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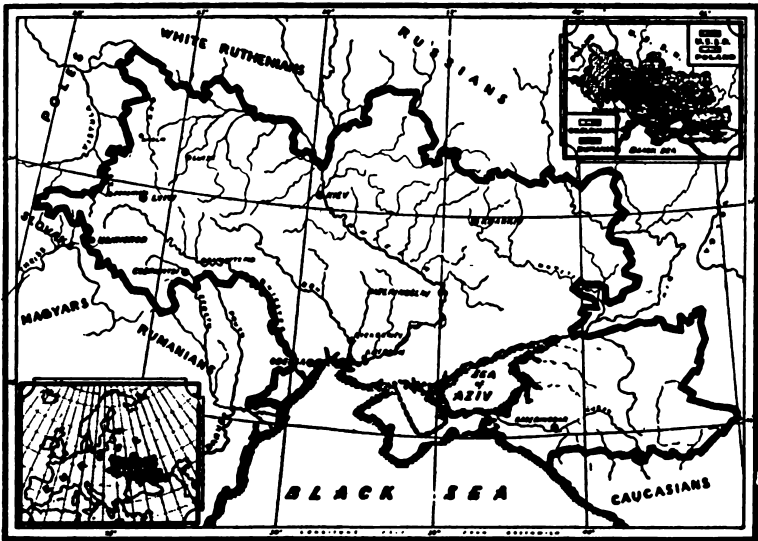
# THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY

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VOL. VII. — NUMBER 2.

ETHNOGRAPHIC MAP OF **UKRAINE**



LOWER LINE: PERMANENT TERRITORY IN 1939      UPPER LINE: DEMARCATION OF UKRAINE AFTER THE WORLD WAR

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SPRING 1951

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*Published by* UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

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*Edited by* EDITORIAL BOARD  
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*Published by* UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA  
*with support of Americans of Ukrainian Descent*

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*Subscription:* Yearly \$5.00; Single Copy \$1.25  
*Checks Payable to:* UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

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

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## C O N T E N T S

	PAGE
Between "Free Europe" and "Free Russia"	
<i>Editorial</i> .....	101-103
The Roots of Russian Literature	
<i>Clarence A. Manning</i> .....	104-110
The Achilles Heel of the USSR	
<i>Nicholas Prychodko</i> .....	111-115
Communism Among Americans of Foreign Birth	
<i>Joseph S. Roucek</i> .....	116-126
Religion and Nationality as Political Factors in Eastern Europe	
<i>Vladimir de Korostovetz</i> .....	127-133
The Ukrainian "Chernozem" and its Economic Possibilities	
<i>Gregory Makhiv</i> .....	134-143
America and the Russian Empire	
<i>Nicholas D. Chubaty</i> .....	144-161
The Ukrainian Medieval Paintings on Polish Soil	
<i>Damian Horniatkevych</i> .....	162-169
The Phantasmagoric Russian N. T. S.	
<i>Lev E. Dobriansky</i> .....	170-178
BOOK REVIEWS:	
<i>The Bolshevik Revolution</i> , by Edward Hallet Carr	
<i>Stephen Protsiuk</i> .....	179-181
<i>Public Opinion in Soviet Russia</i> , by Alex Inkeles	
<i>Stephen Protsiuk</i> .....	181-182
<i>L'Unione degli Armeni di Polonia con la Santa Sede (1626-1686)</i>	
<i>Bohdan J. Lonchyna</i> .....	182-183
<i>The Way of the Free</i> , by Stefan Osusky	
<i>Augustine Stefan</i> .....	183-185
<i>Must Night Fall?</i> by Major Tufton Beamish	
<i>J. Fedynskij</i> .....	185
<i>La Ruthenie Premongole, L'Ukraine et la Russie</i> , by Elie Borchak	
<i>Nicholas Chubaty</i> .....	186
UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS .....	187-192

PICTURE ON THE COVER: *For Free, Independent Ukraine. For better Living.* Woodcut by Bay-Zot, artist of Ukrainian Underground. This anti-Bolshevist leaflet was circulated in Ukraine in 1949.

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## BETWEEN "FREE EUROPE" AND "FREE RUSSIA"

### *Editorial*

"Majestas Vestra venit iam usque ad confines Asiae" — Your Majesty has already arrived at the boundaries of Asia — was the greeting of the courtiers of the Eagle of the North, King Charles XII of Sweden, when he approached the eastern borders of Ukraine in 1709, as he was pursuing the Muscovite army of Peter I.

"Sed Docti disputant" — But the Scholars disagree — answered the King. The disagreement as to the boundaries of Asia then became a living question, for at the battle of Poltava in Ukraine there was decided the position of the eastern boundary of Europe.

In the Middle Ages and up to the time of Charles XII, the ally of the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa, who had raised a revolt against Moscow for the liberation of Ukraine, the Don was generally accepted as the eastern boundary of Europe. As we know, in the decisive battle of Poltava between the Swedes and their Ukrainian allies and the Muscovite forces, the latter triumphed. Moscow won and mastered Ukraine for two centuries and began to force the boundary of Europe further to the west. The question as to that boundary is to-day again vital, now that in America the civilian organization of "Free Europe" has begun its activity and in its charter has established the eastern limit of its sphere of action as the rivers San and Buh at the Curzon line, the present boundary between Poland and Ukraine.

Thus 242 years ago the courtiers of Charles XII had no doubt that when they entered Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper near Poltava they were still in Europe, although the boundary of Asia was nearby on the Don. They had good reason to believe this, for from the XIth century Ukraine had belonged to the Western Europe: "Communitas Christiana", education in the time of Mazepa was given in the Latin language, scholasticism and humanism had taken firm roots, and the Baroque style of architecture in which the metropolitan Cathedral of this borderland was constructed had penetrated as far as Kharkiv. The Magdeburg laws for cities, the "Magna Charta Libertatum" which provided for the autonomy of the European cities, extended throughout Ukraine. Right to

its eastern borders Roman law was accepted as the foundation of order and between Poltava and that eastern boundary there still prevailed the freedom-loving mode of life with the respect for human personality, religious toleration and individual ownership of private property. The courtiers of Charles XII had the right to affirm in Ukraine struggling for its freedom that they were still in Europe but that Asia was near.

Now in America we are confessing that the boundaries of "Free Europe" have been pushed far to the west. Ukrainian Lviv and Prussian Koenigsberg, now Kaliningrad, lie outside of Europe. They cannot even be reached by the "campaign of truth" proclaimed by President Truman and organized by "Free Europe". Rumania and Poland are in Europe but Ukraine, White Ruthenia, and the three Baltic states now lie outside of it. The western world has apparently conceded the fact that the boundaries of Europe have moved steadily westward from the time of Charles XII and have passed from the Don to the San—Buh rivers along the Curzon line. Europe has shrunk by this distance of one thousand miles or 1600 kilometres.

1709 was a turning point in the history of Eastern Europe. Charles XII as the ally of Ukraine marched to the borders of Asia to widen constantly the boundaries of Europe, of which the Ukrainian people were the traditional guardians. He wanted to drive Moscow to the east and north. Unfortunately his failure in the battle of Poltava marked the beginning of the gradual withdrawal of the boundary of "Free Europe" to the west and our recent alliance with red Russia established the eastern boundary of Europe at the San and Buh. One more alliance of the west with Moscow will move that boundary to the Rhine or the Pyranees... And then the "Voice of Free Europe" will receive a charter on the basis of which it can work only to the snow-clad heights of the Pyranees, the eastern boundary of Europe.

A few weeks ago in New York there was born a new organization, "Free Russia", a name which it is not easy to interpret. During seven centuries there has never been a free Russia and it first appeared in New York. Across the Atlantic the contradiction is clear, for Russia has never had the epithet "Free" attached to it. — It does not need it. The present Russia is not free but it is not enslaved, for only he can be enslaved, who strives for freedom. Russia is not striving for freedom. It was always satisfied with Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great. It is satisfied with Stalin, the founder of the greatest Russian Empire. Russia is satisfied with Stalin and the spiritual leader of Russia, the "Patriarch of the Entire Orthodox World," Alexis of Moscow, proclaims Stalin as the "God-sent".

Russia will not accept from us our sense of freedom but the eastern part of Europe which has been merged with Russia, Ukraine, White Ruthenia and the Baltic peoples, want to be free for they all know the taste of freedom. They are not admitted into "Free Europe" and they do not wish to enter "Free Russia", for they realize that this is not a reality but a fiction.

The people living in an area of a thousand miles in width and length have been in America barred from their own continent. Again "the scholars disagree" and that is a pity. Between "Free Europe" and Russia there cannot be an empty space for there live in that region more people thirsting for freedom than the leaders of the campaign for truth imagine. They are beaten but not enslaved; they value freedom and are actively fighting for it.

"Ukraine has always sought for freedom," wrote the French philosopher Voltaire, a contemporary of Charles the XII and Mazepa, in his biography of the "Eagle of the North". He wrote what he did, because he saw from his friend, Hrihory Orlyk, general of the army of the King of France and the leader of the Ukrainian political emigration, how much the Ukrainians loved freedom.

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#### NOT THAT CRAZY

In one of his speeches Stalin had proclaimed, "Life has become better. Life has become happier."

The newspapers and the radio immediately took their cue and soon the whole nation was repeating, "Life has become better. Life has become happier."

A director of an insane asylum, not wishing to fall behind in the current fad, carefully herded his inmates into a hall each morning and patiently taught them to cheer the famous words. And so when the inspector from Moscow visited the asylum and was met by the hearty cheer of the inmates, "Life has become better, Life has become happier," he was surprised that the insane should be so well-informed politically.

Then he noticed one who had kept silent. Thereupon suspecting an enemy of the people he swiftly moved up to him and asked:

"Why didn't you shout those words?"

"Oh, I'm not insane, I only work here," was the reply.



## THE ROOTS OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE

by CLARENCE A. MANNING

"If a great nation does not believe that it alone has the truth (alone and exclusively), if it does not believe that it is alone able and called to revive all and save all with its truth, it at once turns into ethnographical material and not a great nation. A true great nation can never be reconciled with a secondary or even a primary role in humanity, but necessarily and exclusively with the first. If it loses that faith, it has ceased to be a nation. But there is only one truth and necessarily only one of the nations can have the true God, although the other nations may have their own special and great gods. The only nation that is 'Godbearing' is the Russian people."

And again, "I believe in Russia, I believe in its Orthodoxy, I believe in the body of Christ... I believe that the second coming will take place in Russia... I believe..."

"In God?"

"I will be believing in God."

In these words of the half-crazed Shatov in the novel, *The Possessed*, Dostoyevsky summed up the primary problem of the relations between the Moscow-dominated Kremlin and the rest of the world. The extreme force of the tirade of the fictional character is, as so often, repeated by the author in the *Journal of a Writer* and in his own person in his final utterance to the world which appeared after his death, he repeats even more emphatically than here his profound realization that the Russian tsar is to be higher than the emirs and caliphs and even the Empress of India. The white tsar is to be the tsar of the Caliph. In other passages he expresses his profound contempt for Europe, even as he repeats the conventional phrases of the value of Europe or in the Pushkin speech announces that the Russian is the only Pan-European who is able to understand the whole of the continent and is not confined in his feelings to one of its national parts.

Admirers of Dostoyevsky as a novelist and psychologist who has a superb and unrivalled ability to probe human motives to their depths in the subconscious usually find his journalistic chauvinism unpleasant and inconsistent but for the detailed understanding of the man and his country,

this aspect must be taken into account. It is not enough to dismiss it as a mere jingoistic sentiment devised for the occasion as was so much of the patriotic literature produced in Europe and America during the nineteenth century.

For Dostoyevsky these outbursts had a deeper significance. As a patriotic Muscovite, he had a great interest in the expansion of Russia to the East. He had a firm conviction that sooner or later Istanbul (Constantinople) would have to pass into the possession of the tsar and he was firmly convinced of the mission of Russia to liberate and take under its protection and within its mighty boundaries all of the Orthodox Slavs of the Balkans, even though he was equally positive that these people once freed from the Turk would prove restive and unsubmitive subjects. That made no difference. It was the manifest destiny of Russia and they should be made to understand it.

At the same time it was very characteristic that the Russia of his novels could hardly be recognized as that great empire of eastern Europe and northern Asia. It was not so much the external trappings of the land as it was the spirit and the nature of the people that composed it that formed his chief interest. Like most of the Russian writers of the nineteenth century, his imaginative writings give no hint of the tremendous expansion of the land that was going on. The psychology of the men who were on the front line of the Russian army held little attraction for him. He saw only the essence of the problem and he referred to it again and again.

What was to be the relation of Russia and Europe? Dostoyevsky felt keenly that the roles of the two were going to change sharply. He understood the points of contact and of revulsion and he did not shrink from following to the end his views and his feelings. He had good precedent for doing it.

The subject had been hotly debated for the whole of the century. The disastrous failure of the attempt of the Decembrists in 1825 had removed from prominence in the state all those classes of people who had the knowledge and perhaps the inclination to understand the West with its apparently complicated notions of human liberty under law. They had been but a handful of aristocrats who had read and studied and visited in Western lands. They had fought side by side with the Western allies against Napoleon. They had been able to understand the differences between Russia and Europe and when they made their bid to carry their ideals into practice, they proved a miserable failure. They misunderstood completely the nature of their problem and their failure doomed the part

of the aristocracy who might have effected a bridge across the yawning chasm.

From that moment on the thinking of old Moscow began to revive. Once more patriotism in the Western sense retreated into the comforting mystical assurance that the essence of Russia lay in its indefinable mission, in the conception that after Rome and Constantinople had fallen into heresy, the standard of Moscow as the successor of the older Christian capitals was not to be questioned. It made no difference that sober reflection could point out the ways in which Russia and even St. Petersburg lagged behind the West and needed to overtake it. Russia was in some way superior even in its backwardness and its standard was infallible.

The marriage in the fifteenth century between Ivan III of Moscow and Sophia Paleolog which had given to the Tsar the right to appropriate in his own mind the double-headed eagle of Byzantium had insured to his land, his capital and his people the undoubted blessing of God and the undeniable superiority of Moscow and the Muscovite tradition. It was a religious responsibility and not a national ambition that stirred the people. The role of the Tsar as the successor of the Roman Emperors of ancient times separated him from all of his brother monarchs in Europe. It gave him a supreme position for which he was responsible only to himself and to God. It separated him in essence not only from the rulers of the West but even from the other Orthodox sovereigns of the East, for he possessed the true imperial power in the world.

It was still possible to oppose him but it could only be done by a realization that he had fallen short of the standards imposed upon the Third Rome and Holy Russia. Millions of Russians, and they were entirely among the Great Russians, regarded him as Antichrist, not because of his autocratic rule but because he had allowed himself to be contaminated by Western, by Polish, and by Ukrainian influence in the seventeenth century. His defection in their point of view did not touch the essential features of the ideal of Russia. It did not cast doubts upon the validity of that ideal. It did not suggest a need of change in it.

Under such circumstances there was available a settled nucleus for all kinds of adventures. The Tsar and Russia did not need to respect their international agreements, for they were made with the lesser breeds without the law. They did not need to maintain the agreements entered into at Pereyaslav in 1654 with the Zaporozhian Host of the Kozaks. It was their bounden duty and obligation to act as the protectors of such an order in Poland as would insure their obtaining the complete domina-

tion of the land. It was their mission to save Sweden from itself and subject it to their benevolent rule. It was their task to restore Moscow and St. Petersburg the domination over Constantinople.

It was this sense that gave to Russian literature its distinguishing characteristics. As early as the reign of Tsar Alexis in the seventeenth century, Simeon Polotsky outlined the necessity for the Tsar to rule over Europe, Asia and America. It inspired the patriotic writings of the fashionable writers of the eighteenth century and the odes that were produced on any and all occasions.

It inspired that consciousness in Pushkin that declared that all the Slavic rivers must flow into the Russian sea or they would dry up. It inspired those moods which Shevchenko again and again so bitterly condemned as in the *Caucasus* where he parodied the words of Pushkin and pointed out that from the Finns to the Caucasus all were silent because "they were happy". It added venom to his summary of the Russian campaigns against the Caucasus that the Russians were indignant because the peoples of the Caucasus had their poor huts which had not been given them by Russians.

The dramatist Ostrovsky in his historical play, *The False Dimitry*, well summed up the results of this mood in speaking of the Russian past and present:

"You know but one way of governing — fear. Everywhere, in all things you rule by fear; you have taught your wives to love you by blows and fear; your children from fear do not dare to raise their eyes upon you; from fear the ploughman plows your field; the soldier goes with fear to war; the general leads the army in fear; with fear the ambassador carries on his ministry; from fear you are silent in the tsar's council; my fathers and grandfathers, sovereigns, in the Tartar horde, beyond the broad Volga, gathered fear in the camps of the khans and learned from the Tartars to rule by fear."

Ostrovsky showed in his dramas on the life of the merchant class of his own day the predominance of this irresponsible rule by fear in the case of the individual just as truly as Shevchenko mocked it in the *Dream* where the greatest happiness of the Moskal is to be knocked down by a superior, so that the Tsar could have his sport. Lesya Ukrainka showed it in the grim fate of the Ukrainian woman transplanted to the Moscow court in the *Noble Woman*.

This irresponsible rule by fear appeared everywhere. The Orthodox clergy of Kiev realized it when after the forced submission of the Metropolitan of Kiev to the Patriarchate of Moscow, corporal punishment was

introduced as part of their spiritual discipline. The Kozaks felt it as they were driven to build the city of St. Petersburg and died like flies in the marshes of the Neva. The lurid pictures of life in the Siberian prison barracks as told by Dostoyevsky and many others showed the continuance of the same tradition. It lies at the background of the twilight world of Chekov and the ghastly picture of Bunin and the other writers.

What reaction could be produced? A demand for anarchy and not for liberty. The radical intelligentsia, rebelling against the established order, took the advanced ideals of the West and caricatured them. Belinsky could positively declare that there was no reason why Shevchenko should write in Ukrainian and heap ridicule upon him for daring to be himself. Leo Tolstoy could heap ridicule and with his incomparable art could point out the fundamental immorality of Western Government and the hypocrisy of the essentials of even the scanty rights of election allowed to the Russian landowners. He could point out that the average citizen of the United States by taking part in the action of his government was committing in his country greater crimes than were those committed by the Tsar (*The Kingdom of God is Within You*).

The results of this spirit were soon evident. In the background there lay still the conviction that Russia was the chosen land. The Russian Westerners hoped at once to create a new mode of living which would incorporate perhaps some of the Western conceptions but would translate them into Russian terms and still maintain those essential characteristics which seemed to them the token and the distinguishing marks of the old life. Some did it in a religious sense; others, in a godless vein.

Even when they repudiated the regime of the Tsar, they were perpetually seeking for something else which would protect the Russian essence. For this the Dukhobors in Canada offer a good example. They sought to deny the positive sides of the old government but they found that the efforts of the Canadian government to give them land on the terms of individual ownership was somehow cruel and inhuman, un-Christian and false. As one of their leaders, V. A. Sukhorev, in his *History of the Dukhobors* recently wrote: "The Dukhobors did not understand fully the laws of the land, which required that each man who received a homestead of 160 acres had to work it separately in order to receive the ownership of the property... For the Dukhobors this demand of the Canadian government seemed to be the destruction of their rights to a communal form of life and they began to look upon every demand of the government with distrust." (p. 1180).

Anarchy and fear and the assurance of the correctness of Holy Russia, now turned into the earthly paradise of the working class, these were the decisive factors that permitted the triumph of Communism in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. It was these characteristics that had doomed the efforts of the Provisional Government and it is these characteristics that will lie at the roots of any future non-Communist regime which will be constructed on Russian territory after the downfall of the Communist regime.

Those characteristics are conspicuously lacking in the literature and life of all the Ukrainians and the other non-Russian peoples that were included by force or guile within the Russian Empire. They are lacking in the literature of the Ukrainians and the other non-Russian peoples in their efforts to set up their own independent states and it is due to their absence that the intellectual leaders have been so fiercely persecuted after the overthrow of these states by the Communists of the Kremlin.

It is their presence in Russian and the forms which they have taken that has built up the modern Western attitude first toward the Russian Empire and then toward the Soviet Union. It is these characteristics that are welding together the new and the old literature. The figure of Joseph Stalin is becoming indistinguishable from that of Peter the Great or of Ivan the Terrible. With each year the literature is investing him more and more with the traditional embellishments and qualities of the emperor of the world. He is the scholar, the leader, the inspirer of the Russian people who are called to play the primary role in all humanity. He is the sovereign who need not be bound by any promises or words because he is the autocrat of the Russian people. He is the prime gift of God to humanity in the words of the Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow who by the genius of the atheist Stalin can solve most complicated questions of theology to bring about a situation worthy of the universal genius who now reigns in the Third Rome, eternal Moscow.

It is the union of these three qualities again, of anarchy, of fear, of the infallibility of Moscow and of Russia that has given the literature its definite characteristics. They have given it its appeal to the world and especially to the average reader or thinker who has overlooked the sinister nature of the theories that lie behind it and is inclined to view only the superficial beauties. They have given it a deceptive charm which far out-allures the neighboring literatures which are built on the models and more with the traditional embellishments and qualities of the emperor in the world its present attitude of regarding as the integral territory of

Russia which has been in its possession for centuries lands which have been conquered within the memory of men now living.

Yet Russian literature has carefully refrained from speaking of these accessions. The Russian socialists are as emphatic in their praise of Stalin for preserving the unity of Russia as are the imperialists or the Communists themselves. They foster the impression of the great and unified empire or republic or Soviet Union but when they write, one and all agree that the area, the background of the literature must be only the two capitals and the Great Russian areas. It is all part of the great delusion, which literature and politics have foisted upon the world.

The few writers as A. K. Tolstoy who have really tried to make Russia a part of the civilized world have been met with condemnation at home and with neglect abroad. At home they have been treated as heretics. Abroad they have seemed to lack the distinctive Russian flavor; they are not "Russian" in that peculiar sense that the world wishes. Still they have boldly asserted the striking similarity between the oriental worship of the emperor and the exaggerated worship of the common man in his most unattractive aspects. They have emphasized the difference in the spirit of ancient Kiev and of Moscow, the difference between the city which aspired to be part of the civilized world and the city that regarded itself as the standard for the entire planet.

The Russians have produced outstanding writers. Their analysis of the Russian character has been remarkable. They have shown new facets of the life and thought of all men. The world has accepted them but it has done so at their own evaluation. It has overlooked the distinctive marks that have made Russian literature great and the self-imposed limitations of the writers have added to the confusion.

That is why it is to men like Dostoyevsky that we must turn for a true evaluation of the motives of the people and of the state. It explains the Muscovite passion for universalism and for localism, the mystical nature of their patriotism which is as intense to-day under the leadership of Stalin as under any of the greater tsars. That is why a careful study of the Russian literature of the past and present make it clear that there is no future for any of the subjugated nations within the orbit of Russia-USSR and it destroys the hope that the downfall of Communism can solve the problem that the expansive and mystical tendencies of Moscow and the Russians have preached since those days when Moscow liberated itself from the Tartar yoke and with the ideals of Genghis Khan joined to the conception of the Christian Empire set out on its path of world conquest and absorption.

## THE ACHILLES HEEL OF THE USSR

by NICHOLAS PRYCHODKO

### A MYSTICAL PROPHECY

In these uncertain times, when the world is faced with the possibility of a Third World War, I constantly remember an incident that took place while I was living in the USSR.

In August, 1941, I was in a small town on the Dnieper River. One morning the inhabitants all came out of their homes and watched in awe a mammoth parade of German armored divisions which under the command of General von Kleist were passing through the Ukrainian place in the direction of Dniepropetrovsk and the Don. For twelve days and nights, without a break, the cobble-paved highway heaved and groaned under the weight of an endless line of thousands upon thousands of tanks, cannon and heavy trucks which were following upon the heels of a panicky, retreating Red Army.

As we watched this colossal display of military power and the exquisitely trained and armed soldiers and thought of their victories, we could not conceive of their defeat. Indeed not one of the spectators who gathered in groups along the highway ever thought of such a possibility. The Ukrainians suffering over twenty years under the Russian Communist rule knew nothing of the Germans' Eastern policies and they welcomed their arrival and some of the women offered prayers of thanks for what they thought was liberation from Soviet tyranny.

Nearby stood bearded old Grandpa Dudko, as everyone called him. He watched the procession in silence, leaning on his knotty cane. Then he shook his head gravely.

"This black force will vanish as quickly as wax over a hot flame and the Red Star will more than ever suck our blood."

He broke off abruptly and gazed into the distance.

"But" he hissed in his old cracked voice, "later a white Star will come to our land and bring with it a Great Truth."

Every one who heard him, including myself, not only ignored his words but were impatient with the old fellow and his absurd predictions, because none of us wanted the return of the Red Star.



Since then I have learned that Grandpa Dudko had foretold other important world events.

Lately, recent developments have made me ponder over the almost mystical prophecy of that 92 year old man, because he did not know that the White Star was an American emblem; none of us did. Besides he was not capable of any political calculations or analyses.

### TO-DAY'S UNMYSTICAL REALITY

To-day one does not need mystical powers to foresee certain events. One needs only sound reasoning to analyze the Soviet policies and strategy and arrive at the following conclusion: The day is fast approaching, when the Politburo will issue the order for its military forces to attack the Western world!

It is as inevitable as was the attack of Hitler. Like that of Hitler, it will come without warning and without a formal declaration of war. It will come on the land with hundreds of divisions of troops and thousands of tanks; from the air with bombs and divisions of paratroopers; on the sea with hundreds of submarines, torpedoes and rocket bombs.

Moscow's Fifth Columns will spring into action at the given signal.

It is difficult to predict the exact time for the attack. Moscow will choose the moment for at present she holds in her hands the whole initiative for peace or war.

This surprise attack can be forestalled only by a Western counter-attack on Moscow itself!

Moscow began the extensive preparation for this attack soon after the conclusion of World War II. She disregarded the fact that her country was in utter ruin and she began her plans, while the Allies busied themselves with demobilization and reconstruction.

As a result, in 1949 the Soviet Russia had ready for action, according to General A. Shandruk, a Ukrainian military expert, the following forces: 7 armored armies, 17 mechanized corps, 219 artillery divisions, 11 mountain brigades, 7 mechanized cavalry corps, 119 special battallions, 3 air-borne divisions, 127 air force groups, and 11 paratrooper brigades. She has around 4 million soldiers, 27,000 planes, 40,000 tanks, 350 submarines and a crack NKVD army of 400,000 fully equipped men. In addition Russia manufactures 4 atom bombs a month, according to Kenneth De Courcey, editor of the British *Intelligence Digest*.

So to the accompaniment of loud protestations of Mr. Stalin against the Western armaments and Russian desires for peace, Moscow is pres-

sing on her preparations for that war, through which she hopes to gain control of the whole world.

At the same time she is making full use of a very effective ideological weapon—the propaganda of World Communism, regardless of the fact that the USSR is a country not of Communism but of state capitalism.

Everything is being prepared; the overbearing conduct of Jacob Malik at the preceding session of the United Nations and the unassuming attitude of Vyshinsky at the conferences are both ordered by the Politburo. The natural conclusion from the more moderate tone in the present time is that Russia is not yet ready for an inter-continental war. She would begin such a war only if an economic depression broke out in America, so that she would have the opportunity to expand her Fifth Column and use it to produce an armed rebellion which would assist her plans. In the meanwhile Stalin is showing himself to the world as peace-loving. He has adopted the role of the “father of the workers of the world.” He declares “we do not want foreign lands” and then seizes more territory than any one of the Tsars who also claimed to be peace-loving.

At the same time Russia hopes to organize in Asia and the Near East the same kind of conflicts that she has forced in Korea. It is her object to imbroil America with Asia and drain America’s resources to the extent that it causes an economic strain which will bring on a depression and a real crisis. She feels the more certain that she can succeed in this because she knows that the West is really peace-loving and will not take the initiative against her.

In the meantime, while she is continuing to stir up trouble, she will make no move involving her own forces, until she is thoroughly ready, and judges the moment opportune.

### MOSCOW’S GAME IN ASIA

The present Korean crisis and the entire Asiatic situation is only a prelude to Moscow’s inevitable assault upon the Western world. She is now trying to gain the friendship of the peoples of Asia and to create bad relations between the Asiatic and the Western democracies. She wants to draw the West and especially her chief enemy, the United States, into a major war on Asiatic territory.

The Korean situation developed nicely for Stalin. America and the Western democracies left the south Koreans free to work out their own salvation and find their own form of government. Moscow in the north drilled the north Koreans that it was the United States that stood in their way and she trained them to believe that they could gain more by fol-

lowing Russian policy, for the people did not know what "independence" in Moscow's grasp really means.

Moscow sent into the south as she has everywhere her own trained agents, her own Fifth Column to promote strikes, unrest, subversion and communist dictatorships and to-morrow she is prepared to repeat the process wherever it may prove expedient. So far this policy has paid Moscow well and it will continue to do so, until the West decides upon a counter-action.

### THE ACHILLES HEEL OF THE USSR

Under the influences of Russian propoganda, red and white, the Western world has been led to believe that the USSR is either one Russian nation or a free union of states willingly allied with her. They have looked at the failures of Charles XII, Napoleon, and Hitler as proofs of this position and they have never taken seriously the fact that all three failed because they neglected to establish friendly contact and to win the support of the nations enslaved by Moscow.

They still prefer to believe that attention to the enslaved nations is "interference in the internal affairs of the USSR." This scruple may lead to hundreds of thousands of human sacrifices, and tragedies on a far larger scale than in Korea.

The answer for the West is to prepare a second front within the USSR without delay, for this will prove to be vital in the struggle for self-preservation.

There are to-day at least 15 million slaves in the Soviet Union. Of these 92 to 95 per cent are Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Byelorussians, Caucasians, Azerbaijanians, Poles, Jews, and people from the Balkans. I know this from personal experience, for I spent three years in prison and Siberian concentration camps. These people have landed in this position, because they opposed or could have opposed the colonial rule of Moscow. They do not associate themselves with Russian Communism and we can be sure that the millions of the non-Russians like them do not associate themselves with Russian Communism or the Soviet government either. There is the Achilles heel of the state and the opportunity for counter-action.

I was in Ukraine in 1941 and I witnessed the eagerness with which the German invasion was awaited. The Ukrainian people were hoping that the Germans would free them from Moscow and it was only after they saw that they received from them the same kind of treatment that they did from the Russians that they organized their resistance and com-

menced to fight both the invaders. In the first seven months of the war 3,900,000 Red officers and men surrendered to the Germans, according to information tabled at the Nuremberg trials. An overwhelming majority of these were non-Russians. When we remember that this number is almost as large as the ready Russian army, we can see its importance.

What is the answer? It is the time for the West to reconsider its policy and to declare openly to the non-Russian peoples behind the iron curtain that they can count on the support of the Western world in their endeavors to secure national independence and a true democracy on their ethnographic territories.

The adoption of this policy will have not only military significance. It will point up the ideological character of the struggle; democracy against totalitarianism and national slavery. It will give heart to our neglected allies behind the iron curtain and secure their full participation in the impending struggle. Without their aid victory on the vast territories of the USSR will be impossible, but their assistance will assure success.

Today their voices should be heard and their opinions taken into account. Their representatives who lived for many years in the USSR and are now on this side of the iron curtain have invaluable experience.

To-day, and not to-morrow, the Western world should declare in a voice before the microphones so that they can speak to their brothers behind the iron curtain. The world should reject all inhibitions about intervention and rain upon the USSR from the sky leaflets of propaganda literature.

To-day, and not to-morrow the West should take steps to mobilize clear and certain terms that it stands for national freedom and democratic rights for all people, *on this and the other side of the iron curtain*. Otherwise its principles will seem lame and unconvincing to the people in the USSR.

To-day, and not to-morrow the West should take steps to mobilize national divisions of political immigrants from behind the iron curtain. When the time comes they will render an invaluable service for democracy by fighting for the self-determination of their nations. Their numbers will multiply a hundredfold on their native territories.

The failure to comprehend these dire necessities by today's policy-makers may tomorrow cost millions of needless human sacrifices.

It is already too late to talk of avoiding a clash between the East and the West. An all-out effort must be made to plan an assured victory when the clash does come.

## COMMUNISM AMONG AMERICANS OF FOREIGN BIRTH

by JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Before World War I thousands upon thousands of immigrants came to the United States. Many of these, perhaps almost a majority, did so without planning to become citizens of the United States. They came here, led by the tales of America's wealth, and they thought only of securing money to live easily in their home lands and then of returning. Many did. Many more, failing to secure the necessary savings or attracted by the American democracy, stayed and became citizens. It is a tribute to these immigrants and to the sound nature of America that so many millions became good American citizens, sent their children to the American public schools and have fitted into the American scene, even after many sad experiences.

There was another type of immigrant and he became more common after World War I. He was a man, often a socialist, the follower of Karl Marx, who had devoted years of his life abroad to the tearing down of his tyrannical government and who now yearned to repeat the performance in America. Many of these longed to set up in the United States that same form of monopolistic, totalitarian state which is now dominating so much of Europe. They saw their opportunities here and they tried to secure for themselves a comfortable living by stirring up political differences among their compatriots and of fishing in muddy waters. Among this group were those who promised paradise on earth a la Stalin.

### ALIEN LEADERSHIP OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party of the United States was organized by and has been led by aliens since its formation in 1919. Its nucleus was composed of Russians.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Communist Activities Among Aliens and National Groups*, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office), Part 2, p. 472.

Once this group was established the various language federations of the Socialist Party of the United States were invited to form the Communist Party by Ludwig A. C. K. Martens, then the unofficial Soviet Ambassador to the United States who was deported from the United States in 1920 as *persona non grata*. Since Martens' deportation, the Communist Party in the United States has been directed by the Comintern in Moscow.

The vast majority of those persons who directed the United States branch of the Communist International are foreign-born and not even naturalized citizens. Men like J. Peters, William Weiner, Jack Stachel, John Williamson, Bill Gebert—the latter now a high official of the Polish Government—are the men who really have run the Communist Party in this country in the past. The native-born and naturalized American Communists, in the main, are nominal party officials and are used mostly to head the various party fronts.<sup>2</sup>

Even Dennis and Foster have less to say in the formulation of vital policies than the alien Communists who are not known to the public. The native-born are useful as they can get along with the native-born and, therefore, can carry on as fronts. Browder, it is true, is native-born, but most of his speeches were written for him by Jack Stachel, a foreign-born agitator who became a citizen.<sup>3</sup>

Moscow has a natural inclination not to use native-born Americans as party leaders because of their past experiences with Americans like Louis Budenz, Julia Stuart Poyntz, and Paul Crouch.

No American is ever used in a responsible leading position as a channel of communication with Moscow, unless he has as a superior an alien sent in for that purpose. The general pattern of the Kremlin is always the same: the direct responsibility is in the hands of aliens to that country in which operations are carried on. This reduces nostalgia and patriotism to the minimum in the steeled ranks of Stalin's servants.

The native Communist leader is, therefore, always under the control of a superior who is an alien or an ex-alien, if he is ordered to become naturalized to serve the Kremlin more effectively. The mainstays of the party are the political tourists, leading Communists like the Eislers, Peters, and Ferruccio Marini, who went by the name of Fred Brown. Gerhard Eisler was the Comintern representative here for years. J. V. Peters was the head of the conspiratorial apparatus for the Comintern,

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<sup>2</sup> Communist Activities, Part I, pp. 127-28.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 129.

working with the Soviet secret police here. Ferruccio Marini, or Brown, was the organizational or military director for the Comintern of the Communist Party in America. He was a very tall man with a dark beard and a black hat, who lived on Staten Island in New York for a time; he had a sort of a small farm out here, but lived also in other places. His headquarters were located on the ninth floor of 35 East 12 Street, New York—the rather notorious ninth floor, the national headquarters of the Communist Party. Hans Eisler, the brother of Gerhart Eisler was admitted to America after a great deal of difficulties. He came here in 1940 from Moscow, where he had been the head of the Red music bureau (The International Music Bureau, created by the Kremlin for the purpose of spreading sedition in various countries among musicians and music critics). He received a \$20,000 scholarship from the Rockefeller Foundation in order to develop new forms of music and he used this fund for Communist purpose. He produced for the benefit of the Communist leaders the Comintern song, "We Are Ready to Take Over." Gerhart Eisler, for years the representative of the Comintern, jumped his bail and escaped on a Polish ship. Then he became a Professor of Leipzig University, and was elected one of 35 members of the Red-controlled People's Council of Eastern Germany.

It is worthwhile noting that among the alien communists in October, 1950, were: Alexander Bittleman, former Communist Party National Committeeman; Frank Borich, former secretary of the National Croatian Council; Willy Busch, veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War; Andrew Dmytryshyn, official of the International Workers Order, Inc. Also Nicholas Kaloudis, secretary of the Federation of the Greek Maritime Unions; Myer Klig, official of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union; Rose Nelson Lightcap, leader of fur women's division of the I. W. O.; George Pirinsky, former executive secretary of the American Slav Congress; Harry Yaris, secretary of the Diamond Workers Protective Union; Jack Schneider, official of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union, and Manuel Tarazone.

Among the Communist and OGPU agents in the United States have been: Louis Gibarti a native of Hungary, who worked in Berlin as assistant to Willi Munzenberg in "anti-imperialist" work in the period around 1927—1929. He came to the United States about 1929; Nicholas Dozenberg, native of Latvia, who headed the OGPU section in the United States and served a prison sentence for the circulation of United States money counterfeited in the Soviet Union; S. Epstein, one-time editor of *Freiheit*, Jewish Communist daily, who used the name of "Sam Stone"

for obtaining his passport; he is reputed to have been actively connected with the murder of Julia Stuart Poyntz (with George Munk the actual murderer).

An important part of the Communist Party work has been in recruiting members from among immigrants. The Jefferson School of Social Science gave special classes for immigrants. A good deal of work in this field was done by the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. The Communist teachers in New York City volunteered at election time to appear at all schools in New York City to give literacy tests to the alien element; they worked especially among Puerto Ricans and Spanish people.<sup>4</sup>

### THE LEVELS OF ACTIVITIES

The activities of the Communists among the various groups follow a general pattern, with each presumably intended to meet the special requirements of the group. For the youth there are the teen-age clubs, summer camps, dances, and high-school and college organizations. Among national minority groups and racial groups, the activities are planned to accentuate nationality and racial differences, to emphasize any discrimination, to retard Americanization, and to prevent successful assimilation into America's way of living. In their activities among labor groups, the Communists continually try to create a feeling of class consciousness. Thus the pattern is ready to meet the needs of each group, in an endless effort to foment strife, discontent, confusion, and disorganization.<sup>5</sup>

The "greatest transmission belt that the Communist Party has" between its ranks and the immigrant groups has been the International Workers Order. The Order is a Communist-controlled organization which masquerades as a fraternal society. It has some 135,000 members, and offers cheap insurance to get people into the organization. It was a member of the IWO, the so-called Irish Lodge. Its work is concentrated among persons of foreign birth, and is divided into 14 nationality groups, including Russian, Jewish, Polish, Hungarian, Yugoslaw, Ukrainian, etc. Although many of the members were not communists when they joined the organization, they have been sold the Communist Party line. "Every officer of the IWO is a member of the Communist Party."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Communist Activities, Part 2, p. 520.

<sup>5</sup> Perjury, obtaining passports under false names and similar illegal actions are normal activities.

<sup>6</sup> Communist Activities, Part 2, p. 528.



## CONTROL

The alien organizational efforts are directed through such foreign-language groups as the Russian Federation in the Socialist Party and the Ukrainian, Italian, Jewish, Bulgarian, and other language federations and groups. The Communists, in fact, control quite a few of the fraternal, sickness and death benefit societies, singing choruses, and gymnastic societies. The Party has an elaborate machine for dealing with the foreign-language press. In order to stimulate this work, there is a special commission on foreign-language groups which meets regularly on the ninth floor of the Communist headquarters in New York. To the communist foreign-language press belong *Uj Elore*, the *Magyar Jovo*, its successor in New York, the *Slobodna Rec* in Pittsburg (published three times a week), the *Narodni Glasnik* of Pittsburg, the *Rusky Golos* which had on its staff Sergei N. Kournakoff, the military expert for the *Daily Worker*, *The Romanul-American*, Detroit's *Glos Ludowy*, etc.

The following is the partial list of the Communist publications amongst the foreign language press:

PANVOR, an American weekly; RADNICKI GLASNIK, a Croatian daily, 1629 Blue Island Av., Chicago Ill.; SAZNANIE (Knowledge), Bulgarian weekly, official Communist party publication; SCHODENI VISTI, (Ukrainian Daily News), official Communist Party organ, New York City; RUSSKI GOLOS (Russian Voice), Russian daily under Communist Party influence; NARODNI GLASNIK, Croatian weekly, published by the Communist Party; NOVY MIR, official weekly of the Russian section of the American Communist Party; NEWYORK TYD, Finnish language paper under Communist influence; UUS ILM (The New World), Esthonian language weekly; LAISVE, a Lithuanian daily, 46 Ten Eyck street, Brooklyn, official party publication; LUDOVNY DENNIK, Slovak daily, 1510 W 18 St., Chicago, Ill; ROVNOST LUDU, Slovak daily, 1510 W 18 St., Chicago, Ill; PRAVDA WEEKLY; L'UNITA DEL POPOLO, Italian, published in New York City; NEULEBEN, published in New York City by the Communist Soviet front "The Icor"; VIDA OBRERA (Workers Life), semi-monthly, communist controlled; VANGUARDA, a Portuguese Party paper; VIENYBE, a Lithuanian triweekly, communist initiated and controlled; TOVERI (Comrade), Finnish Communist Party section weekly; TYOLAINAINEN (The Working Woman), Finnish weekly, communist initiated and controlled; TYOMIS (The Worker), Finnish Communist Daily; OBRANA (Defense), Communist controlled Czech

weekly, 3624 W 26 St., Chicago, Ill.; DESTEPTAREA, Romanian weekly, 6527 Russell St., Detroit, Mich.; GREEK AMERICAN TRIBUNE, New York City; ETEENPAIN, official organ of the Finnish Federation of the Communist Party of the U. S., 50 E 13 St., New York City (Communist headquarters); FRATERNAL OUTLOOK, published by the International Workers Order, 80 Fifth Av. New York City; MORNING FREIHEIT, Jewish communist daily, 50 E. 13 St., New York City; DEUTSCHE AMERIKANER (German American), 50 E. 13 St., New York City, GLOS LUDOWY, Polish Daily, official Communist Party publication.

It is estimated that the Communist Party has either under its full control or influence between 200 and 250 foreign-language periodicals in this country (dailies, weeklies and monthlies); these include trade-union publications and foreign-language publications.<sup>7</sup>

The foreign-language newspapers published on behalf of the Communist Party are governed by a policy laid down in the first section of conditions for admission to the Comintern. This was adopted by the Second World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow in 1920:

"The general propaganda and agitation should bear a real Communist character and should correspond to the program and decisions of the Third International. The entire party press should be edited by reliable Communists who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of simply as a current hacknayed formula. It should be advocated in such a way that its necessity should be apparent to every rank-and-file workingman and workingwoman, to each soldier and peasant, and should emanate from everyday facts systematically recorded by our press day-by-day.

"All periodicals and other publications, as well as all party publications and editions, are subject to the control of the presidium of the party, independently of whether the party is legal or illegal. It should in no way be permitted that the publishers abuse their autonomy and carry on a policy not fully corresponding to the policy of the party.

"Wherever the followers of the Third International have access, and whatever means of propaganda are at their disposal, whether the columns of newspapers, labor meetings, or cooperatives, it is indispensable for them not only to denounce the bourgeoisie but also its assistants and agents, reformists of every color and shape."<sup>8</sup>

Yet we must not consider the foreign-language press as a whole as under Communist influence. The leading papers are not. In fact the churches have a much greater influence on it than does Communism. There are

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 475—476.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 478.

numerous Catholic foreign-language publications in this country, such as those of the Ukrainians, Poles, Slovaks, and French. Many of the Norwegian and Danish papers are strongly religious. Probably the two largest pro-Communist papers in foreign languages are the Yiddish *Freiheit* and the Russian *Russky Golos*, both New York dailies with a combined paid circulation of 80,000.<sup>9</sup>

## TECHNIQUES

Among the minorities, the Communist Party technique is the same one that they always use working among any groups of people. They seize any pretext to propagandize minority groups and to undermine or discredit the government or existing institutions. Their most common tactics are to pose as the friend and champion of the aliens or foreign-born, just as they try to pose as champions of any group in order to make their propaganda reach an audience.<sup>10</sup>

The Irish Catholics are the only people whom the Communist Party has had difficulty in recruiting in numbers into its ranks. Once a member had been gained, it was the duty of the recruiting comrade to break the hold of the church on him. This often required a long period of time in order not to arouse any suspicion.

The Communist Party's high command started to concentrate on foreign-language groups late in 1944 and early in 1945, while the party came almost to a standstill in other fields. The "comrades" were told that the purpose of this concentration was to get Communist Party units and fronts set up in the industrial sections of America. The purpose was to have a powerful party hold where it could do the most damage to the United States. It could organize and lead very damaging strikes, and in case of war with Russia, could break down America's war production, our ability to make armaments, both by strikes or slow-downs and by sabotage.

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<sup>9</sup> Joseph S. Roucek, "The Foreign Language and Negro Press," Chapter XII, p. 378, in Francis J. Brown & Joseph S. Roucek, *One America* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1945). — See also "Communist Activities" p. 379.

<sup>10</sup> How the Communist used the Irish grievances against the British Empire for their purposes see: *Communist Activities*, Part 2, p. 522—524.

## AMERICAN SLAV CONGRESS

The job of organizing the Slavs was made easier by the fact that so many could not speak or read English properly and the Communists sent in organizers who spoke their language and knew their ways and played upon their sense of linguistic kinship with the Russians. The American Slav Congress was the central organization of the Communist Party among Slavs, especially those in the industrial section. Although it did not start originally as a party organization, it was infiltrated from the very beginning. Some of the top party organizers took part in the setting up of the American Slav Congress and, soon following their well-developed tactics, they took over completely.

The American Slav Congress was conceived and organized by the Comintern. Its foundation in America was, however, laid by B. K. Gebert (to-day in charge of all trade-unions in Poland) as early as 1930 through the Polonia Society and other Communist front organizations which later merged into the Slav Congress with the Ukrainian-American Fraternal Society, headed by Mike Tkach, charter member of the Communist Party, one of the officials of the *Ukrainian Daily News*, and a national committee member of the International Workers Order, representing the Ukrainian Fraternal Society in the IWO.

The All-American Slav Congress was formed in Detroit on April 25-26, 1942, in response to the appeal of the All-Slav Congress previously held in Moscow. It was the culmination of a number of preliminary meetings held in various cities containing a large Slav population. As an outgrowth of the Slav Conference in Moscow, held on August 10-11, 1941, similar gatherings were held in the United States, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and in Latin America.

Just as the Communist Information Bureau (known as the Cominform) was transferred to Belgrade to obviate the charge of receiving orders from Moscow, the headquarters of this international front organizations were likewise removed and for a time the headquarters of the All-Slav Congress was also in Belgrade, prior to Tito's defection. At the same time the Moscow press and radio as well as *Slavanie*, official organ of the All-Slav Congress, openly supported the American Congress, calling upon all Slavs (Russians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, including Carpatho-Ruthenians, Poles, Serbians, Croats, Slovenians, Macedonians, Czechs, Slovaks, and Bulgarians), to „unite against the common enemy of all Slav peoples.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> For more details on the various branches of Slavs, see: Joseph S. Roucek, Ed., *Slavonic Encyclopaedia* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949).

The proceedings of the American Slav Congress were reprinted in *Izvestia*, together with the speeches of Leo Krzycki, George Pirinsky, Louis Adamic, Stanley M. Assacs, and greetings from Henry A. Wallace. On November 18, 1948, the Moscow propaganda network launched a permanent weekly broadcast for the American Slavs. At that time it was already condemning American foreign policy and the Atlantic Pact, the changed line which had already started in 1945.

When the defection of Tito from the Cominform, successor to the Communist International, created a cleavage in the ranks of Yugoslav-Americans, the Communist leaders of the American Slav Congress unhesitatingly sided with Moscow against Tito. The Congress has been supported by numerous organizations cited as subversive by either the Attorney General, the Committee on Un-American Activities and (or the California Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities), such as: International Workers Order, Macedonian-American Peoples' League, American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, United Committee of South Slavic Americans, American Polish Labor Council, Central Council of American Women of Croatian Descent, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, National Council of Americans of Croatian Descent, Civil Rights Congress, Serbian Vidovdan Council, Slovenian American National Council, etc. George Pirinsky, executive Secretary of the organization, was formerly editor of the Bulgarian-Macedonian Communist weekly, *Saznanie*. In 1937 he was held under deportation warrant by the Department of Immigration on a charge of illegal entry. On September 24, 1948, he was arrested as an alien charged with being a member of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and with advocating forceful overthrow of the United States Government. His real name is George Zykoff or Zaikoff; his articles in the *Saznanie* appeared under the name of George Nicoloff. Leo Krzycki, the President of the American Slav Congress since its foundation, is also President of the American-Polish Labor Council, cited as subversive by Attorney General on December 4, 1947, and on September 21, 1948. In 1945, he visited various Soviet-dominated states and his experiences were described in a pamphlet entitled *What I Saw in the Slavic Countries*, published in 1946 by the American Slav Congress. There he describes his interview with President Bierut of Poland, who gave him the decoration of „Polonia Restituta,” his visit to Stalin, and then to Premier George Dimitrov of Bulgaria and Tito of Yugoslavia (then still in the graces of the Kremlin). Is this Polish-born leader a Communist? According to William Green,

President of the American Federation of Labor, and Phil Murray, President of the Congress of Industrial Organization, he is.<sup>12</sup>

Zlatko Balakovic, Croatian-born, came to America in 1924; he has served in important capacities within the American Slav Congress since its inception, as chairman of its policy-making resident board, Vice-President of the national organization, and its honorary chairman. Married to Joyce Borden (of the "milk fortune"), he has divided his numerous activities between the smart set of Chicago, New York and Maine, and the motley crew operating within the orbit of the Communist Party.

The most interesting and influential member of the American Slav Congress was Louis Adamic. He has not been an official of the organization, but he has been "as a speaker, sponsor, and writer... a tower of strength for that organization." A leading speaker at meetings of the Congress, honorary President of several front organizations, he carried out "some Communist objectives" under the influence of Louis F. Budenz. With the exception of the period when Soviet Russia was America's ally during World War II, Adamic signed statements attacking American foreign policy, and has been "a supporter of a number of organizations and activities devoted to promoting the cause of the Soviet Union."<sup>13</sup>

The American Slav Congress did not limit itself to holding Congresses. In addition to putting out publications, it promoted a network of so-called relief organizations, routing the money to the satellite countries. Before Tito's fall from grace with the Cominform, strenuous efforts were made by organizations centering around the American Slav Congress to lure skilled technicians and young people to migrate to Yugoslavia. Youth organizations were promoted; in 1947, in the New York area alone there were 24 such youth clubs.

Purely on the basis of evidence from the Soviet Union and its satellites, the Un-American Committee concluded that: (1) The American Slav Congress is a full-fledged instrument of Soviet policy. (2) Its purpose is to disrupt and disunite the American people by subverting its Slavic-American elements. (3) It seeks to undermine and destroy the confidence

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<sup>12</sup> *Communist Activities*, Part I, p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> For a detailed survey of Adamic's activities, see: *Committee on Un-American Activities*, U. S. House of Representatives, *Report on the American Slav Congress and Associated Organizations* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1950), pp. 39—47.

of Slavic Americans in the American Government. (4) Its aim is to utilize Slavic organizations in the United States as a pro-Soviet fifth column.<sup>14</sup>

By 1950, the Congress had become only a skeleton of its former self. It remained, it is true, the central governing body of a dozen or so left-wing nationality organizations among the American Slavs. Its present over-all membership is only a few thousands, while in 1944 it had about 90 affiliated societies among the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Serbs, Russians, and Ukrainians, representing some 75,000 persons. Since 1943, when about 75 of 90 affiliated societies withdrew from the Congress, the backbone of the organization has been the chapters of the International Workers' Order in the various nationality groups. The President of the Congress is still Leon Krzycki (3360 S. 37 St., Milwaukee). Paul Babich, an important figure in the Communist Party in Wisconsin, has been the treasurer for years. Other leaders, all outspokenly pro-Soviet, have been Mrs. Josephine Nordstrand, the Communist Party's principal "front" organizer in Wisconsin; Mrs. Bozina Klabouch of the same state, and Edmund V. Bobrowicz, Democratic nominee for Congress in 1946 who was repudiated by the Democratic Party as a Communist, Louis Majtan and John Hlushko.

This may seem a formidable list. It can be more than counterbalanced by the overwhelming number of Slavs loyal to the United States and their own traditionally democratic ideals. Above all, we must take into account the number of Slavs arriving from Europe who are by now thoroughly disillusioned as to the Russian Communist love for their Slav brothers. The disintegration of the American Slav Congress is the sign of the passing of Communist influence among the Slavs, who are now finding their mouthpiece in such organizations as the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, and the war record of the young Slav-Americans in the American armed services is second to none.

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Q.: — Have you ever seen any of the Politburo lords?

A.: — No, but I'd like to very much.

Q.: — Whom would you like to see most of all?

A.: — Beria's widow at Stalin's funeral.

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

## RELIGION AND NATIONALITY AS POLITICAL FACTORS IN EASTERN EUROPE

by VLADIMIR DE KOROSTOVETZ

During the Middle Ages and earlier Europe underwent a series of invasions from Asia. These and especially the Mongols swept like tidal waves over everything in their path. Then there came from the south the floods of Tartars and Turks. It was only in the 17th century that the tide turned and Eastern Europe came to know wars of conquest arising in the West.

As a rule the invading conquerors differed in religion and nationality from their victims and this led to religious and national persecutions of the conquered. This was not the end for the oppressed peoples rallied to those same slogans of religion and nationality and in their name they found the strength to resist. Everywhere went up the call to "save the nation and to protect its religion".

In time the attitude of the conquerors to the conquered changed. In the early days conquest by force of arms involved the killing of the conquered leaders, the mass robbery of the population, the turning of the conquered into slaves and the appropriation of the women to be the concubines of the conquerors. At times when the conquerors subjected by sheer force more highly civilized nations, they fell later under the influence of their victims and were later absorbed by the higher culture of the latter.

Again these mass migrations of conquering tribes, carrying with them from Asia to the West huge numbers of women, children and non-combatants and settling in distant lands, weakened the defences of their original home territories which became easy prey for their neighbors. This then started a new wave of conquest which pressed westward and again impressed upon their new victims the need for loyalty to their religion and nationality.

Under such conditions religion centered around the Churches and the clergy. Many of the churches were constructed with an eye to defence. Such was the Cathedral of Chernyhiv, my native town, which was built in 1069. This was a large building with walls eight feet thick and at the



first rumor of the approach of an invading enemy, children, women, and soldiers took refuge within its walls. Into the cathedral they brought supplies of food and ammunition. Such fortress-cathedrals withstood long sieges and were the recognized strategical points for rallying the population and for defending the cities. This was one of the factors that gave religion its power and made it seem as a true bulwark of the struggling states.

At the same time in Western Europe there grew a crisis between the emerging power of the laity and the power of the Church. The secular rulers attempted to introduce the principle of "Cuius regio, eius religio." The same thing happened in the East where the Russian Tsars were able to turn the church into a docile part of their civil service under a "Holy Synod" which they controlled through their appointment of a lay procurator. They abolished the Patriarchal see of Moscow and by reducing the pay of the clergy bound them even more helplessly to the wheels of the political machine.

At the same time the Tsars were able to check the growth of a middle class which had appeared in Europe and had succeeded in strengthening its power and introducing and enforcing its own laws. In its place the Tsars allowed only some disorganized intelligentsia, some powerless merchants and a few professional people. Yet these could never make headway against the powerful state machinery. They all perished at the time of the Bolshevik revolution. Still the new masters perpetuated the same policy for they prevented the growth of classes of the population who would be anything but docile and obedient servants.

Even more than in any other empire of Europe, the Tsars set themselves to form a monolithic state without regard to the wishes or customs of the people. The conquered lands and peoples were proclaimed simply Russians and were not allowed to call themselves by their own names. The Ukraine henceforth was called "Little Russia". The Baltic peoples, the Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, were simply called: "the Baltic areas". After the Third Partition of Poland in 1793 Poland disappeared from the map and its official name became "the Vistula area". Yet though the non-Russian nations inside the Russian Tsarist Empire had to call themselves Russians, in the jargon of the Tsarist ruling Russian class they were given derogatory nicknames, especially if they insisted upon being considered non-Russian. They called the Baltic people — "*Chudy*" —, the Poles — "*Lyakhy*", and the Ukrainians — "*Khakhly*", whilst the Moslems were dubbed "*Khalat, Khalat*" because they wore long oriental robes and because the poor Tartar population went from

courtyard to courtyard in the Russian cities, buying and selling second hand cloths and rags and in order to attract attention shouted: "Khalat, Khalat..."

The whole Empire was administratively divided into districts called "governments". At the head of each Administrative district was a Governor (usually a general). He was helped in his rule by the nobility, the servile clergy, the Army and the dreaded *Okhrana* plus the large administrative body of civil servants. Nobody took notice of the different nationalities in the different areas but all were subjected to the same pattern. The non-Russian languages were purposely excluded and even books in the local tongue were not allowed for—the only language tolerated was Russian in schools, in courts etc. The reactionary Tsarist Minister Valuyev for instance issued an order that: "there was not, is not, and will not be any Ukrainian language".

In the meanwhile in Western Europe democracy took shape and the governments came more and more to recognize the rights of man. Unfortunately this movement went hand in hand with the loss of influence by religion and this allowed the growth of totalitarianism under one form or another, for man lost that sense which had sustained him in the earlier centuries. New philosophies were introduced and more and more the lay powers encroached upon the rights of the individual. Instead of his being the foundation stone and the aim, the state tried to make itself the basis and to reduce the individual to a mere cog in the leviathan body of the state.

*At the ending of World War I a new attitude was taken in the Western World toward the problem of nationality.* The 14 points of President Wilson, proclaiming solemnly the right of self-determination for large and small nations, extended even to the small definite promises of freedom, national independence and protection under "Minority Treaties" which were signed by the powers.

Yet even those small nations that were set up as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, could not hope to survive between the two threatening totalitarian aggressors which flourished after World War I, the Russian Empire transformed into the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany.

A wise student of facts and history would clearly understand that the only possible way to strengthen and solidify the application of the democratic and Christian ways and means of life among the East European people would be the logical application of these principles of self-determination. This would break up the monolithic character of the Russian continent and lead to a loose federation of all those oppressed

nations who would have a common interest in resisting the aggression of totalitarian powers. The Congress of Versailles did not do this and the democratic powers of Europe gave free rein to the growing aggression of the chauvinistic and expanding empires of Russia and Germany, which could not be restrained because of the spreading crisis of Christianity and the lack of genuine democratic experience in government among the peoples.

The vacuum formed by the weakening of Christian practice was filled by the appearance of the false militant religions of Bolshevism and of Nazism. Both took the form of a Messianism aiming at the total domination of the entire world, even though in their attitude toward nationalism they adopted different policies. The Nazis endeavored to turn all but the Germans into second-class citizens fit only for menial and laboring jobs, while Stalin and the Bolsheviks endeavored to wipe out all religious and national sense for the purpose of fitting the people into his monolithic Soviet Russian state.

In this connection it is of interest that a totalitarian government, when it realizes that it is faced with defeat, will make concessions to its people but that it regularly withdraws these as soon as the crisis is over. Russia and the Soviets have shown this on many occasions.

So for instance the defeat of Russia in the Crimean War of 1854-1856 led to "reforms" granted by the Tsar. In 1861 Alexander II "liberated" the serfs, gave them their personal freedom and in addition granted them gratis small plots of land, which he took from the landowners, who regarded both the land and the serfs as their private property. He also introduced a sort of selfgoverning bodies called "Zemstvos" into whose hands he gave the charge of education. He also entrusted to the Zemstvos the building of roads, the health services and last but not least he inaugurated a very liberal law reform, i. e., with Jury and "undismissable Judges". However, when under the Tsar Alexander the Third, son of Alexander the Second, the tsarist regime felt itself again strong in the saddle, the tsar introduced an era of drastic reaction and cancelled or undermined most of those reforms.

Similarly under the Soviets we see the drastic opposition to collectivization. Mass peasant revolts took place especially in Ukraine, where the freedom-loving democratic Ukrainian folk knew nothing of collective ownership of land, unlike the Russian proper who from times immemorial had practiced a collective form of landownership called "the Mir". The peasants in Ukraine owned land on a private property basis. Stalin broke the opposition of the Ukrainian peasants, deported over one

and a half million Ukrainian peasants, classifying them as "Kulaks" and when this did not end their opposition, deliberate mass starvation was forced and in one year over four and a half million starved to death in Ukraine.

Then came the famous decree of Stalin, "Giddiness from Success", cynically proclaiming, that "at last" the Ukrainian peasants realized the great benefits which they received from their work on the collective farms, and hence their growing disuse of their "private plots" which had been previously granted them. So here again, in theory the "reforms" were not cancelled, but stopped in one way or another as soon as the Soviets felt themselves securely in the saddle.

In the Second World War Stalin suffered staggering defeats from the advancing Hitler Armies and so again he felt it expedient and imperative to pacify the masses by way of concessions. Hence came his famous New Religious Policy and his New National Policy. Here again the religious factor and the national were linked up and the new concessions were in both fields.

*Under the New Religious Policy* Stalin and the Soviets, after three decades of fierce persecution of Religion as the "Opium of the People" and attempts to eradicate it by all Soviet methods, i. e. murder and deportations of the clergy, confiscation of church property, the organizing of anti-God Museums and the subsidizing of the blasphemous anti-God mass movement, suddenly allowed the opening of 35 churches in Moscow (out of 389 churches existing in Moscow before the Bolshevik Revolution). Stalin appointed his stooge Alexis Patriarch. He appointed two Archbishops to help Alexis, one Macarius and the other Nicholas. With medieval pomp all this was publicly displayed and in these newly opened churches the first prayer was for "the God-Anointed Leader of the Russian People—Stalin." This prayer was worded like the prayers for the tsars in spite of the fact, that Stalin is a Communist and an atheist and proclaims it openly. It is interesting to note, that Macarius, previous to his being appointed Archbishop in Moscow, for many years was head of the Anti-God movement in Soviet Russia, and Nicholas for many years was the head of the special section of the NKVD for fighting religion.

When however victory over Hitler came, Stalin did not allow even a small new church to be opened. Now Soviet authorities reiterate constantly, that all that was but a "breathing space" and that they—the Communists, have one, and only one aim for which they live, work and are prepared to die, and that is: World Domination of Communism!

*The new National Policy*, a concession to the people, was simultaneously proclaimed with the New Religious Policy. Stalin granted the officers of the Red Army golden epaulets as under the Tsars. The Anthem of the Third International was replaced by a new National Anthem. (During the three decades previous to this "reform" it was sufficient to find in your house officer's golden epaulets and you and your family were proclaimed to be enemies of the people and of the Soviet Regime and shot). A difference of pay between a private and an officer was introduced to the extent, that the colonel of the Red Army receives 1000 times more wages than a private! No such discrepancy of pay exists in those armies, which the Soviets, with contempt, call "capitalist armies" i. e. those of non-Soviet States! New high Soviet decorations have been introduced. These latter in addition to those already existing i. e. bearing the names of Lenin, Stalin, etc., now are adorned by the names of Prince Kutuzov and Count Suvorov. The former was the famous Imperial General of Alexander the First, who defeated Napoleon in the battle of Moscow, and the latter was the famous General of Catherine the Second, who was known not only for his victories over the armies of the French Revolution in Europe, but perhaps better, for the suppression of peasant revolts in Ukraine, and the bloody repression of the uprisings of the Poles, who fought to free their country from tsarist rule.

Stalin then disbanded the Comintern, the supreme executive Council of the Third International in Moscow—the headquarters of World Revolution and immediately formed a new body called the "Pan-Slav Congress". It is interesting to note that overnight, the members of the Comintern, became members of this new body. I remember at that time an anecdote commemorating this event circulated amongst members of the Diplomatic Corps. To the question "what is the Comintern?.. the answer came: "It is Comintern, because all come in turn as soon as Stalin winks..."

When Hitler's armies were defeated and Stalin felt himself safe, he immediately dismissed the Pan-Slav Congress body and replaced it by a new body, which is the second edition of the Comintern—the Cominform. I was told that the members of the Pan-Slav Congress body became overnight members of, this time, the Cominform. Time and again now Stalin and his assistants proclaim and stress the point that all that was but "breathing space" and that the only thing that counts is World Domination of Communism.

The Asiatic and Mongolian source of this Great Russian and Soviet mentality sharply differentiates the people from the Ukrainians who throughout their history from the moment when they first accepted

Christianity have sought in every way to strengthen their connections with the West. Kiev consciously sought to multiply its contacts with the Western world, by the intermarriage of its princes, by trade and by scholarship.

With Russia proper it was always the reverse. The Russians accepted the Asiatic tradition, habits, laws, ways of life, because the Russian people never accepted Christianity genuinely and totally. They intermarried with their Asiatic conquerors. I had opportunity to talk to Lenin. I remember remarking to him, that his skull was purely Mongolian, i. e., with slit eyes, protruding cheek bones etc. and he immediately answered: "Yes, indeed, it is and I am very proud of my Mongolian blood. My ancestor married a daughter of a Tartar Khan, when the Tartars conquered the upper stretch of the Volga area. This is the area where my family originated." And it is not pure coincidence, that when Lenin came into power his first act was to transfer the capital of the Russian Empire from Petersburg, which was called a "Window into Europe", back to Moscow, a purely Asiatic city and people. It is not simple coincidence either, that the 5-year Soviet plans take as their foundation and basis—not European Russia, but Western Siberia beyond the Urals, nearer to the heart of Asia. Hence the Iron Curtain against the West and a full open door and full cooperation and acceptance of Asia by Russia, Soviet or tsarist alike!

Hence our deduction: The Western Democracies must change their attitude to the East European countries and must prove to them that their cherished endeavors, i. e. national freedom and free religious practice—may be only achieved in form and essence and practice under the rule of genuine Democracy and that that is the thing, for which the Western Democracies implicitly stand.

For these people in Eastern Europe and these non-Russian nations of the Russian continent the only way to secure happiness and peaceful human existence lies in the full application with the help of the Western Democracies of the national and Christian way of life. Only then can they all choose the next step, i. e., the formation of brotherly federation of free Christian nations between themselves.

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## THE UKRAINIAN "CHERNOZEM" AND ITS ECONOMIC POSSIBILITIES

by GREGORY MAKHIV

In the history of Ukrainian agriculture the outstanding feature is the low level of its productivity as compared with the extraordinary fertility of the soil. The agriculture of Ukraine has not yet entered those phases of development, which characterize the agriculture of Western Europe and which have resulted in the sharp increase in the harvests in Holland, Belgium, Denmark and England. This contrast between the productivity of these lands and of Ukraine becomes the more striking because one of the fundamental factors in agricultural production, the soil in the Western countries, is very poor and ill adapted for cultivated plants and yet the majority of the plains of these countries are richer and more productive than the meadows of Ukraine.

A fairly careful economic analysis of this phenomenon will reveal the chief causes of this unequal development of agriculture. Still some authors, economists and agronomists try to explain this difference in the agricultural productivity of the Western countries and Ukraine only by the one factor of the climate.

In their opinion the conditions prevailing in Western Europe are completely inappropriate in the countries of Eastern Europe, especially Ukraine, where they foresee only an extensive and not an intensive development of agriculture.

This characterization of the climate of Ukraine and their views of the climate as the factor in productivity is not correct. The agricultures of Holland, Belgium and Denmark maintain their abundant yields not because they have 1000 and more millimetres of yearly rainfall but because since the 16th century they have practiced rotation of crops, in place of the traditional three field system, have applied large quantities of organic fertilizers, manure and green fertilizers, and since the end of the 19th century have begun the liberal use of mineral fertilizers. During the 30 years before the First World War, the yields of the chief crops of Germany were doubled and the German specialists considered that 50% of this increase could be attributed to the mineral fertilizers, 30% to the improvement of the seeds, and 20% to the

improved methods of cultivation. In analyzing the methods of increasing the yields in Western Europe we must not forget that the acid podzolic soils had been there previously improved by liming and the application of large quantities of organic fertilizers and good cultivation. As regards the assumed favorable climatic conditions, an economic analysis of the state budgets of Holland and England show that an important part of the capital expenditures and even of the income from agriculture goes directly into the struggle with the high water content of the soils.

In the agricultures of England, Holland, and other Western countries one of the chief agricultural expenditures is the costly draining of the fields, rendered necessary by the high water content. The Ukrainian agriculture of the Carpathian region, where the rainfall is only 800 millimetres a year has yet been compelled to prepare better methods for the surface flow of the water and without regard for that has maintained a harvest of only 30% of its capacity. Besides Western European science has expended enormous efforts on the overcoming of the negative influence of an excessively wet climate on the cultivated plants. They had to develop new forms of grain culture to overcome lodging and countless other diseases which are common in areas with a wet climate. If we take into account the optimal amount of yearly rainfall for central Europe, we will be forced to agree that 500—600 millimetres with the monthly minimum in June and July is the best amount. This is confirmed by the fact that comparatively high yields have been and are being secured, even under conditions of low agricultural technique, in the forest-steppe zone of Ukraine and in the Kuban, where there is the same rainfall. In the case of plantings of winter wheat, the dependence of this crop upon the amount of summer rainfall is significantly less than in the case of the spring grains for the winter crop profits from the moisture of the soil in autumn, winter and spring. Without paying attention to the fact that the actual causes of the high yield of agriculture in the countries of Western Europe are fully clear, as are the causes of the low yields in Eastern Europe, especially in Ukraine, some authors even recently have seen in the climate a factor limiting the amount of the yield in this or another crop. In the 1920's the authoritative Russian economists and agronomists reported to the government of the USSR that there was no point in intensifying the agriculture of Ukraine, for with its dry climate there was possible only an extensive agriculture and that it was more profitable to expend the available funds on the agriculture of the central Russian areas, where through the improvement of the poor podzolic soils, because



of the wet climate, it would be possible to secure larger harvests than on the rich soils of Ukraine. In 1927 the Ukrainian academician, O. Sokolovsky, who continuously supported the plans of the Moscow Communist central government in Ukraine, published a pamphlet in which he warned the Ukrainian government against the organization on the southern steppes of great grain farms, the so-called "grain factories". In his assertions he even relied on the authority of the Director of the Department of Agriculture in the United States who had written that in some Western states of the USA there was possible only an extensive animal husbandry.

We find the same opinions in the new American book, *The Socialized Agriculture in the USSR*, which is, of course, devoted to the agriculture of the entire USSR and gives only a few remarks on the agriculture of Ukraine. To make clear the position of the author of this book, I will quote his own words (p. 132): "Future gains in Russian agricultural output will have to be largely on the poor soils of central and northern European Russia. With a great deal of manure, made available by the development of a large domestic market for animal products, and with heavy applications of commercial fertilizers these lands may gradually be made to produce almost twice the yields now obtained in the 'rich Ukraine'."<sup>1</sup> The process of the basic improvement of the poor, podzolic soils, has been well studied experimentally and on the basis of these materials we can say that for these soils to yield the same amounts as the black earth, it would have to be limed and for many years receive great applications of organic fertilizers. The application of such large quantities of organic fertilizers could be possible only with a very intensive development of animal husbandry. In the real practice of agriculture the improvement of such podzolic soils encounters many difficulties. The mineral fertilizers will never give the great effect on the podzolic soils and the application of the great quantities of fertilizers will only finally ruin the soil.

To maintain a yield of winter wheat of 30 metrical centners a hectare on soil of the type of the Ukrainian black earth, there is needed 30 tons of manure a hectare on a field with autumn ploughing and the application of small quantities of mineral fertilizers to the wheat. To maintain the same yield on the acid podzolic soil it must be completely remade by liming and the yearly application of manure and green fertiliz-

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<sup>1</sup> Naum Jasny, *The Socialized Agriculture of the USSR*. Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, 1949.

ers. The organic fertilizers must be applied for 15-20 years for this podzolic soil to have the same characteristics as the black earth. The question of the maintenance of high yields on poor and acid soils is by no means as simple as the author of these quoted lines believes. When we fertilize (manure) this or that plant, it takes advantage of the applied fertilizer and begins to expand rapidly its root system and thanks to this, it uses more liberally than an unfertilized plant, the nutritive elements of the soil. But whereas in the black earth these materials are present in great quantities, there are few of them in the podzolic soil. It is more economically profitable to apply fertilizers to the black earth than to the podzolic soils. This, of course, does not mean that it is useless to improve these podzolic soils but in the black earth in its natural state the plant well pays for the fertilizer that has been added, while the podzolic soil needs first of all improvement, which is connected with a definite capital investment.

The direct dependence of the harvest upon the climatic conditions is characteristic only of agriculture on a low primitive technique. To consider this dependence as an unchanging factor means a lack of faith in the progress of agriculture, and not to count upon the accomplishments of agricultural science. We know that the mere rationalization of the cultivation of soils will appreciably increase their water content. Such methods as the planting of trees on the sides of the field, especially across the prevailing dry winds, sharply changes the water level of the soil and the humidity of the windswept area above the soil and protects the crops from drought. Tree belts in the fields, holding the snow on the field and increasing the moisture of the soil, render possible the application of large quantities of organic and mineral fertilizers with a great effect upon the yield even in the southern areas of the dry steppe of Ukraine.

My long years of experimental investigation in the southern steppe of Ukraine has shown that the black earth in fields between belts of trees, under the influence of the greater moisture, during 50-60 years changes to a much moister variety and also noticeably increases its productivity.<sup>2</sup> The black earth of the steppes when tree belts are planted

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<sup>2</sup>G. Makhiv, *Investigation of the protective tree belts and the dry steppe of Ukraine in connection with the problem of the protective forestation of the southern steppe.* Works of the Forest Experimental Organization, 1921, Kiev-Kharkiv. In this article I aim to give true explanations of the condition of productivity of the Ukrainian black earths and the economic perspectives for the agriculture of Ukraine which are connected with the possible increase of that productivity.

changes into the deep black earth of the forest-steppe type, and the southern black earth acquires the characteristics of the black earth of the central or moister steppe. There are not only morphological changes in the black earth but clear changes in the colloidal parts of the black earth and in the composition of the cations of the soil. As a result of these changes there is an increase in its natural productive power and the possibility of an effective application of large quantities of organic and mineral fertilizers. The planting of tree belts to protect the fields from the dry winds is a single process which requires considerably less labor and expense than for example the draining of the fields, which often must be done in the countries of Western Europe.

The natural productivity of the Ukrainian black soils gives the possibilities even in the present conditions of low technical exploitation of maintaining a yearly yield of 12 metrical centners of grain per hectare in the forest-steppe zone, of 10 centners in the central steppe and of 9 centners in the southern and south-eastern dry steppe. These quantities are based on the statistics of the provincial zemstvos for the period of 1905-1915. Such a low level of yield can not usually satisfy either private or state agriculture. In the great steppe estates which covered 40—60,000 hectares, before the revolution a yield of 9-10 centners a hectare was regarded as economically satisfactory, for with the extensive methods of agriculture the general production was very large. Small peasant holdings were not in a position to incur expenses for the increase of the yield and frequently there was not sufficient grain for the use of the family until the next harvest.

The village agriculture of Soviet Ukraine uses mineral fertilizers only for two technical cultures: that of the sugar beet and to a significantly less degree for flax. In the question of grain it continues the old tradition of maintaining a high production not by increasing the yield but by increasing the area sown. The interruption of crop rotations with the grains leaves no possibility of planting industrial crops as sugar beets, corn, sunflowers, etc. and pasture grasses. The lack of these hinders the development of animal husbandry and thereby the securing of a large quantity of manure.

In connection with this the yield of grain in the years 1935-1941 remained about the same as in the period from 1905 to 1915, especially in the central steppe, where the average yield was about 10 centners. There was a certain increase in the yield of grain (14 centners in comparison with 12 in 1905-1915) in the western part of the forest steppe and a noticeable increase in the southernmost steppe (an average

of 13 centners against 9 in 1905-1915). This was connected with the introduction into the rotations of clean plowing and a new industrial crop of unirrigated cotton. A second reason for the substantial increase in the yield of grain on the dry steppe was the introduction in the grain-cotton rotation of new areas of virgin prairie and of prairie pastures which until 1930 had been used for sheep raising.

This fact of the increase of the yields on the dry steppe (with 300-350 mm. of rainfall), even without the application of any fertilizers, shows that the decisive factor in the Ukrainian conditions is not the climate but the level of technique. But the introduction of clean ploughing and the breaking up of new land can give only a small and temporary increase in yield. The decisive factor in the increase of the yield can only be found in the supplying of the slight deficit of the balance of elements in the soil needed for the growth of plants (NPP) and this is possible only by the application of a rational system of organic and mineral fertilizers in a definite rotation with due consideration of the needs of the chief crops.

The data secured by the 35 Ukrainian experiment stations over many years show that with the introduction of a better technique together with proper and sufficiently deep cultivation (20-25 cm.) and the application to the fallow land in autumn of 30 tons of manure, the average harvest will increase to more than 30 metrical centners a hectare, i. e. will equal the crops produced in Belgium, Denmark and Holland.

The objection is usually made that the level of the yields at the experiment stations is always higher and that the usual holdings cannot apply all the technical devices which are used by the experiment stations. This is not strictly accurate in connection with the Ukrainian stations, which before the revolution were operated by the zemstvos, the only democratic organizations in tsarist Russia. These stations were organized to render broad service to the peasant holdings, to aid them with agronomic advice and to make recommendations which could be carried into practice again with the aid of the zemstvos and furnish to the villagers on advantageous terms mineral fertilizers and agricultural machines and equipment. The principle of recommending for the village holdings simplified and easily applied forms of technique for mass application was kept in the Kolkhozes and after the collectivization of the Ukrainian agriculture in the work of the experiment stations and scientific institutions. Usually neither the stations nor the kolkhozes were to blame that even this simplified technique could not be applied in practical agriculture.

I am not going into the general political reasons for the low productivity of agriculture in the USSR as a whole and also in Soviet Ukraine. The collective forms of agriculture, compulsorily imposed on the population who are now in the „union” of the kolkhozes being turned into true serfs, cannot usually favor increased productivity in agriculture. Yet these political causes are well known and I shall not dwell upon them. I regard it as more useful to speak of the real causes for the low productivity of Ukrainian agriculture as of the whole USSR which can be set forth statistically and about which, of course in a concealed form, Soviet scholars write, who like the author of the book on “The Socialized Agriculture of the USSR” can say that they believe in science, unadorned and unadulterated science.<sup>3</sup> The Ukrainian black earth belongs to that group of soils which is regarded as the richest in the world. When we take the total amount of the nutritive elements for plants which the black earth contains and compare it with the amount of those elements that are taken each year from the soil with the yield of the crops, we see that the Ukrainian black earth can support with its richness 150-200 harvests. But this whole wealth is not available for the plants and only an insignificant part of it each year is turned into usable forms. That is why the natural productivity of the black earth only yields average harvests. Each year the removal of part of the nutritive elements in the crops exhausts the ground. If fertilizer is not added, the yield will gradually diminish and the industrial crops as sugar beets exhaust the soil especially rapidly.

To have high yields, the first requirement is to create in the soil a high balance of nutritive elements, that is—it is necessary to restore to the soil through fertilizers a larger part of the elements of nitrogen, phosphoric acid, and potash, which the harvests remove. Only a balance with a small deficit in these nutritive elements can be a forerunner of large harvests. A study of the agriculture of Germany shows us that a small deficit in nitrogen and potash of not more than 20-25 per cent for each of these elements is easily compensated for by the soil from its supply of nutritive elements in a form usable by plants. But for phosphoric acid, which is significantly present in the soil in insoluble forms, the deficit is not desirable. The agriculture of Germany, Denmark and other western countries understands this well, in allowing a deficit in nitrogen and potash of 20-25 per cent but fully compensating in the form

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<sup>3</sup> See the work of Prof. D. Pryanishnikov, *Agrochemistry*, Moscow, 1940. p. 194, lines 8-13.

of applied fertilizers for the use by the crops of phosphorus. When we form the balance of the nutritive elements in the agriculture of Ukraine under the Soviets, we see that the deficit amounts to 70-80 per cent. To illustrate this in figures, let us take for example the balance of the nutritive elements in the seven year rotation of a beet sowing kolkhoz. We are deliberately choosing a kolkhoz which each year applies mineral fertilizers to the beets and so not only carries off the nutritive elements in the harvests but also returns part of the deficiency. We are surprised that such a kolkhoz can secure a yield of winter wheat of 15 centners per hectare and a harvest of sugar beets of 225 centners a hectare. Such yields have been planned for the third five-year plan but later these demands were lowered to 13 centners of grain and 200 centners of sugar beets a hectare.

The grain yield of 15 centners a hectare removes from the soil the following amounts of elements: nitrogen 46 kilograms a hectare, 22 kilograms of phosphoric acid a hectare and oxide of potash of 28 kilograms.<sup>4</sup> The sugar beet harvest of 225 centners a hectare removes 122 kilograms of nitrogen, 32 kilograms of phosphoric acid and 117 kilograms of oxide of potash per hectare. The entire course of the seven year rotation including one fallow field removes from the soil:

Crop	Nutritive elements removed from soil in kilograms per hectare		
	Nitrogen	Phosphoric acid	Oxide of potash
Sugar beet (1 crop)	122	32	117
Grain (4 crops)	184	88	112
Clover (1 crop)	—	10	30
Total	306	130	259

In the kolkhozes of the sugar beet zone, in the best instance, they add to the fallow field for the winter wheat which is followed by the sugar beets 10 tons of manure, which restores the following: nitrogen 50 kilograms, phosphoric acid 25 kilograms and oxide of potash 60 kilograms a hectare. Of mineral fertilizers these beet-growing kolkhozes have added for this cultivation 20 kilograms of nitrogen, 75 kilograms of phosphoric acid, and 40 kilograms of oxide of potash for 1 hectare. We

<sup>4</sup> Kilogram = 2 lb. 3 ounces. One centner = 100 kilograms.

must also take into consideration that the remains of the roots of the clover can give up to 50 kilograms of nitrogen a hectare.

Hence the balance in these nutritive elements during the seven year rotation will be in kilograms per hectare:

Elements of the balance	Nutritive elements in kgs. per hectare		
	Nitrogen	Phosphoric acid	Oxide of potash
1. Added to the soil:			
a) 10 tons manure	50	25	60
b) Mineral fertilizers in average quantities	20	75	40
c) Remains of clover roots	50	—	—
<b>Total added</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
2. Removed from the soil in the 7 year rotation	306	130	250
<b>Balance of the rotation</b>	<b>—186</b>	<b>—30</b>	<b>—159</b>

In this way the deficit during the seven year cycle amounts to nitrogen 60 per cent, phosphoric acid 23 per cent, and potash 62 per cent.

From this it is clear that the size of the deficit cannot be compensated by the supplies of nutritive elements in the soil. As a result the yield of the grain crops remains on the level of 10 centners and the yield of sugar beets is stabilized at about 180 centners a hectare.

The fact that Ukrainian agriculture, in spite of its rich black earths, has a moderate level of yield for those crops which do not receive mineral fertilizers is explained by the colonial position of Ukraine and that in furnishing a huge part of the raw material for the important agricultural industry of the USSR, Ukraine receives but an insignificant part of the supplies necessary for raising the productivity of its agriculture. If the economic system of Ukraine were developing normally and independently for the benefit of the country its raw supplies of agricultural ores, there could be produced a rational system of fertilizers, which would give on the black earths yields of grain of 30-40 centners a hectare and of sugar beets of 300-500 centners.

Ukraine is well supplied with phosphates. The Podilyan (Western Ukraine) phosphates contain from 33.5 per cent to 38.8 per cent of phosphoric acid and it is very easy to turn them into superphosphate mixtures. If the Podilyan supplies do not have a great future for the fertilizer industry in the USSR as a whole, they could easily provide the

superphosphate factories of Ukraine with raw material. The phosphates of the region of Chernyhiv and the Donbas contain 18 per cent of phosphoric acid and are available for manufacture into ground phosphate which can be effectively used on important areas of Ukraine in place of superphosphate. Ukraine has important resources of potash salts in the Sub-Carpathian regions of Kalush and Stebnyk. These in 1937-1938 produced about 100,000 tons of  $K_2O$ , but the yearly production could be significantly larger for the total amount of these rock salts is more than 100 million tons with 20 per cent  $K_2O$ . The need for rock salt for the agriculture of Ukraine can be totally met from these reserves. As regards nitrogenous fertilizers their production can be sufficiently high, for sal ammonia can be secured from the gases of the coke furnaces and the production of synthetic ammonia can be well organized in the factories of the Donbas. Synthetic ammonia can be utilized in the production of ammonial fertilizers (sulphate of ammonia) as well as for the production of nitric acid and nitric salts (saltpeter).

The yearly production of mineral fertilizers in the whole USSR amounts to 3 million tons. To fertilize only 20 per cent of the land devoted to grains would require about 13 million tons. It is therefore understandable that Ukraine receives mineral fertilizers only for the sugar beet and in a far smaller degree for flax. The possibilities of Ukrainian agriculture on the black earths are very great. In the course of a period of 25-30 years, it is possible to triple the yield of all crops, i. e. to secure an average yield of grains of 30 centners a hectare in place of 10 and of 500 centners of sugar beets in place of 180. For this there are needed certain prerequisites: a sufficient development of the fertilizer industry, which will work with Ukrainian raw materials, the doubling of the number of cattle, so as to increase correspondingly the amount of the valuable organic fertilizers (manure); the introduction into the rotation of one year of clover in the beet zone and three years of alfalfa in the steppes; the equipping of agriculture with more perfected tools for cultivation, especially plows for ploughing to a depth of 25-30 cm. These will open important tasks for agriculture, the supplying by the own production of the great industrial centers. Hence an part of Ukrainian agriculture will have to acquire the character of a suburban dairy and vegetable production. |

The creation of a high balance of organic and mineral fertilizers in all branches of agriculture will render it possible in the first five years of the existence of an economically and politically independent Ukraine to raise the yield of all crops to the level of Western Europe with a possibility of still higher development.



## AMERICA AND THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

by N. CHUBATY

The liquidation of the British Empire in Asia, of the Dutch rule in Indonesia and the changing of the imperial possessions of France into a free French Union have made it clear that the empires of the world are doomed. The awakened nationalism of the Mohammedan nations is a sign that foreign rule over these peoples and even the possession by the European powers of special privileges in their lands will not be long maintained. The sooner the dependent peoples recover their full national sovereignty, the better it will be for the preservation of harmony among the free peoples of the world and the easier it will be to fight Communism, which profits by the recent national and economic enslavement of the colonial peoples to strengthen the Russian Communist imperialism.

### HISTORICAL COURSE OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT

It is only after the full return of sovereignty to all dependent peoples of the world and the dying down of the animosities of the previously enslaved peoples against their former oppressors that we will be able to speak of a new world order and perhaps of a world federation with a world government at its head. This fact must be clearly understood and appreciated by the American people, to whom Divine Providence has granted the leadership of the free world. The leader is bound and compelled to know the historical course of world development; he must appreciate all those imponderables which lie at the bottom of the soul of every oppressed people in every corner of the world. Otherwise he will be forced to pay dearly for all those mistakes which he has failed to recognize in time.

*When we say that the idea of the liberation of all enslaved peoples is spreading on its triumphal course throughout the entire world, it is unmistakably clear that the Russian Empire cannot remain as an exception. Its inhuman regime has developed the worst sort of a colonial rule over 100 millions of enslaved peoples, who differ psychologically from the ruling Russian people and far surpass them in culture. The brutality of the Russian colonial imperialism is more extreme in every way than*

the old imperial rule of Britain and those other colonial powers whose empires are in ruins. Nevertheless there are not lacking prominent officials of America who now take the position that the Russian Empire, the worst type of colonial empire in the world, must remain either after a Third World War or without such a war. They believe that the peoples of the Russian Empire, who according to Soviet statistics represent 53.61% of the population of the Soviet Union, must continue to remain under the hated rule of the 46.39% of the Russians.<sup>1</sup>

### OUR ALLIES OR COLD NEUTRALS

It would seem that in the present world situation, when America is compelled to arm itself and the Western world for the preservation of peace or for a final settlement with the Russian red empire, when in Korea by the actions of the same Moscow American boys are compelled to shed their blood, the simplest course for American foreign policy would be to find allies in the Soviet Union by the complete shattering of the Russian Empire and the liberation of the non-Russian peoples. Such a policy would be based not only upon the moral principles of true Americanism, defined in the American Declaration of Independence, but upon the well understood interest of America to employ the struggles of the non-Russian peoples of the red empire for the more rapid overthrowing of the enemy. The existence at various periods and in sections of the Russian Empire of national resistance movements — in Ukraine, Lithuania, the Caucasus and Turkestan is a proven fact. The proper use of this force can bring to America no less assistance than the atom bomb.

Yet these forces will certainly remain neutral, if the official policy of America maintains its present position of protecting the indivisibility of the Russian Empire and thereby rejecting all cooperation from its friends. Any one who is even slightly aware of the real position of the national relationships of these people within Soviet Russia, will certainly agree with the author of this article that a policy of returning to them only a few basic human rights but of retaining them under the rule of Moscow will never satisfy the one hundred millions of non-Russians who at the

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<sup>1</sup> A clear picture of nationalities relations in the USSR is provided by the census of 1926; whereas the 1939 census is confusing. In 1926 in the USSR there were 147 millions people, of them 53% Russians, 47% non-Russians (21.2% Ukrainians). The whole population of the USSR in 1939 was 170.5 millions; the population of the acquired territories between 1939—1945 was 24.3 millions non-Russians alone. Consequently the percentage of Russians fell to 46.39, the percentage of non-Russians rose to 53.61. (Ukrainians 22.66%).

time of the Russian Revolution of 1917-18 profited by the downfall of tsarism, asserted their rights of self-determination and proclaimed their own democratic sovereign states on their own ethnographical territories.

There is no power in the world that will be able permanently to maintain Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan and the Kozak lands under the rule of Moscow.

It is undeniable that the communist regime is oppressing both Russians and non-Russians but not in the same degree. The Russians feel only the terror of the regime which is in fact far less severe on Russian than on non-Russian territory. The non-Russian peoples feel also their national oppression which is enforced by the same terroristic means.

The mere overthrow of the power of the Kremlin is not a slogan which could rouse the non-Russian peoples to an active struggle against the Bolsheviks. *If America proclaims that it is against the dissolution of the red empire and against the liberation of the non-Russian peoples from the rule of Moscow, there is no hope that these peoples will become the allies of America in the struggle against Russian Communism.*

#### BOLSHEVIKS PLAY ON THE NATIONAL SENTIMENTS

There would be few Ukrainians who would be willing to lose the membership of Ukraine in the United Nations or to see again the division of the Ukrainian lands which were united and now are ruled by the Bolsheviks in order to become again the "Little Russian province of Southern Russia" as in the days of tsarism or to be joined again to Poland, Rumania or Czechoslovakia even though the seat of Ukraine at the United Nations is now filled not by a representative of the Ukrainian people but by an agent of Moscow.

The Kremlin more realistically realizes the power of the national movements of the non-Russian people than do the official and semi-official American experts and in moments of crisis it exploits these national sentiments of the non-Russian peoples to its own advantage.

The Bolsheviks have studied to the smallest details the national questions not only of the Soviet Union but of the entire world. They are the best experts in matters concerning the national aspirations, national sentiments and the international conflicts of the now dependent peoples of the world and in comparison with them the attitude of the American "expert" toward these difficult questions often seems like a

childish fancy. Again and again the Soviets have been able to turn these questions to their profit as a few examples will show.<sup>2</sup>

In its' plan of absorbing Lithuania, the Kremlin annexed to Lithuania its ancient capital of Wilno over which the Baltic republic had been carrying on a diplomatic quarrel with Poland for twenty years. We must understand the feelings of the Lithuanians when in the autumn of 1939, they received the news that Wilno had been taken from the Poles and returned to them. The patriotic Lithuanian was tempted for a moment to forget that Wilno had been given back to Lithuania by the Kremlin, the foe of his Catholic faith and nationality, and that the Kremlin could likewise take away the independence of Lithuania, as it did soon after. At present the Lithuanian partisans are struggling against Soviet rule but they will turn their arms against anyone who would try to take Wilno away from Lithuania in case of a crisis in Eastern Europe.

It is the same with Ukraine. By 1919 the Soviets had come to appreciate the Ukrainian patriotism; so on their military occupation of the country they did not annex Ukraine to red Russia but proclaimed an Independent Ukrainian Soviet Republic. Then they included this within the Soviet Union. To satisfy the Ukrainian national ambitions and to use them for their own interests they introduced Ukraine into the United Nations as an original member. Recently they have given to Ukraine a special hymn and its own flag, the only flag in the Soviet Union which is not simply red but also has one color (blue) of the Ukrainian national flag, which was formed of the two colors, blue and yellow.

It is of course clear that under these forms of a Ukrainian government there is hidden the actual government of Moscow over Ukraine, but the Bolsheviki know how to play on the national aspirations of the Ukrainian people to be a true nation.

There is no doubt that the Polish semi-totalitarian rule over Western Ukraine was absolutely more humane than the Russian red regime in Ukraine. Yet the ideal of every Ukrainian patriot has always been expressed in the slogan: "An Independent and United Ukraine." This has been the dream of many generations of Ukrainians. If the first part of the slogan, an "Independent Ukraine", has not been realized, yet the Ukrainian lands previously divided between Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia have been united into a unit and every Ukrainian patriot, even the greatest enemy of the Bolshevik rule over Ukraine, regards this as a step nearer to the full realization of the Ukrainian national ideal.

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<sup>2</sup> Carman, *Soviet Imperialism*, 1950.

This action was accepted by every Ukrainian nationalist, even though he knew that he could expect no mercy in the Soviet reality. It was accepted by most Ukrainian Catholics, even though they knew that the Soviet Moscow Government would carry on a pogrom against their Church, for Russia, white or red, has traditionally annihilated Ukrainian Catholicism of the Eastern Rite because it was the opponent of the Muscovite idea of the Third Rome. At the present time the Ukrainian partisans are fighting against the rule of red Moscow over Ukraine but they will at any moment turn their arms against any one who would try again to separate the Ukrainian lands. They are struggling and will struggle gallantly for the completion of the national idea of an "Independent Ukraine", but they will never allow the destruction of the "United Ukraine."

The same thing which we have said of the union of the Ukrainian lands is true of White Ruthenia. The union of the White Ruthenian lands from under Poland into one whole, a formal governmental unity under the rule of red Moscow, is regarded by every White Ruthenian patriot as a step forward toward the realization of a White Ruthenian National Independent State.

Only the absence of basic studies in America on the national questions of the peoples of Eastern Europe and Western Asia can produce the simply absurd conclusions of those American experts who place the building up of a unified Russia above the national aspirations of the non-Russian peoples — "bewildered linguistic groups" as expressed by one American author.

Unfortunately the Bolsheviks have studied more fundamentally the "bewildered linguistic groups," despite their own basic internationalism and we must confess that they understand them better than do the American experts and know how to turn the sentiments of the nationalities to their own interests and even how to solve important national conflicts with some sort of compromise.

It is a fact that the boundaries between the united Ukrainian territory, now existing as the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, and Poland, Slovakia and Rumania have been worked out by a well-considered compromise and that they will not satisfy an extremist, whether he be Ukrainian, Polish, Slovak or Rumanian. These boundaries are very likely to last for a long time. A very important decision was made on the sensitive Polish-Ukrainian boundary, which has been the object of controversy between Ukraine and Poland for centuries. When at present an American author finds it possible to write about "Polish Lwow" (Lviv) and "Polish West-

ern Ukraine" and says that the region must be given back to Poland,<sup>3</sup> he obviously does not know the details of this burning question. Moscow would surely return to a communist Poland Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine, and the whole of the province, the most revolutionized part of Ukraine, if such could be done without injury to itself.

The Americans must come to realize that the Bolsheviks are masters in the granting of national concessions in critical periods for themselves. A definite example of this was the nationalist concessions to Ukraine during the last World War. When the Bolsheviks on the basis of the Hitler—Stalin pact marched into Western Ukraine, the red armies were led by the well-known Ukrainian general Timoshenko. His proclamations to the population of Western Ukraine could have been signed by any Ukrainian nationalist.

When the German armies were approaching Moscow and the Ukrainian partisans were shattering the Nazis and the Communist partisans in the rear of the German army, Moscow made concessions to Ukrainian nationalism. The poets of Soviet Ukraine were permitted to write Ukrainian national poems full of national feeling. These were printed for the Ukrainians in the red army and appealed to the national pride of the Ukrainian people. Stalin established a red military decoration named for the Ukrainian leader of the 17th century, Bohdan Khmelnytsky. For the Ukrainian divisions of the red army it was ordered to produce a Ukrainian Military March which can be heard with true emotion by every Ukrainian patriot. This Ukrainian Military March was based on the melodies of Ukrainian military organizations of the remote past and even of the recent periods of struggle against the Bolsheviks. This interesting March begins with a melody very popular among the Ukrainians, with the words:

"Saint George will help us  
And the All Pure Mother, to obtain glory;  
And though I fall or perish,  
I will not die again,

To obtain glory.

It is natural that these concessions were only for the duration of the war. That ended and all these poems, patriotic historical works, a History of Ukrainian Literature written in the Ukrainian national spirit, all were placed on the index; their authors were sharply criticized for their "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." The Ukrainian Military March disappeared from the repertoire of the military bands. The Bolsheviks will

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<sup>3</sup> W. H. Chamberlin, *America's Second Crusade*.

make such concessions in a crisis but when the whole apparatus of the NKVD begins again to function properly and there is no danger that the dynamics of Ukrainian patriotism can develop into a national Ukrainian uprising which would be catastrophic for the red empire, they will withdraw them.

When we compare the total lack of understanding of the national problems of the Soviet Empire by influential American experts on Russia with the masterly knowledge of these questions by the Bolshevik politicians, the American must dread to think on what an uncertain enterprise America would embark if with such a political program and relying on such official experts, it had to enter into a struggle in Eastern Europe or in Western Asia. The American Ambassador at Large, Professor Jessup, has officially declared that the shattering of Russia would be such a great calamity for America that in comparison with it the present American-Russian tension would be only a toy.<sup>4</sup> The recent State Department top-expert on Russia reduces the struggle for liberation by 100 million non-Russians, who are at the present time friendly to America and its potential allies, to "dreary and profitless manipulations with so-called national boundaries and with the naive loyalties of bewildered linguistic groups which have passed for statesmanship in that area in the past."<sup>5</sup>

All this emphasizes the burning question as to what should be the real and freedom-loving American program toward the Soviet Empire. Does the American government and the American Congress realize the "blunder" that American policy would commit, if the expert advices of those experts were accepted as the basis of American policy and America should be compelled to carry on a war against Soviet Russia? The American mistakes in China would be mere trifles in comparison with the tragic situation into which America in pursuit of its program of maintaining the indivisibility of Russia would come, when it succeeded in alienating one hundred millions of non-Russian peoples and of driving them at least into a neutral position.

#### WORSHIPING OF RUSSIA IN AMERICA

The cause of this situation is that in the whole of America it is hard to find institutions that study scientifically the questions of the Soviet Empire without the Russian imperial slant. The influential experts

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<sup>4</sup> N. Y. Herald Tribune, Aug. 29, 1950.

<sup>5</sup> *America and the Russian Future*, by George F. Keenan, *Foreign Affairs*, April 1951, p. 361.

of the pro-Russian trend (whether they are of Russian or American origin) have succeeded so well in persuading the influential circles of America of the unimportance of these questions, that in rich America there is no money to found an Institute for the study of the National Problems of the Soviets, that is the problems of our potential allies in case of war.

At the present time America is swarming with Russian studies but almost all of these are under the greater or lesser influence of Russians or of American Russophiles whom they have trained and who turn these Russian schools into worshiping places of Russia. During the last war these Russian studies with a few exceptions were the centres for the pro-Soviet indoctrination of Americans, the breeding places for the American intellectual pro-Soviet "fellow-travellers" and they are now in places producing sympathizers with the "democratic Russia" or fellow-travelers of Russia with which we are destined to clash, whether it is red or white.

The most antiquated and thoroughly unscientific ideas of the Russian Empire established in the days of the tsars as the official science of the tsarist Russia, that there is one Russian language and one Russian people stretching from the White Sea to the Black and from the Baltic to the Pacific are now being fostered only in some American universities. In a progressive country as America there is now in most of the larger universities a "head of a Department of Slavonic Languages" who does not admit the existence of a special language of the Ukrainian people spoken by some 40,000,000 people, even though the tsarist Russian Academy of Sciences in 1905 officially declared for the use of the tsarist government that the Ukrainian language was a language distinct from Russian and that its special characteristics were already evident in the Kievan documents of the 11th century. Forty six years of the stormy history of Eastern Europe have passed since 1905 and in these years the Ukrainian people have proved they are a real nation in the political as well as the ethnical sense but for some American slavists they still do not exist.

### SOVIET EMPIRE AND AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION

In the question of the future of the Russian Empire there are now crystalizing in America two points of view. One calls for the liberation of the non-Russian peoples from the rule of Moscow; the other opposes the division of the Red Empire into its natural elements and the formation of national states. The first view is supported by that part of the Americans who still draw their moral ideas for American foreign policy



from the ideals of Americanism, the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America in 1776 and the ideology of the great American liberals from Jefferson through Lincoln to Woodrow Wilson. This progressive freedom-loving American point of view is represented by a series of Americans as Harold Stassen and many others. In Congress it is supported in the Senate by Senator Alexander Smith of New Jersey, Senator Benton of Connecticut and it was the policy of the late Senator Vandenberg. In the House of Representatives it has been supported by Congressman Charles Kersten of Wisconsin who on April 17 of this year introduced a "concurrent resolution" into Congress that 100 millions of non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Empire are our allies and that American foreign policy should be conducted on this basis.

Kersten's resolution asserts that in the Soviet Empire there are 100 million non-Russians — Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Turkestanians and other peoples, who are suffering not only terror from the Kremlin but national persecution. In the days of tsarism the non-Russian peoples were compelled to struggle for their self-existence and after the Revolution they set up their national governments, but red Moscow succeeded in stifling these in blood and forcibly made them parts of the Soviet Union. There without regard for the provisions of the Soviet constitution they are brutally dominated by Moscow. The non-Russian peoples suffer national and religious persecution and economic exploitation and it goes so far as to include the extermination of whole peoples. America not only because of its high moral principles which are natural to true Americanism but from its own interests must extend a helping hand to these peoples and liberate them as its allies behind the Iron Curtain.

The resolution is based upon the assumption made in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among them — deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Governments, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness." These principles are universal and must be applied to the entire world. They are thoroughly in accord with Wilson's principle of self-determination of

peoples and they should be the basic principles of American foreign policy.

The resolution further demands that all the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union should secure the right of freely deciding upon their form of Government on their national territories and that they should have the right of becoming independent states or of entering into such federations, as they might desire.

There is no doubt that the approval by both Houses of Congress of the Kersten resolution would be of a historical importance equal to the Fourteen Points of Wilson. It would testify to the constant vitality of American idealism, it would emphasize and establish the position of America as the leader of the free world and it would mark a turning point in the history of humanity. Aside from that, such ideals of international life based upon international morality and proclaimed by the "Voice of America" throughout the entire world and practically translated into the foreign policy of America would win our country the sympathy of all freedom-loving humanity and by bringing America millions of allies thus save the lives of thousands of American boys in the event of a Third World War.

In the longer historical view the disintegration of the Russian Empire would once and for all free the world of that threat which Russian imperialism has offered to a large part of the earth. Its disintegration into freedom-loving nations or freely federated groups of nations would end the isolation of a sixth part of the human race. It would certainly bring the recently communized China, the largest satellite of the Soviets, into the family of united peaceful nations. It would strengthen the brotherhood of nations and we can scarcely doubt that such an American foreign policy would receive the overwhelming support of the American people.

The opposing point of view — the preservation of the unity of the Russian Empire, — is held by a small group of American Russophiles, who have always had and still have tremendous influence on the official American foreign policy. Even in a Russia as it exists today they can see the "greatness, genius of the Russian people, their potential for good."<sup>6</sup> It is obvious that the chief authors of such a policy are under the influence of Russians who inspire in the pro-Russian spirit Americans who have fallen in love with the Russian "potential for good," even though Russian reality is anything but good.

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<sup>6</sup> G. Kennan, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

A good example of a work of this character is that by the Russian Dallin, published under the title, "*The Soviet Imperialism*", by the Yale University Press. Dallin emphasizes the unity of the Russian Empire nationally and economically and with true cynicism he denies to the non-Russians their natural rights. He even twists the facts of Soviet reality and represents the violence of Ukraine and the other non-Russian lands as the gratitude of the older Russian brother.

The views of Dallin are expressed in a more polished form by George Kennan in his article "*America and the Russian Future*," to which we have already referred. In this program for an American foreign policy the author stresses the need for the American support of a unified Russia. Why America needs the Russian Empire and for what reasons the country should give up its principles of liberty and protect the Russian prison of nations he does not try to explain.

#### KENNAN AND RUSSIAN PRISON OF NATIONS

In his article Kennan rightly is of the opinion that the basic problem of American foreign policy on which depends "our victory or defeat in the future war" as well as a "stable world order" is Russia. He promises to offer a realistic approach to the question of a future Russia and we might expect from him conceptions that would be in line with American ideals and the practical interests of America. Unfortunately he does not proceed in this way.

In his approach, he admits correctly that Russia has never had a democratic tradition but he hopes that a liberal democracy may soon be established in Russia. This is impossible not only because of the centuries-long Russian autocratic traditions but also because the true Russians (Muscovites) are in a minority in the Empire, since they number only 46.39% of the population and the majority, the 53.61% of non--Russians, are hostile to any dependency upon Moscow.

We must add that the majority of these have democratic traditions. Thus Ukraine three hundred years ago freed itself from Poland (1648) and established a truly democratic state without the classes almost universal at that time. For years the country struggled in defence of its liberties, so that Voltaire (18th century) could write that Ukraine was entirely devoted to liberty. When they revived their state in 1917, the Ukrainian people established it on the basis of a truly liberal democracy with great toleration for the national minorities.

The people of White Ruthenia (Byelorussia) also have long had democratic traditions. Even in the middle ages they developed a re-

publican-democratic system in Polotsk and the so-called "people's courts" (kopni sudy) were the guardians of the democracy of the people.

Likewise the Georgians have always had splendid traditions of freedom, which they showed in their struggles against the domination of the tsars in 1802, 1803, 1805, 1812, 1825 and 1872 and against red Russia in 1924. Their defence of their liberties has won for the Georgians the title of the Prometheus of nations.

Mr. Kennan even urges the Americans not to become nervous, if the indivisible Russia is not democratic; "Let us not hover nervously over the people who come after..., whether they answer to our concept of 'democratic'. Give them time; let them be Russians; let them work out their integral problems in their own manner". (p. 356).

We can well understand what a splendid "world order" will reign in Eastern Europe, if we allow the Russians to solve "their internal problems in their own manner." We can be certain that they will do it in the spirit and by the methods of Ivan the Terrible, Peter I, Catherine II and Nicholas I.

He would demand from the Russians only such guarantees as the following:

1. That they will maintain lawful relations with other peoples;
2. That there will be no "enslavement of labor," although the "internal system of government is in all essential respects the private business of the Russians."

3. As regards the non-Russian peoples, it will be sufficient, if, "*it will refrain from pinning an oppressive yoke on other people, who have the instinct and the capacity of self-assertion. If the people in that part of the world are going to go on thinking of national borders and minority problems in the way that they have thought of them in the past and continue to think of them today, Americans would do well to avoid incurring any responsibility for the views or positions on these subjects; ...that have little or nothing to do with the issue of human freedom.*" (p. 359).

It is frightfully depressing to realize that the top expert of the State Department on Russian affairs is so poorly oriented on the history of the national movements in Eastern Europe and adopts a point of view so far removed from the American idealism of 1776. The liberation of peoples and the granting to each nation the right to establish its own government on its own territory has for George Kennan no connection with "human freedom." He reduces the entire question of nationality to the action of "bewildered linguistic groups" and in comparing the position of

Ukraine under Russia to that of Pennsylvania (to which we will refer later) he shows that the whole question of the non-Russian population is to him a "terra incognita."

*European nationalism is something more than a linguistic problem and the nationalities can scarcely be compared to the states of the United States.* They are old historical entities with their own ancient culture, their own national psychology, their own traditions which bind the generations through the mysterious web of a feeling of national pride and love for their own and a deep sense of responsibility for the handing down of this tradition unharmed to coming generations. Language is merely one of the manifestations of this spiritual collective and not the only one.

Mr Kennan in his recent article brilliantly expresses the essence of this feeling in regard to America.<sup>7</sup> "America is not just territory and people. There is lots of territory elsewhere, and there are lots of people; but it does not add up to America. America is something in our minds and our habits of outlook which causes us to believe in certain things and to behave in certain ways, and by which, in its totality, we hold ourselves distinguished from others."

These words are equally applicable to the nations of Europe and to the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union. Their ideas and their habits are far older than are those of America which have been formed during the last three centuries, for Ukrainian culture and life have gone on for over a thousand years. The culture of Georgia is 1400 years old and that of Armenia 1600.

If for the American the preservation of his way of life is a fundamental question of his nationality and of "human freedom," why do the Ukrainian efforts to preserve its thousand year old way of life have "a little or nothing to do with the issue of human freedom?" What is the reason that he divides nations into those of the supermen and the average? To the former he apparently assigns Americans and Russians and to the others all the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet prison of nations.

There is no space in this short article to explain the formation of the way of life of the Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples. The Ukrainians of the Soviet Union stood as the outpost of Western Europe during the attacks of the Asiatic barbarians for 400 years from the 10th to the 13th centuries. We cannot here explain the development of Georgia and Armenia whose Christian civilization embraces the last centuries of the ancient classical world. One thing is certain. The way of life of each

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<sup>7</sup> New York Times Magazine, May 26, 1951.

of these peoples is so different from that of the Russian people which has been connected with the Mongolian world and the expanses of Eurasia, that their coexistence in one state is impossible. That is why it is necessary to study the national problems of the peoples of the Russian Empire, for each of them has had its own development throughout the centuries.

Mr. Kennan goes on to assert that we have no way of knowing the wishes of the non-Russian peoples of the Russian Empire, although these are clear to any one who has studied the history of the Soviet Union during the past thirty years. On January 22, 1918 Ukraine proclaimed its independence and on January 22, 1919, the Western Ukrainian Republic which was formed on November 1, 1919 on the breakup of the Austrian Empire formally united with it to form the United Ukrainian National Republic. The Ukrainian struggle for liberty has gone on steadily since that time. White Ruthenia claimed its independence on March 24, 1918 and Georgia on May 26 of the same year. Georgia was even admitted to the League of Nations on January 27, 1921. All of these independent nations were attacked by red Moscow but they continued to fight for their independence until they were finally conquered and forced into the red empire. Yet if he knew these facts, Mr. Kennan could scarcely write: "How we can know whether a given nation or group will require an independent status or federal status, some special brand of local self-government or no special status at all." (p. 360). The answers to these questions are clear to the students of the problems of the nationalities of Eastern Europe.<sup>8</sup>

*It might seem that Mr. Kennan desired to base his argument for the preservation of the Russian Empire on economic grounds.* It is undeniable that in the formation of states economic questions are of great importance but so is freedom of the individual, the freedom of the groups of individuals, the nations, must be given preference over the economy of various parts of the world. Further it is important whether the economy is being developed to serve the welfare of the people who possess the wealth or the welfare of their conquerors and exploiters as in the well-known and outmoded types of colonial systems. In his outline for an American Russian policy, Mr. Kennan has definitely subordinated the economic interests of the territories inhabited by non-Russians to the interests of the Russian people, that is to preserve the present colonial exploitation of one

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<sup>8</sup> For details, see: M. Tougouchi-Gaiannee: *USSR — Face au Probleme des Nationalites*, Liege, 1946 (in French).

sixth of the world by Moscow. It is the same approach that the Bolsheviks use to blacken the United States foreign policy by calling it "dollar imperialism."

Fortunately this approach has not been characteristic of the American people or government. It is the conception of a few diplomats and the capitalistic cliques behind them, for whom the American ideals of liberty are empty phrases, while economics are everything. In this vein Mr. Kennan writes: "There are peoples of non-Russian ethnological character on the borders of the Great Russian family whose economic existence is intimately bound up with that of the Great Russians" (p.360).

According to his conceptions, Ukraine is closely connected with Russia by economic ties. He acknowledges the "peculiar genius" of Ukraine "but the Ukraine is economically as much a part of Russia as Pennsylvania is part of the United States. Who can say what the final status of the Ukraine should be unless he knows the character of the Russia, to which the adjustments will have to be made." From his words it is clear that the freedom of the peoples of the Russian Empire must be regulated by the economic interests of Russia and that the political status of Ukraine should be dependent upon the economic "adjustments" to the profit of Russia.

It is hard to believe in the democratic character of such a statement. Certainly no nation in the world can now stand economically by itself but trading agreements are made to supply deficiencies and to provide for the exchange of raw materials and manufactured products. At the same time only a nation in possession of its own land and wealth, can decide upon its true economic interests and its political status. *The comparison of Ukraine and Pennsylvania in their position in Russia and the United States respectively is ridiculous, for the population of Pennsylvania does not form a separate people but are part of the American people, while the Ukrainians form a distinct nation.*

Fortunately even the economic arguments of Mr. Kennan concerning Ukraine take no account of the economic changes made in the Soviet Union in the past twenty years. Under the tsarist regime and during the first ten years of red rule Russia was very dependent economically upon Ukraine. That is largely changed. Russia is now largely independent of Ukraine and becoming more so.

That is due to various causes. In the first place Moscow has so strongly taken into account the possibility of the splitting off of Ukraine from Russia that it has prepared for this economically. In the second place Ukraine is too much of a danger spot for Russia in case of war to con-

centrate in it the economic power of the Soviet Union as in the past. Moscow is now developing agriculture in Russia (both European and Asian) and is concentrating its industry in the more secure region of the Urals and in Asia.

During the Revolution of 1917, the lack of Ukrainian grain produced the hunger in Russia. This has changed and we can quote Stalin himself who declared at the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR in 1939: "In the past three years, said Stalin, the base of surplus marketable grain has been transferred from the Ukraine, which used to be considered the granary of our country, to the north and east, to the Russian SFSR. It is well known that in the past two or three years the Ukraine has provided about 400 millions poods of grain annually, while the RSFSR in these years had provided 1.1—1.2 billions poods of surplus marketable grain annually."

Similarly Ukraine is rapidly losing its dominating significance in the industry of the Soviet Union as a result of the development of coal mines and factories on the territory of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, especially in Asiatic Russia. This is clear when we compare the percentage of the production of raw materials and manufactured goods in Ukraine in 1937 and 1950.<sup>10</sup>

PRODUCTION OF UKRAINE IN RELATION TO THE ENTIRE  
PRODUCTION OF USSR IN 1937 AND 1950

Products	Percent of Production	
	1937	1950
Coal	60.0	34.4
Pig-iron	60.8	49.7
Steel	47.8	34.6
Electrical Energy	25.7	16.7
Sugar	78.0	68.0

It is obvious that Ukraine has ceased to be the Pennsylvania of the Russian industry. During the last 13 years Russia has economically largely rendered itself independent of Ukraine not as a result of the reduction in Ukrainian production but through the development of new

<sup>9</sup> Balzac, Vasiutyn: *Economic Geography of the USSR*, New York, 1949, p. 157.

<sup>10</sup> The Role of Ukraine in the Present Five Year Plan. *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. 5., No. 2.



enterprises on its own Russian territory. *Russia now can live well without Ukraine and Ukraine without Russia.*

But what interest does America have in seeing Russia economically powerful? It is obviously not in the interest of America for Russia to have a powerful metal industry as a basis for war production.

Mr. Kennan has correctly noted that the democratic traditions in Russia are still in swaddling clothes. **Communism can be replaced by a Fascism which will be not less dangerous for America than Communism.** The interests of America obviously call for the disintegration of the Soviet Empire into smaller national states and also the economic weakening of Russia and especially the reduction of its metal and chemical industries.

Kennan counts on the possibility of war with Russia but he fears that then there would appear among the Americans "confusing concepts of war aims." The American people must not fall under the "tyranny of slogans". It is hard to understand what he means by the "tyranny of slogans". The American people would respond to the demands for the liberation of all the peoples enslaved by Russia and this according to Mr. Kennan should not be the military aim of America.

He would like to see America conquer the Bolsheviks without including appeals for the freedom of all people, even as a way of overcoming the masterly propaganda of the Bolsheviks. Why he believes that it would be a risky proposition to use this means even in time of war, is hard to understand.

#### GERMAN DEFEAT — A WARNING

At the end of his article Mr. Kennan urges the Americans not to anger the Russians in case of a military conflict with the Soviets. It is no simple task to fight with Russia, which will certainly be on the side of Stalin and at the same time not to anger the enemy. Yet we must do this. Kennan proves it by the example of Nazi Germany, when he says: "The Germans, though not fighting at that time in the cause of freedom, learned to their sorrow the impossibility of combating simultaneously both the Russian people and the Soviet government" (p. 364).

We do not know to what he refers when he says that the Germans could not at the same time fight the Soviet government and the Russian people, for they were fighting with the Soviet government and the Russians who were in overwhelming majority loyal to their Soviet government as stated by Stalin himself at the victory banquet in Moscow 1945.

As a matter of fact the Germans made the still more tragic experiment which Mr. Kennan wishes the Americans to repeat. The Germans fought Russia without invoking the revolutionary dynamic powers of the peoples enslaved by Russia. The real tragedy for the Germans was that the Nazi party brutally underestimated the national aspirations of the Ukrainians and the people of White Ruthenia and did not allow them to organize their own governments and so turned away their original friends and their natural allies. The result was clear when the German army fell at Stalingrad from cold and want and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was cutting the lines of communication in their rear, interrupting transportation. The German example should be a warning to every one who fights in Ukraine and desires the preservation of the Russian enslavement of the Ukrainian people.

It is hard to admit that the American people could embark upon the hazardous foreign policy which Mr. Kennan desires. The main enemy of America is Soviet Russia and not only the 14 criminals of the Politburo, the red government. Behind the Russian Communist government is the overwhelming majority of the dominant Russian people, the masters of the Russian Empire, although they form only 46.39% of the population of the Soviet Union.

Against the Soviet government and Moscow as such stands now the majority of the population, the enslaved peoples of Russia oppressed by the red regime and enslaved by every Moscow. They have been fighting for decades for their liberation; they have been far worse persecuted by the Kremlin than the true Russians and they have suffered far worse economic exploitation than the true protected Russians.

It is as clear as day where America can find allies behind the Iron Curtain in case of war. The nations enslaved by Russia are already too politically mature to march to battle against the Kremlin for a foreign American purpose contrary to their own interests but they will go to fight against red Moscow, if America comes to them as a liberator and not as a supporter of the Russian prison of nations. They will go to fight enthusiastically for their freedom and a better free world under the leadership of America. In the Eurasian theatre America must not repeat those mistakes which primarily brought catastrophe to Germany in the war with the Bolsheviks. America must not rouse against itself the 53.61% of the enslaved population of Russia which is struggling for that freedom, which is the ideological basis of the United Nations.

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## THE UKRAINIAN MEDIEVAL PAINTINGS ON POLISH SOIL

by DAMIAN HORNIATKEVYCH

Last year it was reported in the press that a new series of Ukrainian paintings of the 15th century had been discovered in the Polish castle of the Wawel in Krakow. It, therefore, seems appropriate to call attention to this period of art, which has an important place not only in the culture of Ukraine but of the whole Eastern Europe. It is the more interesting, because our knowledge of this period is still rather fragmentary, the majority of the works have not been thoroughly published, and the known material is scattered and not easily accessible. It is no exaggeration to say that Ukrainian art of the 15th century in Polish territory is one of the "unknown values" in the artistic world.

After the Kievan state was overrun by the Mongols and ruined in 1240, the cultural and political life of the medieval Rus—Ukraine moved West to Galicia and Volhynia and this prolonged the life of the state for an entire century. In 1340 the last Western Ukrainian ruler Boleslav Yury II died, and his power was inherited by his relative, the Lithuanian prince Lubart. In 1385 the Lithuanian prince Jagiello married the Polish queen Jadwiga, and by a chain of events Poland was able to acquire in a very short time the Lithuanian and Ukrainian lands which had entered into a voluntary union. It is very interesting that at the time when Ukraine, devastated by the incessant attacks of the Asiatic hordes, lost her political independence, she extended her cultural influence over foreign territories. In Lithuania the Ukrainized Church-Slavonic, then the literary language of Ukraine, became the official tongue, and King Jagiello, having accepted the Catholic faith, gravitated toward the Byzantine rite, and consequently toward Byzantine art. Furthermore the influence of Ukrainian culture had been apparent in Poland from the earliest times.

Already in the 10th century Benedictine missionaries of the Eastern rite appeared in Krakow and later there arrived two bishops, Prokhor and Prokopy, as protectors of these missionaries. The establishment in 1491 of the first Ukrainian printing house by the German Schweipolt Fiol in Krakow can not be treated as a mere accident, since this happened 23 years before the appearance of the first Polish printed book in that city.

By the way even in the middle of the XVI century the Polish king Sigismund August wrote to his mother Bona, an Italian, in Church-Slavonic.

The activities of Ukrainian artists on Polish territory in the 14-15th centuries form a separate chapter. Without doubt the appearance of Ukrainian painters in Poland sprang from the necessities of the moment as Polish art developed relatively late, namely in the 18th century. Ukrainian art had already produced such works of universal importance as the mosaics and frescoes in the churches of Kiev and a large number of ikons. It is a rather curious fact that the Poles, building their churches in the Gothic style, preferred to employ for their decoration artists from the East, and not from the West, although numerous Germans were working in Poland at the time. As a result of this tendency we find in Poland an exceedingly interesting alliance of two cultures and two great styles—the Gothic and the Byzantine.

Not all the works of art from this period have survived, not even all those that are known from literature. Thus we know only what the chronicles say about the earliest paintings. We are told that Ukrainian artists painted the murals in King Jagiello's favorite church in Lysec (1393—1394) and in his apartments in the Wawel, but today the only trace of these murals are the king's notes and the accounts of the royal treasurer Hinchko. The Polish historian Dlugosz mentions in his *History of Poland*, that King Jagiello commissioned Ukrainian artists to decorate churches in Gniezno, Sandomierz, Wislica and the Marian chapel in the cathedral of the Wawel in Krakow. The murals in Gniezno and the Marian chapel have been ruined, but those in Sandomierz, Wislica and the castle church in Lublin are partially preserved.



SAINTS OF EASTERN CHURCH  
Fresco from the Catholic Church  
in Sandomierz, 15th century

The paintings in Sandomierz were discovered accidentally in 1287, when a later painting on canvas fell from the wall of the apse and

revealed the Byzantine murals, which it covered. Among them were scenes of the Ascension, the Entrance into Jerusalem, and the Last Supper. Later the other paintings on canvas were removed from the walls and more murals were uncovered. The Death of the Virgin took up one entire wall from the arch to the floor. This composition is partly based on the apocryphal writings, but it conforms to the hagiographic outlines of the Hermeneia, a collection of painter's rules for the Eastern ikonographers. This advises to paint the Virgin on the deathbed, with the apostles and bishops and Christ at the head, holding the Virgin's soul in His hands and surrounded by angel choirs.

In the Last Supper the artist does not present the mystical, but the historical moment, that is the betrayal. Here as usually Judas has a black halo in contrast to the golden halos of the other disciples. Sometimes, as in the Lublin murals he is painted with a devil on his shoulder. In Sandomierz we see Judas with an untied sandal, which according to the Jews (the Fifth Book of Moses) was a serious offence. These and several other compositions are quite well preserved, although two grave mistakes were made in the restoration after their discovery: some of these murals were retouched and partially repainted. This is today condemned by scholarship, which considers it wrong to replace missing details and destroyed parts of murals in a haphazard way. Also during the restoration the old Ukrainian inscriptions were partly painted over, but the Ukrainian character of these paintings is too obvious to be concealed.

For a long time the only authority for the Ukrainian origin of the Wislica murals was the writings of Dlugosz, Polish historian of the time. It was thought that these murals had disappeared, and, as so often happens in such cases, their discovery was purely accidental. During World War I artillery fire ruined the Collegiate church so badly, that it was doubtful whether it could be rebuilt. During the inspection of the walls, fragments of ancient murals were noticed under the peeling mortar. These rare and practically priceless paintings are almost in ruins today. Among the major compositions the Visitation, the Death of the Virgin and the Deposition from the Cross were preserved until recently on the north wall; the south wall contained the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Entrance into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Flagellation and Crucifixion, and there were also numerous figures of saints and martyrs. Originally all the walls, ceiling and arches of the church were covered with these murals. Now the church is rebuilt, but the murals can not be studied closely without a scaffolding. Even when seen from a distance they show great artistic skill and surpass in some sections even the high quality of the Sandomierz

murals. The inscriptions are usually in Slavonic characters, and only partly in Latin. In any case originally they were bilingual. In the report of his visitation, from the middle of the XVII century, Bishop Zadzik ascribed the Wislica murals to King Kazimierz the Great, in contradiction to the older Dlugosz, who considered King Jagiello as the patron.

The third surviving monument of the medieval Ukrainian Byzantine art on Polish soil are the murals in the Trinity Church of the castle in Lublin. These murals are of great importance because they are not only accurately dated (1415), but we have even the name of their author — the painter *Andrew*. The church itself was built in 1395 with a purely Gothic interior. This was decorated with a series of exceedingly bold compositions in the Byzantine style. They are remarkable not only for their deviations from the accepted Byzantine ikonographic traditions, but for their unmistakable Western influences as well. From the numerous figures the most notable is the Christ Pantocrator, painted on the ceiling and in the presbytery and symbolizing the idea of the Eucharist. Here the color scheme is highly refined with rose, blue, green and yellowish half-tones alternating with a pure dark blue. The Last Supper is particularly famous and is the most frequently reproduced picture from this chapel. Into the scene of the Communion of the Apostles the author introduced the figure of God the Father who is usually regarded by the artists of the Eastern rite with respect bordering on awe. In this work the artist Andrew united the medieval elements of the two styles, the western and the eastern. The scenes of the Arrest of Christ and especially of the Flagellation show significant deviations from the rigid rules of Byzantine painting. The artist introduced into his work many folk elements—musicians, singers and four female figures, two of whom are kneeling at the foot of the cross, while the other two are standing on their hands with their feet in the air. Probably these last figures were suggested by the grotesque character in the dramatized folk parodies, and were supposed to represent derision in a rather drastic fashion. There is a certain similarity between these folk motifs and the frescoes in the towers of St. Sophia in Kiev from the middle of the 11th century.

The dedicatory inscriptions in the Trinity Church in Lublin were placed on an arch between the sanctuary and the nave. Here under the figure of Christ are eight lines of faded and half obliterated lettering. Only the lower lines are readable; the upper lines consisted of the titles and possessions of King Jagiello, and were intentionally obliterated by the Russians, who left only the date of the completion of the work and the

final phrase "by Andrew's hand." All the writing on these murals is exclusively Church-Slavonic.

There is still another Ukrainian painting connected with the period of King Jagiello, but this unfortunately has not survived to our time. This was the Trinity Chapel in the Wawel in Krakow. The patron of this chapel was Queen Sophia, from the Ukrainian family of Holshansky. It was ruined later from neglect, and the chapel was entirely redecorated in the modern Polish style. Still other works of Ukrainian art survived in this castle cathedral. Among them the Chapel of the Holy Cross is the finest. It was sponsored by Jagiello's son Kazimierz and his wife Elizabeth of Austria. It was built in 1461 and the murals by Ukrainian painters were



HOLY VIRGIN WITH THE SYMBOLS OF FOUR EVANGELISTS  
Fresco in the Cathedral of Wawel, Krakow, 15th century

completed in 1470. The artists ingeniously used the spaces between the Gothic arches to their advantage. The slender and graceful angels of the nine choirs can fairly be compared with the better works of the Italian Renaissance. The subjects are the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Bap-

tism in the Jordan, the Purging of the Temple, the Resurrection of Lazarus, the Entrance into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Communion of the Apostles, Christ's Prayer in the Gethsemane Garden, the Crucifixion, the Descent into Hell, the Resurrection and the Three Pious Women. The Mother of God with the Christ Child surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists is over the entrance. In general all these paintings follow the Byzantine ikonography. Thus instead of the Resurrection, a rather dogmatic motif in the painting of the Western Church, the artist showed the Descent into Hell: it represents the first triumph of Christ

after His death and the fulfilment of His mission to redeem humanity from the aftermath of original sin. That is why Adam and Eve are among those saved from Limbo. In the scene of the Annunciation, however, a somewhat western motif was introduced; for the figure of the Christ Child appears in the open sky instead of the Holy Ghost hovering above the Virgin's head. A lengthy dedicatory inscription states that the painting was



completed in October 1470, and that several artists participated in it.

**CHRIST IN THE GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE**  
Fresco in the Cathedral of Wawel, Krakow, 15th cent.

This, by the way, is seen from the compositional arrangement and the difference in styles in various parts of the work. All the lettering in the chapel is Slavonic. These Krakow murals are similar in style to the Sandomierz paintings, but the influence of the Renaissance is already more marked in them.

The works of Ukrainian artists are not limited to this cathedral chapel of the Wawel. In 1938 a new series of paintings was discovered in the cathedral tower—among them a well preserved Crucifixion. It is not known when these frescoes were painted, but the severity of their



style would indicate that they are older than the frescoes in the Holy Cross Chapel.

All these murals have very interesting ornamentation. In Lublin this is of a symbolic character with ribbons pierced by nails; in the Holy Cross chapel it shows Gothic influence.



HOLY COMMUNION

Fresco in the Church of the castle of Lublin, by *Andrushko*, 1418.

As to the authorship of these works, it has already been mentioned that only one name is known — that of Andrew working in Lublin. Other names seem to be connected with them, but there is no way to identify the individuals with any certainty. It is difficult to establish whether *Vladyka* (a name popular in Galicia) is the last name of an ecclesiastical title, as *Vladyka* in Ukrainian means also a bishop or a higher clergyman generally. The municipal documents of 1426 in Peremyshl (Galicia) record the appointment of this man to a parish. His completion of paintings in the regions of Sandomierz and Krakow, might lead us to surmise that he was the author of the murals in the Marian Chapel in Krakow or in Sandomierz.

Ukrainian paintings on Polish territories are interesting not only

from the artistic but also from the cultural and political point of view. After the fall of Kiev in the 13th century we find in the 14th and 15th centuries a Ukrainian Renaissance in painting, which due to the lack of appropriate conditions for development at home was forced to expand into the neighboring countries. The development of Ukrainian art was not broken. These murals form one of the links in the development of Ukrainian paintings and together with the Galician ikonography of the 16th century, they connect two great artistic periods of the Princely Kiev of the 10-13th centuries and the Kozaks of the 18th century.

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 DISAPPOINTED

When a group of members of the Supreme Soviet were returning from a session their coach was filled with gay banter and laughter—the delegates were happy over the fact that they each had received a gift from the Kremlin: a record player, a bicycle, 20 yards of cotton material, a pair of new shoes and galoshes.

Only two were silent and dolefully stared through the windows—they had been honored with complete sets of Lenin's and Stalin's works.

## NO DIFFERENCE

Two comrades were walking along a boulevard in Moscow. "Do you know the difference between Stalin and a donkey," asked one?

He was suddenly seized by the collar and the voice of a secret police officer thundered at him.

"Allright, tell me. What's the difference?"

"No, no, no difference. No difference at all," he stammered, frightened to death at being caught red-handed.

## THE PHANTASMAGORIC RUSSIAN N.T.S.

by LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

It is becoming increasingly evident that scores of active American anti-Communists, both official and non-official, are displaying a keen and lively interest in subversive underground action as a major and crucial weapon for the eventual defeat of Soviet Russian imperialism. Undoubtedly one of the most salutary features is a sincere desire to inspire and encourage this mode of operation behind the Iron Curtain among all the peoples enslaved by the Soviet regime. This hope rightly extends not only to the numerous non-Russian peoples who have been subjugated by the imperialist yoke of the Kremlin, and whose courageous resistance to this terrorist force is becoming widely understood and appreciated, but also to the oppressed Russian masses. It is only natural, therefore, that reports and claims on the activities of a Russian underground movement should strike a responsive and sympathetic note in the hearts of all of us who are determined to contribute to the powerful solidarity of the world anti-Communist legions.

Of late, however, many responsible persons who have studied this subject and investigated the claims made by certain representatives of an alleged Russian underground agency are developing grave doubts and even suspicion of the motives impelling these individuals to circulate what amounts to gross misrepresentation and brazen distortion of factual truth. Their early enthusiasm was doubtlessly not unlike that of a mid-western reporter who recently devoted three articles to the aims and activities of the so-called Russian N. T. S. —the *Natsionalnoy Trudovoy Soyuz*, —and these in turn more than impressed the editor of the *New Mercury* magazine who made the startling revelation that our State Department supports this movement.<sup>1</sup> Now their attitude has become one of almost complete incredulity and intellectual resentment when they realize the actual facts behind the shifting images and representations of this Russian Solidarist group. Conversations with many such disillusioned persons, indicate that considerable credence can be placed in the recent observation of a

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<sup>1</sup> *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, February 28, 1951.

known Russian emigre writer that "The ill-informed or misguided Americans discovered that none of the other national groups of the Soviet Union would cooperate with the violently nationalistic NTS, and that the Russian democratic groups view it with equal suspicion."<sup>2</sup>

The questions that invariably arise with regard to this Russian organization concern the background of the group, its supposed feats of the past, its ideological affirmations, and the character of its propaganda in the present. Many who have become fully cognizant of our tragic mistake at the end of World War I in supporting the reactionary "White Russian" monarchists and their misdirected combat against the democratic liberation movements among the non-Russian peoples, and in effect contributing to the fateful triumph of Russian Bolshevism, are giving serious thought to the political dangers involved in a similar support of anti-democratic Russian groups. Others, repelled by the sheer duplicity and fraud of the propaganda disseminated here in behalf of the "National Labor Union of NTS"—a further designation employed by the group—cannot but view it as an undesirable factor of disunity in the anti-Communist front. Those who have had more intimate contact with the movement as it is expressed here have readily perceived its authoritarian nature and the rash chauvinism of its political intentions which are strikingly reminiscent of the autocratic policies of Tsarist Russia.

At all events there is much ground for prudent apprehension and even intellectual disgust with the fatuous nonsense distributed by the advocates of this group. However, before proceeding with an examination of the representative writings and declarations of the truly phantasmagoric Russian N. T. S., it should be clearly understood that our sole intention is to set the record straight, for in war as in peace true understanding will determine our fundamentally true allies.

## I. THE ORIGIN OF N. T. S.

It is important to dwell briefly on the actual origin of the N. T. S. in order to appreciate the propaganda techniques employed to give stature and prominence to the organization which is now seeking American assistance. According to one of the spokesmen for the group, the N. T. S. was originated some twenty years ago in Yugoslavia which it used as

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<sup>2</sup>David J. Dallin, *The Wrong Russians Again*. *The New Leader*, February 12, 1951.

a base for its underground activity against the Kremlin.<sup>3</sup> Now, it is of course true that Yugoslavia was a haven for a small group of Russian rightist emigres who busied themselves with all sorts of paper plans for the overthrow of Stalin and the restoration of a monarchy in Russia, but there is no evidence substantiating the formal and actual existence of the N. T. S.

At that time there was the "National Union of the New Generation" (Natsyonalny Soyuz Novogo Pokolenia) which maintained an organ called "For Russia" (Za Rossiyu) and consisted wholly of White Russian people inside the Union. No doubt many who belonged to this group later entered the N. T. S. which took concrete shape in Germany during the Vlasov affair from the end of 1942 on, but this scarcely justifies dating the origin of the N. T. S. as in the early thirties. Moreover, it is manifestly significant that the original and amended programs of the N. T. S. appeared in the forties under circumstances of Nazi inspiration and approval, as subsequent ideologic professions will amply confirm. Hence, it is quite understandable that (to many circles of American political life) it would be somewhat awkward to sell the N. T. S. with the accurate account of its origin without the assumed one of the early thirties.

## 2. WONDROUS EXPLOITS OF THE 30's

Once this was done, the sensational propaganda of the N. T. S. has created an active history for the group during this period. The claims that are shamelessly advanced doubtlessly overwhelm the uninstructed reader with the marvelous and wondrous exploits attributed to the phantom organization. In the piece of writing quoted above, the astounding revelation is made that Sergei M. Kirov was assassinated by a member of the N. T. S., a certain Nikolaev. Ostensible support for this disclosure is cunningly drawn from the fact that *Pravda* and other communist publications assailed at the time the Russian emigres in Yugoslavia for complicity. Moreover, it is maintained that the public announcement by the N. T. S. of a so-called "death sentence" against Kirov preceded the act of assassination. The unsuspecting American reader, not to mention the unwary editorial sponsors of this propaganda, cannot fail to have the impression of a far-flung anti-Soviet revolutionary operation engineered by the supposed N. T. S., perhaps much in the form of "The Union for the Liberation of

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<sup>3</sup>C. W. Boldyreff, *The Story of One Russian Underground Attempting to Overthrow Stalin*, "Look Magazine, October 26, 1948.

Ukraine" which was actually uncovered in 1930 by the monster trial of several hundreds of Ukrainians in Kharkiv.

Yet this grotesque fabrication must come as a shocking surprise to cautious and competent students of Soviet affairs. First it is a generally accepted fact that Kirov's assassin was a Bolshevik and a Party member who acted because of party factionalism. Many authorities on the Soviet Union, following Max Eastman and Isaac Don Levine, have even offered the plausible theory that Stalin himself was basically responsible for the liquidation of Kirov. Secondly, that the communist papers attacked the Russian emigres for this incident hardly constitutes substantiating proof when it is recalled that often the Soviet government conveniently cloaked its own acts of ruthlessness by accusing exiled political leaders as witness the overplayed case of Trotsky and his followers. And thirdly, with reference to the characterized "death sentence," it became almost a political sport among such anti-Soviet emigres to declare various sorts of threats against despised Soviet functionaries, that directed against Kirov being one among many; but whereas others died in bed, Kirov was assassinated.

It is rather disconcerting that the propaganda line pursued by the N. T. S. follows and supports that taken by the Soviets. For in addition to its attitude toward the Kirov case, it upholds also the unsubstantiated communist indictment of Marshal Tukhachevsky and thousands of other Soviet officers for participation in a plot with the Hitler regime. The strong probability of framed confessions which make up standard Soviet judicial practice preparatory to mass purges is not even taken into consideration. In any case, it is certain that the Marshal's alleged cooperation with the Nazis was far overshadowed by the extraordinary intimate relations existing between the Nazis and N. T. S. when it came really into existence during the past war.

### 3. THE EXAGGERATED VLASOV EPISODE

The two outstanding events surrounding the authentic origin of N. T. S. are unquestionably the Vlasov episode and the formulation of the group's ideology. N. T. S. propaganda, as it is carried on here, waxes overly romantic about the former, but maintains a strict silence regarding the latter. There are a number of interesting facets to this episode, but within the limits of this analysis we shall necessarily confine ourselves to the most pertinent and salient aspects.

The stereotyped N. T. S. account of the exaggerated Vlasov movement, as gathered from accessible sources footnoted in this essay, pictures a vigorous crusade by anti-Soviet Russians who gathered around the self-established leadership of the apostate Soviet General Andrei A. Vlasov with the purported objective of precipitating a Russian revolution. Glorified in glowing terms for his military achievements, Vlasov is usually represented as a leader of the N. T. S. opposition to the Soviet regime, who was responsible for the command of the popularized Vlasov Army as well as the development of underground activity in Russia. It is clear that this description of the Vlasov episode establishes at least an impressive continuity in the N. T. S. tale of its anti-Soviet resistance with dubious propaganda value for its imposing pretensions of the present.

Now the relevant facts appear to run counter in many essential respects to the glamorized report emanating from N. T. S. sources. In the first place, it is well known by those who have taken pains to inform themselves that the so-called Vlasov movement was purely a Nazi experiment which met with complete failure. The paramount purpose underlying this, as manifested at the end of 1942 in the creation of the "Russian Liberation Army" (*Russkaya Osvoboditelnaya Armia*) under the command of Vlasov who was captured by the Nazis the preceding year, was to incite some form of anti-Soviet action among the Russian masses comparable in depth and extent to the opposition shown by the Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples casting off the Soviet Russian yoke. Contrary to the false impression created, there was no anti-Soviet activity in Russia proper, and surely none under the ghostly banners of the hitherto non-existent N. T. S. It must not certainly be forgotten that Vlasov, whose military record comprises, incidentally, the German capture of 600,000 Soviet troops under his command about Kiev in 1941, apparently only became aware of Stalin's oppression of Russia in the German camp for Soviet POW's during the year following his seizure by the Nazis at a moment when he was preparing to escape by plane. Furthermore, the bold N. T. S. claim that the R. O. A. bulged with "millions of Russian soldiers" is nothing short of a patent falsehood when a responsible examination of its composition reveals the existence of only two divisions with over half the personnel consisting of non-Russians. In view of the Soviet refusal to sign the Geneva Convention protecting prisoners of war, there was little choice for these but to be recruited into the R. O. A., and this despite the fact that hundreds of thousands of their countrymen were already engaged in underground battle against the Nazis.

From the operational standpoint the R. O. A. was a miserable failure. It failed to develop into an important fighting force, and when it was thrown into battle in May, 1945 to check the advancing Soviet troops near Prague, a major portion of the R. O. A. reserves joined the Czech partisans while the remainder was wiped out by the Soviets. Nor can it be truthfully said that the R. O. A., made up entirely of POW's, reflected or developed any underground activity in Russia. In the political realm its efforts, guided by German requirements, were equally fruitless as seen in the partially frustrated endeavor to organize a representative "Committee of Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" at the end of 1944. Non-Russian leaders rightly viewed this "liberal course" adopted by the Nazis on the eve of their downfall with suspicion. However, the N. T. S., which came into being with the establishment of the R. O. A., had a full representation on the Committee, and as late as January, 1945, at the Weimar congress sponsored by the Nazis, reaffirmed its adherence to the cause of German victory even when the doom of Germany had become

#### THE SHIFTING IDEOLOGY OF THE N. T. S.

In sharp contrast to the romantic propaganda that the N. T. S. devotes to the sterile Vlasov affair, the other conspicuous event of the period, namely the original ideological output of the group, is avoided with exceeding caution. And this assuredly is not without good reason, considering the political climate in which the group is forced to thrive today. It is doubtlessly true that the aim of the N. T. S. and the Vlasovist leadership was to incite a Russian revolution, but the crucial question is their political objectives, especially as they affect the non-Russian peoples of Eastern Europe. Aside from the maniacal Russian imperialist mentality of many of its adherents and the smooth collaboration achieved with the Nazis, the announced programs of the N. T. S. provide by far the answer to this fundamental query.

The ideological position adopted by the N. T. S. in its programs of 1943 and 1944, the principles of which are clearly elaborated in a booklet published in Slovakia in 1944 under the title of "Skhema Natsionalno-Trudovogo Ustroju" ("The scheme of the National—Labor Regime"), represents in essence the Russian version of the Nazi and Fascist type of anti-Communist Ideology. In no uncertain language, this anti-democratic platform embodies the unhealthy combination of feudalistic Russian messianism, traditional Russian imperialism, reactionary statism, and a despicable anti-semitism. Unfortunately, limitation of space



forbids extensive quotation of the many choice doctrines found in the N. T. S. "Skhema", but a few bearing on these essential features should amply confirm the preceding observation.

Regarding the mystical nonsense permeating the imperial idea of an "eternal" Russia, construed always in the sense of empire, of course, the N. T. S. theoreticians proclaim that "Because the idea of Russia is an idea of a just social life..., the world messianism of our fatherland should be recognized" (p. 13). Significantly identical in substance with the current Soviet Russification policy, Thesis 20 places the Russian people as a sort of Muscovite *Herrenvolk* for, it is pietistically declared, "The Russian nation is a strong family of peoples and nationalities, united around the Russian people..." On pages 37, 90-92, totalitarian expressions on the future Russian state are to be found in abundance, as witness "The supreme authority must be: unitary and centralized for the whole state; it must be hard, i. e., uncompromising in fulfilling the will of the nation" (p. 37), which means on page 92, the will of "a Ruler of Russia" (*Pravitel Rossii*). Finally, not only the non-Russian peoples who, as a matter of historical record, culturally endowed the Muscovites at the end of the 18th century but also the Jews will apparently not fare well, for among the numerous bald anti-semitic declarations on pp. 43-45, it is emphatically stated that "The right is granted to the Jews either to leave voluntarily the confines of Russia, without taking with them their capital, or to settle on the territory of the Russian United State, in a region specially assigned for them" (pp. 44-45).

To the democratic Anglo-American mind such a program must cause intellectual disgust, a fact which apparently the N. T. S. has recognized to some extent. The German debacle left the group in utter chaos, and for a period of almost two years the group was in a state of virtual non-existence. By 1948 its activity was revived, and a new program, with several of the totalitarian tenets eliminated to meet the changed situation, was adopted. Indeed, in the propaganda issued here it is not unusual to find expedient references to the Magna Carta or the American Constitution.<sup>4</sup> But the bulk of it still emits the repulsive odors of the past.

## 5. FRAUD AND HUMBUG IN RECENT N. T. S. PROPAGANDA

The brazen distortions of fact currently meted out by certain N. T. S. propagandists are sufficient to indicate an irresponsible attempt to

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<sup>4</sup>E. g., C. Boldyreff, "We Can Win the Cold War—in Russia," *Reader's Digest*, November, 1950.

capitalize somehow on the ignorance of the average American reader with regard to Eastern Europe. In the case of our official representatives and many executive agents, it in time backfires to the permanent discredit of these known sources of misinformation. Disregarding the lurid fantasies of leaflet-carrying balloons, rockets, cans floating down the Danube, and anti-Communist NTS leaflets "exploding" in a Leningrad street-car, it will suffice to point out the standard technique of duplicity employed to impress Americans with the need of supporting this small group.

The technique used is simply that of denying the national identities of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, and thus appropriating for the Russians what in reality stands as the achievements of others. In part it is derived from the romantic concept of messianic Russia, and in part it is intended to thrive on the ignorance of listeners as to the multinational composition of the Soviet Union. A few examples will demonstrate this. The American reader is told that "After the war, hundreds of thousands of Russian prisoners of war and displaced persons refused to return to the Soviet Union."<sup>5</sup> The fact, well known to our D. P. officials, is that only 60,000 Russians can be accounted for as against 432,000 non-Russian Ukrainians, Balts and others. Our unwary reader is told also that "When Hitler's armies invaded Russia in 1941, the people greeted them as liberators. In less than five months millions of Russians surrendered to the Germans." Here, too, the fact well appreciated by our psychological warfare experts is that the area was Ukraine and the soldiers surrendering almost entirely Ukrainian. The repeated assertions that over "the past 30 years the Communist regime has murdered 40 million Russians," that the "Achilles' Heel of Soviet rule has always been in Russia," that "Verbal attacks upon the Red Army are harmful because it is Russian, not Bolshevik," and that between 1921 and 1941 more than 30 revolts against the Bolshevik regime were staged by Russians, merely constitute additional evidence of a willfull distortion of facts. Each of these misleading statements is easily contradicted by the facts that Soviet Russian genocide bears by far its heaviest incidence on the imperialistically enslaved non-Russian peoples, that the true Achilles' Heel is Ukraine, that the Red Army is multinational with over half of its soldiery non-Russian, and that the mentioned revolts took place largely in the peripheral non-Russian areas for national liberation and independence.

In their wild, melodramatic display of N. T. S. underground activity, it is curious that they have abstained from embezzling the achievements

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

of the underground Ukrainian UPA. About the best explanation for this calculated omission has been furnished by the editor of the reliable "Lithuanian Bulletin" when he recently wrote: "While putting out fantastic claims about the 'Russian underground', they do not have the courage to appropriate the UPA—the Ukrainian Insurgent Army—at whose hands a number of real Russians met violent death."<sup>6</sup> N.T.S. claims about a Russian underground are truly fantastic for the elementary reason that there is no shred of evidence of any such activity, as can be easily checked by the known non-Russian underground systems. As the eminent Russian, Prof. Andre Karpinsky, himself asserted, with integrity and a responsible sense of truth, at an Iron Curtain Refugee luncheon held in New York several months ago, "There undoubtedly is a resistance inside Russia but, for the present, it exists only in the minds of the people." With this compact background of woven N. T. S. humbug one can now appreciate the Hollywood imagination instilled into their new description of this fictitious Russian underground, as one being operated through "anonymous fighters" signaling their existence to each other by inscribing the symbol of the Trident—which, significantly, has been the centuries-old national emblem of the Ukrainian state and is used extensively today by the UPA! In truth, need more be said?

It is plainly ironical to find N. T. S. spokesmen calling for a campaign of truth, and yet themselves indulging in a mass of untruth. Numerous other illustrations of overextended N. T. S. chicanery can be conveniently offered. For example, the grotesque work entitled *Smersh*, which was written in the phenomenal span of three weeks by a N. T. S. member, follows the party line of misrepresentation by claiming that the "Carpatho-Russians," among whom the author was allegedly operating, were craving for union with "Holy Mother Russia." Evidence shows that these properly identified Ukrainians of Carpatho-Ukraine seized the quick opportunity in 1938 to declare for themselves a free Carpatho-Ukrainian republic. But all such illustrations sadly point to the fact that in these respects the American reader can obtain even more accurate information from Communist sources than from the N. T. S. As was stated earlier, conceivably there is a role to be played by the N. T. S. in the general scheme of world anti-Communist opposition, but it would be foolhardy, indeed, to allow the phantasmagorical play of this small group to obstruct the realization of true anti-Communist solidarity, which is now being attempted in Western Germany.

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<sup>6</sup> *The Lithuanian Bulletin*, Nos. 7-12, July—December, 1950.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION** by Edward Hallet Carr, London, 1950, Mac-Millan Co.

This is the first volume of a grandiose work by this author, which is planned to include in separate volumes, "The Economic Order," "Soviet Russia and the World," "The Struggle for Power." It will probably be the most basic and authoritative work on Soviet Russia in English if the first volume is an accurate indication. The author has profited by the entire literature on the period including that in Ukrainian, a point in which he differs markedly from other authors. To preserve his objectivity and self-criticism he asked for the corrections of three of the most prominent students of the Soviet problem in England.

No work previously written in English has devoted so much space and considered so seriously the position of Ukraine in the Bolshevik revolution. No one has so objectively emphasized the struggle of the Ukrainian people for their own state as Edward H. Carr, beginning with the period of the Central Rada and ending with the period of "Ukrainization in Soviet Ukraine" (1917—1930).

In the first place the author emphasizes that the Central Rada was the outgrowth of the desire of the Ukrainian masses, while the so-called Ukrainian communist government was almost completely a Russian creation. The chief support of the Bolsheviks in Ukraine were the Russians living there. They were to be found in the cities and the exceptionally russified regions as the Donbas. In the elections to the Constituent Assembly in November, 1917, the Bolsheviks received in Ukraine only 750,000 votes and they were all from russified cities.

Ukrainian nationalism in Ukraine was strong but primitive. At first it did not strike directly at Russia as the foe of Ukrainian independence but in an inappropriate direction. Later it found its real course. Among the leaders of the Central Rada the author gives the greatest credit to M. Hrushevsky. He is less favorable in his evaluation of Symon Petlyura, although he emphasized the difficulties which he had to face.

The author also considers the "Germanophilism" of the Ukrainians and shows that it did not exist. The people and their leaders did not like the Germans but they finally had to cooperate with them, for they had no other course. This critical evaluation of the Ukrainian-German cooperation by a true scholar conflicts with dozens of glib assertions in other volumes that the government of Ukraine at the time was merely a German creation and that Ukraine was occupied by Germany.

He emphasizes that the Ukrainian-German cooperation was the fault of England and France, for their representatives gave mere words of acknowledgment to the Ukrainians but not that real assistance, without which Ukraine could not stand against the Russian-Bolshevik forces.

The author is very critical of the "Warsaw Agreement" of Petlyura and the Poles, in which the former renounced Ukrainian Galicia. He calls this agreement

a "cynical act" and thereby emphasizes the right of Ukraine to Eastern Galicia as a Ukrainian land. In this respect he goes further in his criticism than such American authors as W. H. Chamberlin and Arthur Lane.

The strengthening of the Bolshevik power in Ukraine was carried out chiefly by people, who were "Great Russians in spirit and in training, if not by birth." Even when the Ukrainian armies were forced outside the borders of Ukraine, the resistance of the population to the Bolsheviks was so strong that the Ukrainian question became one of the most important in the Soviet Union.

The chief action of the Ukrainian patriots and of those who were outside and inside of the Bolshevik party was the struggle against centralization in Moscow. "Centralization", said the Ukrainian Commissar of Education Shumsky, "was standardization and standardization meant the introduction into Ukraine of Russian standards."

Another demand of the Ukrainians was for their own Red Army. The positiveness of the Ukrainian demands was shown even by the Soviet laws and best by the speech of the Ukrainian Communist Skrypnyk at the 12th Congress of the Communist Party (1923) when he called the Red Army sent into Ukraine tools of russification.<sup>1</sup> In analyzing the acts of the Ukrainian statesmen against centralization in Moscow, he emphasizes (p. 367-8) that Ukraine could even take the counter-offensive against Moscow, for it was the only land in the Soviet conglomerate, which could hope to rival successfully Russia in the economic and cultural field.

To paralyze even partially this anti-Russian activity in Ukraine, Moscow tried to connect Ukraine and Russia in some sort of alliance. After clever intrigues it succeeded in forming the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on December 22, 1922 at the 10th Congress of the party. This was the foundation date of the USSR.

A proof of the independence of the Ukrainian Communists was the fact that they demanded that the representatives of Ukraine act independently in diplomacy; Moscow had to concede this temporarily. For example the well-known treaty with the Germans in Rapallo was signed separately by Ukrainian delegates, and the representatives of the Federal People's Commissars in Kiev were controlled by the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine and the Supreme Rada of the Ukrainian Radanska Socialist Republic. The treaty of alliance between Ukraine and Russia contains in the opinion of the author as many ambiguities as the old Treaty of Pereyaslav with the Tsar of Moscow in 1654.

In summing up, we can say that the work of Carr is an exceptionally important and valuable work on the Soviets. It analyzes only the events that were decisive in the further life of the Soviet Union up to the present time. For example he regards the intervention of Denikin, Wrangel and Kolchak as unimportant, for they were only attempts to return what was already gone.

As regards Ukraine, the author emphasizes its power and importance and at times even seems to place it as a land and a state organization above Russia. He emphasizes its progressive character and the high level of the Ukrainian statesmen who were "most powerful and sensitive" especially in the formation of the new Union constitution of 1923. The work of Carr emphasizes the great economic power and value of Ukraine. The author considers the creation of the Soviet

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<sup>1</sup> N. Popov, *Sketch of the History of the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine*, Kharkiv, 1933.

Union as the first step to the enslavement of Ukraine by military force and economic exploitation.

The work of Carr very solidly and fundamentally reveals the long standing Russian chauvinism and the imperialism of Moscow; it explains to us the sources of the present imperialism which now threaten the entire world.

*Sydney, Australia*

STEFAN PROTSIUK

*Alex Inkeles. PUBLIC OPINION IN SOVIET RUSSIA, A STUDY IN MASS PERSUASION. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950, pp. 379.*

The book of Inkeles is in its character really the opposite of the book of Kravchenko. While Kravchenko's work is marked by a personal note and the lack of perspective, in this book the enlightenment "from a distance" has been pushed so far that it lacks absolutely supplementation by eye-witnesses of Soviet reality. The work of Inkeles is a purely theoretical study of the formation of the ideas of the masses in the USSR. We recognize this theoretical character in the very first pages, when the author too often cites the pseudo-philosophical definitions of the psychological foundation and the Bolshevik tactics of "fostering" the views of the Soviet citizen, given by Lenin, Plekhanov and Stalin. The author rests his explanation of the role of the press, the films and the radio broadcasts in the formation of public opinion in the USSR on Soviet statistics, which he, we must admit, has very carefully collected and with which he operates masterly but which at the same time he believes strongly and uncritically. The author's faith is very definitely an anachronism, for recently there have appeared in the important American technical journals numerous studies which by their careful analysis of figures have dispelled the last doubts as to the constant lying and attendant falsification of Soviet statistics. Thus in speaking of the number of radio auditors and the radio-receiving sets in the USSR, the author does not know and passes over the fact that in the USSR there is no independent listening to broadcasts in our sense of the word.

The radio installations in the great official barrack houses, which are now the fundamental type of dwellings in the USSR, are so arranged that the individual apartments of the barracks are connected with one general so-called radio outlet and the residents of these apartments can listen only and exclusively to the transmissions of the local radio station. These broadcasts consist by rule of 30% of so-called local propaganda and of 70% of the so-called All-Union propaganda, that is the transmission of the Moscow official statements, speeches and announcements. The citizens of the USSR usually tune in only when music or singing is being broadcast and it is unfortunate that Inkeles, a lecturer at the Russian Centre, a research institution connected with the Harvard University, theorizing in distant America, cannot see the gesture of compulsion and the expression of disgust on the face of the average citizen of the USSR as he turns off the radio, when after some aria, let us say, there begins again the disgusting bombardment of slanders and the twisted phrases of the official propaganda.

We can say the same about the Soviet press and its assumed influence in the USSR. The subscription to official journals in the USSR is in a way a passport of "reliability", a proof of loyalty to the country. As a result many Soviet

citizens try, *for the sake of holy peace*, to subscribe to some Soviet publication. But there is a wide gap between subscribing to a paper and reading it. It is a definite axiom in the USSR that the party official papers are read only by those who have to read them for *professional reasons*. If Inkeles had the opportunity to study the "reading habits" even of those persons who are organized specially in the so-called "red corners" which exist in positively all institutions in the USSR, he would certainly express himself more cautiously about the role of the Soviet press. In these "red corners" the Soviet newspapers lie unread for whole months. The Soviet government knows very well about this "interest" of the population in its publications and so it has introduced *compulsory reading* aloud by various agitators and readers in the fields during the harvest, in the coal mines under the earth and in other sections of the drab life of the USSR. "The reading" of the Moscow official journals is also characterized by the fact that in the areas subdued to Moscow, especially *Ukraine*, White Ruthenia (Byelorussia) and the regions of the Caucasus, it is a necessary principle that a city or village can subscribe to only so many local, i. e. *Ukrainian* newspapers and journals, as it at the same time subscribes to those of Moscow (the central ones, in Soviet terminology). In other words, any Ukrainian who wishes to receive any Ukrainian newspaper (and that is Ukrainian in form only) and who dares to risk the capital charge of nationalism, must automatically subscribe for "equilibrium" to some Russian government sheet, at which he usually never even casts his eyes.

Concerning the criticism in the USSR Inkeles shares the illusion that criticism is possible and rests his case on the statements of the letters of readers to the editors of Soviet newspapers. He does not know (or perhaps he does not wish to know?) the widely recognized truth, that the signers of these letters are often fabricated and that such letters are most frequently prepared in various local government offices or by the secretariats of the party and are intended to produce an effect that is beneficial *for the government and not for the people*.

It is obvious that by relying upon such a distantly incomplete and unreal abstract analysis of Soviet conditions without regard to actual practice, Inkeles arrives at various incorrect conclusions. One of these is that there is a fundamental difference between the principles of mass psychology as practiced by Hitler and by Stalin. We of course agree thoroughly with the author that the methods of propaganda of the Hitlerian murderers and cutthroats are unworthy not only of a cultured man but of any human being at all; we are at the same time convinced that the method of the most unprincipled *deceit* practiced by Moscow toward foreigners and above all toward its own people is in no way an advance over the methods of Hitler and that the unparalleled cynicism of the lie has even reached in Moscow propaganda its crowning point.

*Sydney, Australia*

STEFAN PROTSIUK

**Sac. Gregorio Petrowicz:** L'UNIONE DEGLI ARMENI DI POLONIA CON LA SANTA SEDE (1626-1686). *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 135. Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum. Roma, 1950. XVI, 334.

This history, "The Union of the Armenians of Poland with the Holy See" during the years 1626-1686, is written in Italian by the Rev. Gregory Petrowicz not only on the basis of many published sources, but also of various unpublished

documents that the author found in the Vatican Archives and in the Archives of the Congregation of Propaganda. The work concerns the Armenians living on the *Ukrainian* territories and especially in the city of Lviv (Leopoli), the see of their archbishop.

In the first part of the book the author describes the personal union with Rome of the Armenian Archbishop Nicholas Torosowicz, his profession of the Catholic faith (1627) and the opposition of the Armenian people to their Pastor and the Union (1626-1663). In the second part he shows how the Union of the Armenians with Rome was finally accomplished (1664-1686).

The principal opposition of the Armenians to the Union was caused by the liturgical differences introduced into the Armenian Church of Lviv by their attachment to their oriental traditions and to the moral authority of the Patriarch of Etchmiadzin (Armenia). In the opposition of Rome to the retention of all the peculiarities of their rite this union differed from the union with Rome of the Ukrainian Church (Brest, 1595) to which all the oriental traditions and characteristics of rite had been guaranteed and left intact. The Armenians wanted the Union on the same terms as the Union of the Ukrainians. In the final result the Armenians in this territory (the diocese of Lviv) became Catholics but "this magnificent result had been attained by sacrificing more and more the genuineness of the Armenian rite" (page 316). Thus this union of the Armenian diocese instead of becoming a "bridge that would annul or at least diminish the distances between the Roman Church and the Armenian (of Armenia), had instead augmented them" (page 316). (As we know, the Armenian diocese of Lviv already before the Soviet occupation had been almost completely latinized). The author himself states that the liturgical reforms of the XVIIth century in the Armenian Church were superfluous and nocuous (206). Of course today the attitude of the Holy See towards the oriental rites is more liberal than it was in those times (214).

In the conclusion of this review we would like to quote what the Rev. G. Petrowicz says justly about the Ukrainian Kozaks: "The Kozaks in 1638 had been conquered and massacred by Koniecpolski and Potocki because of having tried a revolt in the defense of their own rights, after ten years of horrible slavery and oppression by some Polish noblemen, at once rebelled against the yoke, elected for their leader the above-mentioned Bohdan Chmielnicki and began to teach a terrible lesson to the Polish nobility" (128-129). It would also be advisable to use in the book the modern term "Ukrainian" instead of "Ruthenian (Ruteno)" which is today only a historical name of the Ukrainians.

The book is very interesting, easy to read and to understand, prepared with scholarly care and of very great interest to all who are studying the problem of the union of the Oriental Churches with the Holy See.

Steubenville, Ohio.

BOHDAN J. LONCZYNA.

THE WAY OF THE FREE by Stefan Osusky, New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1951, pp. 320.

In this book a Czechoslovak diplomat and a former ambassador to France, Dr. Osusky, at present professor at Colgate University and consultant to the National Committee for a Free Europe, analyzes the present political conflict between East and West and endeavors to point out the "Way of the Free."



He builds his hope for world peace and an effective world organization on the *federal principle*, that paramount political contribution of America, "as the one best suited to effectuate a necessary internal unity while, at the same time, respecting national diversities. It stands not for the suppression, but for the orchestration of national interests... It is the only way of letting the peoples of the world enjoy all the advantages of rational economic coordination imposed by modern life without making them slaves of their governments. Federalism is also the best means of limiting the powers of the government. Hostile to it are not alone the Communists, but all Socialists, because they advocate a centralized economic and political control over the citizen..." (p. 301-302).

In the II. and III. Part (pp. 135-311) the author examines many questions vital for America as: What is the strength of American Capitalism? What does America believe? Is a compromise possible? Can America win without Europe's support? Why do the Europeans distrust American leadership?

The author lived in France and England more than twenty years and acquired there a keen knowledge of the problems facing Western political philosophy. His analysis, backed by numerous short quotations from various sources, is convincing and makes the II. and III. Part of this book a stimulating contribution to the understanding of America's position in the world crisis.

The I. Part (pp. 1-134), however, is disappointing. In this Dr. Osusky investigates what he calls the "collective unconscious" of the "Slav-Russians." "The collective unconscious" — as he defines it — "is a residue of memories, ancestral experiences, interests, emotions, nostalgia, hopes and aspirations accumulated throughout the centuries." (p. 34). The author tries to find out, where the Slav-Russians stand and on what side they would like to be. His verdict is a new, unanswered question: "The Slav-Russian has great potentialities for good. The question is how much good he must have in him in order to make it worth while for the Westerner to take a positive interest in him." (p. 134). But he does not prove that such "collective unconscious Slav-Russians" exist.

He explains that the Russian national disposition has been symbolized by two mythical characters: the *Durak*, or Simpleton, and the *Demon*. The *Durak* is the good man who plays the fool with princes, the courts and community, who has the courage to tell the truth and admonish even the despotic tsar and is revered as a superior human being. The Russian *Demon* is a haughty spirit, a stranger in heaven and on earth, too proud to accept anything human, disdainful alike of human virtues and weaknesses, and utterly indifferent to his own fate and destiny (p. 9).

As a professor of European Civilization, as a Slovak and as a statesman, Dr. Osusky certainly knows that the old "All-Russian" conception is an unfounded tenet of certain chauvinist Russians. But he, as most of the Czechoslovak politicians of the Benes era, places himself on an All-Russian plane. He asks "Is the *Demon* triumphant?" and is not able to give an acceptable answer, because he builds on an unsound basis. For him Grand Prince Vladimir was a *Russian* ruler (p. 44); Kiev was capital of *Russia* (p. 80), the Kiev state a *Russian* state (p. 84), and the Uniat Church was founded by the *Poles* for the Ukrainians (p. 53).

The author pretends not to know that the Russian state was established two centuries later than the Ukrainian Kiev state, that the capital of the Russian state at first was Suzdal, and later in the XIV. century Moscow, that Grand Prince Vladimir adopted Christianity from Byzantium before the separation of the Churches.

The author fails even to mention the struggle of the Ukrainian people against the "Demon type of Russian mind," and to examine the basic Russian fault, their belief in their absolute superiority.

*Stamford, Conn.*

A. STEFAN

MUST NIGHT FALL? by Major Tufton Beamish, M. C., M. P., World Affairs Club, London, 1950, X, 292 p.

This book by Major Beamish, a Conservative Party member of the House of Commons is the history of the first years of the lands of the so-called "People's Democracies", Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania. In the case of Poland, he handles the period from September, 1939 to 1944. The book is based on carefully used printed sources and also on the direct observations of the author during his journey to Poland in 1946, and to Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary in 1947 and his conversations with prominent figures in those countries.

The painting of the history of the last years involves the great danger of losing one's way among the labyrinth of excessive material. We can gratefully say that the author has succeeded in bringing this mass of facts into order and he has done this more easily because he is one of the few English who have an excellent acquaintance with the problems of Eastern Europe.

The English reader will perhaps for the first time have the possibility of reading in such a good form about the unified, absolutely consistent and Kremlin-dominated tactics of the Communist Parties of Poland, Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria, which in these few years acquired complete control over the life of those countries. The accounts of the elections, the gradual introduction of changes, the removal of political opponents, the show political trials, and the sovietization of all fields of life are well painted. The book of Major Beamish is a sharp warning for the countries on this side of the Iron Curtain and especially for England itself. In his conclusions, the author does not spare bitter words of criticism for the socialist government, although he does not abstain from criticism of the Conservative government of Churchill for its support of Tito against Mihailovich in Yugoslavia and for its credulity in its dealings with the Soviets at Teheran and Yalta.

Although it is not indicated that the author has employed any Ukrainian sources or has even consulted a single Ukrainian, we find allusions to Ukrainian subjects and especially to the deportation of the Ukrainians (along with Poles, White Ruthenians and Jews) to Siberia in 1940-1941, and the liquidation of the Union in Galicia in 1946. The author is too little informed as to the Ukrainian resistance and confines himself to the vague remark "Much opposition still exists, especially in the Ukraine," but for some reason he connects this with the army of Vlasov.

The book ends with optimistic remarks and the assertion that truth and justice are not on the side of the Marxist block. Again the Ukrainians will find value in the following remark (p. 289): "How quickly the world has adjusted its conscience to the forcible incorporation of the Ukraine within the Soviet Union and of Byelorussia and Georgia and Armenia! If self-determination really means anything, we can look forward to the day when these and other parts of the Soviet Union will take the opportunity to vote themselves independence."

*New York*

J. FEDYNSKYJ

LA RUTHENIE PREMONGOLE, L'UKRAINE ET LA RUSSIE, by Elie Borschak.  
Revue Historique (Avril-Juin, 1951).

Mr. Elias Borschak, Ukrainian historian and a persevering researcher on French-Ukrainian relations in the past, presented at the IX International Convention of historians in Paris in 1950 a very interesting address on the controversial topic among the Ukrainian and Russian historians concerning Pre-mongolian Rus-Kievan Empire of the IX—XII centuries. The subject of the dispute among the mentioned scholars concerned Kievan Rus and her culture in relation to the two big east European nations — Ukraine and Russia.

The centrum of this political structure was in Ukraine; the Rus - Kievan culture originated from the population of that territory, from the Ukrainians. The territory of present Russia at that time was rather on the periphery of the Kievan Empire including Slav-Finnish population. The present Russian nation developed in the regions of upper Volga with successive centurms in Suzdal, Vladimir on Klasma and in Moscow. To whom does this splendid historical period of Kievan Rus belong?

During the past centuries and at present, the politically dominant Russian nation possessed enough means of propaganda to indoctrinate the population of the Russian Empire as well as of foreign countries that the Kievan Rus period belongs to the Russians, as the oldest period of their history. The aim was evidently political and imperialistic in order to keep rich Ukraine, the territory of old Rus empire in Russian possession. That is why the Muscovite Tzar Peter the Great assumed for his tsardom the name of old Kievan Rus, in its Greek pronunciation „Russia” as the name of his Muscovite State.

E. Borschak proved in his excellent Paris address that the Kievan Empire as a whole possessed a mixed population, Ukrainian in the South in Rus proper, non-Ukrainian on peripheral territories of present White Ruthenia and Russia. The mixed population of Kievan Rus Empire was also the reason of the disintegration of this political structure into three main parts.

The population of Russia proper today in the Rus Empire period was Slav and Finnish, and only in the 12th century, under the influence of culture flowing from the Kievan centre, did it begin to form into a separate national entity—the Russian nation.

The downfall of Rus, the old Ukrainian political structure under the blows of barbarians from the East provided an opportunity for the Muscovite princes, beginning with Ivan Kalyta (14th century) to raise claims to the Kievan Rus territories as their heritage.

The Muscovite state of the 15th century continued to bring the same claims to the Kievan heritage inspite of the fact that national character of the Rus territories had little in common with the Muscovite culture as well as way of life.

Some Russian historians as Presniakov, Lubavsky, Pokrovsky rejected the imperialistic Russian attitude toward the Kievan Rus and placed the beginnings of Russian history in the period of the Suzdal-Rostov principalities of the 12th century.

Mr. Borschak explains brilliantly this main problem of Eastern European history which introduces confusion in the understanding of political East European situation even at the present time.

N. CHUBATY

## UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"THE COMING COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM," by Harold E. Stassen.  
*Ladies' Home Journal*, April, 1951.

This exceptionally brilliant article of a potential candidate for the office of the President of the United States is without question a "must" for those who seek a solid and realistic understanding of the predominant political phenomena engulfing the Soviet Union and who earnestly desire a concrete grasp of the logical directions of victorious action that lie before us in the current struggle for survival. Based on years of individual study and close observation of reports obtained by the author during his recent global tour, this presentation of the political realities surrounding and troubling the Kremlin manifests a depth and breadth of understanding which are at a premium in most discussions nowadays on the fundamental weaknesses of the Soviet enemy.

The theme is succinctly stated in the sub-caption of the essay which runs as follows: "For the liberation and upward climb of mankind, here are the goals of the counter-revolutionary movement which the people of America must stimulate." To a large degree following the pattern of thought constructed by Professor Burnham in *The Coming Defeat of Communism*, Mr. Stassen furnishes considerable factual content with greater emphasis on the liberation movements within the Soviet Union to establish his point on the necessity of American support of these movements. He sees in these liberation campaigns among the non-Russian peoples, situated in the broad periphery of the Soviet Union, the fundamental weakness of the Soviet structure, the magnification of which will ultimately lead to the collapse of Communism without necessarily involving the outbreak of a third world war. In fact, this basic weakness and America's Air Force and atom bomb he soundly views as the two major deterrents to direct Soviet aggression. With much justification he openly declares that our present policy of mere defensive containment is narrow and suffers from a conspicuous inattention toward this imbedded Soviet infirmity.

The clear line of reasoning set forth is formidably supported by all the crucial data that the author is able to condense within the limited space

of an article. He emphasizes that the first important fact one must appreciate is that the 205 million people in the Soviet Union are not all one people. There are 175 different ethnic nationality groups with 17 nationalities having a population of over one million each, and of the non-Russian nationalities the 40 million Ukrainians head the list. He adds that "Of all these groups one of the most important is the Ukrainians, who in 1941 welcomed the German armies and now are engaged once more in very active resistance to Communist domination." His belief on the basis of reports that more than one million armed resisters are scattered throughout the Soviet Union, his detailed description of resistance among Ukrainians, Balts and others, and his account of Jewish and Moslem persecutions, in addition to his factually founded generalizations and keen appraisal of this data, will undoubtedly serve to correct the many false notions implanted in countless American minds by our variety of self-appointed "Russian experts." In this respect Mr. Stassen performs an immense service. His recommendations for the strengthening of our foreign policy, especially in connection with the open support of the independence drives of these many enslaved non-Russian peoples, and the necessary formation of a competent agency, independent of the State Department or the Defense, to plan and stimulate the counterrevolutionary movement logically flow from his remarkable analysis.

"PROPAGANDA TO RUSSIA," a Timely Topics editorial. Congress Weekly, a Review of Jewish Interests, March 12, 1951, New York.

This moderate and cautiously written editorial, appearing in the organ of the American Jewish Congress, concentrates on the criticisms advanced recently by the semi-monthly Ukrainian Bulletin, issued by the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference, against the Voice of America. Its overall theme is perhaps summarized in the concluding sentences of this note of warning: "The general history of Ukraine nationalism, however, warrants a critical approach to Ukrainian Nationalist activity in this country. Certainly the strictures of The Ukrainian Bulletin against the Voice of America broadcasts must be judged in the light of the questionable motives of the extreme Ukrainian nationalists."

It is surely not our intention to hypothecate the motives underlying the selective assortment of alleged facts employed to support the generalizations of this editorial, although it cannot be said that the chosen comments do not lend themselves to several striking inferences. But it is quite obvious that the editorial is permeated with the fear of Ukrainian anti-Semitism and advises caution in American dealings with Ukrainian

agencies, admitting at the same time that "It would be reckless to brand indiscriminately all Ukrainian nationalists as past or potential pogromists." With this, which, needless to say, is applicable to all groups, including the Russians, no person of moral stature can possibly disagree. The editor can rest assured that leading American organizations of Ukrainian descent, as the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, will absolutely have no traffic with individuals or groups afflicted with this malady. What is more, from a positive angle, such organizations are bending every effort to improve Jewish-Ukrainian relations by extirpating any anti-Semitic influences that may appear, by eliminating as much as possible unfortunate misunderstandings that are carelessly permitted to persist for the benefit of the ill-intentioned seeking to obstruct such improvement, and by making clear to our countless Jewish friends that the just cause of a free Ukraine is in the best and permanent geopolitical interest of Israeli as well as the United States. Toward the progress of this constructive endeavor, the editor of the Congress Weekly and the American Jewish Congress can unquestionably perform an invaluable service.

There are certain statements in the editorial that require brief comment in terms either of sound judgement or accuracy of fact. First, the factually founded criticism made by the Ukrainian Bulletin were directed against VOA's propaganda beamed to Ukraine and not, as the caption of this editorial erroneously and perhaps suggestively indicates, to Russia. Secondly, the contention drawn from the able Mr. Abramovich that "nothing could help Stalin more than any propaganda emanating from Washington which would help him persuade the Russian people that their country might be dismembered if the Kremlin were overthrown" not only, from the literal reading of this statement, commits the inaccuracy of identifying the politically unnatural Soviet Union with the country of the Russian people, but also places the editor in a logical dilemma when in the same breath he professes the principle of self-determination which, if it is to have any operational meaning in its application to the Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples, necessarily engenders the dismemberment of the Russian imperialist heap called the Soviet Union. Moreover, are the equally numerous non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, about whose hostility toward Soviet Russian imperialism there can be no mistake, to be sacrificed in our psychological warfare because of a *very doubtful* attempt to produce a cleavage between the Russian people and the Kremlin?

Thirdly, to assert that the coming independent Ukrainian state be "determined strictly on ethnic grounds" and at the same time regard the Ukrainian territory on the Black Sea as an illegitimate object of "Ukrainian expansionist ambitions" serves not only to cast full suspicion on the writer's professed adherence to the democratic principle of self determination, especially when the old and economically untenable Russian imperialist "access-to-the sea" argument is injected, but also to indicate an extremely faulty ethnographic, not to say historical, knowledge of the area. And finally, to overemphasize the collaboration of a relatively few Ukrainians with the Nazis in Jewish pogroms during the last war, as well as to revive the myth, founded on the logical fallacy of generalizing the particular, that "Hetman (?) Petlura was personally responsible for the extermination of tens of thousands of Jews," cannot but reflect unfavorably on those who presume to be honorably disposed toward a balanced representation of truth. It is appropriate here to quote the concluding sentence of an analysis made of this misunderstanding in the Spring, 1949, issue of this journal under the title *The Revived Myth of Ukrainian Anti-Semitism*: "Fair play, as the saintly Rabbi Lazon has always insisted upon, is not unilateral." Measured by the good-willed response of several prominent Jewish persons and institutions to this article, Rabbi Lazon's wisdom was admirably justified.

"WHAT WE DO, AND DON'T KNOW ABOUT RUSSIA," by Harry Schwartz. *The New York Times Magazine*, April 8, 1951.

The author of this instructive article on the fundamental facts one must command in order to work out an understanding of the Soviet Union largely accomplishes his purpose. The title is certainly misleading for the subject matter dealt with pertains also to the heavy non-Russian population inhabiting the expansive non-Russian areas of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, Mr. Schwartz continues to treat of such matters with laudable objectivity and truthfulness that are sometimes at a premium in the inconsistent writings of others.

"THE DIRECTOR'S PAGE," comments. Faith and Freedom, *The Monthly Journal of Spiritual Mobilization*, April 1951, California.

It is pointed out in this always stimulating and thought-provoking publication that "There are new threats of revolt in China, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, and in the Caucasus, the Ukraine and the Soviet province Georgia. Russia cannot risk a major war and is already back-

ing away." It may be added to this that such facts have constituted the cardinal point in the arguments of those urging freedom's subversive warfare against the Soviet Union in order to avert truly another conflagration.

"THE REFUGEE PROBLEM" by V. de Korostovetz. *Contemporary Review*, March 1951, London, England.

With the obvious hand of authority this amiable writer presents a lucid and thoroughly interesting account of the refugee problem which cannot be ignored by those seeking to familiarize themselves with the latest developments surrounding this vital human issue. His presentation of the Ukrainian aspect of it serves to dissipate much of the confusion generated about this subject, and exceptionally interesting is his account of personal talks with Lenin several decades ago.

"UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY," by Mykola Lebed. *Vital Speeches*, April 1, 1951, New York.

In this address delivered at Yale University by the American representative of Ukrainian underground resistance, all the essentials that are to be known about the Ukrainian Insurgent Army are clearly set forth. It is definite that many American readers have profited immensely from it.

PILSUDSKI'S FEDERAL POLICY (1919-1921), by M. K. Dziewanowski, *Journal of Central European Affairs*, Vol. X, 2-3, 1950.

This work of Dziewanowski covers the politically confused period from 1919 to 1921. In central-eastern Europe there arose the new states of Poland and Czechoslovakia. Rumania and Yugoslavia were significantly enlarged. Russia was in the fire not only of a social but also of a national revolution out of which there began to emerge new states as Ukraine, White Ruthenia and the four Baltic states.

While the attitude of the Entente toward Poland and Czechoslovakia was clear, especially thanks to the powerful France of Clemenceau, the attitude toward the new governments on the territory of the former tsarist Russia was indefinite. The dominant factor was the French debts in Russia and they controlled the policy of France. Whatever conception offered the best chances for the recovery of this money was favored by the French government. This was the reason why France now favored Ukraine and



now looked on it with disfavor. France usually favored the White Russians for they offered the best guarantee for the return of the money, if they conquered the Bolsheviks. Besides France did not distinguish in its policy between the various warring factions, which could not be reconciled.

France was very favorably inclined to Poland as its ally but it was also friendly with the Tsarist (White) Russians and there lurked the danger for Poland of a new strong Russia. This led Pilsudski to seek a solution in the east and so arose his plan for a federation of Poland with Ukraine, White Ruthenia, the Baltic republics and Finland.

It is natural that Pilsudski paid special attention to Ukraine and carried on conversations with the Generalissimo of the Ukrainian armed forces, Symon Petlyura, whose armies had been forced out of Ukraine. Petlyura for his part had to come to some understanding with Poland, if he was to remain an existing political factor. Hence came the "Warsaw Agreement" under which Petlyura expressed his "lack of interest" in Ukrainian Galicia at this time occupied by Poland after the Polish-Ukrainian war, which ended with a defeat for the Ukrainians.

The Polish-Ukrainian agreement spoke of the aid of Poland in the liberation of Ukraine from the Bolsheviks and the creation of a federal state. The author carefully studies the march of the Polish-Ukrainian forces on Kiev and their defeat. His analysis is careful and differs in some points from the best previous Polish account, that of Gen. T. Kutrzebz, *The Kievan Expedition*, Warsaw, 1937.

The author has some new views on this so-called Warsaw Agreement between Poland and Ukraine. It is well known that this agreement was unpopular among the Ukrainians and could not be maintained. The author gives a detailed analysis of the Bolshevik counter-offensive and the saving of Warsaw. The separate peace of Poland and the Bolsheviks at Riga (1921) ends the period treated by Dziewanowski.

The work is fundamental and as objective as possible. It contains many new ideas on the question of Polish-Ukrainian relations which are still having their repercussions.

L. E. D.

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