

THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY.



Volume V—Number 1

Winter, 1949

THE UKRAINIAN HUMANITIES AND THE SOVIETS

—*Alexander Obloblyn*

THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY

Subscription: Yearly \$4.00; Single Copy \$1.00

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

THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY

VOL. V—NUMBER 1



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

WINTER, 1949

\$1.00 A COPY

Published by UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

Edited by EDITORIAL BOARD
Editor-in-Chief NICHOLAS D. CHUBATY
Associate Editors—LEV E. DOBRIANSKY
STEPHEN SHUMEYKO
Published by UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA
with support of Americans of Ukrainian Descent

CONTENTS

	PAGE
From Metropolitan Slipy to Cardinal Mindszenty <i>Editorial</i>	5-9
The Ukrainian Humanities and the Soviets <i>Alexander Ohloblyn</i>	10-19
The Poetic and Political Aspects of "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" <i>Sviastoslav Hordynsky</i>	20-28
The Jubileum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (1873-1948) <i>Clarence A. Manning</i>	29-36
Mazeppa's Champion in the "Secret du Roi" of Louis XV King of France <i>Nicholas Chubaty</i>	37-51
Agricultural Science in Ukraine (The Reminiscences of a Ukrainian Scholar) <i>Hryhory Makhiv</i>	52-61
Once Again <i>Ludmila Ivchenko</i>	62-66
The Aspirations of The White Ruthenians <i>John Ermachenko</i>	67-70
Soviet Semantics <i>Roman Smal-Stocky</i>	71-77
CURRENT UKRAINIAN CHRONICLE	78-82
BOOK REVIEWS	
The Russian Religious Mind. Kievan Christianity, by G. Fedotow <i>N. Chubaty</i>	83-84
The Economy of the USSR During World War II, by Nikolai A. Voznesensky Soviet Views on the Post-War World Economy. Official Criticism of Eugene Varga <i>Lev E. Dobriansky</i>	85-90
Soviet Land, by G. D. B. Gray <i>N. Chubaty</i>	90-92
Ucrainica in American and Foreign Periodicals	93-96
<i>Picture on the Cover: Fresco from St. Sophia in Kiev (XI Century)</i>	

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

ALEXANDER OHLOBLYN. Former professor of Kiev University, prominent Ukrainian historian associated with Academy of Science of the Ukrainian SSR until 1941. Specialist on economic history. At present a displaced person in Germany.

SVIATOSLAV HORDYNSKY. Ukrainian poet and literary critic now living in the United States, translated "The Tale of Ihor's Campaign" into modern Ukrainian.

CLARENCE A. MANNING, PH.D. Professor at Columbia University, Dept. of Eastern European Languages. Author of *Ukrainian Literature, Story of the Ukraine* and others. Active member of Shevchenko Scientific Society.

NICHOLAS D. CHUBATY, PH.D. Historian, chairman of Ukrainian Scientific Shevchenko Society (American Branch). Author of several works: *Western Ukraine and Rome, Survey of the Ukrainian Law's History*, and others.

HRYHORY MAKHIV. An outstanding Ukrainian soil scientist and agricultural expert. Member of Agricultural Scientific Committee of Ukraine and of the agricultural branch of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences until 1941. Now a displaced person in the American Zone of Germany.

LUDMILA IVCHENKO. Ukrainian writer who lived under the Bolshevik regime until 1941. Her husband, a prominent Ukrainian writer, was liquidated in the 1930's.

JOHN ERMACHENKO. White Ruthenian leader now practicing medicine in the United States.

ROMAN SMAL-STOCKY. Professor of modern languages at Marquette University. Linguist and formerly editor of the "Studies of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute" in Warsaw.

FROM METROPOLITAN SLIPY TO CARDINAL MINDSZENTY

(Editorial)

THE arrest, trial, and verdict in the case of Cardinal Mindszenty, primate of Hungary, has alarmed the Western world not only because this fresh victim of the Bolshevik campaign against religion occupies a high ecclesiastical office, but also because there was enacted before the Budapest "People's Tribunal" a mock trial in the Russian manner, the nature of which is of grave import to the root security of the West and to world jurisprudence.

A personality utterly different from that associated with the Cardinal before he was taken into the custody of the Hungarian police confronted the Communist court in Budapest. Cardinal Mindszenty was a man of courage and valor and he resolutely opposed the Red regime that attacked the Church he headed and felt obliged to defend. He was a man of high ideals, firmly convinced in the righteousness of his cause, and was wont to deal with the public in a determined and vigorous manner. The Cardinal was of the same stamp as the famed Belgian Cardinal Mercier and the Ukrainian Metropolitan Sheptytsky—both of whom valiantly opposed the persecution and oppression of their spiritual flock and fellow-countrymen, who were sorely tried during dark days of war and military lawlessness, a situation much akin to that which the Hungarian people are undergoing today.

After several weeks of confinement Mindszenty appeared before the court a broken man. His answers betrayed the refined terror that was applied in order to break the Cardinal, a weird formula unknown to the world but certainly operative at least since the trial of the "Old Bolsheviks" in 1937. The Cardinal admitted most of the fantastic charges leveled against him by the prosecution. His confessions contradicted reality, yet the accused admitted his transgressions despite the fact that they were never committed.

Let us recall the trial of the Old Bolsheviks in 1937. Veteran and hardened revolutionaries that had stared death in the face more than once, men like Bukharin, Rykov, and Tukhachevsky, even Yagoda, chief of the GPU, admitted their guilt like schoolboys to crimes clearly incredible and vied with one another in self-denunciation. It seems clear that the Russian police and prosecutors, in 1937 personified by

the erstwhile Andrei Vyshinsky, possess the means of depriving a person of his own will. We in the West cannot say whether this is accomplished by unexampled, brutal terror or by deteriorating influences of chemicals, but irregardless we have before us examples of the brutal violation of human beings in a manner that history thus far had not known. It is this unhappy realization that has so shocked the entire civilized world.

Here in the United States the dramatic plunge to the New York pavement by Oksana Kosenkina, a Ukrainian employee at the Soviet consulate, provided the additional stimulus needed to convince skeptical and unknowing Americans regarding fundamental realities in the Soviet Union. And the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty in Budapest, the heart of Europe now veiled behind the Iron Curtain, gave the Western world the opportunity to gain an insight into Soviet reality, to learn something about Soviet justice and legal codes, not excluding the highly propagandized "Stalin Constitution."

Such trials and concrete eye-openers were needed in order that Western Europe and America, speaking through their highest political officials and spiritual leaders, might learn a little about Soviet reality and discuss it in plain language. However, this hard and Hellish reality has been well known for a long time to those nations whom Fate has thrown to the bloody embrace of the consummate successors of Ivan the Terrible. Especially do the Ukrainian people understand this Soviet brutality. For most grievously their history since 1917 is replete with bitter experience with Soviet reality, with the MVD and its alphabetical precursors, with Soviet jurisprudence and prosecutors.

The Western world, however, had to wait for the mock trial of Mindszenty before it was prepared to see the blood of martyrs that soaks the crimson hand of prosecutors like Vyshinsky and other agents of the Kremlin's power.

This mock trial of Mindszenty is the latest but by no means will it be the last episode in the life-and-death struggle now being waged between Christianity and Communism. The lines, temporarily at this early date, stand in more bold relief as a fight between the Kremlin and Rome, and any comfort drawn from this current polarization by religious bigots will be both suicidal and short-lived. This struggle has far from ended, but several phases in it have already passed. And strange to say the first acts in this drama have somehow been forgotten by the Western world, not excluding its Catholic segment.

The first act in this struggle began in Ukraine, in April, 1945, with

the arrest of the primate of Western Ukraine, Metropolitan Joseph Slipy. He did not fall into the hands of the NKVD alone, but was arrested along with all the Ukrainian Catholic bishops in the country. These included the diocesan bishops Gregory Khomyshyn and Joseph Kotsylovsky, and the auxiliary bishops Nikita Budka, Mykola Char-netsky, Ivan Latyshevsky, and Gregory Lakota.

Their fate, however, was dealt without the stir and attention that was evoked by the trials of Mindszenty and of the Croatian primate Stepinac. Bishops Khomyshyn of Stanislaviv and Kotsylovsky of Pere-myshl died the death of martyrs in Soviet prison. It has been reported that Bishop Budka, who at one time worked among the Ukrainians in Canada, went insane while in confinement. Metropolitan Slipy and three auxiliary bishops, according to frequent reports, are slave-workers in Soviet concentration camps in Vorkuta, a region north of the Arctic Circle at the mouth of the Ob river.

The courageous example of the Ukrainian bishops was followed by the clergy. Its representatives assembled in Lviv in the Cathedral of St. George, precious in the hearts of the Ukrainian people, and addressed a solemn protest to Molotov against the arrest of the Ukrainian bishops. The liquidation of these priests touched off a struggle that is being waged against the Kremlin even today.

The second act in this struggle also took place on Ukrainian soil, in Carpatho-Ukraine, two years later. The Greek-Catholic bishop of Mukachevo, Theodore Romzha, was run over by a Soviet tank and died of the wounds inflicted.

A third act in this religious struggle took place in Romania with an attack on the Greek-Catholic Church in Transylvania. In 1948 in accordance with instructions from Moscow Romanian governmental leaders followed the line used in Western Ukraine, with the arrest of all Greek-Catholic bishops, the murder of individuals that resisted, and forced conversion to Orthodoxy as represented by a church totally Moscow-controlled.

The campaign of the Kremlin against Ukrainian and Romanian Catholics of the Eastern rite carries a special significance and particular character. It is a part of the age-long imperialist policy of Russia aiming at the religious and political domination of all Christians of the Eastern rite through the Moscow patriarchate. The patriarchate in Moscow historically has been reduced to the faithful lackey of the police in Russian-controlled areas and a diplomatic bludgeon in other

areas. In the current campaign the Moscow patriarch himself has taken an active part in the government's program. Supported by the bayonets of the Red Army and the police, the patriarch is conducting a campaign of forced conversion to Russian Orthodoxy of peoples overrun by the Red Army. Thus the assault against the Ukrainian and Romanian Catholics of the Eastern rite is characterized by unique marks of Russian religious imperialism. In this struggle the atheist Kremlin government even assumed the role of a zealous Christian missionary and actively aided the Moscow patriarchate in the bloody extension of its flock.

The second phase of the Kremlin's campaign against Western (Latin) Christianity has an entirely different character. Ecclesiastical domination is not the design of Moscow here. Rather, the plan is to introduce disorganization in the religious life of Catholics that find themselves political satellites of Moscow. The Russians hope thereby to weaken the Vatican and destroy its influence. Moscow does not intend to convert these peoples to Orthodoxy or to subordinate them to the Moscow patriarch, since the Latin Rite precludes such a transition. By weakening the organization of the Church Moscow hopes to prepare the ground for the propagation of militant atheism.

The first big move in the second phase of this religious campaign against Catholicism occurred in Croatia with the imprisonment of Archbishop Stepinac. It may be that the quarrel between Tito and the Politbureau has prevented this struggle from taking on a more savage tempo. Every religious war greatly exhausts not only the attacked, but the attacker as well. And because of the present situation Yugoslav Communists do not possess the extra forces that otherwise might be utilized in an anti-religious campaign. Then too the flow of inspiration and agents from Moscow has stagnated.

On the other hand, the Bolsheviki have waged a brutal attack against Western-rite Catholicism in Lithuania since the conquest of that country. The episcopate has been imprisoned and the Lithuanian people themselves are in grave danger of disappearing from the map as an ethnographic entity because of liquidations and mass deportation. Another act in the assault against Catholicism is unfolding in Hungary, where the verdict against Cardinal Mindszenty signals an attack against the remainder of the clergy and the faithful.

It is highly probable that the next events will take place in Czechoslovakia, at first against the only remaining Greek-Catholic diocese

among the Ukrainians in Europe—Preshiv in Eastern Slovakia. The implication of several Ukrainian Catholic priests in the trial of Ukrainian patriots in Prague indicates the intentions of Moscow.

The imprisonment of Metropolitan Slipy of Lviv in 1945 and of Cardinal Mindszenty in February, 1949, represents milestones in the Kremlin's war against Christianity. A gigantic struggle between Rome and Moscow is growing out of this campaign, which has its genesis in the totalitarian appetites of the Soviet State. In Ukraine, in addition to the political motives that find expression in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the anti-Soviet fight has strong religious bases. "God's Underground" is active wherever the Soviet fist dominates, and the study of history suggests that "God's Underground" will be victorious.



THE UKRAINIAN HUMANITIES AND THE SOVIETS

By ALEXANDER OHLOBLYN

THE rebirth of the Ukrainian nation in 1917 allowed creation of the necessary institutions for the development of Ukrainian studies in the humanities. The Ukrainian universities, scientific societies, museums and archives, and especially the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (founded in 1918), were intended to be the centers of scientific research, especially in the humanities. But in those stormy times when the Ukrainian State was fighting for its very existence it was impossible to carry on scientific work on a large scale. However, the Ukrainian cultural and educational development so rapidly developed that even the Bolshevik invasion and the destruction of the Ukrainian State could not immediately stop the progress of Ukrainian education and scientific research which, with a slight intermission, kept on after 1920.

The NEP Period of Ukrainian Culture

In the forefront of this progress stood historical research, especially in the history of Ukraine. Much of this was due to Michael Hrushevsky who returned from abroad to Ukraine in 1924 to work at the *Ukrainian Academy of Sciences*. He renewed the activity of the historical section of the Ukrainian Scientific Society established in Kiev 1905, which was now attached to the Academy. The Historical Section created several commissions as those on historical songs, the ancient history of Ukraine, the history of the Kozak Period, the modern period, Ukrainian historiography, and for the study of the regional history of Ukraine. Besides, Michael Hrushevsky headed the department of Ukrainian history of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and acted as the editor of the magazine "Ukraine" (1924-1930) which contained articles by almost all Ukrainian historians and became the leading journal for Ukrainian humanistic studies.

In addition to the above, there was published a great number of periodical and non-periodical historical works as the "Scientific Review of the Historical Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences," "One Hundred Years," "The Primeval Society," "The Annals of the Historical and Philosophical Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences." The Historical Section published: "Kiev and its District," "Chernyhiv and the North-Eastern Part of Ukraine," "The Magazine of

the Commission of Study of the West," "The Ukrainian Dumy," "The Archaeological Commission edited journal "The Ukrainian Archives," "The Ukrainian Archaeological Magazine," as well as the first volume of the Chronicle of S. Velychko, the Works of Kostomarov, etc. No doubt, the first place belongs to the monumental works of the Academician M. Hrushevsky: his History of Ukraine (vol. 9, Parts 1 and 2, and vol. 10) and his History of Ukrainian Literature. Of great importance were also the works of some of Prof. Hrushevsky's associates as Prof. Alexander Hrushevsky, Prof. Joseph Hermaize, Prof. Pylyp Klymenko, Prof. Vasyl Danylevych, Academician Kost Kharlampovych, Volodymyr Scherbyna, Leonid Dobrovolsky, Catherine Lazarevska, Fedor Savchenko, etc., and of some of his students as Serhiy Shamray, Oleksa Baranovych, Mykola Tkachenko, Victor Yurkevych, etc.

Good work in the history of Ukraine was also done by the *Ukrainian Research Institutes* under the management of Dmytro Bahaly, both at Kiev and Kharkiv. Especially the Social and Economic History of Ukraine of the XVII-XIX centuries published the works of Academician Bahaly, Prof. Alexander Ohloblyn, Prof. Natalie Polonska-Vasylenko, etc. The Department of the Scientific Research of Kharkiv was later changed into an Institute of the History of Ukrainian Culture (the works of Victor Barvinsky, Natalie Mirza-Avakyants, Mykola Horban, Olha Bahaly-Tatarynova, Vasyl Dubrovsky, Anton Kozachenko, Dmytro Solovy, etc.

Odesa became a very prominent center of historico-economic studies through the work of Academician Michael Slabchenko and his students. Historical studies were also carried on at Poltava by Prof. Paul Klepatzky, at Chernyhiv by Paul Fedorenko, at Nizhen by Prof. Mykola Petrovsky and Anatol Yershov, at Dnipropetrovsk by Academician Dmytro Yavornytsky and Prof. Volodymyr Parkhomenko.

Several expeditions were undertaken and many excavations were done by the All-Ukrainian Archaeological Committee of the Academy and of the Kiev Central Museum. Their results appeared in the works of the Academicians Mykola Bilyashevsky as well as in the works of Oleksa Novytsky, Danylo Scherbakivsky, Mykola Makarenko, Fedor Yeryst, Ipolit Morhilevsky, Mikhaylo Rudynsky, Petro Kurinny, Valeria Kozlovska, Stepan Taranushenko, S. Dlozhevsky, S. Hamchenko, Vasyl Lyaskoronsky, Valentin Shuhayevsky, Yevhenia Rudynska, Vasyl Bazylevych, and many others.

Important studies were made and practical work was done in the

field of the knowledge and organization of archives by various research workers as Viktor Romanovsky, Volodymyr Miyakovsky, Vasyl Veretnyykov, Evhen Ivanov, Alexander Ryabynin-Sklyarevsky, Mykola Tyschenko, Vadym Fesenko and others.

Studies in world history were made by Academician Volodyslav Buzeskul, Prof. Oleksa Pokrovsky, Prof. Leonid Berkut and others.

The Philological Department of the Academy and other scientific institutes carried on extensive studies in *Ukrainian philology* and *history of literature* and especially in connection with the life and works of Shevchenko.

Among the authors in these fields were the following: Academicians and Professors Agafangel Krymsky, Serhiy Yefremov, Volodymyr Perets, Yevhen Tymchenko, Vsevolod Hantsov, Mykola Hrunsky, Hryhory Holoskevych, Oleksa Synyavsky, Mykhalo Kalynovych, Olena Kurylo, Serhiy Maslov, Alexander Doroshkevych, Mykhalo Markovsky, Alexander Nazarevsky, Mykola Zerov, Pavlo Fylypovych, Mykhalo Mohylyansky, etc.

Much attention was paid by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences to Oriental studies through the works of A. Krymsky and his students.

In the field of *Ukrainian ethnography and folklore* the works of Andriy Loboda, Victor Petrov, Kost Koperzhynsky, Catherine Hrushevsky, Clemena Kvitka, Vasyl Maslov, and such others, deserve to be mentioned.

The problem of *Ukrainian economics and law* were studied by the social and economic departments of the Academy. Much serious work was done especially of a historical nature and on the present development of Ukrainian agriculture by Kost Vobliv, Andrew Yaroshevich, Evhen Stashevsky, George Kryvchenko, Anton Synyavsky, and others. Leonid Yasnopolsky studied financial law, Michael Ptukha and his students, Ukrainian demography and statistics.

Of special significance was the work done by the Commission for the History of Ruthenian and Ukrainian law by Mykola Vasylenko, Onyky Malynovsky, Mykola Maksymeyko, Lev Okinshevich, Irynych Cherkasky, Valentin Otamansky, and others.

The Soviet occupation presented many obstacles for this normal development of Ukrainian scientific research, especially in the sphere of the humanities, which was soon used for the propagation of Soviet ideology and policy. The Soviet policy was based on these two principles: the complete domination of the Marxist dogmas in the form of Marxism and Leninism, and the complete subservience of all cul-

tural and scientific activities in every Soviet-dominated country to the aims of Russian Bolshevism.

The first principle found its concrete expression in the party views within science and in the idea that the Communist Party can never be mistaken. Later this idea was closely connected with all the statements made by Stalin. The second principle gave birth in the twenties to the idea of "internationalism" within the sphere of science and later on (in 1930-1940) involved the idea of Soviet patriotism, closely bound with the cultural and scientific superiority of the "Great Russian people."

Such principles were altogether contrary to the spirit and traditions of Ukrainian science, and especially the Ukrainian humanities. Freedom of scientific thought and experience, on the one hand, and the Ukrainian national spirit and the nature of the research could never be fitted into the narrow frame of the Soviet system. In spite of all this, Ukrainian humanities continued to progress during the twenties from the impulse given to them during the existence of the Ukrainian State in 1917-1920. This momentum was so strong that it took the Soviets quite a long time to halt it and to make the humanities serve the purposes of the Communist ideology. In this respect the Soviet government met quite a strong opposition. On the one hand, the Ukrainian scholars continued to insist that humanities should retain their freedom and national character, and, on the other hand, the free development of Ukrainian education and research work abroad and in the western lands under Poland forced the Soviets to be less aggressive. All these factors left their mark on the methods employed in the Sovietization of the Ukrainian humanities.

Yet even then the Soviets were not able to take under their control the development of Ukrainian culture and to stop the progress of the Ukrainian humanities. The twelfth convention of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, having announced its policy of Ukrainization in Ukraine (sic!), was a sort of NEP for Ukrainian cultural life. This gave the Ukrainian scientific institutes a respite and a chance to extend their activity until 1930.

The Liquidation of the Ukrainian Universities

The first attack on Ukrainian scientific work began before 1930 with the new educational system, claiming to be Ukrainian, with the

liquidation of the Ukrainian universities (while the universities were left intact in Russia) and the destruction of all the research centers that were connected with the universities which has been founded after 1917. The changing of higher education into mere professional and vocational training gave the Soviets a chance during the twenties to eliminate scientific research work almost entirely from the universities and formally transferred such work to the Academy of Sciences and to the newly created institutes, which were under the control of the People's Commissariat of Education. Simultaneously scientific libraries, laboratories, museums, and similar tools were taken away from the former universities which were changed into "institutes of people's education." In consequence of this isolation of science from the universities, the university education lost its scientific character. The choice and education of new scientific workers were removed from the influence of the scientific institutes and were handed to the Soviet regime and the Communist Party.

Furthermore, all independent scientific societies were liquidated or, in order to save themselves, were forced to join the system of the Academy of Science which, as a central institution, was under the supervision and influence of the Soviet authorities. At the same time the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was subjected to financial difficulties and hardships, and thus found its activity curtailed.

In order to limit the development of Ukrainian independent research activity, especially in the field of the humanities, the Soviets started a parallel system of Marxist research institutes (Institute of Marxism and Leninism at Kharkov, later a similar institute at Kiev, a department of Marxism and Leninism in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev, etc.) Such institutes and the closely affiliated Marxist scientific societies were well supplied with financial means and political immunity, and had almost the official right to control Ukrainian scientific activity both spiritually and politically. These institutes, since they were under the control of the Communist Party, failed to create any scientific values at all, apart from the historical works of Matthew Yavorsky. But they did play a very important part in the liquidation of Ukrainian scientific research and its centers. This system existed till 1935. It was then abolished as something that had no more use, as the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was entirely by then under the control of the Bolsheviks. Besides, the system offered a refuge to too many Communist oppositional elements.

The All-Soviet Attack on Ukrainian Culture

Around 1930 the Russian Communists began an open attack on the Ukrainian researchers, especially in humanities. This was in line with the new Communist policy in Ukraine as shown by the Five Year Plan of industrialization and collectivization and the struggle against Ukrainian nationalism. The Soviet court proceedings in 1929-1930 against the best Ukrainian patriots—scholars and clergymen—suppositively members of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine gave the Soviets a free hand. Prominent representatives of the Ukrainian humanities were condemned in this trial, as Vice President of the Academy S. Yefremov, M. Slabchenko, J. Hermaize, V. Hantsov, and several others.

Some of the condemned were liquidated, others were denied only participation in Ukrainian scientific research. A great number of scientific workers were exiled without any court sentences. The purge of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in connection with the court action against the members of the Union for Liberation of Ukraine also had a negative influence on the development of Ukrainian scientific activity. M. Hrushevsky was exiled to Russia where, in consequence, he died in 1934. Many of his associate were arrested and many of the institutions that were busied with humanistic studies and education were liquidated.

Later on the Soviet attack on the Ukrainian humanistic studies continued in several waves of the so-called "Bolshevist criticism and self-criticism" which rolled over all Ukraine by government order. Such self-criticism transformed itself into mass destruction, not only of scientific concepts and of scientific works, but also of the research centers and of the researchers who were forced, under threat of persecution, to make public "confessions" and self-accusations of all their former activity as "bourgeois and nationalist." They were forced to promise to continue their work on the "basis of Marxism and Leninism," in accord with the directives of the Communist Party, and to subject to "merciless criticism" the scientific ideas of other "bourgeois" scholars, both living and dead. This system of forcing spiritual suicide upon the scholars, employed during the period 1931-1934, to be exact, decided the fate of humanistic studies in the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. They lost their independence and, consequently, any possibility of their further development.

Under such conditons it was not hard for the Soviet regime to give a fatal blow to the Ukrainian research institutions and to destroy all their work. During the period 1930-1935 almost all the research departments and institutions were closed. Even under the guise of reorganization many muşeums were destroyed. The so-called "reorganization" of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (which was renamed then the Academy of the Ukrainian SSR) was really a liquidation of all its humanistic institutions. First the historical and philological departments and the department of social economics were fused in the new Department of Social Economics. In 1933-1934 all the departments of the Academy were abolished. Thus the Academy was transformed into an association of institutions, under the direct control of the Presidium of the Academy, together with the closing of the Historical Department all its very active commissions, were liquidated, as the archaeological commission, the commission on historical geography, the commission on the social and economic history of Ukraine, the commission on the Western Ruthenian and Ukrainian law, the commission on ethnography, etc. Almost all the humanistic institutes were liquidated in November, 1934, and all those who worked in them were excluded from the work of the Academy. Only the institute of philology and of the history of material culture were left to vegetate at the Academy. All other humanistic studies were handed over to the institutes of Marxism and Leninism.

In consequence of the liquidation of the research institutes the publication of scientific works came to an end. Whole series of scholarly works that had already been published were suppressed, and even more works which were ready for publication were never published and in most cases lost for ever. Among these were a Review of the Historical Section "Southern Ukraine," "Ukrainian Dumy" (Kozak ballads) vol. 2, "The Last One Hundred Years" vol. VII, the second volume of the works by the Commission on the social and economic history of Ukraine, the seventh volume of the Commission on the history of the Western Ruthenian and Ukrainian law, a series of works by Acad. D. Bahaliy, the fourth volume of "The Ukrainian Archaeographical Review," "General Court Proceedings against the Poltava Regiment in 1729," "Works of the Historico-Economical Expedition to Polissya in 1932," a collection of the Magdeburg Law Permits issued to Ukrainian cities and towns in the XVI-XVIII centuries, and many other valuable works and publications.

The Liquidation of Ukrainian Scholars

The final stage in the destruction of the Ukrainian humanities was the physical liquidation of the prominent Ukrainian scholars during a new wave of Bolshevik terror in 1937-1938 (the terror known as "Yezhovshchina"). A long list of historians, philologists, specialists in literature, economists, jurists, etc., from the older and the younger generations, even some of those who had conformed to the Communist demands, were removed from the institutes and many were arrested, exiled, shot or tortured to death during the court proceedings. Others died in exile. The reading of their books was strictly prohibited, their books and manuscripts were destroyed, and even the very mention of their names exclude from bibliographies.

This policy of the all-inclusive destruction of the Ukrainian so-called "bourgeois nationalist" studies ended in a fiasco. It created a perilous vacuum which was contrary to the political expectations of the Soviets. The main aim of the Soviets was not merely to destroy the independent "bourgeois science, but chiefly to create a new "Soviet" science that would be altogether subservient to the Communist party and ready to serve the Soviet-Russian aims. For that purpose towards the thirties they created new scientific institutes (especially a whole series of humanistic institutes within the system of the Academy of Sciences) and staffed them with a few qualified men of science who were ready to serve the Soviets. Being under strict party guidance and being told in advance to act in accord with the Soviet "actual" themes, ideology and even phraseology, their duty was to abide strictly by "the calendar-made plans" and to work diligently and devoutly for the good of the "Soviet fatherland" and for the sake of the Communist world revolution.

*Soviet-Russian Patriotism takes the place of the Ukrainian
Bourgeois Nationalism*

This "scientific" activity, guided by the principles of the so-called "Marxist-Leninist methodology," rested on the idea that "the Great Russian people" had always been the leader in every branch of social life—in politics, economics, and culture, at all times of the existence of Russian nation and within all the territories of the USSR. After the recent war there emerged again the Communist idea of Moscow's messianic world leadership. The idea of "Soviet patriotism," in other words, the Soviet hegemony of the Russian nation gradually permeated

all branches of Soviet public life—education, culture, science, and especially the humanistic studies. This idea, as applied to Ukraine, proved to be the very basis of Moscow's policy of centralization during the tsarist and Soviet regimes and as the final negation of Ukrainian national interests, characteristics and traditions. Ukrainian humanistic studies, made subservient to this All-Russian idea and subjected externally and internally to Russification, and with no contact with the European world of science, lost their Ukrainian character and their scholarly significance.

It was but natural that the results of the research work in Ukraine in the thirties, especially during the period of 1935-1940, were very meagre. Every phase of research had to treat its theme from the viewpoint of Marxism and Leninism and in agreement with the interests, viewpoints and directives of the "party and government" which frequently changed form and lacked consistency, even in respect to the Marxist doctrines. In the historical studies there was a prepared framework dividing the development of mankind into two periods: the pre-socialist period, a sort of pre-historic period covering the ages before the "proletarian revolution" and the socialist period, starting with the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, and into several "formations": pre-feudal, feudal, capitalist, and socialist. Especially in Ukrainian history there was constantly emphasized false statements that there had been a continued and very intimate tie between the history of Ukraine and the history of "the great and brotherly Russian people," from times immemorial. The whole history of Ukraine was rewritten to conform with Muscovite imperialistic ideas. The entire past of Ukraine, the history of the Ukrainian nation, of Ukrainian national culture and of the national struggle of the Ukrainians for independence against Russian domination were substantially destroyed. This was the form which the Russian historical tradition forced upon Soviet Ukraine and substituted the fig-leaf of the anti-Polish idea as the only and all-embracing symbol of the oppression of the Ukrainian people.¹

The same change took place in the history of Ukrainian literature. It was prohibited to study and publish works of those authors, even if they had long been dead, who were not recognized by the Soviets.

Philology was forced to conform to two basic demands: the recognition of the dogmatic philological theories of Professor Marr, and of the fact that there was a very close and intimate relationship between

¹ EDITOR'S NOTE. Ukrainian historians under the Soviets were often terrorized into introducing into their works opinions violently opposed to their own convictions.

Russian and Ukrainian. The second detrimental demand tampered with Ukrainian vocabulary and spelling, which underwent in the thirties a strong policy of Russification.

The studies in economics were purged of all questions of the theories of economics and of the history of economy. The applied economics limited itself to mere descriptions of some of the branches of the Soviet economics.

The same happened with the studies of law. One could study only the Soviet jurisprudence and some of the problems of Russian law.

Only in the field of Ukrainian archaeology one can point to some outstanding successes. These were the results of several archaeological expeditions made by the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (paleolithic discoveries, studies of the Trypillian culture studies at Olbia, and studies of the city-sites of the Period of the Princes and of the Kievan discoveries). But even these concerned the excavations rather than a systematic study of the discoveries.

There was some temporary relief for Ukrainian humanistic studies in 1939-1940. For a while the ruthless process of Sovietization and Russification of the Ukrainian scholarly activities was somewhat retarded. The range of interests allowed to scientific research was to some degree enlarged (especially in the fields of history and of the history of literature, also archaeology and ethnography), but still limited by the rules of the official ideology and vocabulary. The temporary unification of the Western Ukrainian territories in 1939-1940 served as a stimulus to Ukrainian humanistic studies. The frequent trips of Ukrainian scholars from the western territories to Kiev and from the eastern provinces to Lviv, their acquaintance with the free Ukrainian scientific works, and the fact that both the eastern and the western Ukrainian researchers could work together—helped them to combat successfully the process of Russification in the scientific activity in Ukraine. This respite continued also during the war, for the authorities tried their best not to irritate the Ukrainians during the war emergency.

This relief lasted only for a while. After the war the Soviet-Russian ideology started its pressure in Ukraine again. The ranks of Ukrainian historians, linguists, and authors were thinned again by frequent purges. The Ukrainian humanities began to feel again the weight of the Russians playing the part of the "older brother" among the enslaved peoples.

THE POETIC AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF "THE TALE OF PRINCE IHOR'S CAMPAIGN"

By SVIATOSLAV HORDYNSKY

IN the year 1185 Prince Ihor of Novhorod Siversky¹ and his brother Prince Vsevolod, the "Auroch," the sons of Prince Sviatoslav, with two other young princes set out on a campaign against the nomadic



BOHDAN MUKHYN: PRINCE IHOR (clay)

tribe of the Polovtses (Cumanians). After the first victory, Ihor was surrounded and defeated by the enemy forces, which greatly outnumbered his own, and was taken captive with his young son. He later escaped.

This historical episode is the subject of the superb epic poem "The Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign," the most important monument

¹ *Ihor*—is the correct transcription and pronunciation of the name. The Russians do not have the sound "h", but pronounce the Ukrainian "h" as "g" and thus change the name to Igor. Novhorod Siversky in northern Ukraine should not be confused with the Great Novgorod near Leningrad.

of ancient Ukrainian literature, dating from the golden era of the Kiev state in the X-XII centuries.

The work was written immediately after the campaign between 1185-7. The only known manuscript of the epic, made probably in the XVI century, was destroyed by fire in 1812, and the fundamental printed text is the edition of 1800. It is very probable that the editor did not decipher some of the words correctly, or the manuscript was not too good, for there are still many unclear and confused passages in the text; the numerous studies and commentaries on these controversial points would fill a library. The great poetic power and the idea of patriotism and courage, so forcefully expressed in this epic, have always been a source of inspiration and enthusiasm. This idea gives the poem its profound political significance and it illustrates perfectly the entire century-old fate of ancient Ukraine on the crossroads between Asia and Europe. The fundamental idea of the poem: "*For the Ruthenian land and the wounds of Ihor,*" has not only rung through the ages with undiminished power, but today it has acquired a unique historical significance.

That monstrous incubator of nations and tribes which is Asia, threatened for ages the territory of the lower Dnieper. In the south the Crusaders checked Mohammedan aggression, and a very similar process took place in Ukraine against the Turkic tribes. The state of Kiev was born and grew strong in the perpetual strife against the pressure of the East; it overcame some of the tribes, as the Khasars and the Pechenihs, but new hordes kept coming from the East. After the death of the Great Prince Volodymyr Monomakh (1125), a struggle began between the numerous claimants to the principal throne of Kiev and the possession of the various provinces. The strife involved the former northern dependencies of Kiev even though the rulers of these, though dynastically connected with the princes of Kiev, had rebelled against the sovereignty of Kiev and were laying the foundations of their own new state, Suzdal and later Moscow. The battle between the two dynasties of Kiev, the Olehovychi and the Monomakhovychi, recalls the similar conflict between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. This internal conflict gave a good opportunity to the eastern hordes to attack the territory of Ukraine. Prince Sviatoslav of Kiev did all in his power to form a coalition of princes in order to defend the state, and he succeeded in 1181. It is this coalition for the defense of the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) land that offered the leading theme of the "*Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign,*" and the theory of some scholars that Prince

Sviatoslav was the main inspirer of the epic is justified and correct. The author bids Sviatoslav to urge the princes with ardent words to an organized defense. This is the climax of the poem, particularly the appeal to Prince Yaroslav the Eight-sensed, the ruler of the still powerful Galicia, and the ally of the German Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in his Crusades:

O, Yaroslav the Eight-sensed of
Galicia,
Thou sittest on high
Upon thy gilded throne.
With thy iron hosts
Hast thou supported the Hun-
garian mountains,
Barring the path of the king.
The gates of the Danube hast thou
closed
Hurling loads over the clouds.
Thy judgment reacheth the

Danube,
Thy threats thunder through the
lands,
Thou dost open the gates of Kiev.
From thy father's golden throne
Smitest thou with thine arrows
The sultans beyond the seas.
Send thy arrow, o Sire, at Konchak,
The infidel vile,
For the Ruthenian land
And the wounds of Ihor,
Sviatoslav's daring son.

Notwithstanding the deeply political and even propagandist contents of the Tale, it is above all a poetical work. That is, all the political motifs are phrased in a purely poetic form with a tremendous power of expression and a superb ability of creating poetic images. The author gives a faithful portrayal of every prince with the help of but a few strokes, and he achieves poetic heights in his picturing the influence that the powers of nature have on human fate. Here the author created his own cosmogonic world, he called up all the good and evil spirits, and commanded the animal and plant world to take part in the events. It may be said that nature participates in the action of the epic to the same extent as do its historical characters. The fact that the Christian world is secondary to the old pagan world, which was still deeply rooted in the beliefs of the people, gives the poem a peculiar charm and a weird power. Hence comes all that is fantastic, mythical, awesome, disturbing and subconscious in the human psyche, and this will always be the most important element in poetry. This dualism of beliefs is characteristic of the whole work, as it was typical of the time. Let us recall the fact that in the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev, dedicated to the Divine Wisdom, the stairways of both towers, decorated in the XI-XII centuries, are covered with frescoes depicting not only religious and secular and even clearly pagan themes: scenes of dances, the circus, musicians etc., which were sharply condemned by the Church. The fantastic beasts, griffins, winged lions, serpents,

wolves and hawks, may serve as a good illustration of the imaginary world of myth from which arose the "Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign," and the image of the winged demon of evil, Dyv, that prophesies disaster from the top of a tree, is unconsciously associated with the griffin, which already in the Scythian era was an object of a special totem cult on the territory of Ukraine.

The Tale of Prince Ihor is the last echo of the vanished pagan world, and those subconscious voices coming from the very bottom of the soul, shrieking, wailing and whining with the sinister cries of personified nature, still sound from the historical depths in Ukraine as the boundary between West and East, in the chaos of races and tribes, where the warrior is compelled not only to defeat his enemy, but to fight his destiny as well. It is the destiny of the constant menace to his life in this immense and troubled territory—and the fear of Asia. Not the Asia that created one of the oldest and greatest civilizations and religions of mankind, but rather the terrible biological force that drives on blindly the wild hordes, trampling and ruining all in its way. The author calls this force the Steppe, and he feels it with extraordinary power. Today we are aware of the strange phenomenon, that contemporary Ukrainian poetry, in the works of its best representatives, rings with the same disquieting echoes, and to them the Tale of Ihor is like a tremendous membrane, through which the past sounds more clearly and deeply. This is easily understood: the old and the new poetry grew in the same climate. In the turmoil of the last national revolution, the ideas of Tale of Ihor became contemporary once more, when according to the words of the poem the descendants of the ancient princes "barred the steppes with their shields." At the time of the compulsory collectivization, which was a cosmic cataclysm to the peasant with his century old traditions, he saw all the demons of the Tale rising again; they howled at him from every tree, and in the spasms of starvation the sun again darkened before his dying eyes. The successful escape of Ihor from captivity, with the aid of all the good forces of nature, took on a new meaning: there was something of the magic of a fairy tale in it, for all those who were prisoners in Siberian exile.

All those who study the "Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign" will always be fascinated by the enigma of the author's identity. All, that till now has been said about him, is hypothetical. Bard and warrior, patriot and statesman, but above all a poet, he drew his inspiration

from the rich treasury of folklore, and this rendered his work exceptional and different from all the other literary works of his contemporaries. He is the direct heir of the oral school of Boyan, the great minstrel of the state for Kiev. That is why the study of "The Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign" has been directed from the beginning toward its organic source, Ukrainian oral poetry. Already in 1833 the Ukrainian scholar M. Maksymovych indicated this source, and to him the Tale is the "beginning of Ukrainian poetry, which is continually repeated in the *dumas* of the bandurists and in Ukrainian folksongs." Nevertheless it is not purely a work of oral poetry, and Maksymovych justly remarked that the bard proceeded from oral to literary (written) poetry, and not vice versa. This excellent remark is worthy of special attention, for a similar poetical phenomenon is evident in Shevchenko, a poet very closely related in his poetic structure, to the author of Prince Ihor's Tale, and who is the only one that can be fairly placed beside the unknown bard. Shevchenko's works also grew out of oral poetry, and developed in the literary (classical) direction. Thus Prince Ihor's Tale came to being, so to say, in the national poetic climate, and in this work not only the direct elements of Ukrainian language may be found, but also many poetic images, expressions, forms and rhythms, typical of Ukrainian oral poetry, from the oldest times to the present. But, as we have said, the author strove in the direction of the literary language, which at the time was the so-called Church Slavonic. This caused many typically Ukrainian words to be merged with the Church Slavonic, and this gives the work its unique and archaic charm.

The national element of the language is still so pronounced, that today we may venture to point out from what region of Ukraine the author came. The bard of the Tale of Prince Ihor, was undoubtedly a person to whom the world of Western knighthood was not foreign, this in itself is not strange, if one takes into consideration the extensive dynastic connections of the princes of Kiev with Western Europe. It is this motive of knighthood that closely binds the work with others of its type in Western literature. There is an undeniable spiritual affinity between them. It is close to the contemporary ideals of the West,— to the Crusading knight's attitude toward the "heathens," and such knightly virtues as fighting in the name of honor and glory: the warriors of Ihor were "*seeking honor for themselves and glory for their prince.*" It was just this idealistic understanding of honor, that was typical of the Ukrainian knights, and a Russian scholar, G. P. Fedotow,

has been unable to find it in the Muscovite society, where "honor" was understood solely as social dignity, determined by the state rank. All this indicates that the Tale of Prince Ihor is a work in the spirit common to Western Europe, both in its ideas and its form.

In 1854 the Russian scientist Senkovsky, after studying the contents and the "unusual and vague" language of the work, came to the conclusion that it was written in the XVIII century in the Academy of Lviv. He miscalculated the date, but there seems to be no doubt today that the author really did come from the western portion of Ukraine. The similarity of style and language of the Tale to the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle, and the presence of many words and forms that still exist only in the Carpathian regions of Ukraine, together with the oldest specimens of folk architecture, art and poetry—have attracted the attention of the scientists. The Ukrainian scholars became aware of the fact long ago, and today the Russians are also inclined to admit it. For example, the Academician A. S. Orlov in his newest critical work on the Ihor's Tale, published by the Russian Academy of Science in Moscow, in 1946, after studying all the sources and arguments, came to the conviction that it must have been created in western Ukraine. He writes that no matter whether the dialect, in which this work was written—was Ukrainian or White-Ruthenian—"it is a fact that this dialect was rooted in the territories of Galicia and Volhynia, as these regions were adjacent, politically allied and for a long time under the influence of West Slavonic culture. It is not for nothing that the Galician Prince Yaroslav is mentioned in the Tale with such respect, and not in vain does his daughter Yaroslavna mention the Danube, the gates of which her father closed, and to the banks of which his power reached, where sang the virgins, and not in vain are Moravia and the peoples of the Carpathian Tatras mentioned. This seems to lead up to the conclusion that the bard was from Galician territory, and accompanied Yaroslavna in her journey to the court of her husband (Prince Ihor) . . ."

Here we must make a small digression as to why we quote a recent Russian and not a Ukrainian scholar. We find a curious fact: at the very time when a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences proves that "The Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign" was the work of an author of Western Ukrainian heritage, such a well known Ukrainian scholar as Professor M. Hrunsky of Kiev, is allowed to write about it solely as a work of Russo-Muscovite literature. In his forward to the translation of the poem from the old Ukrainian language into the modern, made

by Maxym Rylsky, the unfortunate professor was compelled to add apologetically, that if the author wrote the Tale today, he would regard it as his first duty to honor "the beloved friend and the great teacher"—Stalin . . . As the original author failed to do this, another modern poet, Natalia Zabyla, in her newest translation, obligingly supplemented the text of the Lay with a song of praise to the "silverwinged eagle"—Stalin. We can imagine the "Chanson de Roland," with an honorary mention of the "eagle" Hitler, published by a State Publishing House . . . We think that these two examples sufficiently prove, that in the present conditions prevailing in Ukraine, all scientific research on the subject of Prince Ihor's Tale, is impossible, when attempted by Ukrainian scientists in their homeland.

The fact that many scholars did not take into consideration the Ukrainian elements of the Tale, but preferred to seek analogies in later Russian literature, has often been not only a waste of time and energy, but has caused amusing misunderstandings. Let us take, for example, the recent work of another member of the Russian Academy, S. P. Obnorsky, on the ancient Russian language. He attempts to identify the old Ukrainian language of the Tale with the Russian, although he himself admits that the poem was written on Ukrainian territory. Here, for instance, he comes across the word "*ochyma*" (with the eyes), but not being able to find anything similar in the Russian language, because the Russian word for "eye" is "*glaz*," he begins to speculate on the possible Bulgarian origin of this word . . . But he does not take into consideration that the word "*ochyma*" is still used to this day in the same form, in the contemporary Ukrainian language, as it was 800 years ago, and therefore there is no problem at all.

But there are other words, which really have the fascination of a detective story. Such a word is, for example, the nominative national form "*Rusych*" (the Ruthenian). Writing about this word in the *Revue des Études Slaves* (1938), Boris Unbegaun remarks: "The more one thinks about this word, the more obscure it seems." He even regards it as a "neologism of the author, unnecessary and fantastic."—This is another misunderstanding. This scholar tries to find the origin of the word in the Russian language, which has only the adjective form for the indication of the Russian nationality, but no nominal form—with the exception of the word "*Rossiyanin*," which originated in the XVII century, and was used almost exclusively in state documents. On the other hand the more the Ukrainian scholar thinks about this word, the clearer it becomes to him, for it is in perfect conformity with the

spirit of the Ukrainian language. He takes into consideration the following facts: 1) the nominative "Rusyn," used by the Ukrainians in Galicia as late as the end of the XIX century; 2) the fact that the oldest towns in Galicia, from the time of the princes, have just that ending "ych": Halych, Urych, Ivanych and many others; 3) that in many Galician folksongs, from the same era are repeatedly mentioned "700 handsome youths from Halych," called the "Rusovychi" and the "master Rusovych," also from Halych.—After studying these facts the Ukrainian scholar does not regard the word "Rusych" as an "unnecessary and fantastic neologism," but an old and later deformed word, which nevertheless did exist, and means the "son of Rus," just as "Sviatoslavych" means the "son of Sviatoslav." The essence of the whole problem is the folly of searching for the sources of a literary work where they do not exist.

Here we come to a different matter: how is it possible that a literary work, which the Russian scholars themselves regard as having originated in Western Ukraine, (which, let us add, up to 1939 never was under Russian domination) —is at the same time glorified as the pride of Russian literature, and that the majority of the studies about this work, as well as translations, are written in the Russian language? We can only shrug our shoulders: it is a question of the moral right of a nation to regard the work of the genius of another people, originating on foreign territory, as its own. The works of universal literature (and such is "The Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign") can not be copyrighted. The works of Homer were and still are something of a handbook in Germany, and have been published more frequently there than in Greece. There is nothing strange in this; but it does seem peculiar, to say the least, when such a German philosopher as Hans Guenther, argues that the Greeks, who fought at Troy, were people of the Germanic race, because they were noted for their heroism, and heroism is typical only of the Germanic race . . . Russia received her culture, religion and literature, (more precisely: the written literature in Church Slavonic, for she has her own oral literature) by way of Kiev, and thus the entire written literature of Kiev became a part of Russian literature as well.

It is unnecessary and illogical to deny this fact—and those Ukrainian writers, who do this, diminish the significance of Kiev as the Athens of the East.—But it is quite a different matter when, as if following the direction of Guenther, Russian authors attempt to use the patriotic ideals of the Tale of Prince Ihor in order to prove the unity of the later Muscovite Empire. Between the ancient Kiev state and its north-

ern dependencies only a dynastic connection existed, and the Chronicle of Kiev does not regard Suzdal or Novgorod as Rus, while Prince Andrey of Suzdal calls the merchants of Kiev foreigners.² Suzdal and Vladimir on the Klazma River, had separated themselves long before from Kiev, and the princes of Suzdal besieged and pillaged Kiev, not in order to rule from there, as a central throne, but to subdue it and thus eliminate a political rival. In one word, this was the beginning of the normal decline of a feudal empire of that time, and its disintegration into separate national states. Prince Svyatoslav in an appeal with real pathos calls upon Prince Vsevolod Yurievich of Suzdal, but he addresses the latter only as a member of the dynasty and does not expect him to fight for the Ruthenian land and the wounds of Ihor, as he bids all the other Ukrainian and White Ruthenian princes to do; he merely promises Prince Vsevolod a rich booty in slaves. The reason why Svyatoslav calls on Vsevolod, who was the greatest opponent of the coalition of princes, and notorious for his intrigues, is the diplomatic secret of the author. In any case the bard did it superbly; apparently he reproached Prince Vsevolod, asking him "if he does not intend to fly from afar to guard the throne of his father?" It would have been rather awkward to call on him directly to take part in the campaign against the Polovtses, because they were often his allies, and his own mother was a Polovtsian. Prince Svyatoslav's appeal to defend the Ruthenian land concerns only the state of Kiev, and the state alone did the author have in mind. Even if one wishes to believe that in speaking of the Ruthenian land he was thinking of it in terms of the entire former Empire of Monomakh, with all its northern provinces and dependancies, one can not very well dispute the fact that the author regarded Kiev alone as the metropolis of this Empire.

"The Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign," an epic in which pure poetry is masterfully combined with political ideas, is still a living work. While the ideals of the "Chanson de Roland" or the Eddas are now only historical reminiscence, those of Prince Ihor's Tale have retained their freshness and current reality to the present. They touch the problem not only of Ukraine but of the whole of Europe in their relations with the East. We can not forget that from the very beginnings of European history, the eastern boundaries of Ukraine were simultaneously the eastern boundaries of Europe, and they were always defended by the swords of Ukraine.

² See "The Meaning of "Russia" and "Ukraine" by N. D. Chubaty, *The Ukrainian Quarterly* Vol. I. p. 359.

THE JUBILEUM OF THE SHEVCHENKO
SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY
(1873—1948)

By CLARENCE A. MANNING

THE Shevchenko Scientific Society is now celebrating its seventy-fifth anniversary. This is an event which is important not only to all Ukrainians but to the entire world of scholarship. For three quarters of a century since its foundation in 1873, it has been the outstanding centre for all Ukrainian scientific and scholarly work and it is a striking demonstration of the present condition of the Ukrainian people that their best known society with members throughout the world is prevented from marking its anniversary in the city of Lviv where it was established or in any of the Ukrainian lands.

The inspiration that brought into being the Shevchenko Society as it was first called was not a chance product of a group of enthusiasts. To-day after the destruction of two World Wars, we are often tempted to overlook the great advances in scholarship that were made in the nineteenth century. All over Europe and especially in the Slav lands there came a new spirit of interest in the cultures, languages and literatures of the various peoples of the world as well as in pure science. The usual form was the establishment of an Academy under the control of and with the support of some government or province. In quick succession there were founded various Maticas, learned societies, and other organizations which aimed to concentrate and encourage scientific research and publication. In 1873 the same year in which the Shevchenko Society was established, there was founded in Krakow the Polish Academy of Science and at about the same time there were similar institutions set up in Zagreb, in Belgrade, and a little later in Sofia. The whole of Europe was eager to share in the new development of the sciences with all that it promised for humanity.

It was hopeless at the time for the Ukrainians to dream of any governmental support for their activities. It was only thirty years since the death of Shashkevych, the first man to call for the development of a modern Ukrainian literature in Western Ukraine. It was only twelve years since the death of Taras Shevchenko. Yet in that short space of time there had come the prohibition by the Imperial Russian government of all publications in Ukrainian. Russian censorship was making

it impossible for authors and scholars to work freely in eastern Ukraine and there was a continuous stream of poets, of novelists, and of publicists to the more hospitable Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was already obvious that it was in Western Ukraine and in the city of Lviv that Ukrainian culture would find the most favorable soil for its development and flowering.

Even there all was not in order. There were still bitter disputes between the older and the younger generation. There were still acrimonious quarrels over the form of language that was to be used. There was still a large majority of the Ukrainian population that was not aware of its own national identity. Still the atmosphere in Lviv was so much more favorable than in Kiev that it seemed the logical centre for serious Ukrainian cultural activity.

Yet the Shevchenko Society did not find progress easy. Its founders had dreamed of establishing a printing press and of carrying on educational work but who was going to support it? Money came in very slowly. There were only a few men in Galicia who had either the means or the inclination to work for the ideal. Some money arrived from eastern Ukraine and later on from his place of voluntary exile in Geneva, Switzerland, Michael Drahomaniv succeeded in raising still more money, but it was almost ten years before the Society could feel itself in a position to undertake serious work.

In 1892 the name of the Society was changed to the Scientific Society, as it gradually increased its prestige by the publication of serious works of scholarship.

Along with this last change came the definite attempt to model the Society after the Academies maintained throughout Europe and in a very short time it included among its members not only the leading Ukrainian scholars from all parts of the country but a carefully selected list of distinguished foreigners chosen either for their contributions to the study of Ukraine and its culture or for other researches which the Society wished to recognize.

During this early period the Society was fortunate in counting as its President for many years the great Ukrainian historian Michael Hrushevsky. His energy, scholarship, and productivity set the standard for the Society and did much to enhance its reputation both at home and abroad. Similarly for many years Ivan Franko, the distinguished poet, writer and journalist was another active member. Later, when his health began to fail, the Society voted him a yearly pension and at

the time of his death in 1916 arranged for him a truly gigantic funeral as a last tribute to one of their great members. It would take too long to review all the other prominent members including Archbishop Andrey Sheptytsky, the Greek Catholic Archbishop of Lviv and the head of the Ukrainian Catholics of the Byzantine Rite for nearly a half century.

Very early in its existence as an Academy for the Ukrainian people, the Shevchenko Scientific Society was divided into various sections. At first these were the historical-philosophical section, the philological section and the section for the natural sciences and to these since the first World War were added a division dealing with the Ukrainian Archives and another to handle matters of Ukrainian bibliography. In addition to these sections, the Society appointed a series of commissions which were increased from time to time to meet special needs of Ukrainian scholarship. These came finally to include an Archaeological Commission which excavated many sites in Western Ukraine, a Statistical Commission, a Legal Commission, an Ethnographical Commission, a Bibliographical Commission, a Physiographical Commission, a Geographical Commission and a Commission for the study of Shevchenko.

These sections and commissions as well as the Society as a whole showed a remarkable productivity for by the time of the Second World War they had produced over 600 volumes of scientific studies in various fields and these were exchanged with some 224 foreign scientific institutions and universities in 28 different countries. It was a record of which the Society could well be proud in view of the fact that it was dependent upon its own funds and upon donations from private individuals and societies for its support.

In addition to this work, the Society built up a library of over 300,000 books and about 1500 manuscripts. It also established and cared for three museums of Ukrainian culture, a natural history museum and a museum of war monuments. In short there was hardly a serious aspect of Ukrainian life and history which was not touched in some way or other by the Shevchenko Scientific Society which proved itself the central point for all studies of the past and present of Ukraine.

Besides these formal publications of the Society, it developed and encouraged by itself and through its members the publication of all kinds of serious literature and periodicals in Western Ukraine. Thus

in the nineties it inspired the foundation of the Literary and Scientific Messenger, a serious journal which in 1907 was moved to Kiev when Professor Hrushevsky journeyed of a part of each year. This was only one of the many enterprises that it sponsored, for it maintained close connections with all the many Ukrainian societies as medical, publishing, legal, etc.

It would be pleasant to record that such a Society with its manifold activities could expand and develop in an atmosphere of peace and prosperity but peace was far absent from the ancient city of Lviv. During the regime of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, it was relatively little bothered by the actions of the government. It enjoyed a benevolent indifference from Vienna and it was not expedient for the Polish officials of the province of Galicia to make it too much trouble or to interfere too much with its work.

From the moment of the outbreak of World War I, the situation entirely changed. Soon after the outbreak of the War, the Russian armies invaded Galicia and during the winter of 1914-1915 occupied the city of Lviv. Needless to say that they did a great deal of damage to the collections of the Society, for they removed to Russia a considerable amount of valuable material. When they were forced to retreat, the Society resumed its activities but of course on a somewhat smaller scale.

With the collapse of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, more trouble came upon the Society. The Ukrainians declared the independence of the Republic of Western Ukraine but they were unable to hold their capital city which was soon seized by the Poles who were intent upon proving the Polish character of Lviv. During the next years when ill feeling between the dominant Poles and Ukrainians were at its height, the buildings of the Society were bombed and still more damage was done.

Part of these could be replaced but the collapse of the Polish currency in 1922 and 1924 before the introduction of the gold zloty carried away large part of the capital of the Society and for a number of years seriously restricted its activities. In fact the Shevchenko Scientific Society was hardly able to recover from this financial blow, but it continued its almost incredible amount of work.

Polish domination found other ways of hampering it. For example, the Society was refused permission to erect a monument of Shevchenko on the square in front of its main building. In addition to this, in an endeavor to foster a different spirit among the Ukrainians and to

separate them from Lviv which was a strong nationalist centre, there was established a Ukrainian Scientific Institute with Polish government support in Warsaw. This did much good work but it did not succeed, as the Poles hoped, in throwing into the background the older Society which had been established by the efforts of the Ukrainians themselves and which had counted among its members most of the distinguished Ukrainians of the past half century.

Some of the members of the Society accepted positions in the early years after the War with the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences at Kiev, which was under Soviet control and that institution conferred honorary membership upon many of the other members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. This aroused high hopes in some quarters that there might be an effective collaboration between the two institutions but this hope was shortlived, for as soon as the maximum number of Ukrainians had been enticed to Kiev, the axe fell upon all non-Communist Ukrainian scholarship in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. There came a mass of arrests and executions and by 1932 Ukrainian scholarship in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic was practically annihilated while the Academy was degraded to being a mere Ukrainian Section of the All-Union Academy of Sciences and was largely staffed with Great Russians and people of other nationalities. All communications were severed between the Academy and its members in Lviv and elsewhere and these were summarily dropped. All this only increased the responsibility of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and imposed upon it heavier tasks.

With the opening of World War II, the work of the Society stopped. In September, 1939, the Germans invaded Poland and occupied Lviv but in a few days they withdrew and handed the city over to the tender mercies of the Soviets. The Soviet authorities at once disbanded the Society and began to reorganize it as part of the Ukrainian Branch of the territorial Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Kiev. The Historical Section was divided into a Historical and an Archaeological Section and all work in them was directly controlled by the parent organization in Kiev.

At the same time the museums that had been established by the Shevchenko Society were broken up. Part of the material was carried to Kiev and the rest was grouped with similar museums which had been established by the Poles. In this way the collections lost their real identity and the property of the Society was made more difficult to recover.

In 1941 as a result of the outbreak of the war between the Germans and the Soviets, the German army once again occupied Lviv. Before their departure the Soviets had attempted to move some of the collections and part of the personnel including former members of the Society to the east but they did not have time to carry out their plans fully. With the German occupation there was another attempt to revive the Shevchenko Scientific Society but the undertaking was not approved by the German authorities which were now content to close many of the institutions that had somehow managed to exist through the Soviet period. They made no attempts to restore any of the property or the collections and libraries to the original owners but they assumed—the legality of the Soviet confiscations and claimed the material and money as German booty. Thus while there was some informal work, the Society was not formally revived during the three years of the German occupation.

In 1944 the Germans were again forced to retreat and the Soviet army again reentered the city. Before their advance all the Ukrainian scholars who could do so retired to the west, first to Poland and then to Germany. The German armies also carried back with them a great deal of the valuable material that they found in the museums and libraries. Some of the more important items had been sent to Germany at an earlier date, so that the property of the Society was still more widely scattered. For their part the Soviets continued the same policy as before but this time they were more sure of their ground and they deported more readily any scholars on whom they were able to lay their hands. In this way the main part of the personnel of the Shevchenko Society were even more widely scattered. Part of the collections that had reached Germany were again turned over by the Western Allies to the Soviets and again a large part of this was destroyed or disappeared completely.

It was remarkable that of the members of the Society after all these ravagings, some 52 members were located in the parts of Germany and of Austria that were under the control of the Western Allies or in other Western countries. These included the President of the Society, Professor Ivan Rakovsky, and almost a majority of the members at the opening of the War.

There was thus offered the Society the possibility of reforming in the emigration and at a meeting held in Munich on March 30, 1947, it was decided to do this. Thus after eight years of dissolution, the Shevchenko Scientific Society was able to reorganize and to resume some of

its activities. Yet conditions for active work were very bad. The Society had no library and was compelled to use only the material that was at hand in Germany or some works that the members had been able to salvage from their own libraries, before they left Ukraine.

Nevertheless the members were not discouraged and in a short time they were able to recreate almost all the sections and commissions that had been in existence at the time of the dissolution of the Society. These were able to resume their meetings chiefly at and around Munich and during the past year the Society has been able to show a very considerable activity in preparation for the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of its foundation. Many of the members had been able to bring with them manuscripts for publication but because of the difficult conditions of life among the displaced persons and in the various camps where they were located, it has been very difficult to secure the necessary funds, permissions for printing, and paper. As it is, however, the Society has been able to publish two volumes 156-157 of its *Memoirs*, a treatise on the Ukrainian Military Nobility in the 17th and 18th centuries by Prof. Lev. Okinshevych, which finally appeared in 1948, the first publication to be formally issued by the Society in ten years since the outbreak of World War II. And it has commenced a periodical, *Syohochasne i Minule*, (The Present and the Past).

Some of the members, even those who had escaped from Ukraine, have since died and the Society has selected a number of active and corresponding members from among the Ukrainian scholars who are in the emigration and especially in the Ukrainian Free University which was moved from Prague to Munich at the time of the beginning of the growth of Soviet influence in Czechoslovakia.

A more ambitious plan has been the formation of a branch in the United States to which several of the members have moved during and since the war. It bids fair to be an important part of the Society in the future in view of the probability that a considerable part of the members now in Europe will ultimately find new homes in some of the countries in the New World, where there is already a large population of Ukrainian origin.

There are still enormous problems confronting the Society in its attempt to renew its activities in a foreign land and after the desolation and ruin of a world war. There are questions of personnel, of libraries and of materials, and even more important of funds for supporting the work of publication. Many of these seem almost insolvable and in addition to these there is the task of organizing around the

Society as the oldest and best known Ukrainian institution the various groups and organizations that have sprung up under the varying conditions of emigré existence.

Yet the important factor is that once again the Shevchenko Scientific Society has been recalled to life and is able once again to serve as a rallying point for the Ukrainian cultural movements. These are impossible at home under the conditions of Soviet reality and amid the stress and strain of the condition of the near war which the Ukrainians are still waging against the Soviet invaders. Just as the ordinary political groupings are beginning to find their voice, so the cultural revival which has far surpassed anything that we might expect is finding its mouthpiece where it was for three quarters of a century in the oldest of all the Ukrainian cultural and scientific societies. Once more the Society is becoming able to speak for Ukrainian science and research. It is beginning again to attract the attention of scholars and from its modest revival we can expect a steadily increasing amount of information and real study on Ukrainian cultural problems until with the advent of a better time, it may be able to return to its own home and represent Ukrainian culture in its native environment. It is something to be devoutly desired but in the meantime we can only be grateful to the kindly fate that has preserved so many Ukrainian scholars and given them the possibility of working even under favorable conditions. It is a sure sign of the vitality of the Ukrainian people and of the soundness of the foundation that has been laid for their intellectual life seventy five years ago, and the entire scientific world must congratulate the Shevchenko Scientific Society on its anniversary and wish it well for the future.



MAZEPPA'S CHAMPION IN THE "SECRET DU ROI" OF LOUIS XV, KING OF FRANCE

By NICHOLAS D. CHUBATY

ONE December day in 1759 a messenger of King Louis XV in the company of a small group of soldiers rode up to the castle of Denteville in the Marne region of France. The company consisted of a few officers belonging to the French dragoons of the regiment *Royal Suedois* among whom the most notable were two Swedes, brothers Karl Gustav and Philip Steinflicht, both in the French service. They were the sons of the Swedish nobleman Steinflicht and Anastasia, the daughter of Pilip Orlik, Ukrainian hetman in exile.

The dragoon led a horse covered with mourning crepe, and beside it walked an old kozak popularly known as Karl, who carried a little cassette containing high military decorations, among which was to be found the highest military Order of St. Louis. Karl Gustav Steinflicht carried a general's sword. The procession, in accordance with the knightly customs of the Middle Ages, stopped in front of the castle, and the King's messenger, a military officer, thrice sounded the knocker on the gate. Simultaneously the dragoon sounded the *surma* (an elongated Ukrainian trumpet).

On the drawbridge over the moat which surrounded the castle appeared the major-domo and asked the newcomers what they wished. "We wish to see the illustrious countess Heléne Orlik de Brune Denteville," replied the king's messenger.—"Why do you wish to disturb the peace of the most illustrious countess Heléne Orlik de Brune Denteville, who is now in deep mourning over her irretrievable loss?" asked the majordomo.—"We have brought a royal letter and the battle horse of the most powerful Lord Count Orlik, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's army, the Cavalier of the Order of St. Louis," said the King's messenger.

The procession crossed the bridge and rode into the castle yard. The messenger and his retinue were received by the widow who was deep in mourning. The king's messenger approached her, took off his hat, bowed low and handed Countess Orlik the letter bearing the great royal seal. In it King Louis XV had written as follows:

“Madame, I have lost an excellent courtier, and France—a courageous and distinguished general whose name will forever remain in the glorious annals of the French Army. In the boundless grief which you now bear, seek to find consolation in this my recognition that Count Orlik has died in a manner most befitting a person of his birth and worth.”



HRIHOR ORLIK Lieutenant-General of King Louis XV.
(From a portrait in Castle Denteville—XVIII Century)

The trumpet sounded and on the tower of the Denteville castle two banners were raised: one was the flag of mourning and the other was the one bearing the coat-of-arms of the French family of Denteville and of the Ukrainian hetman family of Orlik. In such a manner did the King of France pay his last tribute to the son of distant Ukraine, Hrihor Orlik, the leader of the Mazepists of the second

generation, and an untiring fighter for the independence of Ukraine and its liberation from Muscovite rule.¹

Such was the end of the extraordinary and colorful life of Hrihor Orlik, leader of those who in the latter half of the eighteenth century struggled for the independence of Ukraine. He was born in 1702 in historic Baturin, the capital of Ukraine in hetman Mazeppa's time. He was the son of Chancellor Pilip Orlik, the most trusted friend of that Ukrainian ruler. Hrihor's godfather was hetman Ivan Mazeppa himself, and his godmother—the ambitious Vira Kochubey, the wife of the Chief Justice of Ukraine whose ambition caused her husband to betray Mazeppa, thus bringing the whole family down to ruin. Could the parents and godparents dare even to dream of what manner of life and death awaited the Chancellor's son? Who could even imagine that this son of Ukraine after a stormy life, in which he was tossed as a spokesman of the independent Ukraine literally all over the world, would finally meet a heroic death on a battlefield on the banks of the Rhine in the capacity of Lieutenant-General of the French King Louis XV?

Hrihor Orlik lived in Ukraine only seven years, but he came to love it with a sacrificing heart such as only few figures in Ukrainian history possessed. As a seven-year old boy, after the battle of Poltava in 1709, whose consequences were tragic for Ukraine and to Eastern Europe as a whole, he went into exile together with his parents and with several tens of thousands of those who struggled for the liberation of their native land from the yoke of Muscovy.²

He grew into manhood in a foreign land, but was constantly nourished by the ideals of his great father, who was then the Ukrainian hetman-in-exile, and by the longing for his native Ukraine then suffering an oppressor's yoke. For that reason, and in order to fulfill the will of hetman Ivan Mazeppa, whom he idealized, he devoted his entire life to Ukraine's liberation. As a thirteen-year old boy, he enlisted in the army of the "Eagle of the North," the Swedish King Charles XII, and of that he continually boasted. His university studies he completed in Lund, Sweden, and left the University as a highly educated person who spoke several languages besides his native Ukrainian:

¹ The basic source for the Mazephist leader Hrihor Orlik is the excellent monograph written by Ilya Borschchak on the basis of the materials discovered by him in the French Archives. The work was written in Ukrainian under the heading: "The Great Mazzeppist, Hrihor Orlik, Lieutenant-General of the Army of Louis XV" (1742-1759) (Lviv, 1932). The present article is based mainly on this work.

² The historical background for this period is given in Boris Krupnitsky's "Mazephist" (The Ukrainian Quarterly, vol. IV, 3).

—French, Swedish, German, Latin, Polish and Tatar. Moving in high Swedish circles, he became well-versed in diplomatic suppleness, which during his practical service in Ukraine's cause, he perfected to a high degree.

The first practical lesson of his diplomatic career he learned when as a twenty-year old youth, he together with his father, and as his assistant, left Sweden for Hanover to attend the conference with the English King George, there to "defend the rights of the Kozak Nation" which was subjugated by Russia. The diplomatic activity of Pilip Orlik, the Ukrainian hetman-in-exile, and of other Mazeppists, brought upon them the persecution of the Russian Government, and for that reason the family of the hetman was forced to disperse all over the world. The hetman himself moved to Saloniki where he might be close to his Kozak troops. His wife settled in Western Ukraine (Stanislaviw), then under Poland. Of the children, the daughter Anastasia married the Swedish count Steinflicht, and the gifted Hrihor entered the service of the Saxon army in order to seek allies for Ukraine through the influential people of the Polish party of the de-throned King Stanislaw Lesczynski, which party was hostile to Russia. One must here bear in mind that the Saxon Elector August II was simultaneously the King of Poland.

His choice of service in the Saxon army was advantageous to Hrihor Orlik because, on the one hand, he did not in that way draw the attention of the Russian spies to himself, and on the other, he had some contact with those Warsaw elements which were favorable to the Ukrainian cause. The situation in Poland soon became abnormal on account of the illness and expected death of the King. Everyone understood that the new Polish elections would again give rise to a struggle of the two parties, pro- and anti-Russian, both of which would be backed by almost all the European nations, which were likewise divided into two opposing camps. It was therefore an excellent opportunity again to bring the matter of Ukraine's independence to the fore as one of the unsolved problems of European politics.

The Austrian Emperor was at that period traditionally friendly to Russia; while in continual opposition to her were Turkey, the Crimean Khan, Sweden, and France which was then allied to Turkey and hostile to the Emperor. Naturally enough, the problem of Ukraine's liberation was very important to the anti-Russian group of nations, because it could fundamentally weaken Russia.

France at that time, was interested in the Polish elections for an-

other reason—because of the fact that the most promising candidate of the anti-Russian party was Stanislas Lesczynski, Mazeppa's ally, who had been dethroned with Russia's assistance. Lesczynski had recently become father-in-law of Louis XV, who married the Pole's daughter Maria Lesczynski.

The Mission of the "Son of the Kozak Nation" to Paris in 1729

The Ukrainian political emigration throughout Europe revived in the hope that the time for its struggle with Russia had arrived. It had been planning, in alliance with the enemies of Russia, to march into Ukraine at the head of nearly forty thousand Ukrainian Kozaks and simultaneously to cause an outbreak of a national revolution against Russia.

As a spokesman of that emigration, young Orlik, through the mediation of the Swedish Ambassador in Warsaw, approached the French plenipotentiary De Monty who immediately understood what an inestimable ally Ukraine might be in the eventual struggle with Russia. After a conference with the Swedish Ambassador, De Monty sent Hrihor Orlik under the assumed name of the Swedish officer *Barthel* to his government in Paris in order that there he might present to the French Government the important role of the Ukrainian nation in the midst of the situation which was developing in Eastern Europe. This first diplomatic mission of the twenty-seven year old Hrihor Orlik to Paris became not only the beginning of his political career as a representative of Ukraine's interests, but also coupled his name with France for all time.

The French Ambassador De Monty sent to his Government an extensive *Pro Memoria* dealing with the Ukrainian problem. Special letters to Cardinal Fleury, Premier of France, and to Chovelaine, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, recommended the person of the young Ukrainian diplomat. In his *Pro Memoria* De Monty called his Government's attention to the importance of the Ukrainian matter for the purpose of breaking Russia's power. He wrote that the Tsar deprived Ukraine of practically all the liberties promised at the time when Ukraine accepted the Muscovite protectorate; that the Kozaks and the entire Ukrainian people live under an intolerable oppression and were ready at any opportune moment to take up arms to free themselves from the Russian yoke; and that in order to cope with that eventuality the tsar maintained at the time some eighteen thousand Russian

dragoons. De Monty recommended young Orlik in the capacity of a spokesman for the Ukrainian liberation.

Upon his arrival in France Hrihor Orlik revealed a maturity rare in those of his youthful age. He did not in the least let appear that he lived in penury. He was continually on the alert as to who of the French statesmen lived on good or bad terms with whom, so that if he came to seek the support of one he might not antagonize another. He did not even couple the problem of his people with the influence of the king's father-in-law, Stanislas Leszczynski, fully understanding that this Polish nobleman, a dethroned king, who became Louis' father-in-law accidentally, must have a great many enemies among influential Frenchmen. He always preferred to appear before the Premier of France, Cardinal Fleury, or before Chovelaine, Minister of Foreign Affairs, as the "Son of the Chief of the Kozak Nation," speaking in favor of her own interests to the exclusion of all else.

Hrihor Orlik's mission was fully successful. He succeeded in convincing the French Government of the necessity of supporting the cause of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement; and for that reason the Government sent him to Turkey so that he might present to the Porte the demands of the Ukrainians, which demands were at that time backed by the Government of His Majesty the King of France. It was only too evident that at that time a word of the French Government and of its ambassador carried much weight in Turkey.

One of the foremost requests of the "Son of the Chief of the Kozak Nation" was that his father, the hetman-in-exile, be given a free hand, for at that time the latter was to all intents and purposes honorably interned in Saloniki by the Turkish Government which sought by that means to pacify Russia. It was further requested that he be given freedom to contact his troops which at that time had been camping on the territory of the Crimean Horde. These Kozaks had to be turned again into a fighting force.

Only upon the favorable attitude of the Porte and of its satellites, Ukraine's neighbors, could the Ukrainian champions of the freedom of their country hope to establish contact with the Ukrainian patriots in their native land in order to prepare a rebellion in Ukraine and to time it properly.

On March 12, 1730, the "Son of the Chief of the Kozak Nation," under the assumed name of the Swedish officer Hag, boarded a vessel in Marseilles which was scheduled beforehand to sail to Saloniki. There Hrihor hoped to meet his father, from whom he had been long

separated, in order to get the latter's instructions and consent to continue his political action which heretofore he had been conducting independently.

Voltaire and the Ukrainian Exile

Several days before his departure for the East, young Orlik accomplished another mission, this time a cultural one, for which not only his compatriots but likewise the hospitable Frenchmen may be grateful to him. At that very time Voltaire was writing his History of Charles XII. After his arrival in Paris, Hrihor Orlik was introduced into circles close to the great writer who was eager to get authentic information regarding hetman Mazeppa and the Ukrainian revolution against Russia. At Voltaire's request, Hrihor Orlik, fully understanding the importance of informing the Western World about Ukraine, asked his father in Saloniki to supply him with exact information which he, before his departure remitted to Voltaire. In that connection, he wrote to his father:—"The materials regarding the life of Charles XII I have placed in proper hands. I am indeed grateful to you, and all here are quite satisfied with them. What is most interesting in them is the detailed information about Mazeppa and his plans."

In that manner, as far back as 1730, France and, through her, the entire Western World, received genuine information about Ukraine and about the political plans and ideals of the Ukrainian patriots at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Voltaire characterized them briefly in his work:—"Ukraine always longed for liberty." In the eighteenth century among all the Western nations France was the best informed with regard to Ukraine.

The Meeting of the Father and Son in Turkey

In the middle of May, 1730, the Orliks met in Saloniki. It would take much space to describe this meeting of the father and his son, both of them great idealists and ardent patriots whose energies were wholly directed towards liberating their enslaved fatherland. The father's feeling towards his son, and vice-versa, is preserved in the correspondence of Pilip Orlik, especially in his Diary, in which both demonstrate a high degree of spiritual experience, which in those times, and even in ours, is quite rare.

Both the father and the son had felt their parting very keenly,

although the older Orlik felt, even amid the bleak everyday life in Saloniki, extremely happy at the thought that in his son he found such a talented champion of Mazeppa's work and of his own. From that time on the political action for Ukraine's cause, technically conducted by young Orlik, becomes a mutual endeavor of both the father and the son. Pilip Orlik's memorandum prepared for the French ambassador, in which the former furnishes him with advice as to what arguments he is to present to the Great Vizier in order to convince him of the necessity of Turkish action in the Ukrainian matter, is a masterpiece of diplomatic documentation.

In it he briefly recounts the history of Ukraine's subjugation by Moscow, points out that now is the highest time for Turkey, in her own interests, to take advantage of the Ukrainian problem in order to stop the expansion of Russia. "The Illustrious Porte," writes Pilip Orlik, "must consider it in its interests that its neighbor on the Black Sea should be a friendly people, otherwise Russia will one day become the lord over the Sea and, having ruined the Crimean State, will move upon the maritime possessions of the Porte . . . All this I submit not merely out of pure considerations, but also on the basis of certain facts. Often have I heard from the late Ivan Mazeppa that Tsar Peter had such intentions." These arguments of that famous Ukrainian statesman in the early part of the eighteenth century are today just as actual for Turkey and other democratic countries in their understanding of the importance of Ukraine's independence in a peaceful existence of Eastern Europe and of the countries in the Black Sea basin.

Although the French Ambassador had the highest recommendations with regard to Orlik from the King himself, he wrote that "he considers the interests of hetman Orlik to be close to his own heart"—still the Ambassador at first treated Ukraine's legate with circumspection. Only later, after having come to know him more intimately, he wrote: "*Pan* Orlik is of sound judgment, a discreet person, who is besides very well versed in the problems relating to the northern countries, including Germany."

The Turkish government admitted that these Ukrainian arguments were valid, and declared its friendship for the Ukrainian hetman; but being aware that Russian spies in Istanbul were numerous and continuously on the alert, refused as yet to take a decisive step. Both Orliks, the father and son, decided that the younger Orlik should return to Paris in order to be able from there to bring greater pres-

sure upon the Porte as well as upon the Crimean Khan, and to persuade them to make decisive moves with regard to the Kozak-Ukrainian problem.

On his way to France, young Orlik composed a report to the French government on his Eastern Mission in the form of a memorandum regarding the Ukrainian problem. The memorandum clearly demands a separation of Ukraine from Russia, because Russians with respect to the Ukrainians are an "alien and uncultured people." They are—he writes further—the descendants of those people whom the Scythians had driven northward. There the Muscovites mixed with the Kulmuks and Tatars. The emergence of an independent Ukraine—continued the memorandum—is indispensable for the preservation of the European balance of power, because "Ukraine will then become a powerful barrier between Muscovy, the Sultan's dominion and Poland." How true are these words even in the present world situation!

Hrihor Orlik Visits the Crimean Khan

In the first days of January, 1732, there took place in Versailles, under the leadership of the King, a state conference with regard to the problem of Eastern Europe—Poland, Russia, and particularly Ukraine. Orlik's Memorandum was there discussed, and his ideas were compared and found to coincide with those expressed in a quite independent report of the French ambassador in St. Petersburg. The latter reported that the efforts of certain groups in Russia to restrict the power of Empress Anna were rejected by the Russian nobility for the reason—he felt—"that in such an event Ukraine will rise and destroy the Muscovite rule."

All were in agreement that a more energetic assistance should be given to the Ukrainian Liberators. Cardinal Fleury alone counseled caution, although he himself sympathized with the Ukrainian cause. The result of this was their decision to send Orlik again to the East, directly to the Tatar Khan, in order to persuade the Khan to invade Ukraine and in so doing to prepare the Kozak army for action.

On his way to Crimea the hetman's son traveled through Smyrna and Constantinople, this time as a physician, Dr. Frank. Skillfully avoiding Russian ambushes, the young Ukrainian patriot finally saw Kafa, that bloody accursed spot where hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, captured by the Tatars in their invasions of Ukraine,

cruelly perished as their slaves. "I shuddered," he wrote to his father, "when I beheld Kafa as if on the palm of my hand because I remembered how many of our people perished there."—But in politics one must often suppress one's sentiments for the sake of a higher purpose. Hrihor Orlik's mission to Crimea was more successful than his previous one to Constantinople. The Khan agreed to allow Hetman Orlik to contact his troops and promised, in the event of a war, to invade Ukraine in order to assist the Ukrainian Liberators there.

Amid this planning the time for action unexpectedly arrived. The Polish King August II died in 1733, and in Warsaw preparations were being made for the election of a new king. And again there arose in Poland two hostile parties which divided the great powers into two opposing camps. Turkey understood that she would be forced to make a decisive stand, and for that reason the Grand Vizier invited both Orliks to a conference in Constantinople. Young Orlik who upon the news of the King's death had set out from Crimea to Warsaw, reappeared in Constantinople, and soon returned to France, there to resume his political activity.

The Mazeppists in the entire Europe began to stir. They sought contact with the hetman-in-exile, and pondered the plans for action. Turkey, as a result of the conference with the Orliks and with the French ambassador, made it known in St. Petersburg that she would not allow Russia to intervene in the matter of the election of the new Polish king.

*A Ukrainian Conducts the Father-in-Law of the French King
to the Polish Throne*

Before Hrihor Orlik there now appeared a new task which gloriously testifies to his courage, skill and coolness. The French candidate Stanislas Leszcynski could have a chance of being elected only if he immediately appeared in Poland and thus place Russia before an accomplished fact. But how could he cross Germany when the Emperor supported the Russian cause? That matter, which seemed well-nigh impossible, was undertaken by Hrihor Orlik, this time as an officer in the King's Guard. He received orders to conduct King Stanislas Leszcynski to Warsaw. And in that he succeeded.

In two weeks four traveling merchants led by a young trader, crossed hostile Germany. Stanislas Leszcynski reached Warsaw and immediately won the Polish crown. The primate of Poland at once proclaimed him king.

But Russia paid no attention to Turkey's warning that the latter would not tolerate any intervention in Poland. Russian troops marched into Poland and made the supporters of Stanislas Lesczynski retreat to Danzig. On the Polish throne Russia placed August III, the Elector of Saxony.

Only a war could change the situation created by the Russian intervention. And a war did break out. Austria took her stand on Russia's side, and on the opposite side were Turkey and France. But the war was waged actually by Austria and Turkey. The action of Russia's enemies was not coordinated, and Russia was therefore left undisturbed. For that reason Hrihor Orlik set out for the East for the third time in order to animate Turkey in her war against Russia. Hetman Orlik at the same time got permission to return to the Kozak troops on the Crimean territory. His son in the meantime secretly crossed the borders of Ukraine itself and in Nizhin met some of the Kozak officers, with whom he planned to stir up a rebellion against Russia. But the war, waged so inertly, gave Ukrainians no opportunity to risk a new rebellion, although Hetman Orlik issued a flaming manifesto to the Ukrainian people, exhorting them to throw off the Russian yoke.

With the closest attention Russia followed the events in Ukraine. For that reason Hrihor Orlik, during his sojourn in Ukraine, almost fell into Russian claws. The Austrian-Turkish Peace (1735) dispelled all Ukrainian hopes of overthrowing Russia's rule in Ukraine, although the war between Turkey and Austria continued with changing fortunes for some time. But the cause of Lesczynski was lost altogether.

In order to move the matter from an impasse, Hetman Orlik formed a plan to settle in that part of Ukraine which lies to the right of the Dnieper, and which then formally belonged to Poland. He meant to occupy it and there to begin a restoration of the Ukrainian state, first in the Western part of Ukraine, and later, at a proper time, to unite it with Eastern Ukraine which was subjugated by Russia.

In a special Memorandum to Cardinal Fleury, Hrihor Orlik attempted to persuade him to explain to Poland the advantage of such a plan even for the preservation of Poland herself. — "*France and entire Europe,*" he wrote, "*think lightly of Muscovite expansion, and yet that is the chief factor that may destroy the entire European system.*" This had been written in the thirties of the eighteenth century to the premier of France by a young diplomat of subjugated

Ukraine.—“The history of Muscovy,” he continued, “teaches us that even in the times of tsar Ivan Vasilyevich, when the darkest barbarism prevailed in that land, the Muscovite policy aimed to win control over the Baltic, Caspian, and Black Seas. Tsar Peter I sought only to accomplish that which had been dreamed of by his predecessors. *Utinam falsus vates sim.*”

Ukrainian Patriot—a Lieutenant-General in the Army of Louis XV

Amid disappointment in his hopes, Hetman Pilip Orlik died in Jassy, and the entire leadership of the Mazeppists was assumed by his son Hrihor who since 1740 had been in active military service of the French King. His entire life, personal ideals, and his service in the cause of Ukraine's liberation the younger Orlik linked very closely with France.

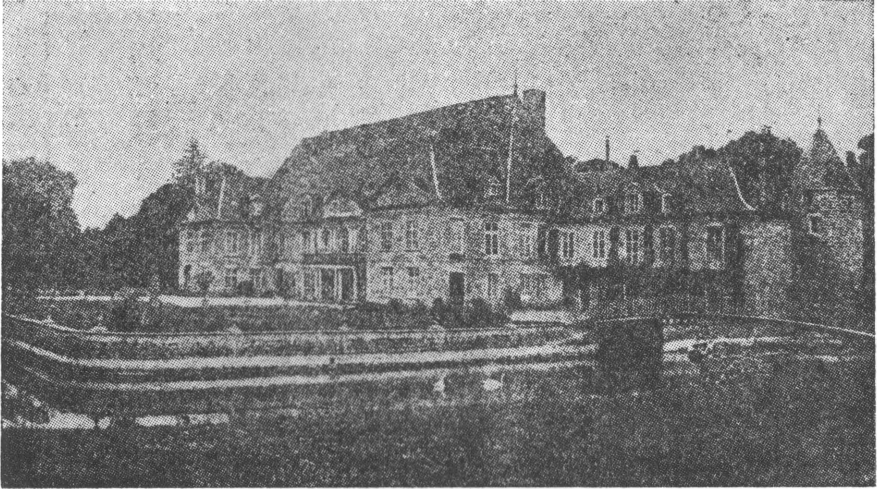
Having devoted himself wholly to the task of freeing Ukraine, and constantly traveling to Paris, Constantinople, Warsaw, Stockholm, and even Crimea, Hrihor Orlik did not have time even to think of normalizing his personal life. It was only in the forty-fifth year of his life that he married Louise Helène Le Brune de Denteville of a family related to the royal dynasty. With his wife's money he equipped a regiment of the *Royal Suedois* dragoons whose chief he was. His regiment was stationed at Comercy in Lorraine where he lived. But he very often visited his wife's native town of Denteville. He led the life of an intellectual and of an aristocrat, which was quite apart from the life led then by contemporary French nobility. His life was full of dignity and remained on a high moral level, thus being in direct contrast to the life at the court of the ruling prince of Lorraine himself, whose court was notorious for its immorality.

Hrihor Orlik's relations with his erstwhile ally Lesczynski were cool, but from time to time he did appear in Luneville, Lesczynski's capital, where he always surrounded himself with dignity and splendor.

In his regiment he had several kozaks who, after the death of his father transferred their services to him. With a special fidelity to the “Son of the Chief of the Kozak Nation” was distinguished a kozak who in France was called Karl. In his regiment there also served two sons of his beloved sister Anastasia, Karl Gustav and Pilip Steinflicht. Hrihor Orlik even planned to settle on the Rhine a part of the Zaporozhian Kozaks who, in spite of the tsar's amnesty, did not wish to return to Ukraine. That settlement was to have been placed on the

Rhine as a light frontier cavalry of the French King. But that plan did not materialize.

This Ukrainian who served the King of France maintained friendly relations with Voltaire. An author's copy of Voltaire's *History*



Castle of HRIHOR ORLIK in Denteville (front-side)

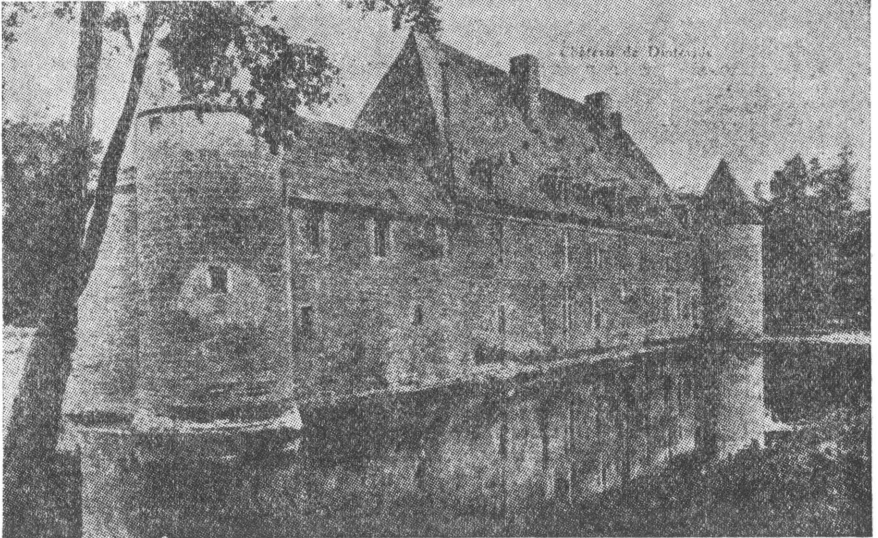
of Charles XII, adorned with coats-of-arms, was a very cherished object in his library. Orlik himself planned to write a history of Ukraine. Among his papers there remained only a small part of that work under the heading: *Notes sur l'Ukraine et les cosaques qui sont peu connus en Europe*.

Hrihor Orlik, however, was in fact more practical as a diplomat than as a writer. And his diplomatic talent he devoted to his beloved Ukraine whose liberation he longed for and in whose service he filially remained to the end of his days.

*Mazeppa's Partisan, a Member of the Secret Royal Council
of the King of France*

At the beginning of the fifties of the eighteenth century Hrihor Orlik became a member of the privy council of the King of France known as *Secret du Roi*. It was a secret council with whose assistance the King conducted his own diplomacy, often disregarding his ministerial cabinet. The chief role in the secret council was played by Count De Broy. And the main purpose of his policy was the "destruc-

tion of the power of Russia so that French influence might prevail in the northern countries. " That policy drew Hrihor Orlik to Count De Broy very closely, and the Frenchman later accepted the post of Ambassador in Warsaw for the more successful completion of his plan.



Defense Bastion of Castle Denteville (west-side)

Orlik in the meantime conducted what appeared to be a Ukrainian branch of the secret diplomacy of the King of France.

With the *Secret du Roi* Orlik corresponded in the code of that council, in which code Ukraine and Ukrainian organizations had their signs and ciphers. Through a certain nobleman Mokranovsky Orlik tried to establish contact with the last hetman of Ukraine, Kirilo Razumovsky. From France he planned to send to the hetman his agent under the guise of a French teacher of hetman's children. Orlik also planned to incite Ukraine to a rebellion against Moscow. Some of these reports may have trickled into St. Petersburg where the authorities began to treat hetman Rozumovsky with suspicion.

The old Mazeppists, brothers Mirovich, and Nakhimovsky appeared to be the agents of the *Secret du Roi* at the court of the Khan of Crimea. From there they maintained active connections with Ukraine. In 1754 they reported that Ukraine was on the eve of a revolution as in the time of Mazeppa. The Miroviches even began to look

around for a candidate for the hetmanate of Ukraine, and considered Hrihor Orlik as the only logical and worthy candidate.

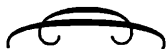
Wishing to become more active in Ukrainian affairs, Hrihor Orlik succeeded in having the King appoint him French Ambassador to Turkey. But his candidature fell through when the Austrian Government, now an ally of France, called the attention of the French Government to the possibility that such appointment to the post of ambassador to a country adjacent to Russia might be considered in St. Petersburg as a provocation.

The Seven-Years' War put an end to this leader of the Mazeppists of the second generation and cut short his patriotic activity. France took part in this war against Frederick of Prussia as an ally of Austria. Orlik was active in it as a *Maréchal de Camp* and distinguished himself with rare courage.

In April, 1759, as a result of his bold stand at Bergen he gained a victory for France, but was himself seriously wounded. In that precarious condition the Ukrainian patriot, who served as Lieutenant-General in the Army of the King of France, was taken to the house of the imperial councilor Joachim Gaspard Goethe, the father of the German genius Johann Wolfgang Goethe. And there the younger Goethe met the famous Ukrainian patriot and exile.

Lieutenant-General Hrihor Orlik, took part in one more battle in which he died suddenly on November 14, 1759, as a result perhaps of an incomplete recuperation. He died in active service after thirty years of devoted service to his Ukrainian fatherland and after having given twelve years of his life to his adopted land, France.

Hrihor Orlik is the last great Mazeppist, the representative of the second generation of those who in the eighteenth century struggled for Ukraine's liberation. His life was very colorful, and is a suitable subject not merely for a popular historical article, but likewise for a historical novel which might have as its theme the stubborn struggle of the Ukrainian people for their national independence.



AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE IN UKRAINE

(The Reminiscences of a Ukrainian Scholar)

By PROF. HRYHORY MAKHIV

IN recent decades Ukrainian agriculture has tended to become more intensive with a progressive increase in production. However, various factors of a politico-economic nature, such as incorrect methods of land use, slave labor, and the subordination of the tasks of management to military objectives, have influenced and interfered with this development.

Early in the 'nineties of the last century there began a marked development of agricultural experimentation in the fields of soil sciences, botany, and agricultural statistics. The investigation of soils during this period was conducted by the regional governmental organs, the "zemstvo," first of Chernyhiv, and somewhat later of Podilya, Volyn, Kherson, Kharkiv, and Kiev. In 1889 the zemstvo of Poltava commenced this type of activity by conducting the first series of investigations of the soils and compiling botanical, geological and statistical data on the province. These later served as an example for subsequent projects of a similar type both in Ukraine and Russia.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth Ukraine produced several world-famous scientists in the field of agriculture. Vinohradsky of Kiev was the most prominent and his experiments initiated a new era in the field of microbiology. In the last decade of the nineteenth century Alexander Nabokykh, a soil scientist working in Odessa, founded a new Ukrainian school of soil scientists and elaborated an entirely new and original method of investigation. These methods were further developed by H. Makhiv in the third decade of this century.

The renaissance of Ukrainian culture after the revolution of 1917 created conditions favorable to the development of Ukrainian agricultural science. From 1918 to 1924 there appeared a long series of scientific works in which Ukraine was treated as an agricultural entity. The authors of these investigations outlined the natural regions of Ukraine (A. Tutkivsky, H. Makhiv), the agricultural regions (H. Makhiv), and described exhaustively the characteristics of the climate (H. Vysotsky, M. Danilevsky), of the plants (E. Lavrenko), and of the soils (H. Makhiv).

The NEP Period in Ukrainian Agriculture

From 1919 on, the newly established *Ukrainian Scientific Agricultural Committee* carried on extensive work for the establishment, reorganization, and protection of numerous scientific institutions.

In Ukraine as well as in the entire USSR the years 1919-1927 were occupied with the postwar rehabilitation of agriculture. This required a thorough study of the soil and the climatic conditions of the country, the improvement of the techniques of agricultural production and the reorganization of various fields.

The Ukrainian scientific institutions of that time as well as many Ukrainian scientists exhibited a great deal of creative spirit. Under the leadership of M. Danilevsky, the Ukrainian meteorologists set up an efficient meteorological service in a very short time throughout the entire country (1921-27).

The section on soils of the Ukrainian Agricultural Scientific Committee prepared and published the first complete map of the soils of Ukraine in colors, on a scale of 1:1,000,000, and issued ten volumes of "Materials for the Investigation of the Soils of Ukraine." These took a prominent place not only in Soviet scientific work but in the soil science of the world as well. Ukrainian publications of the soil section of the committee, printed in French and English for the benefit of experts, were very popular at the world congresses of soil scientists (Rome, 1924, and Washington, 1927).

The section of the Scientific Agricultural Committee in charge of research directed the work of the experiment stations, supervised their reorganization, and apportioned fields of investigation on the basis of the natural and agricultural peculiarities of the different regions of Ukraine. By 1927 there were 35 experiment stations in Ukraine, a network that was unequalled either in any other republic of the USSR or in any country of Western Europe. Having a unified program, the stations achieved significant results in rationalizing agrotechnics and in the development of better types of agricultural plants. Ukrainian breeders introduced several highly productive types of basic agricultural plants. It is sufficient to call attention to the famous wheat "Ukrainka," with its high yield and its improved baking qualities. "Ukrainka" and several types of "Novo-Krymka," which is sown in the southern steppes and is characterized by high productivity even in the driest years are still today considered among the best on the world market.

Genetics and selection in Ukraine at that time reached such a high level that the prominent German scientist Bauer asked permission of the Ukrainian scientist Sapehin of Odessa to work in his laboratory. Various sections of the Scientific Committee (botanical, economic, land development) conducted extensive experiments which were published in the numerous publications of the Committee. The Scientific Committee organized several national parks which featured important types of Ukrainian natural wealth. Parks such as the "Nova Askania" coastal stations of migratory birds, and reserves of virgin steppe in Starobilsk and Upper Aziv became important institutions with a great interest to the scientific world.

This same period saw Ukraine assume an even greater importance in the economy of the USSR and the results of scientific research indicated the necessity for and possibility of greater progress in all branches of agriculture. However, this development of the Ukrainian economy aroused a certain opposition in Russian Communist centers as well as from Russian scientists, who asserted that the Ukrainian climate was not suited for intensive agriculture.

In his experimental work, from 1925 to 1929, the present author arrived at entirely different conclusions. The southern Ukrainian steppes, which have a great amount of warmth and over 210 frostless days, are well adapted for the development of many southern crops, as cotton, castor beans, sesame, peanuts, and rice. Even field crops such as winter wheat, when grown with good cultural practices and suitable crop rotation, yield steady and high returns in the southern Ukrainian steppes (25-30 quintals of grain per hectare).

Yet at the very time when Ukrainian agricultural science was developing so markedly, it was necessary to struggle hard to preserve its existence. The terroristic governmental organs (the Cheka and the OGPU) tortured and liquidated many Ukrainian scientists. In 1920-23 a large number emigrated abroad, and part settled in Czechoslovakia where they established a Ukrainian agricultural academy in the town of Podebrady in 1922. Others were dispersed all over the world. The Ukrainian geneticists from Kiev, Dobzhansky and Karpechenko, worked in Ukraine until 1925, and both were awarded the Nobel Prize because of their work. Later, however, Dobzhansky fortunately emigrated to the United States, where at the present time he enjoys great respect as a geneticist, while Karpechenko, who continued to work in the Soviet Union, was arrested and exiled to a distant prison camp in the north.

Renowned Ukrainian plant breeders such as Batyrenko, Sheleket, and others were exiled to Siberia at the same time. The talented agronomist and research worker Alexander Filipovsky has been in prison and exile since 1925. Oleksa Filipovsky, his brother and a prominent specialist in beet sugar experimentation, was shot by the NKVD in the terror of 1937-39. V. Simirenko, a prominent pomologist, the organizer and director of the Ukrainian Fruit Breeding Institute at Cherkasy, is known to be working as a slave in a prison camp near Kharkiv.

In 1927 the NKVD liquidated the Ukrainian Agricultural Scientific Committee on the ground of nationalism. Most of its leading workers were exiled and perished. The famous botanist Prof. O. Yanata died in Kolyma during this operation. The chairman of the committee, the economist Serhey Veselovsky who is at the present time in Germany, spent many years in exile. The chief of the Ukrainian Meteorological Service, M. Danilevsky, and many others are still in exile.

Ukrainian Agriculture Under Collectivist Pressure

The years 1928-1933 were a period of the reconstruction of agriculture, i. e., preparation for the collectivization of peasant holdings and the creation of large state farms (radhospy). The results obtained by the scientific institutions did not fit the Communist plans of collectivization, and therefore Ukrainian agricultural science was not only "reorganized," but completely destroyed.

The Soviet government considered it essential that Soviet industry be freed from dependence upon raw materials derived from "non-socialist" lands. Because of this aim and the necessity of preparing for the Second World War Ukrainian economy was subordinated to that of Muscovy. The reorganization aimed at the establishment of narrow specialized institutes intended to study the culture of a single plant (soybean, cotton, and tobacco institutes).

This was indeed a sad period. It witnessed the liquidation of the whole network of agricultural experiment stations which had carried on their work systematically and with considerable success. Some of the stations were completely ruined. Others that had previously included various branches covering all the basic problems of agricultural experimentation were transformed into limited specialized stations.

In the same period scientific and applied agriculture was ruined. Forced collectivization and the liquidation of individual peasant hold-

ings led to a sharp decline in agricultural production, starvation, and a high mortality of the population. The peasantry of Ukraine were made the victims of brutal repression and extermination.

New methods of scientific investigation based on the so-called Marxist-Leninist methodology had not yet been developed. Accordingly the scientific work in those institutions that escaped ruin was conducted by the same methods as before. In plant breeding the improvement of available strains of plants continued along the usual methods of world genetics. Breeders discovered and studied the best sorts and used them for reproduction and distribution. The principles of scientific work in other branches of agriculture were not changed.

By this time animal husbandry made considerable advance. New types of sheep and hogs were produced at the Poltava station, Nova Askania, and other places. Somewhat later, however, the most prominent specialists in animal husbandry, and 300 technicians and veterinarians suffered brutal persecution on the charge of obstructing the progress of Soviet science.

The years 1934-1941 witnessed the completion of collectivization and the permanent reorganization of the state farms. Along with this agricultural science received definite plans from the Communist organs together with prescribed new methods of experimentation.

In the field of soil science these years were marked by the agro-chemical investigation of soils and the construction of maps of regions served by machine-tractor stations and individual collective and state farms. A soil map of every state farm engaged in the growing of sugarbeets was constructed with special reference to the distribution of fertilizers. Simultaneously many large scale experiments were conducted in the fertilization of many types of soils, and the data obtained, along with that from the former experiment stations, were recorded on maps in order to chart the effect of various fertilizers on different soils. Moreover the soil itself was investigated chemically and its fertility analyzed and classified according to its constituent elements.

This work was done not only by experimental institutes and stations, but also by specially organized agro-chemical laboratories at machine-tractor stations. This work, however, did not produce the desired results, since the data on the fertility of soils and their nutritive content are very changing and require constant correction. Consequently the recording of such data on elaborate maps and characterizing of fertility of generic types of soils on this basis was a methodological error. Of course this work accumulated an enormous amount

of material on soil analysis, and this constituted its chief importance.

Agricultural science in 1934-40 endeavored not only to experiment, to find needed information, but also to postulate new ideas in order to stimulate production. In plant breeding this was done by an agriculturist of Ukrainian descent academician Lysenko, who rejected the accepted methods of world genetics, accepted the position of the Lamarckists, and maintained that new species of plants can be produced by cultivation and changes in the external environment. It is interesting to note that Lysenko's methods had been previously investigated and rejected as untenable by Swedish research specialists. During 1934-40 the work in breeding in Ukraine as well as in the whole USSR produced almost no positive results. Not a single new and better type of plant was produced. Moreover, all scientists that did not agree with the teachings of Lysenko were removed from their posts, arrested, exiled, and even exterminated. The geneticists Borys Panshin and Evtushenko perished in this purge. Professor Liubymenko, a prominent plant physiologist, died of heart failure after "secret conversations" with Lysenko.

In spite of these disheartening vicissitudes the Ukrainian scientists produced some important, though limited results. Scientific institutes proposed and experimentally checked plans for systematic crop rotation in all regions of Ukraine, systematic tillage practices, and scientific crop fertilization. These methods supplemented by the introduction of selected types of plants resulted in increased yields amounting to 30-50 quintals per hectare in the case of winter wheat and 500-700 quintals in the case of sugar-beets. In practical farming on peasant collective and state farms however such yields were not attained, and the average harvest returns in 1935-1940 in the better regions came to only 15 quintals of grain and 180-200 quintals of sugar beet per hectare. These low yields were the result of typical Soviet controversies. On the one hand the scientists explained thoroughly how to obtain high and steady returns in all agricultural cultures, and on the other there was no possibility of putting these figures into practice.

It is known for instance, that crop rotation including legumes increases returns for all crops. However, state assignments to kolhospy (cooperative collective farms), especially in grain, were so excessive that it was impossible to introduce perennial grasses into the scheme of crop rotation. Although the best American alfalfas are selected from Ukrainian material, in Ukraine there is a deficiency of alfalfa seed which prevents its introduction into crop rotation. The small size of

the areas allocated to grass and legumes limited the development of cattle raising, and this in turn resulted in the lack of manure for fertilizer.

It has been proved experimentally that deep plowing is one of the basic prerequisites for increased production, and for the same reason it is advisable to use a coulter. However the norms of plowing rates were so high that tractor operators in order to fulfill them were forced to diminish the depth of plowing and to remove those accessories that slowed the work and consequently increased the consumption of fuel. Herein lies the explanation why the coulter, so highly recommended by academician Williams, has never been utilized in Ukraine. Agricultural technic on the collective farms remained low, and a comparison of the average data for 1905-1915 and 1935-1940 shows that there was very little improvement.

The average returns from grain and other crops remained only one-third of what it could have been under better conditions with better utilization of the land. Slave labor on state and collective farms, bureaucratic management of agriculture, excessive expectations and requirements by the state in regard to production—these typical factors in the Soviet system, made an increase in production impossible. Even under favorable natural conditions and with the possibility of maximum mechanization and unified planning in agriculture, the increase in production in recent years amounted only to 2 or 3 quintals of grain per hectare.

Because of internal inconsistencies and in spite of the enormous resources and possibilities of Soviet agriculture the grain crops in Polissia and the northern steppe regions remained on the same level as before World War I, while in the "lisosteppe" the crop doubled. This was due to the introduction of manured black fallow preceding the sowing of winter wheat, which was followed by cotton.

From the foregoing it is evident that it was only an agrotechnical method—black fallow supplemented at the time of plowing by 15 tons of manure per hectare—which was responsible for an increased harvest of winter wheat and cotton. *This example strikingly shows that the main cause of the low harvests in Ukraine is the poor agrotechnic, which allows scarcely thirty percent of the possible productivity of intensified farming.*

The impossibility of applying the methods recommended by the experiment stations to the collective farms forced the Communist rulers to venture on the road of political chicanery, which especially

in the press gave the impression of tremendous achievements. Agricultural theory was accused of falling behind practical experience in production. In order to prove these accusations the Communists organized "Stakhanovite experiments" in agriculture.

These "Stakhanovite experiments" consisted of the selection of a plot measuring a half to one hectare of a collective farm, the area chosen being atypical in that it had the best soil and abundant subsoil moisture. Large amounts of manure and mineral fertilizers were applied to it, deep plowing was used, and the best modern methods were carefully followed. Moreover, every plant was individually cared for. As a result the harvest of sugar beets on such plots reached 500 to 1000 quintals per hectare. Such returns were obtained under exceptional conditions which are not present in large areas of Ukraine, excepting places bordering rivers and valleys. Such "experiments" were of considerably less importance to collective farms than the work of experiment stations because no farm could apply such "Stakhanovite" methods to even ten per-cent of its fields. Moreover, in most cases a disproportionate amount of labor had to be used on the Stakhanovite plots, and was reflected in the lowering of the returns on the rest of the fields.

It is obvious that the "Stakhanovite" method is not a valid method of increasing production. It is rather only an example of the blind empiricism with which the Marxist-Leninist philosophers like to fight. Often the "Stakhanovites" applied maximum quantities of fertilizers and other agricultural methods without understanding actual needs, believing naively in the slogan "The more the better." This often led not to an increase in production but to a total destruction of the crop. Such cases, of course, were not discussed in the press.

The "Stakhanovite experiments" caused considerable damage to the agriculture of Ukraine, and the Communist authorities used them to discredit the work of the agricultural experiment stations. They only confused those members of the collective farms who had learned the improved technic introduced by the stations and understood the methods that led to a steady improvement in production. These workers, who to a certain extent could have lessened the agricultural crisis, were relegated to the category of undesirables who "retarded" and "damaged" Soviet agriculture and were thus candidates for investigation by the NKVD.

In order to prove that experimental service can be provided to each farm locally by untrained laborers, so-called "home laboratories"

were organized on individual collective farms. Had these local laboratories been supplied with at least two or three partially trained persons they undoubtedly could have conducted such simple tasks as the control a dairy products, seeds, and fertilizers. It also would have been possible to delegate to them the general supervision of field experiments. In cases where scientific help was available the "home laboratories" could have investigated the mistakes and even drawn up maps of the soils in their collectives. However these home laboratories were exploited in an entirely different fashion.

"Academician" Lysenko, for example, tested all of his new assumptions and even controversial problems by experiments at "home laboratories," and based his conclusions on the results of their work. This was done very simply. All home laboratories (on paper they numbered 10,000 but in reality only 150-200 were functioning) were ordered, let us say, to test a new treatment of a certain crop. It was pointed out at the same time that this new treatment had to increase production by twenty percent. The home laboratories followed instructions, completed the assignments, and reported a twenty percent increase in production. There was no alternative, for it would entail danger to the individual in charge of the home laboratory and invite charges of "damaging the progress of Soviet science."

Such were the methods whereby the data from "mass experiments in production" were obtained, and such procedures could not be questioned because such an action would be classed as Fascist and counter-revolutionary. These were the methods whereby the success of the new Soviet scientists "armed with Marxist-Leninist methodology" was attained. The substitution of political machination for scientific experimentation caused considerable damage to Ukrainian agriculture, aggravated the economic crisis, and rendered impossible the attainment of high and steady production.

*

The analysis of the history of agricultural science in Ukraine brings us to the conclusion that considerable success was achieved in certain branches of agriculture despite the persecution and physical annihilation of the larger part of the Ukrainian scientific personnel.

It is obvious that agricultural science developed simultaneously with progress in practical agriculture and solved most of the problems the industry faced. Up to the period of the collectivization of peasant holdings agricultural science in Ukraine followed the generally ac-

cepted methods of world science. After collectivization became an accomplished fact and when special tasks were assigned to agricultural science by the Communist party, all problems had to be solved by the application of Marxist-Leninist methodology. Consequently agricultural science was forced into the narrow frame of the party line. The terrorizing influence of certain state organs such as the NKVD brought about such a shameful state of affairs that experimental work lost its objectivity and scientific results were suppressed and altered to fit the directives of party politics.

Thus agricultural science in Ukraine in the the years 1935-1940 lost its objectivity and its value to the world and acquired the character of a pseudo-scientific service to aid political propaganda and governmental designs. There is no doubt that a normal and full development of agricultural science in Ukraine, which would reflect the creative genius of the Ukrainian people, is possible only under conditions that obtain in a truly democratic and politically independent country, the agriculture of which progresses not according to a party formula but in accordance with the laws and heritage of world science.



ONCE AGAIN

By LUDMILA IVCHENKO

THE UN passes resolutions, the IRO plans, philanthropic ladies collect second-hand clothes for the benefit of DP's. And we Ukrainian DP's just sit around and say "as always." It is not because we are ill-natured or indifferent. It is only because we have gained wisdom from experience, wisdom that nobody needs and that only prevents people from living quietly.

We saw how right we were when the soldiers of the Red Army swept through Austria and Germany in a wave of plunder, drunkenness and riot. The West was amazed. We were amazed, too, but not at these things which we had foretold. We were amazed because the West was amazed. It was not our merit that we foresaw how things would turn out. It was and is our fate, the tragic fate of Ukraine, to know the East and to know what the world may expect there. We have paid most dearly for this knowledge and with despair we perceive that the West wants to pay the same price for a second time. When we have tried to explain the danger that is threatening from the East, the horrible danger of terror and despotism represented by the Bolshevik system, all the Americans, English, Belgians, French, Australians and the other philanthropic people who have come from all ends of the world to do their share in the organization of UNRRA tapped us on the shoulder and told us: "Do not be nationalists! Better sing your beautiful songs!"

As if people who had left their houses, their native land, their property, their work—as if mothers who had left their hearths and wandered away with their children into an unknown and hostile world—did all these things merely in order to get UNRRA care in a foreign country and to amuse the world with songs.

Of course we sang our splendid songs, since we cannot live without them. We sang and looked on at what was going on in the world. And sometimes we nodded to one another, "As always."

Conferences were called, a lot of money was spent, the delegates sat through inspiring addresses delivered by agitators, passed some resolutions, and returned home confusedly. Some great personalities whose names we were accustomed to respect as the names of men who took a most active part in the struggle against the totalitarian system appealed to the "good intentions" of the world for the sake of peace.

We looked at them with a kind of sympathetic irony as a pupil looks at an esteemed professor who lectures brilliantly on electrical engineering without being able to put together the broken spiral of an electric cooker. And we thought "once again" they still do not know. We have learned this lesson already, and paid for it. How many millions of people are there who are still going to pay with their lives for this knowledge?"

We tried to tell the world. We tried to make the world understand these things for the knowledge of which Ukraine has given thousands of her sons. But we were told benevolently: "You cannot understand the mysterious Russian soul, for you are fanatic patriots. You had better turn to your fine embroidery!" And we turned to our embroidery and organized exhibitions while Gromyko carried through his policy of the knocking fist and Manuilsky attacked Greece in the name of Ukraine. Attacked Greece because she was so undemocratic, and had dared to fight against "Ukrainian partisans!" But at the same time the USSR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia entered into an agreement in which they united their forces to fight against true Ukrainian partisans. And we thought: "Once again! Now the world at last will become aware of the truth and will understand!"

But nobody showed any intention to understand, as if Ukrainians from their very birth had been destined to be burned, hanged, displaced, put to death by every possible means and deprived of all legal rights and privileges. As if they were but created to be a living bulwark which protects the West from the danger that threatens out of the East!

And Ukraine, in her distress, began to speak herself, and sent members of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) into the world that they might bear witness to the gigantic struggle of the Ukrainian nation against Russian Bolshevism. With tears of joy and pride we welcomed these men and waited for the echo of the world. But oh, what an echo was there! They tapped us on our shoulders and told us: "Ukraine! Oh yes, a heroic nation! Go play on the Bandura, we want to listen to the Bandura. It sounds so romantic!"

But our Bandura-player in deep despair tore the strings of his instrument and sang the majestic "Dumas" about the eternal struggle of Ukraine against Russia, about her endless resistance and revolts against cunning greediness. And these songs touched the souls of the listeners for a few short minutes.

But a moment later the world had forgotten the UPA. The Americans in Berlin are confined as some DPs are in their camps, and Soviet

planes have taken care of English aeroplanes better than they had taken care of the German ones during the war.

All these things are not new to us, since we had known hundreds of similar "accidents" which had happened to Finns and Poles but they are unimportant nations so that the world did not want to begin unpleasant quarrels in their behalf. But when the same happened to the English just above Berlin we could not help calling out: "Once again!"

Masaryk's dead body lies in front of his house. The world shudders and begins to put exclamation-marks on white paper: "Strange! Incredible! Mysterious Death!"

We involuntarily shrug our shoulders. Why strange? Why is that incredible? Why did you not tremble in fear in 1934 when our minister of education shot himself and our Prime Minister did the same while the dogs caught his 16-year-old son in the woods of Kytajiw? Everything is going along normal, routine lines, according to standards established long before, with the monotony of a well-oiled machine. And it really requires an art of its own not to become aware of what Ukraine has kept saying over and over again for 25 years.

But the West has a talent for not seeing or hearing things which might be unpleasant and for neglecting facts which require decisions and disturb a quiet convenient life. Louis XV with his "après moi le déluge" was a model of precaution in comparison with the present politicians. How can one think of a comfortable life when his neighbor is carried off to slavery? Love of fellowman is fine, but futile. Remember, we ask you, that more than "my brother's keeper" is at issue. The West now quietly registers those states that suddenly found out that they were inflamed with love towards the USSR and filled with enthusiasm for the new dispensation. We are also quiet. In 1930 we at last learned to be quiet. From 1917-1922 we had fought against White and Red Russians. From 1922-1930 we continued our resistance without support from abroad; there was nobody willing to recognize our rights to our national existence, or even to call us by our right name. We were struggling alone, abandoned by the world and left without any support. As a matter of course we were conquered by Russia. The West permitted Russia to conquer us—and the West is amazed when Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Hungary followed within two years? Russia had the leisure to experiment with us; now its apparatus works quickly and efficiently.

Yes, there is a slight difference: When Dragha Mikhajlovich and Petkov were hanged, it had filed a protest, but when our Seleny or our

Burlak was hanged the West just shrugged its shoulders. Not that the protest had any result whatever—no. “Once again.”

The world is confused and cannot understand. Only we are not amazed. We are used to these things, we learned to understand them many years ago, and we paid for this knowledge. Ukraine paid the most, for she was the wealthiest. We paid for the transportation by plane of an international legion to Spain, for inciting addresses of Dolores Ibaruri. We paid for China and Burma, for the revolt in Hungary and the future revolution in Germany. We even paid for the gasoline Russia sent Hitler at the beginning of the war. We paid for the transportation, food and above all the safety of Mr. Herriot, who afterwards told the world that Ukrainians had everything they needed since he had been served some excellent meals in their country. And this in 1933 when throughout Ukraine every morning large trucks carried hundreds of starved people to common burial places. They were hastily thrown into the trucks and covered with canvas, and only the yellow feet of toiling peasants protruded beyond the canvas, for the truck was crammed with corpses.

We have seen so much, why should we be astonished that Mr. Benes is silent for ever, and Mr. Wallace speaks for the benefit of Russia in America? All this was in our curriculum a long time ago. We still remember when in the USSR Sun-Yat-Sen was proclaimed the greatest hero in the struggle for national emancipation, and we honestly must admit that Sun-Yat-Sen was a greater personality than is Mr. Wallace. And yet Communists in the world now eagerly fight Chiang-Kai-Shek who does nothing else than continue the work begun by Sun-Yat-Sen. And if they ever should succeed in splitting America as they have split China, they would not spare Mr. Wallace, to be sure! They would not spare any Communist who now enthusiastically works for the victory of his party in America! They would hang them as they hanged Serbian, Rumanian, and Bulgarian Communists. They would send them to death as they did Mr. Pyatakov who financed their revolution, Mr. Trotsky who organized it and Mr. Chernov who prepared it.

The world set its teeth and suggested: “Your Hutsuls shall dance! They look so exotic in the sheepskin coats! Like Eskimos! Maybe their dance will come into fashion as the “Ukrainian style” of hairdressing did in Germany!

That made us say our last “Once again!” Our last hopeless “Once again,” which is a short phrase, but all the same, bespeaks a world of

grief. And what is still more—it bespeaks our destiny and perhaps even the destiny of the whole world.

We read and hear that a new war is planned. They want to block Russia by destroying the land that lies between Russia and the West. The cities of Kiev, Kharkiv, Odesa will be destroyed. But there is one thing the authors of this project failed to realize: that these are Ukrainian cities, and the territory around them is friendly to the West. Ukraine with her wealth of natural deposits, her industry and her fertile black soil. Should all this be destroyed to block Russia, Russia with the Urals and Siberia and her possibilities of expansion to Asia, America and Canada?

We Ukrainians can do nothing else but lift up our hands in prayer to God and wait. And whenever we hear that another country had fallen prey to the Russian Bear we shall say wearily: "Once Again." We shall be neither surprised nor confused.



THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE WHITE RUTHENIANS

(A radio interview with Dr. John Ermachenko)

MEADE DAVIDSON is conductor of a special radio program, "Leaders in Exile." Among others, Dr. John Ermachenko, White Ruthenian leader, was interviewed on December 2, 1948,

Ermachenko: Today, the name of White Ruthenia, officially named by the London BBC Byelarussian Republic, in our language Byelarus, is generally known in international political life. It appears in the press, in diplomatic talks and on the radio. At the UN conference White Ruthenia is always represented by a special deputy. This Soviet representation of White Ruthenia as well as the representation of the Soviet Ukraine are only political manoeuvres of the Soviet Government, for Soviet White Ruthenia as well as Soviet Ukraine neither carry on their own policy, nor can they do so, but have only to execute the commands and orders given by Moscow. However, at this very moment another side of this problem is interesting. White Ruthenia is a political fact which cannot be overlooked at all in the political life of today.

The increase of political influence of White Ruthenia is not to be considered a triumph of Soviet power, as Soviet propaganda is continually pretending. On the contrary the appearance of the White Ruthenian people on the forum of peace as an independent politico-cultural power is a consequence of the White Ruthenian movement which Russian Communists had always tried to destroy. The fact alone of the existence of a Soviet White Ruthenian State is to be considered as a setback to the Bolsheviks and as an effort to guide the awakened national feeling of the White Ruthenian people, and to subvert the influence of popular national and economic considerations.

Unfortunately, for historical reasons, the White Ruthenian people were not able to build up (after the first World War) a national state of their own, as it was the case in Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Estonia. Therefore, the White Ruthenian problem has been scarcely known abroad, and if it had been, it has always been dealt with in circles hostile to the interests of the White Ruthenian people.

The White Ruthenian people have become nationally and politically mature in the fetters of stronger political powers, and today, also, share the fate of many other peoples of the Soviet Union which intends

to carry through the experiment of founding the United Communist States, sacrificing millions of people. This attempt contradicts not only all feelings of humanity and the ideas of all civilized people of today, but also it declines to acknowledge the national and economic development of the people of Eastern Europe. This attempt shows the intention of building up society according to a plan settled before. In spite of so many fine phrases, the Soviet government, in its endeavor to erect a new Communist social order, only succeeded in establishing a political state capitalism. . . .

Davidson: That is the best one-sentence description of Communism in operation that I have yet heard. I like it. But won't you give us a quick picture of White Ruthenia geographically and of the make-up of its people?

Ermachenko: As a geographic unit White Ruthenia comprises the land on both sides of the watershed between the Baltic and Black Seas, on the upper course of the Rivers Dnieper, Dvina, Niemen and their tributaries. Within its geographical frontiers White Ruthenia has a total area of about 49,000 square miles, about as large as the State of New York. At the present time about 80% of the country forms the White Ruthenian Socialist Soviet Republic.

In the mentioned area, in the whole, about 15 millions of people are living. Eighty percent are White Ruthenian, as of the beginning of the second World War; 8% were Jews, 5% Poles, 5% Russians, and 2% Lithuanians. The post war proportion of the national minorities has fundamentally changed, owing to the Jews being almost totally exterminated by the Germans, the repatriation of the Poles, effected by the Soviet government, and the strong immigration of the Russian element from Soviet Russia.

Owing to the historical events, part of White Ruthenians belong to the Roman Catholic church, in Western White Ruthenia up to half of the population, whilst the larger part of the White Ruthenians belong to the Orthodox Church.

The capital of White Ruthenia is Minsk, with 240,000 inhabitants (1940). The historical capital of the White Ruthenian State was Wilna, which today belongs to Lithuania.

In the West, the geographic frontier is formed by the river Narev (Narva) and Bug. Other big towns in White Ruthenia are: Smolensk, Mogilev, Whitebsk, Grodno, Pinsk, Gomel, Brest, Bobrujsk and Briansk. . . .

Davidson: Minsk, Smolensk, Vitebsk and Gomel are names which

recall the savage fighting during both the advance and the retreat of German forces in Hitler's invasion of Russia. But to get back to yourself. You left White Russia to go to Constantinople. What followed your mission there?

Ermachenko: After I fulfilled my duty in Constantinople and after White Ruthenia was divided between Russians and Poles, I immigrated, together with other members of our Government, to Czechoslovakia where we were given the right of exile. In Prague I began my medical studies and obtained the Diploma of a medical doctor in 1929. Although I was a student, I never left the work for my country and was a member of many political and cultural organizations, whose task it was to create independence of White Ruthenia and rescue it from the terror of the Soviet occupation.

Davidson: Doctor, since you have not seen fit tell our audience, may I interpolate that as a physician you served with the United States Army Medical Corps in the war and that you are now a practicing physician and surgeon here in New York. Now let's proceed. What do you feel free to say about the resistance movement in White Ruthenia?

Ermachenko: Over a long period of years the Byeloruss people have been struggling with arms to protect their liberty and independence from Communist dictatorship. In the moment of general peril the best youth of our nation came forward to side with Democratic nations of America and Europe against the national-socialistic dictatorship of Adolph Hitler. It was not Stalin's heroism, or the knowledge of warfare by his marshals, which defeated the German army on the territories of White Ruthenia and Ukraine, but, to a great degree our White Ruthenian partisans, who in innumerable raids and attacks, destroyed communications and rear bases of the German Army. Hitler, like Napoleon, was conquered and destroyed by partisanship. And at this very moment, White Ruthenian partisans continue their struggle against another and more horrible dictatorship, Stalin, for the liberty and independence of White Ruthenia and safe-guarding the White Ruthenian people from political enslavement by Communism. Thousands of White Ruthenian heroes are scattered in the forests and depths of our country and, almost unarmed, attack tanks and armored patrols of the Communist punitive detachments and special troops. In this distant, unequal unselfish warfare the best youth of our nation is dying. An example of our underground work. In a letter from a White Ruthenian partisan who entered the U. S. Zone of Germany a few days ago, I learned that one of the towns in White Ruthenia has

been in partisan hands for an entire week. I am proud to receive such news from our men, who actively are fighting for our freedom.

Davidson: Very interesting, indeed, Doctor. And now please inform us about the White Ruthenian displaced persons.

Ermachenko: In the Western occupation zones of Germany there are approximately 30,000 people of White Ruthenian origin. About 75% of them are farmers, the rest are workers and many among them are with an academic education. They are organized in 14 DP Camps under supervision of IRO.

Davidson: Is there a free White Ruthenian government in exile, such as occupied countries maintained during the war?

Ermachenko: Not at the present time.

Davidson: Are there any White Ruthenian organizations here in the United States?

Ermachenko: The White Ruthenians who were born in the USA and those who immigrated to this country, organized a **White Ruthenian** (Byelarussian) Relief Committee. I was named the head of this committee, whose aim is to help our countrymen abroad.

Davidson: How do you imagine the work of your people for their freedom?

Ermachenko: The chalice of suffering and patience of the White Ruthenians is long overfilled. Our nation has already lost all, and for them to lose anymore except their life, is nothing. To lose life itself will not be too great a sacrifice for the liberation from physical and moral torture and safety from horror, unlawfulness and inhuman treatment at the hands of the Communist terror.

We, like all people of Europe who fell into enslavement under Communist tyranny, prefer death with arms in our hands in open warfare against the Communist executioners, for national liberty and freedom, and the principles of humanity enunciated by the San Francisco Charter.



SOVIET SEMANTICS

By ROMAN SMAL-STOCKY

THE study of language counts as an important part the science of semantics. This aims to explain the meaning, the development and the life of the various words in the modern tongues. It is, so to speak, the physiology as distinct from the anatomy of language.

It has been discovered that the meaning of every modern word of the spiritual-cultural sphere involves a very complicated living structure, consisting of the "usual" meaning, the "occasional" meaning, the personal occurrence, together with the powerful emotional components added by the speaker. These words are highly charged with emotional force. They constitute semantic fields of mighty tensions opposed by others with meanings charged with contrary emotional and spiritual power. Words emanate, radiate force; they explode, especially when used in rhetoric; and for these "explosions," modern broadcasting, supported now by television, has provided a "one-world" audience. Thoroughly studied, as well, has been the historical evolution of the meaning of words; their ups and downs; and the evolution of the ideas they represent—but no linguist ever suspected that semantics would play as important a role in modern politics as it now does in the conflict between Soviet Russia and the Western World, represented by the United States and England.

What is the real reason for this interesting phenomenon in contemporary political life? What changes have occurred in the world to cause statesmen and diplomats to draw up common declarations, to sign the Atlantic Charter, the Statutes of the U.N., only to stupefy the world with a great surprise: the "high contracting powers" agreed only about common words, phonetically spoken, but not about common meanings? The text of the Atlantic Charter and of the Statutes of the U.N. are the beginning of the second Babel, a worse Babel than the first, because in spite of agreement on the phonetic forms of words, the parties concerned no longer understand one another. There is so much disagreement as to the meaning of the words that in the future, diplomatic discussions, in addition to the ordinary diplomatic translators, will require the services of a "semanticist."

What has gone wrong with the world? Why is that the Soviets

on the one side and the rest of the world on the other can find no "common language," that is, "words with common meanings?"

Western Europe had to face the first waves of ideological anarchy with the rise of Nazism. Goebbels created many ideological word-falsifications; but all his propaganda was merely a forgery of ideological word-coins. Goebbels was only a word-coiner—an average, but talented pupil of the masters in Moscow, who now harvest the crops produced by more than thirty years of broadcast and printed propaganda. After the allied victory, the Communistic semantic deluge started with dynamic force to inundate the whole world. Backed by the Communist press in every country, accepted by the Communist party of every nation, Moscow now tries to impose its dictatorship upon the meanings of words among all nations.

The scholars of semantics, conducting research in word-meanings, analysing all facts and sources, have found that words used in politics and ideologies do not hang in mere air. Their roots are planted deep in the tradition of our common Graeco-Roman-Christian culture and civilization. The Scriptures of the Jews and Christians have created the meaning of many of these words, have formulated the ideas they express in all European languages. Greek and Latin words, their meanings and ideas penetrated all languages, and created for them an international base, a common European stratum. Under the leadership of Europe this moral and cultural basis became common to the whole civilized world—in this sense, therefore, there was really "one world." Leaders of opposing ideologies, even enemies, were nonetheless bound together by words of clearly established meaning, by ideas clearly understood, by a common moral code. White meant white, and black was black. There was, as there will always be, competition among nations; but the meanings of words, the rules of the game were internationally established. To call black white or white black was a fraud, to which no serious political leader dared stoop for fear of dishonor and ridicule.

Since the establishment of the Communist dictatorship at Moscow, this common moral and cultural basis of the European world has vanished within the Soviet Union. A new ideological basis has been forced upon the subjugated peoples of the Union. Consequently the meaning of all those words formerly rooted in the age-old Graeco-Roman-Christian heritage, has been completely changed. Soviet Moscow has cut herself off from this inheritance. She has elaborated not only for herself, but also for the "workers and peasants of all the world" a new ideological foundation which not only opposes bitterly, but

denies utterly the Christian morality of the West together with the clear-cut meanings of the old words and terms current in western Europe. Thus developed the present spiritual crisis which is fundamentally religious. The foundation of the Soviet Union is materialism: fanatical atheism; the idolatry of the state—a state under the dictatorship of an armed minority safeguarded by political police, a state dedicated to revolution in the name of progress, the merciless destruction of all opposition, a state for which class war is an essential of foreign and interior policy, for which all means are just so long as they destroy the class enemy; a state vitalized by hatred and contempt for the whole non-Communist world and committed by its ideals to the ruin of that world. This Soviet-Moscow ideology is now attacking the old European ideas of religion, of the dignity of man, of a morality wherein the end determines, but does not justify the means. It is attacking as well the idea of the democratic state, which is governed by elections, guided by the majority, built upon the belief that progress is achieved by evolution, convinced of the necessity of class-solidarity; the ideas of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, of international cooperation, of good-will among men, of brotherhood, of peace.

Now Soviet Moscow requires the acknowledgement of its own infallibility in all matters regarding “the workers and peasants of the whole world;” requires the pious admiration of its “historical mission” to organize the world according to Communistic plans; requires the recognition of itself by the world as the chosen leader of humanity. Soviet Moscow forbids discussion of communist dogma, and from its stratospherical height uses “naplewat” (spit on it) to express its complete contempt for the rest of the world. The leading official paper, *Izvestia* on July 5, 1947, states in its editorial: “Our culture is many times higher than bourgeois culture. It reflects a system which is higher than any bourgeois system. Our literature, art and philosophy have a right to teach others a new and universal human morality, a new set of feelings, a new attitude toward the world.” *Izvestia* concluded this editorial with these sentiments: “Our greatest pride is our Soviet ideology. The greatest achievement of world culture—Leninism—illuminates our road. A fighting, militant ideology, irreconcilable and merciless to enemies, was always our sharp and proved weapon in a fight for the victory of Communism.”

The new master race in Soviet Moscow looks upon the willing, cooperative confiding “capitalistic” world with contempt, hostility, and

suspicion, and regards it as a backward, degenerated, lower economical and political system. Soviet Moscow feels dedicated to the mission "to teach" the other nations. Philosophically materialistic, it cares nothing for those great spiritual values which are the basis of our "Old World": spirit, truth, right, justice, mercy, liberty . . . Moscow teaches that: "law, morality, religion (according to Marx's *Communist Manifesto*) are to him [the proletarian] so many bourgeois prejudices behind which lurk in ambush so many bourgeois interests." "We say," declared Lenin (III All-Russian Congress of the Young Communist League), "that our morality is wholly subordinate to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat . . . That is why we say that a morality taken from outside of human society does not exist for us; it is a fraud. For us, morality is subordinated to the interests of the proletarian class struggle." "What coincides with the interests of the proletarian revolution is ethical," teaches Yaroslavsky (*Red Virtue*). Lenin's friend, E. Preobrazhensky, the author of the Communist classic, *The ABC of Communism*, teaches: "Whereas in a society in which there are no classes, lying is a disadvantage in itself, because it compels the members of the society to use their energy in discovering the truth, the case is quite different in a society based on class. In the struggle of an exploited class against its enemies, lying and deceit are often very important weapons; all the subterranean work of revolutionary organizations actually depends on over-reaching the power of the State. The worker's state, surrounded as it is on all sides, by hostile capitalist countries, finds lying very necessary and useful in its foreign policy. Therefore, the attitude of the working class and the Communist party to the open recognition of the right to lie is quite different from that of the Western European Socialists, those God-fearing petit-bourgeois, who are systematically deceived and treated as fools by the representative of capital."

These authors should enable an American to glimpse the new ideological basis of Soviet Moscow, which on the one hand contains a Muscovite, messianistic megalomania; on the other, a bottomless amorality, sanctioning as morally good every lie, falsehood, crime against a non-Communist person, nation, or state. From this ideology flow the changes in the meanings of words, meanings which require already a semantic dictionary of Communistic term-words—not with literal "word-for-word" translations, which created the present Babel and sophistry, but with the translation of the new "Soviet sense-meaning into the old European sense-meaning." In Soviet Moscow the old

terms of our European heritage during the last decade have changed completely their original meanings. Often they have been completely reversed. This semantic anarchy is aggravated by the current Bolshevistic propaganda which falsifies, also, modern terms and words and gives them Communistic "special or occasional" meanings. The following is a small extract from material for such a dictionary for the use of the UN and for negotiations with the Soviet Union:

According to present Soviet-semantics the following old and new words have changed their meanings:

- agents of capitalism: the free press outside the Soviet Union.
- American enslavement of Western Europe: Marshall Plan.
- attained socialism: slavery of peasants and workers in the Soviet Union.
- bandit: patriot—fighter for liberation of a nation subjugated by Reds
- brutal interference; defense of Greece against Communist aggression
- brutal oppression: freedom outside the Soviet Union
- bourgeois nationalist: democrat
- capitalistic aggression: defensive organization of nations outside the Soviet Union
- capitalistic oppression: democracy with freely elected government
- capitalistic reaction: progress
- capitalistic slavery: national independence of democratic nations
- capitalistic swindle: free elections in western democratic countries
- Committee of Liberation: communistic fifth column for enslavement of a nation
- corrective labor: prison
- democracy: totalitarian dictatorship of the communist party
- disrupter: anyone organizing defense against communist penetration
- enemy of people: fighter for the liberation of a people subjugated by communists
- equality: abolition of all human rights within the Soviet dominated world
- European rehabilitation: attempts to provoke civil wars in Europe
- evil: all which hinders the spread of communism
- fascism: Western European democratic freedom
- fascist: any non-communist
- fascist beast: prominent democratic leader
- free elections: voting under terror for candidates nominated by the communist party in any communized country
- free labor: slave labor in Soviet labor battalions
- freedom of organization: the right and duty of Soviet citizens of support the communist Party
- freedom of press: communist censorship over the press
- freedom of religion: the right and duty of Russian Orthodox Church to function as a police and propaganda department of Soviet government
- freedom of speech: the right and duty of Soviet citizens to idolize Stalin and the party
- friendly government: communistic government controlled by Moscow

gangster: anyone who using arms against communist tyranny
 good: all which fosters communism
 hireling of capitalism: western European democratic parties
 Hitlerite: prominent democratic leader
 imperialist: any opposing Soviet aggression
 independence: the dependency of Russian neighbors upon the Kremlin
 injustice: decision of free courts outside the Soviet Union
 international cooperation: self liquidation of democracy in democratic countries
 justice: social revenge in the Soviet Union by courts, police and class terror
 liberation of nationalities: the enslavement of nations by Red Russia
 liquidation: murder
 liquidation of Soviet Republics: annihilation of whole nationalities or genocide in the Soviet Union
 mutual aid and friendship pact: final liquidation of national independence
 non-aggression treaty: aggression guaranteed by special non-interference clauses
 organization of Europe: subjugation of Europe by Moscow
 pacifism: Soviet armaments
 patriot: foreign communist who betrays his country
 progress: Communist reaction
 progressive: subservient to communism
 provocation: foreign criticism of the Soviet Union
 public opinion: opinion of the Communist Party's Politbureau
 purge: communist terror
 reactionary howl: free public opinion in the democratic world
 Red-baiter: anyone discovering communist treason
 re-education of citizens: concentration camps
 security: hegemony of the Soviet over Europe and Asia
 selfdetermination of nationalities: right and duty of all nationalities to join the Soviet Union
 slave labor: free labor outside the Soviet Union
 slavery: all rights, including right to strike, outside the Soviet Union
 socialist traitor: Western European socialist democrat
 totalitarian reaction: progress
 Pravda (Truth): NAME of the greatest lying newspaper, organ of All-Union Soviet Communist Party
 UN—cooperation: UN—sabotage
 unity of Germany: German Soviet Republic
 Wall-streeter: leader of any American church-organization
 warmonger: anyone who criticizes Soviet system
 worker's and peasant's government: dictatorship over peasant and workers by Communist Politbureau.

The Stalin Constitution of 1936 is an outstanding example of modern Soviet semantics. The entire terminology of western democratic self-government—parliamentarism, liberalism, and humanism—is applied with new Soviet-meanings to the totalitarian machinery of

Communitistic despotism. Terms come to have meanings exactly opposite to their old European meanings. Inside the Soviet Union these new semantics are enforced by the Communist dictatorship through press, radio, and party. Every criticism is silenced by the severest punishment and persecution. The old European meanings were “shot”—liquidated; they were “enemies of the Soviet people.” Thus the Soviet dictatorship is the only true totalitarianism, because it means not only the complete enslavement of the body, but also of the brain; not only the direction of economic life, but of the sphere of the mind as well. Outside the Soviet Union the Communist press hammers daily the new meanings into the brains of all nations. Soviet Moscow is conducting a systematic semantic offensive in order to enslave the free minds, the free souls of the rest of the world. Semantics has become the advance guard of Soviet imperialism. Soviet meanings are the modern mental poison, the most efficient weapon against “class enemies” outside the Soviet Union.

The old European World has to defend itself against Soviet semantics and its lying propaganda or surrender to Communist totalitarianism. Old words and new have to be redefined and re-evaluated. Democracy must again become democracy, freedom—freedom, justice—justice, and slavery—slavery.



CURRENT UKRAINIAN CHRONICLE

UKRAINIANS IN WESTERN EUROPE CREATE CENTRAL ORGANIZATION

The organization of Ukrainians dispersed over the world because of the Russian occupation of their homeland received additional impetus with the establishment of the "Coordinating Center of Ukrainian Central Organizations" as a result of a conference held in London, England, on January 1, 1949. Representatives of Ukrainian communities in Western Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, and Great Britain participated in the conference.

Officers elected include: Vasyl Mudry, Germany, president; Bohdan Panchuk, Great Britain, vice-president; Andriy Kishka, Belgium, secretary. London is the headquarters of the organization.

The founding of this central body for Ukrainians in Western Europe follows the pattern set by the Ukrainians in the New World, who organized the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference in 1947. It is hoped that eventually a world-wide Ukrainian coordinating body will be created.

FREE WORLD OUT OF THE RUINS OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE

Several hundred Ukrainian resisters have succeeded in reaching the U. S. zones of Germany and Austria during the past year, among them over fifty officers of the highly efficient and apparently indestructible Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). These were interviewed at length by Roman D'Or, well-known correspondent of the Swiss *Die Weltwoche*, *The Baltic Review* and other Western European newspapers. The consensus of opinion of these officers is that the clash of the Western world with Soviet Russia, toward which the Soviet Union and its satellites are now preparing at full steam, is inevitable.

It goes without saying that millions of the non-Russian people in Eastern Europe are also directing their energy and effort toward that day on which they believe communist slavery will be ended forever and which will bring a new world of tomorrow.

The Ukrainians, states the report, due to their numerical strength, geo-political position and their centuries-nurtured anti-Russian feeling, are the most stubborn fighters against Soviet Russia. Naturally

the aspirations of many smaller peoples are closely tied to the plans, accredited to General Taras Chuprynka, commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The plan, which is said to be widely circulated inside the Soviet Union, aims at the transformation of the Soviet empire into a series of national independent states.

Four New Units to Take Existence

What is known as the "Chuprynka Plan" is a far-reaching blueprint of the reorganization of Eastern Europe and Asia, when and if the Western World clashes with the totalitarian block headed by Moscow.

The liberation of all peoples of the Soviet Union and their national self-determination is the first and most important prerequisite of the "world of tomorrow," which will be followed by the establishment of four principal state units as follows: 1) Siberia, 2) the Caucasus, 3) Turkestan and 4) the Scandinavian-Black Sea Unit.

(Carto-Nieuws, Haag, Dec. 8, 1948)

**MOSCOW'S PROCONSUL IN UKRAINE
COMBATS UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM**

Delegates to the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine were urged to intensify the indoctrination of Communism among the Ukrainian masses, according to the Moscow correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune in a dispatch dated January 26, 1949.

Nikita Khrushshev, secretary-general of the party in Ukraine, revealed that there are still people in Ukraine who are very slow in freeing themselves of capitalist ideas and tendencies, and declared that Communists must combat hostile ideology, Ukrainian nationalism, and political sterility.

MRS. KOSENKINA JOINS UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Mrs. Oksana Kosenkina, who gained fame last August by her jump to freedom in New York where she worked in the Soviet consulate, was received into the Catholic Church by Rev. Marian Horishny, who officiates at St. George's Ukrainian Catholic Church, 22 E. 7th St., New York, N. Y.

Mrs. Kosenkina is a Ukrainian from the Donbas region of Ukraine and served the official Soviet group in New York as a teacher. She joined the Slav-Byzantine rite of the Catholic Church.

UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND LEADER KILLED

Commander Ostap, a leading figure in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which is fighting the Bolsheviks, was reported killed in November, 1948, in a battle with the Soviet MVD troops near Torchyn in the province of Volhynia, Ukraine, according to the Ukrainian Bulletin of Information, a publication close to the Ukrainian underground fighters. Ostap was a veteran guerilla fighter and he was killed when his detachment was encircled by a strong force of MVD troops.

UPA LIBERATED ARRESTED DEPORTEES

The Ukrainian Word, a newspaper of the Ukrainians in the British zone of Germany, reported on Dec. 5, 1948 that a newly arrived member of the UPA disclosed the following information:

In the spring of 1948 the Bolsheviks began a forcible collectivization of the districts of Zhovka and Rava. Many peasants were arrested, among them the escapee.

All arrested were transferred to the infamous "Brygidki" prison in Lviv, where at least 400 other Ukrainians were detained. Most of them were peasant youths, including children between the years of 10 and 14, who were arrested for putting wreaths on the graves of UPA soldiers killed in action.

On June 24, 1948, all arrested were taken from the "Brygidki" prison and put on a cattle train destined for the interior parts of the Soviet Union. The transport had 50 cars, each containing 50 men. Leaving Lviv at night, the train was stopped a few kilometers outside the city by a raiding party. The cars were broken open and the occupants freed.

The MVD guards were either killed or taken away by the insurgents.

TRIAL OF UKRAINIAN PATRIOTS IN BRATISLAVA

The first political trial against the Ukrainian underground fighters took place on November 18, 1948, in Bratislava amid the clamoring of communist press and radio. Among those tried in the Slovakian capital, were: I. Klisch, P. Leshniak, N. Masliuk and V. Ripka. All were accused of being members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and of committing anti-Czech and anti-Soviet acts. They were also being tried for the assassination of a Czech NKVD agent.

All four defendants received the death sentence.

800,000 DEPORTED FROM VOLHYNIA IN UKRAINE Fugitives from Volhynia in Western Ukraine state:

In the night of October 20/21, 1947, the Bolsheviks staged an unprecedented deportation in Volhynia. Between 500,000 and 800,000, or one fifth to one fourth of the population of that province was deported in one night.

A month before the action, the MVD collected barred cattle wagons on all the stations and units of the MVD forces, "destruction battalions" and units of the Soviet army were billeted all over the countryside under the pretext of operations against the resistance movement.

The majority of locally prominent people were entered on deportation lists under the charges of contact with the resistance movement, of having relatives abroad, of having "collaborated" with the Germans etc.

After these preparations the villages were surrounded and the deportees arrested. The whole action took 24 hours. The deportees were allowed to take with them the luggage they were able to carry and no information was vouchsafed on their destination. Later it transpired that the majority were taken to Kazakhstan.

Colonists from the district of Moscow and evicted Bielorussians have been settled in the farms of the deportees.

(From "Newsletter from Behind the Iron Curtain," Dec. 17, '48.)

TRIAL OF UKRAINIAN PATRIOTS IN PRAGUE

Following the death sentence imposed upon the Ukrainian soldiers fighting in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army by the Bratislava "People's Court" last November, the Russian-dominated Czechoslovak government staged the trial of a group of Ukrainian patriots in Prague in January, 1949. Among the accused were: Rev. Paul Huchko, popular rector of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the Czechoslovak capital; Hryhoriy Buranych, organist of the same parish; Ivan Prodan; Dr. Omelyan Ivancho, a lawyer; and Rev. Sebastian Sobol.

The defendants were accused of plotting to detach Eastern Slovakia from the Czechoslovak republic and to incorporate this district into an independent Ukrainian state stretching from the "Poprad river in the Carpathians to the Kuban river in the North Caucasus." All defendants were found guilty.

Inasmuch as the defendants were connected with the Ukrainian

Greek Catholic Diocese of Preshov in Eastern Slovakia, it is believed that this trial represents a dress-rehearsal for the forced conversion of this last Ukrainian Catholic diocese to Russian Orthodoxy.

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE PROTESTS CONDEMNATION OF CARDINAL MINDSZENTY

In a telegram sent to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, February 10, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America called for American intervention to save Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary, condemned to life imprisonment in Budapest.

Recalling that the Budapest trial of the venerable prelate "was an exact replica of the so-called purge trials long in operation in Soviet Russia," the telegram stated that in 1945 the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy, including Metropolitan Joseph Slipy and six bishops, was arrested and deported to the interior of Soviet Russia.

"There in 1945 the Catholic Church of Western Ukraine was brutally destroyed by the communist storm-troopers, the NKVD. When some five million Ukrainians in Western Ukraine refused to join the Politburo-controlled Russian Orthodox Church, the Soviets proceeded to arrest the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy and hundreds of Ukrainian priests, both secular and monastic. Arrested and deported into the interior of Soviet Russia were: Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, Archbishop of Lviv and head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church; Bishops N. Budka and M. Charnetsky of Lviv; Bishop Gregory Khomyshyn and his Auxiliary, Bishop Ivan Latyshevsky of Stanislaviv; Bishop Josaphat Kocylovsky and his Auxiliary, Bishop Gregory Lakota of Peremyshl. In the fall of 1974 the last Catholic Bishop of Ukraine, Theodore Romzha of Carpatho-Ukraine met his tragic death in an 'accident' with a Soviet army tank. Of those deported it is known that Bishops Khomyshyn and Kocylovsky met their deaths in Soviet dungeons.

"We think that the mock trial of Cardinal Mindszenty is the first phase, as it was in Ukraine, toward the complete eradication of religion in Hungary.

"As Americans we urge you to condemn the actions of an atheistic police state anywhere, not only for spiritual reasons, but for the elemental one of our own physical survival."

BOOK REVIEWS

THE RUSSIAN RELIGIOUS MIND. Kievan Christianity, by George Fedotow, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1946. I—XVI, I—438.

This book by G. Fedotow, entitled "The Russian Religious Mind, Kievan Christianity" seems to be the first volume of a more extensive work on the religious mind of the Russian people. But the Russians are the northern neighbors of the Ukrainians and the eastern neighbors of the White Ruthenians or Byelorussians. Their capital is Moscow. Why the Kievan Christianity, the Christianity of the Ukrainian people, has to be incorporated into the Russian Religious Mind is not easy to answer.

It is true that the Russians or the Muscovites were Christianized by Ukrainians from the South, but the reason for labelling the Ukrainian teachers of the Russians as Russians and their religious mind the "Russian religious mind" are clear only to one who understands how the Russian imperialistic mind has penetrated not only politics but scholarly research among both Red and White Russians.

Instead of studying the religious mind of the Slavic as well as the Ugro-Finnish clans which were the ancestors of the modern Russians, the author simply included in the Russian religious mind all the spiritual achievements of the Kievan Ukrainians, known at that time under the name Rus, and thus annexed the Ukrainian spiritual mind for more than 300 years for the benefit of the Russians.

Evidently the author of this book was unable to solve the numerous contradictions which arose between the Kievan Christianity and the Christianity of the Russians or the Muscovites, because there was no evolutionary transition from the old Ukrainian Kievan Christianity to the Russian Christianity of the Muscovite and Imperial periods.

It is obvious that the spirituality of the Ukrainians is quite different from the spirituality of the Russians. The Ukrainian spirit is a product of the Ukrainian soil, another Hellas according to several travelers through Ukraine. It was very strongly influenced by the Iranian culture as well as by Greek culture which reached it through the Pontian colonies on the southern coast of Ukraine.

As a result the Ukrainians from the oldest historical times have

been liberal-minded, individualistic, and have a deep feeling for human dignity and honor as well as optimistic views on life and nature. In political life the Ukrainians are democratic-minded. All these characteristics are strange to the Russians, who are obedient and servile to the authorities. They are collectivistically inclined and in political life ready to acknowledge any dictatorial power. The Russian view on life and nature is rather pessimistic; not charity, but fear is the controlling motive of their activities.

The characteristics of both peoples are evident in their religious minds, which must obviously be different. The author states that in the religious life of Kievan Christianity not fear but charity was the main motive of Christian life. God in the opinion of the old Kievan Christians was not a fearful Despot and Christ a fearful Judge, but rather a loving Father and a Merciful Savior. Such a religious opinion prevailed among the civil population as well as among the clergy, saints, monks and high theologians. But it is true only in relation to Ukrainians, not Moscovite Russians.

Analyzing the masterpiece of old Ukrainian literature *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* the author finds the virtues of the heroes quite unnatural to the Russians but rather very similar to those of Western knights. However no explanation for this is given. The heroes of this work are fighting "for their own honor and the glory of their prince." This never happened in Russia where the heroes are fighting as subjects of the prince and in order to acquire his favor.

The author of the *Russian Religious Mind* is excellent in his analysis of the religious and historical facts of Kievan Christianity. Helpful for him is his very deep education in Byzantine as well as in old Kievan religious literature. But he is weak in his synthesis not because of defects in his research, but because of the aprioristic principles which he has assumed in claiming that Kievan Christianity is Russian Christianity, the oldest period of the Russian Christian mind: and this is not true.

In spite of this fundamental defect the book is very instructive. The author has collected very rich material for his subject. He is very familiar with the sources, including old Ukrainian, Byzantine as well as other foreign sources. He has composed a very valuable book which should however have the somewhat different title: *The Ukrainian Religious Mind: Kievan Christianity*.

N. CHUBATY

SOVIET ECONOMIC PROPHET AND HERETIC

THE ECONOMY OF THE USSR DURING WORLD WAR II, by Nikolai A. Voznesensky. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C., 1948, 115 pp.

SOVIET VIEWS ON THE POST-WAR WORLD ECONOMY, an official critique of Eugene Varga's 'Changes in the Economy of Capitalism Resulting from the Second World War,' as translated by Leo Gruliov. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C., 1948, 125 pp.

In its distribution of these two vitally important publications, the Public Affairs Press, in cooperation with the American Council of Learned Societies and its Russian translation program, performs an invaluable service for the enlightenment of the American public on the peculiar ideas and the inflexible processes of thought that dominate the minds of the Soviet elite. It should be clear today to any well-balanced American that in large measure his future, the fate of his country, and the peace of the world depend upon the ideas and motives of the Soviet leadership.

We have here two official products of current Soviet thought, one written by N. Voznesensky, the Deputy Premier of the U.S.S.R. and the chief of its State Planning Commission, the other comprising the attacks of Soviet economists and others on the work of one of the Soviet Union's leading economists whose relatively unique study on contemporary capitalism led him to certain results that failed to conform with the preconceived notions entertained by the all-ruling Politbureau and widely circulated through its propaganda organs. Only by reading these two publications and comparing them can we understand the full import of the dominant ideas represented in each and begin to fully understand the reasons why Eugene Varga has been officially ostracized, why his editorship of "World Economy and World Politics" and his directorship of the World Institute of Economics in Moscow have ceased, and why some of his closest disciples are similarly in disfavor. In Voznesensky's work, expressing the orientation and views of the Politbureau, we find that model of contemporary Marxist writing which the critics of Varga's work uphold, but from which Varga's exposition in many important respects departs.

In presumably strict conformity with the Marxist technique of dialectical treatment, Voznesensky offers what claims to be a socio-eco-

conomic portrayal of the Soviet effort, its immediate pre-war bases and its post-war tendencies. Although at first glance the book may seem impressive and objectively authoritative by virtue of the great amount of its statistical information in ostensible support of the concluding generalizations formulated by the author, careful study reveals that the statistics through biased selection or outright distortion, are completely subordinated to the preconceived general ideas that so obviously pre-possess the writer. Some of the countless examples of this, which involve common tricks of statistical manipulation, will be cited below. By far more important is the consistent fanatical tone of the entire work, resounding especially in the typical splurge of familiar shibboleths and other notes of ceremonial Marxist adequacy that scarcely confirm any pretensions of objectivity on the part of this celebrated member of the Politbureau. But for anyone in the least acquainted with the exhortatory and declamatory portions of the works of Marx and his Leninist and Stalinist successors, this is to be expected. It is therefore of paramount importance to the reader to wade through this basically incidental verbiage, in order to understand the political ideas which predetermine the entire work.

It is chiefly in the introductory part of the work that the dominant political ideas are expounded. First, it is of prime significance that at the very outset the author sees fit to emphasize the unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union which for him was clearly demonstrated in the past war of "socialism against fascism" (p. 1). Later this notion is used as the base of many broad generalizations as, for example, the inability of the German forces "to attract even a part of the Soviet people of occupied regions to their side" or the statement that not "a single capitalist country in all its past history or in modern war has sustained such losses . . . as our homeland." The dishonesty of the author is flagrant here, for, as concerns the first, his own government eliminated several "republics," such as the Tatar, for collaboration with the Germans. Moreover, some one million Soviet soldiers willingly surrendered to the Germans, while the Ukrainians did not resist the Germans through underground activity because of any imaginary sense of unity, but, because of blind German opposition to their desire for national independence. As for the second example, it is sufficient to remark that by far the major part of the material loss was borne not by Russia, but by Ukraine, which like the many European states he accuses Nazi Germany of exploiting for its war economy, has been similarly exploited by Russia. The reality of these facts and others may be fairly construed

as the hidden reason for the author's unusually early emphasis upon the alleged unity of the Soviet peoples.

Another familiar notion emphasized by Voznesensky is that the past war, as indeed all previous wars of the modern era, was the inevitable outcome of capitalist development and, as one would logically expect, this leads to the prophetic conclusion that the continued existence of capitalist states, the United States being the most notorious, can only mean imperialist expansion and the outbreak of World War III. Integrally connected with these general ideas are those of capitalist encirclement and its consequent compulsion upon the Soviet Union to maintain a war economy in this post-war period. Rational criticism of these general statements expressed in exclamatory form is wasteful of time and energy. But it is important to realize that these dogmatic assertions with their customary string of undefined objects, essentially reiterations of unmodifiable communist doctrine, contain a defence for future Soviet acts of aggression. Even the responsibility for the inevitable world upheaval is already theoretically placed and in the light of this apologia every act of the Soviet state can be only a just one. The appeal made by this fabricated line of thought is self-evident and as the author stresses, "Only he who *unconditionally* protects the USSR is an internationalist, for it is impossible to solve the problems of the international revolutionary workers' movement without protecting the Soviet Union" (p. 2). By this the fifth columns are properly alerted.

The rest of the work, studded with all sorts of adulations of Stalin, consists of ramifications of these basic notions in the guise of an economic appraisal of the Soviet victory in the past war. The defeat of fascism is unabashedly attributed to the power of the Soviet system. This is offered then as "proof" of the durability and essential righteousness of that system. American aid, which cannot be calculated merely in terms of the 11.2 billions of dollars of supplies given to the Soviet Union, nor even in terms of the far greater value of this sum as gauged by the indispensability of the endless technical items that made possible the very continuation of the major portions of Soviet industry, but must be evaluated also by the decisive diversionary effects of American military pursuit, for which in the form of invasion the Soviet howled themselves blue, is with startling effect held for naught by this ungrateful spokesman for the Politbureau (p. 13). This in itself is illustrative not only of the distorted character of this work but also of the twisted type of humanity with which we are forced to contend. Moreover, although the author constantly employs the term "Patriotic War," he

fails in this vain justification of the Soviet system to point out that for almost three war years the vast propaganda machine of the Party ignored completely the proletarian theme of defending "the socialist motherland" in absolute favor of the patriotic note of safeguarding historic Russian soil.

Finally, it becomes manifestly clear to the critical and careful reader that his whole approach to economic analysis confirms the general observation made earlier in this review. For one, his designation of the Soviet economy as having been a peculiarly war economy during the war years, subject to "peculiar economic laws in the sphere of production and distribution," is fallacious. Since 1928 the Soviets have had a war economy and the changes that transpired in 1941 were of degree rather than kind. There is some value in meticulously investigating ordinarily doctored Soviet statistics in that unintended slips sometimes occur to reveal certain phenomena. In this case the author himself discloses later in the fiscal statistics, which he offers to support his contention on this shift to a war economy, that in 1940 military expenditures, meaning money spent on the Red forces as such and not including the undoubtedly huge costs incurred to maintain the military organization of the OGPU, accounted for 32.5% of the total expenditures as against 59% in 1942 (p. 79). With almost 1/3 of the total state expenditure devoted to the military, similar to American budgeting today and without including the money spent on the OGPU, the Soviet economy prior to 1942 can scarcely be called a peace economy, but must be taken for what it has always been since its Sovietized form—an economy serving a police state.

His statistical contortions make choice reading for the alert investigator. The excessive use of percentages rather than absolute figures renders the greater part of his supporting data meaningless. His comparisons of the American standard of living with that of the Soviet are more than ludicrous. For example, he asserts, "the proportion of his earnings which the worker in the USSR spends on housing and transportation is one-sixth to one-fifth the proportion of the earnings which an American worker spends on the same items" (p. 70). Mr. Voznesensky does not tell the reader how much traveling the Soviet worker can and does do, nor how much housing space he and his family actually possess. The standard of living has consistently been so low in the "worker's paradise" that one marvels at the brutal audacity of the author in engaging in such comparisons. Statements such as this one—"The situation is different in capitalist countries, where wages in the

iron and steel and mining industries are among the *lowest*" (p. 71)—are a measure of the veracity of this work.

* * *

The approach taken by Voznesensky is the typical line of thought that *Varga's* critics censured him for not adopting in his work, which by its methodological heresy created enough stir in Soviet circles to cause an "unofficial critique" and the subsequent virtual banishment of the author and his close associates. As in the mock trial of high Soviet jurisprudence, the seemingly innocuous setting of Varga's trial is "a joint conference of the Political Economy Section of the Economics Institute and the Moscow University faculty of political economy." As mentioned earlier, this second book consists of the criticisms made by the learned professors and economists on the views expressed by Varga in his study, which can be efficiently reduced to the following eight points: (1) crisis prediction, (2) method, (3) the role of the state, (4) planning, (5) capitalist imperialism, (6) the "new democracy" in Eastern Europe, (7) war impoverishment and (8) the problem of realization.

Taking each of these briefly, it becomes strikingly apparent that the general criticism against Varga hinges on his more or less empirical approach to each of these problems and his consequent minimizing of the "theoretical" course exemplified by Voznesensky. Inspired by Marxian eschatology and following the line set by the Kremlin, most of the critics attack Varga for his neglect of the crisis element in capitalism and its relation to post-war capitalist economy. One nimble-minded critic berates him for speaking of an "upturn" in post-war capitalist production when current indices reveal a level lower than the highest wartime level. Others invoke the stagnation theory of the 30's and quote some remarks by Kenneth Boulding on the questionable under-consumption theory, which incidentally Marx in his "Capital," volume 2, attacks, but Varga with honesty insists that his studies do not disclose the hoped-for depression and capitalist downfall in the foreseeable future.

Related to this and the others is the second major criticism against his method of divorcing economic questions from the political, despite his reassurance that his second volume will consider the latter. This objection is essential for Varga was expected to handle his material in the same distorted manner as Voznesensky. This is readily seen in the third objection to his observation on the role of the state in capitalist

economy. To cite one example, for Voznesensky the fact that a comparatively few large companies in the U. S. received the bulk of the contracts during the war and supposedly reaped "enormous profits" proves that the U. S. is controlled by these "capitalist monopolies." Varga, however, denies this and shows that after the end of wartime governmental price regulation they received greater profits. It is interesting to note that the percentage-minded Soviet economist and writer uses only absolute figures in dealing with profits and expediently ignores the more important per cent relation of profit income to the total national income. Also, in the above example, it seems to be of little account to them that these companies are large-scale enterprises that stood to meet the mass production requirements of the state.

Varga's observation on the remaining points, namely that some semblance of planned economy did appear in wartime capitalism, that through the financial changes the political liberation of colonial dependencies was markedly facilitated, that the "new democratic" economies of Eastern Europe are still examples of state capitalism; that all warring countries are impoverished to varying extents, and that in war economy the problem of realization did not exist because of the ease with which comparatively scarcer goods could be sold, meet with obvious criticism drawn along the lines of "theoretical" analysis as shown above. In all of this, one outstanding truth that every American reader of these Soviet publications must constantly bear in mind is that under a police state the vile marks of political violence, coercion, fraud, and arrogant voluntarism make their appearance not only in the political sphere, but, as Marxists rightly teach, extend into every aspect and precinct of life. We can find adequate proof of this in these two official writings.

LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

SOVIET LAND—The Country, its People and their Work, by G. D. B. Gray. Adam and Charles Black, London, 1947, I-VIII-1-324.

The aim of G. D. B. Gray, author of *The Soviet Land*, was to write an impartial handbook on the geography of the Soviet Union. Yet when geography sets itself to describe a land and its people the author needs an extensive knowledge of all aspects of human life and culture and this is especially true when he has to deal with such a country as the Soviet Union, isolated from the western world. The author is right when he writes in the preface "only through a knowledge of the geogra-

phical and historical background of Soviet Russia can a real and permanent understanding emerge between her peoples and those of the English-speaking world." When the author mentions his reference books he confesses that he has had to "rely on much secondary material," that is, to rely on the Soviet official publications.

In the first chapters of his book on the physical features of the Soviet Union the author is very successful. But when he tries to describe the people of the Soviet Union his picture becomes somewhat confused and sometimes unreal. The influence of the Soviet propaganda literature is very noticeable throughout the book.

The author handles the Soviet Union as a single geographical unit, though there are various points of view on this. There can be no doubt, that a territory that covers some eight million square miles can be divided into several geographical regions, and his treatment of the physical features of these is excellent.

The weakest part of the book is the second part dealing with "Peoples and their History," that is, the anthropological geography. In this part the author made use, on the one hand, of the Soviet propaganda works, and, on the other hand, of the outdated Russian historical points of view. That is why this part gives the reader a confused picture, which is contrary to the real conditions and not in agreement with modern research.

Taking the Soviet Constitution as his yard-stick of fair treatment, the author draws a sharp difference between the methods used by Tsarist Russia with its many peoples and those used by the Soviet government. In reality this difference is not warranted. The author accepts the Soviet theory that there is but one Soviet nation composed of many peoples. We know that similar theories are also propounded by the Russian imperialistic nationalists living outside of the Soviet Union.

When the author talks of the Ukrainians, a nation that is even a member of the United Nations, he takes for granted the old theory of tsarist times that both the Ukrainians and the White Ruthenians are really Russians who speak their own regional dialects. Perhaps the author does not know that even under the tsarist regime, in 1905, this antedeluvian theory was disproved by the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg in its official statement that Ukrainian is a separate Slavic language which originated in ancient times, and not just a dialect.

With such a false conception, the author does not understand

those factors of central and eastern Europe which make out of a people a nation even at the time when it has no government of its own. That is why the author is unable to answer his own question: "What makes a man a Pole, Finn, or a Russian?" What a pity! If he could have answered this question correctly, he could have understood what it is that determines the boundary between Poland and Ukraine, or between Russia and Finland.

The author takes Soviet propaganda at its face value, saying that in the Soviet Union "The State is just another unit," and that the Soviet peoples are bound together by "common ideas" and a "common form of government." He adds even that the peoples of the Soviet Union are so satisfied with their present form of government that "they held together and died together for the U.S.S.R." (page 77). Thus the author speaks like the Soviet propagandists and forgets that the Soviet citizens would leave the Soviet Union by the millions if its borders were open. We know now that during the first six months of war in 1941 millions of the Soviet troops surrendered to the Nazis. It was the mad policy of the Nazis, who by destroying the Soviet prisoners as men of an inferior race, made the population of the Soviet Union strongly anti-Nazi.

Taking the Soviet propaganda at its face value, the author betrays his ignorance of the many nationalist movements in Russia after the revolution of 1917. He apparently has never even heard of the fact that there were such democratic republics as the Ukrainian National Republic, the White Ruthenian Republic, the Georgian Republic and many others which were drowned by the Soviets in rivers of blood and reunited to Soviet Russia by force, and which are kept now within the Soviet empire through famines, murders by shooting, and through the deportation of millions of their peaceful citizens to forced labor in Siberia. It is hard to see, therefore, how Gray's book is able to serve the noble cause of "permanent understanding between the peoples of Soviet Union and the English speaking world."

N. CHUBATY



UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

“Aspects of Russian Expansion,” by Philip E. Mosely. *The American Slavic and East European Review*, October, 1948, Columbia University Press.

Professor Mosely of the Russian Institute at Columbia University has written an excellent analysis and historical survey of Russian expansion. With rare historical perception and a forthrightness which many American scholars seem constrained to conceal the author finds that in the past Russian expansion employed two fundamental instruments: the force of arms and the Orthodox Church. At times Pan-Slavic sentiments were also exploited, and today Communist ideology has risen to be the most powerful tool of Russian expansion.

The proclamation of the mission of the “Third Rome” meant the subordination of the Orthodox Church to Russian political power.

The tsarist government exploited the idea of Orthodox unity and a common faith so that Russian frontiers were extended to include Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Georgia, and Armenia. Very interesting and thought-provoking is his observation that adherence to Orthodoxy on the part of Ukrainians and White Ruthenians hampered the growth of these peoples into full-fledged national entities. This, of course, goes a long way in explaining why national consciousness developed much sooner and with greater vigor among the Greek Catholic Ukrainians in Galicia.

The use of force as a means for Russian expansion often involved the use of compromise, but this was the basic ingredient in the Russian thrust to the Baltic Sea, the Caucasus, and other parts of Asia. The use of force in these matters indicates that the conquered peoples resisted Russian expansion and considered it imperialistic. Russian culture, which become dominant in many non-Russian ethnic regions, helped to keep these diverse peoples under Russian control and later served as the source of federalistic trends after the revolution of 1917.

Communism today serves as the most powerful tool of Russian expansion. Within the Soviet Union the government is trying to develop the idea of a new Soviet nationality that binds all the ethnic groups within its frontiers, with the Russians retaining basic supremacy. Abroad Communism seems to have attracted many nations to the

Soviet Union through its economic and social gospel, so much so that they wind up as Soviet satellites and may properly be considered new additions on the long list of countries absorbed by Russian expansion.

“The Eastern Church Today,” by Gregor Luschnitzky. *Eastern Review*, July-September, 1948, Klagenfurt, Austria.

With the unspeakable persecution of Cardinal Mindszenty in the forefront of contemporary events this ably written article presents a compact background shedding considerable light on the type of warfare the Kremlin has chosen to wage against the Vatican. Above all it impresses one with the full realization that this latest outrage is not an accidental occurrence but rather another necessary step determined by Communist strategy to undermine completely Catholic resistance to Communist measures of systematic enslavement. It is part of the emerging answer to the old historical question—“Moscow or Rome?”

The author’s lucid description of the absolute subserviency of Orthodoxy to Soviet power and objective, of the early decimation of the Ukrainian Catholic Uniat Church in Western Ukraine, of the similar liquidation of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, and of the imprisonment of Archbishop Stepinac of Zagreb and the arrests and removal of thousands of priests forms a picture of calculated development that makes the current world-wide protests seem rather belated.

“The Strength and the Weaknesses of Soviet Union,” by N. S. Timasheff. *The Review of Politics*, October, 1948, Notre Dame, Indiana.

Professor Timasheff’s writings are always informative, instructive and painstakingly objective. Reflecting the analytical cogency of his serviceable work, “The Great Retreat,” this concisely prepared essay presents in lucid manner and with convincing statistical support the points of strength and of weakness of the Soviet Union, ranging from geographical to the sociological. One can approvingly follow the author in his meticulous enumeration of these points, and disagreeing possibly only with the weight of importance he seems at times to assign to some of them. But when in dealing with the anti-Soviet manifestations by peoples within the Union during the war, he asserts that the Vlasov movement was “without counterpart in the past war,” and implies by this a measure of opposition to the Soviet regime, we can hardly deem

this as simply inaccurate. Professor Timasheff is too conversant with the abundantly known facts to make such a mistake. Rather, as his almost total depreciation of the opposition of the nationalities as one of the most potent factors of weakness itself indicates, Dr. Timasheff shows the characteristically unfortunate tendency of Russian emigrés by purposely overlooking the insurgent Ukrainian national movement, which fought both the totalitarian Germans and the Russian Soviets, far surpassed in significance and numbers the puny Vlasov movement, and is still fighting courageously today against the Soviet regime.

Our Russian emigres can manage to hoodwink some Americans for a short time, but we Americans can no longer ignore a statement such as that recently released by the chairman of the Lithuanian Committee of Liberation, Prof. Mykolas Krupavicius: "The most gallant and most efficient of the underground movements is to be found in the Ukraine." (Jan. 28, 1949, U.P.)

"Jews, Christians—and Collaborators," by David Martin. *America*, a Catholic Review of the Week, January 1, 1949, New York.

Mr. Martin, author of "Tito, the History of a Fraud" and secretary of the Refugees Defense Committee, is one of the best informed men in America today concerning the D.P. problem. His competency and intellectual integrity are amply shown in this stirring reply to the pernicious contention advanced in articles and editorials appearing last November in the *New York Post* that the majority of the non-Jewish DP's are collaborators. Systematically examining each aspect of this baseless argument, he demonstrates with acute insight the Communist motivation behind it. Concerning this base accusation as applied to the Ukrainian DP's, he declares: "You point out that Allied Intelligence is aware of only two Ukrainian divisions that served with the German Army—this out of a population of 40,000,000 Ukrainians. You adduce evidence that the majority of the Ukrainians and Lithuanian people were partisans of the resistance movement—that their resistance, indeed, was second to none in Europe. But statistics and official quotations do not impress them." To generalize from unrepresentative particulars is a vicious error in logic, but as this brilliant writer shows, it is a powerful Red pawn, especially when unwitting non-Communists are used to play the game on the surface.

"They Won't Go Home to Stalin's Russia," by Louis Fischer. *Look magazine*, November 23, 1948, New York.

Apropos to the preceding comment is this fascinating article written on the basis of the author's experiences with the DP's in Western Europe and the authoritative account of such Allied representatives as Lt. Col. Joseph F. Decker. Case after case shows conclusively that Red barbarism is the basic explanation for their not wanting to go "home." The unfortunate feature of this article, as indeed of all of Mr. Fischer's writings bearing on Eastern Europe and its peoples, is his constant confusion of national characters. Unlike Mr. Martin who certainly possesses a more essential knowledge of the peoples of Eastern Europe, Mr. Fischer frequently—in fact almost always—misidentifies a Ukrainian as a Russian. Time of course will rectify this error.

"Kiev Celebrates Its Liberation," by N. Stor. *U.S.S.R., Information Bulletin*, November 3, 1948, Washington, D. C.

Much of the vain self-praise and hollow glorification that ordinarily resounds in the articles of this publication can be wisely discounted, but sometimes an essay, such as this one, appears to provide testimony from the enemy's camp, so to speak, which can be very embarrassing to its unwitting or witting supporters. In the recent anti-DP propaganda, a certain Abraham G. Duker prepared a memorandum in which he asserts that the vast majority of the DPs are collaborators because they *voluntarily* joined the Germans in their retreat from Eastern Europe. The Soviet author quotes in another context a dispatch sent on November 6, 1943 to Joseph Stalin by Nikita Khrushchev, Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, which reads in part as follows: "The Germans attempted to *abduct* the entire population of the city (Kiev)." A little later, as the author expresses it, "Let Fyodor Mokinenko, former Chairman of the Kiev City Soviet, . . . tell the story: "The fate of 107 thousand others is no less tragic: they have been *taken to captivity* in Germany—to hunger, tuberculosis, spotted typhus." The appearance of the Western Allied armies in Europe gave these people their first genuine opportunity for freedom which now Mr. Duker and others, contradicting in their arguments even Soviet testimony, are anxious to deny them by having them deported back to the Soviet Union.

