ukrainian nation exists. Unknowing Americans were asked to believe and Ukrainians to suffer again the crucifixion of the reactionary tsarist minister Valuev, who in 1863 decreed that "no Ukrainian language exists, ever existed, or can exist." Thereupon he ridiculously forbade printing in a non-existent language for a non-existent people. Here in this free country, where scholars should have suffered no scruples in their search for truth and reality in Eastern Europe, a host of trans-

lators and pseudo-intellectuals disgraced the academic world with their mimicry. These misguided propagandists of Russian imperialism now enjoy the dubious pleasure of beholding the bitter fruits of their labor, not the least among them being the decades they have added to the retardation of genuine reconciliation in Eastern Europe.

To the Ukrainian it seems incredible that Russian imperialist propaganda should achieve such success in America. As a result of academic infiltration many American governmental organs had become saturated with the official Russian interpretation of Eastern European reality. In consequence, reports in 1948 regarding the activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were beyond understanding in the United States. That that army should continue to fight alone even in 1950 against the colossus of the Soviet Union was too much for American public opinion. Confusion was the natural result. What manner of place is this beguiling Ukraine, thinking Americans have been driven to ask, and what is really going on in Eastern Europe? What about all this talk concerning national discontent and friends of the United States within the Soviet Union itself?

* * *

False information and ideas common in the Western world regarding "Russia" in general and Ukraine in particular have contributed mightily to the tragic international tension existing today. The stormy events in the Russian empire during the First World War gave rise to the establishment, among others, of an independent Ukrainian republic. It is saddening to record that Anglo-Saxon scholarship, caught in the fog of Russian prejudice, never got beyond the stage of villification and insinuation insofar as Ukrainian aspirations for freedom are concerned. Why was there no serious scholarly study of the Ukrainian democratic republic set up after the fall of tsarist Russia? Was it because the young Ukrainian republic established a genuinely democratic government, a conclusion too unpalatable for those clinging to the Russocentric theory of the universe? Ukrainian democracy in Eastern Europe is a real challenge to objective scholars. Because of its deep devotion to democratic principles the Ukrainian republic voluntarily became the first state in Eastern Europe to grant cultural and personal autonomy to its minorities and at the same time assured them equal participation in cooperative living on the rich Ukrainian soil. This was no paper declaration in the Soviet manner, let it be understood, for each national group received a special ministry

in the central government specifically charged with safeguarding the interests of the group.

Rejecting Communism as alien to the Ukrainian people, the young state, a coalition of both "socialist" and "bourgeois" democrats, enacted progressive labor legislation, social security, and radical agrarian reform. Boundaries were drawn up in strict accordance with the principle of nationality, doubtful areas being reserved for a decision by the population itself. All this took place at a time when the Ukrainian people were bleeding in an unequal struggle for freedom against Red and White Russian aggressors, Poles, and Rumanians, all of whom were bent upon carving a slice of Ukraine for themselves.

Ukraine ceased to exist because of this many-sided onslaught. A bastion of democracy in Eastern Europe was ruined, not without the help of the democratic West, specifically England, France, and America. The diabolic propaganda of Ukraine's enemies bore bitter fruit. The cliches echo at times even today: "creature of Berlin," "the land of anti-Semitism," "territory controlled by the Ukrainian bolsheviks of Petliura." The United States, champion of Wilson's doctrine of self-determination, denied the application of that doctrine to the Ukrainian people and threw its weight in favor of a Russia "one and indivisible," that great slogan of the Russian reactionaries. Receiving aid from England and France, Denikin, Wrangel and other supposed "democrats" attacked the Ukrainian army from the east and from the south, while the Russian Bolsheviks moved down from the north.

Thanks to the help of France and the United States, the Polish army of General Haller, organized in order to purge the "Ukrainian Bolsheviks" from Western Ukraine, stabbed the Ukrainian army in the back while it was engaged in combat against the Russian Bolsheviks and thereby helped the Bolsheviks to conquer Ukraine. Painful to recall is the fact that a few American pilots died while fighting with the Poles against the Ukrainians who were defending Lviv, the chief city of Western Ukraine—as Americans now know since the difficult days of the Second World War. These misguided Americans helped the Poles to take Lviv from the Ukrainians, while twenty-five years later the president of the United States at the Yalta conference gave this same Lviv back to Ukraine. Twenty-five years too late, for the city was returned not to a democratic but a Communist Ukraine.

In brief, the Western world had become a tragic victim of Russian and Polish anti-Ukrainian propaganda. The Western world contributed to the asphyxiation of democracy in Eastern Europe. These mis-

takes played into the hands of the Bolsheviks and helped Red Russia become a world power.

This anti-Ukrainian propaganda waxed hot during the Second World War also. For the Communists feared, with ample reason, that an independent Ukraine again would emerge from the ruins of war. Once more a smear campaign was put into high gear, and American writers, both consciously and unconsciously, did excellent work for Moscow. Ukrainians were painted as Fascists, as Americans are today. Cheap anti-Ukrainian literature graced American newsstands; agitation arose in labor unions against Ukrainian workers; Ukrainians were transformed into Nazis and Communists into "democrats and friends of the American people."

While this campaign was in full swing, Americans of Ukrainian descent called a convention in order to discuss means of combatting this villification. It was decided, among other things, to found the *Ukrainian Quarterly*, to be financed by petty donations of American Ukrainians—99% of them being workers, people working by the sweat of their brow and who by every Marxist standard are "proletarian" and begging for Communist salvation. The journal was charged with providing information on Ukrainian life and aspirations as well as with warning the American public of the threat of Communist Russia. The Ukrainians emphasized that Communist Russia is brutally imperialist, grinding under scores of non-Russians, and dangerous to the entire world.

The Ukrainian Quarterly dedicated itself to informing the democratic Western world concerning the reality of oppression of non-Russian nations within the Soviet Union—a grave problem ignored in many a professorial pulpit and editorial page. This was understood as a noble and important task, and there was much to do. In its small way and with its humble means this journal has worked for five years in an effort to be of service to America, democracy, and humanity. After five years our point of view has found greater acceptance, in no small degree because of the sad reality of Soviet conduct. That we have been tested and found true in this short period of time indicates the validity of Ukrainian aspirations and the crucial importance of the national problem in the Soviet Union. *The Ukrainian Quarterly* will continue to champion the cause of the nationalities subjugated by Communist Russians.

UKRAINIAN FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

NO people in Europe have a better fighting anti-communist record than the Ukrainians. And no area within the vast terrorized Soviet empire is more inflammable than the Western Ukraine, where guerrilla warfare went on against the Soviet occupation forces long after the Soviet-German war was over.

I carried away these unmistakable impressions from a series of talks with representative Ukrainians in Munich, often called the DP capital of Germany, and other South German towns where the leaders of the Ukrainian national cause have found asylum.

Here, for example is Mrs. Darya Rebet speaking, a slight, tense woman, very typical of the fighters for freedom who have been produced by the tyrannies of Russia and other oppressive regimes in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. She has documents to illustrate her points, documents which point to connection with the underground military and civilian forces of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in the homeland.

This movement, according to Mrs. Rebet, is organized under the leadership of the UHVR (Supreme Council of National Liberation), which maintains headquarters in Ukraine and functions under conspirative conditions. The OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) is the political arm of the movement; the UPA (Ukrainian Partisan Army) is its military force.

The UPA grew up during the war as a guerrilla force which fought both against the Red Army with large detachments, operating from hideouts in the forests and mountains of the Carpathian area. Since 1946, said Mrs. Rebet, the scale of operations has been reduced because in that year the Soviet Union and its satellite regimes in Poland and Czechoslovakia concentrated considerable military forces against the Ukrainian nationalists.

"However," said Mrs. Rebet, "armed resistance is by no means ended. It is our ideal that all the peoples enslaved by Moscow communist tyranny should fight together for their liberty and their rights. That idea found practical expression in 1943, when we were fighting a two-front war against Hitler and against Stalin and when representatives of thirteen peoples of the Soviet Union, including many nation-

alities of the Caucasus and Central Asia, held a congress and issued a manifesto.

"At various times we have formed connections with anti-communist groups in Poland, Lithuania and Yugoslavia. We reached an agreement with a Polish insurgent group in May, 1946 on the basis that the Ukrainians should operate east of the Curzon Line and Poles west of it. At this time there was an attack on the town of Hrubeshiv and there were Polish outbreaks in the neighborhood of Kielce.

"The Ukrainian struggle is carried on with ideas, as well as with arms. We do everything to break up the serf colonies which the Soviet Government calls collective farms, to boycott Soviet elections and protect Ukrainian peasants who are threatened with deportation."

At this point Mrs. Rebet produced a number of proclamations which have been circulated among the people of the Western Ukraine. One was an appeal to boycott Soviet "elections," ending with the following paragraphs:

"We will not go to the polls because we do not want the *kolkhozi* (collective farms)—a new feudalism, Red slavery for the workers, because we do not want NKVD terror and Red dictators, because we do not want the USSR, dungeon of peoples.

"We will not go to the polls because we want the national administration of the Ukraine to be the result of the will of the Ukrainian people and not enforced by Red Moscow."

A longer manifesto, an appeal to the peasants in the Western Ukraine to resist collective farming, gives interesting sidelights on economic and social conditions in newly annexed Soviet territories.

"They rob and steal all your provisions from you, are levying enormous taxes. If you don't pay your taxes they confiscate your property. If you don't deliver meat and milk they take away your cattle, and you are fined or arrested and your property is burned. This is how Stalin's henchmen are 'encouraging' the 'voluntary' organization of collective farms.

"Besides this, in their newspapers and at their meetings they lie about 'kulaks' and 'beggars' so that they might cause dissension within a village, divide you into classes and plant seeds of hatred among you. It is important for the communists that you eliminate one another, that you bring accusations against one another to the secret police, that you send one another to Siberia and to jail and put one another to death."

These sentences indicate that the well-known communist tactics

of setting one group of peasants against another are being practiced in Galicia. What life is like in the collective farms is described in the manifesto as follows:

"Stalin's collective farms—these are forced labor from dawn to twilight, day after day and all summer long. If no work is left on the fields, the worker is driven to work without compensation on road construction, in factories, on railroads, bridges and dams. In the building of the Dnieper government electric station there are about 60,000 collective farmers who work without pay."

The manifesto calls for the destruction of all initiators and organizers of collective farms. •

"Mass resistance," the manifesto continues, "is a gigantic power. The 'elections' taught you that. Neither confiscation nor arrests nor exile nor murders should frighten you. They will not murder, or arrest, or exile all of you."

The appeal ends with the following slogans:

"Under the leadership of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council we must continue the fight against the USSR.

"May the Ukrainian peasants live on their own land in the battle against the new slavery.

"Death to the organizers of collective farms!

"Death to Stalin and his faithful servants!

"Eternal glory to the heroes who die in battle against Stalin's bandits!"

Another manifesto called on the Ukrainian people "not to go to Stalin's lying polls "because:

"the Ukrainian people will never acknowledge confiscators and the forced occupation of the Ukraine by Bolshevik Moscow;

"the so-called Stalin Constitution is the biggest lie which was master-minded by Stalin, in order that he might deceive with it the peoples enslaved by him as well as the outside world."

With all this ferment in the Western Ukraine it is easy to understand why no foreign correspondents have been permitted to visit this region since the end of the war. As I learned from some priests who had escaped, there has been a prolonged martyrdom of the Uniat Church, to which most of the Ukrainians in Galicia and other regions of the former Austrian Empire belonged.

Metropolitan Slipyj and six bishops were arrested. Some died in prison; others are at forced labor. The Metropolitan is understood to be in the big concentration camp at Vorkhuta. Many priests have

been arrested. 350 or 400 have found refuge in exile. About five hundred continue to carry on their spiritual functions in underground conditions. They disguise themselves as workers or peasants and hold services secretly. The Uniat Church is today a religious community compelled to exist under catacomb conditions.

The principal recognized center of the Ukrainians abroad is the Nacionalna Rada, or National Council. This is a parliament in exile, with an executive organ presided over by Izaak Mazeppa. I discussed the origin and organization of the Rada with Finance Minister Lubomir Makarushka, who showed me some colorful stamps which constitute one source of income for the organization.

The Rada was formally established in July 1948 and is divided into several political sections. It includes socialist, central democratic and nationalist parties and some places are reserved for the hetman-monarchist group, leader of which is Danylo Skoropadsky, who is living in London. This group has not yet taken part in the Rada. The nationalists who follow the leadership of Stepan Bandera participate in the Rada, but are in opposition.

One of the first acts of the Rada was to address a memorandum to the United Nations, characterizing Communist Soviet Russian rule in the Ukraine as a danger for democratic development and peace among the peoples of the world. The memorandum asked for the creation of a special commission of the United Nations "to investigate the present situation in Eastern Europe in general, a situation that seriously endangers the peace of the world."

The Rada traces its origin to the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, proclaimed in Kiev on January 22, 1918. Its aim is the establishment of an independent united Ukrainian Democratic Republic. A statement of foreign policy was issued by the Rada, in April, 1949.

"The Russian people in their history," according to this statement, "had never known political freedom or respect for the freedom of other peoples. The history of the growth of the Tsarist Russian state is permanent war and violence against the neighboring peoples . . . Today Soviet Russia, using communist propaganda for world domination, presents a still greater danger to world peace and the freedom of the peoples than German imperialism did during World War II."

So the Rada rejects the idea of any union with Russia, even on a federative basis, on the ground that this would lead to the abolition of Ukrainian independence in the future, as in the past. A true federalism, it is stated, is possible only among peoples who have grown

for generations in a spirit of respect for the freedom of others.

On the other hand, the Rada statement of foreign policy looks to a politico-economic union of independent Ukrainian, Polish, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Byelorussian, Czech and Slovak states, together with the Cossack territories which lie between the Ukraine and the Caucasus, and the nationalities of the Caucasus. Ukrainian policy favors the struggle for liberation of the Cossack countries and the peoples of the Caucasus because of the common political, economic and defensive interests of the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe in relation to Russian imperialism.

This program coincides closely with the views of the Promethean society, a league of representatives of non-Russian peoples which existed in Paris between the two wars. The realization of this program seems outside the range of immediate practical possibility.

A center of Ukrainian cultural life in exile is the Shevchenko Society of which Professor Volodymir Kubiyovich is general secretary. This organization was established in Lviv seventy-five years ago, when this city was under Austrian rule and offered greater facilities for Ukrainian cultural activity than any place in the larger part of the Ukraine which was under Russian rule. Its president for many years was the famous scholar, Professor Hrushevsky.

The Shevchenko Society continued to function under Polish rule in Eastern Galicia. After the Soviet occupation it was dissolved, like all non-communist organizations. Under great difficulties it has carried on educational work in Germany and some branches have been established in the United States. The Society has published more than six hundred books in the Ukrainian language and is engaged in preparing an Ukrainian encyclopedia and a description of Ukrainian life under Soviet rule.

After the First World War two Ukrainian higher educational institutions, a Free University and a technical University, were established in Prague under the sponsorship of President Masaryk. These universities carried on their work under considerable difficulties during the Second World War and were then transferred to Munich. Among the Ukrainians, as among other DP groups, there is a thirst for study, at once pathetic and inspiring, when one considers the hard and precarious existence which these fugitives must lead.

At one time there were some eighty professors and tutors in the transferred Ukrainian universities, which maintained political, humanistic, juridical and economic departments. There were some five

hundred students. Now, however, the number of professors and instructors has declined to about 30, and there are only about 150 students. This is because the number of Ukrainian DPs is steadily declining, as a result of emigration and resettlement programs. There were about 200,000 Ukrainians in Germany in 1948; this figure was cut in half in 1949.

A humanitarian problem will arise for Ukrainians as for other DPs when the International Refugee Organization ceases to function in the summer of 1950. For in all these refugee communities there is a residue of individuals who, because of age, sickness or other reason, cannot be resettled. There may be some 25,000 Ukrainians in this category and leaders of the community in Munich are expressing hope that some international provision will be made for them.

Germany is overcrowded with refugees of German origin, former inhabitants of the German eastern provinces, of the Sudetenland, of the German groups which were formerly settled as colonists in the Balkans. The sympathies and the resources of the Germans are already fully preoccupied in caring for their people.

Unless there is some international guaranty for the security of the Ukrainians who will be left behind when the main wave of emigration is over there may be a temptation for the Germans to repatriate them. And repatriation to the Ukrainians is a fate worse than death.

Why this is so is evident from the story which I heard from Mr. Divnycz, who escaped from the Soviet Union during the war. As a student in Kharkiv he was arrested for "nationalist tendencies" and sent to a concentration camp in the Narym Territory, in Northern Siberia. After spending three years there, from 1936 until 1939, he was transferred to a place near Grozny in the North Caucasus. He was never allowed to return to his home. His description of living and working conditions in Norilsk was as follows:

"In the beginning of 1936 conditions were bearable; later they became catastrophic, because the number of people who were sent there outran the food supply. In the single town of Norilsk there were 10,000 slave laborers in 1936, 20,000 in 1937, 30,000 in 1938. A normal diet was 300 grams of bread a day, a kind of soup with a few grains of cereal and no fat, and salt fish so bad it couldn't be eaten.

"The normal working day was twelve hours; prisoners were driven to work early by armed guards and brought back late. They had time only to eat and sleep. A large number of these slave laborers were Ukrainians, peasants and intellectuals. Some had been arrested

because of their political ideas, others because they had not given the 'norms' which the Soviet state exacts from the peasants in food taxes."

This experience is typical. Some of the smaller nationalities in the Soviet Union, Crimean Tartars, Kalmyks, Volga Germans, have been uprooted and deported en masse. But the Ukrainians have suffered more casualties in this grim war which the Soviet Government carries on against its own people than any other nationality because they are one of the larger national groups and they have suffered both national and social oppression.

None could pass some time, as I did, among their leaders without feeling that they have not stopped fighting, however unequal the conditions of struggle may be at the present time. *The Ukrainians are among America's best allies behind the iron curtain. It becomes more evident with every year that the struggle against communism is a global struggle, in which the United States cannot afford to neglect any allies.* Among the positive constructive steps to keep up the morale of these allies during the present twilight zone period between peace and war one might suggest the following:

The Ukrainians should be treated as a separate nationality and the Voice of America should continue to give broadcasts in Ukrainian, along with broadcasts in the languages of other peoples who live behind the iron curtain.

Certificates of nationality and passports issued by the Ukrainian National Rada should be accepted as valid.

There should be a larger placement of Ukrainian scholars in this country and more utilization of the rich knowledge which many Ukrainians in Germany possess in regard to Soviet methods in politics and economics.

There should be facilities for the enlistment and training of Ukrainians as part of an American Foreign Legion in Germany and Austria.

Officially and unofficially the right of the Ukrainians to self-determination should be specifically recognized.

People who have fought so hard and consistently against what is now generally recognized as the world threat of Stalinite communism deserve no less than this.

HEALTH PROTECTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

By MICHAEL MISHCHENKO

IN pre-revolutionary, semi-feudal Russia, with its authoritarian government, imperialistic aspirations disguised under humanitarian pan-Slavic ideals and a reactionary internal policy toward non-Russians, progressive movements were making active headway. Influenced by progressive forces from Europe, these elements were active in all branches of science and among all social groups (Bakunin, Hertsen, Kulish, Chernishevsky, Shevchenko). They labored for ideals of better social relationships and national freedom, and after much struggle and sacrifice the long-awaited 1917 revolution occurred. Power, however, was seized by the Communist party, which had as its objective the realization of social revolution by the application of terror and the building of socialism by force. The path taken by the Communist party split it away from the people and transformed it into a new class dominating the people. The communists rejected the program of democratic revolution and embraced the old Muscovite imperialistic policy of state autocracy. They waged war against those nationalities that had set up independent states. Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Caucasia, and Mongolia were re-conquered and subjected to a new system of national slavery.

By introducing forced collectivization of agriculture, the Communist party waged war against the peasantry, and reduced it to poverty and enslavement. The party portrays itself as the advance-guard of the working class, but at the same time deprives the workers of elemental human rights, such as the right to choose an occupation, defense of vital interests by strikes, and participation in free unions not controlled by the state. In order to maintain power, the Communist party keeps the people in a state of permanent hypersensitivity and fear, with prisons and concentration camps for the most recalcitrant.

Because of this system an impassable chasm separates the people from the ruling clique. The plans for a future government, conceived on the principles and ideals of pre-revolutionary sociological thought and the accomplishments of science, have been distorted in their very essentials by Communist experimentation. Only artificial blueprints and empty declarations have been retained. These are retained only

to deceive the people and to serve as propaganda for foreign consumption. This is true in all branches of "socialist" construction, and is especially marked in social legislation and health protection.

The Task of Medicine in Soviet Theory

From the very beginning, the declared principles of social legislation, based on the most advanced medical thought and the efforts of European sociology, have been clothed in a peculiar Muscovite nationalist garment, highly centralized and forcibly foisted upon the vassal union republics. In practice these ideals have been perverted and used for propaganda purposes as evidence of the exceptional and unexcelled accomplishments of the Soviet regime. Medicine in the Soviet Union is called *soviet* because it is inseparably bound to the whole structure of the Soviet state and is based on socialist economics and political concepts. The indissolubility of the bond between medicine and the state is also emphasized in order to show that socialism is being constructed, that the best possible conditions of life and work are being established for workers and peasants. The guaranty of the best conditions of work and life for the people is held to be a basic principle of Soviet medicine. Socialism is being constructed by the Russian Communist party, which for hidden imperialist considerations assumed the title of the "All-Union Communist party." At the same time, the various Union republics do not possess their own Communist parties. They are represented instead by colonial branches of the Russian party and carry such names as the Communist party in Ukraine, Georgia, or White Ruthenia. Their key personnel are Russians. In Ukraine, for example, from the very beginning this party has been controlled by non-Ukrainians. Rakovsky, Kaganovich, Kossior, Postyshev, Krushchev and the presidium of the party were or are not Ukrainians. As obedient servants of Moscow key Communists in Ukraine are firmly opposed to all manifestations of national determination; even Quislings of the Manuisky type are in constant suspicion and are kept under supervision.

In the matter of health protection the Communist party has accepted the progressive principle of preventive care. In order to protect the working masses the party promulgated a series of sanitary measures with the following objectives: the improvement of the health conditions in the cities; the organization of a public eating system based on scientific and hygienic principles; the organization of prophylactic

institutions; the promulgation of a sanitary code; the struggle against social diseases (tuberculosis, venereal diseases, alcoholism) as remnants of the capitalist epoch; and the organization of free medical assistance.

All activities for health protection were centralized in the ministry for health protection and its subordinate regional, city, county, and district branches. These organs had the following functions: the administration of curative assistance; the struggle against infectious disease; the sanitary inspection of homes and communal and industrial institutions; the inspection of food and business organizations; the campaign for cleanliness, the care of children and infants; the care of motherhood; the organization and supervision of rest homes; the administration of medical and pharmaceutical supplies; and sanitary and medical education.

The centralization of all branches of health protection was justified by the following arguments: the desirability of a unified plan of treatment and of sanitary procedures; the most effective use of the budget; planned division of labor among medical personnel and the distribution of qualified experts to all geographical areas.

The guiding principle of the medical administration was the connection of medical units with workers' institutions. Medical units were closely associated with the labor unions of factories and other production groups, and each production group was equipped with a special medical section. Factories, foundries and even apartment houses had health protection sections, which engaged in cultural, educational, and sanitation activities. The prophylactic principle was basic in the Soviet system and was organized in accordance with the whole philosophy and system of the Soviet social construction. This philosophy was expressed in the adoption of a broad and social health program, in attempts to establish wholesome working conditions and to raise the material and cultural level of the workers.

The Structure of Medical Institutions

In the structural organization of medical institutions, the Soviet leaders emphasized that, since the chief cause of sickness in capitalist countries were negative conditions of work and poor living facilities, improvement in these conditions was the prime objective of an effective medical program. Inasmuch as the prophylactic principle was dominant in Soviet thinking, curative medicine was neglected and the

net of hospitals was not enlarged. In industrial centers a unified dispensary plan of serving the population was introduced. In factories first-aid stations called "points of health protection" were installed. The physician assigned to such a station observed working conditions, exercised prophylactic controls, gave first-aid, and prepared the sick for transfer to the hospital. In his work the physician utilized curative and sanatorium techniques: polyclinics, dispensaries, pharmacies, sanatoria, night and day prophylaxis, attention to diet, and rest institutions (nurseries, rest homes, resorts, maternity homes).

The administration of rest homes and vacation areas is nationalized in the Soviet Union and is highly centralized in an organ called the "Central Resort Administration of the Soviet Union." Nationalization and centralization were introduced with the slogan "all natural wealth, the sun, water and other remedial factors which under capitalist conditions are an object of business and profit, in the Soviet Union are given to the workers and serve to make them well."

Social Legislation in the Soviet Union

Social legislation is considered the basis of Soviet existence and is broadcast throughout the world as the pride of the Soviet Union. This is perhaps the most effective piece of propaganda among persons living outside Soviet boundaries. Great stress is put upon the introduction of a seven-hour working day, a five-day week, an obligatory annual vacation, the prohibition of child labor, leaves for pregnant women, accident insurance, and social security.

This legislation is held responsible for the removal of those factors that cause sickness and disease among workers in capitalist countries. Associated with it, of course, is special sanitary legislation as well as the network of hospitals and other curative institutions. In line with this theory are the efforts to improve working conditions, to build more spacious living quarters, and to introduce a sliding scale of rents based upon the assigned space.

Soviet legislation also stresses the equality of women. It is affirmed that the Soviet state not only proclaims equality but also creates the conditions that will bring about the disappearance of the material and cultural factors responsible for feminine enslavement. An effort is made to free the woman from housework, to draw her into community and state activity, "to train the cook to run the state," as Lenin re-

marked, and to abolish thereby a shameful concomitant of capitalist slavery.

Special attention is given in legislation to the mother and child. Nurseries and infant-care, a struggle against child mortality, the establishment of rest homes for mothers and infants, kindergartens, and advice to pregnant mothers are included within the plans of the government.

Children and infants are aided by branches of health protection, which assign physicians to schools for normal children. Children's hospitals and wards; institutions for physically defective children (the blind, deaf and dumb, cripples, mentally deficient, psychoneurotic); summer camps and settlements for juvenile delinquents—these are some of the activities covered by the health protection administration.

The foregoing provides a picture of the system of health protection and social legislation attempted in the Soviet Union and its stringently controlled republics.

The grandiose intentions of the government cannot be denied. Neither can the breadth of social objectives or the wealth of administrative organs of health protection be questioned. An individual poorly informed regarding the true nature of the social order in the USSR and idealistically inclined toward the declared objectives of Soviet medicine may regard the Soviet system of health protection as ideal and unexcelled. It would seem that the Soviet Union really has greatly surpassed the most advanced capitalist countries in this regard, as it is often claimed. The United States, for example, is singled out as a country where social legislation and medical aid are in a primitive stage and very costly, almost unavailable to the broad masses, while Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other countries of eastern and central Europe are said to retain the antiquated structure and forms of old Austria-Hungary and other backward regimes.

Soviet Theory and Reality

Despite the complete reorganization of the system of health protection in the direction of centralization and nationalization, the social legislation, rest homes, hospitals, free medical care, and the prophylactic principles of Soviet medicine, year in and year out epidemics of typhus, dysentery, and children's diseases break out and are combated with difficulty. Social and occupational diseases have spread alarmingly (tuberculosis, syphilis, physical trauma). Despite decades

of effort local diseases (trachoma, pustules, scabies) which ravage certain regions of the USSR (Ukraine, Kazan, and others) have not been checked. Infant mortality is so high that it has been forbidden to write of it or to give statistical data. Nervous and mental disorders, periodically assuming the proportions of psychoneurotic epidemics, are abnormally widespread, especially in Ukraine. The latest of these epidemics, in the 1930's, embraced all Ukraine and was characterized by a frenzied attraction to churches and crosses. Prostitution has spread on a large scale even among girls in secondary schools. Illegal abortions, despite a strict prohibition by the government, have become widespread and are carried on surreptitiously, often with the aid of superstitious midwives, and sharp domestic implements. Orphans and wandering homeless children, crime, and a high death rate are rampant. The sick have become so numerous that medical institutions were unable to handle them. Dispensaries, clinics and hospitals are overburdened. The mentally sick have been permitted to degenerate without care, for during the span of life of the Soviet Union not one hospital for the mentally sick has been constructed. Begging on the streets has become commonplace.

Neither the party nor the government could be unaware of the catastrophic health conditions among the people. Physicians were harassed and much ado was aroused in regard to the problem of health protection. Party circles engaged in heated discussions, solutions were sought, changes were made in the top personnel of the ministry of health. The chaotic picture forced the Soviet government to set aside the dominant prophylactic principle, characteristic of the most advanced countries, in favor of the principle of curative effort, to which was assigned greater importance. The net of clinics and hospitals and medical personnel in the cities was enlarged. All these efforts, however, were insufficient.

The basis of Soviet medicine—the social structure which according to party declarations was supposed to create ideal conditions of life and work among the masses—did not survive the test. Specifically the so-called “socialist” economics and “political relations” in the Soviet Union failed miserably. It came to pass that a state purporting to build socialism, that is, better conditions of life and work for peasants and workers, was unable to provide the basic needs of the population, to feed and clothe the people.

The Soviet state represents the nationalization of all forms of the economy and the dictatorship by one party in political relations,

and thereby separates the people from the government and deprives them of all elementary human rights. As such it has nothing in common with socialism. Its system is typical of state-capitalism, built on the principle of merciless exploitation of the people and carries with it the trappings and social relationships that distinguish the dictator from the people, reminiscent of feudal times. The ideals on which Soviet medicine were supposed to be based have degenerated into demagogic slogans. Social legislation suffered complete abuse and fell victim to unparalleled falsification. This holds true most glaringly in the matter of working conditions. The seven-hour day in fact does not exist. The five-day week has been completely liquidated. Protection of children is non-existent, and in accordance with the regulation of Oct. 2, 1940, children are forced into productive work. Collective farms are called upon to make use of child labor. Working both in the home and factory, the woman and mother is subject to severe exploitation. Social security is so inadequate that it comes nowhere close to meeting the most elementary needs of the insured. Even the work of invalids is brutally exploited.

Sanitary legislation did not improve health conditions. The population, especially in Russia proper, is louse-ridden, and lives in unhygienic places, infested with bedbugs, and cockroaches. Such basic things as cleanliness and struggle against parasites are unconquerable problems of Soviet sanitation. City sanitation is in a woeful state. Water, light, and fuel are never adequately available. In the larger cities electric lights are made available to the population three or four times each week; often whole sections of a city are deprived of light for several days.

Despite the statistics regarding construction, cities suffer so great a housing shortage that dark hallways, closets, and bathrooms serve as complete apartments. Often several families live in one room. Such conditions are ideal for infectious diseases. In addition, communal living, dirty cities, overcrowding in theatres, and blighted business districts aggravate health problems. An analysis of various aspects of Soviet life reveals a reality so drab and dangerous that its essence is difficult for the outsider to accept.

REVOLUTIONARY CURRENTS IN MODERN UKRAINIAN HISTORY

By BORYS KRUPNITSKY

THE turbulent revolutionary year of 1848, with its first eruptions in Naples and France, let loose a chain of revolutionary movements throughout Europe. Paris, Berlin, Rome, Prague, Budapest, as well as smaller cities, became the centers of protest against the conservative trends of the Metternich era.

This revolutionary fervor was especially strong among the Slavs within the Hapsburg empire. A congress of Slavic nations was held in Prague in 1848 in order to formulate a program against the German menace. It was the definite answer to the Frankfort Assembly which sought to unite all Germans into one large state. Western Ukraine was shaken by the revolutionary spirit. Serfdom was abolished in Galicia, Bukovina, and Trans-Carpathian Ukraine. The *Supreme Ruthenian Council*, the first political organization of the Western Ukrainians, was established in Lviv, sent delegates to the Slav congress in Prague and put forth demands for territorial autonomy for Western Ukraine.

It is usually held that the wave of revolutionary protest did not engulf either the British or the Russian empire. As a matter of fact, the Russian empire did not remain a peaceful island in a sea of revolution. The reign of Nicholas I was marked by discontent, and Russia was one of the great pillars of reaction. Moreover, the large Western-oriented element in the empire (Finland, the Baltic nations, Poland, the Ukrainians) felt that its destiny was bound more closely to Europe than to Russia. These peoples, usually curtly dismissed as "border inhabitants" by Russian writers, were a sort of bridge between East and West and a source of anxiety on the part of the tsars. They were imbued with ideas of freedom and liberalism and desired to escape the unpalatable pleasures of Russian rule. The leadership among these was assumed by the Poles, who had taken a sharply negative attitude toward Russia from the time of the partitions of the eighteenth century when Russia had seized the greater part of the former Polish state.

This attitude of distrust was manifested as early as the Napoleonic period, when the entire western section of the empire, from the Baltic to Ukraine, was placed before the dilemma of choosing either Napo-

leon or Alexander I. Poland decided unhesitatingly in favor of Napoleon, while pro-French sympathies were expressed also among the Ukrainians. French documents reveal that the cities of right-bank and southern Ukraine, where French agents were working (ironically, they were usually Poles!), were receptive to the appeals of Napoleon. The proclamations of the French Emperor were found in 1807 in the possession of a nobleman named Malysky who lived near Kiev. Mochuhovsky, a noble from Poltava, wished Bonaparte success and hoped that Napoleon would "ruin Russia." Lukashevych, the noted Ukrainian patriot who was in contact with the early leaders of the Czech rebirth, at a banquet of the Poltava nobility, toasted Napoleon's health and proclaimed him as a liberator. In Pyryatyn county public demands for a republic were expressed.¹

These men were without exception members of Masonic lodges imbued with liberal and revolutionary ideas. They included Poles, Ukrainians, and even Russians. In Ukraine they were more active in the immediate post-Napoleonic period, when the society of "The United Slavs" (1825) fell under particular suspicion. In addition to organizations with mixed national membership there existed an organized group of Ukrainians with a program of independence for their country, and this proposed Vasyl Lukashevych as the head of a republic.

This liberal-revolutionary movement was connected with the Decembrist uprising in St. Petersburg, as well as with a similar attempt in Ukraine. Contact was also made with the Polish insurgents of 1831 although the Ukrainian masses for social reasons were hostile to the uprising. In the 1830's a net of secret Polish societies was organized by Konarski. In the 1840's the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius was organized by Ukrainians in Kiev. This elaborated the first modern Ukrainian political program inside the Russian empire and was predicated on the idea of a Slavic federation with Ukraine as its core. It was based on Christian, liberal, and nationalist ideals and showed the definite influence of French revolutionary doctrines.²

¹ Elie Borschak, "Napoleon et l'Ukraine," *Revue des études Napoleoniennes*, VII, 24-40, 1922. See the same author's "Le mouvement national Ukrainien en XIX siècle," *Le Monde Slave* Octobre-December, 1930, and "Les sympathies Napoleoniennes en Ukraine," *Le Temps*, Aout, 1930. See also E. Onatski, "Napoleon e il probleme della indipendenza Ukraina," *Studii di istoria et di culture Ukraina*, Roma, 1939, pp. 76-7.

² N. Czubyat: A Ukrainian Plan for the Organization of Europe One Hundred Years Ago, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. II, p. 339.

Propaganda leaflets and pamphlets were distributed on a broad scale in 1848 in the Polish kingdom; to a lesser extent they were circulated in the Baltic provinces, the Kiev region, Lithuania and Bessarabia. This literature was prepared abroad and was written in both Polish and Ukrainian. It contained interpretations of events abroad, news from Paris, and appeals to the nations bordering the Russians to cast off the tsarist yoke. According to the reports of the "Third Section" of the Emperor's chancellery (the political police), Polish representatives operated from Constantinople. Hundreds of leaflets in the Russian and French languages, and some in Ukrainian, passed from Constantinople to the Don Cossacks. In Kiev leaflets were found in which an appeal was made in the name of Christian ideals. Other leaflets were directed against the Russians and advocated independence for Ukraine.³

Understandably this agitation disturbed the tsarist government and it took police measures to suppress it. The Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius was liquidated in 1847, and in 1848 increased vigilance was exercised by the police in their surveillance of Ukrainian suspects.

The case of the Kiev student Andrusky appears to be typical. Plans and poetry of a revolutionary character were found in his possession. He was transferred to the university in Kazan, thence to military service in the government of Olonets. There new revolutionary literature was found in his possession, including a constitution of a proposed federal republic (embracing Ukraine, Galicia, Poland, Lithuania, Moldavia, Wallachia, Bulgaria, and Serbia). A magazine was also found containing such passages as "abroad the rights of man are discussed while we discuss the rights of slaves," and "we Ukrainians are worse off than the Poles; they at least have preserved their language and national character, but what of us?" It was apparent that Andrusky still harbored "criminal" ideas of the 1848 variety and the government punished him by exile to the Solovetsky monastery.⁴

Revolutionary initiative flowed primarily from the Poles. The central figure was Adam Czartorsky, who operated from Paris, and in the 1840's he turned his attention to Ukraine, the Don, Caucasia, and other regions that might aid the re-establishment of historic Poland.

³ K. Staelin "Aus den Berichten der III Abteilung S. M. hoechsteigenen Kanzlei an Kaiser Nikolaus I," *Zeitschrift fuer Osteuropaische Geschichte*, Berlin, 1933, Vol. VII, 2, 5, 233.

⁴ Staelin, *ibid.*, 254-5.

The ideologists of this Poland were Duchynski and Czajkowski. Duchynski stayed in Constantinople and believed that a great anti-Russian movement would arise in Kiev. The fiery Czajkowski carried on a stubborn propaganda campaign in favor of the re-creation of a Ukrainian *Kozak* force, which in cooperation with Caucasia and the Balkans would aid in the liberation of Ukraine and Poland from Russian rule. At this stage of their career both Duchynski and Czajkowski were prepared (and quite sincerely!) to recognize the independence of Ukraine.⁵

Some parts of their program resembled the ideas of the Ukrainian emigration of a hundred years before. The ideas of Mazepa and especially of Pylyp Orlyk were close to those of Czajkowski. It is interesting to note that this most prominent Polish friend of the Ukrainians of that date worked in Poland, as Pylyp Orlyk did. Although their basic approach differed in that one emphasized Ukraine and the other Poland, still they possessed a common bond: a common front against imperialist Russia.

What 1848 was to Western Europe, 1861 was to Russia. Russia was forced on the path of reform only after defeat in the Crimean war. The liberal Russian intelligentsia came to the fore and St. Petersburg rather than Kiev or Warsaw became the center of revolution. At the same time the non-Russian nations intensified their struggle for national liberation. Finland demanded the renewal of the constitution granted by Alexander I in 1809. Poland made a second revolutionary attempt in 1863. Ukrainian leaders gathered about the journal *Osnova* published in St. Petersburg by the members of the former Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius—Panteleimon Kulysh, Mykola Kostomariv, Vasył Bilozersky, and others.

In this connection the revelations of Kurt von Schleizer, the second secretary of the Prussian embassy in St. Petersburg, are interesting.⁶ Dmytro Doroshenko has published a study of this man entitled *A Prussian diplomat on Ukrainian separatism in 1861*⁷ It is now clear that the preparations for a revolution prior to 1863 took place not only in Warsaw but also in Kiev and St. Petersburg. At that time the anti-governmental proclamations of such men as Mikhail-

⁵ M. Handelsman, *Ukrainska polityka ks. Adama Czartoryskiego przed Wojna Krymska*, Works of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, Warsaw, 1927, Vol. XXXV, 109-15.

⁶ "Politische Berichte aus Petersburg von Kurd von Schleitzer," *Preussische Jahrbuecher*, Berlin, 1930.

⁷ *Z Mynulobo*, published by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, Warsaw, 1938. pp. 5-8

ovsky and Chernyshevsky were issued and the revolutionary journal *Velikorus* appeared.⁸ Of the five revolutionary proclamations discussed by von Schleizer the third is unusually interesting, for it dwells upon the possibility of detaching "Little Russia" from the Russian empire.⁹ As Schleizer wrote, "this idea is neither new nor unfounded. In confidential conversations Great Russians often refer to it, pointing out that although they are connected with 'Little Russians' by a common religion, nevertheless they differ completely in national and spiritual matters. On many issues, especially political, the Little Russians follow aims other than those of the Great-Russians."¹⁰

The journal *Osnova*, which was the organ of the progressive Ukrainian intellectuals, was very cautious in its political utterances. However, among the Ukrainians there were groups which opposed the official policy of *Osnova* because of its extreme caution and its cooperation with the Russians in matters of social reform. At any rate disturbances occurred in Ukraine in the early 1860's, just as they did in the other Western regions of the empire. The reforms of the 1860's were induced not by free will of Russian government but by the increasing demands of those elements for whom the national struggle was more important than the social.

The middle of the nineteenth century was marked by a regrouping of the revolutionary forces. The Polish rebellion of 1863 was the last attempt at national revolution. Within a few years the Polish problem was hushed up and leadership was assumed by Russians and Ukrainians who emphasized social reform. As the nineteenth century drew to a close Ukrainians were gradually moving to the forefront of the revolutionary movement. Many of the outstanding leaders of the revolutionary opposition in the empire were of Ukrainian origin. These men, however, were more concerned with social problems and advocated various forms of socialism, for they preferred to consider the national problem of secondary importance and relegated it to the background. The Ukrainians were particularly prone to assume such an attitude. This helps to explain why the revolution in Ukraine in 1917 was a complex of national and social issues. It helps to explain why vigorous national solidarity and demands for national freedom were retarded in Ukraine, as well as why the Ukrainian problem is such a burning issue today. Modern Ukrainian national aspirations

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁹ *Politische Berichte*, *ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

were formulated in the nineteenth century and received a concrete delineation in the program of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in 1847. These aspirations were confused temporarily by the wave of socialist idealism riding high in the second half of the nineteenth century, but the idealism of this school has withered in Eastern Europe today (thanks to the Soviet perversion of good ideals), and the national aspirations in Ukraine are potentially the most serious problem which the Russian Communists must face on the internal front.



The Archbishop and the Soviet General

During the first occupation of Lviw by the Soviets in September 1939, the Soviet administration ignored the Archbishop Andreas Sheptytsky for some time. This might have been due to a bad conscience (if such a thing exists among the Soviets) because of the murder of the Archbishop's brother, Count Leo Sheptytsky, together with his family in the first days of the occupation. Even the family tombs were violated. Finally several official cars stopped one day before the Archbishop's palace and three high Soviet officers, among them a general, stepped out to pay an official visit. The Archbishop, dressed in the somber and simple habit of a monk, received them in his study. He was seventy-five, very tall and still of Herculean build, and he towered two heads above his visitors. The conversation at once took a lively turn, as the Archbishop spoke Russian perfectly, for he had learned it during his imprisonment in Russia in World War I. They talked about everything: the current affairs of the city, capitalism, Marxism, communism, most of all about religion. The officers were amazed that the Archbishop, a count and the possessor of a vast family estate, and therefore a "capitalist" donated his entire income to the repair and upkeep of his churches, monasteries, hospitals, schools and museums. After an hour the officers took their leave. Downstairs in the hall the porter, a monk, heard one of them say that he left his cigarette case in the Archbishop's study. Hastily the officer went up, entered the study without knocking, walked up to the Archbishop and bending his knee, kissed his hand. Then without a word and as hastily he departed. (SH).

MY EXPERIENCES WITH THE SOVIETS

By VOLODYMYR HORDYNSKY

BY October 1939 when the Russians had been a month in Lviv, I as well as the other city dwellers had picked up a certain amount of indispensable wisdom about the new way of life and some very important truths. For instance:

Do not call attention to yourself, and, if that is unavoidable, do it as unobtrusively as possible. It is advisable not to shave often, not to wear a necktie and a hat, not to press your pants.

Be wary: before you say a word, look all around you. If you say something and a stranger chanches to hear it, retract your words at once.

Never under any condition disagree with anything said at conferences, meetings, or demonstrations, but always and everywhere, voluntarily and of your own accord accept everything that is proposed.

Be happy: Proclaim loudly and enthusiastically your joy and gratitude to the administration, which takes care of you at every step and teaches you to be a worthy citizen of the sixth part of the globe.

Everyone had to grasp these cardinal principles as quickly as possible. Those who did not were seized by the NKVD. Lviv with almost a third of a million population found itself under the established, mechanical and brutal coercion of the the Soviet administration. The Soviet rule is excellent in one respect: it makes great plans and executes them promptly without the slightest regard as to how many sacrifices, victims or individual discomforts the attaining of the set goal will cost. Traditions and customs, spiritual values, religion, the family, private possessions, previous services to the nation or society, art, historical monuments, all these had no value in the new circumstances, or precisely as much, as it had for Soviet propaganda. Three Soviet teen-agers were sent as censors to one of the largest Ukrainian library in the city. They went from one bookrack to another, reading the titles of the books. If they came across a book they did not like, they simply threw it on the floor, and trampled on it with their feet as if it were so much rubbish. They were not even Ukrainians, as the Soviets did not trust Ukrainians in such matters.

Particularly in the sphere of culture—both spiritual and material—the differences between the Soviets and the population were strong-

ly marked. It is no exaggeration to state that this was the meeting of two entirely different worlds. It would have been just as interesting to observe an inhabitant of the planet Mars, as it was to follow the thoughts and psychology of a Soviet citizen or official. The city was flooded with newcomers from the East, for whom Lviv with its bathrooms, furniture, clothing, sheer stockings, wristwatches, etc. was a place of unheard of and unimaginable luxury and extravagance. Although there were no new goods in the stores, countless secondhand shops sprang up, where anything could be bought or sold. Nothing was too old, outmoded or dilapidated to be traded in at such a junkman's paradise. No sooner was an old fashioned charcoal pressing iron, a chipped tea-cup, a broken alarm-clock or a worn-out pair of shoes brought in, than it was sure to be bought and transported to the East as a highly prized possession, carefully packed in those typical Soviet wooden boxes, with a handle attached, which served the Soviets as suitcases, or any ordinary potato sacks, which were carried over the shoulder. This feverish accumulating of the simplest articles of everyday use had all the aspects of a nervous disorder, while at every turn one heard the perpetual, wild, shameless and incogruous propaganda of the superiority of everything Soviet over the "bourgeois culture."

The ordinary man of the streets—the *vox populi*—reacted with the most biting and merciless satire to this constantly proclaimed Soviet superiority. Lviv is well known for the sharp tongues of its citizens.

In the first days of the Soviet occupation it was a favorite sport to spring some current gag on an unsuspecting friend, as for example:

"Have you seen the new fifty-man tank?"

"Fifty-man? . . . But that's impossible! . . ."

"Why not?—One drives and forty-nine push."

A good anecdote spread through the city with telegraphic speed.

I cannot pass over one of the most characteristic. One morning in his new quarters in Lviv a Soviet officer complained to his landlady: "There must be something wrong with the washbowl in the toilet. Everytime I pull the handle, the water rushes out so quickly I can't wash my face."

Too often the difference between the anecdote and reality was not as great as it might seem. The natives took advantage of the primitive newcomers, and the Red soldiers were a particularly easy prey. When asked whether they have *Chicago* in the Soviets, one simple soul very gravely answered that they most certainly do, and what is more

they produce it in freight car loads (a popular measuring unit in the Soviets). One day you heard the anecdote about the Soviet clerk who bought a frilled brassiere and on a frosty day he used it as earmuffs—and the next evening in the theater you saw with your own eyes a Soviet lady dressed in a silk nightgown, which she had mistaken for the newest fashion in evening dresses. Or some bureaucrat talked by the hour about the tempo, quality and quantity of Soviet production, and in a whispered aside wanted to know where he could get a pair of shoes, even if they were a little worn . . . Such everyday episodes had us, to put it mildly, nonplussed.

* * *

A few weeks after the occupation of Lviv an officer of the Red Army came to the tannery where I was technical administrator at the time. He was accompanied by a young man in civilian clothes. Even when the suit had been cut and made by the best tailor in town, on the back of a Soviet official it somehow never would look right. Perhaps this was due to the fact that the poor fellows were not used to proper clothes. As this seemed to be one of the first official visits, we greeted them courteously and showed them into the office. At that time there were only four other technical workers beside myself present at the factory. The visitors covered my desk with official looking papers and without much ado began a cross examination:—"Your father's profession? How long has each worked at the factory? Did any one of us possess a house, land, a bank account? To what organizations did we belong before the war—cultural, political, social or athletic? Did any of us have relatives abroad? With whom were we acquainted in the city?"—Each of us endeavored to make his answers sound as innocent as possible, particularly when it came to the delicate questions of our father's profession, our private property and our relatives in the capitalistic countries. After finishing the questioning, the officer had a whispered conference with the civilian, and taking me aside gave me the following instructions:

"And now, we will hold a meeting. We will elect Comrade Anastasia Butra to the District Committee. You will deliver a speech, and after that your factory will nominate Comrade Butra as a candidate to the District Committee."

"But who is this Anastasia Butra?" I asked. "I never heard of her."

"She is a woman in whom the party has full confidence. The finest representative of the proletariat in this part of the city."

By this time I had heard enough speeches to have assimilated some of the most important customary phrases. I turned to the four workers and began:

"Comrades, we are fortunate to be able to elect our own representatives to the District Committee. Who can better understand us workers than a worker? Such a person is Anastasia Butra, who suffered all her life under the yoke of the Polish capitalists. I propose that our factory nominate her as a candidate to the District Elections. Do you agree?"

The four workers sheepishly raised their hands for they were not certain what was expected of them. We drew up the minutes. I signed them as the chairman of the meeting, and the four workers as members of the presidium. The officer put the document into his briefcase and both men left. The workers crowded around me and asked: "Who is this Anastasia Butra? What did I know about her? How could we speak for those that were absent?"

I could not answer.

The next day in big headlines we read in the paper:

"The workers of the fur and leather factory 'Khrom' unanimously and enthusiastically nominated Comrade Anastasia Butra as a candidate to the District Elections, which will take place in three days in the movie theater Roxy . . ."

At the appointed day a crowd waited outside the doors of Roxy. All were anxious to see the candidate. Together with the others I inquired about her. We finally found her in the center of a group of workers: She was a small, thin and miserable-looking little woman, with a kerchief tied around her head. She was completely bewildered. knew nothing and could answer no questions.

* * *

The holding of pre-election meetings where the vote is unanimous is a typical Soviet device. These are conducted with the accuracy of a preordained ritual. At the appointed date all the workers and clerks of the given factories and institutions had to assemble. Attendance was compulsory—and woe to the person who was absent! Punctually at the given hour the agitator with his retinue appeared. At that time there were about eight thousand such Soviet agitators in Lviv alone. I well recall the meeting at which my factory was represented. On the agenda was the question of including Western Ukraine in the Soviet Union. Although this was already a fact, for purposes of pro-

paganda the administration needed the unanimous assent of the populace, and to this end the entire administrative machine was set in motion. The agitator came out on the stage of the theater. He spoke in Russian, nothing daunted that the majority of the audience did not understand what he was saying. He opened the meeting with these words:

"Comrades—let us regard out meeting opened.—Who is against? No one?—Well, then, I move that we elect the Honorary Presidium.—Who is against?—No one?—Then I propose to elect as members of the Honorary Presidium the Politburo of the Communist Party."—Here he began to applaud. The befuddled audience did not take up the applause and the agitator, furiously clapping his hands, whispered to those in the front seats: "You have to applaud!"—The whisper spread through the auditorium and here and there an uncertain clapping was heard. The speaker shouted to the secretary of the meeting: "Write—thunderous applause!" The meeting went on.

"Comrades—I further move that we elect as the members of our Honorary Presidium by name Comrade Stalin, Comrade Molotov Comrade Kaganovich and Comrade Khrushchev." At this point he not only clapped his hands but shouted at the top of his voice "Bravo! Bravo!"

"Comrades—I further move that we elect as the Presidium . . ." here he took a slip of paper out of his pocket and read the names of twelve persons in the audience.—"Who is against?"—and without waiting for an answer he continued:

"Will the elected members take their places!"

The "electees" rose from the audience and filed into their places at both sides of the agitator's table. There they sat silently throughout the entire meeting and at the end signed the minutes.

The agitator was of course the chairman.

He went on:

"Comrades—the courageous Red Army liberated you from the yoke of the Polish capitalists. The Soviet nation has stretched out to you its brotherly hand, and you should be grateful for it. You should convey your gratitude to the greatest genius (here he paused and waited until every one stood up)—Comrade Stalin. For the first time in history you have the opportunity to express your will freely and without compulsion. You are now able to elect your own delegates and send them to Moscow, where they will beg Comrade Stalin (Bravo! Bravo!—frantic applause from the chairman) to receive the liberated

Ukrainians into the great family of the Soviet Nation.—Who is against?—No one?—Well then, let us consider the meeting adjourned . . .”

Later when we understood the unfailing procedure of such meetings, we invented an obvious joke. When the chairman made his usual proposition to elect as the Honorary Presidium Comrade Stalin, Molotov and Kaganovich, and asked who was against, someone would raise his hand. The chairman would almost have an attack of apoplexy.

“Aha,” he would shout, “so you are against my proposition. What is your name?”

The culprit would give his name.

“So you are against electing Comrade Stalin, Comrade Molotov and Comrade Kaganovich as the Honorary Presidium?”

“Not at all. I merely wanted to ask you to add the name of Comrade Beria...”

Very often when I describe in America the Communist meetings conducted by these methods, I met with undisguised incredulity: “But that is preposterous! Unbelievable! . . .”—Unbelievable? It is the honest truth, and today half of Europe is learning the hard way that what seemed not so long ago preposterous and unbelievable has become stark reality.

* * *

One day in the office of my factory I received a telephone call from Comrade Pronin, the Commissar of industry and a former prosecutor in Kharkiv. He told me that General B. was on his way to see me, and I was to do what he asked of me. In half an hour a de-luxe Packard—a war trophy, still bearing Polish plates—drew up in front of the factory entrance, and the general walked in accompanied by his wife.

“You will be Comrade Gardinsky?—My wife and I need fur coats. We are leaving for Moscow the day after tomorrow. Could you have them ready?”

I assured him that they would be ready. I called the furrier, told him to take the measurements, and the general left.

The factory was large and well stocked—we would have had no difficulty in preparing fifty fur coats, even at so short notice. We had, however, only leather and furs, but not a yard of material for the lining. This was the province of a different department and a different factory.

I called up Comrade Pronin and told him that I needed lining for two fur coats at once.

"That's no headache," he answered, "there are enough textile mills in Lviv. Call up any one of them and have them deliver the goods. But don't mention my name in the accounts."

I got in touch with the Textile Factory N. I. The director was a Soviet official, and agreed to let me have the material, if I gave him leather for a pair of boots. Everything was arranged, the coats were ready on time, the general departed, and it seemed that all was in order. But it wasn't.

Some weeks later during the examination of the accounts of the factory, it came to light that I had bought seven yards of lining for 28 rubles from the Textile Factory N. I., a thing which I had no right to do, as the goods were considered "raw material" and were to be exported to the East. With true Soviet impetus the incident began to take on the proportions of a dangerous affair. Soon my office was honored by the highly unpleasant visit of Comrade Vasilyev from the NKVD. Without preliminaries, he broached the disturbing subject at once:

"Do you know, Comrade Gardinsky, that such crimes are punished in the USSR with at least three years of prison? Have you read the *Ukaz* of the Counsel of Commissar which distinctly forbids factories to sell unconverted materials? Do you realize that what you have done interferes with the plan?"

"But, Comrade Vasilyev, please understand that I needed that lining. Perhaps you are unable to understand such a thing—I notice that you have a rather worn coat. This doesn't gain you the respect that a public prosecutor of the Soviet State should have. Just look how torn your lining is, and now see what a proper lining should be."—With this I opened the closet where our models were stored and took out a leather coat. Comrade Vasilyev's eyes lighted up:

"So you produce such coats? How much does this cost?"

"1,000 rubles," I said, "But I'm sorry, this is not for sale."

"I'll give you 300."

"Impossible! This is state property."

Finally he gave me 400 rubles and went his way. The price for the privileged purchases was exactly that amount. I never heard anything more about those seven yards of lining.

Blackmail was the usual procedure in gaining needed things. I quickly acquired enough experience to know from the first words of

the official visitor what he was after. One day M. Kaganovich, the Commissar of Light Industry and the brother-in-law of Stalin, fell into a rage while looking over some of the reports from my factory. He began to beat the desk with his fists and shout the blood-curdling word "sabotage." I defended myself in the usual way:

"Comrade Commissar, you know very well that we can increase the quantity of our production only by sacrificing our quality. Our quality is such that everyone—even the distinguished comrades from Moscow—wants to wear our productions."

Kaganovich continued his ranting:

"This is not sufficient! This is not sufficient!" he kept on shouting.

"But there's enough for you, Comrade Commissar. What, for example, do you need?"

He changed his tone at once:

"A leather coat," he said, "You are a tough fellow!"

At the next meeting of plant managers he nominated me "the leading non-party worker . . ."

And under the Soviets, where it is bad medicine to be suspected of nationalism, I had the rare good fortune of meeting a Jew who was a Ukrainian nationalist, or to put it better—a Ukrainian patriot.

I was called to Kiev in order to work out the program of production for the fur and leather plants which I directed. These plants were prepared under the personal supervision of the same Kaganovich, a member of that gangster dynasty which was the real master of Soviet Ukraine. During this work in the Ukrainian capital I had the opportunity to meet many high officials of the Soviet economic apparatus, which was composed entirely of non-Ukrainians. From these people living and working in the heart of Ukraine I never heard a word of Ukrainian. The only person who spoke Ukrainian to me was the charwoman. I was obliged to pay several semi-official visits to the big men of this so-called Ukrainian industry. One of them was Comrade A. I was led into a sumptuously furnished "bourgeois" apartment, and took my seat on a divan under an enormous portrait of Stalin in a heavily gilded frame. We started to talk business at once, since that was the safest subject. He asked me if he could get fashionably cut fur coats for himself and his wife from a factory in Lviv. The conversation was trivial. Both he and his son, who was also present, did not seem very interesting. I was on the verge of taking my leave when the older Comrade A. was called away. The young man changed immediately. He at once started to talk in perfect and cultured Uk-

rainian. He wanted to know where different writers and artists were. He eagerly asked me if I could get certain Ukrainian books published in Lviv and have them somehow smuggled to him. He particularly wanted to have at least one volume of the poems of Malanyuk.

"How do you know about the existence of such a poet?" — I asked in surprise. "Every word of his is forbidden in the USSR!"

He looked at me reproachfully:

"Do you really think that we are satisfied with our bemedaled apes?"—And he began to talk breathlessly and bitterly about the miserable cultural atmosphere in which the intellectuals under the Soviet rule were doomed to live, or rather to suffocate. His words tumbled over one another, as he poured into my ears this veritable confession of a counter-revolutionist, while he was sitting under the gilded portrait of Stalin. When finally after half an hour his father came back, he instantly returned to the Russian language and the ordinary uninteresting but safe topics. But I had heard enough to know that this young Jew, brought up entirely in the Soviet ideals, had nothing in common with them, and was the direct opposite of his father, who thought only of his career. I understood that the only real interest in his life were the ideals of the enslaved Ukrainian nation, and that the Hetman Mazepa, even though thrice excommunicated by the Soviets, was to him a hero.

"As I came in," said the father, "I heard you talking about Mazepa . . ."

"Yes, I was just informing Comrade Gardinsky when and what was built in Kiev, and naturally I mentioned the numerous buildings erected by that traitor Mazepa."

In uttering the word "traitor" he let his eyes wander along the ceiling, but in his voice there was not the slightest tremor. Here was an ideally trained Soviet citizen who could, when necessity arose, hide his feelings perfectly.

A few weeks later his brother, a young Soviet lieutenant, came to my house in Lviv to pick up the promised books. I still had some volumes which I could not find the heart to burn, but it was too dangerous for me to make the selection myself. So I showed him my bookcase, and discretely leaving him in the room alone I let him choose for himself.

LABOR CONDITIONS IN THE METALLURGICAL INDUSTRY OF UKRAINE

By **STEPHEN PROTSIUK**

THE metallurgical industry of Ukraine plays an unusually important part in the economic life of the whole USSR. In spite of the fact that the ruling authorities of the USSR are endeavoring very methodically and almost openly, since the end of the Third Five-Year-Plan (1938-42), to transfer the manufacturing centers to the Asiatic regions, that is, beyond the Urals, the industry of Ukraine still retains its key importance in the national economy, not only of the whole USSR, but also, in this post-war period, in the economic life of the so-called Eastern bloc. This is especially noticable in the sector of the metallurgical industry. The following table shows the growth of the metallurgical industry of Ukraine in comparison with the increase of the production of the whole USSR, in millions of tons, in the period 1913-1950.

a) PRODUCTION OF IRON ORE

	1913	1929	1933	1938
Ukraine (with Crimea)	6.9	6.1	9.3	16.9
The whole of the USSR	9.2	8.0	14.4	26.5

b) PRODUCTION OF PIG-IRON

	1913	1929	1933	1938	1950 Plan
Ukraine (with Crimea)	3.1	2.43	4.3	9.2	9.7
The whole of the USSR	4.2	3.3	6.2	14.5	19.5

c) PRODUCTION OF STEEL

	1913	1928	1932	1937	1950 Plan
Ukraine (with Crimea)	0.0	2.49	3.5	9.3	8.8
The whole of the USSR	4.2	4.2	5.9	17.7	25.4

For a better orientation of the reader we quote here also tables of production of the same metal in millions of tons of a few nations that are the biggest producers of the world: ¹

PRODUCTION OF IRON ORE

Year	U.S.A.	France	Gr. Britain	USSR	Sweden
1935	31.0	32.0	11.0	20.0	7.9
1939	52.6	33.0	14.7	26.5	13.8
1945	79.3	4.6	13.6	21.4	0.0
1946	72.0	16.2	12.4	18.0	0.0

PRODUCTION OF THE PIG IRON (1946)

U.S.A.	U.S.A., 1947	England	France	Germany	Belgium	Canada
43.3	60.1	8.7	3.9	2.6	2.4	1.5

PRODUCTION OF STEEL (1946)

U.S.A.	U.S.A., 1947	England	France	Sweden	Germany	Belgium	Canada
79.3	84.6	13.6	4.9	4.31	3.23	2.5	2.3

Ukraine's unique situation is due to its large deposits of metal ores, *especially of iron and manganese*. Recent data on the well-known Ukrainian ore basins presents the following aspect: there are 1,142,000,000 tons of high grade iron ores and 20 million tons (in 1938) of 40% iron ores (exclusive of the inferior ores) in the Kryviy Rih basin and 2,700,000,000 tons more of iron ore (in 1934) in the Kerch Peninsula basin, and 380,000,000 tons more of high grade manganese ore in the basin near Nikopol (in 1934). The extensive Ukrainian metallurgical industry was created upon these reserves of iron ore and the coal reserves of the Don basin (amounting to 88,800,000,000 tons in 1939). However, we must add that the Ukrainian metallurgical industry could have been even greater without Moscow's interference in Ukraine's affairs, a factor, which has retarded not only its development of industry but also its economic life in general. The fact that the metallurgical industry has developed to such considerable dimensions in the Soviet Ukraine is due to Moscow's intention to exploit Ukraine's natural resources to their full extent. If we made a thorough analysis of Ukraine's 1950 production tables, we would find that not less than 70% of Ukraine's industrial production goes to fill

¹ Data from the *Information Almanac*, John Kieran, Editor, N. Y., 1949.

the never-ending needs of such industrial centres as Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, and even Gorky. Ukrainian steel and pig-iron find their way even into the Caucasus and as far as the republics of Central Asia, though this seems at first sight like a paradox in view of the fact that the Ural mineral deposits are much nearer. Even the Soviet newspapers pass over in silence the fact that in the period 1946-1949 the factories of Poland and of Czechoslovakia were using Ukrainian ore.

In view of the fact that Ukrainian industry plays such an important role, we might expect the Soviet authorities to create at least suitable working conditions for it. However, the fact is that the conditions of the Ukrainian metallurgical industry and of the Ukrainian workingmen are unusually hard. Here we shall deal only with the state of the Ukrainian metallurgical industry in the postwar 1945-1949 period, during the fourth Five Year Plan of Reconstruction.

The first postwar years were really terrible. Ukrainian factories, destroyed mainly by the Germans, and in part by the retreating Soviets (in consequence of the so-called "Scorched Earth" war policy), had to be rebuilt from the ruins and ashes. According to the official data, at the end of the war Ukraine had only 19% of its pre-war industries intact. Most of the Ukrainian workingmen were living during this period in dug-outs amid the ruins of their former homes. As the agricultural equipment was destroyed, the food situation of the industrial centers of Ukraine was unusually bad. It was hard to improve the food situation because of the catastrophic lack of workers, as the Soviets, after re-occupying Ukraine in 1943-1944, called all the men to the colors and demobilized them very slowly.

Ukraine received considerable aid from the UNRRA, especially due to the efforts of such of its leaders as White and Fisher. In spite of all the hardships, Ukrainian workingmen started to rebuild their factories with might and main, knowing that this was the best way to assure themselves of employment in the future. From amidst the ruins rose up again the well-known factories at Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhia, Kramatorsk, Mariupol and other industrial centers of Ukraine. Here we repeat that the Ukrainian industry was rebuilt mainly thanks to the enthusiasm and efficiency of the Ukrainian workingmen, who expected in the period 1945-1946 some improvement in their lot.

However, their expectations were never fulfilled. After having its economic life somewhat rehabilitated, the Kremlin immediately introduced within the USSR more drastically controls, especially in Ukraine, both in the political and economic sense. This repressive

policy was symbolized by the sending of the "iron commissar" Kahanovich to Ukraine and by the fact that the very first cars loaded with the products of the Ukrainian steel factories were despatched "as a gift" to Moscow. Such "gifts" keep on going there to this very day. Moscow deliberately keeps down in Ukraine the production of the high grades of steel. Only the inferior types of iron products are made there (such as pig-iron and hard steel).

We can judge the misery of the workmen of the metallurgical industry in Ukraine by taking into consideration their wages and the prices on food and manufactured goods current in the USSR. Since 1947 the wages of an average qualified workman have amounted to 90 karbovantsy a month.² Propaganda writings talk about wages of two or three thousand karb. a month. Such statements have reference to the so-called Stakhanov workers. For instance, the newspaper "Trud"³ of October 9, 1947, gives, for the sake of propaganda, the cases of two workmen who earn 1760 and 2218 karb. a month. Such write-ups serve only as an incentive to other workers. About 2000 karb. a month is paid to very highly specialized workers, who have very hard and exceptionally responsible jobs, such as, for instance, the so-called "norm" (measure) of work. Such "norms" of work are, of course, hard to reach. On the other hand, a very large percentage of the metallurgical workmen, doing light work, get only from 400 to 500 karb. a month. Thus the average pay amounts to not more than 900 karb. a month.

If we remember that the average monthly wages of the metallurgical workers before the war amounted to some 500-600 karb. a month, it may seem that the wages after the war increased. However, just the opposite is true. The Ukrainian workers in the Soviet Ukraine, received two especially painful blows: first, in the autumn of 1946 came the change in the standards of wages and the rise of prices; the second, even *worse*, was the monetary reform and the increase of prices in December, 1947.

On September 16, 1946, official prices on food in the Soviet Ukraine made a great jump, especially in the general stores, used by the workers. At the same time, the prices went down in the so-called commercial stores, set apart for the privileged class of party officials. The following table shows this increase in prices on the most essential foods (in number of karb. per kilo).

² Karbovanets (plur. Karbovantsy) Ukrainian name of ruble.

³ Publication of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the USSR.

Goods	Prices in the General Stores		Prices in the Commercial Stores		Prices during the War
	To 16.IX.46	After 16.IX.46	To 16.IX.46	After 16.IX.46	
Black Bread	1.10	3.40	10.00	7.50	35.00
White bread	3.80	11.00	18.00	12.50	100.00
Sugar	5.50	15.00	130.00	60.00	800.00
Butter	28.00	66.00	210.00	140.00	1000.00
Beef	14.00	46.00	—	—	—
Fish	12.00	33.00	—	—	—
Pork	27.00	65.00	—	—	—

We do not even mention here the prices of fabrics, shoes, and other articles of every day use, as it was almost impossible to obtain such goods in 1946. We must add that food and other goods until 1948 were sold by a *card system*. Until September 16, 1946, the metallurgical workers paid for such allotted foods from 75 to 100 karb. per month for each person. After September 16, 1946, the cost of these increased to 225-375, according to the classification of the worker. If we assume that the average cost of food amounted to 300 karb. per month, a worker with a wife and one child had to pay every month for food alone 900 karb., that is, all that he received in wages for the month. Of course, it was hard to live only on the allotted food. It was necessary to buy in addition, at the free market, some food, such as cucumbers and other vegetables. We learn from the official report of the delegation from the British Iron and Steel Trade Confederation⁴ which visited in 1946-1947 among other places also the metallurgical center of Ukraine, Zaporizhzhya, something about the current prices in that region at the time,

1 lb. of currants	6 karb.
1 small cucumber	7 "
1 bunch of radishes	30 "
1 head of cabbage	45 "
1 lb. of donkey meat	75 "
1 lb. of chocolate	200 "

We read in the same report that the average rent for the State's workingman's living quarters (of two rooms) was 135 karb. a month, in case the worker does not earn more than 700 karb. a month. If he earns more he pays more in rent accordingly. If we take also into consideration the huge amounts that he has to spend on clothes,

⁴ *Technische Rundschau*, Switzerland, 1947, No. 48, Blatt V.

than we shall see that even a Stakhanovite wage of 2000 karb. is not enough to pay for the most elementary necessities for an average workman's family.

The drastic money reform of December 25, 1947, made the living conditions of the Ukrainian metallurgical workers even worse. Regardless of the higher prices of food and other goods the wages remained the same as before the reform. The Soviets could not afford to raise the wages and salaries because the sum total paid in wages in the USSR even in 1947 already amounted to 280 *billions* of karb., that is, it was 120 billions larger than in 1940, though there were just a few more workers employed by factories in 1947 than in 1940. The increase in the wages can be accounted for by the war and post-war raise of wages (in 1945-1946) which had to be granted by the Soviets because otherwise the workers of the Soviet Ukraine would have done what the peasants were doing, refusing to deliver their produce allotments to the State and dividing the State farm property among themselves. We remind ourselves here that the Soviet 4th Five Year plan foresees 250 billion karb. paid in wages in 1950. And, as we have seen, they were already paying in 1947 thirty billions more than that. Then what will be really the sum total of wages in 1950? How can one regard any of the figures given for the 4th Five Year plan as reliable in view of this discrepancy?

How the prices were raised in December of 1947 we can see from the following example: 1 kilo of tea cost 160 karb. (90 karb. before), a pair of shoes cost 260 karb., a man's suit (the cheapest, made of artificial material) cost 430 karb., a woman's dress cost 510 karb. These are the so-called *hard city prices*. In places not classified as cities or towns one had to pay about 10% more.⁵ Here we do omit the great losses suffered by the Ukrainian workers from the depreciation of the State loans to which they had simply been forced to subscribe. Such loans took away 10% of their wages. For instance, the third State loan of 1938 was revalued after the money reform of 1947, with a loss of one fifth of its original face value. In the pre-war period a worker earning 400 karb. could buy for his wages 400 kilos of *black bread*, 14 kilos of butter. In January 1948 he was earning 500 karb. a month, but for that sum he could buy only 130 kilos of black bread or only 7 and three quarters of a pound of butter. The standard of living of a Ukrainian worker in the period 1945-1948 went down.

⁵ *Neues Zuericher Wirtschaftsblatt*, January 4, 1948.

Let us consider now the pitiful condition of the living quarters in the Ukrainian industrial centers. In the state budget of the Soviet Ukraine in 1947 a sum of 402.55 millions of karb. was set aside for house construction, an altogether inadequate sum when we recall the terrible ravages suffered by Ukraine during the war. Besides, these 402 million karb. were to be used for the construction not only of houses, but also for the educational and cultural centers, that is, out of the sum 40% was set aside for the construction of movie theatres, club houses, "red-rooms," and such other centers of Soviet propaganda. The workmen's families are still living with about 10 persons to a room. That is why a casual visitor to the metallurgical centers of Ukraine sees in passing through a town only one street, the main street, buildings just for show, a few big administrative buildings, theatres, club houses, etc., and does not realize that but a few steps one way or the other from the main street are to be found terribly run-down homes of the workers along unpaved streets with no sidewalks, no street lamps, no trees or grass, and covered with a few inches of mud. For instance, near the mine "the Cold Valley" of the metallurgical plant in Makiyivka some 26 two-room houses were built in 1948 for the workmen. Immediately the Soviet newspapers began to publicize these 26 houses as a great feat of "the Socialist construction program," without mentioning that out of the 154 workmen's families employed there only 26 could move to the new living quarters (26 small families at that), and the rest, 128 families, that is 83%, still have to live in dugouts or the ruins of their pre-war houses.

In bigger centers the government builds no small houses but large blocks of apartments, similar to barracks, several stories high. They are built at a rapid rate, and of such poor quality that it is usually impossible to close or open the windows or close tightly the doors. The walls have cracks in many places, and the toilets need repairs after a few days of use. We find many complaints against such construction in the local newspapers of Dnipropetrovsk, Voroshylovhrad, Dniprodzerzhensk, Kostyantynivka, and many other metallurgical centers of Ukraine. Let us take a look at such a well-known center as Horlivka. The workers live in the unfinished barrack-like buildings, and use old wooden boxes for beds, chairs, and tables, which in some places seem to be the only furniture in the living quarters of the workers. This situation will not seem strange if we take a look at the program of the Ministry of House Furnishings in the Soviet Ukraine. Its program for 1947 promised to make 177,000 tables and 205,000 chairs—

for the 40 million of people of Ukraine, after the war devastations! In such a situation one can say even less about the planting of trees and making of new parks, laying down power lines, or supplying the people with buses and street cars. Thousands of workers of Horlivka have to walk daily five or more kilometers to their place of work, as there is only one street car line in the town, with only battered cars, and with no waiting-rooms, so that the people have to wait (sometimes for hours) outdoors in rain, snow, or dust-storms. Such conditions existed in 1949, six years after the expulsion of Germans ("Izvestia," No. 152, June 30, 1949). Transportation was in a similar state, according to the news items of 1949, in the cities of Stalino (Yuzivka), Voroshylovsk, Mykytivtzi, and Yenakiyev.

In the second half of 1949 the Soviet newspapers tried to persuade their readers that there was a great improvement in the living conditions in the Soviet Ukraine. But the Norwegian delegation from the League of Sailors, which has recently described its visit to the USSR in its own publication, found no such improvement. On the contrary, it found Soviet living conditions even somewhat on the decline.

* * *

The Ukrainian metallurgical workers suffer not only from these bad living conditions, but also from *the bad conditions of work in the place of occupation*. We lay special stress on this fact, as some people have the *false* idea, that while the Soviets do not pay any special attention to the living conditions of the workers, they do take good care of the workers at the plants and factories. This is not the fact. The conditions of work in the metallurgical industry are very bad. This statement is best substantiated by the unusually large number of accidents in the steel factories. For instance, eye witnesses from Dniprodzerzhensk, who lived near the cemetery, relate that in 1946-1949 period not a week passed without the burial of some workers who were victims of accidents at the smelters, steel rolling mills, and the transport unloading places. The percentage of accidents rose considerably in the post-war years due to two reasons. Firstly, workers had to work sometimes in carelessly reassembled plants, or in half-finished plants, with the machinery still untested. And, in the second place, there were now more unskilled workers employed than formerly. This was the result of the war. A great many of the Ukrainian specialists and skilled workers who had been mobilized in 1941-1945 were killed

in action, and many of those who returned were transported by Moscow to places beyond the Urals to develop the Siberian industrial bases for the USSR. In the post-war period peasant youths and girls were mobilized and sent as workers to the industrial plants. Such workers had to be trained from the start how to handle all kinds of machines, sometimes very complicated ones. There was especially a great number of women in the factories, sometimes doing very heavy work. All the delegations from abroad who paid a visit to Ukraine in 1945-1949 were simply astounded, at seeing women as stokers in the smelters or working in the rolling steel mills. As we shall see in the following table the number of women working in the heavy industry in Ukraine keeps on increasing:

1929	1932	1937	1944
28.4%	32.1%	39.8%	46.0%

In such conditions, it is not strange that the Ukrainian metallurgical industry as a rule has never yet fulfilled Moscow's demands. At the meeting of the party workers (the so-called "partorhy") of the Ukrainian metallurgical plants in March, 1949, it was pointed out that the same Martenov smelters that existed before the war produce now 20% less steel than before and the rolling mills give 26% less output than before the war. The Ukrainian workers are not interested in the conditions of their factories. They know quite well that most of the new party leaders of industry are interested only in the colonial exploitation of Ukraine's resources and in squeezing out the maximum effort from the Ukrainian workers. That is why almost all the workers refuse to participate in the effort to fulfill the party objectives. A concrete example of this is seen in the fact that in Makiyivka only 22 workers out of the thousands employed there took part in a contest for the use of the machines. At the radio "inter-calls" of the Ukrainian metallurgists on April 24, 1947, it was affirmed that at the plant of Makiyivka 1580 persons failed to fulfill their "norm" of work, and at Yenakiyev 1697 persons.

It is not necessary to mention here that the "norms" of work are exceptionally high, and that they are but an additional goad to spur on Ukrainian workers. The State plan of the Soviet Ukraine calls upon the Ukrainian metallurgists to achieve in 1948 the average coefficient in the smelters of 1.08 and to produce 4.6 tons of steel per square metre of the floor space in the Martenov smelters. Of course

we know that the Martenov smelters in the United States produce on the average 4.8 tons of steel per sq. metre. But what a difference there is not only between the equipment and machines of the metallurgical plants in the United States and Ukraine (especially now, in the war-devastated Ukraine), but especially between the living and working conditions of the American worker and the "state" slave-like worker in Ukraine under the rule of Moscow!

It is true that there is an effort on the part of the scientific and mechanical workers to improve the conditions of life and work of the metallurgical workers, but their effort is not only misunderstood, but quite often deliberately obstructed by the party and the Russian government. In addition, most of the Ukrainian specialists are sent by the Soviets to work in the far away industrial centers on the other side of the Urals, far from Ukraine. They cannot work for the good of Ukraine's industry, but have to help, against their will, to develop the Asiatic bases in support of the imperialistic objectives of Moscow. This constitutes the worst tragedy of the Ukrainian scientists and technical specialists in the USSR.

The Kremlin is both blind and deaf to all the needs that hamper the metallurgical industry of Ukraine. As we have already mentioned, the Kremlin government intends to make Ukraine yield as much as possible of pig-iron, steel, rolling mill products, locomotives, tractors, and combines. To what extent this exploitation has already gone can be seen from the following example: the metallurgical plant at Zaporizhzhya (one of the largest in Ukraine—just before the war it had four smelters, ten Martenov smelters and one rolling mill for a continual rolling of steel) was supplying with its products 83 big machine factories in the USSR, including supplies for all the factories of automobiles and tractors. Out of these 83 factories only 12 were situated in Ukraine, that is, only 14.4% of the whole number. The Zaporizhzhya plant is not an exception. The same can be said of the whole metallurgical industry in Ukraine. It is safe to state that about 85% of Ukraine's steel production is absorbed by the Russian Soviet Federated Republic.

Export of the surplus of the Ukrainian industrial production abroad could be justified only on two conditions. First, if the needs of the Ukrainian industry were adequately satisfied, especially the needs of the machine-making industry which is at present deliberately being hampered by the Kremlin. And, in the second place, if the exported products were paid for, if not in cash, then at least in those

raw materials and finished goods of which Ukraine has none or not enough.

In regard to the metallurgical industry we wish to quote one more very interesting table. As it is well known, the very heart of the metallurgical industry are the coal (as coke) and iron ores. Let us take now a look at Ukraine and the Urals. These regions have the following deposits of coal and iron ores:

Ukraine	The Urals
88.8 billions of tons of coal in the Donbas region alone, exclusive of the region on the right bank of the Dnieper and Carpathian regions which have still to be more thoroughly examined.	8 billions of tons of coal. ⁶
24,842,000,000 tons of the iron ores (not including here such that have less than 40% of iron).	1,325,000,000 of iron ores (including the region of Orsk).

This means that the Ural region has only 9% of the Ukrainian coal resources, and 5.3% of the iron ores. Yet the Ural region has 24 coal mining centers to Ukraine's 21 (from data of January, 1948). This shows what care Moscow takes both of the Ural region and of Ukraine.

It is true that half of the Ural metallurgical plants are relatively smaller than the Ukrainian, but it is also true that Ukraine has not a single metallurgical plant as big as the metallurgical combines of Magnetogorsk and Nyzhne-Tahilsk. Ural plants are superior to the Ukrainian in the fact that they produce in most cases high grade steel alloys (rustless, resistant to high temperatures, resistant to corrosion, special steel alloys), while the production of high grade steels is limited in Ukraine. We should also point out that most of the Ural plants were built or reconstructed during the war (1941-1945), or after the war, as part of the fourth Five Year Plan. But not a single new metallurgical plant was built during that time in Ukraine. The Ukrainian metallurgical industry is doomed to disappear.

⁶ *Ekonomicheskaya Geografiya USSR*, by N. N. Baransky, Moscow, 1947, p. 198. Non-Soviet sources quote only 7 billion tons; for instance, in *L'economie de l'URSS*. Press Universitaire de France, Paris, 1945.

GERMANY'S DISASTROUS EASTERN POLICY AND THE ROLE OF GENERAL VLASOV

By NICHOLAS PRYCHODKO

1. The Achilles' Heel of the USSR.

THE majority of the people on the American continent are under the impression that the USSR is a country with an overwhelmingly Russian population. Others believe that it is a free union of different nations each of which holds a position similar to that of the states in the United States or the provinces of Canada.

In reality the USSR is a 200 million conglomeration of 150 nationalities fused together into one imperialistic unit by Russian military power exerted steadily from the days of the tsars to the present regime of the Kremlin dictator Stalin. Out of the 200 million population, there are only about 70,000,00 Russians but these hold the key positions of government and industry and retain their power through the unparalleled oppression and terrorism of the political police and the Communist party.

The failure to produce a "happy family of nations" under this Russian tyranny keeps alive the burning question of nationalism and this the Communists have not been able to solve in the past thirty years. There is a perpetual state of unrest and this is best exemplified by the UPA (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army) which today numbers thousands of members and is in open revolt. During the war it fought simultaneously against both the Nazis and the Communists in the hope of freeing its country from the oppressors. Similarly through all the lands within the iron curtain there are similar movements except among the Great Russians, for they are the ruling class in the USSR.

The Moscow Politburo is keenly aware of this imminent threat in case of war. It is keenly aware that this offers the greatest threat to the stability of the regime and so it mercilessly destroys even the slightest attempt at the securing of national independence on the part of any people and brands the participants nationalists, traitors, subverters, and fascists.

Undoubtedly General Vlasov understood this as did those White Guard soldiers, who after several talks with the Reds left France and returned to Moscow after the Second World War. They were entranced with the fact that Russia (even though communistic) had her

boots firmly planted in Berlin and in the Balkans. Stalin had realized the age-old dream of the Tsars and had thereby healed the antagonism between the political All-Russian factions. Even Kerensky once stated: "Better Stalin than the dismembering of Russia."

These facts substantiate the theory that the Moscow Communist ideology of world domination and the Russian imperialistic aspirations are the same in principle. If Communism could assure its subjects security and normal living conditions, there could be no power on earth to stop the Russian onslaught against the rest of the world.

2. The Allied Mistakes in 1917

When Tsardom fell in 1917, there came immediately an uprising of all of the oppressed nationalities and among these the Ukrainians held the first and most important place, not only because of their numbers but the wealth of their country. Instead of realizing the importance of these attempts at liberation, the Allies listened to the voice of the Tsarists and the apostles for an indivisible Russia. They lent their support to men like Denikin, Yudenich, Wrangel, and Kolchak, all of whom were engaged in bitter struggles with the nationalities. At the same time, the Communists, aware of their need of the Ukrainian resources, sent in thousands of agitators to try to convince the people that they would receive independence, if the Red Army should prove victorious in the struggle. The credulous people failed to realize the duplicity of the Communist doctrines or to note how the Red Army was being employed in putting down the independence movements. As a result, the Allies lost their opportunity. Their own partisans for a single Russia were defeated, the independence movements were crushed, and the Russian Communists emerged victorious to carry out their plans for a new unification of the country on their own principles.

3. The Germans Repeated the Allied Mistakes of 1917

By the time the Germans began their attack on the USSR, the people had endured wave after wave of terrorism and had felt the burden of national slavery masked under the guise of equality and brotherly love in Communist proclamation. The highly publicized picture of unity in mutual interests proved a colossal myth of propaganda, even in the first days of the war. The Politburo feared an internal revolt as much as it did German aggression and not without

good grounds, for during the first six months of the war, over four million soldiers voluntarily surrendered to the enemy. These were mostly citizens of the subjugated nationalities, who had no desire to fight for a life of serfdom or to defend terrorism and oppression. There were proportionately far fewer Russians, for, though they too had felt the imprints of terrorism, they were the ruling class of the regime.

These millions hoped that Germany with her announced hatred of Communism would give them arms to fight for the liberty of their countries and to overthrow once and for all the tyranny of the Russians and Communists. Hitler, blinded by his theories and the advice of Rosenberg, refused to see the potential strength in this uprising. He mercilessly exterminated millions of the populations and sent more to Germany as slave labor.

It was not long before the flanks of his armies were harried incessantly by the partisan attacks of Ukrainian, Polish, White Ruthenian and other insurgents. They gave the Germans no peace and their activities undoubtedly hastened the ending of the war. But they were *not* Russian partisans, and they fought against both enemies, the Nazis and the Russians. As a typical example in 1944 a small group of the UPA annihilated almost to a man the largest group of Communist partisans under General Kovpak near Stanislaviw. The general escaped and is to-day the Minister of Military Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR. A little earlier the UPA liquidated General Lutze, the head of the German SS in Ukraine.

As we analyze Germany's defeat in the East, it is clear that the chief reason for her downfall was the stupidity of her political leaders who refused to profit by this uprising against the Russians. Among these the "political advisers" played a great role. They were Russians, recruited from the half-Russian, half-German Baltic emigrés to German and from fully Russian emigrés. These gathered at the headquarters of Rosenberg and were responsible for the German anti-Comunist policies which aimed at keeping the Russian imperialistic framework of government intact.

There were many instances where such a "German" commandant would say to a Ukrainian publisher: "There *are* no Ukrainians! I forbid the printing or the use in public of that language of dogs!" These tactics were most painfully felt in the religious life of Eastern Ukraine where the Germans forcibly assigned to various parishes Russian Orthodox priests whom the populace heartily detested.

4. General Vlasov

The Germans had planned to bring the war to a swift and victorious conclusion in the East within a few months. They might have succeeded, had they granted concessions to the population, but they refused to coordinate their fight against the Communists with the struggle of the people for liberation. When it became evident that the "lightning" war would drag on indefinitely, the High Command, on the advice of its "advisers" then began to seek "partners" from among the non-Russians who had been taken prisoners, but they persisted in maintaining the Russians in the highest posts.

At the end of 1942, the German High Command announced the formation of a "Russian Army of Liberation" under the command of the famous Russian General A. A. Vlasov and explained it as a "mutual fight of the Russian and German people against Communism." There was no mention of any other peoples.

At the outbreak of the Second World War, Vlasov was one of the most trusted generals of the Kremlin. He had received various decorations and was known for his loyalty to Stalin.

He had been born in an ordinary Russian peasant family and in his youth, in 1917, he had fought as a soldier in the Communist ranks and in 1920 he commanded the 61st division in its attack on Perekop. Later he joined the Communist Party and was graduated from the Military Academy in Moscow, where he earned the confidence of the military leaders. This increased with time and Vlasov became the intermediary during the negotiations between Stalin and Chiang-Kai-Shek in the 20's and on at least one occasion visited China on secret missions for Stalin.

In June, 1941, Vlasov was commander of the 4th Mechanized Corps in Lviv. Here he had his first taste of conflict with the Germans. He was soon ordered to take over the 37th Army for the defence of Kiev. The Soviet papers boasted how with "commendable personal bravery" Vlasov defended Kiev for two months and led his army safely from a trap. He did succeed in escaping from that city himself and then on the personal orders of Stalin, he was assigned to command the Second Offensive Army which was defending Moscow. For his heroic efforts, he was lauded as the "Savior" of the city and with much pomp and propaganda, he received the Order of the Red Flag. In an interview with an American correspondent, he firmly asserted that the war would bring only total ruin to Germany.

After the defence of Moscow he was assigned as Vice-Commander on the Volga front. His army was again surrounded and beaten by the Germans, but Vlasov's luck had changed and he was captured by the enemy. While a prisoner, his attitude toward the Kremlin changed as if by magic and he constantly demanded "Why must the Russian people die so needlessly in this war?" He assured the Germans that he had done his utmost to "stir the Russian masses against the tyranny of the Kremlin." Of course all this was false but he carried it through successfully.

This rapid change of his ideas, his subsequent actions, and his sentence of death, which was guarded with such secrecy by Moscow, have given many persons the idea that Vlasov was perhaps an important Soviet secret agent in Germany and that he may still be alive and under an assumed name still obeying secret orders from Stalin, perhaps in China.

5. The Organization of the Vlasov Army

The Russian Army of Liberation was formed with its headquarters at Dabendorf near Berlin. In 1942, it consisted of a small staff with no army and its duties were the giving of propaganda to imprisoned Russian officers under the tutelage of General Truchin. By the end of the war over 4000 men had been "graduated" from the course and were assigned to organize an anti-Communist army.

In August and September, 1942, Vlasov received permission from the Germans to make a tour of the concentration camps and other points in the Leningrad, White Ruthenian, and Pskov territories for purposes of propaganda. The newspapers printed optimistic reports of his work, for the headquarters of Vlasov were flooded with applications from thousands of prisoners. Yet the Germans hesitated to give him permission to organize a regular army, partly because they doubted the advisability of giving arms to foreigners and partly because they perhaps were reluctant to believe in his promises, even though he and his colleagues did everything possible to convince the Germans of their loyalty to the German command.

Here is an excerpt from one of the many speeches of Vlasov: "Hatred between the Russian and German people is not everlasting. It will vanish, for our pact is based on mutual historical, economic, and geographical interests."

Another excerpt from the right hand of Vlasov, General Zhilen-

kov, the editor of Vlasov's official organ "Freedom of the People" says: "Taking upon herself the tremendous task of fighting Communism, which has found support in imperialistic England and America, Germany alone realizes the dire need for protecting all nations, all culture, all civilization."

Even such arguments failed to soften the heart of the Fuehrer. In an editorial dated, October 14, 1944, after a talk with Vlasov, Hitler wrote: "The Slavic people were never able to cope successfully with their problems themselves . . . With all this in mind, I should like to take the example of General Vlasov himself; greater hopes were never laid on any man, yet, perhaps as foreseen by some, these hopes proved false . . ." It is difficult to say whether these words portrayed distrust or disappointment.

Only when the earth literally began to shake under the feet of the Germans at the front, did they consent to the formation of several battalions of foreign soldiers. Vlasov's "graduates" recruited volunteers from among the prisoners of war, regardless of nationality. They were successful in this for it saved the volunteers from inevitable death in concentration camps.

All who joined these "armies" of Vlasov were labeled "Russians" and this together with boastful propaganda convinced the Germans of the stability and friendliness of Russia. The propaganda produced the unexpected result that the non-Russian soldiers began to desert and to form groups of their own under their own commanders.

Allured by Vlasov's promise to annihilate the Russian Reds, the despairing Germans clung to these detachments and to Vlasov's armies, as a drowning man clutches a straw. As a result Vlasov grew in importance and in November, 1944, in Prague held the only political convention of his movement. This convention gave birth to a "Committee for the Liberation of the Nations of Russia" with Vlasov as its head. On November 15, 1944, the first issue of Vlasov's political organ, "Voice of the People" (Not Peoples) appeared and it contained the first public manifesto of the movement. This assured "equality" and the "right of self-rule for every nationality in Russia."

The meaning of "equality" is evident from the following quotations from this manifesto: "The Russian nation is a closely-knit family of nations and peoples, which have united with Russia proper and have devised, during the many years of mutual, historical experience and destiny, unity of government, of economic and cultural interests." "The Russian nation, with its high standard of culture, with the might

of its large population and its geographic situation, played a unifying role in the creation of a mighty Russian Union." And further: "Just as the Russian people, by virtue of their historical and geopolitical characteristics have become the foundation of this brotherhood of nations, and by the virtue of their absolute majority in population, so must Russian be the official national language."

The same interpretation of the "self-rule of nations of the USSR" is to be found in Stalin's Constitution.

Because these conceptions of Vlasov as to the meaning of national freedom, which in fact confirmed the idea of a Russia Indivisible, the political Organizations of the other peoples found it advisable to ignore the pronouncements of the Convention at Prague and the entire Vlasov movement. To prove the value of his "Committee of Nations," Vlasov invited to share in his work "delegates" who had no mandates from their respective peoples.

When the Germans became convinced that no other nationalities would join the armies of Vlasov and realized the strength of the anti-Communist movement in Ukraine, they attempted to form a "Ukrainian Defence Movement" independent of Vlasov. The movement again failed, for few of the Ukrainians were by now willing to trust any of the German promises, which had been so repeatedly broken during the war. The memory of the Ukrainian victims of the Nazis was too fresh and the Germans were allowed to go their own way.

6. The End of the Vlasov Army

On January 14, 1945, the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs hastily called together a Congress in Weimar, at which the German situation was fully discussed. Among the delegates were representatives of Vlasov's Committee, L. Dubin, T. Zhilinkov, V. Malyshkin, and a few others. There was no delegate to represent the non-Russians or any of the oppressed nationalities.

At the conclusion of General Malyshkin's speech, a Swedish reporter asked: "Are the Ukrainian partisans, who are carrying on such an active combat against the Communism on their own territories, connected in any way with the Vlasov organization?"

Malyshkin answered: "Oh, yes, they are a division of our liberation movement."

This was far from the truth, for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army never had any connection with the Vlasov movement, although he

often attempted to take credit for its successes. Moreover there were never any anti-Communist partisans on Russian territory.

Shortly after the Weimar Congress, early in 1945, the majority of the Russian Defence Army were ordered to the Western front, to positions along the so-called "Atlantic wall." It is improbable that this movement met with Vlasov's approval, for his command was firm in its belief that their "formations" were organized for combat only on the *Eastern* front.

It has been said that the armies of Vlasov numbered some 750,000 men but this figure seems grossly exaggerated, in view of the proportion of Russians to the other nationalities that had found themselves in Germany.

At the very end of the war, the Germans consented to send the Vlasov Army on an independent combat mission in the East. This group under Colonel Sakharov was victorious and, in addition, small groups from the defeated Red Army voluntarily joined its ranks. With this one victory, the "active service" of the Russian Defence Army ended.

In May, 1945, a division of it under General Zhilenkov and Colonel Maltsev was ordered to put down the uprising of the Czechs in Prague. This division betrayed the Germans, joined in the revolt and thus saved Prague from annihilation. Nevertheless, when the Communists reached Prague, Zhilenkov and Maltsev were hanged as "traitors to the Fatherland," and the rest of the soldiers were brutally killed; they were forced to lie on the ground in rows and were then crushed to death by Soviet tanks.

This was the end of the anti-Communists based upon the hegemony of the Russians over the unwilling non-Russian nationalities. The Germans had repeated the Allied tactics of 1917 and they had met with the same results. They had secured no effective assistance from their endeavors to maintain the indivisibility of Russia and they had merely strengthened the belief of the non-Russian nationalities that they could have no fair treatment from the Russians, Red, or White, Communist or anti-Communist.



A FRENCH DESCRIPTION OF UKRAINE 300 YEARS AGO

By VOLODYMYR SICHINSKY

IT is no exaggeration to state that centuries ago the cultural world was better informed about Ukraine than in the present era of the telegraph, radio and television.

That does not mean that in those times the Ukrainians were more efficient in propaganda than they are today. It only means that political conditions favored the interest in Ukraine.

The struggles of the Ukrainian nation in the XVI-XVII centuries, for liberty and the novel form of the Kozak organization—the Zaporozhian Sich, had a constant interest for the rest of Europe. The struggle for the complete liberation of Ukraine, a struggle which had for its leading principle the equality of all men before the law, social justice and individual freedom, won the admiration of the rest of the world. Foreigners wished to see for themselves this Free Ukraine and to study the military power of the Zaporozhian Sich.

This however, was not an easy matter, for propaganda and the isolationist policy of Poland and Muscovy, endeavored by all means to take from Ukraine the credit for the victories over the Turks and Tatars, and the same time to belittle the struggle of Ukraine for liberty.

If we today possess from the past valuable and unprejudiced information about Ukraine, descriptions of the land and its inhabitants, it is to a great extent due to those exceptionally clever and diligent foreigners, who notwithstanding their official positions, tried to learn the true and real conditions in the country.

Perhaps the foremost of these prominent persons who became interested in Ukraine was the indefatigable scientist, engineer and author Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan.

He was the first scholar of the new post-Renaissance Europe who regarded Ukraine as an independent geographical and political unit, which possessed its own individual, natural, economic and cultural characteristics. His distinguished work "Description d'Ukraine", may be called the first Ukrainian geography. His maps of Ukraine became a model for west-European cartography up to the beginning of the XVIII century. Finally it was Beauplan who made known the Ukrainian insurgent struggle and the name of Ukraine in the Western World.



BEAUPLAN'S MAP OF UKRAINE

We know very little about Beauplan's life. He was a Frenchman, born in Normandy about 1600, so this year is perhaps the 350th anniversary of his birth. He was educated in France and there he began

his career as a military engineer. In 1630 he was called to Poland, where he served in the Polish Army as a specialist in the construction of forts. As an officer of the Polish Army he was stationed in Ukraine from 1630 to 1647. The construction of the castle forts in Brody, Kodak (1634-5), Kremenchuk (1635), and Novohorod (1646), are attributed to him.

During his seventeen years in Ukraine, he worked continually on the surveying of the country and studied its geography in all its aspects. In spite of the fact that he served in the Polish Army and more than once took part in the battles with the Kozaks, he had a very close contact with the Ukrainian populace and their armed forces, and thus came to sympathize with their struggle for liberty.

Beauplan's work on cartography is very significant. He left ten maps of Ukraine: the Large General Map (1648), the Small General Map (1650), the Map of Ukraine with her neighboring countries (1660), and six maps of separate parts of Ukraine (Ukraine parts) consisting of the districts of Kiev, Podollia, Bratislav, Pokuttya, Volhynia and a detailed map of the Dnieper rapids.

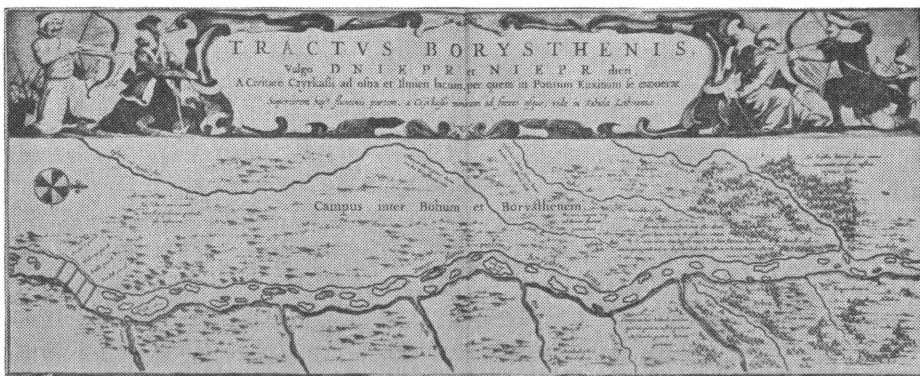
Beauplan's General Map of Ukraine has the title: "Delineatio Generalis Camporum Desertorum vulgo Ukraina cum adjacentibus provincilis." In this map he includes within the boundaries of Ukraine the districts of Chernihiv, Poltava, Zaporozhya, Kherson (without the Tatar Ochakiv), Kiev, Podillya, Pokuttya, Galicia, with the city of Lviv (Leopold). That takes in all the Ukrainian land from the boundaries of Muscovy to the borders of Transylvania, as he emphasized himself. The map is made on a scale 1:1,800,000. It was printed on nine plates and the engravings were done by Hondius in the years 1648-1651.

Wilhelm Hondius, the noted Dutch engraver, was a contemporary of Beauplan, and was born in 1602. In the years 1636-1652 he worked in Danzig. Between 1630 and 1644 (therefore before Beauplan), Hondius made several maps of Eastern Europe and Ukraine. He also engraved the portrait of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

The special map of Beauplan called "Delineatio specialis et accurata Ukrainae," made in the scale 1:450,000, is an immense piece of cartographic. It is printed on eight plates each one 16½"x17¾". On all these maps the Ukrainian lands are called "Ukraina," Poland—"Polonia," Czechia—"Bohemia" and Russia—"Muscovia" or "Magni Ducatus Moscoviae."

The most significant features of Beauplan's maps of Ukraine are

his orientation to the south, whereas all his other maps are oriented to the north, according to the newer methods, and the detailed indication of the Tatar trails, fortified localities and fords. On some of the maps is a scale of the Ukrainian, Polish and French miles and the Muscovian "versty." The workmanship and decoration of the maps is extraordinarily painstaking and artistic. They are embellished with typical Ukrainian figures, groups of Ukrainian soldiers and officers, fauna and flora, etc.



BEUPLAN'S MAP OF THE DNEPER RIVER

Beuplan's maps show great progress in map making. It is well known that the foundation of cartography for the whole of Europe until the XVI century was the map of the world done by Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, in the II century of our era. In the second half of the XVI century Ortelius and Mercator made an other step forward in cartography, but they did not introduce any new improvements where the territory of Ukraine is concerned. In comparison with other maps, those of Beuplan are much more accurate and precise. They are based on several fundamental points, which were determined with the aid of astronomy, and the rest of the map was drawn by the topographical method of measuring through the mensula of Praetorius (mensula praetoriana).

Although for that time the maps of Beuplan were quite accurate, they naturally have some discrepancies and errors, which become more numerous as we pass from west to east. It is evident that Beuplan based his measurements more from the right bank of the Dnieper than from the left. Nevertheless his maps became the model for all the

other maps of Ukraine, printed in the second half of the XVII century, and even well into the XVIII century. All the later changes in these maps consisted only of topographical details and names, and did not affect the general appearance of the territory as a whole.

Among the imitations of Beauplan's maps are several by the French brothers Sanson, dating from the years 1655-1674, particularly in the "Atlas nouveau de diverses cartes de géographie," Paris 1655 and 1665.

The maps of Beauplan and of his school were used in drawing the maps of Ukraine, by later cartographers, such as H. Jaillot 1685 and 1690, the Italian Cornetti 1657 and 1688, the Dutch De-Witt Amsterdam 1662-1680, the Nuremberg engraver Sandart 1630-1708, P. Mortier, B. Homann and many others.

Toward the end of the XVII and the beginning of the XVIII centuries appears a series of Dutch maps, engraved mostly in Amsterdam, and following in most instances the maps of the Sansons and Jaillot, who themselves used the work of Beauplan. Here belong the publications of K. Allard, J. Dankerts, P. Schenk and N. de Fer.

In all these maps the name of the territory of Ukraine is given in several forms *Ukrania, Ucrainia, Ukran, Ukraina, Ukraine*. Beside this, very often the title "Ukraine ou Pays de Cosaques" or some similar phrase is encountered in other languages, and in a few cases "The Zaporovia Lands" (Morden, Paris 1700).

Maps of Ukraine, more accurate than those of Beauplan appeared in the beginning of the XVIII century after the invention of triangulation, which was used for the first time on Ukrainian territory by the French cartographer G. De l'Isle (The Chart of Poland and the Ukrainian Territory on the Right Bank of the Dnieper, Amsterdam 1703). This same De l'Isle was invited by the Russian Academy of Sciences to Petersburg, where he spent the years 1726-1730 in making new surveys of the territory of the new Tsarist Empire. But due to the intrigues of the Russian cartographers, who resented a foreigner in their midst, and the use of Russian "inventions," which did not follow the triangular method, these maps are far from accurate in the Russian edition. In particular those parts of the maps that represented the territory of Ukraine, published by the Russian Academy of Sciences, in 1745, although they are more detailed than all the preceding maps, are in their general outlines less accurate than even the maps of Beauplan from almost a century earlier. This is especially true of the Dnieper basin. But the Russian publications of 1745 did not

neglect to include the new division of the Ukrainian territory into "Governments (guberniyi), and they entirely omitted the name of Ukraine.

The basic work of Beauplan—"Description d'Ukraine"—is extraordinary in every respect. It was first published in French in Rouen in 1650 (according to others in 1649), and it was reprinted three times, in 1651, 1660 and 1661. The "Description d'Ukraine" proved its success by appearing shortly after in Latin, English and German translations. It was published in the Polish and Russian languages in the XIX century. The Ukrainian translation came comparatively late due to the Tsarist ban on the printing of Ukrainian books. The largest part of Beauplan's book was printed in "The Foreign Voices on Ukraine" (Prague 1935, 1942, Lviv 1938, and the last edition in 1946 in Augsburg) by the author of this article. The complete text of the book is now being printed by E. Borshchak in Paris.

It is characteristic of the Russian government that it took all possible precautions to interfere with the popularization of the "Description d'Ukraine" in Ukraine itself. When at last under the pressure of the scientific world the Russian government permitted the printing of the scientific study by W. Lyanskoronsky, Beauplan's original "Ukraine" was changed in the title to "Yuzhnaya Rosiya" (South Russia). It was printed in Kiev in 1901. Today in USSR the editions of Beauplan are banned as books that stimulate Ukrainian patriotism and the aspirations of the people for independence.

The "Description d'Ukraine" is rich in valuable information on the geography, history and ethnography of the country and the nation. It contains a wealth of information about the folk life, customs, social organization and the military grades of the Kozaks, also about the nature, flora, fauna and climate, crafts, industry and trade. The book contains various illustrations: the map of Ukraine, a plan of a Kozak encampment, Kozaks fording a river and a Kozak boat.

In the introduction of the third edition of the book, the editor gave some interesting details about other illustrations, which were to have been printed in the book, and which "represented the inhabitants, animals, plants, and other important and unusual articles of Ukraine." But after the death of the engraver Hondius (circa 1651), they were bought by the Polish king and were not seen again. The greater part of the book is dedicated to the description of the organization and life of the Ukrainian army. The author explains its tactics, military ability, armament and nature.

The general characterization of the Ukrainian military and the nature and life of the Ukrainians is not without its interest even today:

“Courageous victors, tried in battle, always ready at the first order to go to battle in a week’s time . . .

“The Ukrainian Kozaks are by nature strong and well built, they like to dress sumptuously, but only when they return as victors . . . they are of robust health, and almost never subject to the frequent in Poland illness called ‘Plica Polonica . . .’ Not many of them die in their beds and of old age, but the greater part lay down their heads on the field of honor . . .”

On the whole “with the exception of dress, there is nothing coarse about the Kozaks. Combining generosity and selflessness with clever and acute minds, they love liberty above all, and consider death better than slavery and rebel often in the defense of their independence against their oppressors, the Poles . . . They are strongly built, endure hunger and cold, thirst and heat easily; they are indefatigable in battle, brave and courageous, or, to put it better, audacious and do not prize their life highly . . . They show their bravery and cleverness mostly in camp or during the defense of their fortifications. One can not say that they are unskilled on the sea, but not so good on horseback . . . One can not marvel enough at their boldness in navigating the sea. During their sea voyages the Kozaks never drink whiskey, they do not even take it with them, and if a drunken Kozak is discovered on a boat, the Otaman (captain) orders him thrown overboard . . . A hundred Ukrainian Kozaks in their camp (fortification) are not afraid of a thousand Poles or several thousand Tatars.”

Of particular interest are those passages in the book where the author describes the skill, cleverness, ingenuity and bravado of the Ukrainian military in war, during their defense of Zaporozhya, the battles with the Turks in the delta of the Dnieper and on the open Black Sea, their sudden attacks on the southern shores of the Black Sea, Anatolia, etc.

Mentioning the crafts and industry Beauplan writes: “In the land of Zaporozhya you will find men that know all the crafts necessary in community life: carpenters for building houses and constructing boats, wheel-makers, blacksmiths, armorers, tanners, bootmakers, barrel makers, tailors, etc. The Kozaks are great masters in mining saltpeter, with which the entire Ukraine is filled, and in manufacturing gun powder. The women spin and weave linen and wool for their own

use . . . They (the Ukrainians) are on the whole clever in all arts and crafts."

In its time, the "Description d'Ukraine" had a strong influence on west European scientific literature, particularly on the works of a geographical character, encyclopedias and other works describing East Europe or Ukraine. For example A. Mayerberg, the emissary of the Emperor Leopold I to the Russian court, in a large book "Relation" 1661, uses Beauplan in part of his work where he writes about the Kozaks of Zaporozhya.

In his handbook of geography, "Le Nouveau Théâtre du Monde" Boussengolt takes practically all his information about Ukraine from Beauplan. The same may be said about the author of another handbook, or rather guide to East Europe "Cyaneae" published in Augsburg in 1687.

The English author, B. Connor used Beauplan's book in his "The History of Poland," London, 1698.

Voltaire's "Historie de Charles XII" (Rouen 1731) shows that he was well acquainted with "Description d'Ukraine."

In all probability the English resident at the Russian court in Petersburg, C. Rondo, knew Beauplan's book, as can be gathered from his report to Lord Harrington dated April 24, 1736.

Another Englishman, Joseph Marchall, who lived in Ukraine in 1769-1770, must have read the description. He wrote that he found Ukraine to be incredibly fertile and thriving, not in keeping with his former ideas of the country, which he had formed on the basis of the books which he had read, therefore his descriptions of the Ukrainians, especially their morals, education, diligence and love for cleanliness and order are much more positive than in Beauplan's book. (Joseph Marchall, Travels . . . in the years 1769-1770, London, 1773-1792).

It is not necessary to emphasize the great influence that "Description d'Ukraine" had on west European historiography. It is enough to mention the works of Jean Benoit Cherer (Paris 1788), Johann Christian Engel (The history of Ukraine, Halle 1796), Charles Louis Lesur (Historie des Cosaques, Paris 1812) and many others.

This is only a summary mention of the west European literature which concerned itself with Ukraine. It is extensive but half forgotten and not easily accessible, but in its preparation the role of Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan is indeed prominent.

A PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF UKRAINIAN OCCIDENTALISM

By VOLODYMYR YANIV

THE investigation of psychological Occidentalism in Ukraine is but one aspect of the broader question as to whether Ukraine belongs spiritually and culturally to western Europe. This problem is fascinating in its historical aspects and it is especially important in this present era when there is a sharp division into two zonal influences separated by the "iron curtain." Much has been written in Ukrainian literature concerning Westernism on the political and ideological level, and this has recently received an exhaustive treatment by Borys Krupnytsky.

There have been many conflicting opinions as to the cultural-geographic line of demarcation between western and eastern Europe. The Vistula, the Leith, and even the Rhine, as the Frenchman Massis likes to stress, have been offered as the Eastern frontier of Europe. Can not this frontier be pushed farther to the east? What are the objective criteria for putting one given nation in one cultural sphere and another in another? What characteristics are crucial in arriving at a conception of psychological Europe?

In reaching a conclusion we must take into account the sum total or entire complex of the psychological characteristics of both the individual and the nation. Western civilization means primarily cultural unity. "What is Europe?" the noted liberal German philosopher Karl Jaspers asks, and then he continues: "Is it but that small peninsula of the Eurasian continent which has cut into the Atlantic ocean? Or is it first and foremost a cultural concept in the world, the concept of the West?"

When we contrast the East and the West we must contrast Europe and Asia, geographically speaking. In this scheme Russia occupies a special position, for she is situated in both Europe and Asia. An analysis of the Russian spirit in its successive manifestations, that is of Russian creativeness and not of the subjective sentiments of the individual Russian, renders impossible the conclusion that Russia spiritually belongs to Western civilization. The assertion that Ukraine, however, belongs with the West is therefore equivalent to the con-

clusion that the psychological individuality of the Ukrainian nation differs from that of the Russian.

Considering the tendency of Russian authorities to dismiss these differences in order to legitimize their rule over Ukraine, as well as the fact that some of the present Russian ethnographic territory belonged to the old Ukrainian Kiev state, a fact which has been exploited officially as proof of the common origin of the Russians and Ukrainians, it is clear that an insistence upon the uniqueness of the national psychology of the Ukrainians is a denial of the myth of a Russia "one and indivisible."

The assertion that Ukraine is tied culturally to western Europe is supported by the findings of Khvedir Vovk, the noted anthropologist, who has shown by statistical data that from the point of view of anthropology the Ukrainians are distinct from both the Russians and the Poles, neighbors who for political reasons maintained a contrary position. An investigation of the psychological characteristics of the Ukrainians, their shortcomings and virtues, should throw light upon the present situation in Ukraine, for the roots of the Ukrainian problem are perhaps to be found more readily in the Ukrainians themselves than elsewhere.

* * *

General psychology affirms that there are three categories of reaction in the life of the human being: reason, emotion, and will. That these three categories function simultaneously in an organic manner indicates that the harmonious growth of the individual depends upon a balance and coordination among the three. The well-balanced personality exhibits a wholesome and proportional development of each function, without destroying the harmony among the categories. The ideal is the harmonious development of all psychological functions.

An analysis of history and the contemporary scene reveals that this "harmony of contradictions" is most prevalent in Europe and in the west. Evidence for this is found in the succession of periods, tastes, fancies, and intellectual currents that have alternated in Europe, as when romanticism gives way to realism, which in turn succumbs to voluntarism or some other tide. The alternation between faith and skepticism, heroism and positivism, romanticism and realism, carries in Europe the evidence of a general law of history, which through a mysterious process leads to the acceptance of Hegel's dialectic, the ultimate conclusion of which is the birth through contradictions of

a new *synthesis*, or in other words, the re-emergence of the ideal of the harmony from the struggle between the contradictions of *thesis* and *antithesis*.

The idea of the harmonious development of all basic psychological functions is one of the most striking characteristics of Western culture and has acquired general acceptance in Europe. "Life is really a melody," is the beautiful way in which Kaiserling expressed it. "Every motive, every impulse contains an irrecoverable beauty and has its own significance," he added. For him a perfect human being is one "who organizes his inner self so that the variety of his own nature becomes a harmonious whole and who controls it as though he were a real artist conducting an orchestra."

The psychological equilibrium brought about by the balance between will, emotion, and reason, the continuous tension and normalization among them brought about by the "harmony of contradictions" and the "spiral development" explain the activity and dynamism of the European. The *Panta rei* (constant flow) of Heraclitus characterizes this continuous search, this struggle for perfection, the progress which has been revealed in the investigations of scholars, the discoveries of explorers, the love of the open spaces, and in transcendentalism, which is best symbolized in the sharp spires and proud towers of Gothic art.

This dynamic quality leads to the growth of individualism and the cult of the individual, and this in turn creates an individualistic or idealistic conception of history, which stands in direct contradiction to collectivist philosophies of life. Collectivism denies the role of the individual and places crucial significance on a higher unit and the collective that an elite controls. Recognition of the individual entails toleration and respect for the rights of others, or to use a term from the political level, democracy.

What is the Balance of Psychological Forces in the "East?"

Philosophers generally agree that the nations of the East are underdeveloped in reason and will. Accordingly primary emphasis is put upon emotion, often in an extreme form. As a result an equilibrium of psychological forces does not exist; there is neither tension nor harmony between them. Compared to his brother in the East, the European and Westerner is generally less emotional; his feelings are

more controlled and are not expressed as strongly as they are in the East.

This accent on emotion is evident with the Russians. Shubart refers to the passions of the Russian who does not possess "a controlling will which preserves internal equilibrium," and remarks that the Russian "is irrational and his drives are those of runaway wild horses that refuse to be harnessed to the wagon of reason." Without control of the will he fluctuates from politeness to brutality, from laughter to tears, from loquacity to brooding silence. The Westerner on the other hand, is ideally harnessed, with the horses disciplined, and the driver experienced.

Another observation is that the human dynamism of the West is expressed by a continuous interplay between psychological forces, whereas with the Easterner the domination of one psychological category leads to passivity indifference and stultification. This theoretical assumption is substantiated by the advice of Buddha, "If you want to be perfect, then submerge the act of being and desire." The Nirvana of India is a symbol of this passivity.

The element of passivity is found in the Russian Orthodox Church. The difference of its spirit from that of the Protestant and Catholic Churches has been recorded by such leading Russian thinkers as Soloviov and Berdyaev. Love of God does not demand, according to their belief, frequent or regular religious acts but passive suffering and "bearing the Cross. In the West, according to Shubart, there is "the attraction of the individual made in the image of God," while in the East there is "subservient submission to Divine protection."

It is probable that the passivity of the Russian nation has undergone significant evolution in the direction of voluntarism during the few decades of Communist rule. Thus a change may have begun or may be expected, but the proclivities of nations are not easily modified. More time is required before any conclusion can be expressed; the present activity of the Russians may be the result of either external force or basic changes in national psychology. On the other hand, the tolerance of Communism may in itself be indicative of the general passivity of a nation which is unable to make an act of protest against the tyranny, which has harassed the Russians with hunger, slavery, and Stakhanovite exploitation.

Finally, Russia and the East are in essence anti-individualistic and

have a collectivistic interpretation of life. As a result in the vast expanses of Russia there has developed a disregard for personal dignity, which on the political level emerges as the denial of democracy. The passivity of the general public and the absence of the desire for personal expression facilitate the despotism of a few. Autocracy and satrapy are typical expressions of Eastern mentality.

What About the Ukrainians?

The tendency toward harmonization is prominent among them. The ideal of harmony was perhaps best understood by the ancient Greeks with their strivings for moderation, form, and equilibrium. In this respect Herder compared the Ukrainians to the Greeks. Malanyuk, a leading contemporary Ukrainian poet, addresses Ukraine as "my Hellas of the steppe," while the neoclassicists in Soviet Ukraine, such as Mykola Zerov, sought the roots of Ukrainian culture in ancient Greece.

The Ukrainian tendency toward harmony is in sharp contrast to the Russian proclivities. A genuine softness of character which is expressed in politeness, tolerance, and inclination to compromise is evidence of a tendency toward harmonization. The natural tolerance of the Ukrainian is especially manifested in political life—a component of Western culture unfortunately lacking among the Russians.

It cannot be denied that there are certain differences between the outlook of the classical West and the Ukrainians. While the love of harmony in western Europe is the result of the balancing of contradictions or of the three psychological categories, within the Ukrainian nation, emotion is stronger than either reason or will. Among Ukrainians the tendency toward harmony is more a manifestation of the desire for peace, of the absence of willfulness, than it is of sharp tension between strongly developed components of will, reason, and emotion. What conclusions can be derived from these observations?

It has been suggested that psychologically the Ukrainians incline toward the West, but occupying a sort of transitional position. This is evident in the quest for harmony and the preponderance of emotion, the latter being a characteristic dominant in the East. Although emotion occupies the central position in the Ukrainian psychological pattern, it is not as unrestrained as among the Russians. In addition, neither will nor reason has been reduced to such a low level, as in Russia. This transitional nature of the Ukrainian make-up is also

indicated by some differences between the psychology of the Eastern and Western Ukrainians. The Western Ukrainians, who had never experienced Russian rule until 1939, exhibit fewer traces of an Eastern mentality.

An examination of the second factor—dynamism and passivity—indicates that in this respect the influence of the East has been more pronounced in shaping of Ukrainian character. An inability to comprehend the tempo and rhythm of work, as symbolized by the familiar picture of the isolated cart of the Ukrainian *chumak* lost in the endless steppe and pulled by two serene oxen, is not uncommon in Ukraine. Here again we have evidence of a transitional stage between East and West, for the songs and temperament of the Russian Volga fishermen with their undefined longing and flowing reverie are basically different from the Ukrainian songs.

The passivity characteristic of Russian Orthodoxy has been singled out by non-Russian observers, even though foreigners, because of the notorious propagation of "general Russianism" by the Russians, find it difficult to orient themselves in regard to the internal problems of the Eastern Slavs. Nevertheless vital differences by Kiev and Moscow have been strongly emphasized by Alexey Tolstoy, a Russian writer in the middle of the 19th century.¹ Massis, for example, reinforcing his observations with a reference to Leroy-Beaulieu, wrote that passivity is especially strong in the Russian monastic orders. The ideal of the anchorite, the stylite, overshadows the Benedictine preaching and industry. The escape from the world of the Russian monk approximates that of the Tibetans. How different is the heritage of the monks of the famed *Pecherska Lavra of Kiev!* Theirs was the ideal of Christian mercy, which prompted them to organize widespread charitable and cultural activity. The Frenchman, unfortunately interprets this fact as a mysterious exception and is not aware that he is concerned with an attitude different from that of the Russians.

To sum up, the quality of dynamism most strikingly separates the Ukrainians not only from the mentality of Western Europeans but from that of the Russians and other Eastern peoples as well.

Individualism, the third component in this discussion, is the factor which binds the Ukrainians most strongly with the West. Ukrainians, as a matter of fact, have become accustomed to deplore their excessive individualism as the source of much of their political misfortune. The quarrels of the princes and dynasties during the period

of the Kiev state and the chaos that followed its disruption, the petty anarchy of the *Kozaks*, are manifestations of the Ukrainian tendency to excessive individualism. Of course, a strong individualism at the same time leads to a love of freedom and a hatred of despotism.

Individualism plays a role in the Ukrainian struggle for independence. Ukrainian historians lay great stress upon geography, upon the border position of Ukraine, in explaining the failure of their people to form a permanent independent state. This thesis might be broadened and transferred to the psychological level, where the transitional position of the Ukrainians between the Eastern and Western mentality likewise contributes to weakness and instability. A state can reasonably be expected among a people, the masses of which are imbued with dynamism and a strongly developed will, among a people which is able through reason to resolve the contradictions of competing individualities (as in Europe) or it may be expected among a people where the masses are indifferent and unable to oppose the will of a despot, who is thereby unable to build a state (as in Russia).

Although a part of Europe from the psychological point of view, Ukraine has been so separated from it that thus far she has been unable to organize enough will to generate the power, necessary for the establishment of a state. At the same time, she has not identified herself with the East so completely as to succumb to a native despot. Thus the cause of Ukraine's failure may be summed up in a paradox: *Ukrainians lack freedom because they love freedom too much*. Because of fear of a native tyrant they weakened themselves internally. At the same time they failed to show sufficient organized activity in external relations, and thereby made it impossible for neighboring nations, led by despots, to march into Ukraine. This truth illustrates the deep chasm that separates Ukraine from Russia, since the latter throughout its history has always possessed an autocrat, either a tsar or a dictator of the Stalin variety. This truth also helps us to understand the political failures of the Ukrainians.

In conclusion, we can say that Ukraine is associated basically with Europe from the psychological point of view, although important Eastern influences have modified the Ukrainian mentality so that in certain respects it occupies a transitional position, corresponding to the geographical border position between East and West. The differences between the mentality of the Russians and Ukrainians are so evident, that each nation has a distinct national psychology. The extreme

antithesis is reached in the collectivist psychology of the Russians as against the extreme individualism of the Ukrainians. Historically it was no accident, for example, that Communism began in and is based upon Russia. Collectivism is rooted in the Russian *mir* and *obshchina* and is the philosophical basis of the *sovkhos* and *kolkhoz*. Individualism among the Ukrainians has tended to make the *kolkhoz* extremely unpopular. The collective economy in Ukraine is a threat not only to economic productivity—it is a direct attack upon the Ukrainian way of life.



WRITERS WITH MEDALS AND WITHOUT

Some years before the war the Soviet government began to shower premiums, medals and publicity on those writers who were its "humble servants." Those awarded medals were called the "medal-bearing writers."

Two Ukrainians were passing the "Building of Writers" in Kiev.

"See those two men coming out of the building," whispered one of them, "the smaller is that wonderful novelist Arkady Lubchenko!"

"And who is the one with all the medals?"

"Oh, that one,—he's just some medal-bearer."

(SH)

HOW TO WRITE A MUSICAL REVIEW

After a piano concert of Lubka Kolessa in Lwiw, one of the well-known composers, himself a pianist, wrote a long and enthusiastic review and took it to the editors of one of the papers. When the editor read it, he mercilessly crossed out sentences and even whole paragraphs. At each stroke, the author winced visibly. Finally he could stand it no longer:

"How can you do such a thing? This is about Lubka, divine Lubka! It is written with my heart's blood!"

"You shouldn't write with your heart's blood for a newspaper, the editor advised, "why don't you try ink?"

UKRAINIAN WRITERS IN EXILE

1945-1949

THE Ukrainian emigration after World War II is now in its fifth year. Those Ukrainian writers who were compelled to leave their country, are today dispersed throughout the world. Many of them have come to the United States and Canada. Thus the period when they were active in Germany and Austria is already over. This gives us a good occasion to make a short review of their past activities in Europe.

Among the Ukrainian writers in the emigration are some of the most distinguished names of contemporary Ukrainian literature. After the end of the war more than 50 Ukrainian writers found themselves in Germany and Austria. Many of them are from East Ukraine. Almost everyone who at the beginning of the war was not forcibly removed by the Soviets to Ufa in the Bashkir region of the Asian USSR, fled to the West. Among them were such noted writers as Todos Osmachka, who for long years simulated insanity in order to avoid collaboration with the Soviet regime, and one of the most valued novelists Arkadiy Lubchenko. Osmachka is today in the U.S.A., Lubchenko, however, was not so fortunate: during the war he was imprisoned and mistreated by the Nazis, and this later caused his premature death at the age of 44, just before the end of the war.

The largest number of Ukrainian writers lived in the American Zone of Germany. In the first months after the war, however, it was not allowed to print Ukrainian books there. The cause of this was that the Americans strove to avoid all tension with their former allies—the Russians. Only in the refugee camps did some Ukrainian publications appear with the permission of UNRRA. As the German printing establishments had no Ukrainian types, the books were mimeographed. This developed a large amount of ersatz publications. But at the end of 1946 the first licenses were given and many Ukrainian publishing and printing institutions in a short time were established. As everywhere, beside the high quality literary works many second and third rate publications appeared. This was a “golden era,” and even an author with minor talent was able to publish a book for as much as two or three cartons of American cigarettes from his regular rations.

The best known organization of Ukrainian writers was the MUR

—The Artistic Ukrainian Movement. The several literary congresses organized by MUR were true parliaments of Ukrainian culture. From the psychological point of view, the most interesting aspect was the meeting of the western educated Ukrainian writers with those who came from the Soviet part of Ukraine. There were some differences in methods and literary tastes, but none that were ideological. The official organ of MUR was an unperiodical almanac with the same name, and later the periodical literary and artistic review "Arka" published in Munich. The principal and also the most fervent critics of MUR were Yuriy Sherekh, now professor of the Eastern Slavonic languages in the University of Lund in Sweden, and Volodymyr Derzhavin—historian, Egyptologist and professor of Classic Literatures. The principal reproach against the MUR was that it worked for a "grand literature,"—a literature for the elite which with its purely literary problems was of interest to the writers themselves, but less so to the general reader. It can be said, however, that the editions of MUR were really on a high level and have no peers in the Ukrainian Soviet publications today.

Beside MUR and "Arka" several other literary reviews appeared; "Svitannya" (the Dawn), and "Zahrava" (The Glare) in Augsburg, Germany, "Zveno" (The Link) in Innsbruck, Austria, and "Litavry" in Salzburg. It is noteworthy that at the present time in the Soviet Ukraine there are only four literary reviews published, whereas before the war there were five of them in L'viv alone.

Evhen Malanyuk, one of the most distinguished modern Ukrainian poets and the one most hated by the Soviets, is now in the United States. He did not publish in Germany any particular volume of his poems, but those that were printed in the reviews—poems full of tragedy and also of dynamic force—still assured him the leading place in the contemporary Ukrainian literary world. Oleksa Stefanovych also freely contributed to several reviews poems on Biblical and catastrophic themes ("The End of the World") so significant in our atomic era. The greatest and the most considerable poetic work of Ukrainian postwar poetry is "The Ashes of Empires" by Yuri Klen—a poem that has been already reviewed in this Quarterly.* A large poem "Poet" of Todos Osmachka (in 628 eight line stanzas) caused widely varied reactions on the part of his critics and readers. The author, a representative of the old peasant world with all of its ageless traditions, sees

* *The Fivefold Cluster of Unvanishing Bards* by S. Hordynsky. *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, No. 3, 1949.

the change of the ancient patriarchal order into the new communist kolkhoz as a cosmic catastrophe. His tragic power is sincere and unaffected.

Michael Orest in his volume "The Soul and Fate" is an out and out Neo-classicist. Here the author, who was a slave laborer in Soviet concentration camps in the North, attains the heights of true spirituality—something completely unknown to the Soviet poets. Bohdan Kravtsiv is also striving toward Neo-classicism in his volume of poems "Vessels." Recently he published also a book of translations from the lyrics of R. M. Rilke. Finally in the "White World" Vasyl Barka, a young poet, returns to the sources of folk poetry, which won him the praise of some critics as one of the most original writers in contemporary Ukrainian poetry.

In prose many literary trends are represented, beginning with the still naturalistic style of Vasyl Chaplenko (now in the United States) and ending with the experimental expressionism of Ihor Kostetsky. The most active writer was Yuri Kosach (now in the United States), a descendant of a distinguished literary family. A romanticist, Kosach in his novels and short stories reflects many irrational trends of contemporary world literature, Existentialism in particular. His slogan is to create a "magic" art. In his novel "Aeneas and the Life of Others" he represents the life of the underground fighters. "The Day of Wrath" is a poetized chronicle of the middle of the XVII century with Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky as the principal figure. Kosach is also known as a playwright; his "The Enemy" and other dramas were shown on Ukrainian stages in Germany.

Ulas Samchuk, now in Canada, the successful author of "Volhynia," published a two volume novel "The Youth of Vasyl Shere-meta" and the first part of a trilogy "Ost." His style is heavy as the soil and realistic, but he is one of those not very frequent modern Ukrainian writers who gave broad pictures of his era and the ever arising Ukrainian national forces with their background. In his novel "Doctor Seraphicus," Victor Domontovich showed himself perhaps more a philosopher and master of the paradox *à la* Anatole France than a novelist, although his prose is excellent. The best interpretation of his paradoxical ideas is given by the artist who made the cover for the book: a scholar among a pile of books is planting a tree with the roots upward. The fate of the author is at present not known; after leaving his home in Germany he disappeared without a trace in the summer of 1949 . . .

We can not pass over the works of those Ukrainian authors who perished under the Soviet and Nazi regimes, and whose posthumous works were published in post-war Germany. Here appeared for the first time the "Sonnetarium" of Mykola Zerov, who was the leader of the Ukrainian Neo-Classicists and who disappeared as a prisoner in the sub-arctic regions of Russia. This was also the fate of Evhen Pluzhnyk, the Ukrainian Rilke. His "Equilibrium" was also published for the first time in Augsburg. "The Soul on Guard" is a posthumous volume of poems by Olena Teliha, shot in Kiev by the Nazis in 1942. Oleh Olzhych, regarded by some critics as the greatest Ukrainian poet of the XX century, perished as a young man in the Nazi concentration camp of Sachsenhausen in 1944. Twenty-one of his poems under the title "Pidzamchya" (The Castle Hill) appeared in a mimeographed edition in Munich in 1946.

There is no place here to characterize the youngest representatives of Ukrainian literature in the emigration. Among them are several very talented authors, mostly poets from Eastern Ukraine to whom Western Europe is a newly discovered world.

The fate of Ukrainian writers who have come to the United States and Canada is somewhat different from that of their colleagues, the artists and musicians who speak the international language of colors and tones. The writers here must begin at the most lowly labor. But, as the late Yuri Klen wrote some years ago, "we are ready to go to the end of the world—beyond the oceans, into the tropical or polar countries, only not to return home—a phenomenon which is without comparison in history . . . In such difficult circumstances of life, being at the mercy of foreign nations, and being temporary guests—we still create our culture."

S. H.



BOOK REVIEWS

THE COMING DEFEAT OF COMMUNISM, by James Burnham.
John Day & Co., New York, pp. 278, \$3.50.

No one book of American political literature in recent years pictures the sad reality of American-Soviet relations today so coldly and courageously as Prof. Burnham has done in his "The Coming Defeat of Communism."

The author states that we are living in the worst crisis of human history. The mankind is divided into two camps incompatible with one another. One must die, if the other is to live. We are approaching the final battle with the Communist camp for preservation.

The worst tragedy for the American people is that the nation has not been conscious of our actual war with the Soviets. The American policy is now on the right road but it must be more active, more dynamic and more aggressive. Mere containment of Communism is not enough today.

Prof. Burnham excludes any possibility of peaceful settlement of our disagreements with the Soviets because the main and only goal of our adversaries is—*the destruction of the free democratic world*. The fundamental aim of any real American policy must be—*the destruction of Communism headed by Red Russia*.

The author, a first class expert on world Communism, has prepared a complete plan for the defeat of this world tyranny. But first we must have the determination to start this fight and to win, because *time works for Kremlin*.

Without any illusions, without pessimism or optimism the author pictures the strength and weakness of the Communist camp. The Soviets and their satellites are weaker than they appear, physically and morally.

Russian industry can not compete with ours. Morally, Communism is weak because it bases its reign on terror. The Soviet population in an overwhelming majority hates its rulers. Soviet Russia is a multinational political structure with a dominant Russian people. The Kremlin has been unable during thirty years of its rule to absorb politically many nations under its rule; they are ready to fight for their liberation. The most dangerous area of anti-Russian sentiment is Ukraine. Four years after the end of World War II a relatively strong

Ukrainian Insurgent Army is fighting the Reds as it did five years ago the Nazis.

A liberal and sound American national policy concerning non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Union can be very helpful to the democratic world in the defeat of Communism. Only the stupid national policy of Hitler in Eastern Europe brought the Nazis to defeat. National ambitions of the Soviet satellite states can easily create more Titos.

At the same time the author advises not to underestimate the Red army, the favorable strategic position of the Soviet bloc, as well as the strong leadership of the Communist world.

Prof. Burnham does not exclude the possibility that the Soviets will risk a shooting war, but he is convinced that we shall be able to defeat Communism even without a shooting war.

America must carefully study all anti-Communist forces still active in the Soviet Union and not lose any time in supporting them. Especially worthy of support are the Ukrainian anti-Communist underground and the revolutionary forces in the Baltic lands.

In the struggle against the Soviets the author advises that we put before Russia such strong demands: de facto liquidation of the fifth column, full withdrawal of the Soviet army and MVD agents behind the 1939 Soviet borders, modification of the Soviet internal structure.

The Kremlin probably will refuse to fulfill those demands. In this case the democratic world will have to develop dynamic anti-Communist propaganda along all lines. The democratic world must give full active support to all underground units and organize anti-Communist forces all over the world. Here he mentions the Catholic world, the Moslem world, international trade unions, and others. We must make use of such valuable material in the struggle against Communism as the refugees from behind the Iron Curtain.

An average American used to a quiet life will be astonished by the ideas of Prof. Burnham. The Communists and their fellow-travelers, hidden and open, will dub him "the king of American warmongers." Only people knowing Communist tyranny from their own experience will have the highest respect for his knowledge and courage.

Knowing how their countries became victims of Soviet aggression, they can state that there is not even one word of exaggeration in this book.

The reviewer feels, however, that the slogans of national liberation must be put at the top of democratic propaganda. Such ideas will

encourage the peoples of the Soviet Union to struggle against the Kremlin. We must also warn the democratic world against an overestimation of the role of Russian people in the struggle against the Kremlin.

It is true that the Russians dislike Stalin, that the majority of the Russians prefer a liberal government. But it must not be forgotten that the Russians dominate the Soviet Union, as Gen. B. Smith stated. Stalin is for the Russians not only the tyrant but also the builder of the greatest Russian power in history. He is today often compared to the Ivan the Terrible, who is prized by Russians as the founder of Russian Empire, and who used means similar to those of the Stalinists.

Burnham's book cannot be ignored by anyone concerned with current American policy. All in all, it is "as vehement in defense of the United States of America as the Founding Fathers were, when they signed the document that created it"—as a recent reviewer of Burnham's book wrote.

N. Chubaty.

NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION, by Alfred Cobban, Oxford University Press (Royal Institute of International Affairs), London, 1945, pp. 186.

This problem has been much debated in the past, and will doubtless be discussed even more in the near future," in these words Cobban stresses the importance of the idea of self-determination. His statement will be endorsed by all observers, and for that reason attention is now being directed to Cobban's work. Written during the war, it treats of national minorities, self-determination and the nation-state, recent historical experience, and suggests the shortcomings and modifications of the ideal.

Although a universalist approach is attempted, the book is documented by a literature, restricted to French and English writings, including translations into those languages, as of Masaryk, Hitler and Stalin. Here the author's intellectual equipment fails him, for being ignorant of the languages of the major "subjugated nations" in both Europe and Asia, he is unable to take advantage of the wealth of thought that must be considered if the national problem is to be adequately investigated. For example, the author is unaware of the Ukrainian writings, official and unofficial, that pertain to his theme. These includes the speeches and proclamations presented in the Polish Parliament and Senate from 1922 to 1939 by the Ukrainian Parlia-

mentary Representation, the literature in Ukrainian concerning the USSR (collectivization, major trials and "deviations"), the 1933 famine, the Society for the Liberation of Ukraine, etc.

Cobban's book also suffers in that it does not make use of the materials offered to the League Nations, such as the petitions concerning the nationality policy of Poland and the Soviet Union. Although the author appreciates the difference between the theoretical protection of national rights and actual practice, he fails to bridge this chasm with solid illustrations—a most unhappy deficiency, for that chasm more than anything else is responsible for the subsequent evolution of self-determination.

The Ukrainians, understandably, are more concerned with practice than with theory. Poland respected neither the rights nor national minorities as set down in the Versailles treaty, nor its own legislation regarding autonomy and the establishment of a Ukrainian university "within two years" (1922). The two states in which most of the Ukrainians lived made a mockery of their own law's protective national rights. The Polish constitutions of 1921 and 1935 and Stalin's "most democratic constitution in the world" of 1936 were crudely and consistently violated. Poland in 1934 dropped all pretense by declaring that henceforth she would tolerate no "foreign intervention" in her "internal affairs." That is a problem worthy of study! What body of moral stature or international repute has the courage today to ask about the *forced* assimilation of non-Russians in the USSR?

The degradation of national rights to mere protection within a multi-national state has been fatal to the legal ethics of a host of large states and to the "good intentions" of many nations. It has demoralized governments, inflated imperialist ambitions, instigated great-power bluffing on a mass scale, and is morally responsible for much of the tragedy of our time—the great-power aggression against Czechoslovakia and other East European countries. This moral sanction of the "multi-national" great-power state is responsible for the misery in the Soviet Union, where millions have died within that framework deemed so necessary by Cobban. Cobban was nurtured on the principles of imperialist reality which has made England great. He naturally believes in the blessings thus bestowed for the disintegration of "great units" is injurious and "self-determination" creates more problems than it solves. The reality of subject peoples is of a different kind. Smash "Russia" into component nation-states? The conster-

nation comes from people accustomed to privilege and rule.

Cobban's book is theoretical and detached. It fails to grasp the bitter timeliness of self-determination. He ought to ask himself this question: should a peace conference convene to remake the map of Europe, or should the Soviet Union collapse, what is to be done with the subject nationalities? Unless the doctrine of self-determination is honestly followed, the world will again wade in blood. Today no nation willingly allows itself to be suppressed in the name of great-power interests, checkerboard diplomacy, and economic rationalizations. It is this lack of a realistic, synthesized comprehension of the national problem which detracts from an otherwise excellent work.

IVAN KEDRYN

AN INTRODUCTION TO RUSSIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE, by Ivar Spector. D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., New York, 1949, 399 pp.

According to Prof. Spector's statement, this book is the outgrowth of his fifteen years of teaching of a course in Russian history at the University of Washington. It is dedicated to his father, Vladimir Lvovitch. In this work apparently intended for a college text, the author has attempted to keep his Russian patriotism and at the same time be scholarly; as a result, scholarship has suffered.

Though the title suggests that it is "an introduction to history and culture," the accent is primarily on history. It does not differ materially from any other similar book now available in English. It even contains the same attitudes, the same misconceptions as the others. It is based on the Russian imperial concept, the old Klyuchevsky theories, as well as the Red ideology. There is no evidence of any intensive research. Most likely, an author will have to be a non-Russian, in order to write a correct, impartial, yet scholarly text on this subject.

The first big misconception of the author in this work is his starting of Russian history in Kiev, instead of in Suzdal, Moscow and at last in Novgorod. Russian history starts where its own people lived and not in some other country. It has no right to usurp the history of another nation. All the way through the volume, until he comes to the year of 1917, the author is definitely prejudiced against the neighboring nation, Ukraine. His treatment of the subject sounds as though he were inspired by Count Valuyev, Tsar Nicholas I, or

Stalin. All of a sudden, however, the "Little Russia," as it is called by the Muscovites, becomes a new entity, known as the Ukraine. Throughout the volume, except in the latest period, Prof. Spector does not recognize the Ukrainian or White Ruthenian nationalities. To him they and the Russians are all one and the same. This obviously is either gross ignorance or willful misrepresentation. Of course, the author occasionally hides behind the backs of other Russian imperialistic writers by referring to them, instead of assuming full responsibility for his statements. This does not make for factual correctness. Another example of misrepresentation is to consider the English Muscovy Company of the 16th century as "Russian" because its official name was "Muscovy."

The other nations enslaved by Russia do not get any more consideration from the author than the Ukraine. To him the recent Russian annexation of the Baltic states is nothing but "a recovery of former tsarist territory" (p. XIX). Though Prof. Spector mentions when Russia annexed certain foreign territory, he does not give any credit to the non-Russian-speaking subjects for their contributions to the Muscovite culture. Had he admitted all the Ukrainian contributions to Russian civilization, then he would have had to get closer to Prof. Manning on this subject. But it does not happen, for not many other Russians are free from the same old tsarist-ordered concept. Another criticism of the work is that though he deals with the history of the Ukraine, he does not utilize Ukrainian sources. The same holds true in his handling of Lithuania, Poland, and Finland.

When the author comes to the modern period, with which he is more conversant, he does better. The account of Lenin's NEP is good. His explanation of Stalin's constitution is such that it may be pleasant to the Soviets and the frequent references to Prof. Schumann's book likewise can win Prof. Spector friends in Moscow.

The last chapter, "The USSR Since World War II," is a one-sided presentation. The author states: "Without exception, the government of Finland, the Baltic states, Poland, Czechoslovakia had remained basically hostile to the Soviet Union and in the interval between World Wars I and II pursued a pro-British, pro-French, and at times a pro-German policy" (pp. 387-8). He does not mention, however, how "Mother Russia" drove them to such a course nor in how many ways the Kremlin annoyed those small nations. He presents only a pro-Russian stand. As the headline of the chapter indicates,

it covers events up to 1949. Prof. Spector speaks of "this frontier" adjustment, i. e., Russian annexation of neighboring countries, and the creation of "friendly governments" (pp. 386-7), as in Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, but he does not tell how Russia liquidated the leading men in those countries, including all the high Ukrainian church officials in West Ukraine, and Carpatho-Ukraine. He also ignores the UPA i. e., the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and its fight against the Kremlin since 1944, and he makes no mention of the millions of DPs crowding Western Europe. He does, however, mention the "defection of Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia in 1948" (p. 396).

Though this book is not worse than the others on this topic in English, it does not have Mirsky's open-minded approach that is badly needed. Its value as a college text would have been enhanced, had there been more accent on real facts. Its reference to the "Pravda," without qualification, does not add to its merit; neither does the mention of "all sorts of incentives" used by the Red Government to make the people "Go East" (pp. 380-81), when all mention of the biggest of them all, force, is omitted. Although, quoting "Pravda," it describes the wonderful things in Siberia, it is conspicuously weak and brief on the slave camps; it does, however, admit their existence.

WASYL HALICH

DE POTESTATE METROPOLITARUM KIEVIENSIVM CATHOLICORVM IN CLERVM REGVLAREM (The Power of the Kiev Catholic Metropolitans regarding the regular clergy), by Dmytro Blazejowskyj, D.D., Rome, 1943, pp. 196.

DE REGIMINE BASILIANORVM RUTHENORVM A METROPOLITA JOSEPHO VELAMIN RUTSKYJ INSTAURATORVM (The rules of the Ruthenian Basilians established by Metropolitan Joseph Venamin Rutskyj), by Meletius M. Wojnar, OSBM, Analecta OSBM, Rome, series II, Vol. I, pp. I-XX, 1-218.

These two works treat of the legal status of the Greek Catholic church in Ukraine and White Ruthenia. Defining the jurisdiction of the Kiev metropolitans over the Basilian order, Dr. Blazejowskyj explains the Oriental canonical rules that govern the relations between the monks and the church hierarchy. In the Western church monastic orders are independent of the hierarchy but in the Eastern churches such orders are subordinated to a great extent to the over-all adminis-

trative apparatus of the church. For long periods the Kiev metropolitans acted as protoarchimandrites or superior-generals of the Basilians, regulating both the order and the individual monks.

While Dr. Blazejowskyj treats of the Basilians in their relation to the external world, Father Wojnar deals with the internal arrangements within the Basilian order from the date of its establishment by Rutsky, the Metropolitan of Kiev, three centuries ago. Well-documented with historical and canonical sources, this is a fundamental study of the Basilian order.

Father Wojnar exploited all available historical sources very carefully, especially the Archives of Basilian Archimandry in Rome. The author proved to be not only a serious historian but also a trained canonist.

Both works concerning the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian Church history of the 17th and 18th centuries, until today but superficially explored, are of good service to the knowledge of Catholicism's history in Eastern Europe. The only disadvantage of both works is their Latin language, not particularly popular in New World.

N. CHUBATY

THE WORLD ALMANAC AND BOOK OF FACTS FOR 1950,
by Harry Hansen, World-Telegram, New York, a Scripps-Howard
Newspaper.

When I read a year ago in the World Almanac for 1949 all the crude misinformation concerning Ukraine, I wrote to its Editor a letter suggesting some corrections of the most distorted facts. In response I received many apologies and a promise that these corrections would be considered in the next issue of the Almanac. But nothing of the sort happened. This year's edition has exactly the same fantastic misinformation as in the previous year. Even the most evident facts, such as the errors of transcription of names or such geographical nonsense as the new existent common Ukraino-German boundary, were not corrected.

Now, to be candid, I do not know what to think. Does the Editor of the Almanac really not want to have the exact facts? This seems unlikely. Or is he misinformed by his own collaborators? Or it is a conscious policy to misrepresent the Ukrainian cause? I do not know, but one thing is clear: the scanty facts about Ukraine are registered not from the American point of view but rather from the Russian.

For example, under the "Chief Political Assassinations" we read: 1926—May 25. Gen. Simon Petlura, ex-president of Ukrainian Republic, in Paris, by a compatriot.

1947—March 27. Col. Gen. Karl Swierczewski, Polish Vice-Minister of National Defense, by Ukrainian fascists near the town of Sanok.

Such a presentation of facts could be found in no other than a Soviet paper,—they are, to put it mildly, falsified statements. It is generally known that the Soviet agent who shot General-Otaman Petlura (he was never a President) was not a Ukrainian, and therefore not a compatriot of Petlura. As to the second fact, one can question: how does the Almanac know that the Ukrainians who shot General Swierczewski were "fascists?" They fought for the independence of their country, that is for a democratic ideal. Why so much sympathy for a Soviet-Polish general regarded by the Poles themselves as a traitor? When the Almanac writes about the Nazi Heydrich killed by Czechs, it does not call them "fascists." Why two such widely different standards for essentially similar actions?

All other information concerning Ukrainian affairs are more or less inexact. For example, Ukraine's National Poet Shevchenko is listed among "Noted Russians," whereas Pole Mickiewicz is under the "Noted Poles," despite the fact that Poland at that time was also a Russian province. The Ukrainian language, the sixth largest in Europe is not listed among the chief languages, whereas such small ones as the Slovakian, Slovenian or Czechian are mentioned. Naturally, the editors of the Almanac put the Ukrainian language under "Russians and dialects,"—something that the Soviet-Russians themselves do not venture to do. It is difficult to explain why the three small Baltic states are described in separate places of this Almanac, but Ukraine is represented only as a part of Russia. Ukraine, even with her Soviet puppet government, is today a member of the United Nations, recognized also by the United States. Do the editors of the "Book of Facts" regard the decisions of their own Government as facts or do they not?

But it is not only the data about Ukraine that have such a pro-Soviet interpretation. When writing about the expansion of the USSR, the Almanac emphasizes the fact that the three Baltic states or one-time Eastern Poland were "former Russian Imperial territory." The Almanac calls the Spanish Government "a totalitarian system," but the Soviet state with its 18 million slave laborers has "a socialist system of

economy.” Farther we read: “The religious education is permitted” in USSR, but nothing is said about the fact that only the Soviet-Orthodox Church is tolerated and that the Catholic Church with millions of its worshipers was simply dissolved and all the Bishops imprisoned. The same is stated about Romania: “Liberty of worship is assured. Orthodox clergy are paid by the State, other clergy being subventioned.” This is also not true. The true fact is that the Greek-Catholic Church in Romania is banned as it is in Ukraine.

The rulers of the ancient Kiev State are listed under “Russian Rulers” instead of under “Ruthenian.” Even the cited names are distorted. We read: *Jaropalk* instead of *Yaropolk*, *Swiatopalk*, *Jaroslaf* (*Yaroslav*), *Mitislaf* (?), *Isiaslaf*, *Rotislaf*, etc. There are already several histories of Ukraine in English where these names could be found in the correct English transcription.

These remarks are made only in connection with the material printed. We do not mention the omissions. The choice of material is of course the decision of the editor as to what will be of interest to the American reader. One can only wonder why Cardinal Mindszenty and Archbishop Stepinac were mentioned many times, but the eight Ukrainian Catholic Bishops and the Metropolitan (a title higher than the Archbishop) who were imprisoned or killed by the Soviets, are omitted in the historical events listed in the Almanac. But the death of a race horse is recorded here.

The motto of the Scripps-Howard Publications is: “Give light and the people will find their own way.” Sorry, we are still in the dark.

S. HORDYNSKY



UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

“Policies and Principles, The War Without a Name,” international. *Time*, the Weekly Newsmagazine, February 20, 1950, Chicago, Illinois.

The brilliant intellectual figure about whom this report centers is Professor James Burnham, author of the current work on *The Coming Defeat of Communism*, which is reviewed in the preceding pages of this Quarterly issue. Anyone in the least familiar with Professor Burnham's political and social philosophical thought, as embodied in his works from *The Managerial Revolution* to the present one, cannot, without loss of intellectual integrity, fail to esteem him as one of the few acute and courageous American political thinkers on world communism and the Soviet Union and the modern cultural crisis.

This fair summary of the prominent arguments and salient points of Burnham's most recent achievement does not, of course, convey the full force of the closely-knit logic and rational power that one finds in the work itself. Yet it accomplishes its objective by placing the proper emphasis on the main avenues of policy advocated by Burnham to undermine decisively the basis of Soviet world communism. Professor Burnham stands in the vanguard of the few American political analysts who possess enough knowledge of the actual political conditions and strifes in Eastern Europe to appreciate the immense possibilities of a psychological offensive against the Kremlin gang. The United States can and must aid its genuine friends and allies behind the iron curtain. As Burnham says, “To strengthen France's Atomic Energy Commission under the Communist, Joliot-Curie, is a defeat, not a victory; to keep even precariously alive a small detachment of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army is an unalloyed victory. . .”

There is no question of the fact that the defeat of communism is within our reach, but to clinch it demands forthright and unswayed leadership. By the depth and logical strength of his thought, Professor Burnham makes available as excellent timber for the policy-making group of the State Department—an idea that deserves serious immediate consideration.

"It Takes a Russian to Beat a Russian," by Wallace Carroll. *Life*, December 19, 1950, Chicago, Illinois.

As though conceived to substantiate one of Burnham's paramount theses and the several remarks made above, this fairly long but highly instructive article demonstrates the urgent necessity of a well calculated psychological warfare on the part of America in its life-or-death strife with world communism. The title is plainly attractive, but inaccurate. For the author shows how during the past war the many non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union, particularly the Ukrainians, organized themselves with remarkable spontaneity to destroy Soviet Russian suzerainty over their respective countries. When one considers the fact that only recently the sole form of intra-opposition known to the popular American mind was the puny Vlasov movement, this article by an acknowledged expert on psychological warfare performs an immense service by shedding considerable light on the real internal—indeed, international—conflicts of the Soviet Union.

Judging by the evidence advanced and stressed in the article, it is clearly evident that Mr. Carroll is exceptionally well versed with the realities of Eastern Europe. His treatment of the Ukrainian underground, for instance, is basically sound. His judgment on the colossal stupidity of the Nazi regime in its relations toward the submerged nationalities of the Soviet Union is irrefutable. And his suggestions bearing on the power of psychological fission are generally commendable.

Subject to question, however, is his conception of the supposed dilemma confronting any nation seeking the working friendship of the submerged nationalities at the risk of alienating the Great Russians. His construction of the issue applies undeniably to most Russian emigrés who have been spared the travails of the exploited Russian people and comfortably continue to dream of the eternal state of the Great Russian power, but there is increasing evidence that many rank-and-file Russians are coming to realize the concrete values of less power, founded in large part on imperialist aggression, and see in the self-determination of their non-Russian neighbors the means of achieving their own material and spiritual well-being. Yet, even allowing for this alleged dilemma, it is surely of negligible worth when placed alongside considerations of principle itself and effective allied support from these submerged nations. In his enumeration of suggested limited objectives for the United States in its war against Soviet Russia, Mr.

Carroll could have benefited, notably in the matter of self-determination, from Count Schulenburg's approach to the problem as cited in the article. Hitler spurned this approach and lost. Are we to repeat Hitler's mistake?

"The Periscope on Trends Abroad," comments. *Newsweek*, February 20, 1950, Dayton, Ohio.

In significant continuity with the line of thought followed above, this informative publication reports that "Russia's troubles in the Western Ukraine now are official. The local party radio admits that the land-collectivization program is being slowed by 'a bitter class struggle against . . . the remnants of the bourgeois nationalists.'" The "remnants" spoken of merely run into millions.

"Sociological Factors in Strategic Intelligence," by Lt. Col. Robert C. White. *Military Review*, November, 1949, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

The instructor of the Command and General Staff College asserts an important truth when he observes that "there are differences in the various peoples of the world, and for that reason, among others, strategic intelligence examines the peoples of foreign nations." Yet, strangely enough, in his descriptive references to the Soviet Union, in connection with its population, literacy, psychological elements etc., there is no indication of any comprehension of the multi-national composition of that political entity. It is fortunate for us that other essential organs of the Department of the Army are exceedingly well informed on these crucial matters.

"Spy Scare in Russia," a report. *Intelligence Digest*, A Review of World Affairs, November, 1949, New York.

Without committing itself to the veracity of the report, this monthly digest, which is edited by Kenneth Hugh Decourcy and which accurately predicted the explosion of an atom bomb in the Soviet Union, informs us of the existence of an extensive spy scare in Russia. In Ukraine this is being featured by numerous arrests of persons suspected of being American agents, especially among industrial workers. It should be noted that of late the Soviet press has been emphasizing this

particular theme of espionage as it did in the thirties with regard to Germany.

“The Commissar in the U.N.,” by Ypsilon. *Plain Talk*, November, 1949, New York.

The treacherous character of Dmitri Zakharovitch Manuilsky, the fraudulent Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic's Minister of Foreign Affairs and chief envoy to the U.N., is interestingly revealed in this instructive essay. As director over espionage and a veritable cheat, this morally leprous creature is credited with the training of the foul-mouthed Gerhart Eisler, Togliatti and numerous other notables of the beastly fringe. For some time now this copy of Soviet statemanship has been riding triumphantly, but it will certainly be of keen interest to countless victims of his treachery to observe his behavior under a set of cringing circumstances.

“Through the Russian Looking-Glass,” *The Future in Retrospect*,” by Lewis Galantiere. *Foreign Affairs, An American Quarterly Review*, October, 1949, New York.

The observations of the Marquis de Custine in his work on “*La Russie En 1839*,” published in 1843, cannot be other than of profound import to an objective student of Russia today. They are unquestionably as pertinent to the present Russian situation as they were then. His statement that “this essentially aggressive nation lives in a state of submissiveness so degrading that it seems to be expiating in advance, at home, its expectation of tyranny abroad over other men” can be used to explain a good part of the driving force of the Red Army. For, as he concludes, “The glory and the booty to which it looks forward turn its thoughts away from the shame to which it is being subjected . . .” The author of this article points out many unique parallels to Custine's observations, as, for instance, the disappearance of Count Repnin and Kossior, the secretary general to the Communist Party in Ukraine.

L. E. D.

CURRENT UKRAINIAN CHRONICLE

Obituaries

Julian Pavlykovsky, 1887-1949.

The noted Ukrainian economist and politician died in Munich. He was one of the leading organizers of the national



Ukrainian Cooperative associations in the Western Ukrainian territories of former Poland. Such organizations as the *Maslosoyuz*, *Centrobank*, *Narodna Torbovla*, *Association of Cooperatives* were a national economic power in the country. In political life he was a member of the Presidium of the UNDO—Ukrainian National Democratic Organization, and was elected a senator from this party to the Polish Diet in Warsaw. In the emigration he was a professor of the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute in Regensburg. He was the author of several works on economy and a member of the Scientific Society of Taras Shevchenko.

Michael Hayvoronsky, 1892-1949.

Michael Hayvoronsky (one of the most distinguished composers), died

in New York, September 11, 1949. He was born in 1892 in Galicia, then under Austria, and during World War I was in active service as an officer in the Ukrainian Legion. At this time he composed many songs that are still very popular. He was the organizer of military bands in the Legion and later became the general band-master in the Ukrainian Army. In 1925 he came to the United States. Here he completed his musical studies in Columbia University and became one of the most prominent organizers of Ukrainian musical life in this country.

Ukrainian writers in the United States.

Among the Ukrainian writers that have recently come to the United States are authors both from the Western and Eastern Ukraine. We note the names of: Ehven Malanyuk, Todos Osmachka, Yuriy Kosach, Fedir Dudko, Oles Babiy, Bohdan Kravtsiv, Roman Kupchynsky, Vasyl Chaplenko, Ludmyla Ivchenko; from the younger generation: Ivan Kernytsky, Yar Slavutych, Vadym Lesych, Theodor Kurpita.

Ukrainian artists in the United States.

Since 1947, a large number of Ukrainian artists (painters, sculptors, graphic artists) have come under the DP bill to the United States. Among them are many names known from the Ukrainian and international exhibitions. Here we note some of them:

Painters: Peter Andrusiw (Philadelphia), Nicholas Butovych (Elizabeth, N. J.), Jakob Hnizdovsky (St. Paul, Minn.), George S. Hordynsky (Linden,

N. J.), Damyán Hornyatkevych, Newark, N. J.), Eduard Kozak (Detroit), Vasyl Krychevsky, Jr. (San Francisco), Antin Malutsa (Jersey City, N. J.), Peter Mehyk (Philadelphia), Michael Moroz (New York), Michael Osinchuk (New York), Volodymyr Sichynsky (Paterson, N. J.). Sculptors: Oksana Laturynska (St. Paul, Minn.), Serhiy Litvynenko (New York), Bohdan Mukhyn (Philadelphia), Antin Pavlos (St. Paul, Minn.).

Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus.

The Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus, under the direction of Hryhory Kytasty had great success in its first American tour last December. For the two concerts in New York (in Carnegie Hall and Irving High School) the house was sold out, and the same was true in Detroit, Philadelphia, Buffalo and other cities. The "Detroit News" called the Chorus "unique in our concert halls," the "Chicago Daily Tribune" wrote that "they excel other choruses of their type," and the "Telegram" Toronto, said that "they have wonderful voices, but their hands are just as wonderful."

Ukrainian Opera Ensemble.

A Ukrainian Opera Ensemble in Detroit under the direction of Bohdan Piurko began its tour in October, 1949, mostly in the northern states. The program is composed of Ukrainian and international operatic selections and songs. The leading artists of this ensemble are Lidia Horn—dramatic soprano, Natalia Nosenko—lyric soprano, Michael Minsky—baritone, Michael Olkhovy—basso, and Ihor Zayfert—tenor. Their performances are highly appreciated by the American Ukrainian public.

New Ukrainian theatres in the United States.

Among the several representatives of the theatrical world who have emigrated to the United States, there are two noted actors and stage-managers—Joseph Hirniak, New York and Volodymyr Blavatsky, Philadelphia. Blavatsky was the Director of the Drama and Opera House in Lviw, Galicia. Both artists have organized their own theatrical groups and already have given many performances in New York, Philadelphia and other cities. Their repertoire consists of original Ukrainian plays and translations from such authors as Goldoni and Ibsen. Hirniak who was an exile in Siberia and knows from his own experience Soviet life, won special acclaim by his sharply political and satiric plays, such as "After Two Rabbits."

The Publications of the Scientific Society of Shevchenko.

"The History of Ukraine" by Ivan Kholmsky with a preface by Mykola Shlemkevych was recently published in Munich, Germany.

Three volumes of the Ukrainian Encyclopaedia have been published and three more will appear soon. A condensed English translation of this Encyclopaedia is in preparation.

A large documentary work "Ukraine Under Soviet Rule" is ready for publication. This work is sponsored by the Ukrainian National Association in the United States.

Another large work on the ethnographic boundaries of Ukraine is also completed. This will be a documentary study with many illustrations and charts, which will give scientific and authoritative material for all those who are interested in the affairs of Eastern Europe.

The Library of UVAN.

The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, now in Canada, managed to transport its library from Augsburg, Germany, to Winnipeg. The richest collection in this library is a posthumous bequest of Dmytro Antonovych, formerly the director of the Ukrainian Museum in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

Scientific lectures.

The Scientific Society of Shevchenko in New York began a series of lectures this winter.

Professor P. Kovaliv spoke about "The Bolshevik Theory of Language." The Soviet scholars, said he, are striving to prove that the national languages are the product of a bourgeois community. According to them there should be only one culture and language in the future "socialist" society—the Russian.

Professor V. Sichynsky spoke about "The Early Christian Architecture in Crimea." In the IV-VIII centuries there were three types of churches: the central domed church, the basilica, and one-nave chapels. The two first groups had a strong influence on the later Ukrainian architecture in the X-XIII centuries.

"The Scythia of Herodotus" was the theme of a lecture by Dr. A. Dombrovsky. He showed why this work of Herodotus is the most valuable of all the ancient treatises for the prehistory of the Ukrainian territory.

The writer S. Hordynsky spoke about the problem of the rhythm in "The Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign." The lecturer cited many examples to prove that the rhythm of this poem is in many places identical with the oldest Ukrainian ritual songs.

Professor Clarence A. Manning of the Columbia University gave a lecture

on the "Problem of Translation from Ukrainian into English." The lecturer treated the principal difficulties of translation caused by the different character of the two languages.

Ukrainian translations from English.

Since the war only a few Ukrainian translations from English written literature have appeared on this side of the Iron Curtain. The reason for this was mostly because of the complicated copyright laws protecting such as Dickens, Kipling, Stevenson, and London to be favored. From the new literary works mostly those with political background were published, as for example George Orwell's "The Animal Farm," for which the author wrote a special preface. In 1947 Yuri Klen—the former editor of the complete works of Jack London in Ukrainian—arranged with Margaret Mitchell to translate her "Gone with the Wind," but he died without having finished his work. Still unpublished are also Klen's translations from Shakespeare—The Tempest and Hamlet. This last translation is the seventh of the play into Ukrainian.

New flag and anthem for Soviet Ukraine.

After the final occupation of Ukraine by Soviet-Russian troops in 1921, the Ukrainian flag (blue and yellow) and the National Anthem were prohibited. Ukrainians were compelled to use the general Soviet red flag and to sing the Internationale. Now the Soviet Ukrainians have received a new flag—to the red color of the Soviet flag a second—blue color has been added. At the same time a new anthem for Soviet Ukrainians has been created, in which the Russian nation, Lenin and Stalin are praised.

Testimony about Genocide.

Prof. Lev Dobriansky, President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America appeared Feb. 9, 1950 before the Sub-Committee of United States Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs in Washington. Prof. Dobriansky supported the American ratification of the Convention of Genocide. In a condensed form he described the genocidal policy of the Soviet-Russians in Ukraine and supplemented the Congress records with pertinent facts, summed up in a separate Blue Book. This testimony of Prof. Dobriansky was received with great interest in the capital and in the American press.

Ukrainian broadcasts in The Voice of America.

On December 12, 1949 Ukrainian broadcasts were started in *The Voice of America*. These were heard with interest by Ukrainians on this side of the Iron Curtain and without doubt also on the other side. The Ukrainian press emphasizes the importance of this event, as up to this time the Ukrainians were compelled to listen to Russian and Polish broadcasts. The principal critical remarks are: more information about Ukrainian life this side of the Iron Curtain, and fewer direct translations from the texts of the Russian broadcasts and items on Russian internal affairs would be desirable. Some of the letters concerning the Ukrainian broadcasts sent by the readers to the Ukrainian daily "Svoboda" in Jersey City, N. J., are very characteristic. While some are happy merely to hear on the radio the Ukrainian word, others write that the Ukrainian broadcasts are the same kind of Russian imperialistic propaganda that they have heard for years from the Soviet radio.

The Ukrainian National Fund.

During the Fourth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent, held in Washington, D.C. last November, it was decided to raise a Fund to aid the national movement, Ukrainian culture and resettlement purposes. This sum will be raised by voluntary contributions from all employed Ukrainians in the United States.

Third Congress of Ukrainians in Canada.

The Third Congress of Canadian Ukrainians took place in Winnipeg February 7-9, 1950. The number of delegates was 400, and many hundreds of guests from Canada and United States were present. The Canadian Government was officially represented. During this Congress the Ukrainian Bandura Chorus gave a concert heard by 4,000 persons in the City Auditorium.

The U.N.A. Convention.

Next May the 22nd quadrennial convention of the Ukrainian National Association will take place in Cleveland, Ohio. It is the oldest and largest Ukrainian fraternal benefit organization with over 55,000 members and publishes the daily "Svoboda" (Liberty) and *The Ukrainian Weekly*.

Auditions of Ukrainian Talent.

The Ukrainian Metropolitan Area of New York has announced musical and vocal auditions with the aim of discovering the best Ukrainian talent to be presented in a special recital on Memorial Day (May 28, 1950) in New York's Town Hall. There will be cash prizes for the best four candidates.

Ukrainian geographical names in Canada.

Dr. Yaroslav Rudnytsky, Professor of the Slavonic languages in the University of Manitoba, has compiled a list of Canadian geographical names of Slavonic origin. He found one hundred Ukrainian names, of which 50 are officially registered. Besides there are among other Slavonic names: 20 Polish, 20 Russian, 1 Czech, 1 Serbian. It is noteworthy that the Ukrainians are third largest nationality group in Canada.

Ukrainians in Australia.

Several thousand Ukrainian refugees have gone recently to Australia. They live mostly in camps (13 in all), as the housing shortage is acute. As elsewhere, many Ukrainian organizations have come into being in Australia, as well as in Tasmania. One Ukrainian paper, "The Free Thought" appears in Sydney.

Ukrainian Medical Society in the United States.

At the beginning of last February, a Ukrainian medical Society with New York as its center, was founded. The Society has already almost 100 members, both Ukrainian-born American doctors and newcomers. Among the members are many outstanding names in Ukrainian medical science. Dr. Roman Osinchuk, of New York, was elected the first President.

Fresh-baked Imperialists.

The Information Service of the Free Czechoslovakia in its Bulletin No. 7, 1950, which is printed in Brussels, Belgium, published a declaration of the

Council of Free Czechoslovakia in Washington concerning Carpathian Ukraine. In this it emphasizes that Carpathian Ukraine is an inseparable part of the Czechoslovak Republic. The Council promises to make all efforts for the liberation of Carpatho-Ukraine (or Ruthenia as in the original) and to annex it anew to the Czechoslovak Republic . . .

All this is very fine, but there is only the one question as to whether the Ukrainians will consent? March 14, 1939, Carpathian Ukraine through its democratic election declared its will not to be under any foreign domination. The same day the small Carpatho-Ukrainian State began a fight against the invading Hungarians—the allies of Hitler. The Czechs, however, surrendered all their divisions, tanks and cannons to Hitler without a shot. It seems more likely that rather the Carpatho-Ukrainians will be able to liberate the Czechs.

Changes in the Government of Soviet Ukraine.

The member of the Politburo, Nikita Khrushchev (not Ukrainian-born, as General Bedell Smith incorrectly states in his memoirs), was recalled from Kiev to Moscow. He was replaced by another Russian—L. Melnikov, up to now unknown in the Ukrainian circles.

Anti-Soviet Manifestation.

On January 22, 1950, the League of the Americans of Ukrainian Descent organized in Chicago an anti-Soviet manifestation. The speakers were Congressman Dirksen and Dr. Roman Smook. The auditorium of the Chopin school was filled by audience of 3,000, with many American veterans and former Ukrainian combatants present.

Arrests in Ukraine.

Again and again the world press prints news about mass arrests and purges in Ukraine. In January the chairman of the Communist Party in L'viv, B. Koval, was discharged for his "bourgeois nationalism" and "ideological mistakes." In the decree of the

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine the "bourgeois nationalities" of Western Ukraine were also attacked for slowing up of collectivization. In his articles published in the American press, Mr. Drew Pearson confirmed these arrests and gave as his authority Admiral Kirk, the U.S. ambassador in Moscow.



Books Received

- James Burnham: *The Coming Defeat of Communism*. John Day & Co., 1950.
- Babkin, B. P.: *Pavlov, a Biography*. Univ. of Chicago Press, 1950.
- Beloff, Max: *The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia*. Oxford Univ. Press, two vols., 1949.
- Boder, David P.: *I Did Not Interview the Dead*. Univ. of Illinois Press, 1949.
- Selected Writings of Boris Pasternak*. New Directions, 1950.
- Petrov, Vladimir: *Soviet Gold*. Farrar, Straus & Co., 1950.
- Shotwell, James T.: *A Balkan Mission*. Columbia Univ. Press, 1950.
- Sorokin, Pitirim A.: *Leaves from a Russian Diary*. Beacon Press, 1950.
- Towster, Julian: *Political Power in the USSR*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1949.
- Von Eckhardt, Hans: *Ivan the Terrible*. Alfred A. Knopf, 1949.
- Zirkle, Conway: *Death of a Science in Russia*. Univ. of Penna. Press, 1950.
- Ivan Mirchuk: *Ukraine and Its People*. Ukrainian Free University Press, Munich, 1949.

Ukraine and its People



A Handbook on Ukrainian History, Culture, Geography and Economy written by most competent living Ukrainian scholars.

The book is edited by Prof. Ivan Mirchuk, Professor of Ukrainian Culture at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich and published in the Ukrainian Free University Press, 1949, Munich in English and German. Price \$3.00.



Purchasable in Management Office of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*,
50 Church St., R. 252, New York 7, N. Y.

The Coming Defeat of Communism

by JAMES BURNHAM

author of *The Managerial Revolution*

Focused on a definite plan of action, this book tells in point-blank terms how the threat of communism can be met and destroyed—how we have already begun doing so. During his years of research James Burnham traveled throughout the United States, made two extended trips to Europe, and interviewed hundreds, including refugees and exiles from all Iron Curtain countries and the Soviet Union. Price \$3.50.

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY

Ukrainian Quarterly,
50 Church Street, New York 7, N. Y.

I enclose \$3.50 (check or money order). Please send me James Burnham's THE COMING DEFEAT OF COMMUNISM. If for any reason I am not fully satisfied, I may return the book within ten days for full refund.

Name

Address

City . . .

Zone State