

TEN Years

1944

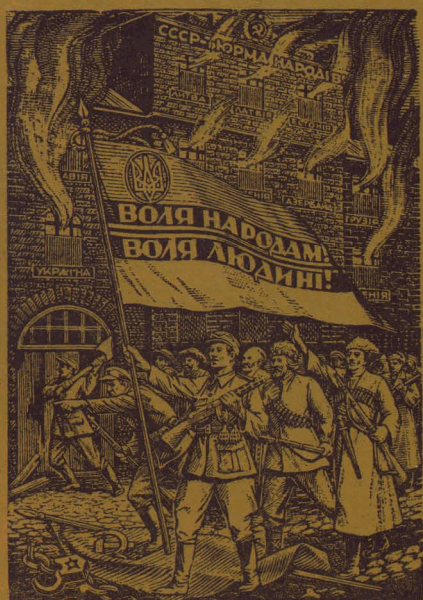
of the

UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY

1954

A Journal
devoted to the
spreading of information on the
Political, Economic and Cultural Life of

**UKRAINE AND THE NATIONS
OF THE SOVIET UNION**



Story of the Journal

**The UCC President's
Statement**

**Contributors and
Readers**

Contents of Articles

Address:

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Picture on the cover: USSR—PRISON OF THE NATIONS, by Bey-Zot, artist of the Ukrainian Underground. Leaflets with this picture were widely circulated in Ukraine in 1948-1950.

THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY

INDEX TO
VOLUMES I (1944)-X (1954)

Composed by
NICHOLAS D. CHUBATY,
Editor



ANNULLATO

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THE STORY OF THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY

The year 1943 saw the high water mark of the American-Soviet Honeymoon. High official personages, nationally known journalists and radio commentators, in books, lectures and public manifestations, were praising the Russian Bolsheviks as true democrats, a government of the "common man" and therefore reliable and steadfast allies of America in the struggle against Nazism and Fascism and the post-war friend of this country to eternity. The Atlantic Charter proclaimed by America and Britain called for a new world order guaranteeing to every nation the right to choose its own desired form of government; at the same time the USSR was lauded for Moscow had been able to solve the question of a multinational state and Stalin was permitted to sign the document without any question. Washington and Moscow continued to exchange proofs of this unbreakable friendship. Billions of American goods went to the east through Lend Lease. The Kremlin accepted these with ostensible thanks and took care that the American conveyors should not have the opportunity to see with their own eyes the military installations of the Soviet Union and that American airmen should be kept far from the air bases of the "true ally" in the east in the struggle against the Nazis.

In return for these real proofs of American friendship supported by moral and material resources, the red Russians made concessions to their capitalistic allies. To blind their eyes, they ostentatiously abolished the central bureau of Communism in Moscow, the Comintern, and formed in its place the Slav Congress in Moscow and later the modest Cominform. Hundreds of emissaries friendly to America came to this country. They were received with enthusiasm, feted and welcomed by all the citizens. A Soviet Technical Mission set up headquarters in Washington and freely, without any limitations travelled around American factories, ordered military material for the Soviet Union and also followed their manufacture. An ocean of supplies for Lend Lease flowed through Iran for the use of the Soviet Red army which was hard pressed by the Nazis.

Beside their official role in the country of American Ally the members of the Soviet Technical Mission in the United States had the further unofficial duty of securing by espionage all details of American industry. The official and secret roles of the Soviet Tech-

nical Mission were so intertwined that they published the result of their technical observations in Russian outside and also in the American territory for the engineers of the USSR and these publications made public many secrets of American industry. Diplomats kept going from America to the USSR carrying secret material acquired by espionage which the Americans, some naively, others from ill will as Orthodox Communists, gave into the hands of Soviet agents. Thus all our inventions in the field of the atomic bomb reached immediately the hands of the reliable ally.

Whoever remembers those days must honestly admit that people since condemned in America for Communism and Communist espionage did not always have a conscious knowledge of the crime that they were committing against their American fatherland, since there came from the highest level of the American government constantly the most beautiful words about the Soviet Russia and one such person active in American journalism even declared: "Russia had never in its history waged an aggressive war but had always been attacked from the west and south, therefore Russia needs satellites on her western border." This was to be the answer to the satellites which in the west had been overrun by the Nazis, so as to win their aid for red Moscow.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ANTI-COMMUNIST GROUPS IN AMERICA

Parallel with this development of American Soviet friendship came another activity on American soil—the destruction of all anti-Communist forces in America. There were very few of these forces among the assimilated American element. Only the old and unbowed leader of the American Socialists, Norman Thomas, constantly called attention to the fact that the Russian Bolsheviks had nothing in common with democracy, but were the most bloody dictatorship, no better than the Nazis who were universally execrated in America.

Prof. Clarence A. Manning of Columbia University showed himself almost the only American scholar who took at the time a definitely anti-Bolshevik line. In Canada two professors, Watson Kirkconnell, now President of Acadia University, and Prof. George Simpson of the University of Saskatchewan, also realized the real features of their Russian Communist ally. Their voices were as "the voice of one crying in the wilderness." Anti-Bolshevism in America brought more bitterness than glory and it was necessary to have a great deal of civilian courage to swim against the general current.

The strongest anti-Communist forces in America were among

two national groups which were hostile to both Russian Communism and Nazism, the Ukrainians and the Poles. Both these peoples had for centuries suffered oppression from Russia and were at the time the victims of Russian Bolshevism.

The American Ukrainians kept a consistently anti-Communist line, for their compatriots had suffered for 25 years in slavery under red Russia, including the Bolshevik genocide. As a result anti-Communist sentiments were very strong among the Ukrainians. The Ukrainian leaders looked with alarm at the growing strength of Sovietophilism in the United States and realized that it was not only a danger to their enslaved fatherland, Ukraine, but that it would become a misfortune for their adopted fatherland, America. Whoever listened to them was cleverly choked off by the American Communists. Red Moscow realized that it had at the moment a favorable opportunity to settle its accounts with the Ukrainian patriots in America. Moral terror was exerted against the masses of Ukrainian-American workmen by Communists of American and Ukrainian origin. The entire Ukrainian movement for national liberation was branded as Nazism and as an anti-American movement and the Ukrainian-American masses were constantly told politically that when the highest circles in Washington were friendly to the Soviet government, it was obvious that any anti-Soviet action was deliberately carried on as anti-American work. The moral terror went so far that at the height of the war the workers demanded that nationally conscious Ukrainian workers should be expelled from the factories as an anti-governmental element.

This same terror was applied against the Ukrainian leaders. The well-known pro-Soviet book *Sabotage* was sold in millions of copies on the newstands of all America for a few cents a copy. Reserve officers of the American army of Ukrainian origin were deprived of their commissions only because they were active Ukrainians. Moral pressure was put upon all political organizations of the American Ukrainians to disband. American Ukrainians, the best American patriots and true democrats, were the subject of constant attacks on the radio, in the press and in public meetings.

THE NEED FOR CORRECT INFORMATION ON SOVIET RUSSIA

It was a great tragedy for America that the best American patriots were persecuted for an assumed partiality for Nazism at the very time, when Ukraine was occupied by the army of Hitler and was developing a widespread movement directed against both the

Nazis and the Russian Communists. The American people were not informed of this movement. Articles which appeared in the Ukrainian-American press never came to the knowledge of the American people. It finally seemed necessary to create a serious, scientific political journal in English to inform the American people about Ukraine, its past and its present struggle for liberation. Why about Ukraine? Because Ukraine was the first nation in the world to undergo all the experiments of Bolshevik friendship, peaceful co-existence and the supplementary forms and tactics of moral disarmament through terror and finally by the application of the methods of genocide.

The UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY undertook as its purpose to show that red Russia was actually not a friend but an enemy of democracy and the oppressor of a long series of peoples forced into that prison of nationalities called the USSR and would be in the future the implacable enemy of freedom-loving and capitalistic America.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY

The initiative for the foundation of the UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY was given by its present editor, Prof. NICHOLAS CHUBATY, an accidental immigrant to the United States. He had been Professor of History in the Ukrainian academic schools in Lviv (Western Ukraine) and an author and also a Professor of the Ukrainian Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv. He landed in America from Europe ten days before the outbreak of the war in 1939 to attend an international convention and was compelled to stay and to devote himself to journalism in his new home. He attacked energetically Communism. At this time he found among a group of Ukrainian-American intelligentsia an understanding of the need of informing the American public of the actual features of the USSR. He set to work to organize the new publication on very modest resources and in a very modest setup and began its publication.

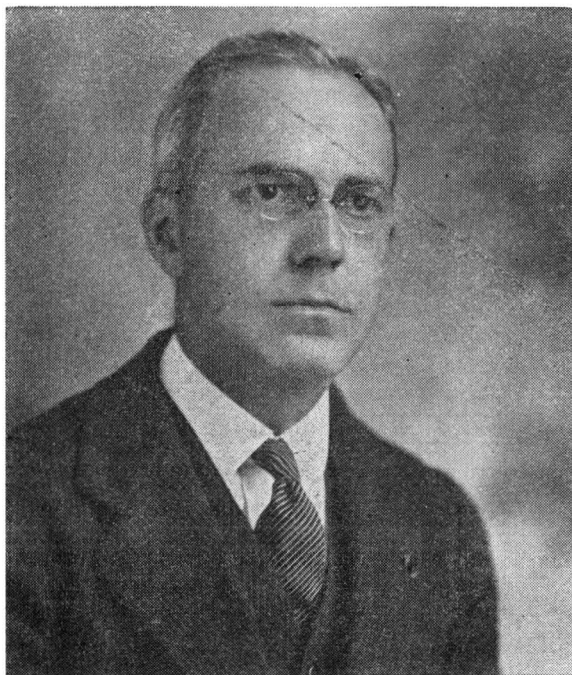
On January 22 and 23, 1944, the II Congress of American Ukrainians which was reorganized at a meeting in Philadelphia, met in an atmosphere strongly dominated by the Sovietophiles who were entrenched in the American press and radio. On the eve of the opening of the Congress, a nationally known radio commentator, now an extreme anti-Bolshevik, made a talk on the radio and called the Congress about to meet in Philadelphia a Nazi organization and openly called upon the police to break up this convention of the American Ukrainians.

The Congress was successful and one of its resolutions was to accept the proposal of Prof. Chubaty to publish a UKRAINIAN QUAR-

TERLY. In the autumn of 1944 the first number of this new publication on Ukraine and the Soviets appeared and at the end of 1954 the UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY finished the first ten years of its existence and the issuing of 40 numbers.

CONTRIBUTORS AND READERS

As usual the first beginnings were very difficult. There was a lack of collaborators, who possessed a sufficient basic knowledge of the Ukrainian and American background, a lack of machinery for starting the circulation and above all a lack of money. Yet the zeal of the initiators for spreading the truth about the Soviets for the good of America and Ukraine overcame one difficulty after another and they slowly collected around the new publication a staff of devoted collaborators and enthusiastic assistants, who are still helpful in carrying on the publication.



CLARENCE A. MANNING,
PhD., Professor of Slavic
Languages at Columbia
University. Member of
Staff of the UKRAINIAN
QUARTERLY.

Among the most devoted collaborators has been Prof. Clarence A. Manning, a true pioneer in the spreading of knowledge about Ukraine and Eastern Europe in America. Prof. Manning supplemented the editor by his deep knowledge of the American background and the

editor gave his knowledge of the political situation, history, economics and social system of the East European area.

This pair were joined by the third enthusiast for anti-Communist work in the United States, Lev E. Dobriansky, an American of Ukrainian origin, then still a young instructor in Economics in New York University and now a Professor of Georgetown University, President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and a nationally known figure in the anti-Communist fight in America and an advocate of the liberation of all peoples subjugated by Moscow. He served as the editor's voluntary secretary in the early days of the QUARTERLY.

Two other Americans of Ukrainian descent were among the first contributors to the UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY. They were the editor, Stephen Shumeyko, the then President of the reorganized Ukrainian Congress Committee and Honore Evach, a Canadian journalist of the Ukrainian ancestry.



LEV E. DOBRIANSKY, Ph.D.,
Professor of Economics of
Georgetown University,
President of the Ukrainian
Congress Committee of
America. Assos. Editor of
the UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY.

The staff received great encouragement from two Canadian scholars, Prof. George Simpson and Watson Kirkconnell, both open anti-Communists, who did not surrender to the then fashionable Sovietophilism. Prof. Kirkconnell, then of McMaster University, Hamilton, Ont. and now President of Acadia University, Nova Scotia,

on the appearance of the first issue of the QUARTERLY sent a letter of approval and wrote:

November 28, 1944

My dear Dr. Chubaty:

Please accept my warm congratulation on the initial issue of THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY. You have started off in excellent style and will help to raise the prestige of the Ukrainian community on this continent.

Both the above mentioned Canadian scholar's became early contributors to the UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY; then followed Prof. C. H. Andrusyshen of the University of Saskatchewan. The number of contributors quickly began to grow, specially when America very soon became convinced in connection with the ending of the war that the position of the UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY was one hundred percent correct. It became possible to diversify the contents as the number of collaborators increased and this growth has continued through the ten years.

The political emigres from the USSR and the leaders of the enslaved nations began to look upon the UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY as their own common organ. The important number of collaborators from the non-Russian nations of the USSR bears witness to the fact that our journal is truthfully presenting the cause of the liberation of all nations. Our political program includes a Universal Declaration of Independence for all the nations of the world and especially the nations of the USSR.

Interest in the QUARTERLY grew rapidly in the political world of America and everywhere where the English language has penetrated. At the present time the QUARTERLY is to be found in the libraries of all well-known universities and colleges of America and of the capitals of countries outside of America. It is read by outstanding journalists, authors and radio commentators. The QUARTERLY is now well known in the American Congress and the Executive Departments. It even goes behind the iron curtain to libraries in Moscow, Kiev, Prague and Belgrade. Most recently an interest in our journal has appeared even among the peoples of Asia, especially India, for the ideas of the QUARTERLY are those which are being spread by the entire free world not only of the old ruling nations but still more by the nations of a reborn Asia and Africa.

These successes do not blind the eyes of the editors and the management to the serious defects in our journal and we are trying to overcome them to the best of our material and intellectual powers. The

editor and collaborators of the UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY find their justification in the one fact that they are trying to present facts, carefully tested and critically interpreted in the spirit of freedom for all nations and especially with a feeling of deep gratitude to America which by its practice of freedom has given us the power to swim against the current and in a democratic way to convince our fellow citizens of the justice of our cause.



FOR INDEPENDENT,
UNITED UKRAINE,

by *Bey-Zot*, artist of the *Ukrainian Underground*. The picture with this slogan was widely circulated in Ukraine in 1948-1950.

TEN YEARS OF THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY

By LEV E. DOBRIANSKY,
Professor of Georgetown University

However one may wish to define it, tradition is in essential form the success of the past sustaining the progress of the present for our prudent understanding of the future. Today, in its eleventh year of continuous existence, the UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY has truly carved out a tradition in the field of its specialized endeavors. When the first issue of this East European journal appeared in October, 1944—in the midst of World War II itself—the initial editorial on “Introducing the UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY” clearly set forth as the “main goal of and justification for the appearance of this UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY the endeavor to present a picture of the real circumstances surrounding the people of Eastern and Central Europe, and to point out the existence of those dynamic forces which can easily cause a new war.” Looking back over these ten years, one can justly state that this main goal has been superbly realized, and the prevision of developments indicated in this original editorial will always stand as a shining tribute to the intellectual resources which launched this publication. While most of our American literary organs were immersed at the time in all varieties of wishful thinking concerning Russian Communist intentions and the durable peace that was to follow the defeat of the Axis powers, the inauguration of this periodical was realistically sounded on the note of “the existence of those dynamic forces which can easily cause a new war.”

In a real sense the UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY has become an institution supported by an American institution concerned essentially with all aspects of Soviet-American affairs. It is published by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America which is the central national body of all non-communist groups and organizations of Americans of Ukrainian ancestry. It is a medium of expression for the basic convictions and thoughts of a million and a half American citizens. These convictions and thoughts are reflected in the objective and scholarly treatments of diverse subject matter pertaining to communism and the Russian Communist empire which constitute the very negation of the values and moral and political principles that guide the publication of this journal. The day has long past for the

irresponsible charge that such guidance by value and principle detracts from the literary and scientific objectivity of a political or economic analysis. On the contrary, both experience and scholarship show that in these fields of analysis the luminous light of fundamental values and fixed moral principles enhances the objectivity of an investigation by focusing attention upon empirical matter which exists incongruously with the natural order of things. That the policy of this journal rests on the traditional Christian values of Western Society and is firmly predicated on the principles of the intrinsic dignity of a man and the natural rights of all peoples and nations to exercise independence, self-government, and sovereignty, is a credit, rather than a discredit, to its standard of objective appraisal.

One need only compare the content of the issues of this journal with that of some other publications in the field, which are not guided similarly, to appreciate the importance of value and principle to objective, systematic analysis. Indeed, one of the chief purposes underlying the publication of THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY has been to dispel the many myths and pieces of disinformation that continue to be circulated with regard to the Soviet Union and the concrete nature of communism. Myths on the "monolith Soviet state," the identity of the USSR with "Russia," the alleged existence of "Russia's national minorities," the Soviet population of "200 million Russians" and so forth can easily be shown to circulate not only in areas marked by lack of information and knowledge but also in those marked by a callous indifference toward the criteria of justice and charity in the field of international relations. Oriented in the sound direction of truth coupled with justice, this journal was bound to succeed in dispelling in major degree many of such myths, and it can be fairly stated that its development is in paramount and indispensable part attributable to the guiding vision, initiative and indefatigable labors of the founder of this journal, editor and eminent historian of Eastern Europe, DR. NICHOLAS D. CHUBATY.

DEVELOPMENT AND REACTIONS

The QUARTERLY'S early phase of development was not an easy and smooth one. As one would expect, many problems of a technical and financial sort quickly emerged. The problem of general presentation had to be coped with in a period when popular and scholarly interest in the Soviet Union was still relatively undeveloped. The cold war was a couple of years off yet, and the misnamed Russian Institutes and courses on "Russian" history and culture at our various educational institutions had barely been established. In these circum-



NICHOLAS D. CHUBATY,
PhD., LLD h.c., former
Professor of East-European
history of Ukrainian
Universities and author.
Initiator and Editor of the
UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY.

stances which entailed also the problem of building up as rapidly as possible a subscription list to offset a major portion of the total publication cost, the prudent decision was made to present the contents in the journal in a sufficiently light literary vein in order that both popular and scholarly interest might be satisfied. Improvements in editing, style and cover appearance were constantly made, as the institution of the colorful frontispiece in 1948 well exemplified, and a balanced diversification of topics has been consistently maintained in every issue except two recent ones devoted to the general subjects of the Moscow-sponsored celebration of the Pereyaslav Treaty (v. X n. 1, Winter, 1954) and Carpatho-Ukraine (v. X n. 3, Summer, 1954). To be sure, as concerns every human institution, certain improvements are still in order, and the board of publications is making every attempt to realize them so that the technical and literary attractiveness of the journal would approximate perfection itself. The precarious future demands a frequent reappraisal of what has become a valuable instrument of knowledge and interpretation regarding America's foremost enemy.

The reaction to the first few issues was most satisfactory and

encouraging. It inspired the management of the publication to carry on with great enthusiasm and in time resulted in the production of still more stimulating issues that precipitated broader favorable reaction. It is, of course, not possible to reproduce these notes of favorable acceptance in their entirety here. But a few examples will serve to indicate the sources of inspiration that emerged to assist in the scholarly pioneering effort represented by this new periodical on Soviet-American affairs. In a letter to the editor, written in 1946, Norman Thomas observed, "I think you get out a very interesting and important magazine..." In the same year Justice Harold H. Burton of the United States Supreme Court wrote, "I am deeply interested in your publication." The Honorable Harry P. Cain, now former Senator from the State of Washington and member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, commented, "I have read this material with considerable interest and would appreciate receiving from you any back copies that you might have." Major Tufton Beamish of the British House of Commons declared, "I always read the Ukrainian Quarterly with great interest." The Honorable N. B. James of the Social Credit Board in Canada expressed his congratulations on "an excellent magazine that will not only advance the cause of the Ukrainian people, but is also a real contribution to the literary world." The director of the Institute of Ethnology and Sociology in Torino, Italy, Dr. Geremia Dalla Nora, speaks of the Quarterly as being "so necessary for the true representation of a people so badly made known to the world by an adverse propaganda hostile to its real interests." A graduate of the University of Michigan, a Mrs. Allen Dear, stated at the time, "The Ukrainian Quarterly should have been read more widely... by the educated and the men who have shaded this country's affairs. If that had been the case, the future outlook would not be so gloomy now."

This represented only a sample cross section of opinion expressed toward the initial issues of the publication. It broadened in time as greater use was made of the material published in the periodical. Five years after its inception there was substantial ground for the observation that appeared in the editorial of the Winter, 1950 issue on "The Anglo-Saxon World and Information on Ukraine": "After five years our point of view has found greater acceptance, in no small degree because of the stark reality of Soviet conduct. That we have been tested and found true in this short period of time indicates the validity of Ukrainian aspirations and the crucial importance of the national problem in the Soviet Union. The Ukrainian Quarterly will continue to champion the cause of the nationalities subjugated by the Communist Russians."

Since then, this point of view has found even greater acceptance with the expanded distribution of and subscription to the journal. Its listing in a number of indices, such as the Wilson International Index, Books Abroad and the United Nations Monthly List of Selected Articles, has facilitated this. Additional listings in outstanding American journals, as the American Historical Review, The Review of Politics, the Journal of Central European Affairs, the Catholic Historical Review and numerous others, have contributed greatly to the same end. Requested use of material for study and research purposes by many institutions, such as the National War College, the National Guard Bureau in the Departments of the Army and the Air Force, has more than confirmed the intellectual utility of this instrument of knowledge on the Soviet Union. The extended subscription and exchange lists, including major official American departments and agencies, numerous foreign embassies, and domestic and foreign research institutions, among which can be cited the Departments of State and Army, the Indian Embassy, the Soviet Academy of Marxism in Moscow, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev, Slovansky Ustav in Prague, Tokio University and others, give added demonstration of the study that is being undertaken on Ukraine and the expert analyses provided in the journal on almost every conceivable aspect of the Soviet Union.

EXPERT ANALYSTS NON-UKRAINIAN BACKGROUND

The contributors to THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY are experts on Ukraine, Soviet-American relations and communism generally. They are not only men and women of Ukrainian background, but include also numerous authors and writers of non-Ukrainian ancestry, experts who have carefully studied and mastered the problems and issues pertaining to Eastern Europe. Over these past ten years the list of contributors of non-Ukrainian background has developed into a rather long one and in many ways measures the increasing importance of the subjects treated in this journal. The contributions of these intellectual and scholarly persons are of enduring literary and scientific worth, and provide the American reading public with weapons of thought and knowledge for the eventual defeat of communism. Along with the revealing contributions of those who lived under communism in Ukraine and elsewhere, they furnish a mine of information and sound interpretation for the countless students who have embarked upon these special studies in our universities and colleges. In short, their ideas and facts are currently shaping the intellectual outlook of our studious youth throughout this Nation, and the impact of this

could never be equalled by any amount of political representation and activity on the part of any one national organization dedicated to the precepts stated earlier.

It would do well for us to survey this list of prominent authors of non-Ukrainian background who have contributed so much to the advancement of truth concerning Ukraine and other non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. Some have necessarily written under a nom de plume, as Americus who contributed the stirring article on "The Russia First Movement in the United States" (v. IX n. 3, Summer, 1953) or Hans de Weerd, a Dutch journalist, who wrote on "Erich Koch and Ukraine" (v. XI n. 1, Winter, 1955). Others, with their well known literary names, have been regular contributors to the QUARTERLY. William Henry Chamberlin started with the very first issue, writing on "The Ukraine and Soviet Nationality Policy," and contributed regularly with a whole series of articles, such as "The Issue of Ukraine Nationhood" (v. I n. 3, June, 1945), "The Ukrainian Struggle for Freedom" (v. II n. 2, Winter, 1946), "Ukraine: Ally Behind the Iron Curtain" (v. IV n. 1, Winter, 1948) and many others. Even more prolific have been the works of Clarence A. Manning, professor at Columbia University and world renowned author whose name is frequently attacked by Moscow because of the truths he conveys in his literary activity. Dr. Manning likewise is an original contributor with a scholarly article in the first issue on "The Democratic Trend of Ukrainian Literature," followed by "Pan Slavism, Its Use and Abuse" (v. I n. 3, June, 1945) and a host of others.

The long list includes also, with only some of their contributions, the following: G. W. Simpson, prominent Canadian scholar and educator, on "Hrushevsky, Historian of Ukraine" (v. I n. 2, February, 1945); Joseph D. Roucek, educator and extensive writer on East European affairs, on "Ukrainian Sociology After the First World War" (v. I n. 2, February, 1945); J. Davies Rhys, Labor Member of the British Parliament and specialist on Ukrainian-Polish affairs, on "Some Lessons of the European Conflict, 1939-1945" (v. I n. 3, June, 1954); Floyd A. Cave, professor at San Francisco State College, on "Appeasement of the USSR and the Rights of Small Nations" (v. II n. 4, Summer, 1946); Ilya J. Goldman, scholar and expert on the economy of the Soviet Union, on "West-East Antagonism in the Peryaslav Alliance" (v. X n. 1, Winter, 1954); Rep. Michael A. Feighan, Member of Congress and authority on the non-Russian nations in the USSR, on "Nationalism vs. Internationalism" (v. X n. 2, Spring, 1954); Julius Epstein, noted journalist, on "American Forced Repatriation" (v. X n. 4, Autumn, 1954); Watson Kirkconnell, eminent

Canadian author and educator, on "The Future of European Freedom" (v. II n. 3, Spring, 1946); Percival Cundy, Presbyterian minister and educator, on "Marko Vovchok" (v. III n. 2, Winter, 1947); David Martin, author and refugee expert, on "Not Displaced Persons—But Refugees" (v. IV n. 2, Spring, 1948); Arthur P. Coleman, president of Alliance College and educator, on "Understanding the Russians" (v. VI n. 3, Summer, 1950).

Included, too, are James Burnham, outstanding American political analyst, on "The East European Strategy" (v. VIII n. 4, Autumn, 1952); Amedeo Giannini, Italian statesman and author, on "Ukraine as a Mediterranean Power" (v. VIII n. 4, Autumn, 1952); Kurt Glaser, author and journalist, on "Liberation and Self-Determination" (v. X n. 4, Autumn, 1954); C. C. Gecys, of Fordham University, on "Present Russian Nationalism" (v. IX n. 2, Spring, 1953); George F. Mentz, American admiral and honorary member of non-Russian organizations, on "The Great Stalin Myth—The Solution of the Nationality Problems in the USSR" (v. IX n. 4, Autumn, 1953); Geza B. Grosschmidt, professor at Duquesne University, on "The Kremlin and the Eastern Catholic Church" (v. IX n. 4, Autumn, 1953); and Agnes Louise Hovde, American poetess and author of "Answer to Shevchenko" (v. IX n. 4, Autumn, 1953). This list of contributors, in a real sense, an unsurpassed honor roll of scholars, educators, authors, writers, journalists, and intellectuals lending their individual power and strength to a sacred cause, that of freedom itself, will certainly be extended in the years ahead.

RICH CONTENT IN TOPICAL VARIETY

The captions of the articles indicated above disclose to some degree the rich content of the QUARTERLY issues which are published in accordance with the general rule of topical variety. Every conceivable aspect of the Soviet and East European situation receives objective and scholarly treatment not only at the hands of writers and analysts of non-Ukrainian background but also from those who lived under communism in various strata of life in Ukraine and other areas of the Soviet Union. In the list of contributors are those who are not of Ukrainian background but as Georgians, Armenians, Turkestanians and others have shared this experience and understand the full import of the common identity of problems confronting all the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. To mention a few, John Ermachenko has written on "The Aspirations of the White Ruthenians" (v. V n. 1, Winter, 1949); Emin Rezulzade, former president of the Azerbaijanian Democratic Republic, contributed on "The Republic of Azer-

baijan" (v. VII n. 3, Summer, 1951); James G. Mandalian wrote on "How the Soviets Wrecked Armenia's Independence" (v. VII n. 4, Autumn, 1951); Mustad Aytugan delivered one on "World War II and the National Question" (v. VIII n. 1, Winter, 1952); and the two Idel-Uralians, Ajaz Ishaki Idelli and Iskender Akchura, submitted respective articles on "The Turko-Tatars of Idel-Ural in Their Struggle for Freedom" (v. VIII n. 2, Spring, 1952) and "The Extermination of the Turko-Tatar Population of the USSR" (v. X n. 2, Spring, 1954).

The topical variety of the articles accepted encompasses also every cultural, scientific, religious, political and economic subject that is of significance for our understanding of Ukraine, the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe generally. It entails also comprehensive analyses of every major current development bearing on American relations with the Soviet Union and other regions of the Russian Communist empire. Of tremendous aid in connection with the first item are the intellectual and experimental resources of former professors, officials, military personnel, journalists, scholars, artists, etc., who have escaped from the communist slave world and are now living in various parts of the free world. The articles of N. Prychodko, Stephen Protsiuk, Ulace Samchuk, S. Hordynsky, I. Bahryany, B. Krupnitsky, Alexander Ohloblyn, Ludmila Ivchenko, Julian Revay, W. Marchenko, M. Pavlyuk, M. Stachiw, Vincent Shandor, I. Kedryn, and numerous other analysts and expert observers who experienced in one form or another the conditions of communist enterprise and aggression, are solid contributions to American and free world knowledge and understanding of Russian Communist imperialism.

A brief enumeration of the titles of several selected articles from the issues of these past ten years is sufficient to impress the reader with the breath and scope of the periodical's diversification of subject matter. As examples, "Ukrainian Underground Publications in USSR," by Lev Shankovsky (v. VIII n. 3, Summer, 1952); "Red Russia and the Catholic World," by N. Chubaty (v. I n. 3, Summer, 1948); "The Ukrainians of the Russian Soviet Republic," by V. Chaplenko (v. VII n. 1, Winter, 1951); "The Ukrainian Americans," by Stephen Shumeyko (n. 1, October, 1944); "The Importance of the Problem of Displaced Persons," by Walter Dushnyck (v. II n. 3, Spring, 1946); "The Ukrainian Cooperative Movement," by Roman Olesnicki (v. II n. 1, Autumn, 1945); "The Genocide Convention," by Roman Smal-Stocki (v. V n. 2, Spring, 1949); "The Problem of Nationalities in Soviet Asia," by John V. Sweet (v. IX n. 3, Summer,

1953) and many other articles covering the Soviet and Ukrainian economies, Ukrainian history, art, architecture, archeology, the Russian NTS, Soviet labor camp, transportation system, agriculture and monetary affairs.

YOUTH'S EDUCATORS AS CONTRIBUTORS

The importance of having contributors working at American academic schools requires explanation. The seats of learning and knowledge are the intellectual roots of any civilized society and breeds the men and women who are to assume responsible positions in government, industry, labor and other spheres of society. The contributors to this journal who occupy university and college positions cannot but make the influence of their ideas and thoughts felt in the rising generation of this country and others. We have noted the university affiliations of several contributors of non-Ukrainian background. There is, however, also a rising trend in the university and college affiliation of writers with a Ukrainian background who have the opportunity to inculcate into the minds of their students the ideas and facts that are contained in their contributions to this publication.

The many distinguished scholars and teachers of such background, whose writings have made possible the success of this journal, are as follows: Dr. Alexander A. Granovsky, University of Minnesota, on "Free Ukraine Is Vital to Lasting Peace" (v. I n. 2, February, 1945); Dr. Constantine H. Andrusyshen, Saskatchewan University in Canada, on "Skovoroda, the Seeker of the Genuine Man" (v. II n. 4, Summer, 1946); Dr. Roman Smal-Stocki, Marquette University, on "From Bolshevik Stalin to Menshevik Dallin" (v. VII n. 4, Autumn, 1951); Prof. Michael Nagurney, St. Basil's College, on "The Bolshevik Freedom of Religion" (v. IX n. 1, Winter, 1953); Dr. Ivan Mirtchuk, rector of the Free Ukrainian University, Germany, on "Western Tendencies in Ukrainian Culture" (v. IV n. 3, Summer, 1948); Dr. Yuriy Sherekh, Columbia University, on "Why Did You Not Want to See, Mr. Steinbeck?" (v. IV n. 4, Autumn, 1948); Prof. Wasyl Halich, Wisconsin State Teachers College, on "Ukraine: Russia's Most Violent Headache" (v. IV n. 4, Autumn, 1948); Dr. V. J. Kaye-Kisilevsky, University of Ottawa, on "A Great Byzantine-Slav Cathedral" (v. VII n. 3, Summer, 1951); and Prof. Nicholas Pappé, Washington State University, on "The Crimean Tatars—Annihilation or Survival?" (v. VIII n. 3, Summer, 1952). This particular list, too, will be greatly extended as the many more now occupying university and college positions will find the opportunity to make their contributions to the steady growth of this journal.

ADDITIONAL ASSETS OF THE QUARTERLY

In addition to the informative articles in this journal are the assets of its interpretative editorials, critical book reviews, running commentaries on American and foreign periodicals, and documentary presentations of varied sorts. These sections, in their different ways, are fundamentally related and integrated by the common endeavor to transmit accurate knowledge, enforce proper terminology and conceptions, and form sound perspectives on the realities and problems of Eastern Europe. That this objective must be carefully and meticulously upheld may be gleaned from the extensive bibliographical references made to the material in this journal in books and theses prepared at our various universities. This writer, for example, has just completed his examination of an advanced thesis on the Communist liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which relies heavily on much of the revealing data found in a number of articles that have appeared in the QUARTERLY. Letters from graduate students at various institutions throughout the country indicate an extensive interest in Ukraine and the other non-Russian nations in the USSR and an equal dependence on the material published in this periodical.

The well written editorials of the QUARTERLY are calculated to advance public understanding of every major problem that arises in connection with Soviet-American relations. They aim to influence proper and sound judgments on the basis of knowledge and experience rather than groundless notions which some, even in high places, continue to operate with. Many of these editorials have formed a basis of study and discussion at a number of our most important institutions, as, for instance, the National War College—"Liberation Policy and Liberation Reality" (v. IX n. 1, Winter, 1953).

The titles of some of these editorials will show their striking pertinency, currency and interest, as, for example: "Ukraine and the United Nations" (v. XI n. 1, Winter, 1955); "The Pospelov-Acheson Clash" (v. VII n. 1, Winter, 1951); "Eastern Europe and the Truman Doctrine" (v. III n. 4, Autumn, 1947); and "Faith in Eternal Russia" (v. VII n. 3, Summer, 1951).

The book review section consists of critical accounts of all works that can possibly be included in order to present the most recent literary output on Eastern Europe. The rule of objectivity in criticism prevails here as elsewhere. For example, one may find a favorable review of the work of a given author at one time, as *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia*, by David J. Dallin and Boris Nikolaevsky (v. III n. 4, Autumn, 1947), and a rather unfavorable one of another work later, like *The New Soviet Empire*, by David J. Dallin (v. VII n. 1, Winter,

1951). The grounds of fair criticism in all cases cannot be anything but accurate data and logical interpretation. The *Ucrainica* section, dealing with foreign and domestic periodicals containing articles on Eastern Europe, is managed strictly along the same lines. Commentaries in this section have led to many constructive actions on the part of organs that have let slip by even some of the most elementary errors with respect to the Soviet Union. Occasionally, space is afforded in the pages of the periodical for the reproduction of important documents of our time, as the Ukrainian Free University and the Harvard University Refugee Project (v. VII n. 3, Summer, 1951).

From this outline account of the successful development of the UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY in the first decade of its existence, it should be manifestly evident that its format and material content are so constructed as to furnish a comprehensive picture of the political framework and dominant events in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and Ukraine. To justify the need for this picture of knowledge and understanding in these times would mean to overstate the obvious. As gauged by performance and acceptance, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America takes great pride in publishing the QUARTERLY. Despite the appearance of other periodicals in this field, the position of this publication, fortified by tradition, experience and achievement, will undoubtedly remain unsurpassed. As stated previously, it is veritably an institution in itself, generating an ultimate power—knowledge itself—without which any form of political activity becomes aimless and arid. It is a creation that few similar organizations have been capable of producing. It has already entered into its second decade of existence, one that promises to be most eventful and at the same time turbulent and perhaps catastrophic. As a protected but expanded reservoir of knowledge and truth, the QUARTERLY needs for its continued success no words of guidance and inspiration other than those declared in its first editorial ten years ago:

“In our work we shall strive to be guided by the words of the Gospel: *ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.*”

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