

AMERICA'S DEVELOPING REALISM TOWARD RUSSIA

By LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

From all reliable indications the most salutary development in current American political thinking about Russia is its powerfully emerging realism. As certainly never before, the predominant historical forces that have moulded Eastern Europe into its present menacing form are being intelligently understood along a broad front of American scholarship and politics. The political realities that underlie the minutely calculated Soviet Russian maneuvers and operations from the Danube to the Pacific are now beginning to receive sober consideration and rational appraisal in the analyses of responsible and disinterested students of this problem in America. And for those to whom the prodigious tasks of formulating effective plans for psychological warfare have been assigned, a more secure foundation of valid knowledge and ripe judgement is being constructively laid. Beyond question of any doubt this unfolding realism constitutes the healthiest and most hopeful sign in recent American thought on Russia. It certainly signals the long-awaited obliteration of the many iron curtains of thought which have only served to perpetuate dangerous illusions about Russia in certain high official quarters as well as in our numerous private institutions of higher learning.

THE MOTIVE FORCE OF TRADITIONAL RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

For some time alert and historically trained European observers have grasped the motive force of traditional Russian imperialism in the Trojan horse of world communism. In the 20's and 30's at a time when countless so-called American liberals naively viewed the ruthless politico-economic activities of Soviet Russia as momentous features of "the Great Experiment," vastly more informed European students perceived the aggressive and predatory nature of Russian Communism in a sound perspective of historical and institutional continuity. The unpardonable error of arbitrarily positing a hiatus in the historical development of Russia was reduced to a harmless minimum. With necessary allowances made for guarded diplomatic discourse, perhaps the finest expression of this realistic outlook was given by Dr. Joseph Motta who, as the head of the Swiss delegation in the League of Nations, justified his country's dissent on the admission of the Soviet Union to that concert of nations in the following words: "From the point of view of sound international relations and the indispensable principles of life that govern those relations, the essential and outstanding feature of Russian Communism is its invincible, inevitable irrepressible tendency to secure universal domination." Significantly this was uttered five years be-

Poet's Corner

"MY LOVE"

My love is like a rose
That has been bathed in dew,
My love is like a melody
That's only played by few.

A moon that shines in darkness
On those that seek the sky,
My love is like the birds
That fly me swiftly by.

My love is like a gentle wind
Kissing my blushing face
And taking me by the hand
Caresing me in an embrace.

My love is like a rainbow
Of colors old and new
Thus I have expressed my love
That only burns for you.

"Huculka"

AN APPEAL TO THE YOUTH OF THE FREE WORLD

Talk by O. KALYNNYK, President of Central Committee of Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) at the 2nd National Convention of U.Y.A. in Canada, Toronto, June 29, 1952

The Ukrainian refugees left their country in order to disclose before the eyes of the free world the crimes committed by Moscow. They fight for the ideas of freedom, justice and Christianity as opposed to the atheistic materialism represented by the Soviet regime. They escaped from the tortures of the Russian secret police to help their compatriots behind the Iron Curtain in their struggle against Communism and Russian imperialism.

Reasons for Russian Persecution of Ukrainians

Both the Tsarist Empire and the Soviet Russia used all methods, at their disposal, including trickery and brutal force, violence and oppression, in order to subjugate the Ukrainian nation. All this was done because the Ukrainians have always manifested their leanings to the West and have had manifold connections with the Western culture. The natural resources of the Ukraine prompted Russia to conquer that granary of the Eastern Europe. This victory increased the might of the nascent Russian Empire and enabled it to wage wars of conquest against other nations. The inexhaustible resources of coal, iron and steel as well as the agricultural wealth of Ukraine have furnished the modern Soviet Empire with immense industrial and military power and have enabled it to become a permanent menace for other nations, now—for the whole world.

Although history is supposed to be a teacher of life, it apparently did not furnish the minds of the leaders of the Western world with necessary information and wisdom. At the close of World War I, the Ukrainians and other peoples subjugated by Russia became engaged in a life-and-death struggle for their national independence. However, the Western leaders, notably authors of the Versailles Treaty, preferred to support their enemies, the White (Tsarist) Russian armies, and thus indirectly helped the Soviets to consolidate their positions and ultimately to become the heirs of the Russian imperialism. Hitler made a similar blunder in 1941-43. His policy of supporting the so-called "Russian Liberation Army", headed by General Vlassov, eventually boomeranged and prompted the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) to wage a struggle against both the Germans and Russians.

Russia's Three Great Drives

Undoubtedly, the recent statement of Secretary of State, Hon. Dean Acheson, stands unsurpassed for its intellectual integrity, historical objectivity, and theoretical precision. It is not feasible to reproduce here the full historical statement made by Mr. Acheson on June 26, 1951 before the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, but several portions may be quoted to demonstrate the depth of his superlative observations. "Historically, the Russian state has had three great drives—to the west into Europe, to the south into the Middle East, and to the east into Asia... Historically also the Russian state has displayed considerable caution in carrying out those drives... The Politburo has acted in this same way. It has carried on and built on the imperialist tradition. What it has added consists mainly of new weapons and new tactics—the weapons of conspiracy... the ruling power in Moscow has long been an imperial power and now rules a greatly extended empire. This is the challenge our foreign policy is required to meet. It is clear that this process of encroachment and consolidation by which Russia has grown in the last 500 years from the duchy of Muscovy to a vast empire has got to be stopped." For the editors of the renowned New York Times

this precedented declaration on the part of an American Secretary of State signaled a new "Realism About Russia." It is manifestly significant that the only source of opposition to the declaration and the New York Times editorial was a small group of unrepresentative Russian emigres who have advertised themselves as the incorrigible defenders on American soil of the Russian imperialist ideal.

(Continued on page 3)

Our Juveniles - - - by G.H.

At the rate of one a month the Home Office of U.N.A. gets a pathetic letter from a Branch secretary. "Johnny X. wants cash for his insurance certificate because his father wants him to pay dues now."

In every similar case Johnny or Mary have grown up, working and supporting themselves, and in many cases are married. They have not learned to pay dues to the U.N.A. because their parents took care of that and the payment of dues never entered the pattern of their living habits. Now, faced with this obligation, the son or daughter prefer to collect a fraction of the dues their parents paid on their insurance certificate. To them there seems to be nothing sentimental about the certificate, not even the fact that their parents had their future in mind when each month they paid something on the U.N.A. certificate.

The fact that it was more than an insurance certificate—that it was membership and ownership in the greatest Ukrainian organization on the continent—did not register in the minds of the son and daughter. Of course, their parents were concerned about the U.N.A. business. But Johnny or Mary regarded such concern as their parents' hobby, for want of something better. Anyway, they were not going to be mixed up in the petty squabbles at meetings; they would have nothing to do with the quarrelling "Ukes", not if they could help it. They will get the cash for their certificates and live their own lives without Ukrainian entanglements, notwithstanding the displeasure this will cause to their parents.

On the principle that "what you don't know will not hurt you" the son or daughter may never know what they will be missing after dropping out of U.N.A. But their parents will understand that the U.N.A. Branch will be deprived of

UPA—The Ukrainian Insurgent Army

As an American of Ukrainian descent, who knows of and about Ukraine through reading and description, I am very much impressed by the fact that prominent Americans are so interested in the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement, and that invariably they connect this movement with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, UPA.

Nowadays every country has enough troubles of its own. It seems that the greater the country, the more trouble it has. Thus America has a great danger facing her, that of Communism or rather Russian aggression. Our country is spending billions of dollars abroad to arm her potential friends against Russia. Naturally, she is interested in the forces working behind the Iron Curtain towards the destruction of Russian imperialism and aggression. There is no denying that the largest single force undermining Russia from within is the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

America is becoming more interested in the Ukrainian Liberation Movement because a free Ukraine would deprive Russia of much of her war potential. Here, then, is a situation that Ukraine should take advantage of and strive to obtain real aid for them in their struggle for their national political, cultural and economic freedom.

Since Americans themselves show such a keen interest in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the Ukrainians are bound to fan that interest to the point where it will be a definite political asset to them. Therefore, though there may be bickering and differences of opinion on other points,

there are other people's sons and daughters, who will act similarly, they will know the reason for the gradual stagnation in the life of the Branch and in their community. But will they realize that the stagnation could have been prevented if only they had shown a little interest in the children of their U.N.A. Branch? Will they ever realize that, while the primary purpose of the U.N.A. is to provide protection on the life of the child, membership in the U.N.A. Branch should offer the additional advantage of character building?

The U.N.A. has been founded on Christian ideals and on their application in the workings of a fraternal benefit society. For some reason the teaching and upholding of these ideals have not been extended to include juvenile members of the U.N.A. Branch. Such teachings as the love and respect due to the country, the development of leadership and self-confidence, the practice of honesty, service, thrift, and patriotism are within the province of a U.N.A. Branch, but they have been overlooked.

For such purposes the U.N.A. Branches need children's camps, youth centers, athletic teams, talent shows, parties, picnics, movies and lectures. And for this they need capable leaders, local juvenile directors.

After participating in some such program the juvenile member will feel that he or she really belongs to the organization. His membership in the U.N.A. will not be a matter of indifference to him and the chance of his separation from U.N.A. will not hinge on the dues.

The Home Office is in position to furnish the campsite, having purchased an estate in upstate New York. But the initiative in organizing the juvenile members, and the local directors, must be provided by the U.N.A. Branches.

On Hot Days - - - By MYROSLAVA

On these hot summer days when the sun shines so brightly, we like to place ourselves on wings of our imagination and fly off to some cool green spot at the edge of a lake or forest. Once there, to relax with a book of poems by Shevchenko, Franko or Lesya Ukrainka, and inhale their beauty and wisdom as demonstrated in the following ones.

MY LOVE
By Franko

So lovely is she, for she shines
In loveliness, holy and pure
Her face is aglow with sweet
peace
Sincerity, love so secure.

WHAT LIFE GAVE
I have not lived long in this
world
Yet I have learned to take
account
Of what I got from life—not
much,
But nonetheless, a fair
amount.

BE HUMAN
Be human, brother. Let thy
humanism

THE WORD COMES TO KIEV

By WILLIAM LUKACZYK
Courtesy of KERYX

(Concluded)

Examples of antithesis are not too infrequent: "First came law, then grace; first its shadow, then the truth" or "let us not reprimand the Jews but let us praise the Christians" or "For the Jews rejoice in earthly goods but Christians rejoice in heavenly goods but the things of heaven" or "For the Jews rendered their works in the moonlight of the law but Christians await their salvation in the sunlight of grace." Rhetorical exclamations Ilarion employs throughout the summons to the dead Volodymyr and rhetorical questions he puts at the outset of the work: "Who is as great as our God?" "What did the law achieve, what did grace?"

Examples of repetition appear consistently in the work: "Christ has conquered, Christ has won, Christ is King, and Christ is glorified" and "We adore You, foundly beseech You," and "For we are Yours, Your creation, the work of Your hand."

The Word of Law and Grace is constructed according to the oratorical divisions. In the introduction Ilarion arouses the reader's interest by entering praise to God, Who in His glory has not forgotten man but has brought salvation. Thereupon follows the oration proper in which law and grace, the Old Testament and the New Testament, and Christianity and Judaism are compared and weighed. The eulogy to Volodymyr and the closing prayer resemble the peroration or summary of an author's main points concluded generally with a sensational dramatic appeal.

Ilarion's genius is further exhibited in his judicious choice of words not only beyond the average vocabulary but unusually picturesque and melodious in sound. He exhibits particular neatness about clothing his thoughts and feelings in only the choicest words. Often the pattern of words become pleasingly rhythmic whenever the author piles up short phrases in series. Much of the assonant sounds are lost in translation but the beat of words is retained. This beat is best illustrated in the concluding passage of the final prayer translated below.

The prayer which Ilarion adds to the work deserves particular consideration for the wealth of its expression, its spiritual flavor, and its co-ercive supplicant qualities. It is expressly characteristic and indicative of the agricultural nature of the Ukrainian people and their fond attachment to the soil.

In modern times, many have found a likeness of the same genius of Metropolitan Ilarion in the person of the late martyred Ukrainian metropolitan, Andrei Sheptytsky. Not only

(Concluded on Page 3)

"SVOBODA"
(UKRAINIAN DAILY)
FOUNDED 1899

Ukrainian newspaper published daily except Sundays and holidays by the Ukrainian National Association, Inc. 81-83 Grand St., Jersey City 3, N. J.

Entered as Second Class Mail Matter at Post Office of Jersey City, N. J. at March 10, 1911 under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided for Section 1103 of the Act of October 3, 1917 authorized July 31, 1952.

America's Developing Realism Toward Russia

(Continued from page 2) Red Aggression '35 Years in Being

Anyone sufficiently familiar with contemporary East European history is well aware that the series of Soviet imperialist aggressions did not commence after World War II...

The outstanding fact is that only power-drunk communist quislings remain in the non-Russian countries of Central and East Europe...

In short, for the oppressed of Central and East Europe, as indeed for those of Asia, the sole mortal enemy is Soviet Russian imperialism...

(To be concluded)

Free World Youth Should Face Impending Events in State of Alertness and Preparedness

Resolutions Passed by the 2nd National Convention of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Canada June 29 1952

The Ukrainian youth, forced by the political circumstances to leave their homeland, cannot remain indifferent to the development of the world...

Two hostile coalitions the forces of Soviet Russian imperialism and its satellites and the nations of the free world...

The Communist theories were first developed and practiced on Russian ethnic territory. It was the Russian people who represented the vanguard of Communist aggression...

The Ukrainian Youth organized in the Ukrainian Youth Association in Canada is anxious to join the ranks of the youth of Western democracies.

The Word Comes to Kiev

(Concluded from page 2)

his profound visible religious fervor but also his unsurpassable patriotic devotion and loyalty to his country makes Metropolitan Sheptytsky a worthy candidate for comparison.

possible. The whole-hearted support of that youth will be won only by a just and friendly approach to their aspirations for independence.

The Ukrainian Youth Association expresses its appreciation of extensive and useful activities of the ABN under the able leadership of Yaroslav Stetzko.

The Ukrainian Youth Association expresses its pleasure at the reactivation of the Union for Ukraine's Liberation, a national Ukrainian organization...

In 1776, when the Colonists finally succeeded in proclaiming free and independent United States of America, Russia proclaimed the destruction and enslavement of the Ukrainians.

It is high time that we give moral encouragement to the millions of Ukrainians and other Non-Russian people who are fighting for their freedom.

The picture isn't a pretty one. The Ukraine, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, and other countries behind the "iron curtain" are one vast prison.

Support Americanism, Fight Communism

To quote Daniel Webster, "God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are ready to guard and defend it."

These immortal words are as true today, as they were in the days of the American fight for independence.

Today, millions of freedom loving Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Slovaks, and other non-Russian people have been enslaved by the greatest hater of freedom—Russia.

For every step that the United States has taken to obtain freedom for all, Russia has taken a step to destroy freedom.

Late in the 17th Century, while the Colonists were building the future land of the free, Russia attacked and destroyed the freedom of the Ukrainian people.

In 1812, while the United States was fighting for freedom of the seas, Russia was fighting for the enslavement of the Western Ukraine, Lithuania, and Poland.

While the United States with its liberty and justice for all, was growing into the greatest symbol of freedom—the Russian "prison of nations" was growing into a symbol of slavery and injustice for all.

The American people were so occupied in building these great United States, that they completely ignored the fact that the Russians were expanding their area of enslavement and oppression.

Today, Russian communism and imperialism are threatening the very shores of "the land of the free and the home of the brave" and the American people are pausing in their labor and are taking a look at the lands of their forefathers.

Fight communism and slavery, by supporting Americanism and liberty.

and other non-Russian people are being savagely murdered or tortured, England, France, and the other countries of Western Europe, are living 'neath the threat of further Russian aggression.

Dark and dismal as the picture may appear, from within its depths the spark of freedom still flickers. The same spirit of freedom that the early colonists brought to the shores of America from their homelands, is very much alive.

Although it has been driven underground, freedom has taken the form of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the Lithuanian, Slovak, Rumanian, etc., underground armies, banded together into the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

We are slowly awakening to the fact that here is our greatest potential ally in the battle against communism, but we still fail to give them any encouragement, as long as we refuse to assure them that we support their fight for freedom.

In Congress, Rep. Kersten submitted House Concurrent Resolution 94, which calls to assist the NON-Russian people of the Soviet Union, who constitute one-half of the population, to obtain liberation from their present communist enslavement and for the early restoration of their basic human rights and freedoms.

Apparently, because of the pro-Russian influence in this country, this resolution has been "pigeon-holed" by the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By openly declaring that we believe in a free and independent Ukraine governed by Ukrainians, a free Lithuania governed by Lithuanians and freedom for all nations enslaved behind the "iron curtain", we will encourage all people to resist communism and support freedom.

ALEX J. ZABROSKY

Frankenstein, Jr., Grows Up

By MAURICE R. FRANKS

(Editor's Note: Maurice R. Franks is President of the National Labor-Management Foundation and Editor of its official publication, Partners.)

Back in May, 1947, shortly after the Taft-Hartley law was enacted by the 80th Congress, I wrote an editorial for the Railroad Workers Journal...

I called attention to the fact that our lawmakers apparently were so busy pinning back the ears of "Frankenstein" that they quite ignored "Frankenstein, Jr."

"Now what, precisely, is the difference between the Union Shop and the Closed Shop?" I asked then. "And should not Frankenstein, Jr., be outlawed along with the elder beast?"

"To come at the question squarely, there is not one whit of practical difference between the two—in that the Union Shop, no less than the Closed Shop, compels free American citizens to pay a toll for the right to work for a living."

"Let no one kid himself that the Union Shop is in spirit as dainty as its name," I went on. "For it, too, requires that a worker join the union after being on the payroll for a certain period of time."

While other minds were busy picking flaws in the new labor legislation, and terming it a "Slave Labor Law," my own mind—as that of a free-labor editor—detected what is perhaps its greatest flaw. Because, if the aim of the 80th Congress had been (as its leading members stated) to curb labor-boss tyranny...

Campaign to Impose Compulsory Unionism

The 1952 steel crisis and subsequent crippling strike bring the situation into sharp focus. The demand of the United Steelworkers Union Shop clause in their contracts with industry—a demand which the Wage Stabilization Board drolled up in ribbons and made a part of their recommended settlement—was symptomatic of labor leadership's mounting campaign to impose compulsory unionism on all industry.

Step by step and industry by industry, the campaign has been progressing successfully and it was left for one major industry—STEEL—to draw the line and offer all the resistance of which it was capable.

Today the Union Shop principle is no longer a Frankenstein, Jr., as I termed it back in 1947. It has grown up, is fully adult and prepared to play havoc with industrial production wherever there is industry-wide bargaining.

Difference Between Union and Unionized Shop

Now, before we look at the problem more closely, let's stop to define our terms. Some people confuse in their minds a "Union Shop" with a "Unionized Shop."

A Unionized Shop is one in which a majority of workers within a company have voluntarily banded together,

through the medium of a union, representative of their occupation, for the purpose of mutual benefit, aid and protection. A Unionized Shop is in every way wholesome and American, representing as it does the sacred right of workers to have a union and belong to it, if they want to.

A Union Shop is, on the other hand, nothing more than a clause within a union contract with management, whereby each and every employee is compelled to join the union whether or not he happens to believe in unionism, whether or not he likes the particular union involved, and whether or not he happens to admire its leaders, some of whom may be radicals, racketeers or downright incompetents.

More on this subject of the "Union Shop" in my next article.

PROF. MANNING'S SPEECH AT UKRAINIAN RALLY READ INTO CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

On May 8, 1952 the text of the speech delivered by Prof. Clarence A. Manning of Columbia University at the Ukrainian anti-Soviet rally in Newark, N. J. on March 30, 1952, was read into the Congressional Record by Congressman Lawrence H. Smith of Wisconsin. Congressman Smith stated:

"Professor Manning in his frank discussion of Russian imperialism has been the target of attacks by communist newspapers in the Ukraine. Notwithstanding, he has been courageous enough to point that Russian imperialism is destroying the very livelihood of Ukrainian civilization. The Soviet is uttering the lie when it states that there is no real controversy between the Ukrainian and Russian people. The world today knows that such is not the fact, and that the Ukrainians are demanding their freedom from

Ukrainian Summer Courses at University of Manitoba

The Summer School Calendar 1952 of the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, Canada, lists among other subjects, such as Latin, French, English, History, two courses in Ukrainian, it has been announced. Both are credited with 4 academic units.

Course 110 — Introductory Ukrainian, comprises the following: Review of basic Ukrainian grammar, orthography, reading of texts, dictation, sight reading, oral practice, transliteration. Text books: Luckyj G. and Rudnyckyj J. B. — A Modern Ukrainian Grammar (Univ. of Minnesota Press); Rudnyckyj J. B. — Ukrainian Orthography (Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1949). Readings in Ukrainian Folklore (Univ. of Manitoba Press, 1951).

Course 201 — Intermediate Ukrainian. This is a course in

advance of Ukrainian I, providing further study of the essentials of grammar with classroom practice in the idioms, conversation, dictation, composition, translations. Discussion of the texts from the standpoint of the grammar and literary values. Texts: Readings in Ukrainian Authors ed. by C. H. Andrusyshyn (Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1949). Rudnyckyj, J. B., Ukrainian Orthography (Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1949).

The courses are being conducted by Prof. J. B. Rudnyckyj, Chairman of the Department of Slavic Studies, U. of M., and Dr. G. M. Luey. They will last from July 3rd until August 13th, 1952.

For the second time this year the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center of Canada will hold its thirteenth Ukrainian Summer School.

UKRAINIAN CHOIR AT THE UNIVERSITY

The Ukrainian Summer School Choir is open to all Manitoba University Summer School students who wish to learn Ukrainian choral art and to participate in the annual Ukrainian Summer School Concert, which will be staged in the Residence Auditorium before the close of the Summer School.

STUDENTS RESIDENCE

The Students of the University Summer School as well as those of the Ukrainian Summer School have the full residence accommodations (board and room) on the residence building at the Fort Garry Campus of the University of Manitoba.

All Americans interested in the study at the University Summer School, or Ukrainian Summer School at the University will receive further information by writing to: The Registrar of the University of

Manitoba S.S., Winnipeg, Canada.

UKRAINIAN SUMMER SCHOOL

Ukrainian Summer School sponsored by Ukrainian Center in conjunction with the University of Manitoba features the following subjects: Ukrainian literature, history, ethnography, geography, Ukrainian folk-dancing and songs, Ukrainian choral art, community work etc. The Ukrainian language courses will be taken at the University Summer School.

It isn't tying himself to one woman that a man dreads when he thinks of marrying—it's separating himself from all others.

A woman caught jay-walking by a policeman tried to excuse her disobedience with the explanation that she was five minutes late to work. The unimpressed officer retorted: "It is better to be five minutes late to work than five minutes early in heaven."

THE AMERICAN WAY



Even Unto the Night

There was a time when a fool and his money were soon parted. Now it happens to everybody.

THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION

by John S. Reshetar, Jr.

This book is an analysis of the Ukrainian National Movement as it emerged at the time of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Published by Princeton University Press.

Price \$5.00.

Order from "SVOBODA", P. O. Box 346, Jersey City 3, N. J.

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The regional office of the Ukrainian Communist Party examined the activity of composers of Kharkiv on March 25. It declared "A major shortcoming has been noted in the work of composers who have badly interpreted the theories of Marx and Lenin."

