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Communiqué

The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.), Head-Quarters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) in Ukraine, as well as the members of the Ukrainian Underground Movement, informed us that the Chairman of the General Secretariat of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council and the Office of the General Secretariat for Military Affairs, Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A. and Chairman of the Staff of the O.U.N. in Ukraine

Lieutenant General of U.P.A. Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka

on March, 5th 1950 has found a heroic death in Bilohorscha near Lviv in a fight with Russian-Bolshevik occupants.

General Taras Chuprynka

General Taras Chuprynka was born in 1907. Immediately after graduating from the Technical College, he became a leading member of the Ukrainian Military Organization (U.V.O.), to which he had already belonged as a student. In the years from 1927—1929 as a member of said Organization he principally participated in the Organization of the Underground Movement against the Polish occupants. In 1929 he became a member of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists and soon became one of the leading members. He worked as a military reporter of the Land's Executive of the O.U.N. He devoted his excellent organizer's talent, as well as his intrepid boldness to his work. His revolutionary activities against the Polish occupants led to his arrest and his long imprisonment in a Polish prison. From 1938—1939 General Taras Chuprynka played active part in organizing the military association "Ukrainian Carpathian-Sich" of the young Ukrainian state of Carpatho-Ukraine. From 1939—1940 he invested the position of the commissioner of the O.U.N. in the Ukrainian boundary territories of the so-called "General-gouvernement". Meanwhile he worked untiringly in the Military Head-Committee of the O.U.N. and lectured on the secret military courses.

In the middle of the year 1941 we see General Taras Chuprynka as organizer and afterwards as Commander of the Ukrainian Legion. Upon instructions of the O.U.N.-Head-Office, he accomplished a series of special orders. In spring 1943 he was nominated as a member of the O.U.N.-Leading and got charged with the military affairs of it. After some months, in August 1943, he was elected as Chairman of the O.U.N.-Leading. In November 1943 he participated in the Conference of the subjugated nations. At the First Great Meeting of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council in June 1943 he was elected as Chair-

man of the General Secretariat of the U.H.V.R. At the same time he was nominated as Secretary-General of the Army Affairs and as Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A. by the President of the U.H.V.R. As Chairman of the General Secretariat of the U.H.V.R., of O.U.N. and Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A. in Ukraine General Chuprynka led from 1943 till 1950 the revolutionary fight of the U.P.A., the Ukrainian Underground Movement and those of the millions of the Ukrainian people against the German and Moscovitian-Bolshevik occupants in Ukraine. He led the heroic struggle for freedom of the Ukrainian people, for the independent united Ukrainian State. Owing to the abundant heroic example of boldness and sacrifice of a nation, General Chuprynka showed his heroic fight as an example for the whole world. Owing to this heroic fight, the Bolsheviks did not succeed in destroying the organized independent movement of the Ukrainian people. It is also his work that the Ukrainian Underground Movement in its country of origin in spite of all the painful losses of his best leaders, not only exist longer, but always find new successors among the Ukrainian people.

The history of the Ukrainian Liberation Fight from 1943—1950, remains inseparable from the person of General Chuprynka. His extraordinary organization talent, his great military talent and his political personality, the revolutionary Ukrainian independence movement and especially the entire Ukrainian nation loses in him a political and military leader of the first rank. Owing to his political principles and his unlimited personal boldness, on the other hand his vivid, gay character, simplicity in his daily life, but also his consciousness when he was on duty, General Chuprynka rejoiced the greatest popularity among his comrades and employees. (Continued on Page 3)

To estimate these possibilities the facts must be clearly understood. First of all, the old idea of wild groups of "bandits", carrying on a small romantic war at their own sweet will, must be got rid of. That was no longer possible in the last war, or it perished very soon. Against such a ruthless adversary as the Soviet, it is entirely senseless. In general we may speak of two kinds of partisan warfare, which we will call 1) the tactical, 2) the operational. The boundaries between the two are sometimes hard to define. There are transition and developments from one sort to the other. The distinction in itself, however, is correct and necessary in order to get a clear idea. Both kinds were in evidence in the last war.

Partisan warfare is preferably waged by small groups of indigenous resistance fighters, who, backed by the population, carry out acts of sabotage and above all espionage, attack unaccompanied vehicles, and unguarded billets of the invaders, assassinate important persons in the army or administration. But they, too, require leadership and the support of an outside power, especially the supply of munition and arms from the air. They need, besides, wireless connection in order to direct these supplies and to transmit information.

Under favourable circumstances, when the battle front is near and when air-borne troops are dropped, they can form the basis for an active partisan war.

Operational partisan war, — which alone can be included in strategical planning, — is carried on by strong, half regular troops up to division strength. The Soviet partisan brigades might serve as a model. In their formation and tactics they may be called a new kind of cavalry brigade."

Having described the fight of the Polish and the Ukrainian Insurgent Armies as models for guerilla warfare during World War the German author goes on in the same article. "The effective use of large partisan units was first systematically developed by the Red Army. That was no accident. Vast regions of European as well Asiatic Russia have always offered ideal conditions for a partisan war on a big scale: large pathless areas with little or no means of communication, having a widely scattered rural population, showing moreover, in border countries, national and religious differences and cross-currents. In Ukraine, in the Baltic States and some parts of Siberia, the first world war was continued for years in partisan fighting which went on right into 1920. During which the fate of the October Revolution, even the unity of the Russian empire often hung on a silken thread. Details of this struggle can be found in Trotzki's memoirs. These were partisan fights of Reds versus Whites, and against the "minorities" trying to shake off Moscow's yoke. Not only their experiences in defending the Bolshevik revolution, but also the program of the World Revolution, caused the Soviet dictators at an early date to consider the possibilities of partisans who could operate in the enemy's rear and even incite revolutionary movement in collaboration with Communist groups."

An American Opinion

The eminent American military expert, Wallace Carroll, an expert in psychological warfare, journalist and head of the Office of War Information Activities in Europe; author of "Persuade or Perish", and former adviser in the National Defence and State Departments in questions of a psychological war, in an article in "Life", which has become famous (December 19, 1949). "It takes a Russian to beat a Russian" says: "There is an unwritten chapter in the history of the last war which we must learn without delay. We know how the Russians stopped the Germans

at Stalingrad. But how were the Germans able to reach Stalingrad in the first place? How did they push forward a thousand miles against the might and manpower of Russia?

To those questions the German military archives give the answer: The Germans had millions of eager accomplices in Russia.

This fact has been known for a long time to the Russian experts of the State Department, and to a small number of American officers. To-day a wider circle in the armed forces is becoming aware of it and of the psychological blunders which cost the Germans the support of innumerable Russians. (The author, who is otherwise well informed in the national problems of the U.S.-S.R. erroneously calls the whole population "Russian". This is by no means correct. The oppressed peoples cannot be called "Russians"; Editor.) This awareness may give a new impetus to American military thinking and planning. It may in fact awaken those U.S. strategists who have been obsessed with the atomic bomb. For the lesson of German experience in Russia is simply this: that the decisive element in war against the Soviet regime can be the Soviet people. Or, to put it still more simply, the lesson is that it takes a Russian (here the name is again used in a collective sense: Ed.) to beat a Russian. To read this lesson is easier than to apply it, intelligently, to our own policies. In the tragic event of a third world war the U.S. has the power to drop the atomic bomb on Soviet territory and kill or maim millions of Russians. But can we hope to do something much more difficult — arouse those millions and propel them at the decisive moment against Stalin's regime.

We know now that we can forge an instrument to serve this purpose — an instrument which, unlike the bomb, the Soviets could never spy and use against us. To create this instrument might well succeed where the products of daring and a minimum of deference to conventional military thought. In a war against Stalin or his successors, this instrument might well succeed where the products of atomic fission would fail. To give this instrument a realistic name in our arsenal, it might therefore be called "psychological fission".

Psychological fission goes far beyond what we have known as psychological warfare, for it combines all of the arms of war. It entails the concerted use of our military, political and propaganda skills to unleash all those disruptive forces whose menacing existence within the Soviet Union was uncovered by the German invasion. (For those who have not read the whole article it must be mentioned that the author, when he speaks of German allies, does not mean elements imbued with Nazi ideology, but the national forces wishing to make use of the German-Russian war in their fight for independence.)

The views quoted show that the importance has been realised of collecting those forces filled with a singleness of purpose, into fighting units in the enemy's hinterland.

The boldest and most far-sighted conclusions drawn from the realization of the facts, as far as our knowledge goes, are those of two Americans: Professor Burnham in "The Coming Defeat of Communism" and Wallace Carroll, who in the article above mentioned gives the following advice to the American government:

1) We must have an air force ready to deliver to any part of the Soviet Union any message which the American government may choose to send to the Soviet people. We must have an air force which will be ready at the very start of a war — and not two years later — to plaster the Soviet Union with leaflets bearing the pledges and

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Ukraine and the Nations Subjugated by Bolshevism

The realization of the idea that all peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism are fighting one common fight for their liberation must be considered as one of the most important successes of the Ukrainian liberation politics.

The idea that a nation is sovereign even within her own political organization called State, is of universal appeal to all nations at all periods of history. But this idea, like any other, comes to real importance only if conscious will and directed action make a reality of it.

The idea of a common fight of all subjugated peoples has sprung up on the battle fields of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), but it has been developed by the other national insurgent units.

The idea aims above all at the destruction of the Russian Empire and at the restoration of the national organisms of all peoples on the territory of the Soviet Union. Even our special Ukrainian interests are closely connected with this general aim. If for instance the Ukrainians should succeed in separating themselves from the Russian Empire while other nations in the Caucasus and in Turkestan are continuing to be subdued by Russia, the independence and liberty of the Ukrainians would always be in danger. A state of affairs, in which only Ukraine is liberated while the other nations suffer from Russian domination must be considered to be only a stage on the way to liberation while never constituting an entire victory of our politics.

This same principle applies to the liberation politics of all peoples subjugated by Moscow. There is no doubt that the sovereignty of such nations as Estonians, Letts, Lithuanians, Poles, White-Russians, Caucasians depends on the existence of a free Ukrainian state. Should Ukraine be dominated by Russia, even in future, the sovereignty of Bulgaria, Roumania, and Hungary, if not even Turkey and Greece, will be in continuous danger. By size and geography Ukraine forms the backbone of the Liberation Front of the nations subjugated by Russia. The Ukrainian's fight for liberation is therefore of the greatest importance also for other nations. On the other hand Ukraine must offer a contribution for the common cause which corresponds to the size and geographic situation of its territory.

The first principle of our liberation politics is therefore the complete independence and sovereignty of all national settlements within their territory. We see our greatest danger coming from the imperialistic tendencies of individual nations (even the subjugated ones).

For centuries Poland and Ukraine sustained a fight of destruction against each other. The best human material was sacrificed. National interests within the national territory were taken little care of, to maintain the Polish domination in Ukraine. The result were the ruins of the burned out Polish colonies, the disappearance of all marks of Polish domination and even the physical disappearance of the "dominators". And on the Ukrainian side remained only a strong feeling against everything Polish. The policy which the Czechs apply on Slovaks and Ukrainians belongs to the same category. This policy resulted finally in the destruction of Catholic Slovakia by the puppet government of Prague. This imperialism of the subjugated nations tends to weaken our common front and makes them enemies of each other. A Poland which is fighting against the Ukrainians for Lviv and with White-Russians and Lithuanians for Vilna and other territories is at the same time fighting against its own sovereignty. If Poland today takes "Lviv and Vilna" for

a battle-cry, it is on the way to the fifth dismemberment of its territory.

Ukraine never pursued imperialistic aims and will never do so. In this fact resides her strength within the common front. The front of subjugated nations as it has taken shape in the Antibolshevik Block of Nations (A.B.N.) leaves to its members entire freedom as to international relations and political institutions within their own territory. The nations concerned have to solve these problems at their own discretion. The Ukrainian liberation politics rejects messianistic ideas, which only conceal the unrestrained greed of sheer imperialism. A strategic principle is the confidence in the own revolutionary strength. Our struggle for independence is based on this principle. This is the meaning of our slogan: "Subjugated peoples must liberate themselves."

We think therefore that a "liberation without bloodshed" is impossible. We have seen after World War I that a liberation by others was of no avail to the Polish, Czech and even the Hungarian people. This could not have been avoided because every true liberation must be paid with blood.

In this spirit the A.B.N. tries to urge the Great Revolutionary Liberation. It is the spirit of tolerance, understanding and esteem for the national movements and interests of all nations. This spirit is creating an atmosphere of common understanding and sincere comradeship in the fight for our great and permanent aim: national freedom.

Two great Scots in the History of Ukraine

James Francis Edward Keith (1696—1758), the Marshal Keith, played a certain role in the history of Ukraine, during the time when she was a semi-independent state under the Russian Empire. In 1728 J. F. Keith entered the service of Russia and became a Lieutenant-General, Colonel of the bodyguard of Empress Anna. In 1731—35 he took part in the war for the Polish Throne, in which was involved Russia, Austria and France. At the head of the 4,000 Ukrainian Cossacks, in December 1733, he crossed the frozen Dnipro and entered Volhynia, at the time when Danylo Apostol was the Hetman of Ukraine. In 1736—37 he was Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian army; after the capture of the Turkish fortress Ochakov he became the Commander of the 50,000 men manning the forts along the Ukrainian border against the Tartars. Later, in 1740 at the time when St. Petersburg was hostile to the election of a new Hetman, he was nominated Governor of Ukraine and a single year of his wise and humane administration made the Ukrainians complain that they should either never have appointed him or, having once done so, never have recalled him. At the accession of the new Czarina Elizabeth, fearing Siberia for himself, Keith stole away from the Empire in 1747. Frederik the Great created him a Prussian Field-Marshal and in the battle of Hochkirch he was wounded mortally.

The role of another Scot, of **George Keyt** in the history of Ukraine was more mysterious. His name appears in connection with the famous Princess Elisabeth Daraban (Tarakan), the daughter of Czarina Elisabeth and hermorganatic husband, Count Alex Rosumowsky, the brother of the Hetman of Ukraine, Kiril (1750—63). In her childhood she was carried to the frontiers of Persia, from where she fled to Germany, Italy, England and France. Supported by some Poles, Turkey, acquainted with the British ambassador, the famous Sir William Hamilton,

Ukrainians in Foreign Countries!

We publish the text of the obituary notice of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) to the Ukrainians in the foreign countries after the death of Lieut. General Taras Chuprynka.

Our hearts are filled with the deepest sorrow.

Lieut-General Taras Chuprynka, Chairman of the General Secretariat of the O.U.N. Leading, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), Chairman of the General Secretariat of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.), is dead. Our hearts as well as those of all the Ukrainian Patriots, are full of deep sorrow.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, its creator, the boldest among the bold men is no longer with us. The Leader of the Liberation Movement of Ukraine left us.

Since Simon Petlura's and Evhen Konovaletz's death, this is the greatest loss, which Moscow, our grimmest enemy, has inflicted us. Whole Ukraine is mourning in these days, every Ukrainian wherever he may live in the wide World. Also other subjugated nations, their revolutionary organisers and their insurgent groups, mourn with us.

Because on the most important position the Greatest is missing now. The creator of one of the most heroic armies of all armies, is no longer among us. Also with him fell the man who had realized the idea of working together with all the revolutionary organisations and insurgent groups of the subjugated nations, by forming the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in 1943.

His death means not only a loss for us, for Ukraine, not only for the subjugated nations, but also a heavy loss for the total peace — loving humanity — which are standing for a decided explanation with Moscow. So as on the eve of World War II, E. Konovaletz, was set aside by means of assassination by the enemy, so died now, in the grimmest days of Ukraine, in such a time when the whole world is preparing for a decision with Moscow, the Commander-in-Chief of fighting Ukraine, one of the best Ukrainians of our days.

Ukrainians! we must realize the tragedy which has been poured upon us! Let us wander through our far distant villages in our memory, over our mountains and through our forests, where the children, of his spirit, our heroes

this fascinating young beautiful Princess invented the plan, with the aid of the fleet, to invade Russia in order to establish her rule upon Ukraine and Caucasus. However, very dangerous for Catherine II, she was kidnapped in Lighorn by the Russian admiral Orlof and died in the Fortress of S. Peter and Paul. She could that it was **George Keyt, tenth Earl Marshal (1693—1778), who served under Marlborough, the brother of James Francis, who helped her to escape — as a child — from Russia.** Nevertheless through his brother, the Governor of Ukraine, during the first years of the rule of Elizabeth. George Keyt could have near relations with the Ukrainian aristocracy of that time, and, may be, with her plans of the liberation from Russia under her own dynasty.

Besides Keith some other Scots took part in the Ukrainian history: many Scots fought, the 30-Years' war was finished — in the army of the Hetman Khmelnyzky (1648—56), the ally of Charles .. Gustav of Sweden, — for instance General Kryvonis.

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of the U.P.A. and the Revolutionary Underground Movement have been staying now without him, he, who commanded in victorious battles all the long years and had the courage to lead our Ukrainian Army in its fight against the two world-powers — Russia and Hitler-Germans and he, who had challenged Hitler and Stalin at the same time.

His work, the U.P.A. outlasted all the long years, until now. He always found new methods of fighting against the enemy. He, as a master of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary armed and political fight, has created an unrivalled system. Under his ingenious leadership the U.P.A. became the real protector of the whole Ukrainian people for the annihilation by the Moscovite Bolshevism.

Upon his command the members of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) pushed up until the furthest corners of the Soviet-Union, where Ukrainians are living, in order to spread among them the idea of freedom in the whole Soviet-Union. Also the Alliance of the three Powers of our enemies — Soviet-Union, Bolshevik Poland and Bolshevik Czechoslovakia were not able to liquidate the U.P.A. According to his strategical plan even our small boundary-territories, on this side of the Curzon-Line had the power to resist for long years.

Although the bolsheviks are connoisseurs of the tactics of the partisans, the U.P.A., owing to his inventive spirit, remained unconquered as the only army in this world. When the Ukrainian people bend its head in deepest grief to-day at the grave of the unshakable Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A., we must honour his leadership, his struggle without any assistance from the Western World, to which the fame of our weapons, which the U.P.A. has raised in name of Freedom against whole the world. Although completely fighting on its own strength, the U.P.A. remained politically unconquered and will remain so in future. Time will come that the healthy powers of whole the world will recognize his death means — an irreplaceable loss for the whole peacer, loving world. The best leader and connoisseur of the anti-Bolshevik partisan tactics is no longer among us.

Ukrainians! If General Taras Chuprynka is not among us any more, that means, he is not dead for us, as also Mazepa, Petlura and Konovaletz are still living among us.

His spirit is still alive and will still remain among us for always, also his commands in the souls of his followers in the fight, and in the souls of his commanders till their death.

The best is that we honour the remembrance of the fallen leaders of the Ukrainian Liberation Fight, when we force ourselves to devote all our efforts, our life and our pains to the Liberation of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Frontier.

His death may not remain unexpiated. The enemy will pay for it, expensively and with blood. The great spirit of the leader of the revolutionary fight will remain in our home country and will inflame the hearts of new revolts for the fight until the final Victory. Always new fighters will take places of the dead, new and always new legions of Ukrainian Fighters will fill up the empty rows of the U.P.A., which has become a symbol of an irreplaceable and unbreakable struggle for freedom and

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Will there be a Revolution in the Soviet-Union?

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promises of the American government and people. We must have an air force which will be able to deliver not only atomic bombs but anti-Soviet agents and guerilla leaders to any Soviet hamlet.

2) We must be prepared at the very start, if war should come, to answer the prayers of the peasant millions — a slogan as simple as "Land for the Peasants" — which will set the steppes aflame.

3) We must have clear in our minds at the very start, and not after months of bungling, a way to meet the conflicting aspirations of the Great Russians and the minorities. (The Author unfortunately gives no suggestions in this matter.) Our proposals should be flexible, yet sufficiently concrete to carry evidence of our sincerity.

4) We must have a psychological warfare program designed to sap the strength of the Red army in Central Europe or wherever our troops may meet it. We must be ready to win over the privates and the Vlassovs. We must convince our military leaders that when they think of the Red Army they must not merely count noses but also probe the flaws in its morale — the flaws which the Germans uncovered in 1941. We must earmark men now with the skill to exploit the psychological weaknesses of the

Soviet soldier and make him worse than useless to the regime.

5) We must prepare to support guerilla warfare on such a scale as the world has never seen before. We must develop weapons such as guerillas have never used before. We must train men to think guerilla warfare and to plan guerilla warfare.

6) We must set up a joint staff of civilian and military leaders to devise the plans and techniques which will enable this nation — should the need arise — to bring to bear upon the Soviet Union all of the power of psychological fission.

To all this, air supremacy is essential. If war should come our air force would be the one sure means of communication between the Soviet peoples and ourselves. The way in which we used that air force would therefore determine to a great extent whether the Soviet millions would become our allies or Moscow's defenders.

If we bear that in mind, we shall stop thinking of our air force as nothing more than a delivery boy for the atomic bomb. Then the bomb itself will take its proper place in our strategic plans. The bomb will cease to dictate policy and strategy and it will become one of a number of instruments for fulfilling policy and strategy.

But assuming that we continue to feel confident of our superiority in atomic weapons, what should we do with the bomb? The answer is that any quick military advantages to be gained from its use must be weighed against the psychological effect upon our potential allies inside Russia. We must also consider the moral and psychological effects upon the countries allied with us and on the American people themselves. Even then, if we feel constrained to use it, we must answer at least two more questions.

1) Would it not be shrewd as well as humane to delimit sanctuaries in areas where potential allies are assumed to exist,

2) Would it not be wise policy as well as simple decency to issue advance warning to the inhabitants of the areas which we feel we cannot spare?

These questions bring us to the basic psychological problem arising from our continuing superiority in atomic weapon. If we do use the bomb, we must use it in such a way that the wrath of the afflicted people will be turned against the rulers who brought this catastrophe upon them, and not against us. This problem must be thought out to-day — not after our too-eager airmen have leveled Moscow, Kiev, Leningrad and Baku.

These are some of the lessons which we can learn from our study of the German record. But let there be no misunderstanding. There is nothing in the German experience or in subsequent events to encourage the assumption that war against the Soviets would be easy or desirable. There is no easy way to fight Russia, though, as Hitler proved there is a hard way."

Similar thoughts, going even farther are expressed by Professor Burnham in his book, the climax being, that for the American government in the coming world events, it is far more important to support the Ukraine national revolutionaries who are fighting against the Moscow centralization than to help France where atomic research is under a communist, Joliot Currie. The advice given by Carroll and Burnham has, up to now been only an expression of private opinion. There is nothing to show

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means a symbol against the dark flood of the Bolshevik slavery. The Ukrainian people will still more intensively fight against the enemy in order to fulfil the dream of the Head-Commander-in-Chief.

Ukrainians! Let us fill ourselves in his difficult hour with the spirit of struggling Ukraine under oath and not to rest till we have reached the aim for which General Chuprynka lost his life. **The enemy has miscalculated. The fight will not stop.** The unconquered U.P.A. will not put down its weapons. **The enemy will have no success in destroying them.** When the Head-Commander-in-Chief, Petlura fell, the occupants hoped that the Ukrainians would give up their struggle for freedom in their despair. But new fighters appeared to continue the fight the idea of the great Petlura. When Evhen Konovaletz had been killed, the enemy triumphed. But again appeared new men and the fight became bigger — U.P.A. was born, whole the Ukrainian nation participated in this struggle.

To-day the heroic Ukrainian people will still continue this struggle according to the sense of its leader. This legacy will be kept, because Chuprynka has become the symbol of the fight of all the nations against the occupants.

The fighting Ukrainians at the first place — O.U.N., U.P.A., U.H.V.R. will never despair or waver and also will not avoid any sacrifice which must be offered at the altar of sacrifice for the freedom of its home-country.

General Taras Chuprynka's fame, as Head-Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A., as Chairman of the O.U.N.-Leading and of the General Secretariat of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, the greatest Ukrainian Revolution of the present will be still alive among us.

Glory and Honour to the Heroes!

October 1950

The Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.)

that the American government is inclined to accept this advice, or embody it in their preparations. On the contrary, numerous remarks by Government officials make it clear that there is no question of American foreign policy taking this course.

From a purely military standpoint the German expert quoted before, says: "A second front based on partisan support is only feasible within the scope of far-sighted military and political planning, after timely and careful preparation in terrain that is suitable, outside the advance routes of the Red Army. Even under such circumstances partisan units can only be used as vanguard for the landing of strong, effective air-borne troops. Hereby there are possibilities for a new strategy which may revolutionize the laws of warfare hitherto in force. Any improvisation of a partisan war on its own would be suicidal madness. And, finally any plan conceived at a distance, will be mere dilettantism until active forces of all European nations, including the subjected peoples of the East, working together as brothers contribute their knowledge and experience to its conception."

Still on the wrong

Way we don't know in how far the suggestions made by Mr. Carroll and Mr. Burnham will be taken into consideration by the American Government in case of war (they were only made for such a contingency). We only know one thing, that is that in the post-war years, in this decisive phase of preparation for war nothing has been done to form a second front in the Soviet hinterland to match that of the Russians elsewhere. With regret and deep dismay we see that nothing is undertaken, in spite of the remarks quoted, to make a closely welded community out of the democratically minded people and nations behind, and in front, of the Iron Curtain. Nothing that has been done is sufficient to counter-balance the forces of world communism. The democratic and anti-communist Ukrainian, Georgian, White-Ruthenian, Polish, Latvian, Turkestanian and other peoples have no feeling of being drawn into a democratic world — community, they are not even convinced that such a community can be achieved within reasonable space of time, or that they would be welcome members of it, should it exist. From this standpoint the Ukrainian democratic struggle for freedom after the last World War was treated by the western democrats was a frightening example. At a time when the Russians were making every effort to pave the way for Communist activity in the West, the western nations have not only not welcomed the historical sight put up by the Ukrainians, against their Russian oppressors but made fun of it and judged it only through the glasses of Communist propaganda. The same was the case with all the subjected peoples. It would seem that the West took no account of the possible psychological reaction such an attitude was bound to lead to. Unfulfilled hopes and disappointment in hoped for friends can drive people in their bitterness into the opposite camp and cause their enthusiasm to evaporate for ever. The many errors committed by the Western Allies in the last war and in the first-war years, with respect to Russia, have undermined confidence of democratic peoples. Take, for instance, the bitterness felt by the Poles when the Allies sacrificed them to the Russians. Such events have killed all trust in inter-state treaties between democratic states. Among the east European peoples. Individuals and nations have become suspicious and are afraid of being betrayed by their closest friends. Though we have observed in the last few years, an awakened interest in consolidation the democratic nations in front of the Iron Curtain in view of their

common fate, nothing has been done to bring the national, democratic elements behind the Iron Curtain into this community. The only act worth mentioning in this respect are the radio transmissions in the vernacular to the subjected peoples, but even this is hampered by fear and political prejudice.

The American government has not had the courage till now, to tell these nations clearly that America is ready to make a stand for their freedom and assist them in their struggle. Just how nervous and undecided this policy is, may be gathered from "the remark of the competent official for the "Voice of America", according to which the announcement of the independence of the Ukrainian people and its separation from the Russian imperium did not fall within the scope of American foreign politics.

In the "Voice of America", democracy is praised, communism is ideologically denounced, it is true, but the national claims of the oppressed peoples to be freed from Moscow and to form national sovereign states are not even mentioned. On the contrary, the transmissions as expressions of present American foreign policy are sent in the spirit of a united Russian imperium. This attitude is generally explained by America having to keep the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, and by not wishing to interfere in Russia's "Internal" affairs aside from the problem of the peoples oppressed by Russia being by no means an "inner Russian matter", the following may be said against that argument: If the recognition of the rights of the oppressed peoples is regarded as interference in Russia's internal affairs, then how it is that the propaganda against Communism as State policy within the Soviet-Union is not counted as interference? If the declaration of human rights for the Soviet citizen is not regarded as agitation against the dictators in Moscow, then the announcement of national freedom for the oppressed should not be so regarded either? Is the defence of human rights admitted in the international relationships and the self-determination of the people prohibited? Is the right of a people to its own national State not just as sacred as the right of an individual to liberty?

It is fairly obvious that it is not a question of interference or non-interference, but of a false conception of conditions within the Soviet Union, or the fear of facing the facts of the present political situation in the world.

Official American propaganda proves that the American Government is for a democratic state form within the Soviet Union but against the national sovereignty of the oppressed people.

The contradiction between the principles of the Atlantic Pact, and the emphasis laid on the self-determination of all peoples, is very apparent.

Another argument for the present policy of the American government in east European questions, though less often heard, is that in reality there are no independent Ukrainian, Georgian, Turkestan etc. nations, that they are all ingredients in a great Russian people. After such an argument it is futile to speak of nationalities for these people, as they are perfectly satisfied with an all-Russian imperium. The American example of the 48 States living peaceably together is even referred to, and the question is seriously asked, why it cannot be the same in eastern Europe.

It would lead too far, here, to go into the historical facts in order to disprove this argument. For those readers who are not familiar with the real state of things we recommend the numerous books in the English language on the history of the Ukrainian and other East European peoples.

Not Half Truth but the Whole Truth

(From our correspondent in U.S.A.)

On the columns of the different American papers a discouraging phenomenon is perceivable. The different publicists in their various articles and polemics about the future world order — a problem of utmost seriousness and importance — approach the whole question with a somehow superficial attitude. The turmoil, by which the entire globe is infected, is a direct result of mistakes and misjudgements done in the past by decisions of ideologists, influential journalist, diplomats. Through advocating false policies, whether by misinformation or blunder, a number of nations suffer under foreign domination. Precisely, many decisions born at the "green table" were superficially handled by persons, lacking a profound knowledge of the problems which they were about to determine. In consequence, numerous difficulties, especially in Europe, arose climaxing in the Second World War.

Strangely enough, at the end of this bloody collision, the mistakes were not only repeated but rose to tragic measures, which may end in a still more disastrous clash . . .

After the First World War — the culminating point in modern history — many noble intentions occupied the minds of the leading diplomats of this era. Probably the most appealing to the vast masses of the subjugated peoples in Europe, was the late President Wilson's 14 points, bestowing upon all the nations to determine by vote or spontaneous manifestation the will to live their own lives. The centuries old ideal of patriots and national awakeners seemed to become a reality. But alas, the precious intentions to solve successfully the national questions in Europe, which caused so many disturbances among the dissatisfied peoples, giving from time to time a clear revelation of the mistreatments by insurgents, always bloodily suppressed by the oppressors did not materialize. At least not for every nation. The famous Versailles treaty only partly justified the hope of nations, suffering under the Russian Empire, Austro-Hungarian monarchy and Prussian domination. This treaty was not meant to the peoples of Eastern Europe, Western and Middle Asia. Their voices-appeals, no matter how strong, were not to be heeded by those who "made" history. It will remain an eternal mystery why these peoples were omitted to be accepted in the big, free human family. They certainly gave more than sufficient proofs of their will and sealed it with blood sacrifices in the struggles to attain the promised freedom. More than adequate evidence were given to the world by the Ukrainians, who were among the first to shake down the chains of the Czarist oppressors, declaring to the whole world the will of the people by a proclamation of independence in 1918. The nations of Western and Middle Asia were also among the first, who were anxious to subsist as free men in their own sovereign states. These nations were completely overlooked by the treaty of Versailles, where their destiny was sealed by shallow attitudes not always free of certain biased subversive Russian elements, who were and are still anxious to save the Russian Empire from its predestined and inevitable fall, by advocating a false and thoroughly unjustified theory of the "one and undividable Russia". They claim that the nations in question cannot possibly survive if they should regain their independence by causes of political and economical incapability. It is not in this column here to discuss **who would not survive without whom** — official data's are talkative enough who would be the afflicted one — at least in the role of an Empire.

It is about time to realize for the Western nations that the solution of the Russian question is much older than most suppose. It did not emerge with the Russian revolution in 1917, the rivalry between East and West is more ancient and reaches far out in history. This rivalry with Russia was an old preoccupation of the British Foreign Office. To them this particular problem was not new, yet nothing was done in spite that many suitable occasions did occur. The Communists only continued and followed the old reliable pattern of the Czars — to conquer neighbors, having seduced them with various promises of friendship and brotherhood. The division of Christendom between Rome and Byzantium was exploited by the Czars for imperialistic purposes, nowadays led by Stalin in the same path with the slight change in personalities. Today Stalin, as before his predecessors the Czars, is trying to make capital out of this split promoting himself as a spiritual leader of all nations. The cultural and ideological division between Russia and the West would therefore not end simply by overthrowing the Soviet regime. The only and sound solution is to apportion the many nationed Empire into sovereign, democratic and national states.

A Russian Empire, embracing far more population of foreign origin than of its own will be a continuing menace to the entire world. The mendacious propaganda of the Russians so far succeeded to deceive the Western nations with the fairy tales of the big brother who is the protector of the smaller one. All those tales have a very close relationship to the children's story of the Red Ridinghood and the Wolf. Falsifying not only recent facts, but whole pages in history became a Russian virtue. How far this forgery succeeded is easy to apprehend. For years not even a word was said in the free press about the injustices done by the "big brother" to those whom he alleged to protect. The old trick of the infamous Potemkin villages in the modern edition continued to deceive the very few foreign visitors allowed to inspect the "socialistic fatherland". Among those were the French Mr. Herriot, who in the time when millions of Ukrainian peasants were dying during the artificial famine, in 1933, especially designed to bend their opposition against collective farming — came back with a colorful description of the "socialistic achievements". He didn't see, of course, cannibalism, misery and utter despair of the population, for the places visited by him were well prepared for the diplomats from the capitalist countries. This is not the only case, numerous are those taken in by the Soviet-Russian fraud.

The record is clean, both world wars, the democratic world won on the battlefields, were not won de facto. On the crucial issues the diplomacy of the Western hemisphere have miscarried the immense responsibility to settle the problems which caused them — namely the unsolved questions of the subjugated nations. Both times the diplomacy of the West allowed herself to trap in the pitfall the Russian strategem and political despotism. The 20th century has witnessed two disastrous wars — yet no problem was really solved. Slavery in still a bigger scale than ever is blooming behind the Iron Curtain, people shot without trials or even conviction.

The West "won two wars" — and in reality lost two battles on the fields of forming a successful foreign policy. The discussion of a possibility of a third world war

The Bacteriological Warfare of Moscow

The Soviet Government has, on its way to provoke a still greater hate of the West in the hearts of Soviet citizens, invented another means — beside the anti-American propaganda and the atomic bomb: bacteriological warfare. America — thus runs the new slogan — is preparing world destruction not only by making atom bombs but by using bacteriological warfare. The reasons for this propaganda are well known: hate against the West, especially against the USA, must be sustained by all means.

But what is the particular aim of this kind of propaganda? The Soviet Government cries out by their huge propagandistic megaphones that the Russian people is leading in every scientific field. We will not argue this point, but we willingly admit that Moscow is indeed leading in the field of warfare, especially concerning the destruction of the Soviet population by bacteria.

We Ukrainians have as yet no experience how Soviets are distributing plague. Moscow has not instructed us as

inevitably brings the necessity to revise the calculations made in the past. This is a must, there should not be more miscalculations in the future, so costly and expensive in human sufferings, if the West honestly strives for real peace and real freedom.

The extraordinary paradox by which the West is struck — is the direct consequence of the wrong and incomplete knowledge of the Russian question. It is highly disappointing to note in the press the repeating of the old mistakes, which have carried the world thus far. Voices are heard to restore the world peace by various means, some by pacifying "old good Joe", some propose to abandon Europe to the Europeans — the isolationist's view some are "generous" and go as far as asking the restoration of the 1939 picture. But none of these publications contains at least an allusion in the defence of the wronged people, those who were deprived already after first war from the rights of sovereignty. The same superficiality takes the lead again, in the debates over the future world order there are only hints to "democratize" Russia as it appears today, instead of detecting once and for ever the shameful disgrace done to the different nations.

In view of the recent attempt of Gen. Lucius D. Clay, the widely esteemed personage, who instigated the movement "Crusade for Freedom", a noble try to penetrate the voice of freedom to the peoples behind the Iron Curtain — attribute to the discussed phenomenon. It is strongly desirable that this great movement does not remain in its narrow boundaries, limited to the five "chosen", but extended to all the subjugated peoples, regardless whether they lost their independence in 1945, 1948 or before. Only then shall this enterprise be fully approbated and would respond the words of the pledge, which promises "freedom to all men and resist tyranny, aggression wherever they appear". Then the pledge will be a challenge to match the word with the deed not restricted to a few, but embracing all the suffering people, hungry for the truth.

All those who advocate policies, whether through press or directly through their high positions as statesmen, do better when they open their minds and reasons to the call of the times. **The whole truth and not half a truth is the demand of our era. Let the truth, and nothing but the truth conquer, gain victory over lie and injustice.**

D. N. Th.

yet in this point. But we have made one fascinating experience: how masses are destroyed by the bacteria of petechial fever. The Bolsheviks have used this method already twice during their rule in Ukraine in the thirties. In this respect there will be few who will outdo the Soviet scientists. In this field Moscow seems to be very much in advance of the rest of the world.

The Russian scientists cultivated bacteria of petechial fever already in 1916. They kept them ready through all of World War I and thought perhaps of using them in a critical stage of the war against the Germans. But they did not take their opportunity — either because they did not dare or because they were afraid of the consequences. But they kept the secret until the great "Humanists" under Lenin rose to power. These most humane leaders overtook with the power all treasures, petechial bacteria included.

When the Ukrainian Liberation Army destroyed the armies of the Moscow aggressors and, on the 31st of August 1919, marched into their capital Kiev, Moscow knew that it would never subdue Ukraine by using ordinary arms. Now the Bolsheviks remembered the armies of millions of petechial bacteria which they had inherited from the Czar's government and the Czar's scientists. Thus the battle fields of Ukraine were infected with millions of bacteria, lice were distributed in trains and on march routes and the spectre of the bacteriological warfare crept around among the masses of the Ukrainian population. Men and women were infected by thousands every day. But most of its victims took the plague along the Ukrainian units of the "Sichovi-Strilci". To these units, whose courage and efficiency were admired all over the world, Bolshevik Moscow paid most of her attention, and the modern arm was directed with special care against them. Tens of thousands of these brave warriors perished within a few weeks. And from these units the plague spread to the whole of the Ukrainian Army.

During the Cossack revolt of 1932/33 the Bolsheviks used poison gas in the Kubanj territory, destroying thousands of Cossacks and civil persons. Bacteriological warfare was used in 1917—1920 not only in Ukraine but against the Cossacks, too.

Thus it is proved that the Bolsheviks started bacteriological warfare already in 1919, and this not against a foreign aggressor but against people which they claim even today to be of their blood. Ukraine was a second time a victim of an invasion using bacteria of petechial fever, when the rulers of the Kremlin celebrated their victory after World War II, while the Ukrainians did not lay down arms but continued within the Insurgent Army their struggle for independence. In 1946 bacteriological warfare which we had already experienced was resumed. But the Ukrainian Army knew this time how to protect itself. The promising arm did not allow the Bolsheviks to break the Ukrainian Resistance. The struggle continues.

We do not write this in order to remind the world of this kind of warfare. We are quite sure that, if ever bacteriological warfare is used, it will be used, not by U.S.A. or Great Britain, but by Moscow. For in this respect the Bolsheviks are leading indeed. They can already look back on their first experiences.



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GENERAL TARAS TCHUPRYNKA on the Anniversary of his Death

*The U.P.A. is marching to battle
Not blood, nor wounds nor the fear of death
Can deter us from our way
Our aim is clear and we march to final victory*

March 5, 1951, will be the first anniversary of the heroic death of General Taras Tchuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.). According to official information from the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.), the General was killed "in his underground quarters at Bilohorshcha, a village near Lviv, fighting the Russo-Bolshevik occupation forces.

After Ataman Simon Petlura and Colonel Konowalez, Tchuprynka is the third great loss in the last 25 years which the Ukrainian people have had to suffer in their struggle for freedom and independence.

Simon Petlura led the young Ukrainian Republic and its army in the war against Moscow in 1918-1920. In 1925 he was killed in Paris, shot by a bolshevist assassin.

Colonel Konowalez, one of Petlura's most faithful comrades, organised and led Ukrainian resistance after World War I, especially in the districts occupied by Poland. It was then a secret military organisation, called U.W.O. which later became the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists O.U.N. In 1938 Colonel Konowalez was torn to pieces by a bomb which bolshevik agents had placed into his hands in Rotterdam.

While Colonel Konowalez was, usually, abroad, Taras Tchuprynka was one of his most capable and reliable leaders at home. The career of this outstanding man was the normal and, at the same time, adventurous life of a modern fighter for freedom holding a responsible position. The leaders of a people who in their centuries-long struggle brought forth a number of such

characters, filled with a determined will for freedom and independence, ready for any sacrifice, and undaunted in the face of death.

It must be left for future historians to write the story of the great Ukrainian soldier in all its details. We shall confine ourselves here to a few dates and details, to giving a sketch of General

GENERAL LUCIUS D. CLAY EXPRESSES HIS CONDOLENCE TO THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE.

General Clay sent the following message of condolence to the President of the A.B.N. on the occasion of the heroic death of General Chuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A. :

5th December, 1950.

Dear Minister Stetzko,

I join you in your sorrow at the tragic death of General Czuprynka and in the confident hope that his loss will not have been in vain.

Peoples who want to be free shall yet be free.

Sincerely yours,

LUCIUS D. CLAY.

6th January, 1951.

Dear Mr. Stetzko,

Thank you for your letter of 22 December.

I would be glad to have you communicate my message of condolences on the death of General T. Czuprynka to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and to the Ukrainian people.

Sincerely yours,

LUCIUS D. CLAY, M.P.

Tchuprynka, who for so many years remained, for obvious reasons, concealed from the eyes of the public, behind a veil of secrecy. His death tore the veil in two and gave the world an opportunity to realize in the strong features of this versatile personality, the ideals and high aims for which the Ukrainian people, and with them all the other subjugated peoples under Russian imperialism, are fighting and dying. . . .

General Taras Tchuprynka, whose civilian name was Roman Shukheyh, was born in West Ukraine in 1907. After finishing the Middle School he graduated from the Politechnical Institute in Lviv. As a young student he joined the ranks of the revolutionaries fighting for Ukraine's liberation. In the twenties he became an active member of the U.W.O. and later was on the military staff of the O.U.N. In the early thirties he was imprisoned in Poland. In 1939, however, he was occupied in Carpatho-Ukraine during its short-lived independence, organizing its military defence of which he became the head.

From 1939-45 he held various important posts in the Ukrainian resistance movement, but chiefly those of a military character.

In 1943 Tchuprynka became C.I.C. of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and had much to do, the same year, with the creation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) which was decided upon at a convention held in the woods of Wolhynia under the protection of U.P.A. In 1944, at the first big meeting of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, General Tchuprynka was appointed Secretary General, without, however, giving up his post as Commander-in-Chief.

Besides his great military talent and gift for organization, the General disposed of other qualities which enabled him to handle delicate political missions and to solve intricate problems arising therefrom. These became evident during the negotiations for the formation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, at which representatives from 13 different nations took part. With unusual political skill and kindness Tchuprynka was able to win the members for himself and a joint struggle, and thus bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion. It was due to him, too, that the different military units from other nations were accepted and welcomed in the ranks of the U.P.A. and were able to carry on the fight against bolshevism with mutual good feeling. This collaboration, for which the General paved the way, has worked well to the present day.

No wonder that this legendary general, revolutionary and politician was highly esteemed, respected and popular, not only among his own soldiers and compatriots, but among all the A.B.N. peoples as well.

A few quotations from the great number of condolences received on the occasion of his death prove this.

National Bulgarian Front: ". . . We participate in your sorrow and lower our Bulgarian flags over the grave of your heroic General in the hour of mourning . . ."

The United Turkestanian National Committee: ". . . Through the death of General Taras Tchuprynka, the man of action and fighter for freedom, the Ukrainian people have suffered an irreparable loss. The United Turkestanian National Committee, fighting shoulder to shoulder with Ukrainian fighters for freedom of nations and individuals, share this loss as their own . . ."

The Hungarian Liberation Movement: ". . . And yet we hope that with God's help the fight will continue more unceasingly along the way the immortal General has pointed, until victory is won and the peoples are liberated . . ."

The National Liberation Committee of the Croats: ". . . Allow us to assure you that the Croatian people will never forget this great hero of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation. He is a shining example of national military honour . . ."

These messages could be continued *ad lib*, but we believe that they have shown how much General Tchuprynka was appreciated. We may add that through his unassuming character, soldierly frankness and courage, the General was a venerated model for all his fellow fighters, and one for whom they willingly risked their lives. This spirit is not dead, it lives on to-day in the ranks of the whole resistance, and it will inspire them to-morrow and strengthen in them the hope of final victory for the sacred cause for which the General worked, fought and died.

COMMENTARY

By ROMAN RAKHMANNY.

The democratic West underestimates the Allies which it can have inside the Soviet Empire; the West should aid them in their struggle against the tyranny of the Kremlin!

This is the main thought which we are presenting in our commentaries for 1951; we are aware of the fact that the West, especially the United States of America, finds itself on the threshold of the greatest conflict in the history of mankind—a clash with Russia.

We have heard assurances from leading Americans, such as President Truman, and, recently, Senator Taft, that the U.S.A. is willing to aid these people who are struggling for freedom and sovereign independence, and who have

a greater right to that aid than the people who are enslaved inside the Soviet Union? For thirty-three years they have been struggling against Russian Communist aggression.

Take the Ukrainian people as an example. Thirty-three years ago, on January 22, 1918, this 40 million nation proclaimed, through its democratically elected government in Kykiv, an Independent Ukrainian Republic. At that time, the Russian Tsarist armies were suffering disaster on the battle fronts, and, in Russia proper, a revolution was taking place. This was the appropriate time for the people enslaved by Russia to claim for themselves the principle of "self-determination of nations," originated by President Wilson. The Baltic countries such as Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Finland, Belorussia, Georgia, Western Siberia and others, as well as Ukraine, proclaimed their independent republics.

Russia, however, was not willing to allow those nations to be self-governing, as this would affect her plans for future aggression. This particularly applied to Ukraine, which was, and still is, the most important source of manpower, industrial resources, and is an important strategic military basis against both Western Europe and the Near East. That is why Lenin and his colleagues recognised the Ukrainian republic and immediately attacked it; from outside the Red Army marched in, and from the inside the Communist fifth column began to undermine the Ukrainian republic.

Historical facts prove that Ukraine would have been able, even then, to defend herself successfully against Russian aggression, if the West had had any understanding of the Ukrainian problem. But it was hostile to Ukraine.

France and Great Britain organised and equipped an army of Russian nationalists under the command of General Denikin and arranged the landing of troops on the beaches of the Black Sea in Ukraine. Therefore, in reality, the Russian anti-Communist army began a formal war against Ukraine which was defending itself against Communist Moscow.

Washington took a similar attitude toward the Ukrainians. Mr. Lansing, State Secretary of the U.S.A., declared to the Ukrainian delegation at Versailles in 1919 that the Ukraine must submit to General Denikin. In plain terms, this meant for the Ukrainians a return under the Russian yoke, from which they had just freed themselves, on January 22, 1918.

In addition to this disastrous situation, the Polish army, well equipped by France for the purpose of fighting Communist Russia, attacked the Ukrainian western front, while the Rumanian army attacked from the south. Thus, two more fronts were created for the Ukrainians. Clearly, the Ukrainian Republic was not able to repulse

such a concentrated attack, and the victors—Russia, Poland and Rumania—divided the Ukrainian territory among themselves.

However, the Ukrainians did not surrender. For thirty years the western people have often heard about Ukrainian resistance. To-day the same West is admiring the fight of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which is carrying on the struggle in Ukraine for those ideals proclaimed on January 22, 1918, and which were denied them by the West.

Communist Moscow, however, always professed to take into consideration such desires of the Ukrainian people, and ostensibly satisfied them, for after destroying the Ukrainian Republic, it proclaimed, on paper, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Thus was the first of the sixteen satellite republics created, comprising the Soviet Union. After the German-Russian war, Moscow introduced its satellite, Soviet Ukraine, into the United Nations, and allowed Soviet Ukraine to have her own flag and national anthem—a privilege which no other Soviet republic enjoys.

In this is revealed the international importance of the proclamation of the Ukrainian Independent Republic on January 22, 1918. For the following thirty-three years proved that neither Poland nor Rumania, who attacked Ukraine when in conflict with Moscow, nor any other European countries can be free and sovereign states while the Ukraine is not independent, and while Russia remains a powerful slave Empire.

Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia, Czechia and Slovakia find themselves in the same position that Ukraine was allowed to fall into thirty years ago—for now they also are satellites of Moscow. And what about France and Great Britain, who underestimated the Ukrainian problem and its consequences? To-day they are faced with the same problem of defending their own independence against Russian aggression.

The United States of America are paying dearly. Billions of dollars must be assigned for defence purpose; American boys have to shed their blood for the errors of their State Department in 1919 in Korea to-day and perhaps will have to in Western Europe to-morrow. Whom will they be fighting? Soviet Russia who was allowed thirty years ago by the West to occupy Ukraine and fifteen other nations of Eastern Europe and Asia.

If the West was not then aware of vital facts, it may understand them to-day. The most important is the application of the principle of self-determination to all nations within the U.S.S.R. Russia understands this very clearly, for in it Russia sees her greatest weakness. The West must also understand it, for in this lies the key to its final Victory.

EDITORIAL

THE VICTORY OF THE NATIONAL IDEA

It would be an error to attribute the collapse of national socialism and fascism to the failure of nationalism alone. It would be making the same error should one reject Ukrainian national independence, for a new idea of nationhood is beginning to make itself felt all over the world.

We see even colonial peoples achieving their national sovereignty. India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Korea, Indochina, among others, have gained their independence. In every nook and corner of the world the cry is being raised for national freedom and justice. Great national and social movements are stirring and new free peoples are making their appearance on the world's stage. National liberation must include social liberty. Peoples are rising against all dictatorship, and above all Bolshevik tyranny; they are fighting for a national and social order of their own, in conformity with their characters and of this the worker is the centre.

Taking advantage of this situation the Muscovite imperialists, in Bolshevik form, abused the national and socialist independence aims to worm their way into the hearts of the peoples; in the case, for instance, of the peoples of Africa and Asia, to draw them into their own national and socialist net of serfdom.

The great stirring ideas of national independence and social justice have not grown out of treacherous communist doctrine or any other abstract theory, but from the depth of human hearts, from the eternal longing of millions of fighting men for the happiness and peace of the peoples. That is the reason why we see great empires disintegrating, and national states taking their place. The symbol of our epoch is not the principle of vast empires, but the principle of national freedom and independence. The colonial peoples in all empires, of all races and religions, Malayans, Negroes, Indians and Arabs, are awaking to a national life of their own. The world to-day bears the stamp of national and socialist freedom. The struggle of Ukrainian nationalists to free their people has not just begun. It is being fought at present on military grounds by the U.P.A., on whose initiative the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) was founded.

In the last war the degenerate instincts of the imperialism and racialism of the master peoples as a means of ruling slave peoples were brought to shame. Imperialist and racial pseudo-nationalism was conquered by that independent nationalism which rises from the inner strength of nations. Progress in the technique of war was no obstacle to the successful mass action of the revolutionary movements. Even in World War II they created not only newer, more progressive and just ideas,

but, thanks to their strength and fighting strategy, a Third Power has developed which has to be reckoned with.

Ukrainian nationalism, which paved the way for the army the Ukrainian people have created, is the vanguard of the peoples struggling to free themselves from Russian imperialism. Ukrainian nationalism, like every other healthy patriotism, is anti-imperialistic. It has begun to work out new principles for the relations between peoples, that not only recognise the rights of sovereignty within ethnographic frontiers, but put theory into practice in the treatment of Ukraine's neighbours. No claims are raised against their territories, for the principle is maintained that only such areas as are really ethnographically Ukrainian belong to Ukraine. They support the liberation movements of all other countries subjugated by Russia. It is in Ukraine's interests that the other peoples with whom she works to-day, or will work to-morrow, achieve their independence likewise, for the peace of the world depends on the peoples being free and satisfied.

ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION IN THE WEST

A Year of Retreats.

1950, for the West, was a year of deep unceasing crises. As in every year since the ostensible end of the war, international Bolshevism, inspired by Moscow, was constantly attacking, while the Western democracies, led by the United States, were as constantly retreating.

The war in Korea, at the cost of so much human life and material is not, however, the main symptom of these crises, but a mere incident. The reason for the Korean crisis is not so much material as moral and psychological.

Treaties with Bolshevism.

There is no more tragic political literature in history than that of the past thirty years of Treaties, Pacts, Understandings, Agreements and generally "peacemaking" with Bolshevism. For the West they have been thirty years of illusions, blasted hopes, political blindness and self-complacency. Each "arrangement" instead of being final, was only another stage of a lost battle. The Western Liberals and Socialists lost when they co-operated with Moscow in forming so-called "Peoples' Fronts." Fascists and Nazis lost when, under the aegis of Hitler, they made "peace" with Moscow (the pact of Non-Aggression, 1939). American democrats and British Conservatives lost when, under the aegis of Roosevelt and Churchill, they accepted a policy of appeasement and "peaceful settlements" with Bolshevism at Teheran, Moscow, Yalta and Potsdam.

There is to-day quite an exclusive library of Memoirs and Analyses, especially of American politicians and statesmen who have written endlessly about the period of the policy of Roosevelt-Hopkins-Davis, and they are most tragic documents revealing human naivete, ambitions and political infancy. All, except Bolshevism, in one way or another, lost, while Bolshevism, as expediency required, altering fronts, methods, arguments, treaties, marched steadily and systematically on towards its goal—world conquest.

Physical Strength Sufficient.

With unity and rational organisation, and with the help of the millions of the oppressed non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., the physical strength of America and Western Europe is even now amply sufficient to end Stalinism and Bolshevism for good and all.

In 1941 Germany was able to provide 240 divisions for war against Moscow. What would have happened if potential divisions of France, British Commonwealth, Italy, Spain, Benelux and America had been added? That entire strength is, in fact, available now, but there is a lack of moral and intellectual force, concentration and unity necessary to make them available. The Bolsheviks term this "defeatist contradictions inside the capitalist world."

Defeatism in Germany.

Germany is aware of the fact that, whether or not she fights against Moscow, she will not be spared by Stalin in the event of the latter being victorious. Refusal to fight will be no self-defence for Western Germany. If she did fight on the side of the West, it would involve heavy sacrifices, but, with political capacity on the part of the West, it would give her some hope of the restoration of sovereignty and the revision of frontiers.

But it must not be taken for granted that the Western Germans are enthusiastic for any idea of fighting either Russians or anyone else. Indeed, polls which have been undertaken show an average of 85 per cent. against taking any part in a war. The fact would seem to be that the Western Germans distrust either the will or the ability to conquer or both, while there is no doubt that the Nuremberg trials have shocked the German people, accustomed as they are to obey the orders of those above them.

French Fear.

A somewhat similar situation exists in France whose efforts are directed to the prevention of the rearmament of Germany. The French lack the ability to take the long view and a sense of common understanding in the face of danger. In order to "save" themselves, as they think, they are ready to make "pacts" and "peace" negotiations with Bolshevism, hoping that these would result in peace settlements and the neutralisation

of Germany. Thirty years of Bolshevik tyranny, Korean war, the advance of the Chinese masses, the Red outburst in Indo-China, Fifth Column work in France and elsewhere—all this and more is insufficient to convince the French that no efforts at peace with Bolshevism have ever been or will ever be successful.

Egoism of Great Britain.

A similar situation exists in Great Britain. In spite of the immense modern developments in war technique, the British are still convinced they are out of reach of danger, and that if they were not overrun by Hitler, they cannot be overrun by Stalin. And so their policy is appeasement.

Among other changes since Hitler's day gravely affecting Great Britain is the fact that she acquiesced in handing over Karelia, the Baltic States, the German and Polish Baltic coasts, turning the Baltic Sea into a Russian lake from which Britain could be attacked in a matter of hours and without notice.

Isolation of United States.

The entire world began to look to America as the world leader in defence against Bolshevism. Ending Roosevelt's appeasement policy was Truman's of prevention of the extension of Bolshevism, the defence of Iran, Greece and Berlin, the Marshall Plan, North Atlantic Pact and so on.

But by the end of 1950 arose Hoover's plan of isolationism, the withdrawal of America from both Asia and Europe, and the transformation of the United States into the "Gibraltar of Western Culture." There was no intention to fight for any other country, as this party says America is not able to defend Europe when Europe is not willing to defend itself, and that the lesson of Korea for America is that the latter must not risk another defeat in Europe. It must be recognised that ex-President Hoover is the leader of the Republican Party, which counts nearly as many votes as the Truman Democratic Party and can paralyse any policy of defence in Europe. Its argument is that as the U.S.A. cannot defeat the U.S.S.R. neither can the U.S.S.R. defeat the U.S.A., so the best thing is to divide the world between the two and live at peace.

Not one—Hitler, Truman, Churchill, Roosevelt or Hoover—understands or understood that no terms and conditions exist which could bring about a peaceful understanding with Communism, that Bolshevism cannot be defeated unless the whole anti-Bolshevik world is mobilised, especially the national liberation forces inside the U.S.S.R.

Actually, the year 1950 has been full of ominous and disastrous events for the world outside the iron curtain, a world which apparently has lost the will, courage, or desire to defend itself.

Z. P.

THE RUSSIAN EXILED OPPOSITION

In the Government of every country there is a ruling party which carries out its own programme in internal and foreign affairs. Other parties which are at the moment the minority are the opposition. The foreign policy of any country may vary in tactics but seldom in aims, and an Opposition will usually support the foreign policy of the Government when it seems best for the country and least dangerous.

This refers to Russia as well, although at first it would appear that that country did not tolerate any Opposition, that every decision was unanimous, and that there was no party but the ruling one. This, however, is deceptive.

Russian parties which might be expected to form an Opposition have always existed and exist now, beyond the borders of Russia, in exile. The fact that they have changed their place of residence must not suggest that they have changed their nature and ceased opposing their Government. In fact, all Russians in exile are nothing else than the Parliamentary Opposition of the Russian Government. At all periods of Russian history, the Russian Governments have preferred to have the Opposition beyond the boundaries of their country, where it does not interfere with them and is more useful than if it stayed at home. This Opposition diligently safeguards the interests of its own but not of the foreign governments. It prevents its Government making mistakes which can bring about its overthrow, interfere with its destruction of other nations and end its aggressive policy. Russian Opposition in exile is no less patriotic and imperialistic than Kremlin's Governmental Majority and no less useful to Moscow than the foreign pro-Moscow Communist "Fifth Columns." The Russian parties in exile are in fact the Parliamentary Opposition to the existing Government in Moscow, and it is merely a peculiar "White" duplicate of the Red "Fifth Columns."

The Russian parties in exile are a foreign agency of Muscovite imperialism. This is why Moscow murders the leaders of the Ukrainian National Movements in exile—Petlura, Konovaletz and others but does not try to kill Denikin, who passes his life peacefully in America, accused by none and with no attempt at assassination. Moscow pours out in its propaganda hatred of such Ukrainian Nationalist leaders as Bandera but only rarely mentions the White Russians and democrats of the Kerensky and Vlassov type, and then only ironically, referring to them as political corpses and scarecrows. In the first years of Bolshevik victory Russian bookshops were full of the works of Russian writers in exile—they were no danger to Moscow's imperialistic aims.

But no Ukrainian literature from abroad, even old works published before the Revolution, is allowed to penetrate the iron curtain. The only real danger to Russian imperialism is the Liberation Movements of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R.

Russians in exile fulfil a double role: they give warnings to the Kremlin from abroad of the latter's mistakes which injure Russian imperialism, while they themselves prepare to take over the imperialistic Government of the Kremlin should the latter be destroyed, along with the ideology and territorial integrity of the Russian Empire.

In fact the existing Russian Opposition in exile is merely a disguised clique of Moscow Imperialists working day and night to take over power and dictatorship as complete as Stalin's and, as such, as great a danger to the peace and security of the whole world. A study of Russian history for 800 years shows that no matter under what title a Moscow Government exists, it is Russian, first, last and all the time and, as such, determined on world conquest.

AGAINST THE IDEOLOGICAL DISARMAMENT OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE!

FALSE CALCULATIONS

When taking into account the actual potential of the Western powers estimated from the numerical data of their various factors: population, raw material resources, industry and capability for increasing output, mobilisation preparedness of their armies, navies and air forces, etc., one can be misled to accept wrong conclusions.

Incorrect would also be the conclusion drawn from the comparison of numerical data merely in their pure statistical form, referring to the potential of the Western and Bolshevik blocs. It is essential to view this question from a different angle, namely: to what extent, in what direction and with what dynamic force are the Western powers using their latent strength and resources in checking the Bolshevik advance. When one regards it in that manner one can see that in the actual relationship and especially in the ideological and political counter-measures the effective weight of the Western potential has not been sufficiently exploited.

To make it clearer let us consider several points. The unappeasable differences between the U.S.S.R. and the West, and the awareness of the inevitability of a "total" conflict between them for future existence are permanent features of the present international situation, features which made themselves felt long before, as well as during

and after the last war. In this respect little has changed for, notwithstanding the alliance with the Western powers, the Bolsheviks, with all their tactical modification of policy, have constantly revealed the same underlying general line in their external relations, and one direction in their internal development. During the war against Hitler's Germany, the U.S.S.R. had a knife at her throat and the Bolsheviks needed help from and alliance with the Western democracies more than the latter needed the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks, however, did not introduce any fundamental changes, did not throw on the scrap-heap the idea of rivalry and of a coming final issue with their western allies, nor did they ever carry out any demobilisation of their anti-western feelings. On the contrary, even in view of the dangers and difficulties of the war against Germany, the policy and strategy of the U.S.S.R. kept strictly to the conception that, after the end of the war, there is bound to come a period of rivalry, conflicts and all-out issues with the western allies, and they have been preparing accordingly for this eventuality without any break, and have succeeded in securing for themselves the most advantageous positions.

Immediately after the defeat of Germany the strength relationship between the U.S.S.R. and the Western powers was definitely in favour of the latter in all respects, more than at any time before. They, however, did not attempt and were not capable of exploiting that advantage to any degree, in order that they might arrive at a real and lasting solution, or at least establish acceptable relationships in their limited area. They have done something quite opposite, for, without any real necessity for it, they have given away to the Bolsheviks the fruits of victory, have sacrificed new nations, advantageous military bases, they have introduced Bolsheviks into the key positions of politics, and have carried out a thorough demobilisation on all sectors. All this was performed only to face later the ally of yesterday in most disadvantageous and humiliating issues, which devoured enormous energy and costs, and resulted in failures.

Let us consider now the case of the atomic energy and A-bomb. Everyone knows what first-rate place this weapon has occupied in strengthening the confidence of the West in their own material superiority over the U.S.S.R. To-day, despite all camouflaging, the world learns more and more facts—people who invented or perfected those weapons have treacherously passed their secrets to the enemy, the Bolsheviks.

ILLUSIONS AND REALITY !

The West's attitude towards all nationalisms is identical. They identify nationalism with chauvinism, totalitarianism, dictatorship, racial

intolerance, exclusiveness, and regard it as the cause of international conflicts. "Every nationalism has been discredited by Hitlerism"—such and similar arguments one hears very often. Nevertheless none of them is relevant, for in those arguments the effect is mistaken for the cause. It is true that such views are spread in the West by all means of propaganda and by institutions concerned in the formation of public opinion. The ruling political circles, however, who stand behind that campaign, are very much aware that the real state of affairs is different. They know that Hitlerism is dead already, that every nationalism is in its nature something quite unique, that dictatorship, totalitarianism and intolerance are features of imperialisms, one of which was Hitlerism and to-day in its highest form is Bolshevism. They know that the cause of enmity between peoples and the obstacle to a peaceful and harmonious co-operation between nations is mainly the imperialistic tendency of some peoples, namely, to subdue and exploit others; to force alien systems upon them and an alien way of life. They know very well that at the present moment in the historical arena appear the liberatory nationalisms which resist all imperialistic encroachments, aspire to liberty and sovereignty for their peoples, but at the same time recognise the same rights for other peoples as well, respect them and strive for peaceful co-operation, and for a free exchange of spiritual and material goods among free nations, on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty, for vital rights and needs.

The true cause of attack upon nationalisms organised on a world scale, in particular upon the liberation-nationalisms, are efforts on the part of some circles to pave the way for imperialisms, open and disguised, political and economic. The inspirers wish to distract popular attention from their imperialistic intentions, to put the guilt upon the shoulders of the nationalisms, and to destroy them, because of their resistance.

What do they offer us as an alternative to nationalisms?—Internationalism, all sorts of equalising of national, political, cultural, and economic individualities. Everything, they say, serves for levelling differences between nations, but in fact for a simpler and easier supremacy of stronger, greater nations over the smaller and weaker. The main originator and organiser of the anti-nationalist campaign has been the chief imperialism—Russian Bolshevism, which carries on not only directly, but also indirectly, by means of its own various agencies, as well as by actions inspired abroad. Other partners join that campaign either in an effort to find a common speech and understanding with Bolshevism, or from their own motives and for their own ends are combating nationalisms, the main obstacle to penetration into the subdued peoples.

As an illustration of the above general statements one has but to mention the international boycott of Spain. Who will believe that Spain with her Franco's government was put outside the orbit of the international life because of the dictatorship and one-party or totalitarian system, at that very moment when the worst dictatorship and totalitarianism of the U.S.S.R. and her satellites were not on the index, but, on the contrary, enjoyed one of the honourable places in the system of U.N.O.? It is evident to everybody that the boycott of Spain is the act, and a diplomatic success in every respect of Bolshevist Moscow.

Bolshevists, although they are the greatest enemies of any nationalism with the exception of Russian imperialism, are nevertheless fully aware of the attraction that the national idea exercises upon people, and of the fact that this idea has been the main driving force of the most powerful historical upheavals. They, as a rule, combat therefore directly only those nationalist movements which are their direct enemies. At the same time they are trying to take advantage of the liberation-nationalistic struggles beyond their sphere of domination, namely the movements of colonial and semi-colonial peoples administered by the Western powers. In relations with them, Bolshevists pose as the protectors and advocates of national liberation movements and nationalistic struggles for sovereignty. At the same time we cannot detect in the policy of the Western powers any signs of ability for such a dual attitude.

After they had once decided upon the course directed against nationalisms, from their own motives, or as a result of Bolshevist inspiration, their policy has shown only a negative attitude towards any nationalism. In this respect one can see only a very small degree of political reason, but certainly an abundance of motives obviously suggested by Bolshevists, motives which are contrary to the best interests of the countries concerned.

ARE REVOLUTIONS UNPOPULAR IN THE WEST?

When in the West revolutions are disliked as factors of the historical processes, it is not because of considerations of principle. In fact, every leading nation of to-day not only has had revolutions in its history, but has elevated them to an honourable place. The birth of the U.S.A. was a national revolution, and only through it did she become a free nation and cease to be a colony. To-day's France dates her republican era from the Revolution. Britain also owes her democracy to a revolution. If those countries can revere their internal revolutions as mile-stones of constitutional progress, how much greater must be then the importance of the national liberation revolutions as processes of liberation of a nation from foreign rule and enslavement.

Nor can one negative revolutions from humanitarian motives as a form of necessary struggle for freedom either. Revolution is a process and a form of struggle which involves the fewest victims. It strikes, at the very essence, the real originators and defenders of the unjust state of affairs, and not their victims who were forced to become their instruments. In comparison with war, especially in view of the present methods and means of mass destruction of people and material goods, revolution is the most humane form of struggle. Everybody knows that the reserve of the Western nations towards the revolutionary struggles of other peoples derives its origin from the fact that they are well fed and contented, and dislike to have to deal with any fundamental changes in a world situation which might cause the shifting of the international balance of power. They are satisfied with the existing state of affairs, and prefer to shut their eyes and not to see how other peoples are driven into intolerable living conditions, how they struggle for a free life and how in the world arena appear for the first time new nations formerly submerged.

If we, Ukrainians for example, are not liked because of our alleged "fanaticism," it means that our uncompromising fight against Bolshevism, against slavery, is disliked. Incidentally, that attitude is to a degree less now than it was even a few years ago, when our revolutionary struggle did not harmonise with the official policy of the Western powers, then consisting chiefly in appeasing Bolshevists and seeking co-operation with the U.S.S.R., and eagerly ignoring their crimes. The attitude of the Ukrainian Nationalist movement is not in accord with Western policy, in that we know only one relationship towards an aggressor, oppressor and assassin of whole national groups and of all freedom—an uncompromising fight against him. In Western policy, instead, reigned until now a tacitly accepted rule that one can, without loss of face, divide world trade, and live in friendship even with such criminals as Bolshevists, provided they limit their criminal practices to those already annexed nations and do not advance further, do not threaten and encompass the vital interests of their Western partners. As is generally known Moscow does not respect these expectations, and the West is being compelled to redirect its policy and principles. Before long it will become a fanatical adversary of Bolshevism, the reason being that the latter begins to intrude into its store-room.

We have already mentioned that those ideological and political principles which have influenced until recently the relations between the West and the Bolshevist imperialism have proved ineffective and have produced much worse results than they would had the West exploited rationally its

potential and position, and had it fulfilled the historical responsibility which came upon its shoulders. For this treatise it is even more important to learn what results have the ideological and political influences of the Western powers evoked among those nations which went in their footsteps after falling under Bolshevist domination, or still stand in the struggle with the Bolshevist peril.

There is no need for elucidating the disastrous effects which were brought about by the post-war policy of the West towards the U.S.S.R. in Central Europe, the policy which staked all upon the "democratisation" of the Bolshevist system, upon the penetration of the democratic essence into its content and upon its inner transformation under pressure by peaceful means, and upon that path, misdirected the political thinking and acting of the leading circles of the so-called "satellite" countries, i.e., peoples who in consequence of the war fell under Russian domination. By submitting to those influences of the West, the political action of resistance to Bolshevisation was directed along the wrong path, and has applied wrong methods. Instead of accepting immediately the revolutionary methods of action and the revolutionary system of political organisation, those leading circles took the course which consisted in a combination of collaborationism and parliamentary methods of opposition. The result is well-known—the Bolsheviks finished quickly with those make-believes, and the political elite, having lost the stake, was either liquidated or else fled the country, while the masses were left disorientated, helpless, with schisms and dispersed energy; there remained only passivity.

CHINESE LESSON . . .

An even more instructive example is provided by CHINA. The defeat and internal corruption of the national forces in China in the struggle against Communist aggression have no doubt many causes. As a result of the unnecessary and undeserved admission of the U.S.S.R. to the role of co-victor over Japan, leaving it enormous war booty in Manchuria, Communist forces in China received great reinforcements and equipment, at the very time when Nationalist forces, exhausted by the prolonged war on two fronts, received from America only a scanty assistance in deliveries with which it was neither possible to die nor to live. But this result was not the consequence of material causes only. It is generally known that in nationalist China there came to fruition a process of internal corruption, so that the military forces, instead of going to battle, went over with all their foreign equipment to the enemy. We do not possess sufficiently reliable information as to the character and extent of this corruption nor its causes and basis. We are led to suppose that to a great extent the guilt lies with the wrong

ideological outlook, a social order not answering the needs of the nation, and the unhealthy state of affairs within the governmental system, due to the ideological decline of the Kuomintang. Americans point out that this was the cause of corruption and of hopelessness of further support for Chiang Kai Shek on the mainland. They contend that their influence and efforts in China followed the line of repairing those defeats. It might be partly true as regards governmental, economic and military apparatus. It is known that in the first post-war years there were various missions in China, directed by political and military statesmen of the first rank. Did they really assist and care solely to regenerate the national forces? From many of the contemporary reports one can see clearly that American policy, and accordingly the work of American missions, followed the general line: to bring agreement at a common table the nationally-minded Chinese and the Communists, in order to form a united government, one army, etc. Towards this goal were directed not only appropriate suggestions and mediation, but pressure was applied by other means as well, such as regulation of deliveries. We are convinced that by such permanent efforts to bring about a compromise, demobilisation and corruption, were spread most successfully among a nation and an army at war. One hand gave, the other took away. Probably to this policy of trying to appease all peoples with regard to Russia, the Americans owe the fact that now in Korea their sons are being killed by those very weapons which had been destined for national forces.

. . . WON'T BE LOST IN THE WOOD !

We intended the above illustrations to serve for making clear our statement that those ideological and political principles and methods which were used by the Western powers in relations with Russia, and in the home policy and concepts which they suggested to other nations, have proved in fact to be wrong, and therefore were harmful to the cause of defending the world before the Bolshevist flood.

The ideas of the to-day's liberation movement of Ukraine are those of Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism, and to-day's liberation struggle is the realisation of its political conception. Our positions have stood the hardest trials which a revolutionary movement can ever experience. Our ideas are our greatest strength, the most appropriate weapon with which we shall win a victory over Bolshevism. No soldier would exchange his tried-out weapon for one which he knows has failed often already, and which proved inefficient in battle, although very suitable for parade.

We are deeply convinced that the Western world, confronted with the inevitable necessity of taking up the challenge of Bolshevism or awaiting

annihilation by it, will, at the fateful moment of a crucial decision, discard from its political arsenal everything which has tied its hands with regard to Bolshevist imperialism and which has so nearly brought complete disaster.

When this happens, the West will begin to rearrange its positions and will adapt the uncompromising anti-Bolshevist attitude as well as accept those ideas which can overcome Bolshevism. Everything which has appeased Bolshevism, which has paved the way for it, or which sought compromises with it, will be thrown overboard. Without such an internal change the West would be annihilated. The atom bomb will not save it, its secret has, in any case, already been given by treachery to Moscow.

The Ukrainian revolution gathers strength and has no intention of turning away or laying down arms, and especially its most powerful weapon—the ideas of the people; they cannot and will not be taken from us, and, in the end, they will prevail.

DEFEATISM — A NEW ENEMY IN THE WESTERN WORLD

BY ROMAN RAKHMANNY

The year 1951 began very differently in the two opposing camps—the East and the West. The dictator of the East—Soviet Russia—began his greatest political and military offensive in Asia, with the purpose of pushing the U.N. Forces out of Korea. Russia also would like to seat Red China in the Security Council of the U.N. All the steps she has taken to achieve the above mentioned aims meet with unanimous praise from her satellites and from the Communist Parties of the world. That is why, in the beginning of 1951, the Eastern block shows itself, at least on the surface, a united military column, obedient to the orders of her commander.

Yet how different a picture is being represented at the same time in the West! For within the most powerful member of this camp, the U.S.A., appeared what in reality is merely another version of the old American isolationism. Ex-President Hoover advocates that the U.S. should be prepared to abandon Asia and Europe to the Communists, and build the Western Hemisphere into the "Gibraltar of Civilisation."

Senator Taft planted his flag close to Hoover's and said that the American Nation should limit itself to an army of 1,500,000, because it would not be able to afford more.

Both these opinions met with a decisive rebuff by Foster Dulles and by President Truman himself. The European Allies of the U.S.A. were caught unawares, and were dismayed by the latest rebirth of the presumed dead isolationism in the U.S.A.

Great Britain favours Red China and expects that the recognition of the Peiping regime by the West will influence Mao-Tse-Tung to become a "Chinese Tito."

France, with fear of the reaction of Russia, is cautious as to the armament of Western Germany and of Europe as a whole.

The Asiatic democratic countries, of which the most important is India, are only interested in their own problems, and, afraid of the pressure put on them by Red China, are proposing, at all costs, a new Munich.

All this is analogous to the rebirth of American isolationism.

Indeed, the American press stressed the position of Mr. Hoover as "Gibraltarism," and the New York Herald Tribune called it "retreatism." Consequently, it would be necessary to bestow this same name on the worthy Allies of the U.S.A., both European and Asiatic, as to their feelings and attitudes towards Russia and China.

We Ukrainians, who have had dealings with Russia and Communism for a long time, prefer to call this attitude "defeatism." On this very defeatism Hitler built his strategy for the Second World War. Without the "moral basis" which the treaty in Munich created for him, Hitler would never have been able to begin that war.

To-day, Comrade Stalin, a great teacher of Hitler in politics, is building his strategy on his perfect knowledge of the psychology of the western peoples, on their earnest desire for peace and their aversion from war. He is aware of the lack of unity in the Western camp for any firm stand against Russian aggression. Stalin takes advantage of this, as is the practice of every totalitarian aggressor, and liquidates his opponents in turn, one by one. The possibility of doing so is strengthened by every evidence of weakness and defeatism in the West.

Tito, dictator of Yugoslavia, a true Communist, warns the West against the armament of the Western European countries and Western Germany. He also advises them to leave Korea and to talk with Stalin with the purpose of reaching "at least a short appeasement."

Such opinions of a former "Stalinist" only strengthen defeatism in the Western Sector. That is why Wilson Woodside, a well-known Canadian radio commentator, deserved credit for his foresight when he stated in his New Year's commentary over the C.B.C. that "defeatism is already the greatest danger we face."

Therefore, to-day, more than ever before, when events show that Russia's aim of ruling over the whole world has reached its most dangerous, if not climactic, phase—the Western disease, defeatism, must be revealed and dealt with effectively.

This is especially important for the American people. For, as is evident from the debates in the Western camp, the American nation may one day be forced to bear the brunt of Russian aggression. In this case the American nation should become monolithic like a column of marching soldiers. Victory may be assured by new allies of the U.S.A. who are not suffering from defeatism, and who have not allowed themselves to be frightened by the Kremlin.

Are there such people, such nations ?

Yes, there are ! Mr. Woodside states that inside the U.S.S.R. there are Movements for liberation. The Ukrainians "have an active underground fighting organisation in the Ukraine, the U.P.A. or the Ukrainian Insurgent Army . . . underground activity is still carried on to-day in Ukraine . . . Very extensive reports of this activity were laid before me, a great many of them dating up to the middle of 1950."

"Yes," also says Colonel Sage, former U.S. Intelligence Officer, and now a Professor at U.S. Military Academy at West Point, "the Ukrainian people must continue to be in the vanguard of the anti-Bolshevik struggle among all other nations enslaved by Moscow, as they are morally and physically stronger than any other nation in Europe."

Indeed, for years Ukrainians and other peoples of the U.S.S.R. have been opposing Moscow without any outside help, but, regardless of this, have not lost hope. On the contrary, they are calling others to take a similar stand. In the last few weeks, all the Ukrainian presses in the U.S.A. and Canada, as well as in West Europe, printed a letter from the underground fighting Ukraine, which was brought from Ukraine by soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. In that appeal, signed by twenty-two leaders of the different underground sections together with the Ukrainian underground Church, the Ukrainians abroad are asked to reveal the true character of Soviet Russia. Also it makes a special appeal to the whole West to mobilise all its forces for a struggle with Russian imperialism.

This is another proof that with the appropriate American attitude toward the enslaved nations, the American fight against Russian imperialism will end in victory, instead of becoming, as Herbert Hoover and other defeatists of the West fear, "a graveyard of millions of American boys."

THE M.W.D. AND RUSSIAN EXILES

The following lines are quoted from a remarkable article that appeared in "De Volkskrant," a Dutch Catholic paper.

"Since 1927, when two Russian officers, General Kutjepow and General Miller, were abducted by the N.K.W.D., the Russian state police in Paris, in broad daylight, there has never

been such anxiety among Russian emigres as now. In Munich which has become the "capital" of emigrants, where Russian politics are hatched, now that Belgrade has been made impossible by Tito, the rumours of treason, corruption and Communist infiltration become more and more insistent. Exiles, even if they hold leading positions, are not trusted; they are avoided. The Russian State Police, which since the end of the war has changed its old name of N.K.W.D. into M.W.D., is said to be ready to repeat its Paris coup of 1927. In 1927 the Soviets had sent as an agent to Paris a popular Russian singer, called Plevitskaja. Her husband, the White Russian General Skoblin, betrayed General Kutjepow and later General Miller by order of the Kremlin, and disappeared afterwards himself. A similar condition prevails in Munich to-day, but with the difference that there is a hope of discovering the agents before the misfortune takes place. Suspicion is directed above all to the leaders of the "Union of the Andreas Circle," one of the oldest imperialist organisations, actually to Dr. Nikolaj Fedorowitsch Fabrizius and General Glasenapp.

Glasenapp is in charge of what is known as the Imperial Treasure, which is rated higher than it is worth. It was brought out of Russia by Wrangel first to Belgrade, when it passed in 1944 into the hands of General Wenssov, who was to use it to finance the R.O.A. (Russian Army of liberation). In May, 1945, this treasure fell into the hands of American soldiers in Landshut. Later it was handed over to General Glasenapp. The Treasure, which had shrunk considerably, became still smaller under his management.

Thanks to the morganatic marriage of Wladimir Kirilowitsch, who claims the Russian throne, Russian exiles are more republican than monarchist in their sympathies and they would like to discuss with Glasenapp things that are more important than the Imperial Treasure.

The president of the National Committee of Russians makes the following accusations :

Glasenapp and his colleagues work hand in hand with the M.W.D. Fabrizius betrayed the Russian underground movement, called "Brethren of Truth." General Duchopelinikow handed the partisans he had organised to the M.W.D. Major Wetljugin has sent the Soviets regular reports about exiled scientists. . . .

Everything seems to indicate that these men have prepared a second "Paris Tragedy."

So much for the well-informed Dutch paper. It is an open question in how far the various facts are true, but it is clear that the Russian secret service has nowhere an easier job than among Russian exiles, seeing that Moscow, no matter what government is in power there, can count on their patriotism as absolutely dependable. It has not often been disappointed. . . .

A UKRAINIAN VOICE ON THE "VOICE OF AMERICA"

*A Member of the Ukrainian Underground Movement
discusses a Transmission*

A journal of the Ukrainian Underground behind the Iron Curtain, "Organ for Propaganda and Information," publishes a letter from a radio listener in its number of May, 1950 (No. 4 III year), in which he expresses his opinion of the "Voice of America" as broadcast for the peoples of U.S.S.R. The letter runs as follows:

"In the middle of December, 1949, the "Voice of America" (probably the State Department is meant) discovered that besides the Russian, there is a Ukrainian people of 40 million in the U.S.S.R., and began to broadcast in Ukrainian. But all those patriots who hoped that the transmission in Ukrainian would be Ukrainian, not only in form, but also in content, were sadly disappointed.

What resulted was what usually transpires in the Soviet Union—the form is Ukrainian, but the content? At any rate, it is far from being really Ukrainian, i.e., what it should be in a transmission intended for a subjugated people with a thousand-year old political and cultural history, and centuries-old tradition, and a state of its own, and a struggle for independence that is just as old; a people which, besides social, economic, and general political oppression, has to suffer cruel national oppression. All of which makes it hate the Muscovite Bolshevik tyrants from the bottom of its heart, longs for the fall of the Bolshevik "Dungeon of Nations," and for its own national and social liberation, a people which has carried on for six years a tenacious underground and revolutionary struggle to achieve its aims.

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To be exact, the Ukrainian broadcasts by the "Voice of America" are not Ukrainian in content. The demands of the Ukrainian people, striving first of all for national liberation, are not expressed, but instead are broadcast the desire of Russian imperialists of all political shades to suppress the aspirations of the Ukrainian people, and to secure by any means the retention of Ukraine within the great Russian imperium, either under the occupation of Moscow or of Petersburg, to erect, in effect, on the ruins of the U.S.S.R. a new variety of a united indivisible Russia.

The tendency of the authors of these Ukrainian broadcasts by the "Voice of America" may be noticed by their interpretation of certain facts concerning the Ukrainian fight for liberation. Thus the "Voice of America" interprets the proclamation of the Ukrainian Republic by the Ukrainian National Council, January 22, 1918, as the determination of the political leaders at that time, not to submit to the Bolshevik Government in Moscow as a "one party dictatorship," and not, as it really was, a decision made by the Ukrainian people after the bitter experiences suffered, not only under the Tsar's Government, but also under the "actual" government of Prince Lwow, in which Russian cadets played a leading role, and again under the social revolutionary Kerenskij and the Bolshevik government of Lenin.

They all regarded Ukraine as an integral part of the Russian imperium, and rejected most decidedly all attempts made by the Ukrainian people themselves to achieve a state of their own. As interpreted by the "Voice of America" it sounds as if Ukraine only wanted to be free from Bolshevik Russia, but not from Russia entirely. It suggested that, if there had been no Bolshevik dictatorship, Ukraine would not have proclaimed the manifesto, i.e., would not have declared its complete national independence.

The Ukrainian students and schoolboys of Kiev who fell on January 29, 1918, at Kruty where they protected the Ukrainian capital from armed Russian Bolshevik Muravian bandits and the independence of the young Ukrainian Republic from Russian Bolshevik conquerors, are called by the "Voice of America" "Ukrainian socialist youths." That's where you are wrong, "Voice of America"! The Ukrainian students and schoolboys who heroically defended the capital of the Ukrainian Republic at Kruty were freedom-loving young people aspiring to the independence of Ukraine and its separation from Russia. That was their highest ideal, an ideal they placed higher than party convictions. . . . Why does the "Voice of America" suppress that? For in the name of these ideals they gave up their lives.

This truth as to the real aims of the Ukrainian fight for liberation in the years 1917-1920, and the real character of the Manifesto of the Central

Council and the battle of Kruty, no one can falsify, not even the forgers of Ukrainian history in the "Voice of America."

The Ukrainian people keep the memory of that event sacred. Thousands of insurgents and revolutionaries who have, for Ukrainian independence, fallen in battle against the Muscovite Bolshevik occupation, thousands of members of the Ukrainian Underground Movement who are continuing this struggle to-day, and the patriots who regard Ukraine's national independence as their highest ideal, have all been brought up in the tradition of the Manifesto and the heroism at Kruty. And these are the facts which the "Voice of America" interprets in its own way, to make it appear as if the Ukrainian people were ready to accept the idea of a Russian imperium. From the contents of the broadcast for Ukrainians, and by reason of information received by us, it is easy to see who is behind these transmissions. It is all too much like Kerenskij and company, Russian political emigrants of the years 1917 and 1918, for anyone to be misled. One of this circle, A. Jablonskij (Kerenskij will be no stranger to him) wrote the following in the Russian emigrant paper "Woroschdenije": "To the fighters for independence who dream wildly of a state from the Carpathians to the Caucasus one must speak clearly. If you want to take the Black Sea away from Russia, then take it, but only by force." The attitude of these circles towards the Ukrainian question has in no way changed. Part of the Russian imperialists rule in Ukraine, the other part are preparing in their exile to relieve them.

We who are fighting for liberation in the Ukrainian Underground can only give the State Department the following advice:

"If the broadcasts by the 'Voice of America' are really intended to be heard by the Ukrainian people, then they must not be influenced by Russian imperialist emigrants, bitter enemies of Ukraine independence and candidates for a restoration of the Russia of 1917. The Ukrainian people will not listen to Russian broadcasts in the Ukrainian language."

"A LISTENER IN UKRAINE."

"A UKRAINIAN ADVANCE"

The well-known Swiss paper "Die Tat" of Zurich published a noteworthy article by one of its correspondents, January 13, 1915, on the readiness of the Ukrainians to put an expeditionary force of its own at the disposal of the United Nations for the war in Korea. The following is an extract from the Swiss article.

"The leaders of the Ukrainian emigrants have offered the United Nations a Ukrainian Legion 5,000 strong for the war in Korea."

With this announcement the Ukrainians, who play a leading part among the emigrants of the

peoples under Russia, have cleverly brought up a question which is likely to arouse the world's interest in their anti-Moscow policy.

In the war the Ukrainians were the first to attempt to realise their aims for an independent state, and to show their anti-Bolshevist attitude by going with the Germans. After trying to set up a formation of their own within the "Wehrmacht" (German Army) which came to nothing owing to Hitler's intransigent attitude, they finally, in 1943, recruited a Ukrainian S.S.-Division from volunteers.

96,000 men enlisted, a remarkable number when one remembers that in spite of the lively recruiting activities carried out by S.S. in Denmark and Norway, not more than 80 recruits a month enlisted.

Moreover, a great number of Ukrainians were occupied as auxiliary helpers for various German army formations. Their number has never been ascertained, but they are estimated by those who should know at some 60,000. It must also be remarked that these volunteers came almost entirely from West Ukraine, as the then Reichs Commissioner Koch refused to allow the East Ukrainians to acquire a claim to equal rights in that way. . . .

The A.B.N. sees no possibility, other than with violence, i.e., by war, of overcoming Bolshevism. For that reason the A.B.N. seeks connections with the Western Powers and takes up America's policy. On the other hand, the political confidence in the Western Powers has been badly shaken for the following reasons:

- (1) The extradition of leading men of East European peoples to the Soviet has acted like a cold shower and produced deep suspicion.
- (2) There is a strong misgiving among the A.B.N. leaders, and especially among the Ukrainians, that America has imperialistic views in its contention with Russia.
- (3) The Anglo-American attitude is regarded as school-masterish.

On the other hand, no imperialism is to be expected from Germany, at least not for some time to come, and not as it was during World Wars I and II. It is believed that the Germans have learned from the bitter experiences in the past and are therefore anxious to take a part in the conflict with Russia.

Should the United Nations accept the Ukrainian offer which, by the way, has been joined by the Estonians and Latvians too, an interesting question in International Law will arise—and that may be what the Ukrainians have in mind, for under the joint flag of the U.N. soldiers in South Korea, only members of the U.N. are fighting; a Ukrainian legion in Korea would therefore form, at least, a precedent, which might be of the greatest importance for Ukraine.

FOR FREE UKRAINE

Mr. Harold Stassen, President of Pennsylvania University, urged the United States to support a programme of "counter revolution" to help people in Russia and elsewhere whose peoples were denied freedom.

Mr. Stassen returned recently from a round-the-world trip, and said unrest was rising among peoples behind the iron curtain.

"I believe the Kremlin faces a counter revolution, which will include the Red Army itself."

In a broadcast he attacked the administration foreign policy and the retreatism advocated by some members of his own party.

To withdraw from Europe, the Near-East and "Asia would be so narrow, shortsighted and selfish that America would decay internally from the gravity of its own sin" he said.

He said, in proposing a *seven points programme of action*.

1. Independence for the Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Turkestan, Poland, Byelorussia, Checho Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary.

2. Release of political prisoners in concentration camps and under forced labour in the Soviet Union.

3. Giving of lands to the peasants.

4. The right of people to choose their own way of life.

5. Genuine trade unions.

6. A free and united Germany.

7. Return of Manchurian assets to a new democratic China.

TURKESTAN "BASMACHI"

The "Ukrainian Word" in Buenos Aires (Argentine) reports, December 24, 1950, that in Turkestan the revolutionary anti-Communist organisation "Basmachi" is active. In the years 1935-41 thousands of young Turkestanians, called up for active service in the Soviet army, fled to the mountains and joined the "Basmachi."

During World War II the Turkestan population caused the Bolsheviks a great deal of trouble.

On the outside it looks as if Turkestan was absolutely quiet. Anyone, however, who stays there some time will soon discover that an underground movement is active.

The latest news from Turkestan confirms that ever stronger units of the "Basmachi" are taking part in their heroic fight for independence.

SLOVAKIA AGAINST COMMUNISM

According to reports by the Vienna correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph," resistance against Communism is growing in Slovakia. It is notice-

able not only in open acts of sabotage and Slovak partisan activity, but also in the increasingly inimical attitude of the population in all spheres of public life.

The correspondent estimates the strength of the Slovak partisans at some 5,000 men, with hiding-places and camps chiefly in the Tatra mountains. They are equipped with light automatic weapons and field wireless sets. Their numbers are recruited, for the most part, from the army and expropriated peasants. The Slovak partisans are in close contact with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The hostile attitude of the Slovak partisans towards the Communist regime has delayed the Bolshevik three-year plan very considerably.

UKRAINE'S LIBERATION

The Secretary-General of the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference handed Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the U.N., a Memorandum pointing out the fact of Ukraine's subjugation by Soviet Russia, and the continuous struggle of the Ukrainian people for liberation. The U.N. was requested to examine the situation and to grant the Ukrainian people, not the Moscow-imposed Government, the right to take its proper place among the freedom-loving, democratic peoples of the U.N.

The Memorandum was signed by Stepan Shumejko, Secretary of the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference, and sent in the names of the Ukrainian representatives assembled at the Conference, i.e., those of the U.S.A., Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela and Paraguay.

The American press mentioned this new action by the Central Committee of Ukrainians in American countries in the U.N. reports. The "New York Herald Tribune," for example, published the announcement of the Memorandum in its official column reserved for U.N. news, under the heading "Ukraine."

ON THE WAY TO KIEV

With well-concealed, illegal propaganda of the Ukrainian Underground about us, we left our home town of B. by train, July 6, 1950, for Lviv. From there the journey was continued to Kiev.

At the very beginning of our journey, at the station of B., we encountered "bolshevik order." The booking-office clerk kept his cash box closed in spite of the long queue in front of him. Tickets are only sold at the last minute and then people who are known and M.V.D. officials have priority. Very few of those waiting were able to buy tickets; most of them had to get them on the train and pay an additional charge.

After a long journey we reached Lviv where there was a wait for the connection to Kiev, so we first showed our tickets and then had a look at the town. At the booking office in Lviv the scene was the same as at B. Long queues of waiting, grumbling, people, an unfriendly woman clerk, everywhere dirt and poverty. At long last we had our tickets and could start off by tram to see the town. Slowly the shaky old tram crawled along, giving us at least the opportunity of seeing a good deal. Involuntarily the question arose in our minds, "How long will this beautiful town have to suffer occupation by eastern invaders?" But almost at once the hope arose that this phase would not last and that our town would one day be ours again.

Twelve years ago the Poles ruled here, and a Polish professor and politician declared that in twenty-five years there would not be a Ukrainian in the whole place. And to-day? All that is gone. The Poles have disappeared almost completely from Lviv, there are but a few hundreds left. Now the prevailing note is Russian. Soldiers and party people abound and Russian is spoken everywhere. The shop assistants in the few existing shops, who are practically without exception Russians from beyond the borders, always give the same answer when addressed in Ukrainian, "Just wait please" and hasten to serve Russian-speaking army or party customers who are plastered with medals.

The station again—still another hour to wait. We looked about at the badly damaged building, once the most beautiful station and a most important junction. Now it is a heap of ruins from its destruction in 1945. Not a sign of reconstruction.

The Kiev train was announced, and we went out to the platform, where a horrid din arose as would-be passengers fought for seats. Screams and curses rose to fever pitch and ended in a regular boxing match. Not till the train moved out did the clamour die down. It grew dark and we travelled through the night without any lights.

Early morning, July 7, 1950. Endless fields, usually without any trenches between, stretched on either side of the train. They were carelessly tilled and the harvest prospects looked bad.

In our compartment the harvest was discussed. It had been bad everywhere in Ukraine the previous year, and it looked now as if the peasants were once more facing hungry times. Now and again the train ran past a village. The difference between these and the western Ukrainian villages was striking. While in West Ukraine the new regime had not changed the outward appearance of the villages, here in the east they distinctly bore the stamp of Bolshevik collectivization; squalid mud houses, with tiny windows, no farm build-

ings, scantily dressed children, haggard-looking peasants going about bare-foot and in rags. The blank faces showed no pleasure in their work, they were like slaves, and they are slaves, slaves of the Kolchos and Russian imperialism.

At Shmerynka the train stopped for some time. The station is partly destroyed and in a most neglected state. Weary looking, bare-foot peasants were sitting or standing about. In contrast to civilians, the Militia and Red Army men were well dressed. The luggage of the passengers leaving the train here is examined by the militia. For every pound of excess luggage a fine is charged.

Taking advantage of the delay we went into the waiting room. Everywhere there was dirt, people sleeping on the benches, the air thick with black tobacco. At the buffet we discovered that prices are much higher than in Lviv. At last it was time to start on the last lap of our journey.

When we reached our destination our companions found their mothers and sisters waiting to welcome them. Questions about conditions in West Ukraine came next, then our clothes were admired and there was much talk of house-keeping. Not a very pleasant item in the lives of the women in the Soviet. One mother told us she had a cow and a calf at home, but the calf had to be given up.

After a short rest we went on our way. As there were no means of transport we had to walk. Peasants with heavy burdens on their backs passed on us on their way to market. They had no money for fares.

One of my companions became faint and had to be carried into a house and laid on a bed in a clean little room. The bed was a bunk without pillows, and a torn curtain did duty for a door. There were remnants of maize bread on the table and an empty jar. A motherly old woman hastened to help our sick friend. When she learned that we were from West Ukraine, she shook her head saying: "What brings you to us? Do you want to see our misery? Be glad that you have no Kolchos at home. Only to-day they are burying a young girl who hanged herself in her despair."

DEPORTATION OF THE JEWS

In the "New Leader" a former member of the Hungarian Parliament, Dr. Bela Fabian, declares that the Cominform has declared war on Zionism. According to information at his disposal, 35,000 Jews were deported to Siberia from Lviv alone. Almost the whole Jewish population of Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Crimea met with the same fate. The anti-Jewish campaign in Hungary began in 1949.

THE LEAGUE FOR THE LIBERATION OF UKRAINE

(Special report from Toronto)

On December 24, 1950, the second Conference of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine met in Toronto. At the Conference the activity of the Central Bureau of the League was reported and a lecture held on the directives for the year 1950/51. After a lively discussion the Conference passed resolutions respecting the question of organization, the situation at home and abroad of the Ukrainian problem, and further tasks to be undertaken by the League.

Respecting the questions of organization, the Conference stated that the League had made important progress in the year 1949-50 by interesting more and more Ukrainian circles in Canada.

With regard to international politics, the Conference stated that "the development of the present international situation was progressing normally, and that preparations of the democratic world for coping with the Russo-Communist danger might be brought to a satisfactory close, if the democratic world took an uncompromising attitude towards the Russian danger, and insisted on the complete annihilation of the Russian imperium in every form whatsoever, the division of the said imperium into sovereign ethnic national states, and the re-organization of the world on the principle of complete freedom for every individual and every nation without regard to size, race or religion, as the aim of this struggle as well as of an eventual war.

We approve of and support the efforts of the Government of Canada to consolidate the united anti-Russian, anti-Communist front and to overcome the danger of the Communist "Fifth Column."

The second Conference of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine is of opinion that all human and material means must be used in the fight against Russian Bolshevism. Above all the experience and forces of all the people subjected by Russia, including those of the exiles of these peoples, must be made full use of."

As to the internal Ukrainian position, the Conference stressed the fact that in its struggle for Ukraine's final liberation it enjoys the support of all Ukrainian circles. After a short Commemoration Ceremony in honour of the Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A., General Taras Chuprynka, who recently died a heroic death, the Conference passed the following resolution: "We greet the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.), the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), its new Commander, Colonel Wasyl

Kowal, as well as the whole Ukrainian Underground Movement, and promise to spare no means to help struggling Ukraine in every possible way in order to accelerate the day of our political liberation.

The further resolutions of the Conference treated the following points: Intensification of propaganda abroad in favour of the idea of the struggle against Russo-Communist imperialism; further enlightenment of Ukrainian circles, and the creation of a National Ukrainian Centre in Canada.

The Conference, the importance of which need hardly be stressed, met with the attention and sympathy it deserved among the Ukrainian emigrants in America and Europe.

UKRAINIAN INSURGENTS IN UPPER SILESIA

Through the failure of the Polish police in their conflict with Ukrainian Insurgents who are operating in groups in Upper Silesia, the Polish Government has been compelled to organise fighting detachments from the Upper Silesian population. Hitherto the fighting in Upper Silesia against the well-armed Insurgents has ended with the defeat of the Poles, as recent eye-witnesses report. Polish losses have been considerable.

We recommend everyone who is interested in the subjugated peoples' struggle for freedom behind the Iron Curtain to read the most informative literature issued in English by the Scottish League for European Freedom:—

1. "Convention of Delegates of the Independence Movements of the Anti-Bolshevik Nations." Introduction by John F. Stewart. Price 6d.
2. "Red Russia and the Independence Movements in the U.S.S.R." Introduction by John F. Stewart. Price 1s.
3. "The Russian Danger: Europe's Only Defence." By Jaroslav Stetzko. Price 6d.
4. "The Workers in Soviet Russia." By John F. Stewart. Post Free.
5. "Russia: The Sick Man of Europe." Introduction by John F. Stewart. Price 6d.
6. "Will there be a Revolution in the Soviet Union?" Introduction by John F. Stewart. Price 6d.
7. "The Strength and Weakness of Red Russia." (Congress of Delegates of Independence Movements within the U.S.S.R. held in Edinburgh.) Introduction by John F. Stewart. 145 pages.

Orders may be sent either to the Editor, Ukrainian Information Service, or direct to Mr Bohdan Tarnawsky, Ukrainian House, 6 Mansionhouse Road, Edinburgh, 9, Great Britain.

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"THE VOICE OF AMERICA"

Major P. Poltava of the U.P.A., and head of the Information Service of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council behind the Iron Curtain, on the "Voice of America" broadcast in Ukrainian:

In the relay of a declaration by the President of Pennsylvania University, Harold E. Stassen, on the necessity of giving the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union their independence, the fact that the word "Ukraine" was omitted caused surprise and indignation, not only among the Ukrainians themselves. This "little incident" was probably due to chance, but is rather a characteristic and highly regrettable pointer to the real tendency of this broadcast. The justified criticism of the transmissions sent by the "Voice of America," especially those intended for the Ukrainian population in the Soviet Union, is emphasized by the notable remarks of this leader of the Ukrainian underground movement.

Although Major Poltava chiefly stresses the standpoint of the Ukrainian Independence Movement, still, his well-thought-out remarks, based on his long experience of the country itself, hold good for the opinion of competent circles of other nations subjected by Bolshevism, and fighting along with the Ukrainian people for liberation. His facts move us to give his remarks in some detail. A verbatim report of his criticism has been submitted in English to acting State Secretary E. Barrett, by the Secretary-General for Foreign Affairs, in the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, Mykola Lebed.

Major Poltava introduces his remarks by declaring that his notes were written in the conviction that the people of the United States and the Ukrainians have one and the same goal, the struggle for liberty and victory over Bolshevism.

The Ukrainians have been fighting bolshevik tyranny ever since 1918. In 1943, this fight received a new impetus, in the form of an Underground Movement which is still going on. The forefront of this fight is the Ukrainian Insurgent

Army (U.P.A.), under the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, the representatives of all Ukrainian areas, all political parties and all classes. Ukraine has always been a champion in the fight of the free world against bolshevik tyranny.

The American people have fought, and are fighting to-day, for freedom against all tyranny. They stand at the head of the free world in its struggle against bolshevik oppressors and tyrants. Thus we have a mutual enemy, i.e., the bolshevik, despotic, imperialistic clique, which is trying to get the whole world into its power, and we are following the same objective—the building up of a just and progressive world order, based on respect for the rights of man and of nations. One means in this battle against bolshevik tyrants is the "Voice of America," with its broadcasts for the Soviet Union. As soldiers in the fight for liberation behind the Iron Curtain, we know very well of the tremendous importance information which is true and free has for the Soviet masses.

To assure the effect of such information, it is essential that the psychology, the way of looking at things, and the feelings of the Soviet masses are duly taken into account. That is a perfectly comprehensible and indispensable condition for every kind of informative propaganda.

In the case of the transmissions done by the "Voice of America" for the Soviet Union, I am bound to say that the conditions first mentioned are not always fulfilled and for that reason the desired success is not forthcoming. As an active member of the armed forces in the Ukrainian fight for liberation, I regard it as my duty to set down some remarks, in order to show how these broadcasts should be handled, so that both in form as well as contents they may answer the requirements of those fighting behind the Iron Curtain, and express the feelings of the Soviet people.

1. *The Soviet masses must be roused from their apathy, from the thought that they stand isolated in the world, and the consciousness of their*

defenceless position in face of bolshevist tyranny. The most characteristic feature met within the Soviet masses is a kind of psychical paralysis, caused by the utter terror of the all-embracing police supervision of the M.G.B.—M.V.D., and their horrible, inhuman and everlasting oppression. This state is also due, in no small part, to the success the regime has had in crushing all anti-bolshevist resistance, for the terrorism of the M.G.B.—M.V.D. has broken the heart of the Soviet citizen; he has lost all hope of any change, has gained the conviction that there is no use fighting against the regime, that the evil must be put up with, and that he will have to end his days in that bolshevik hell.

There are also other, outside reasons for this depression; for what reaches his ears through the broadcasts from the West? What impression must he get from the continual assurances given by the western world in its propaganda for the Soviet Union, that bolshevist order in the Soviet Union is an internal matter for its peoples, and that the Western Powers, above all U.S.A., have no intention of interfering in internal affairs? Such an attitude deprives the Soviet citizen of his last tiny hope of an improvement in his lot, and increases his feeling of isolation and defencelessness. Small wonder that his apathy grows. His will to resist his oppressors, his courage too, is undermined, for he cannot understand the Western attitude, nor the policy of the U.S.A. He asks himself why Western propaganda takes this line, a question which in our opinion is only too well justified, considering the contrary tactics of the bolsheviks; they declare the principle of non-interference, but in reality they publicise scathing criticism on the internal conditions in U.S.A., openly calling upon the masses to rise and fight against their government.

The first and most important step to set the fight for freedom in motion behind the Iron Curtain is to shake the Soviet masses out of their apathy, their feeling of isolation and hopelessness, which can only be accomplished if the Western peoples are able to convince Soviet peoples that they sympathise with them and wish to be active allies and friends. It is a question of making the Soviet peoples realise that the Americans are against the bolshevist rule of terrorism, wherever it may be, even in the Soviet Union itself, and that they are on the side of the Soviet peoples in their just, national and social struggle for liberation.

The theme of American propaganda must not be emphasis on the principle of non-interference in internal Soviet affairs, but, on the contrary, must show active interest and the will to support these peoples in their struggle for freedom. As soon as the Soviet peoples feel that America is on their side, they will lose the consciousness of their isolation, will throw off that deadening apathy which is engulfing them, and that will be the first important step on the way to rousing the Soviet masses to fight bolshevist tyranny.

II. *It is inexpedient, from the capitalist point of view, to criticise the bolshevist regime.* The Soviet masses hate the bolshevist regime and bolshevist "socialism," but they have no yearning for capitalism, which was abolished in the whole territory of the present Soviet Union in the period from 1917 to 1920. The Soviet masses are for the most part decidedly against the return of capitalism, due to the outcome of the 1917-1920 Revolution, which it is a mistake to belittle. Reality demands real political expediency too. Every wise policy must look real facts in the face. American propaganda directed to the peoples in the Soviet Union must take that into account. Bolshevist rule must above all be criticised from the view point of the progressive elements among the peoples of the Soviet Union who do not wish to re-establish the old order when bolshevism is overthrown, but a new, just and progressive social order.

The Ukrainian Underground Movement in which U.P.A. is incorporated, is a part of the progressive element in the fight against bolshevism. The Ukrainian Liberation Movement upholds national independence, co-operative property in industry and trade, the principle of private ownership for the peasant, and democratic government in the real sense of the word.

III. Criticism of bolshevism must therefore be based on the point of view of each individual non-Russian nation subjugated by Moscow, and must proclaim a re-organisation of the bolshevist imperium according to principles of national and state independence for all peoples in the Soviet Union. The object must be the liberation of non-Russian peoples. The importance and the actuality of the national impetus in the Soviet Union of today is decidedly underestimated by the West, and that is a pity. The national sensibility in the individual Soviet peoples, and their struggle for independence, represent a power which may, under no circumstances, be undervalued, much less disregarded. The policy of denationalisation and russification practised by czarist and bolshevik Moscow — always with terrorism — has perhaps swamped or suppressed the aspiration for freedom and independence in one nation or the other, but when the time comes its tremendous power will be shown. The moment the Soviet Union begins to disintegrate, that aspiration will be one of the most important political factors; for the longing for nationhood is strong among the Soviet peoples, especially in Ukraine. It has merely been suppressed, and therefore kept concealed, but it is alive, and will have irresistible force once it is set in motion.

During the 1917-1920 Revolution, the non-Russian peoples were in a much more backward state in the question of nationalism than today, and yet the revolutionary spark kindled the national idea, giving the whole movement a posi-

tively national sentiment and anti-bolshevik character. That is a generally known historical fact. Today the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union are much more awake to their national and cultural possibilities, and more alive to their subjection and exploitation, in spite of all the terrorism and the mendacity of bolshevik national policy.

The American broadcasts must appeal directly to the individual non-Russian peoples, strengthen their national consciousness, and make full use of the fact of their political and cultural history; in a word, appeal to their patriotism.

IV. The "Voice of America" should make the most of the fact of an internal anti-bolshevik struggle within the Soviet Union, and of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

It is hard for us all to understand why, though the bolsheviks never miss an opportunity of reporting the least dissatisfaction, disturbance or fight in any workers' organisation in the U.S.A., the Philippines or anywhere else, American propaganda almost entirely overlooks the anti-bolshevik struggle in Ukraine and in other non-Russian territories. This attitude makes it extremely easy for the bolsheviks, for it allows them to convince the world that a national political unity, hitherto never experienced, prevails between the regime and the public.

In democratic countries a campaign against the government can be carried on by legal and peaceful means, whereas in the Soviet Union, that is an impossibility. There, underground and partisan methods are the most suitable, and, indeed, only possible means. It is wrong of the West to criticise the fight of the Underground Movements by the standards recognised in democratic countries. Information about the Ukrainian struggle for liberation, for instance, given by "the Voice of America," would be of value for the rest of the world if it exposed the real conditions prevailing in Soviet Russia and revealed the true face of bolshevism. Such information, too, would not be without influence on the resistance offered by the masses in Russia against the despotism and terrorism of the Moscow regime.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: *These remarks by Major Poltava, U.P.A., bear the date "August 1950, Ukraine, Underground," and were published by the Ukrainian weekly, "Sucasna Urajina," March 18, 1951.*)

ECONOMIC CAPACITY OF UKRAINE

BY N. OLESHKO

The Russians often bring forth the argument to justify their imperialist claims on Ukraine, that Ukraine could not exist economically alone. The Russians do not even believe this fiction themselves, they only use it to confuse badly-informed

people. Actually, however, it is just the contrary; it is not Ukraine, but Russia which would be forced to reorganise its economics completely, should Ukraine regain her independence. Ukraine is not only in a position to exist as an independent economy, but also to play an important role in European commerce. It is not Ukraine which depends on Russia but *vice versa*; Russia needs Ukraine's resources. The Russians know that, and Lenin was right when he declared that our "Donetz Basin is the centre, the real basis, of the whole of Russia's economy. There can be no question of building up heavy industry or socialism until the Donetz Basin has been brought to a proper level."

This is the chief reason why in 1917-1920 the Russians crushed the revived Ukrainian State with the weight of their troops.

During the last 30 years, much has changed. New industrial centres have arisen, new branches of industry have developed, and the importance of different industrial centres within the Soviet Union has shifted. These facts have neither changed the importance nor the character of Ukrainian economy; it has retained its fundamentals, which guarantee its economic independence and potentiality for enormous development in the future.

We shall not handle Ukraine's agriculture except to point out that the "granary of Europe," as it used to be called, produces far more grain than it can consume, and that it has always covered the main part of Russia's grain export. Further, we must draw attention to the fact that Ukraine, if a change in the political and social position took place, would be able, in a comparatively short time, say 20-30 years, almost to treble the present production of corn, and increase the livestock fourfold.

It goes without saying that Ukraine's position on the Black Sea, almost in the centre of the water routes between the Near East and Europe, makes Ukrainian agricultural products even more vital for the markets of the world. Even the Russians dare not deny Ukraine's independence in the sphere of agriculture; on the contrary, they recognise her great part in the question of the Soviet Union. The Russian argument for the "impossibility" of Ukraine's living economically apart from Russia is based on industry. We shall therefore approach this question.

Ukraine's industry is very young, not only when compared with Western Europe, but also in comparison with Russia. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ukraine had no industry at all. According to the statistics for 1807, there were only 502 small factories, and the total figure for factory hands was only 15,000, even in 1825. The development of the coal mines started at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1806 the output was 4,000 tons and in 1839 still only 15,000.

In 1830, the sugar industry rapidly developed, and for a long time took the lead in Ukrainian industry.

In 1861, when serfdom was abolished, Ukraine's industry made rapid strides. Not only did total production increase, but the importance of Ukraine in the industry of the whole Russian Empire became even greater. This may be seen from the following figures. In 1866, the output of coal was 230,000 tons, i.e., 49.5 per cent. of the total Russian output, while the figures for cast iron are:

Year	Total Russian Empire	Ukraine %
1860	19.6 mill. pud	
1880	26.1	1.3 mill. pud. 5%
1900	170.8	91.5 " 51.7%
1914	264.1	186.2 " 70.5%

It was characteristic of the development of Ukrainian industry that it always had something colonial about it. Firstly, the development was not to meet Ukraine's own requirements, but those of the metropolis; secondly, Russia's customs policy gave Ukraine no chance of having a part in European industry; thirdly, Ukraine soon became a field for foreign capital. French investments amounted to 215 millions, Belgian—110 millions, British—26 millions and German—21 millions. 174 million roubles were invested in the metallurgic industry, and 114 millions in the coal industry, all foreign capital.

Even before the war, Ukraine took the lead in the industry of the whole Russian Empire.

Before the World War, Ukrainian production reached 2,100 million roubles annually. Ukrainian production and its share in the total production figures for the whole empire will be seen by the following table.

Production	Share in %
Iron ore (1913)	338 mill. pud. 71.3
Cast iron (1914)	186.2 " 70.5
Steel (1911)	70.9 " 68.3
Salt (1914)	57.9 " 52.1
Soda (—)	— " 77.6
Sugar (1914)	86.0 " 82.4
Agricultural Machines (1912)	20.4 " 49.0
Locomotives (—)	353 " 40.0

The bulk of Ukraine's production was sent to Russia. In 1840, when the coal output was only 1500 tons, nearly half of it was shipped to Petersburg.

Of the 70.9 pud of steel produced in 1911, only 24 m.pud remained for home consumption, the rest went to the Baltic States, to the area round Moscow, the Volga and Poland.

It is interesting to note that technically Ukrainian industry was on a much higher level

than the Russian. For example, a workman in 1900 in Ukraine produced 1714 pud of cast iron; in the Ural, however, only 294 pud. The ratio for iron ore was 19.3 thousand pud to 3.3 thousand pud.

World War I led to a certain amount of shrinkage in some branches of industry, while at the same time others were increased, especially the chemical industry (owing to the lack of imports). The Revolution and the Russian-Ukrainian war resulted in almost complete stagnation, the total loss for Ukraine being far greater than that of Russia. Compared with 1913, for example, the total production in 1921 amounted to—coal 18.4 per cent.; ores 0 per cent.; cast iron 0.8 per cent.; salt 26.7 per cent.; sugar 2.9 per cent.; locomotives 9.9 per cent., and so on.

Later, as we know, the time of the N.E.P. (the new economic policy) came, and then the epoch of industrialisation.

The total production increased rapidly:

1913	2,100 m. roubles
1923 (beginning of N.E.P.)	880 "
1928 (end of N.E.P.)	2,820 "
1932 (end of five-year plan I)	6,927 "
1937 (end of five-year plan II)	16,152 "

Let us see how this process of industrial production developed. Ukraine retained her colonial character. Policy and amount were determined by, and in the interest of, the metropolis, that is Moscow. Further, the increase in industry was considerably lower in comparison with the total national revenue because new industrial centres were constructed in Russia itself at the expense of Ukraine and other Russian "colony" countries.

On February 9, 1946, Stalin said, when inaugurating the new Five-Year plan, that capitalistic industrialisation thrives from three sources (1) by annexing and exploiting colonies; (2) by crushing other countries by force of arms and collecting tribute; (3) by investments (concessions, loans, etc.) under secret conditions. Stalin then asserted that Russia had employed none of these measures, but had carried out its industrialisation with the self-denying collaboration of the workers, peasants and scientists "of the Soviet people." At what price this was done, we see from the fundamental law of bolshevist economy which the self-same Stalin promulgated on the eve of the First Five-Year plan, as follows: "above all, power must be seized, and then this power must be used as a mighty lever for the organisation of working conditions."

The bolshevist economists who developed that thesis declared that "if the law of the average

norm of profit had retained its importance, our country would have had no heavy industry." (Leontjew)

Thus slave work in industry and agriculture is the foundation of Soviet economy.

VOICE FROM HOME

The Ukrainian poet, M. Bojeslaw, a fighter in the Ukrainian insurgent Army (U.P.A.), behind the Iron Curtain, has addressed an open letter to Ukrainian emigrants. He describes first of all the position at home, and then makes an appeal to the emigrants. In the following we give extracts of the most important passages in his letter.

The poet begins by stating that fate has unhappily forced the Ukrainians living abroad to leave their home country and lead the lives of refugees. He feels the sorrow and the longing of these people for their own country, and begs them to receive his letter as if it were that of a brother coming from home, to share the suffering and hopes of their people with his brothers in a strange land.

For the suffering which Ukraine has to endure under the bolshevist regime is the greatest in the history of this people. No class has escaped, whether peasant, worker, professional man or clergyman, they have all the same bitter lot of a slave's existence in deprivation and toil. Not even the children have been spared. School children are forced to join bolshevist organisations. Refusal to do so brings severe punishment. Teachers who are not energetic enough in their communist education; or who go to church, are either dismissed or in most cases severely punished. The old priestly body is decimated and anyone who desires to become a priest today must be screened by bolshevist Security Authorities; he is thus an agent of the regime rather than a protector of the faith. The Church itself continues to be disregarded—tolerated merely as a means of propaganda. In Ukrainian towns hardly any Ukrainian is heard spoken. Anyone speaking that language in public is looked upon with suspicion by security people and their agents, and is in danger of being sent to some out-of-the-way place in Siberia.

Owing to the prevailing terrorisation, no one is secure from one day to the next. No one can sleep peacefully. At any minute there may be screams for help, especially in the villages. The population is absolutely impoverished. Literally not even a beggar is spared by the different direct and indirect rates of taxes.

The position of the collective peasant is the worst. Cases are known when the collective peasant was paid only 300 gr. of grain for a day's

work. There are some collective farms which are kept in a good condition to be shown to foreigners. In West Ukraine agriculture has not yet been entirely collectivised. Those peasants not on collective farms are penalised by enormous taxes. As an instance, the village of Pidpetchery in the Stanislau area, with its 700 farms, had to deliver 6,000 crots of grain and subscribe 100,000 roubles for the State Loan in 1949 alone.

It is rare that a farmer owns more than one cow, but even from his one cow he has to give up 62 gallons of milk a year of at least 4 per cent. fat content. Per farm, 160 eggs must be delivered annually, and a correspondingly high rate of other products. Since 1950 even the goats have come under the delivery order. Per goat, about 8 gallons of milk have to be given to the State. It is quite impossible to become exempt from these deliveries.

In 1949 peasants were paid 5 roubles for 100 kg. grain, while at the same time one kilogram of rye cost 1.90 roubles at the state shops—there are no others. A pair of shoes for a ten-year old girl costs 80 roubles. When a peasant is not able to deliver his 62 gallons of milk, he has to deliver 10 kg. of meat instead. For 1 kg. of butter the State pays 5.60 roubles, but if he wants to buy the same butter from the State shop it costs him 35 roubles.

The villages live in constant fear of the press-gang. Peasants are caught and sent to Siberia, young peasants to the mines and other industries—and recently to the communist army in China. This trapping of human beings, of course, requires strong police forces, and the methods employed remind one of the Tartar raids in ancient times.

In districts where Ukrainian resistance is active a whole army of police, agents and spies has been set up. The bolshevist work too, of course, with propaganda, i.e., leaflets, newspapers pasted on walls, and speeches against the Ukrainian fighters, trying to discredit them in the eyes of the people. None of these methods makes any impression on the Ukrainian population.

The second half of the letter, a strong appeal for unity for Ukraine, fills us with joy. But every bad deed which defames the name of our country and stains its honour makes our suffering greater.

A FEW REMARKS ON THE VLASSOV MOVEMENT

Increased interest has been shown of late by West European and American politicians in the Vlassov affair during World War II. As the third World War might break out at any minute,

the West Europeans and Americans are studying this experiment of Hitler's ever more seriously. "Was Hitler successful," they ask themselves, "in getting Russian to fight against Russian?"

Before answering this question we must emphasise the fact that at the beginning of the German-Soviet war, only about half the total strength of the Red Army was made up of Russians as more than half of the population in the Soviet Union belongs to other nations. All these different nations, at one time or another, became victims of Russian imperialism, and they cherish no other wish than to be free from the alien domination of Russia, and thus rid themselves of bolshevism.

It is therefore no wonder that they regarded the war started by Germany against Moscow in 1941 as a suitable opportunity to free themselves of Russian imperialists. For them the old saying held good "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." Moreover, the U.S.S.R., being cut off from the outside world by the Iron Curtain even before 1941, it was not known that the inmates of the Russian "dungeon of nations" regarded everything they read in the papers and all Russian propaganda as untrue. It was thus a foregone conclusion for the Germans to be accepted by the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union as liberators from Russian domination. Before 1941 their countries had been occupied and subjugated by the Russians, and therefore in the June of that year, a traitor in their eyes was one who was friendly to the Russians, not one who collaborated with the Germans.

Under these circumstances it can easily be understood why millions of Red Army soldiers of non-Russian nationality went *voluntarily* over to the Germans in the first month of the war, while the real Russian soldiers, even those who are anti-bolshevist, like General Vlassov, usually fought tenaciously, and only capitulated when their situation was hopeless.

Shortly after the war began the Germans formed several units composed of Turkestanian, Idel-Uralian, Armenian, Azerbaijanian, and Cossack, as well as Ukrainian and Byelorussian prisoners of war whom they used as auxiliary troops behind the front lines in the eastern theatre of war. In the beginning, these troops were loyal to the Germans. When, however, they discovered that Hitler was following the same policy of imperialism and oppression as Moscow, their suspicion of and dislike for the Germans grew.

Hitler treated the Ukrainians and Byelorussians quite differently, for, while he could still promise the other non-Russian peoples, in the first month of the war, that their independence would be assured as soon as his troops marched in, he could no longer promise the Ukrainians any such thing, because the government set up by the fighters for

freedom on June 30th, 1941, in Lviv, was shortly after arrested by his Security Police (S.D.). He was, therefore afraid to form any large units of Ukrainian P.O.W.s. It was only when the position became critical that he consented to the formation of a separate Ukrainian unit in West Ukraine, "The Galician Division," at first with volunteers and later with conscripted recruits.

As the position became worse at the end of 1942, Hitler caused an anti-bolshevist Liberation Army to be formed with Soviet prisoners of war. Lieutenant-General Vlassov, a Russian, declared himself willing to organise an army of that kind.

The Soviet prisoners were treated much more severely than the prisoners of other nations. At the beginning of the war, Hitler even wished to exterminate them. Their rations were miserable and thousands, perhaps millions of them, starved to death. It was a real hell upon earth in which these prisoners lived, and it was therefore not surprising that when the Vlassov recruiting officers appeared in the camps, the inmates, even those of the R.O.A. (Russian Army of Liberation), enlisted just to get out. Among these men there were of course many Ukrainians. As soon as they realised, however, that they were commanded by Russian generals who had no other thoughts than to re-establish the Russian empire, these men demanded an army of their own, a Ukrainian army under Ukrainian commanders. Under the pressure of this unanimous demand Hitler was forced to yield, and to order the setting up of a Ukrainian Army of Liberation (U.W.W.).

The Ukrainians who were already in the Vlassov army were not allowed to join their comrades in the Liberation Army, the consequence of which was that they deserted from the R.O.A. into the U.W.W. whenever they were able.

The Ukrainians, Cossacks, Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, North Caucasians, Idel-Uralians and Turkestanians in these detachments within the German Army, categorically refused all co-operation with General Vlassov, in spite of every effort made on the part of German officers.

Attempts to use Russians on the eastern battle front usually ended in their going over to the bolsheviks. Thus Hitler did not succeed in making Russians fight against Russians. While the Ukrainian, Cossack, Idel-Uralian, Caucasian and Turkestanian companies were chiefly used in the east, Vlassov's army had to be kept as far away from it as possible, so it was sent to France, where the men often behaved brutally. With Germany's capitulation the Russian people's "fight for freedom" staged by Hitler vanished without a trace. The other nations' fight for freedom against the Soviet Union has never ceased and is going on today.

U.P.A. and W.I.N. CORRECTED THE CURZON LINE

The Ukrainian weekly, "Sucasna Ukrajina" (Ukraine Today), published in their number of February 4, 1951, a most remarkable article on an agreement concluded between the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and the Polish Underground Movement—Freedom and Independence (W.I.N.) by which a new frontier has been fixed between the two peoples.

The author of this article, E. Prirwa, himself an officer in the U.P.A., has been for some time on this side of the Iron Curtain. We give the article verbatim:

"In World War II we experienced conditions hitherto unknown to history—Underground States created by Liberation Movements in areas occupied by the enemy. An Underground State with its own administration, its own army, and even its own diplomatic service, was created by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and another by our western neighbours, the Poles, or rather by their Underground Movement, which called itself Armija Krajowa (A.K.) during the German occupation, and Freedom and Independence (W.I.N.) under the bolshevik occupation.

The Ukrainian Underground State (U.P.A. Republics) existed on Ukrainian territory in the Soviet Union up to 1946, after which the fighting was only carried on by small groups; behind the Curzon Line, however, it continued till the middle of 1947, when superior enemy forces drove the whole Ukrainian population away from their homes in what was formerly called Poland, and the U.P.A. thus lost their base, so that they were obliged to transfer their operations to Soviet Ukraine. The Polish Underground State was in existence until the so-called "Disclosure Action" took place in 1946.

We have before us a map of the Ukrainian-Polish frontiers along which the present frontier between Poland and the Soviet Union runs contiguously with the Curzon Line. The correction of this line, agreed upon by representatives of the U.P.A. and W.I.N., is marked. The demarcation line from the upper Bug to the lower San was fixed in mutual discussions lasting from April to September 1945, in the areas of Pidlashe, Hrubeshiw and the San. Through what has actually occurred in the meantime, this line can no longer be called a line of demarcation because it actually represents the Ukrainian-Polish frontier, forming the basis of co-operation between the Ukrainian and Polish Liberation Movements from which, in the course of time, in different sections a real comradeship has developed.

From the lower San to the town of Piwniczna in the West, the line is drawn showing the sphere of the U.P.A. Collaboration with the W.I.N. was

limited here to the year 1946. The W.I.N. operated only in some parts of the Lemke—Ukrainian Carpathian area and had not such a fully developed underground administration as was the case in other areas, so that a fixed frontier line was unnecessary. It was merely agreed that the U.P.A. was to operate in its own areas, and only in cases of extreme necessity was it to cross into Polish territory.

It is remarkable, that the first agreement and afterwards a closer collaboration came about in just those areas in which the relationship between the Ukrainian and Polish Underground Movements had been most troubled. The state of war between the two movements lasted till April 1945. Polish underground circles tried to make use of the Bolshevik administration to get the Ukrainian population removed from their Polish homes. Polish underground groups joined the M.O., the so-called home guard, working with purely Bolshevist detachments, they terrorised the Ukrainian population and forced it to move into the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. In the autumn of 1944 they succeeded in evicting the Ukrainians from the Cholmer country. In the winter of the same year, terrorism increased in the San area and the district of Lubachiw. In April 1945, the U.P.A. destroyed 12 M.O. bases in this district in a single night. Our counter-attack and the defeat of the Polish Underground in other areas caused a complete change in the conception of the Polish Underground Movement. Just after our counter-attack, a representative of W.I.N. approached us to arrange collaboration with the U.P.A.

At the very first meeting a great deal was achieved. Both sides declared that they were not interested in a truce only, but in a political alliance for the fight against the mutual enemy, against the Muscovite-Bolshevik occupation, and so both sides declared for an immediate truce along the Ukrainian-Polish frontier. In the course of time it was proposed that local meetings, leading eventually to discussions between the Chief Commands of the U.P.A. and the W.I.N. should take place. Negotiations between the representatives of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) and the Polish Government in London were to follow, at a later date.

In the meantime, however, a number of urgent problems demanded immediate attention and solution. It was necessary, for instance, to settle a sphere of operation for each Movement, as well as problems of administration. Ukrainian people were living in areas where the W.I.N. operated and vice versa. Some possibility for the welfare of each population in a foreign district had to be

friendly discussions at the village of Chernychyn near Hrubeshiw, between representatives of the High Command of the W.I.N., M.O., and Captain W., and M.D. and Lieutenant Z. of our side. The representatives of both sides shook hands and declared that Hrubeshiw would point the way into the future for the Ukrainian and the Polish people and that "decisive conversations" must take place soon which would lead finally to a political alliance.

The "line of demarcation" was fixed for the first time at the second meeting of U.P.A. and W.I.N. representatives in May 1945, from the township of Lashiv, to the middle San area. We were represented at the conference by M. Kornychook and a non-commissioned officer of the U.P.A. On the Polish side there were Messrs. U. and H. Conferences like this were later held in other sections, as shown in our map.

In all these conversations each side agreed to forget all injuries suffered through the other, until the governments of the independent Ukrainian and independent Polish States had spoken. Moreover, on the Polish side the return of all goods and chattels which had been stolen from the Ukrainian population in the district of Lubachiw, either by members of the Polish Underground Movements or by Polish peasants, was promised. After the truce the cattle were returned first of all.

The U.P.A. had the right of administration and operations only in the recognised Ukrainian area. The same held good for the W.I.N. for the Polish areas within the line of demarcation. An exception was made only at Pidlashe where Polish villages and W.I.N. bases lay within the U.P.A.'s sphere of operation, and where the Ukrainian population was cared for by the U.P.A. and the Polish administered by the W.I.N. March routes for the W.I.N. between Polish territory and its bases in Ukrainian areas were laid down.

Jurisdiction, especially in cases of high treason, lay in the hands of the U.P.A., as far as the Ukrainian population in Ukrainian districts was concerned. For Ukrainians living in Polish districts, the W.I.N. was only to act after consulting the commands of the U.P.A. Jurisdiction for the Polish population was settled in the same way. The U.P.A. followed its own laws where officials of the Polish-Bolshevik administration, army and police were concerned. Only in certain cases of people under the influence of the W.I.N. did the latter reserve the right of jurisdiction.

For instance, the W.I.N. informed us that the whole M.O. in the area of Lubachiw was under their influence and that that particular M.O. would not take part in anti-Ukrainian actions. When in May 1945 the N.K.V.D. wanted to use this M.O. against the U.P.A., the M.O. commander disobeyed his orders and it came to a fight between M.O. and the Russian security police as well as the Polish troops. The M.O. held its position

until night fell, then withdrew and joined the Underground Movement. The soldiers of a Polish detachment at Hrubeshiw also refused to fight against the U.P.A., with the result that the N.K.V.D. arrested some 80 of them. There were many such examples.

In the San area there was a robber band of Wolynians which we regarded as belonging to the Polish Underground until a representative of the latter asked us to destroy them, as they were plundering the Poles as well, and bringing disgrace upon them.

The Ukrainian population had been evicted from southern Cholmerland and Pidlashe in 1944. In 1947 this district was entirely under the influence of the W.I.N.; it was, however, a section of the U.P.A.'s sphere of operations. During a conference between W.I.N. and U.P.A. the march routes for our detachments were settled and not only that, the W.I.N. even undertook to feed and, if necessary, clothe our men and care for the wounded.

As time went on the co-operation and friendship between W.I.N. and U.P.A. became even closer. Underground literature was exchanged as well as news. W.I.N. bought medicine for the U.P.A., arms, paper, etc. Large joint operations were arranged, as, for instance, during the evictions of 1946, when representatives of each side met at Hrubeshiw at the end of April or beginning of May, and settled the following tactics against the eviction of the Ukrainian population. The W.I.N. to influence the Polish troops not to drive out the Ukrainians, to persuade the Polish population to give shelter to some of the Ukrainians during that time, and finally the W.I.N. was to relieve the U.P.A.'s campaign by independent operations of their own. In the attack on Hrubeshiw there were joint detachments of U.P.A. and W.I.N. When Werbkowyvhy and Kosmiv were attacked W.I.N. supported the U.P.A. by scouting for them.

In the summer of 1946 the relations between the two movements were most friendly. Our representatives were in Polish territory and theirs in Ukrainian. Friendly conversations and discussions were carried on and mutual plans for the future were forged. Among the Poles there were many who had little confidence in our alliance, and believed it would be of short duration, and that Poles and Ukrainians would soon be at each other's throats again. There were, however, others who declared that there must be lasting friendship between them, especially in the face of danger to both, from north and west.

"Anyway," said Captain W. of W.I.N., "how can we claim an historical right for the independence of Warsaw if we refuse to acknowledge that right to Ukrainian Lviv and Lithuanian Wilno?"

U.P.A. EXPEDITIONS IN RUMANIAN TERRITORY IN 1949

This report is taken from "Oseredok Propagandy i Informaczyi" (Centre for Propaganda and Information), No. 4, 3rd year, May 1950. These sheets appear illegally in Ukraine, and are published by the Ukrainian Underground Movement. The report below is an extract from notes made by Captain Khmara, Commandant of a U.P.A. detachment.—EDITOR.

U.P.A. expeditions outside the frontiers of the Soviet Union, through the territory of the so-called People's Democratic Republic, have a special place in the history of the Ukrainian Underground Movement. The inhabitants of these republics, who are actually under the domination of the Kremlin, are today the natural allies of the Ukrainian people, also subjugated by Moscow.

Between 1945 and 1947, detachments of the U.P.A. went on expeditions outside the Soviet Union, through Chechianslovakian and Polish, as well as Byelorussian territory. These expeditions strengthened the friendship with other subjugated peoples and awakened their interest and sympathy for the Ukrainian revolutionary struggle for liberation. They also spread the idea that revolutionary underground methods were indispensable in the fight against bolshevik oppressors.

In 1949, in summer, a U.P.A. detachment under the command of Captain Khmara was sent by General Taras Chuprynka, C-in-C. of the U.P.A., on a propaganda expedition through some areas of the so-called Rumanian Democratic Republic. The glorious tradition of U.P.A. was to be upheld by these expeditions.

The object was to enlighten the Rumanian population as to the aims and methods of the Ukrainian fight for freedom, and the spoliatory character of bolshevist despotism, and finally to call up the Rumanian and Ukrainian populations beyond the frontiers for a revolutionary fight against bolshevik imperialists and their agents. Before they marched off, the U.P.A. detachment was supplied with the necessary number of leaflets and revolutionary literature in the Rumanian and Ukrainian languages. Lieutenant Perebyjnis was attached to the expedition as Captain Khmara's political adviser.

On June 17, 1949, the detachment set off from their headquarters for the Rumanian frontier. In the Zhabje area, the other side of mount Pip Iwan, they halted to reconnoitre. Up on an Alpine pasture, a U.P.A. patrol encountered a bolshevist frontier unit, which they dispersed after a short engagement. Two frontier guards were killed, the insurgents captured arms and equipment.

At noon the same day the detachment crossed over into Rumanian territory. At the Alpine hamlet of Hersht, the detachment halted again and got

into contact with the Rumanian peasants. The insurgents were well received and aroused much interest. The necessary information was readily volunteered and supplies given. Soon after they left the mountains, and continued their march through Rumanian-Ukrainian villages. They passed through the district around the towns of Vichev and Siget. In some villages a halt of two or three days was made. The Rumanian militia was afraid to leave the towns, while guards at the bridges retreated without a fight. Everywhere the detachment was made welcome. Thousands of leaflets were distributed in villages and towns. Innumerable discussions were held to enlighten the people on political subjects, some meetings were also arranged. Lieutenant Perebyjnis, who speaks Rumanian, was able to answer the many questions put to him by the Rumanian people. Efforts were also made to get into touch with the Rumanian Underground. The insurgents remained for two weeks in Rumanian territory.

When the Rumanian Government heard of the presence of the U.P.A. detachment, they sent troops armed with guns and mine-throwers against them. Thanks to information received through the population, the insurgents were able to withdraw to the mountains in time. The shells sent after them into the woods missed their target.

Although the frontier guards had been reinforced on both sides, Captain Khmara was able to lead his men by devious paths back to quarters in safety, by July 27, 1949.

The news of this expedition spread like wildfire through the whole of Rumania and contributed in no small measure to strengthening the anti-Soviet attitude there.

PARTISAN REVOLT IN SLOVAKIA

(U.I.S.)—Slovakian members of the Underground Movement, "White Partisans," have been circulating leaflets in Slovakia, of late, in which the claim of an "Independent Slovakian Republic" is again raised. They also recall the priest, Dr. Tiso, their President, who was murdered by the Bolsheviks.

"Slovaks! We languish in the woods, you are at home. We do not ask you to sacrifice your lives, we only expect unity, brotherhood and love from you. Let your behaviour be worthy of real Slovaks who are fighting for their liberty. Help us, the "White Partisans," and support the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.)."

There has been a close connection between the Slovakian and Ukrainian resistance groups ever since the summer of 1947, when, in the course of the heavy fighting against the combined strength of the Polish, Soviet—Russian, Czech and Hungarina—Rumanian police and army units, the U.P.A., to escape encirclement, crossed over to the wooded hills of Slovakia and found help and support among the Slovakian people.

U.P.A. VANGUARD AGAINST RED TYRANNY

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), spearhead of the Ukrainian Underground Movement to liberate Ukraine, "regards itself as the vanguard of the free world against the world of Communist and other tyrannies," declared Mikola Lebed, Foreign Secretary of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, in an address given on February 14, in the Linsly-Chittendon Hall before the Yale Political Union, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

The address was read by Mr. Walter Dushnyck, Ukrainian American newspaperman. Several hundred persons, mostly students, attended the lecture. At its conclusion, following general discussion, they passed a resolution urging support of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

"The Ukrainian Insurgent Army fights as an Underground Army within the Soviet Union, despite the fact that the free world chooses to be deaf and dumb about its activities," Mr. Lebed declared before an audience which filled the hall.

The speaker went on to say that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army fights for freedom and against tyranny by anyone. He brought out the fact that it fought against the German Nazis during the last World War, has fought against the Russian Soviets before and since World War II.

The fight is continuing, he continued, even though it receives no help from outside. Its chief support, he pointed out, is the Ukrainian people themselves, villagers, townsmen and city dwellers.

The speaker further asserted that the Reds are conducting a biological warfare against the soldiers and followers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. They spread disease and poison through the distribution of canned goods, chocolates and other items which have been treated. The area of distribution is generally where the Ukrainian Insurgent Army is known to be operating.

According to Mr. Lebed, as told at the Yale lecture and based on factual evidence, Soviet Russia has lost more than 35,000 special M.G.B. and M.V.D. troops in battle against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Soviet Russia is forced to tie up many troops in order to keep the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in check.

In the field of religion, the speaker brought out, the Ukrainian Catholic Church is part of the Ukrainian Underground Movement for the national and religious liberation of the over 40 million Ukrainian people. The U.P.A.-ites give it all protection possible. He said that hundreds of priests who have managed to escape execution or banishment to a concentration camp are active within the ranks of the U.P.A.

Apart from fighting the foe, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army prints and distributes brochures, leaflets, books and other forms of literature, exhorting the Ukrainian people to keep on fighting until victory has been won, and Ukraine has once more become a free and independent nation.

THE LANGUAGE OF FIGURES

The thirty-fifth volume of the revised complete works of Lenin appeared recently in Moscow. It is published by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in an edition of about a hundred thousand. The State publishing houses of the various republics have been instructed besides to issue this work in their respective languages. The works of Stalin and other Party literature which the Politbureau considers important and necessary for the State to have circulated will be handled in the same way. It is therefore not surprising that the editions of party literature run into such huge figures, to the detriment of philosophical and other literature.

A survey of Soviet book production in the last thirty years shows a conspicuous number of these giant editions of party and propaganda literature. In the first place is the bolshevik "Bible," a Short Outline of the History of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks. On its eleventh anniversary, at the end of 1949, it had an edition of almost 50 million copies. It has been translated into 38 languages. The German edition reached ten million copies. The works of Lenin and Stalin in three decades appeared in some 11,500 editions with a total of over 685 million copies. Adding to these countless popular editions and the commentaries on the two "classics" of bolshevism, it does not require much imagination to realise with what the libraries in the Soviet Union are crammed. All that at a time when neither sociological nor political works of non-communist origin are published at all.

These two figures alone will show under what pressure of propaganda the peoples of the Soviet Union have to live.

In comparison, how modest the figures are for world classics that have been translated into the respective languages and of course "edited" in the last three decades.

Schiller leads with 683,000 copies, then Cervantes with 650,000, Goethe 590,000 and Byron 499,000. During the same period the not very important, but Communist, French author, André Barbusse, achieved 2,075,000 copies. In spite of the marked tendency to close the Union off from all Western influence, the desire of the non-Russian peoples of the imperium to become acquainted with western literature seems to be invincible, for in the period covered by the report, Victor Hugo in 41 languages of the Union,

Shakespeare in 20, Romain Rolland in 19, Heine in 17, Maupassant in 16, Schiller and Dickens in 15, were published. The Russian language dominates all the other languages to such a degree that there is not a shadow of equality as far as the languages of the different Soviet Republics are concerned. As an example, in 1946, in the whole Soviet Union, 70,200,000 copies of polite literature were printed: 63.5 million copies were in Russian and the remaining 6.4 million were left for the others, though the number of Russians (Muscovites) is less than the total population of the other states. In other words the Muscovite State claims for itself tenfold opportunity to extend its literary development over the "brother" peoples in the Soviet Union—a test of the trend of its cultural policy, showing it in vivid colours. Another example, the works of the greatest poet of the second largest nation of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian, Taras Shevchenko, have only had an issue of 5.3 million copies in thirty years, while Gorki's works in Russian and other languages had an edition of 44.5 million copies. Even a still dubious figure like Ilja Ehrenburg has the honour of an edition of more than 6 million copies of his persiflage of Western culture.

In the report of "the thirty years of Soviet Achievement," the figures for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are included. For Latvia, for instance, only three authors are mentioned, J. Rainis with 156,000, A. Uptis with 345,000 and W. Lazis with 159,000 copies. The figures for two Turkmenian writers are given, Macnmut-Kuli, 450,000 and W. Kerbabajew 950,000.

In this connection it may be of interest to note that from 1946-1949, some 4,500 children's books were published in editions reaching 140 million copies.

Finally, something about the Soviet press which, according to the latest figures, has a total of 33.5 million copies. The two leading papers "Prawda" and "Iswestija," dispose of a million copies each. It must be remembered that the press in the Soviet Union is strictly party-bound. The general line of the Politbureau which is to be followed is given by the two above-named papers, so that the press in the different Republics has no other material than that supplied by the Moscow newspapers, local news excepted, of course. What the Soviet people themselves think of these two newspapers is strikingly shown by a bon mot circulating in Moscow. It must be said beforehand that "Prawda" means truth and "Iswestija" news, and so it is said that there is no truth in "Prawda" and no news in "Iswestija."

The above-mentioned published figures may contribute to showing up the legend that equality prevails among all the "Brother nations" in the U.S.S.R.

FROM THE PRESS OF THE WEST

"RESISTANCE IN UKRAINE"

At the beginning of February the Dutch weekly "Elsviers Weekblad" published an interesting article on Ukraine by the well-known publicist L. Basseches, entitled "In Ukraine an Ember of Resistance, of Reviving Nationalism, is Glowing."

In connection with the news of the death of General Chuprynka, the author discusses the Resistance Movement in Ukraine from an historical point of view. The present struggle is the continuation of the struggle for a Ukrainian State and for complete separation from Moscow. "Resistance in Ukraine," L. Basseches says, "has, without over-estimating it, general political importance. Since the middle of the last century the Ukrainian question has remained an unsolved problem in European politics. Since 1917, that is, after the fall of Czarism, this problem has entered a stage of great interest for the present time. Glowing as it does under the surface, the world has taken little heed of it. There is no people, in Europe in any case, which has such an unhappy, sanguinary, but also wildly romantic history. Even today scholars do not agree as to whether the Grand Duchy of Kiev was a predecessor of the totalitarian Russian State, or only the first period in the history of Ukraine."

It cannot be denied that an article of this kind is of the greatest importance in the present international situation. It does not matter that it appears only in a newspaper of a "small" country, for it will be read, not only by Dutchmen, but also by members of foreign embassies. That the article was written by a well-known publicist, who, up to a short time ago, had no very high opinion of the Resistance Movement of subjugated peoples behind the Iron Curtain, and showed not only a negative tendency but often gave utterance to erroneous and distorted information. We are therefore led to suppose that M. Basseches has realised his error and will in future show the impartiality to be expected from such an eminent publicist.

And if there are scholars today who cannot agree into what historical connection the Grand Duchy of Kiev is to be placed, they have probably not taken the trouble to study historical sources first hand, but have preferred to accept Russian propaganda and imperialistic falsifications without criticism. That the number of these scholars is growing less it but a proof of the encouraging progress in this sphere.

SLOVAK PARTISANS

"Die Neue Wiener Tageszeitung" published a report, February 24, this year, of heavy fighting between Czech-Slovakian Government troops and

Slovak nationalists in the Tatra Mountains. The paper, which is said to have good connections with the Slovak nationalists, purports to have learned that the Czech Minister of the Interior, Nosek, has had orders from the Soviets to put an end to all partisan activity and sabotage by the middle of March.

FOR HELP TO THE INSURGENTS

In a broadcast report in a Toronto newspaper, "Saturday Night," the following remarks are made.

"We could put a number of obstacles and difficulties in Stalin's way by supporting the countless refugees who, with the small means at their disposal, are developing an anti-bolshevik activity, and helping the energetic Insurgent Underground in Ukraine.

"Why do we not encourage the millions of Ukrainians in America, most of whom are anti-communist in attitude, to carry on a propaganda campaign in favour of their brothers in the Soviet Union?"

From America we hear that the representatives of the A.B.N. peoples there are trying to get help for the Underground Movements in the Soviet Union and the satellite states as speedily as possible.

March 5th 1951

"STARS AND STRIPES"

UKRAINE FOES OF STALIN ASK AID FROM U.S.

BY JAMES E. ROPER

An anti-Communist Underground Movement in Ukraine has asked the U.S. for help, it was revealed here.

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, said he received the plea through underground channels.

Dobriansky said thousands of Ukrainians, Slovaks, Georgians and Lithuanians belong to an underground organisation operating in the Carpathian Mountains.

The Underground Headquarters, he said, is at a mountain site in Ukraine. It is near the borders of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania.

"I have a written request from the anti-Communists," Dobriansky said. "They want tommy-guns, medicines, photographic materials, portable printing presses and ink and paper.

ASKS A HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS

"The United States should spend \$100,000,000 on this project—it would be a worthwhile invest-

The Fight against Bolshevism—is a Fight for God, Home and Family

ment. The tommy-guns could kill Communists, the medicines would save anti-Communists, cameras would make pictures for our intelligence, and printing presses would spread propaganda.

"Of course, I know it would be unorthodox for the United States to send aid to a group in another country. But you have to recognise your opponent."

Dobriansky is an Economics Professor at Georgetown University, a Catholic school here. He is American-born of Ukrainian descent, and has kept contacts in Ukraine.

He said the Underground numbered 200,000 at the end of World War II. During the war, the group fought the Nazis, he said.

Now, he said, they oppose the Communists. Soviet Security Police have combed the areas so frequently, he said, that the Underground has had to break into bands of 20 to 50 men, who still maintain liaison.

"The call themselves the U.P.A., Ukrainian initials for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army," Dobriansky said. "They occasionally raid railway stations and tear up rails.

"But mostly they have been carrying on propaganda—distributing leaflets and trying to infiltrate the Red Army."

SLOVAKIAN PARTISANS

The Vice-President of the Slovak Liberation Committee, M. Igor Bazovsky, who is just now in London, has addressed the following letter to the Editor of the "Daily Telegraph":
Sir,

May I comment on the fights of Partisans in Slovakia, which you mention today in your paper? Slovak Partisans are by no means "National Communists," they are anti-Communist nationalists. Their activity goes back as far as 1946 and 1947, when the closest ties were established with Ukrainian Insurgents.

This Slovak Nationalist Insurgent Movement has been organised and led by the Slovak Liberation Committee in collaboration with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).

I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
Vice-President of Slovak
Liberation Committee.
IGOR BAZOVSKY,

FROM THE SOVIET PRESS

UKRAINIAN CLASSICS IN RUSSIAN TRANSLATION

The Moscow newspaper, "Iswestija" published an article on March 2, 1951, on the new translations of the work of Ukrainian classic writers into Russian. In this article it says that Russian readers for the first time have received transla-

tions of the works of the Ukrainian national writer Taras Shewchenko, who lived in the first half of the last century. It is carefully indicated in the article that the translations are not complete. The Russians have not translated those poems in which Shewchenko declares that the Ukrainians are oppressed by the Russians. As an example we quote the following verse :

Lose your hearts, girls, to black eyes,
Not to Russians,
They are aliens in our land
And unhappy they'll make you . . .

Then there is the poem "The Ruined Grave," in which Ukraine condemns Her Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytzkyj for making an alliance with Russia in 1654. Shewchenko declares that all the misfortune which came upon the Ukrainian people was a consequence of this alliance.

"Oh, Bohdan, unwise son,
See your mother, see Ukraine now . . .
Even the ancient graves
Are desecrated—
By the Russians."

An edition of the works of the gifted Ukrainian poetess, Lesja Ukrajinka, appeared recently in three volumes in a Russian translation. "Iswestija" remarks that there has never been such a splendid edition of Lesja Ukrajinka's works in the Ukrainian language. From the Moscow newspaper we learn further, that her dramatic play "The Orgy" has not been translated into Russian. This play would arouse in every Ukrainian the wish to fight against the Russian occupation for an independent state. We do not doubt that many of the passages of works that are translated into Russian, especially when it concerns their political tendency, differ widely from the original Ukrainian text. Both Taras Shewchenko and Lesja Ukrajinka were Ukrainian patriots, with the liberation of Ukraine from Russian domination at heart.

FORCED GRATITUDE

The "Radjanska Ukrajina" (a paper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Soviet Ukraine government), Kiev, published a remarkable article on January 30, 1951, from which we take the following :

"The great Russian people has helped the people of Ukraine to throw off the yoke of social and national oppression, to win its own State and protect it in heavy fighting against the enemy.

"It is only due to the firm friendship and real help of the great people and the brother nations, that the eternal dreams and hopes of the Ukrainian people for a free existence and an independent state of its own, in which all Ukrainian territory is included, has at last been realised.

"Under the Soviet star, in the family of the united Soviet peoples, the re-united Ukraine blossoms for all time. . . ."

ATTEMPTED REVOLUTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Soviet press acknowledges that an attempt has been made in Czechoslovakia to overthrow the present regime. In an article in the Moscow paper, "Iswestija," March 1st, 1951, on the subject, it is said among other things :

"In his communication, Kopezkij has revealed the contents of documents which illustrate the espionage of Otto Schling, the old agent of the Western imperialists. From these documents, too, the pernicious activity of M. Schwermowa is made evident. She was the head of a wide-spread conspiracy aiming at overthrowing the Party and State, detaching Czechoslovakia from the peace group directed by the Soviet Union, and reintroducing capitalism . . . Stefan Bashtowanskij revealed to the Central Committee of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia, the espionage carried out by Vlado Clementis, and the hostile party policy of the bourgeois-nationalist wing of the Communist Party in Slovakia. The Central Committee unanimously accepted the motion to expel V. Clementis, G. Gussak and L. Nowomeskij from the Central Committee and the Party, and to deprive them of their seats in Parliament."

THE RUSSIANS RULE EVERYWHERE

Many West European and American politicians fail to understand why the anti-bolshevik liberation organizations of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union regard complete independence from Russia as their most important claim. If they read the Soviet government press of March 1st, 1951, they would find sufficient explanation.

The "Iswestija" of March 1st, 1951, for instance, publishes the list of the deputies "elected" by the Ukrainian people for the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic on February 25th, 1951, Kiev. The Ukrainian Parliament voted for Stalin, Molotov, Kaganowich and Khruchov; Dnipropetrowsk elected G. M. Malenkow, Kamenez-Podolsk, K. E. Voroshilov, Saporoshje, N. A. Bulganin; Winniza, A. A. Andrejew, Cherson, A. N. Kosygin; Charkow M. A. Suslow; Lviv, N. M. Schwernik, etc. The list does not contain all the names of the elected deputies, but only the prominent ones, and actually we are not at all interested in the others as they are in any case only "props" who have to vote at every division just as they are ordered to by the above-mentioned prominent members. Among all the names published there is *not one Ukrainian, nearly all are Russian*. The lists of the other Parliaments, the Byelorussians, Usbekian, Armenian, Esthonian and other non-Russian Republics of the Soviet Union show the same fact.

Can there be more convincing proof that bolshevism was brought into our countries from Russia by Russians? Is it not perfectly clear that by driving the Russian occupation from our countries, bolshevism will vanish automatically from our territories?

SCHOOL WITHOUT LIGHT

A fine new school has been built for us at Wolkowysk (Grodno area), but the manager of the Municipal Electric Works, Comrade Burownikow, cannot make up his mind to connect it to the electric network. In the evening the school is wrapped in darkness and in that darkness the bureaucratism of Mr. Burownikow towards the necessities of the school is revealed.

Neither Rayon, nor the district authorities are able to convince him that knowledge is light, and that to learn properly, electric light is needed too.

A NEW HOSPITAL BUILDING

In the Mumry settlement, Astrakhan area, they began to erect a hospital. In the course of three years, a dreary-looking, two-storeyed building was erected, with no windows, no doors, no hospital staff and, of course, no patients.

Nevertheless the hospital was opened. Radio Astrakhan announced even in 1941 that it was in use. That announcement apparently had such an effect on the builders that they decided, that, as the hospital was now open, they need build no more . . . and they did not.

("Krokodil," Moscow 30/1/51).

A NEW HISTORY BOOK

Emirow's book presents a collection of facts and documents which have been rather illogically evaluated. His ideological and theoretical level is low. In treating a number of important questions the author disregards Lenin's and Stalin's conceptions of the socialist revolution and civil war altogether. He has not been able to free himself from the bourgeois-nationalist distortion of the history of the fight for the setting up of Soviet power in Dagistan. Moreover, Emirow quotes without criticism and most superfluously a number of enemy documents and allegations.

("Kultura i Shisnj," Moscow, 31/1/51)

"PRAVDA" ON THE UKRAINIAN STATE

The Moscow "Pravda" published a long article on the Soviet Ukraine, on January 28, 1951, from which we quote:

"The hearts of the Ukrainian people are filled with fervent love and gratitude for their liberator, Comrade Stalin, through whom all Ukrainian territory has been combined into one united Ukrainian State. Now in the Soviet Ukraine all these territories are united."

From this statement by the Moscow paper it must be clear to everyone that Moscow knows

very well the ardent desire of the Ukrainian people for freedom and their own State, independent of Russia. For that reason the despots in the Kremlin are trying to convince the Ukrainians that their passionate wish has been gratified, and that the Soviet Ukraine (recognised by the United Nations as an independent State) is really independent.

It would be a good thing if the politicians of the West would at last realize too, that the demand for an independent Ukrainian State is raised by the whole Ukrainian nation and not only by a group of "separatists," as the mendacious propaganda spread by Russian emigrants would like them to believe.

SOVIET STATISTICS

On January 27, 1951, the Soviet press published the report of the Central Office for Statistics of the Soviet Union on the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan (1945-1950) to develop Soviet economy in 1950. From this bulky document we take the following figures which are supposed to give in percentages a comparison between the productions of 1950 and 1949:

According to the report, this percentage is about 117 for cast-iron, steel, petrol, goods trucks and soda, and about 116 for electric energy. The report, which fills almost two pages of a newspaper, goes on to say:

"In the plants of the Ministry of Metallurgy more steel was produced per square meter of the area of Martin surfaces than last year. In oil plants, the percentage of light oil produced has increased. In the plants of the Ministry for Mines the productivity of amalgamated coal mines has increased. In the plants of the Ministry for Electric Power, there has been a reduction in the amount of fuel consumed to produce electricity."

And so it goes on. The reader of this report of the Central Office of Statistics of the Soviet Union will look in vain for such figures as are contained in the statistics of every normal state. He will try in vain to find out from those "statistics" how much cast-iron, steel, coal, electric current was actually produced in the Soviet Union last year. Actual statistical figures are obviously not published in the Soviet Union because they would reveal to the whole world that the state of Soviet economy is not what it should be. Any figures contained in Soviet statistics must be accepted with caution, as they are known to be published for purposes of propaganda. Authentic proof has been given that even statistics of population have been forged, as great efforts have been made to conceal from the world the enormous losses suffered by the subjugated nations at the hands of their bolshevist murderers. The difference between the population figure given and the actual population amounts to about 20 millions, to be deducted practically exclusively from the figure

for the non-Russian population. This discrepancy is also clear from the increase in the population of purely Russian areas as compared with the increase in the non-Russian populations of the Soviet Union.

PAN-AMERICAN UKRAINIAN CONFERENCE

(U.I.S.)—The Pan-American Ukrainian Conference of March 2, 3 and 4, 1951, in Winnipeg, passed a number of resolutions, among them the following:

. . . The Pan-American Ukrainian Conference sends greetings to the Ukrainian people fighting under the hardest conditions for freedom and liberation from bolshevik occupation.

The world is menaced by the aggressive imperialism of Moscow, now appearing under the cloak of Communism. The war in Korea, inspired by Moscow, and its efforts to extend the conflict to China and other Asian countries, are clear proof of the danger. Moscow's imperialistic aspirations are shown to be directed at whole continents, and a determined and united effort on the part of all the free peoples in the world is required to ward off the danger.

In view of this, the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference appeals to all competent organizations in the various countries, voluntarily and actively to support these general efforts, and to submit to such regulations and restrictions as these States think fit to proclaim, without demur.

The Ukrainian People's Republic was founded in 1917 after the collapse of Czarist Russia, by the free will of the Ukrainian people. This sovereign state, proclaimed January 22, 1918, by the Ukrainian Parliament, the Central Council, and ratified by the act of January 22, 1919, fell victim to Moscow's communist aggression in 1920.

In the course of its thirty years rule, Moscow has subjected a number of other European and Asiatic nations, and to-day threatens the whole world. Thus only the clear conception among all democratic peoples, that the U.S.S.R. must be divided into free national states, following the principle of self-determination, will be a sufficient magnet to check aggression for all time and lead to a lasting peace.

An ambiguous attitude towards these problems arouses a feeling of uncertainty and suspicion among the peoples subjugated by Moscow, preventing them from devoting all their energy to the struggle against bolshevik imperialism. The circumstance might be of decisive importance for the final encounter of the democratic world with Moscow's Communist aggression in all theatres, including the Asiatic.

With an appeal for the national liberation of Ukraine the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference

confirms the fact that the Ukrainian National Council has handed the State Secretary of U.S.A. a memorandum, in which it is pointed out that the present representatives of Ukraine, having a seat and vote in the United Nations, have no brief from the Ukrainian people.

The present government of Ukraine, and its representatives before the forum of the U.N., must not be identified with that of Ukrainian people.

The Pan-American Ukrainian Conference stands firmly for the principle of self-determination and the belief that it can be applied successfully in its relations to neighbour nations. For this reason the Conference condemns the action of those Russian and Polish circles which, even now, are striving to divide the ethnographical area of Ukraine between them.

In that fact the Pan-American Conference sees the greatest danger, one which is likely to sow the seed of dissention between the two nations, and destroy a united anti-communist front.

Convinced of the enormous importance of international broadcasts, the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference appeals to the competent authorities for the "Voice of America" C.B.C. and B.B.C. to transmit not only in the Ukrainian language, but also have the contents of the transmissions adapted to the requirements of the Ukrainian people, with due regard to their struggle for liberation.

UKRAINIAN BROADCASTS FROM SPAIN

(U.I.S.)—The Radio National d'España (Spanish National Radio) announces that in the near future transmissions in the Ukrainian language for the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe will be included in their programme.

Ever since 1946 efforts have been made, especially by Ukrainian emigrants in Spain, to achieve this end. Success is due in no small degree to the energetic sponsorship of Bishop Ivan Buchko, D.D., Inspector for the Catholic Ukrainians in West Europe. Spain will thus be the first country in Europe to broadcast in Ukrainian for listeners in Central and Eastern Europe. In this way Spain proves that it is not indifferent to the lot of the subjugated peoples, and that the principal of state sovereignty is not limited in the government's policy to Spain alone. Spain's attitude is based on its Christian "weltanschauung,"—on its Christian way of looking at the World.

The preparations for these broadcasts have been entrusted to a Ukrainian. Further details, times of transmission, etc., will be announced by wireless and press.



UKRAINIAN INFORMATION SERVICE



No. 5

May-June 1951

Vol. III

TWO LEADERS — ONE SYMBOL



SIMON PETLIURA



EWGEN KONOTALETS

None of the true leaders in the Ukrainian fight for liberation has died a natural death. Their lives were closely connected with those of the whole nation, therefore their deaths were not only the natural consequence of a fight for freedom, but a token of the position in which the Ukrainian people found themselves, after the unsuccessful fight for their liberation in 1917-21.

It was so—

In 1926—when the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Army and head of the Ukrainian State, Simon Petliura, was killed;

In 1938—when the Commander of the U.V.O. (Ukrainian Military Organization) and Chief of the Ukrainian Nationalists, Colonel Ewgen Konotalets was murdered; and

In 1950—when the Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A. and President of the Secretariat-General of the U.H.V.R. (Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council), General Taras Cuprynyka, fell.

Three names which have become a symbol for the Ukrainian struggle for liberation in the last 40 years.

Twenty-five years have passed since the time when Simon Petliura was assassinated in the Boulevard St. Michel in Paris. He, who had never given up hope and belief in the success of the national idea and Ukraine's independence, even in the most desperate situations, was laid low by seven bullets.

The history of Ukraine has already passed judgment on his great importance in the liberation struggle. He has become a symbol for the indomitable fight for Ukraine's state independence. He is the symbol of belief in the victory of truth. His name is familiar in the tiniest remotest corner of our oppressed country. Far from home, all Ukrainians in the whole world revere his name. For Ukraine, which he loved so dearly, and for whose freedom he gave his all—his blood, his life.

On May 25, 1951, all those who to-day carry on the struggle he began—the soldiers and staff of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the members of the Ukrainian Underground Movement—will remember him especially.

In May 1938, Colonel Ewen Konowalets was murdered in the streets of Rotterdam by a Bolshevik bomb. It was the eve of great events which were to shake the world, and it was essential for the enemy to be rid of this man, whose deeds were still a matter of mystery, but in whom one rightly saw the ideal of a powerful national uprising, a great leader in the coming new phase of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. Colonel E. Konowalets was the organiser and Commander of the "Sichovi Strilzi" in 1918, and the U.V.O. (Ukrainian Military Organisation), 1920, and O.U.N., and eventually his idea was realised in the U.P.A., which unites all Ukrainians to-day.

Behind the murder in Paris, as well as the tragedy in Rotterdam and Bilorshcha, there was always the same enemy of Ukrainian freedom—Moscow's imperialism!

This enemy, however, in shooting a man to destroy the symbol of Ukraine's efforts, freedom, and love for independence, made a grave miscalculation. The fight for independence is no longer the affair of a small group, but of a whole

people—of its sons at the turning lathe, in the mines, at the plough, at the desk, and in the research institute. . . .

The shots fired in Paris did not break the Ukrainian spirit, though they rent the hearts of all. They showed us where the enemy of our freedom and that of other subjected peoples was, namely, in the imperialist Kremlin.

It is of little importance who fired the shot that killed the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Army, and the arguments, too, with which he sought to justify his deed, are of no great moment.

What is important is, where the plan matured, whence the order came, and whose brain inspired the destruction of the movement for independence. There can be only one answer—the *imperialistic clique in Moscow*.

Our two undaunted leaders began the great work of liberation and found valiant successors, whose number has grown from year to year, now a movement unfolded embracing all. The fight will not cease till the aim, the creation of a free, independent Ukrainian State, has become a fact.

UKRAINE

Her Role and Contribution in the Common Struggle for World Peace and Freedom

By ZENON PELENSKY

Regarding Ukraine, there are some basic truths which should be stressed shortly here, to enable us to come to the vital points of this report later.

Ukraine and Russia are two separate nations. Ukrainians and Russians are two profoundly heterogeneous peoples, with widely differing languages, culture, religion, philosophy of life, economic concepts and moral standards; the Ukrainians, though repeatedly conquered and subjugated, though hammered forcibly into the artificially unified pattern of the Russian Empire, nevertheless never surrendered morally, never discarded the consciousness of their innate human rights; on the contrary, for centuries they fought persistently, though with different means and methods, for their liberty and freedom. The Ukrainian never has endangered and never will endanger, conquer or subjugate other nations, especially their neighbours; the Ukrainian people always was, is now, and always will be anxious to live with other nations in peace and friendship.

Being by custom and instinct a traditionally democratic nation, they regard the people as the source of all political and economic power; they insist that the principal aim of all govern-

ment should be the pursuit of happiness, freedom, peace and welfare for all the people. The Ukrainians always hated and disdained all forms and sorts of physical, mental or moral constraint and tyranny, and this is one of the principal reasons why Ukrainians always have opposed, and always will oppose, innately and traditionally, the tyrannical forms of all Russian governments. The Ukrainians know by bitter experience, accumulated during long centuries, that in Muscovy, Russia proper, there never was and never can be established a true democracy. The Muscovite master nation, invariably out for conquest and exploitation, is always ready rather to discard its personal rights and liberties, than to renounce imperialism. The repudiation of democracy is the price Moscow always gladly pays for external growth and domination.

The Ukrainians always saw, and continue to see, the fulfilment of their basic human rights only in and by the creation of their own fully independent national state, established throughout their ethnic territories, where historically they live in a clear majority.

They never will unite with other nations and build up forms and patterns of international collectivism, except with the consent and by the means of their own sovereign national state.

Now, let us come to the actualities of to-day. I claim for the Ukrainians a special position within the broader pattern of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). This special position does not mean, of course, that the Ukrainians regard themselves as something "better," somebody more "elevated," than the others; they certainly claim no "priority," or "leadership," and possess not a vestige of the typically Russian arrogance to pose as the so called "elder brother," or the "most progressive community," or the "leading nation" within their Commonwealth of jailkeepers and slaves.

This is a rather sad and dangerous excellence that I am talking about. We Ukrainians have the dubious privilege of being the most enviously and suspiciously guarded piece of fabric within the whole structure of the Russian Empire. By reason of our geographical position, the abundance of our natural resources, the size of our population, the Ukrainian approaches to the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, the Danube Valley, and the South-East of Europe, Ukraine constitutes the main architectural binding, a sort of architrave, which ties up and keeps together the whole building. Of the seven pillars of Russian imperial power, this is the most important; break this one out, and the whole structure must inevitably collapse.

Because—what is Russia without Ukraine? Speaking in imperial terms—nothing more than a sham, a void shell, a giant with a broken backbone. And as this giant is no more than the horrid and malicious genie of Arab mythology, bound to enslave and to torment the whole world, nothing bad would happen to humanity by his relentless destruction. On the contrary, this would be a deed of sense and justice.

Moscow would rather release the Baltic nations from her domination, or Poles, or Czechs, or Slovaks, or the nations of the Danube Valley, or even the peoples of the Caucasus. But Moscow would never consent to give up the Ukraine unless she were forced to. Of course, the liberty and the security of all nations "released" and "freed" in such a manner would be more than problematical. Once in possession of Ukraine, the bridge between Baltic Sea and the Caucasus, Russia automatically becomes an Empire again, and with that, all other adjacent nations are *ipso facto* inexorably doomed. And this is the moral: none of our nations can expect for itself any extra favours, some sort of individual escape, a better treatment by Russia. All of us stand or fall together.

There is no possibility of escaping the conclusions: as long as a Russian Empire exists, there never will be, and there never can be, peace and freedom in the world. The road to the peace and freedom of the world leads not through chimerical expectations with regard to the so-called "democratization of Russia." This

road goes outright and solely through the rubble and ruin of the Russian Empire. The Ukrainians plead unflinchingly for the dismemberment of the Russian Empire. For the peace of the world it is incontestably better to have the Russian Empire dismembered and divided into 20 nations, even if they should keep warring locally, which is quite improbable, than to have one Russian colossus warring and endangering the whole world, which is not only probable, but as experience shows, with growing states and modern empires, the technical Leviathans of to-day, there grows potentially the danger of war; and on the other hand, the smaller and more numerous the states, the less frequent, the less bloody, the more local and humane are wars.

There is no possibility of destroying the Russian Empire without severing Ukraine and Russia. With Ukraine free—all will be free. With Ukraine enslaved all will be, all must be, enslaved. Apart from mutual sympathy and friendship, born among the nations of A.B.N. under the duress of Russian persecution experienced in common, there inevitably develops and grows also the sense of common interest: the guarantee of the liberty of one of our nations is the guarantee of the liberty of all other nations. This principle applies first to the situation of Ukraine.

Thus, to help Ukraine in her Liberation Movement is to help all other nations of A.B.N. in their Liberation Movements; simultaneously, it is to help the whole peace-loving world in its struggle for peace. To support the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), fighting with arms to this very day against Russian domination in Eastern Europe, is to support the fighters for freedom throughout the whole world. To recognise and to appreciate the aims and ideas of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), the leading political power in Ukraine, is to appreciate and to recognise the principles of *peace, freedom, liberty and democracy*. Peace is indivisible, and so the fight of nations for peace and liberty must become and remain indivisible.

To destroy the seventh pillar of the Russian power in Ukraine is the principal aim of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. This, we believe, would be the best possible Ukrainian contribution, not only to the common cause of A.B.N., but also to the struggle for peace and freedom to the rest of civilised mankind.

Once defeated in a decisive manner in Ukraine, Russian Imperialism would be inwardly broken. Thus, the liberation of Ukraine, her entire separation from Russia, and the establishment of an absolutely sovereign Ukrainian National State, must become the moral concern and the main political aim of all the progressive and peace-loving world.

WHAT NATURE OF POLITICAL MOVEMENT IS O.U.N.?

By STEPAN BANDERA

That the Bolsheviks, in fighting democracy, make use of lies and misrepresentations is a well-known fact, and it should thus be understood in the West why the Bolsheviks defame O.U.N. (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists), which is offering determined political and armed resistance against Bolshevism within the U.S.S.R., as a Fascist movement.

In order to give a clear idea of the character and aims of O.U.N. we submit the following data.

O.U.N. was founded in 1929 under the leadership of Colonel Ewgen Konowaletz; its predecessor, the U.W.O. (Ukrainian Military Organisation), was founded in 1920. The aim of O.U.N. is liberation from every kind of subjection—today Russian Bolshevism—the re-establishment of a free Ukrainian State, and the restoration of Ukraine's national life in every sphere. The political situation in Ukraine has extended the activities of O.U.N. beyond the usual conception of a political party. In World War II, O.U.N., over and above its political work, organised armed resistance against German National Socialist occupation. In the form of U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), it embraced the broad masses of the Ukrainian people. O.U.N. is now continuing that struggle, this time against Russian-Bolshevist occupation. It was in consequence of the present struggle that the U.H.V.R. (Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council) was called into being by U.P.A. and O.U.N., and representatives of the different political trends.

Bolshevist totalitarianism, dictatorship and system of terrorism allow of no democratic expression, no non-Communist society or activity. Therefore, any change in the political or social order can only be attained by an underground movement, by insurgent activity and revolution.

O.U.N. and the whole Ukrainian Liberation Movement are fighting for the national and social liberation of Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Bolshevism; for the abolition of Russian Imperialism, and for the building up of national States instead of the U.S.S.R., among them the Russian State within its ethnic boundaries. The independent Ukrainian State must not, and will not, be in any way bound to Russia, no federation will be accepted by us. We are fighting for the overthrow of Bolshevism in all its forms, dictatorship, terrorism, for the extermination of the Communist State and economic system.

We repudiate every sort of dictatorship, totalitarianism, every sort of subjection, be it political, economic, cultural, religious, and what not, also on a national state basis.

Our programme requires a really *democratic form of government* which will assure all citizens freedom of speech, activity and association, for political, social, economic, cultural and other purposes.

In June 1941, O.U.N. took the initiative to restore the Ukrainian State, and formed a coalition government representing most of the political parties.

Ukrainian nationalism is rooted in Ukrainian soil and has been nourished by tradition and historical development. It has nothing in common with nationalism in other countries, much less National-Socialism or Fascism. We are against such racial, imperialistic, totalitarian systems, finding them in many respects akin to Bolshevism. The O.U.N. struggle against Hitlerism, which caused us heavy losses, had ideological reasons and contentions, as well as national and political ones.

We use the name, "Ukrainian Nationalism," in the sense that our Movement is for the liberation of the Ukrainian nation from alien subjection, for its independent life and unhindered development on its own soil, and for its equal rights with other nations. The life and work of each member of O.U.N. is dedicated to the service of Ukraine.

In our opinion the nation is the highest organic community, and international relations should be based on freedom, equality and voluntary co-operation among nations. We reject Imperialism, chauvinism, autarky, national intolerance, and every kind of racial theory. We have suffered too much under such things to have any inclination in that direction.

The chief watchwords of Ukrainian nationalists are "Freedom for Nations, Freedom for Individuals." These watchwords were accepted by the 11th Congress convened by the O.U.N. in the beginning of 1941, and proclaimed in the time of triumphant National-Socialist and Communist oppression of individuals and nations.

O.U.N. has sacrificed much for the realisation of these ideas, not only for our home country, but also for other nations. Many Ukrainian nationalists have been killed in action or tortured to death for these ideals. They are our witnesses, against whom no slander or distortion can stand.

THIRD CONFERENCE OF THE O.U.N.

(U.I.S.)—In the second half of the month of April 1951, the third Conference of all the groups belonging to O.U.N. (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) in foreign countries was convened. At the Conference, the attitude of the O.U.N. towards the liberation struggle in Ukraine itself was discussed, as well as the tasks of the O.U.N. groups abroad, in connection with the present world situation.

The following resolutions were passed:

1.

International politics at the present moment are marked by the contentions between two blocks of States at variance in their outlook, social structure and policy. This struggle is led by two world powers, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., and beyond the countries in their own spheres, embraces the whole world. The aim of the U.S.S.R. is to bring the whole world under its yoke, to form a single state organism, a U.S.S.R. covering the world; and turning other states into Moscow's colonies. The U.S.A. tries to bar the imperialism of the Bolsheviks and, by the aid of its economy, as leading power in economic and political life, to sway the world.

2.

While the block around the U.S.S.R. is formed by force against all national interests, the States of the Western world are combining to defend themselves against the U.S.S.R., although the prospect of a ruling position in a political or an economic sense is not in their interests. The formation of a west block has been brought about by threat to their national existence on the part of Moscow; the impossibility of being isolated from events which are acquiring global proportions without their wishing it, and finally to protect their possessions.

3.

Besides this procedure of forming two opposite blocks there is another factor of increasing importance which is actually determining the character of the 20th century. That is the Liberation Movements among the subjected peoples and their struggle for national independent stateship. As national subjection is connected with social oppression, the national liberation struggle becomes a struggle for social freedom. The Liberation Movement in Ukraine and those of other subjugated peoples under Moscow's yoke forms a third automatic power striving for the overthrow of Russian imperialism and the formation of independent national states.

4.

The aims of the nations subjugated by Moscow have had little or no recognition from the States of the western block. That attitude on the part of the West deprives the anti-Bolshevist front of an important factor, i.e., the cooperation of the revolutionary forces in the

U.S.S.R. with the forces in the free world, and by that the anti-Bolshevist front is weakened everywhere.

5.

Should this situation remain unaltered, the Ukrainian fight will go on independently from that of the two blocks. Certain developments in international politics do not exclude the possibility of a change in the attitude of the western world towards the Ukrainian struggle for liberation. An analysis of this development leads us to the following statement:

(a) The existence of an independent Ukrainian State, as well as that of the other States subjected by Moscow, would in no wise run counter to the aims of the Western Powers, but would be an important factor in annihilating Russian imperialism, which is the constant menace to peace.

(b) The nearer the conflict approaches, the more aware the free world becomes of the lack of a leading idea in its fight against the U.S.S.R., and, as the latter is an imperialism, the objective can not only be a change of political regime, but must be the destruction of that imperium, that is to say, the liberation of the subjugated peoples. The Western Powers' intention of liberating only the satellites would undermine the confidence of the oppressed peoples within the U.S.S.R. and alienate them.

(c) As a war becomes more imminent, the U.S.A. and the Western States will realise that victory cannot be assured merely with diplomatic pressure and their own means alone. In any case they will have to reckon with revolution and a war of the different peoples against Moscow's imperialism. The national uprisings in the U.S.S.R. will be accomplished facts, and the West would have to contend against them if there were no mutual understanding. Any new subjection, no matter in whose interest, would lead to complete political disaster.

(d) During a war, the National Liberation Movements would be of decisive importance in the military defeat of the U.S.S.R. as a power working from within, able to strike at the weak spots of the whole political and economic system. The role played by these national movements in the military destruction of the U.S.S.R. is in no way contrary to the interests of the Western Powers.

There must, however, be a change in the attitude of the West towards the overthrow of Russian imperialism and recognition of the national and State rights of the subjected nations. In order to create more favourable external conditions for our revolution, this change should be brought about soon, so that the forces of the free world may work in harmony with ours. That must be the aim of our foreign policy.

6.

Our foreign policy must not only be directed at preserving our rights, and declaring the truth to the world, but also at combating especially those forces which seek to disturb our action, particularly circles among the Russian and Polish exiles.

7.

To develop this foreign policy it must be borne in mind that all the activity of Ukrainian circles is built up on the same principles:

(a) Uncompromising rejection of any kind of federative conception, and all undermining of the principles of unity;

(b) The work must be based on the liberation fight at home, on its forces and ideas;

(c) Complete independence in political activity.

The Ukrainian Revolutionary Liberation Movement must include all classes of the Ukrainian people and must combat all opportunist attempts to subordinate our cause to foreign interests.

8.

Our work must go on in the field of publicity in,

(a) press conferences and verbal information;

(b) mass action;

(c) diplomatic steps;

(d) counteracting moves made by the Western States, from the standpoint of Ukrainian interests.

Furthermore, we must considerably increase our propaganda among other peoples in order to rouse public opinion and thus gain influence on government circles. For that purpose we must get into touch with every form of public life in other nations. Scientific evidence of our rights must be brought, drawn from history, politics, culture and agriculture.

9.

Through the A.B.N., our organisation, working with the organisations of the subjugated nations, has not only been able to mobilise the idea of dismemberment of the Russian imperium, but has even managed to obtain some understanding of the matter in the Western world, we must continue to act in this direction, and add to the success hitherto attained.

10.

As regards the Russian side, we may say that Russian imperialism is what it always was and always will remain. Not only those who openly defend the Russian imperialist idea are to be considered enemies of the Ukrainian State, but also those who cannot free themselves from imperialist plans for a future Russian State. Our hostile attitude is directed against these Russians who participate in Moscow's plans in Ukraine, not, however, against those who do not support or serve that imperialism.

11.

We regard the political influence of the White Russian emigrants—ambassadors of Russian

imperialism—as the greatest danger after Bolshevism. Moscow circles are able to draw an advantage from this change of attitude towards the Ukrainian problem, which will cause considerable harm, therefore it must be our task constantly to expose the imperialist tendency in this Russian activity.

12.

Polish political circles, even in exile, are still contemplating an imperialist expansion of Ukrainian, Byelorussian, and Lithuanian territory. Such plans must be most decisively rejected and combated.

Every attempt to negotiate with Russian imperialists must be thwarted.

In establishing the fact of the integrity of West Ukrainian territory, we condemn any mutual discussion with Poland at the expense of Ukrainian territory. Polish Ukrainian understanding in their joint liberation campaign, can only be on the basis of mutual recognition of the State sovereignty of the two nations, and the integrity of their ethnic territory, as well as the recognition of those rights for our allied nations, especially Byelorussia and Lithuania.

We must concentrate our strongest intellectual forces in order to intensify and deepen our work of enlightenment.

Ukraine and Russia Series

COLONIAL ECONOMICS

By N. OLESHKO

In order to prove that Russia's oppression of Ukraine is both political and economic, that it has a character of colonial government, and is so regarded by Moscow, let us examine the facts.

What is actually characteristic for colonial economics? First, that a considerable part of the national wealth is taken away; secondly, that the colony cannot develop its resources as it likes, because it is dependent on the mother-country; thirdly, all branches of industry and industrial development are owned by the mother-country too, and finally, the population of a colony has a heavy burden of tax to bear.

All these points are valid for Ukraine, as we shall point out.

For instance, the distribution of the national revenue. During the period of N.E.P. (New Economic Policy), when Ukraine's economy was not yet dependent on Moscow, and republican heads of economics were working, there were continued conflicts with Moscow about the Budget. Ukraine's revenue at that time amounted to 29.4% of the whole revenue. Ukraine represented 23% of the population and 19% of the territory of the U.S.S.R. Moscow limited Ukraine's Budget to 19%, i.e., to the percentage of territory, even when it was a question of expenditure where the population was concerned, such as education, health ser-

vice, etc. In other words Moscow took 35.4% of Ukraine's revenue.

And how do matters stand to-day? Here are a few figures for the Budget year 1951. For the Budget of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic a sum of 14,248 m. roubles had been determined. That is 14.4% of the whole Budget (94,504 m. roubles), a sum which represents neither the population nor the territory, still less the revenue its own Budget would have shown, had Ukraine not been treated as a colony.

When we compare these figures with those of direct taxes and other levies on the 43,095,000 inhabitants (we shall revert to this later) and a loan of 33,287 m. roubles which Ukraine has to pay, we see that the country receives no more than those two items for its own Budget, in spite of the fact that Ukraine suffered most through the war.

Where do the other sums go which Ukraine has to pay? The main part of the U.S.S.R. Budget consists, as we know, of turnover tax, or, to be more exact, of excess amounts levied by the Bolsheviks on commodities.

There are no or few levies on heavy industry, as production in that case is for the State, which has the monopoly. From that side alone, Ukraine contributes 54-55 milliards to the U.S.S.R. Budget. The greater part of these sums does not remain in Ukraine, but goes to pay Moscow's expenses. The principal sums in the Budget are earmarked for national economy (178.484 m. roubles, i.e., 38.8%). The Minister of Finance, Swerew, said in a lecture, "Most of the expenditure for financing national economy is used for new investments. It is no secret that Moscow is building up its heavy industry in the hinterland, in the Urals and beyond. Thus, the money from Ukraine is used for the industry required by the metropolis. Even the construction of the Ukrainian canal, about which there was so much talk, has been pushed aside, and instead, the plan for the Kujbishew Canal has been taken up.

Then there is the Budget item, military purposes. Not only are these sums against the interests of Ukraine—the length of the Russian and Ukrainian frontiers, in proportion, show that the army is being maintained on Moscow's frontiers at Ukraine's expense.

There is another example of Ukraine's colonial dependence in Moscow. Ukraine being a country bordering on a southern ice-free sea and the Mediterranean, it has to have foreign trade relations with the Near East and Western Europe.

Apart from the shortest sea-route, it cannot be denied that Ukraine, with its mineral wealth and other natural resources, especially food-stuffs, coal, etc., could have an active foreign trade balance, that is to say, a sure source for its economic structure.

But what does Moscow do? Moves Ukraine's production sites far away to the north, into areas that are hard to reach. The construction of communications to these remote places takes priority over all else. Up to 1917, trade was carried on by customs policy, later by direct official decree.

It is enough to say that now, for instance, the textile industry is centred round Moscow, while the raw materials come from Turkestan, cotton has to be sent to Moscow and then sent back as the finished article, to Ukraine. That means that Ukraine has to pay the high cost of transportation and a considerable number of Moscow workers, instead of being able to give employment to more hands at home.

The raw cotton from Egypt is landed in Ukraine, shipped to Moscow and returned to Ukraine as ready-made garments, which is much the same thing as when England used to import wool from Australia for Yorkshire and ship the manufactured woollen goods to India.

A third proof of Ukraine's colonial status is the fact that the wholesale industry, with its subsidiary industries, is included in a so-called "Union," which is really Russian industry, and over which Ukraine has no control.

It is more difficult, it is true, to prove that the Ukrainian population is treated like a colonial people by having more taxes levied upon it; for the Bolsheviks are clever enough to disguise that. Two methods are employed. For towns-people there are two price "zones." The Russian districts are those in which a great deal more is imported, and at low prices, therefore the "black market" does not flourish so much as, say, in Ukraine, which makes the real value of wages higher than in the colonies. For example, in 1939 and 1940, a whole series of goods, such as tobacco, soap, tea, butter, were almost impossible to obtain in Ukraine, but were plentiful everywhere around Moscow. For that reason, many Ukrainians travelled to Moscow to purchase supplies, for, notwithstanding the travelling expenses, prices were lower on the "black market."

Taxation of the rural population was even more skilfully handled. In this case, it is not only hard for a shrewd citizen, but even for an expert to make anything out of it without careful analysis.

In all the alterations made in the tax laws for agriculture, the principle of division into zones is strictly adhered to. The population saw in the classification of a certain district into a special tax group, an indication of the yield of that particular district. In reality, however, it is nothing of the sort. The law of May 31, 1934, concerning the taxation of agriculture, looks all right on the surface, but when we compare the tax norm for a hectare, with the yield of that hectare, then we see the real meaning of this tax law. The yield of grain per hectare is reckoned for Ukraine, compared with the

R.S.F.S.R., at 98.5 per cent., but the taxes at 116 per cent. as compared with the R.S.F.S.R. It is the same with potatoes, 75 per cent. and 81 per cent.; tobacco, 91.6 per cent. and 104 per cent.; fruit and vegetables, 100 per cent. and 112.4 per cent. Thus the taxation norm is always higher than that of the yield.

Now let us examine the standards for grain deliveries to the State. According to the law of January 4, 1934, the average yield per hectare in the Moscow area is stated as 9.9 double cwts., in Ukraine 11.2 d. cwts., or 113.3 per cent. as against Moscow. The grain deliveries per hectare, laid down by the law of January 19, 1934, were 1.7 d. cwt. for the Moscow area, and 3.1 d. cwt. for Ukraine, i.e., 182.2 per cent.

There are numerous examples of the same system, but we shall only take up one. Point 19 of the Peoples' Commissariat of the Union and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of July 8, 1939, declares, "the following standard for deliveries of meat per hectare ground (including orchards, gardens and meadows), are to be set up in republics, lands, and government districts." In the first place, in that rubric we find Ukraine with 4.5 kgs. Considering that the neighbour districts of the R.S.F.S.R. suffered no such losses of live stock in 1930-1933, owing to their different methods of collectivisation, and

that, moreover, they have much larger pastures than Ukraine, there can be no comparison in the burden borne.

The other districts—Kursk, Woronish, Orel and others—have only to deliver 3 kgs. To make the matter still clearer, let us add further figures. In 1939, Ukraine (without West Ukraine) had to deliver only from the collective farms (the kolkhoz peasants are assessed separately), 133,747 tons of meat.

It is therefore no wonder that in 1939 only 299 double cwts. of meat and bacon were divided among 14,277,500 kolkhoz dependants for working days, that is, 2 grammes per person per year, plus 75 g. mess rations. With other products it was the same. Ukraine had to deliver 3 hides per 100 hectare arable land, while the districts of Kursk and Woronish had only to deliver 1.5. For wool deliveries, Ukraine belongs to the fourth zone, the kolkhoz peasants to the seventh, which is the highest but one; there are 8 zones.

These examples prove sufficiently that Ukraine really merely represents a colony in Moscow's economic plan. There is no doubt whatever that other Imperialists, now living in exile, are not talking of nations living together, for ideological reasons, but they still cherish the desire to have such a rich colony for their own purposes.

FROM UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND O.U.N. REPORTS

I.

(U.I.S.)—In order to force the peasants to go into the Kolkhoz the Bolsheviks are extorting everything from them by means of compulsory deliveries. One regulation calls for 120 lbs. of meat, 250 quarts of milk from each cow, and 150 eggs from each hen, from every peasant in possession of 1-2 hectares of ground.

This rapacious exploitation was supervised from 1940-1947 by N.K.V.D. units; later, in 1948, there were different "authorised agents" under the protection of the militia. The measures exercised are beyond belief. Besides robbery, bodily maltreatment, etc., various farms were liquidated, a few in each village.

Peasants were sent to prison, and distress became greater from day to day in every home. Then the propaganda for the collective farms began, and it was said the peasants would "not have to bear these heavy burdens any longer." But the propaganda had no success. Thereupon, the most horrible means were employed. People were beaten with iron rods, were tied to horses and dragged to the village halls. During a "voluntary" entry into a collective farm, a peasant woman from the village of Nebyliv, had her arm broken, a peasant from Topilsk had his leg fractured, a woman from Nowytja died a few

hours after being tortured, and another, from Berlogy, went mad. In this affair 533 peasants were cruelly ill-treated. Collectivization was carried on in 15 villages in the same way. . . .

On September 2, 1950, some "trippers" came to Bolchewtzi (Drohobych) from Truskawetz in a lorry, detailed to thresh the corn the peasants had refused to thresh on Sunday. A peasant threw rags wrapped in a sheaf into the threshing machine and brought it to a standstill. Just at that moment the M.V.D. lieutenant, Honyslawskyj, arrived with another agent. Both were drunk. The workers fell upon the Bolsheviks, disarmed and beat them. Their weapons were returned to them in the evening when they went away.

ELECTION

The Central Election Committee for the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. published the results of the elections on February 25, through "Tass," on February 28, 1951.

The number of registered voters was given as 23,113,769, that is 99.99 per cent. For the "Communist and non-Party Block," 23,092,455 persons are said to have voted, i.e., 99.91 per cent. It is interesting to see that the Election Committee also announces the Opposition votes, 21,251, that

is 0.09 per cent. In the whole U.S.S.R., there were 63 invalid voting papers. The communique of the Central Election Committee ends with the declaration that all the candidates of the "Communist and non-Party Block" were legally elected.

On analysing these figures, the thought involuntarily arises that, in a free election, the victory of the "Communist and non-Party Block" would have been a complete defeat; for the 99.91 per cent. would have voted against it and it is an open question whether 0.09 per cent. would have voted in its favour.

It is most improbable that these figures are correct. It is significant, for example, that the percentage is the same for Byelorussia, Usbekistan, Armenia and Turkestan, where "elections" were held on February 28, 1951.

For us, the number of registered voters in the Ukrainian S.S.R. (not the whole of Ukraine) is surprising. The election Commission gives their number as 23,115,932. If these figures were correct, then about 23 million persons would be living in Ukraine who were over 18 years old. (In the U.S.S.R. everyone who has completed his 18th year has a right to vote). It is true, the citizens of other republics in the U.S.S.R. enjoy the same rights as those of Ukraine, but their number can hardly be more than some ten thousands, which means that the figure 23 million is the number of those who have completed their 18th year. When one remembers that the population of the Ukrainian S.S.R. is 41,800,000, it appears that, at the moment, there are 18 million persons under 18. Accepting the normal limit for youth as 21, it means that more than half the Ukrainian population consists of young folk.

Of course, these figures can only be regarded as approximate, like all the other data from Russian sources. They prove, however, that the Ukrainians have made up for their loss of lives in the war to a great extent, even counting the influx from outside, especially in the towns. A town always shows a slighter natural increase than the country districts; it may therefore be assumed that the natural growth of the population falls to the rural and provincial town population, which have a lower percentage of strangers.

Thus, the 18 million of the young generation may be attributed in a large degree to the strong biological substance of the Ukrainian people, which is much greater than is generally supposed.

It would be appropriate here to draw attention to Constantin Woblyj's work, which appeared in German in Berlin in 1948, under the title, "Sowjet-Ukraine." On page 19, we read that in 1940 Ukraine had 41 million inhabitants and that Ukrainians in the Ukrainian S.S.R. form 86 per cent. of the population. Accordingly 35 million Ukrainians and 5 million strangers live in Ukraine.

These figures, which are calculated from the election comedy of February 25, 1951, prove, at any rate, that the Ukrainians are a biologically young people.

That is perhaps the only positive result of the "elections" in Ukraine.

ENFORCED COLLECTIVIZATION

From U.I.S. Reports

We have often described the methods applied by the Bolsheviks to compel the peasants to enter the collective farms. Here are some more examples taken from reports by the Ukrainian Revolutionary Underground Movement, for the first quarter of 1950.

During that period every kind of intimidation was resorted to; statements were often signed by those in authority, instead of by the peasants concerned. With such means the following villages established collectives, on paper.

Sloboda Neb.—Kolkhoz "W. I. Lenin" with 115 farms

Nebyliw—Kolkhoz "I. W. Stalin" with 45 farms.

Kaminy—Kolkhoz "T. H. Shevchenko" with 240 farms.

Topilsko—Kolkhoz "I. I. Franko" with 62 farms.

Nowytia—Kolkhoz "New Life" with 432 farms.

Krasna—Kolkhoz "32nd Anniversary of Red Army" with 283 farms.

All the collective farms were organised in February 1950. During the organisation of these farms, the villagers suffered the most. They were beaten with iron rods, dragged to the village halls bound to horses, where an executioner awaited them to put them to the torture. Arms and hands were twisted, causing excruciating pain. Most of this occurred at night, and, when peasants refused to open their doors, their windows were smashed and they were hauled out. It was by such means that the Bolsheviks sought to get "voluntary" signatures for the collectives.

During the above-mentioned period, 533 persons were severely flogged.

At Nebyliw, on January 19, 1950, peasants were beaten to death for refusing to join the kolkhoz. On January 20, a Bolshevik, by the name of Iwan Wynnyk, beat the peasants T.O. and M.D. He ordered the peasant T. to climb a ladder to the loft and, half way up, Wynnyk knocked the ladder over, so that the man fell and broke his leg. On February 16, the head of the M.V.D., Bakumenko, came to Nowytja with 120 Bolsheviks to organise the collective farm. They maltreated over 350 persons, 15 of whom were flogged, and one, a peasant woman, M.I., died a few hours after the cruel treatment at their hands. On February 27, the District Secretary of the K.P., Burjak, and the Public Prosecutor, Moskowsky, with 150 Bolsheviks, terrorised the villagers of Berlogy, to force them to accept a collective farm. 120 of them were beaten up, a peasant woman, D.N., was so maltreated that she went mad and had to be sent to

an asylum. The windows of many houses were smashed.

On March 18, at Uhryniw Stary, 16 peasants were flogged by order of the heads of the agricultural department, Maslow and Luchnikow, when organising the kolkhoz with 25 other Bolsheviks. They seized 13 buildings, and marched the peasants off to the station of Kalusk. On March 20, at Berlogy, 8 Bolsheviks smashed several windows of houses where proclamations against collectivization had been hung out. They then arrested the peasant woman, T.N., and Pekarsky and two other Bolsheviks raped her.

Numbers of such cases are mentioned in the reports, to mention which would be merely a repetition of the above.

THE UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND CHURCH

(U.I.S.)—The Ukrainian Catholic Church, before it was liquidated or compelled to go over to the "Orthodox Church of the Kremlin," counted 6 million believers. Its Metropolitan, Joseph Slipy and 7 other bishops were liquidated or sent to Siberia. Still the faith is so deep-seated in the Ukrainians that, like the early Christians, they gathered together in secret, and so an Underground Church came into being.

The head of the Ukrainian Catholic Underground Church, Professor Father M. Lawrivsky, recently sent a letter to the church dignitaries of the Ukrainian Catholic Church abroad, from which we publish the following extracts.

"The clergy for the most part are either in prisons or have been sent to Siberia. The few who remain are working as navvies, suffering from hunger, cold and dire need. In their free time, they fulfil their church duties in the modern catacombs. Future historians will have abundant material from which to draw. I am speaking of the clergy of the whole of West-Ukraine . . . The people persevere in their faith, and often go long distances to attend the services, or to confession . . . In one place, in the mountains where the Church has not yet been closed, there were 20,000 persons at the Jordan celebration, who had come from miles away . . .

"The whole country offers a sad picture. People move about like ghosts. Fiendish terrorism prevails everywhere. Peasants are beaten, locked in cellars, tortured. The press is built up on lies. Personal freedom, freedom of the press, private ownership, are things of the past. No one knows what the next day will bring. It is hard to get a night's rest. If anyone came here with the intention of staying and living under these conditions, he would be mad in a week.

"Come, come to us incognito, and look with commonsense at the poor, ragged, filthy and hungry workers, then all of you, such as Togliatti, Wallis, etc., will stop your shouting. The party, the M.V.D., M.G.B., have a hypnotising influence. Everyone fears everyone else. No one

believes anyone. When a poor fellow come begging for food and is asked how he is, he answers, with bowed head, 'all right, thank God.' Everything which had any connection with God has been destroyed. The power of hell rules.

"News comes to us that there are conflicts and contentions among the emigrants. We implore you; think what you are doing. Here, the greatest sacrifices are demanded, especially of the Underground Movement. Your arguments and disagreements will otherwise become vultures, leaving the bodies of our heroes no peace.

"Hardened by suffering and work, we fear nothing, and along the way of our Faith . . . we shall lead our sorely tried Ukrainian people."

POLICY OF ILLUSION

(U.I.S.)—In the April number of "Foreign Affairs," one of the so-called "experts" for Russian problems at the State Department, Washington, George Kenan, touches on the possibility of the Soviet system and the democratic existing side by side as the only solution for the serious international situation now weighing on the world. This time, Kenan does not base his theory on living amicably and peacefully side by side with the Kremlin on the balance of military power.

Kenan's theory is, that as soon as the military strength in the West increases, the Kremlin will reduce its aggressive aims and be ready for a compromise with the western democracies, and from this, peaceful collaboration with the democracies will grow.

America's foreign policy has often displayed incomprehensible short-sightedness and the lack of any elementary logic. This policy is based on a false analysis of the international vintage and a wrong forecast of its further development, which has led first to a "cold war" and then, in several places, to a "hot" one.

Mr Kenan must be acquainted with the history of Russia and the U.S.S.R.; the policy, traditional methods and practices in that policy, and, knowing that, there can be no thought of any sort of agreement, much less of a lasting one. Russia's aggressive policy in the past 12 years, one would imagine, would have led the experts for Russian problems to less improbable forecasts in their planning. They must have realised that not only the outer, but also the inner psychological structure of the Soviet despotism, as well as Soviet society, has undergone a complete change. The daily emphasis on the higher grade of development of the great Russian people, its great mission in fulfilling its tasks, the kindling therefrom of chauvinist feelings and the consequences thereof, must be properly understood, especially by those claiming to be "experts" on Russian affairs.

These conceptions do not rest alone on a false estimation of the above factors determining U.S.S.R. politics, but also on the ignorance of the

dangerous consequences of "living side by side fully armed"—especially for the western democracies.

Technique is advancing with rapid strides; it is progress, and cannot be checked, just as the development in war technique cannot be held back. Thus, "living side by side" under such circumstances would mean an unavoidable armaments race and the most unproductive investment of capital for war purposes.

The capital expenditure in the U.S.A. amounts now to 30% of the national income, and is increasing month by month. Besides, the U.S.A. has to finance rearmament in other countries, especially those in Europe. The kind of "living side by side" suggested, would oblige both parties to keep strong military forces of all categories under arms. Millions of the best young men in the nation would be deprived of the possibility of finishing their studies and of preparing for their future productive work. It would mean exchanging work that counts for the unproductive barrack-room life, and the loss of the profitable work of these millions would, in time (of that there is no doubt) greatly reduce the revenue.

We are convinced that none of these "specialists" for the U.S.S.R. can predict how long that "living side by side" would last, or whether the western democracies could stand such dangerous and permanent tension.

The outlay of capital for war purposes would inevitably lower the standard of life for the broad masses, obstruct social progress and exercise a demoralising and crippling influence on political and economic life in general, which would finally end in the growth and extension of Communism. Time would therefore be on the side of Moscow.

A SPURIOUS MAY DAY

(U.I.S.)—The May Day Celebrations in Moscow and other capital towns behind the Iron Curtain showed very clearly this year that Bolshevism is but the present stage of development of Muscovite Imperialism, and has little in common with socialism and the worker's movement in general.

The whole programme of this strange "celebration" was adapted to the Muscovite imperialistic plans at home, and even more so to those for countries outside their jurisdiction. The very fact that the Kremlin despots seized upon the date of the international workers' celebration, the colours and many another attribute of the workers' movement, shows up the craftiness of the Muscovite Imperialists who use the workers all over the world for their purposes.

Seen from the outside, the May Day celebrations, at which the Diplomatic Corps of the free world, to their regret, had to be present, passed off according to plan. Demonstrations were accompanied by speeches and "patriotic" poems and wild shouting. Shouts that sounded, too, in

Korea, when the Chinese were driven forward against the forces of the U.N. by Moscow's emissaries. The military parade and the savage threats, contained in nearly every speech, against the Anglo-American Imperialists were a grotesque contrast to the crude peace rantings which pervaded the whole celebration.

The Kremlin was not only declared the sole protector of peace, but praised as the representative of the best interests of all the people in the world. Even the absurd statement that the U.S.S.R. had demobilised the armies in 1945-48 was not lacking. The most derogatory and untrue accusations were showered unsparingly upon the Western powers. It was said that they were arming West Germany and Japan; that all Gromyko's proposals were rejected; that they would not listen to a reduction in armament; that they had disregarded the Five Power Pact proposed by the U.S.S.R., and were obeying Washington's orders without a murmur.

The extravagant demonstrations of "Soviet-Chinese Friendship" were interspersed with the most slanderous defamation of the American troops in Korea. It was announced, for example, by the Moscow radio station, that ditches full of mutilated bodies were found in deserted villages after the retreat of the Americans; that they had bound children of 8-12 years old together and buried them alive.

Moscow-Chinese atrocity stories are, by the way, even spread in west European countries.

The home politics part of the May Day celebrations reflect the unscrupulous exploitation of the population by the Muscovite imperialist dictatorship. The usual glorification of Stalin, the rapturous descriptions of the "happy" life led by the "Soviet people," were in ridiculous contrast to the demands put forward to work more, better, and more economically, and to produce more. These demands were aimed at all classes of workers. The insatiable moloch of Muscovite imperialism, presiding over the Moscow May Day, may be taken as a warning by the free nations.

THE APPEAL OF THE OPPRESSED MUSSULMANS TO THE MOSLEM—WORLD

(U.I.S.)—*On March 17, a Conference of the oppressed Moslem peoples of Azerbaijan, Idel-Ural, North Caucasus and Turkestan took place. The Chairman of the Conference, the representative of these nations abroad, published an appeal to the Moslem world from which we give extracts.*

"The terrorization of the Mussulmans in the U.S.S.R. became worse after the war. In 1946, the autonomous Republic Crimea and the autonomous republics of North Caucasus, Chechen-Ingush, Karachay, Balkar were liquidated. The whole Moslem population was deported to

Siberia and left to pine away and die out. We want the whole Moslem world to know what fate awaits them from Communism. We are convinced that our fight for freedom, for the political independence of our countries, for social justice and religious freedom, as well as for the personal rights of every individual, will be supported and approved by all Moslem countries, because our cause is the cause of the whole free world.

"It is a bitter thing for us, that the Moslem world, up to now, has found no protection for their own brothers who are held in subjection by the Bolshevists. We call upon the free Moslem peoples to join our fight against the Kremlin despots. We beg the governments, the spiritual and worldly leaders of the Moslem world, (1) to raise their voices in protection of the Mussulmans who are being ill-treated by the Politburo; (2) to bring the question up before the United Nations, and to demand the return of the deportees to North Caucasus and the Crimea; (3) to aid us in our Holy War against Soviet despotism; (4) to bring our suffering and hopes to the knowledge of all Mussulmans through press and radio; (5) to publish this appeal to the whole free world.

"We are certain that an alliance between the free countries and those subjugated by Bolshevism, would put an end to Communistic despotism and ensure prosperity to all peoples, and unite them in a democratic community."

DEFENCE OF LEMKENLAND

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

(U.I.S.)—Various Ukrainian organisations arranged a demonstration on April 15, 1951, in Philadelphia, in protest against the annexation of a part of ancient Ukrainian territory, the Lemkenland, by Poland. The Ukrainians appeared in strength to show their solidarity with the Ukrainian population of Lemkenland, in defence of its common national and human rights.

In his opening speech, Professor I. Kinal pointed out the necessity of this protest on account of the terrorization of the population by the Moscow submissive Polish occupation.

The chief speakers were U.P.A. commanders, M. Makaranko and Burlaka, on "Polish-Bolshevist Terrorism in Lemkenland" and "The U.P.A. as Bearer of the Liberation Idea of the Ukrainian and other Peoples subjugated by Moscow."

The following resolution was passed:—"All the citizens of Philadelphia, present at the Demonstration on April 15, 1951, after a debate on the lectures by Commander M. Makarenko and Commander Burlaka, on the situation in Ukrainian territory behind the Iron Curtain, passed the following Resolution:—

(1) A part of ancient Ukrainian territory, Lemkenland, which was awarded to Poland by the Bolshevists in 1945, is still in the possession of imperialist Poland. The population,

which has lived for centuries in the land, is being cruelly treated and terrorised by Poland and Moscow; not only that, but the people are being deported to alien and hostile districts in Poland, and also sent to slavery and certain death in the far north and Siberia.

- (2) The citizens assembled on April 15, 1951, protest unanimously and decidedly, before the whole free world, against this disgraceful brutality to the Ukrainian people, and the annexation of ancestral Ukrainian territory by any foreign power, more especially by such a hereditary enemy and oppressor of our people as Poland.
- (3) The assembled citizens declare in their own name, and in the name of the whole Ukrainian people, that Ukraine will never yield its rights to this territory and will fight with all the means available for the liberation of the Lemkenland from its occupation, and until it is part of a *United Ukrainian State*.

THE FAMOUS MONASTERY OF HOSHIW LIQUIDATED

(U.I.S.)—The monastery at Hoshiw (West Ukraine) was famous for its wonder-working image of the Blessed Virgin. Thousands of pilgrims made their way there year by year, to pray for mercy and help.

The Underground Movement of Ukraine reported, in 1950: "On January 11, over 300 M.G.B. men from Bolekhiw, Vyhoda and Stanislaw went to Hoshiw. They surrounded the premises of the monastery and a part of the village of Vilshyna, where they searched the houses. Towards evening, the Abbot was arrested and taken to Stanislaw, the guards formed by the M.V.D. remaining at their posts till the next day, when the monastery was searched once more. Having discovered nothing, the men returned to the Central District."

From another report of March 26, 1950, we learn, "At noon, about 150 M.V.D. men came to Hoshiw, surrounded the monastery and searched it. They remained till the next day. Father Merkela, P. Kolodij, a monk, and three nuns were arrested and taken to Stanislaw. The same night, at Vytwycja, the parish priest, Bilan Bohdan, and the priest of Sloboda were arrested and taken to Stanislaw."

On March 28, 1950, the report runs: "The monastery of Hoshiw has been dissolved, all valuables were taken away, everything in the Church and everywhere else was torn off the walls. Even the floor was torn up and taken out! All that the monastery owned was loaded on to waggons and carted away to the District Centre."

In other places, too, the churches were closed. The other congregations gather on Sunday and festival days beside their churches and pray together without any priest.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Hansard)

House of Commons Official Report, Wednesday, 9th May 1951

In Hansard, the official publication of the Parliamentary Debates of the British Parliament, of 9th May 1951, is a brief reference in the House of Commons, to the existence, behind the Iron Curtain, of potential allies of the civilised countries, which, if properly supported, would speedily disintegrate the Muscovite power for terrorisation, and leave a world which could, without apprehension, devote itself to works of peace. The Report is below.

UKRAINE (BROADCASTS)

Mr G. COOPER asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs how many times have broadcasts in Ukrainian been sent out under the Foreign Broadcasts Scheme in the last twelve months.

Mr H. MORRISON: No broadcasts in Ukrainian have been transmitted by the B.B.C. during the last year.

Mr COOPER: In view of the fact that, until they were forced into submission by the Russians, the Ukrainians were developing towards a democratic form of government, and have always been hostile to Russian domination, does not my Right Hon. friend agree that there are some 30 million potential allies behind the Iron Curtain, and could not broadcasts in their language be started in order to help them keep up their morale and resistance?

Mr MORRISON: I understand that practically all the Ukrainians can speak and understand Russian, and that if we made a special arrangement with regard to the Ukrainian language it is highly probable that something else would have to be given up. On a balance of considerations, we do not think that it would be advantageous.

Mr WILLIAM TEELING: Does the Right Hon. gentleman realise that last week the Home Secretary told us that there were between 30,000 and 40,000 Ukrainians here, who could well broadcast and would like to listen to some broadcasts in their own language?

Mr MORRISON: If they are here long enough they will understand English. In any case, I should not like to let loose 30,000 or 40,000 Ukrainians to broadcast to the Ukraine.

Mr PHILIPS PRICE: Has not Ukrainian hostility been directed more against Poland than against their northern neighbours?

Mr MORRISON: We are getting to fine points now. I had better stop.

Mr TEELING: In view of that outrageous remark by the Foreign Secretary about people who have done very loyal work for this country, I beg to give notice that I propose to raise this matter on the Adjournment.

Mr MORRISON: On a point of order, is it in order, when an hon. member makes an attack and gives notice to raise the matter on the Adjournment, for the Minister concerned thereby to be excluded from answering him?

Mr SPEAKER: That is a difficult point. It is, of course, out of order to say "in view of that outrageous remark." The usual thing to say is, "in view of the unsatisfactory answer."

Mr TEELING: I withdraw my remark and substitute "very unsatisfactory answer," in order to see what the Foreign Secretary has to say.

Mr MORRISON: I based my remark solely on account of the numbers that it was proposed should broadcast.

TRADING UKRAINIAN TERRITORY

On May 22, 1951, the Soviet-press ("Pravda," "Izvestiya," "Komsomolska Pravda") published the following text of the treaty between Moscow and Warsaw.

"The Polish government recently turned to the U.S.S.R. government with a proposal for an exchange of territory. A strip of most Polish territory to be exchanged for one of equal size, on account of the economic dependence of this strip of borderland between Poland and the U.S.S.R. The U.S.S.R. government has consented to the Polish suggestion.

"The negotiations between Poland and the Soviet, which took place in Moscow, ended in the conclusion of an Agreement providing for the exchange of this borderland in the district of Drohobych (Ukrainian S.S.R.) and the Voivode of Lublin (Poland).

"The Agreement was signed by the Foreign Minister, A. G. Vyshynsky, for the Soviet Union, and the representative of the Cabinet of the Polish Republic, A. Zawadsky, for Poland."

Associated Press reported on May 22, 1951, that "the Soviet Union was receiving from Poland a small piece of territory with good rail-way communications in return for part of Ukraine's territory containing mineral oil and natural gas."

According to the Agreement, the population of the two areas, Ukrainian and Polish, were to be resettled. Those hit by this measure to be allowed to take all their movable property with them, while agricultural, industrial and artisan property, as well as important means of communication, were to be left untouched where they were.

THE PRIVILEGED CLASSES

(U.I.S.)—Accounts in the Bolshevik press about the death of the President of the Central Control Commission of the K.P., M. F. Vladymyrsky, have been most exhaustive. The Moscow "Pravda" (Nr 94, 1951) reports that the U.S.S.R. Cabinet, among other honours conferred, have granted the widow of the deceased 50,000 roubles as a benefit to be paid out once, besides a pension of 2000 roubles a month; his sister to receive 750 roubles.

There is nothing extraordinary in that; on the contrary, it is a commendable thing for the State to look after the bereaved relatives of its deserving citizens. Provision for the bereaved in the U.S.S.R., however, is a privilege enjoyed only by the class of the Bolshevik grandees.

All citizens of the Soviet Union must work for the State, as everybody knows. Now, after the Second World War especially, there are millions of widows, sisters, husbands and brothers, in the U.S.S.R. whose relations fell in action or died in forced labour camps. How many of them receive a pension, and of what value?

For such people, the government has the well-known phrase, "He who does not work, needs no food." Even a person 100 per cent. disabled (after Soviet classification) only receives 75 roubles a month, i.e., 28 times less than Vladymyrsky's widow. It must not be forgotten, also, that the lady has a wonderful home and enjoys other advantages a war-wounded soldier or a widow would not dare dream of.

Why is Vladymyrsky held in so much higher regard than those other Soviet citizens? "Pravda" says nothing of that. Well, Vladymyrsky belonged to the privileged class of the Soviet Union. These people have various advantages besides receiving a salary that is 30 times higher than that of a workman. After their death, these privileges go to their families. In this way the Soviet government hopes to secure even greater loyalty from its civil servants.

"THE GENERAL LINE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY"

By M. THREECROSS

The pseudo-science of Marxism-Socialism-Communism consists of three "principles" (1, 2, 3).

1. The abolition of private ownership (spiritual and material) immediately turns all subjects into slaves subordinated to the "state". This accounts for the complete poverty of subjects, excepting, of course, the newly arisen predominant Communist-Socialist leaders, now becoming a class, caste, and proprietor-monopolists of all the slaves, public property, and "state" as well.

2. The class struggle is the principal "reason" for the organisation of the decay of community, and for starting hostility among its members. The class struggle, therefore, is the moving force in the hands of Marxist-Communists for the seizure of power and private property, and for the liquidation of "class enemies."

"Organised godlessness" accompanies this "work," and serves to create a spiritual vacuum in the soul, preparing for adoption into the new Marxist-Socialist Communist "moral," with its "gods," the "greatest and wisest" Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Togliati, Pick . . .

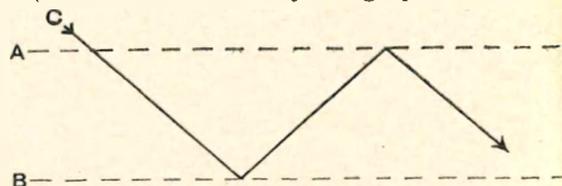
3. To consider that Marxism Socialism Communism cannot flourish outside a fitting imperialistic environment. In other words—Marxism, Socialism, Communism, away from imperialism, would be a "nude crime for crime" and so would not exist.

Now, it is understood that the "principle of internationalism" is a slogan-camouflage for Russia's eternal imperialism only.

This imperialism, being fertilised by Marxism, Socialism, Communism, will feed the spirit of conquest.

Two possibilities exist: either the whole world will fall into Russia's hands, or Russia will receive a death-blow.

The fate of mankind in case of Russia's victory can be illustrated by the graph below:



A—The line of "mild" terror and "narrow" condition of life;

B—The line of great terror, distress, poverty . . .

C—"The General Line of Communistic Party."

So the life of the nations is subjugated by Russia now.

IMPERIALISTIC PLANS

for a "Russian Democratic Committee"
in U.S.A.

On May 9, the "Voice of America" gave the gist of an article in the Russian language transmission, from the pen of an old Muscovite Social democrat, R. Abramowich, in which he proposes the setting up of a Russian "democratic" Committee. His article appeared in the Muscovite exile press, and in the paper of the American Federation of Labour also, which is much to be regretted, as it will cause the organisations of the oppressed nations abroad and, more especially, those in U.S.A. itself, to take a less decisive stand against the plans of the Muscovite imperialists.

Mr Abramowich suggests forming a "Russian" committee of important "Russian democrats" and the "democrats" of other nations in U.S.S.R. It remains a mystery of Punchinello, why a committee consisting of different nations should be styled "Russian." The "democratic" imperialist, Abramowich, it appears, regards the subjugated nations of the U.S.S.R., which are carrying on a heroic mortal combat against Muscovite occupation, merely as "national minorities" of the empire. He makes, indeed, no bones about it, for he declares that the political plans of the committee to be formed are identical with the miserable programme of 1917. Mr Abramowich, with all the authority of his powerlessness, promises the subjugated nations the "right of self-determination for national minorities" under the supervision of the U.N.; the Kremlin despots, on paper also, recognise the independence of the national Soviet-Republics.

In this way the Muscovite emigrants do Bolshevik demagogy invaluable service. When Mr Abramowich and other followers of Kerenskij's allege that "an overwhelming majority of the Russian people" shares their opinions, then the question may be asked, why they abuse the hospitality of the U.S.A. for their Imperialistic whims, while the despots, blessed by the Church, rule in the Kremlin.

The answer is simply this: because neither the millions of the privileged class of the "Moscow élite" nor the Muscovite slave-masses ruled by them, have any idea of overthrowing Muscovite despotism in favour of Muscovite exile "democracy."

Unfortunately, the Imperialist plans of the Russian "Democratic" Committee cannot be passed over, or ignored, because they might cause perplexity in western political circles, and strengthen certain illusions concerning "Russian democracy" altogether. The fact that the "Voice of America" announces the imperialistic plans of the "Russian Democratic Committee" to the oppressed peoples, and that ill-informed American circles are ready to support these

plans can cause a great deal of damage. The present doings of the Muscovite emigrants in U.S.A. can greatly disturb the joint action of the free and subjected nations in their struggle against Moscow's thirst for conquest. The support given by certain Americans to Muscovite imperialists is apt to upset and confuse some members of the subjected nations in U.S.A. and cause them to join the Russian Democratic Committee as "representatives of the national minorities." Among members of the oppressed nations abroad, there may very well be traitors and defeatists too.

DANGER OF CONFUSION

The formation of such a Muscovite Committee with American support might arouse justifiable suspicion among the subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain, and distrust of the U.N.'s principles of freedom, causing disastrous confusion and weakening their resistance to Moscow, which again would have fatal results for the western nations.

As long as the fear of a general revolution in case of war deters the Kremlin from an invasion in Europe, any weakening of the fighting spirit of these nations automatically increases the danger of war, for the Kremlin fears an uprising quite as much as an American atomic bomb.

If you wish to be informed of conditions behind the Iron Curtain objectively, and at first hand, subscribe to and read the

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DUTY OF ENLIGHTENMENT

It is, of course, a sacred duty of the organisations of the subjected nations in the West, and particularly in U.S.A., to make a sharp protest against the imperialist activities of the Muscovite emigrants and to make the greatest efforts to enlighten the broad masses in America as to the true state of things and the role Muscovite emigrants are actually playing.

Of course, it is not difficult to prove that the Bolshevik government is thoroughly Muscovite and is carrying on the traditional policy of Czarist despotism at home and abroad, while it is no less clear that Muscovite emigrants opposing their own national government in foreign countries, and the members of the subjugated nations which are fighting for the re-establishment of their independent States, which were so cruelly occupied in 1919 and 1921, have, and can have, nothing in common, and therefore they could not possibly belong to a joint committee.

The heavy losses which the Americans have suffered in battle against Moscow's Chinese auxiliaries will open the eyes of the American people soon enough to the role of Muscovite despotism in this war, and the whole campaign against the free world. Then the unhappy part the Muscovite emigrants are playing against the free and subjected nations will be revealed too. The sooner Americans are enlightened as to Muscovite thirst for conquest, the smaller will be the sacrifice required of the free world in its conflict with despotism.

FROM THE PRESS OF THE WEST

The Ukrainian Revolution Has Been Going On Since the Seizure of Power by the Soviet Regime

Under the above heading, the newspaper, "Grand Rapids Press," published an article by Dr Roamn Veres, in which he states that the fact of armed resistance in Ukraine has been a revelation for many, which is surprising.

The Ukrainians have been carrying on an underground campaign against the Soviet regime since its inception. During World War II, the French and other nations took up the same kind of fight, and now there are insurgent movements in other countries subjugated by Moscow.

"THE EVENING STAR"

The catastrophe of the German army in the War against Russia may be attributed to the difference of opinion between the civilian, Hitler and the army leaders.

When the German troops marched into the Ukraine, they were welcomed as liberators. General List, who commanded these troops, at-

tempted to give Headquarters a few political suggestions, viz., that the Ukrainians should be treated as friends and that the National Ukrainian flag should fly beside the German flag on the town hall at Kiev.

The idea was brusquely rejected by Hitler, Alfred von Rosenberg and Joachim von Ribbentrop. General List was deprived of his command. The German political administration was taken over by an S.S. general, who began to treat the inhabitants in the way peculiar to the Gestapo. In less than four weeks, the Ukrainians were made enemies of Germany. The defeat at Stalingrad was the result.

In his commentary, Brown also reminds his readers of the time (in 1945) when, contrary to all reason, General Eisenhower was ordered to cede to Russia all German territory occupied by the Americans, which eventually led to the strengthening of the Soviets in Europe.

We recommend everyone who is interested in the subjugated peoples' struggle for freedom behind the Iron Curtain to read the most informative literature issued in English by the Scottish League for European Freedom:—

1. "U.P.A. the story of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Ukrainian Red Cross."
2. "Red Russia and the Independence Movements in the U.S.S.R." Introduction by John F. Stewart. Price 1s.
3. "The Russian Danger: Europe's Only Defence." By Jaroslav Stetzko. Price 6d.
4. "The Workers in Soviet Russia." By John F. Stewart. Post Free.
5. "Russia: The Sick Man of Europe." Introduction by John F. Stewart. Price 6d.
6. "Will there be a Revolution in the Soviet Union?" Introduction by John F. Stewart. Price 6d.
7. "The Strength and Weakness of Red Russia." (Congress of Delegates of Independence Movements within the U.S.S.R. held in Edinburgh.) Introduction by John F. Stewart. 145 pages.

Orders may be sent either to the Editor, Ukrainian Information Service, or direct to Mr Bohdan Tarnawskij, Ukrainian House, 6 Mansionhouse Road, Edinburgh, 9, Great Britain.



UKRAINIAN INFORMATION SERVICE



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July-August 1951

Vol. III

JUNE 30TH, 1941

Most Memorable Date of Ukrainian Liberation Movement during World War II

Twenty years after their heroic struggle for liberty appeared to have been silenced for ever in 1921, the Ukrainian people saw their chance for regaining their freedom and independence returning, when the two great totalitarian powers, Germany and Soviet Russia, clashed in the deadly effort of total war.

That was 10 years ago, in June 1941.

In all parts of Ukraine a spontaneous desire for liberation from alien oppression vigorously expressed itself in risings and many forms of nationalist activities.

All these efforts reached their climax on 30th June 1941, when these historical words were spoken to the National Assembly in Lviv in the Western Ukraine, and broadcast to the farthest corner of Ukraine: "In accordance with the will of the Ukrainian People, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), under the leadership of Stephan Bandera, proclaims the restoration of the Independence of Ukraine."

The reaction of the Germans was immediate and ruthless. The advancing German Armies demanded of the Ukrainian Provisional Government that the Proclamation of Independence should be revoked.

When the President, Dr. K. Lewycky, and Yaroslav Stetzko, the then Prime Minister of Ukraine, on behalf of the Government and Ukrainian Nation, categorically refused, Hitler replied with widespread terrorism and oppression. The Minister of Political Relations, Ivan Klymiv-Legenda, and Minister of Forestry, Ing. Piasecky, were murdered by the Gestapo in Lviv. Dr D. Jaciv, first Vice-Minister of National Economy, was executed in the concentration camp at Aushwitz. Professor Dr M. Panchyshyn, Vice-Premier and Minister of Health, died from heart attack. The Leader of

the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), Stephan Bandera, and the Head of the Cabinet, Yaroslav Stetzko, were sent to the concentration camp at Oranienburg. General V. Petriw, Minister of War, was sent to the forced labour camp in Czechia. Vice-Minister for War Roman Shukhevych (later famous Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, known as General Taras Chuprynka) succeeded in escaping from the hands of the Gestapo.

Prisons were once more filled with Ukrainian Nationalists, and the gallows groaned with the weight of executed Ukrainian patriots.

To defend the Proclamation of June 30, 1941, the youth of Ukraine set itself to a prolonged struggle against both Berlin and Moscow. By the end of 1942 the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) had gained considerable strength, and soon began to take the lead among the Resistance Movements of the neighbouring nations against the German occupation; then at the time of the German retreat from Ukraine, against both Germans and Russians, and later against the Moscow imperialists alone.

The unity of purpose among the oppressed nations found expression in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), and has been the prominent feature of the underground activities behind the Iron Curtain during the last nine years.

The Western World, however, has for long ignored that vital front of the battle for human liberties, on which the survival of the entire Western civilisation may well depend. Only when there will be unity of purpose and action between the free democratic nations of the West and the enslaved nations of the East, ever aspiring to freedom, and fighting bitterly for the deliverance of their peoples from the yoke of their Muscovite oppressors, can the world be

saved from the threat of total conquest by Muscovite imperialism.

The Proclamation of 30th June 1941 is a true indication of the real desire of the nations which are now within the grip of Moscow's blood-stained claws, and a lesson on the true and just solution of the problems of East Europe in the face of Russian Imperialism.

We therefore call on all the freedom-loving nations of the world to join in the struggle for liberation, against the enemy of all mankind—Communist Moscow.

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Leaflet issued by the Ukrainian Youth Association, London—30th June 1951

THE ONLY WAY TO VICTORY— Western Alliance with Nations subjugated by Russia

We are on the threshold of a new World War. The Korean truce and peace talks alter nothing in the basic tendency of present world politics, which are drifting steadily towards a new conflagration.

That the Moscow despots temporarily have called off the war in Korea for the time being only means that the Bolsheviks need one of the breathing spells which they take now and then on their way to world domination. Whatever happens about Korea, the armaments programmes of the Western Powers will not be changed. As long as Communism commands even the smallest spot on earth, no matter where it be, there is danger of war, for war is an inherent part of Communist doctrine and cannot be separated from Bolshevism. Whether the West likes it or not, it cannot evade the clash of arms with Bolshevism.

The problem of the strategic-political conception of an approaching war now comes to the fore. If the *military* conception of this conflict is to be successful, it must be built up on a *political* conception. No military victory can be consistently attained if the war is built up on false political suppositions.

The West lays stress on mechanical, physical and material warfare. The so-called psychological warfare plays but a subordinate role in Western countries. The budget for propaganda is not related to the gigantic expenditure on material armaments. The fundamental strategic idea is to crush the enemy by the weight of superior material advantages. In Korea, the enemy is not being disarmed by the power of a better idea, but literally rolled out flat by the mass of planes, tanks, artillery, automatic small arms, etc.

As soon as it is a question of strategic computation with regard to the U.S.S.R., the West's trump card is the Atomic Bomb. The more and the greater the destruction the better. It is greatly to be feared that just the countries belonging to the peoples subjugated by Moscow will be the first victims of this Western strategy.

Without Ukrainian iron ore, coal and grain, without Aserbaijan's and Rumania's mineral oils, without Turkestan's cotton, without Byelorussian timber, etc., Moscow cannot carry on a war. Consequently, it would not be Muscovy,

the real guilty centre of the Bolshevik imperium, that would suffer. Instead, just Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Caucasus, Rumania, etc., would be wiped out by the enormous armaments if Western strategy is adhered to.

And it is these nations that have the greatest hatred for Russian Bolshevik dominion, and yearn for the fall and dissolution of the Russian Empire. They fail to see why they, the greatest sufferers, should be the ones to foot the bill, in a sanguinary orgy. They do not want a second tenfold Korea on their territory—the victory of a good cause, but on totally "scorched earth."

If atomic bombs must be dropped, then it must be in the proper place, on Moscow, the centre of the Russian master race, the bearers of unrest and cause of it all.

That has nothing whatever to do with hatred of Russians. It is a question of justice. The subjected peoples who have suffered and endured for centuries, must not be punished for the faults of their Russian masters, nor those of the Muscovites who are determined to rule the world either.

The strategy of "scorched earth" need not be applied in the territories of the subjugated nations. There is another very possible solution of the problem of forcing Moscow and Bol-

HIGH PAPAL DISTINCTION

For Ukrainian Catholic Bishop, Apostolic Visitor for Ukrainian Catholics in Western Europe

(U.I.S.)—Pope Pius XII has appointed the Apostolic Visitor for the Ukrainian Catholics in Western Europe, the Right Rev. Bishop Ivan Buczko, D.D., to be Bishop Assistant to the Holy See and private chaplain, raising him at the same time to the nobility with the right to bear the title of Count.

The ceremony took place in the presence of Monsignore Moioli, official of the Holy Congregation for the Eastern Church, in the Papal Collegium of St. Josaphat, in Rome. Bishop Buczko thanked His Holiness for the honour accorded him, and said that he saw in it a proof of the boundless love of His Holiness for the persecuted Catholic Church and the Ukrainian people in the Ukrainian homeland.

shevism out of these territories without giving them up to destruction. These nations would shake off Moscow if they were handled in the right way.

The Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), an association of 22 nations subjugated by Moscow, which are fighting for freedom, gives expression to the platform for such a policy.

The Soviet armies are made up to 60 per cent. of members of these nations. The weapons of this 60 per cent. must be turned against Moscow—the core of Russian-Bolshevism; a situation must be created which would make the mass of the Soviet soldiers refuse to fight against the democratic armies of the West.

Once before, there was a similar case in the U.S.S.R., i.e., in the beginning of the German-Soviet war of 1941. The majority of the Soviet soldiers did not fight at all when it commenced. Hundreds of thousands of them surrendered and voluntarily became German prisoners, expecting freedom, justice and human treatment. But they were bitterly disappointed. Only then did they turn against the Germans.

This readiness for friendship and co-operation with the democratic West exists to-day among the subjugated peoples. It will not be necessary to drop atomic bombs on Kyiv, Odessa, Lviv, Ploesti, Baku, Kryvyj Rih, the Don Basin, Minsk, and Tallin, if a situation is brought about by political means which would encourage the armed underground forces of the subjected nations to occupy the above-named towns at a given moment, and secure them from claims by Moscow.

The conditions for that would be, of course, that the aims of the subjected peoples for freedom were unreservedly acknowledged and supported by the democratic West. In the course of such a policy the national independence movements among those nations would have to be furthered. The underground revolutionary forces of the A.B.N. would have to be supplied by the West with technical and material aid. The nations must be assured that the intentions of the West are honest, i.e., that they will not be betrayed and forced again into the Russian dungeon of nations.

A Russia forced to remain within its ethnic borders would cease, once for all, to be a menace to world peace. The liberation of the nations subjected by Moscow would therefore be the greatest deed undertaken for peace in our century.

The most direct way to victory over Bolshevism and Russian imperialism is by way of support for the anti-Bolshevist, national liberation movements. The simplest method of preventing or localising a new war is for the West to accept the objectives of the A.B.N. nations. Atomic bombs of the Bikini type will be superfluous if the West once decides to bring the far stronger political bomb of the national liberation revolution to explosion.

CONGRESS OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS

On 14th-15th July, 1951, the Congress of Ukrainian Catholics took place in Manchester, Great Britain. There were many notices of this event in the British Press. According to the *Manchester Guardian* over 1,000 Ukrainians were present at the Congress. His Grace Bishop Ivan Bucko, Apostolic Visitor for the Ukrainians in Western Europe, was the honorary guest of the Congress. He said the Holy Mass with the assistance of many Ukrainian priests on Sunday, 15th July. Resolutions were passed at the Congress. The following are extracts:—

“We say our prayers to Almighty God for the suffering Ukrainian nation, and unite with our spirits with all those who suffer persecution by Soviet terror. With real esteem and admiration we think of the 30 years' struggle of the Ukrainian people against a Godless regime; we think of all the fighters for Faith and Nation. Especially we bow our heads before the Majesty of immense sufferings of these fighters, martyrs and believers in Christ's Faith who are most severely persecuted by the Red regime. First we mention the bright figures of our Bishops who, with the Metropolitan Joseph in the van, bravely faced all the persecutions and voluntarily took the way of pain and suffering.

“We mention as well all peoples, active defenders of the Christian Faith who follow different rites, who, in the enslaved countries behind the Iron Curtain, are facing the same fate as the Ukrainian nation for that they wish to keep faith with their Church.

“We do believe that from that suffering grows a new power which, in the common front, will overthrow the empire of the Red anti-Christ.

“We reckon it our duty to turn the attention of all the freedom-loving world to the fact that ungodly dictators are definitely preparing the campaign against the free world, a campaign which they carefully conceal by different actions, misusing the great slogans of peace. The aim of that campaign is to ensnare the rest of the world and to destroy the Faith and Church of Christ. At the present time, a time of world menace, the free nations must unite all their powers for the common defence of Christ's Church, the main bastion against the extension of Bolshevism.

“Lasting peace on earth can be secured only when peace will mean at the same time freedom and justice. As long as there are on the earth peoples who do not rejoice in the natural right of the free life which is guaranteed by God's order and law, so long there will not be lasting peace. Peace is only possible when based on the principles of Christian morals and justice.”

WE ARE FIGHTING FOR AN INDEPENDENT UKRAINIAN STATE

*Speech by Dr B. Huk, a U.P.A. Fighter, at the great Public Meeting in
Munich, June 3rd, 1951.*

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I speak in the name of fighting Ukraine. Not so very long ago, I was still a soldier in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), and member of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.). I speak in the name of my comrades with whom I marched shoulder to shoulder for years, in the fight for liberty, first against the Nazi and then especially against the Bolshevik occupation powers. In the name also of the Ukrainian people who were the first to experience Bolshevik terrorism in 1918 and were the first to take up the fight.

At that time, unfortunately, just as now, the western world turned a deaf ear to the cry from bleeding Ukraine and the other nations subjected by Russia. They believed in the West that by arming Kolchak, Denikin, and Wrangel, that is, men with the one ambition to save the empire under another flag, they could conquer Bolshevism. With their arms, Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Cossackia and other nations and territories were defeated and enslaved.

They did not understand the great ideal of the time, but opposed the national liberation movements, thus opening the way for Lenin and Bolshevism to stabilise their power.

The peoples in the Russian-Bolshevik dungeon are maturer to-day, so that this way cannot be repeated. In common with Ukraine, they are fighting against Bolshevism as the immediate bearer of Russian imperialism, whatever colour it may choose to show.

There is no armed or active resistance within the Russian ethnic borders, but only where, not only social serfdom, but also national oppression exist, that is to say, only among the subjugated peoples.

Ladies and gentlemen, friends in the fight for freedom! In the last years of the war and after it was ended, the revolutionary liberation campaign in Ukraine developed into the widespread activity of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which found a lively response all over the U.S.S.R. and among the so-called Satellite States. The ideas, watchwords and the progress of the anti-Bolshevik liberation revolution were spread among all the nations under Bolshevik subjection. The U.P.A. demonstrated clearly that such a campaign was possible, even under the prevailing circumstances, and how it should be organised and carried on. It directed the anti-Bolshevik feeling among the population into the course of effective revolutionary action, thus creating a fulcrum for the liberation movement.

The fact that, in spite of resorting to strong military forces, police and political terrorism and every kind of artifice, the Bolsheviks have not been able to crush the revolutionary spirit, has called forth a psychological transformation in the Soviet people. The idea that the omnipotence of the Bolshevik regime is vulnerable, the consciousness of revolutionary forces at work and the vainness of the efforts to crush and exterminate these forces, have given people renewed strength.

The undismayed activity of the U.P.A. and the O.U.N. has proved that nothing is impossible for resolute wills and undaunted fighters; that a well organised campaign must have success, that the losses are not greater than those caused by the totalitarian despotic system when the population is passive.

All classes are concerned in the anti-Bolshevik liberation campaign—peasants, workers and intellectuals. Some of them are in the front lines of the battle, working underground, organising defence and attack, developing and stabilising the objectives which the people then enlarge.

Others support the revolutionary movement while going about their legitimate business—a dangerous but necessary and self-sacrificing undertaking. A large class of sympathisers pick up the watchwords, make them part of their thoughts and act accordingly, often thwarting Bolshevik plans quite on their own initiative and often saving Ukrainian national property thereby.

Ukrainian nationalism opposes national intellectual values, Ukrainian tradition, and national character in all branches of intellectual life and practical existence, to the Bolshevik system. The illegal literature and political enlightenment propagated by the O.U.N. is of immeasurable importance in this respect. They find their way into legal life, as the constant purges show.

The Ukrainian liberation movement opposes Russian despotism, hatred of everything foreign, its efforts to supplant Ukrainian culture with Russian, which is alien to Ukrainian feeling, while clinging to a national consciousness that has grown through the centuries, national dignity, the love of truth, justice, and freedom for nations and individuals.

The Kremlin has not succeeded in stamping out the Ukrainians' fidelity to Christianity. The Ukrainian Church, underground, and the clergy working in secret, secure their religious life.

The Bolsheviks seek to draw the youth of Ukraine away from their parents, to upset

national foundations and make them willing servants of Moscow by educating them in Communism. The national liberation movement, however, meets all that by giving them great ideals and the living example of heroism and readiness to fight. An instance will explain the lengths Russification goes to. From Moscow alone, this year, 1326 students were sent to the University of Kiev. Their instruction is given in Russian, and the professors, too, are Russian. It is just the same in the other schools.

Against materialism and demoralisation, Ukrainian nationalism places the ethic values of idealism, heroism and self-sacrifice.

A hard fight is going on in economic-social life. The Ukrainian peasant is still resisting collectivisation with all his might. The struggle against exploitation, robbery and exaggerated working standards, against the colonial deprivations in favour of the Russian imperium, is unceasing.

Unabashed exploitation is demonstrated by the fact that the peasant pays the State 160 roubles for one cwt. of grain, while he himself receives only 5 roubles 60 kopeks for the grain he has to give up.

The struggle put up by the rural population is entering a new phase. The so-called stabilising of the collective farms is really intended to destroy the peasantry, but the Ukrainian peasant will not give up the struggle in this new section either, he will set the Bolshevik plans at naught.

The Ukrainian factory hands are fighting against slave-work, the Stakhanov system, the methods of social competition and the conditions enforced by so-called working discipline. The non-fulfilment of the economic plans and diminishing the value of production are the chief forms of resistance in the social-economic sector. The centre of power for this campaign, in all sections, is political or armed resistance, organised and executed by the O.U.N. The O.U.N. determines the contents and direction of the fighting parole; initiative and conception of its execution. It brings all points to a common-denominator, thus giving the movement an object and the striking power of an organised liberation movement.

The U.P.A. is the strong arm of the people. With O.U.N., it wages revolutionary political and armed warfare for the liberation and sovereignty of Ukraine. At the head of this fight stands the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.), the underground government of Ukraine, its representative and leading organisation.

As the legal government chosen by the Ukrainian people, it is opposed to the so-called government of the Ukrainian S.S. Republic—that agency of the Kremlin.

Now, in Ukraine, we have, on the one side, a firm national front with liberation as its objective, i.e., the Ukrainian people with all its sound forces. On the other side, the Moscow

camp and its followers. The fight against that camp knows no interruption. The tactics have to be changed from time to time, but its grows, and more people are mobilised, for a change of tactics does not mean limitation but rather the spreading out of the fight.

To meet the international post-war situation and the internal conditions in the U.S.S.R., the Ukrainian fight for liberation changed from partisan warfare to underground tactics. The methods were based on organising the forces, thus the centre of gravity became underground political and propaganda work, instead of military partisan operations.

In this lap the spread of the success achieved in guerilla warfare, the spreading of the revolutionary idea, arousing the people to anti-Bolshevik mass action and the winning of new fighters have been the aim.

The present form of revolutionary activity is of great importance in the situation as it is today, and meets with the same enthusiastic approval as the previous partisan operations did during the war. The present struggle is the continuation of the previous one. Its logical consequence and the spread of the revolutionary idea are its strength and affirmation. The masses now realise that the M.G.B. has not succeeded in putting down the underground organisations—U.H.V.R., O.U.N., and U.P.A.

The present concentration of revolutionary activity on social-political, propagandist and educational spheres, as well as protection against terrorism and destruction is so that at any moment all the revolutionary forces in the form of military action by the U.P.A. can be set in motion.

The object of the immediate revolutionary struggle is the psychological mobilisation of the broad masses, the winning of new forces for the fuller development of a future armed encounter.

That is the meaning of the propaganda expeditions made by the U.P.A. into Slovakia, Czechia, Byelorussia, Poland, East Prussia, Rumania, the Caucasus and other countries. They strengthen the revolutionary spirit of other nations, spread the idea of a general liberation revolution and the formation of a common front of all A.B.N. peoples.

Friends in the fight for freedom! The Ukraine and other subjugated peoples cannot be overwhelmed. Our fight goes on and will continue till the Russian imperium is shattered, no matter what colour it may adopt.

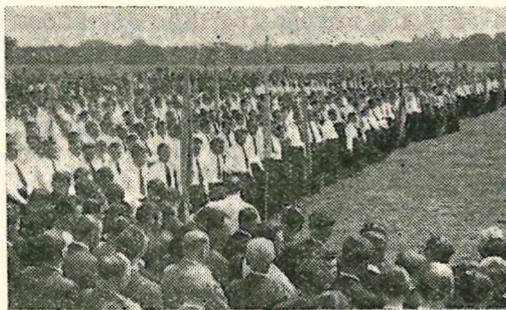
We are fighting for an independent, united Ukrainian State and for independent States for all nations subjected by Moscow.

We are fighting for the dissolution of the dungeon of nations. In this fight there is, for us, no compromise. We welcome everyone who goes with us. He must realise, however, that, after the dissolution of the dungeon of nations, there can only be a Russia within its own ethnic borders.

UKRAINIAN YOUTH RALLY IN GREAT BRITAIN

(U.I.S.)—On June 30th, 1951, a mass meeting of the S.U.M. (Ukrainian Youth Association) took place in London on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the restoration of the independence of the Ukrainian State (June 30th, 1941).

Thousands of Ukrainians gathered near the majestic Marble Arch. They all came to demonstrate their unbroken will to create a Ukrainian state and, if necessary, to die for it when the time came. Representatives of the young Ukrainian generation, which grew up fighting for its ideals, gathered in Hyde Park, where, according to British democratic tradition, everyone has the right to speak freely. There, in the centre of the great Empire, they wanted to demonstrate to all the world what their ideals are.



UKRAINIAN YOUTH IN LONDON

Representatives of the Ukrainian people and foreign guests of honour listened from a grand stand, among whom were, besides many others, the representatives of the two Ukrainian churches, Dr Dyachyshyn and Monsignore Molchanivsky, as well as one of the prime movers of the act of June 30th, 1941, the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N., Mr Yaroslav Stetzko; the honorary president of the S.U.B. (Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain), Ing. Danylo Skoropadsky; the chairman of the A.B.N. delegation in Great Britain, Prince Karashevych-Tokazhevsky; Professor Borys Andrijevsky; the chairman of the Organisation of Former Ukrainian Veterans (O.B.U.V.), Captain Dlaboga; Dr W. Korostovets, and many others. The foreign representatives were: the English friend of the Ukrainians, Mr Auberon Herbert; the representative of the Poles, Mr Rylski; the representative of the Czechs, Mr Locher; the representative of the Byelorussians, Mr Piletskyj, A.O.

The President of the S.U.M., Mr O. Kalynnyk, and the chairman of the Central Committee of the S.U.M. in Great Britain, Mr Yaroslav Deremenda found places beside the platform.

At the beginning of the meeting at 2 p.m., the flag was hoisted, then the head of this meeting gave the solemn order of the day, which was

received by all the young men, the future soldiers, as well as the veterans, standing at attention. After the order had been read, the chairman of the Committee, Mr Yaroslav Deremenda, declared the meeting open. He welcomed in Ukrainian those present, among whom were the members of the S.U.M. who had come from Belgium with their leader, Mr Omelan Koval, and especially the guests of honour.

Mr Auberon Herbert stepped to the rostrum and began his speech in English, continuing, after a few sentences, in Ukrainian: *"I know to whom I am speaking. You are the young Ukrainian generation, united in the S.U.M. You belong to Europe, and you are fully aware of your mission!"*

"You are the ones who will have to fight for your own and our freedom and for that which the U.P.A. is already fighting, thereby gaining the respect of the whole world. I am speaking in the name of my numerous English friends. I welcome you in our country!"

Mr Herbert closed his address with the following words: *"Death to Bolshevist tyranny! Long live Ukraine!"*

Enthusiastic applause saluted the speech of the representative of our friends in England. The priests began the prayers, the standard-bearers stepped forward, and, kneeling down, lowered their standards, new cadres of the S.U.M. stepped in front of the platform to take the oath. Solemnly, and with a deep sense of responsibility, they repeated the words of the oath after the priest. Other speeches by representatives of different organisations followed.

The blue sky, the green of Hyde Park, the white shirts of the young men and the blue flags made a colourful picture. Around the enclosed space stood masses of Londoners, reading the transparencies on which the protests against tyranny and slavery were written in English. Mr Mykula, the secretary of the Committee in England, stepped forward on the platform and gave a short address in English, saying, ". . . What our brothers and sisters are fighting for is no simple matter. It is a question of life in a free country. And life cannot be free where human rights are suppressed by force. No country can be free where aliens control its domestic affairs. The nations subjugated by Russia demand, and are fighting for, separation from Moscow and the creation of their own free States. . . ."

Along the edge of the park the hectic life of a gigantic city streamed by. Long after the meeting had broken up, people stood about in groups. Here and there the words fell, *"Ukrainians . . . the fight for freedom . . ."*

At the end of the meeting resolutions were passed.

RESOLUTIONS

of the Association of Ukrainian Youth and other Ukrainians assembled on the Parade Ground, Hyde Park, London, on the 30th June 1951, to commemorate the 10th Anniversary of the Proclamation of the Restoration of Ukrainian Independence.

I.

To-day, on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence we, young Ukrainians as well as Ukrainians of an older generation assembled at the mass meeting in London, the Capital City of the traditionally freedom-loving British people, wish to draw attention to the following facts:

1. *Our aim is a free and independent United Ukraine, living as a Christian nation in peace and on terms of equality and goodwill with all other nations.*
2. The historical and traditional Russian Imperialism which in Communism has reached its most perfect and effective form of totalitarian aggression, invaded Ukraine in the years 1917-1921 and made her an ally of Russia against her will. Not only Ukraine, but many other nations were over-run by Communist hordes at that time. Their number greatly increased when, after World War II, the Soviets were in a position again to take up their imperialist plans and to put them into effect.
3. Although the Ukrainian people were defeated by Russia in the War of 1917-1921, they continued to fight for their independence. They formed, in defiance of their conquerors, such organisations as the Union for Liberation of Ukraine (S.W.U.), the Union of Ukrainian Youth (S.U.M.), the Ukrainian Military Organisation (U.W.O.) and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.). The Ukrainians also formed and developed many organisations and institutions of a political, social and cultural character, from which they drew the strength and power they needed so badly in an uneven and unremitting struggle.
In this fight the Ukrainian nation had to stand alone and rely on her own strength, without any outside help whatever. She had nothing but a profound belief in the ultimate victory of Christian Faith and of a devoted Ukrainian patriotism over the hateful alien atheist intrusion to give her confidence in her struggle.
4. On the outbreak of World War II, the Ukrainians continued their struggle while looking

out for any possible opportunity to shake off the yoke of the oppressor. In June 1941, the opportunity seemed to have come, and, on June 30th, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, the O.U.N., voiced the hopes and aspirations of all by declaring the Independence of Ukraine. Their desire for liberty, and for freedom to run their own affairs on their own soil without foreign interference, was, however, savagely opposed by the new invader—Nazi Germany. The Ukrainian people met German oppression by strengthening the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, the O.U.N., and by creating a Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the U.P.A., and built up a tremendous Resistance Movement. While preparing for battle to liberate the country from the German invader, the people did not relax in their fight against their greatest and permanent enemy—Soviet Imperialism.

5. When world War II came to an end and, Peace, hoped and prayed for and striven for so ardently and so long, did not come to Ukraine. United by her Underground Revolutionary Government, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.W.R.), the Ukrainian nation had to carry on the unceasing and uncompromising struggle against their Russian Communist oppressors through the U.P.A. and the O.U.N., and still strives to regain a free and independent United Ukraine.

II.

6. The international political situation of the world to-day is characterised by an intensive polarisation of ideologies and by a clear and world-wide division which render neutrality in the conflict impossible. In this global division into two opposed ideological camps, the Ukrainian nation, together with the other peoples enslaved by Russia, form an anti-Bolshevik front inside the Soviet union.
The struggle of these peoples within the U.S.S.R., however, is not carried on solely with a view to changing the Government. It is not only directed against Communism. It is sustained to destroy Russian Imperialism as such, to break the shackles of Russian domination under any regime and in any form, to ensure freedom for the peoples which Russian Imperialism has oppressed in the past and now oppresses and to form independent national States within their own ethnographic boundaries.
7. This resistance of peoples with their own separate national traditions and aspirations, which compose the majority of the nationalities within the U.S.S.R. and the "Soviet Block" is a grave obstacle in the path of Russo-Communist Imperialism on its way to

world domination, and the Soviet power tries to eradicate it by every possible means at its disposal. For this purpose, the Communist Party clique has introduced the most barbaric methods the world has ever seen or heard of, including the moral and physical uprooting of whole populations and the genocide of entire nationalities, mass deportations, enormous concentration camps, unspeakable tortures and sufferings for those who oppose them, and mass executions. The struggle of the nationalities enslaved by the U.S.S.R. is not a political class struggle, but a national-political one. The Russian people are the principal basis and human material of Russo-Communist Imperialism and are the only ruling nation in the U.S.S.R. They are the only reliable supporters of the Russian totalitarian system.

III.

8. The oppressed peoples of the Imperialist Soviet Russian colossus by no means deny the right of the Russians to have their own sovereign state within their ethnographic boundaries, but definitely oppose any desires to reject any proposals put forward by the Russian emigration to preserve the integrity of the Russian Empire, under any alternative form of government with the inclusion of any other nationality than the Russians themselves. We Ukrainians therefore advocate the liberation of all subject peoples of the Tsarist Empire and of the U.S.S.R., enabling them to form independent national states in accordance with their national aspirations.

9. We Ukrainians accuse Russian Imperialism of being responsible for the devastation of Ukraine, for the destruction of Ukrainian Churches, the imprisonment and the murder of Ukrainian Bishops and Priests, the terrible persecution and extermination of masses of the Ukrainian population and the untold suffering and misery of our people. We accuse Russian Imperialism of having wilfully and deliberately brought about mass starvation resulting in the death of many millions of Ukrainian peasants, working men and women and members of the professional classes.

We condemn and protest against the continuance of the Russian Imperialist policy in Ukraine, with its persecutions, artificially created hunger, mass deportations, concentration camps, slave labour, and its moral and physical destruction of youth, of the peasantry, working men and their families, and all other sections of the nation.

We ask the United Nations to enquire into these crimes deliberately committed by the

Soviet Russian Government in Ukraine and in other countries in the U.S.S.R. and in the countries of the Soviet Vassals and to condemn the barbarous practices of that government.

IV.

10. The Youth of Ukraine, as well as the Youth of other nations enslaved by Russia, face their task with courage and determination. They are fully aware of the difficulties and the terrible dangers of the fight that lies before them.

We, the Ukrainian Youth in exile, are determined to subordinate our activities and interests to the interests and needs of the Ukrainian people fighting at home for its Christian Faith, its national rights and for the ultimate liberation of its soil from the Russians and their Communism, to set up its own Independent United Ukrainian State, and to create its own political life; we accept the call of fighting Ukraine to the Ukrainian emigration, especially to our young people, as a call to which we cannot and must not remain indifferent.

We identify ourselves morally and spiritually, and hope to identify ourselves effectively, with the youth, and with the whole Ukrainian nation, in our homeland.

11. We shall do all we can to strengthen friendly relations with the youth of other nations now under the Russian yoke, and to assist them in their fight until we achieve our common aim; to defeat and destroy the Russian tyranny and, on the ruins of the Soviet Empire, to build a new order and a new life, a life based on Christian, human and national principles.
12. We regard it as our duty to make use of every minute to improve our knowledge on every profitable subject in order to become useful and worthy members of our nation.
13. We regard it as our duty to help by all means in our power to preserve and to further the strengthening of the Ukrainian Christian and national spirit, always to act as faithful sons of our martyred Churches, and to serve our nation with all our heart and soul whenever and wherever it is possible and desirable or necessary.
14. Together with all the Ukrainians assembled at this demonstration we, the Ukrainian Youth in Great Britain, take this opportunity to send our warm and heartfelt good wishes to our long-suffering people, to all the steadfast and heroic fighters of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, the O.U.N. of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the U.P.A., and to the Ukrainian revolutionary leadership of

the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, the U.H.W.R.

We promise our people that we shall not rest until the great day when the Independence of Ukraine is again, and finally, proclaimed, and until our blue and gold Ukrainian standard floats over the gold-capped towers of Kiev.

15. We express our deepest reverence and devotion to our Churches under the guidance of His Grace the Metropolitan Policarp—the Head of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church—and of His Excellency Ivan Buchko—the Apostolic Visitor for Ukrainian Catholics in Western Europe.
16. We have been shown much generous hospitality in these British Isles, and we express our deep gratitude to His Majesty the King, to the British Government and to the British People.
17. We greet our brothers of the Ukrainian Youth in all countries, all Ukrainian organisations and institutions, and all Ukrainians in exile.
18. We send our sincere and warm good wishes to the youth of all other nations enslaved by the Soviet Imperialist Power who are united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, to the Youth of Great Britain and to the Youth of the remainder of the Free World, whose Christian and national ideals are the same as ours:—

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THE UKRAINIAN PROBLEM IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

By JOHN F. STEWART,
*Scottish League for European Freedom
Chairman,*

In Hansard, the official publication of the Parliamentary Debates of the British Parliament, of 8th May 1951, is a brief reference in the House of Commons to what, I think, is the first serious mention, in that august Assembly, of the existence, behind the Iron Curtain, of potential allies of the civilised countries, who, if properly supported, would speedily disintegrate the Muscovite power for terrorisation, and leave a world which could, without apprehension, devote itself to works of peace.

Although brief, the few words spoken are of supreme importance. It has taken a long time, even from the establishment of A.B.N., for it to have dawned on at least some Members of Parliament that the U.S.S.R. is not a Union at all and is not composed of one homogenous people, but of a very large number of wholly divergent nations, inhabited by people of much higher civilisation and culture than those of Russia. We appreciate the action of Messrs Cooper and Teeling more than we can say, and in the same way the West could have as allies, not only 45 million Ukrainians, but 180 millions of peoples equally determined to throw off the Russian yoke.

To me it is amazing that here, in the chaos and terror throughout the world, is a simple solution of the whole desperate problem and that the Western World deliberately shuts its eyes to it. Surely there is some sinister power in control behind the scenes which must be dragged into the open. The West has many projects—Atlantic Charter, Human Rights, Atlantic Pact, Federated Europe, United Europe and so on, none of which can be relied on for permanent support by its members. These are spending thousands and thousands of millions which they have not got, and are tying themselves hand and foot to an America which may be beneficent and may not—anyway they will lose their freedom. And when the defensive programme is completed two or three years hence, the weapons provided will be out of date and the whole show must be repeated. And whoever thinks that Russia is far behind America in the possession of dreadful weapons, I am not one of them.

All this will not save the world from Russia.

But here are 180 millions inside the U.S.S.R., many actually fighting Russia now, all ready.

A great part of the Red Army is composed of compatriots who can be relied on not to fight for Russia if they could be assured that they could fight for their own countries' liberation. The Red Army would disintegrate. At the very worst, any war would be localised and shortened, because these non-Russians would not be there to fight for Moscow, while the immense natural resources of their countries would no longer be available for the Moscow war machine.

These non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. have no desire to injure the Russians or anyone else; they are prepared to see the Russians confined within their own ethnic territory and to accept the same conditions for themselves. They do not wish the West or anyone to "liberate" them. They have experienced such "liberation" many times. They will liberate themselves in a co-operative effort, and play their part in the liberation of the whole world. They would gladly welcome British co-operation and support, and they want nothing for themselves but freedom to establish their own sovereign independent States and live their own free and useful lives, instead of being short-lived and ground-down slaves, of little use except to add to the strength of Moscow's bid for world conquest.

We have done our best for twelve years to educate British public opinion in regard to Russia. It has required monumental patience, and discouragement has not been wanting, but it appears that at last our ideas have penetrated the consciousness of serious British politicians, and that means much. We shall do our best to develop this trend.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Hansard)

In the House of Commons on 18th July, in the course of a discussion on broadcasting in Ukrainian (first time the problem of Ukrainian Broadcasts was discussed on 9th May), Mr Philips Price suggested, and Mr Herbert Morrison appeared to agree with him, that there was no evidence that 30 million Ukrainians were really disaffected with the Soviet regime. This shows complete ignorance of the Ukrainian problem or the Ukrainian situation. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) has now been ceaselessly waging war against the Russian occupation of Ukraine for the past eight years. Anyone who understands even the rudiments of partisan warfare knows that it cannot be carried on at all without the active support of the entire population. That is the case in Ukraine as elsewhere.

It is known that at the present moment, in spite of atrocious punishment and threats,

masses of the Ukrainian peasants are opposing collectivisation of the farms.

If Mr Philips Price and those who think with him would study the history of Ukraine ever since 1920, not to put too great strain on their intellects, even they would realise how the Moscow regime can be nothing but hated—millions merely massacred or deported to a much worse death, imposed famine (in the richest food-growing country in the world) which destroyed six million Ukrainians, imported bacterial and filthy diseases and the deliberate withholding of medical aid—does Mr Philips Price think the Ukrainian nation is likely not to be disaffected to Russian Rule?

We will be glad to supply Mr Philips Price with abundance of facts—not fancies.

OVERSEAS BROADCASTS (UKRAINE)

Mr G. COOPER asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what further consideration he has been able to give to the representations made to him by a number of Ukrainian nationalist organisations with a view to regular broadcasts in the British Broadcasting Corporation's overseas service being transmitted in the Ukrainian language.

Mr H. MORRISON: Careful consideration has been given to the question of introducing Ukrainian-language broadcasts into the British Broadcasting Corporation's overseas services. Such action would necessitate the dropping of some other foreign language service and the diversion of effort and resources which would not be desirable in view of the poor results likely to be obtained.

Mr COOPER: Has not my right hon. Friend received a very considerable number of representations from Ukrainians in this country and in Europe and across the Atlantic stressing the fact that our point of view would be very much better appreciated by some 30 million potential allies in the Ukraine if regular broadcasts were made? Would he give further consideration to this matter?

Mr MORRISON: We have had some representations, but we have still got to make up our minds as to what is the best thing to do. Most Ukrainians understand Russian, and if we were to give this concession to my hon. Friend it would mean we would have to sacrifice something else. On balance, that would be a disadvantage.

Mr PROFUMO: What does the right hon. Gentleman mean by saying "in view of the poor results" which would be obtained from these broadcasts in view of the fact that the "Voice

of America" obtains extremely excellent results? Is not the real answer the fact that the Government do not want to spend any more money in this field but would rather spend it on home advertising?

Mr MORRISON: I do not know what evidence leads the hon. Member to the confident conclusion that the "Voice of America" obtains excellent results. Our information is that Russian jamming would limit the result of these broadcasts.

Mr PHILIPS PRICE: Is it not a fact that there is no evidence that 30 million Ukrainians are really disaffected with the Soviet regime?

Mr MORRISON: I think my hon. Friend is right.

Mr SYDNEY SILVERMAN: Is not the condition under which political refuge is granted in this country that the political refugees refrain from political activities, and certainly from any political activities that might endanger our relations with another power? In those circumstances, what kind of activity do these nationalist organisations carry on?

Mr MORRISON: I am not sure. I think that is a question for my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Mr PROFUMO: As the right hon. Gentleman is seeking refuge in the fact that the Russians would jam these broadcasts, can he say why we broadcast to Russia at all?

Mr MORRISON: I am not seeking refuge. My business is to give the House such information as I think is reliable.

UKRAINIANS AT "WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES"

(U.I.S.)—The annual *Congress of the World Council of Churches* (W.C.C.) took place at Baden-Baden, West Germany, from June 12 to 14, 1951. A great many representatives of the Anglican, Lutheran, Protestant and Greek Orthodox Churches took part at the Congress.

Dr. L. Stepanenko was attending to represent the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

It was with great satisfaction that Ukrainians learned of the W.C.C.'s readiness to help in the resettlement of the many Ukrainian refugees and D.P.'s.

During the discussions the Bolshevik persecution of the Ukrainian National Orthodox Church was spoken of and aroused great interest among all those present for the position of the Ukrainian Church, as well as for the whole Ukrainian nation.

VI. CONGRESS OF UKRAINIAN WORKERS IN FRANCE

(U.I.S.)—June 30th-July 1st, 1951: The 6th Congress of the Organisation of Ukrainian Workers in France (O.U.R.F.) was convened in Paris. O.U.R.F. comprises, on the basis of trade unions, over 60,000 Ukrainians who have come to France during the last three decades. Most of them are Displaced Persons and political refugees. The O.U.R.F. is affiliated to the Confederation of French Christian Syndicates. The Congress was held in the big hall of the C.F.T.C. House, 26 Rue de Montholon. There were more than 200 delegates from all the provinces of France present. There is hardly any profession in France which is not practised by Ukrainians. Many of them have by now acquired French citizenship, yet they all have in common a deep love and devotion for their old home country.

During the Congress not only manifold problems of professional life in France, but also the political, economic and cultural situation of Ukraine were discussed. In several resolutions the following was expressed and stressed:—

(1) A special message of love and admiration is sent by the O.U.R.F. to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), which is still fighting relentlessly liberation battles against Russian-Bolshevist invasion.

(2) The Ukrainian workers in France send their respects and deep veneration to the two leading Ukrainian Christian Churches — Orthodox and Catholic. They uphold the unalterable standpoint that the Christian Church and Christian tenets alone are able to overcome the poisonous Bolshevist doctrine.

(3) The workers of the O.U.R.F. greet all the Christian-democratic labour movements in the world and hope that the anti-Bolshevist labour movements everywhere support the national and social liberation struggle of the Ukrainians against Russian-Bolshevist subjection.

The Congress of the O.U.R.F. was heartily greeted on the French side by M. Gaston Tessier, president of the C.F.T.C.; M. Bouladon, general secretary of the C.F.T.C., and M. Pierre Michon, member of the committee of the C.F.T.C.

The following members were elected to form the Central Committee of the O.U.R.F.: Ivan Popowych, honorary president; Dr. V. Nesterchuk, chairman; J. Zoblotsky, general secretary.

This active organisation has helped greatly in making the Ukrainian name well known and respected in France and has won many French friends for the liberation struggle of Ukraine. A great help was also the Ukrainian newspaper of the O.U.R.F., *L'Ukrainien*, in Paris, under the excellent editorship of Mr. Daniel Chaykovsky. By all this the O.U.R.F. has become one of the most active posts of the Ukrainians abroad.

UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

(U.I.S.)—In June, 1891, Ukrainian emigration to Canada began to take on mass proportions. Thus the Canadians are celebrating the 60th anniversary of their immigration. A number of festivities have been arranged, the climax of which will be a meeting of the chairmen of various Ukrainian organisations in Canada, and other leading persons, in September, the Governor-General of Canada, Viscount Alexander of Tunis, and Lady Alexander, acting as patrons.

In the course of these 60 years 410,000 Ukrainians have entered Canada. The Ukrainians are the fourth largest national group in Canada after Anglo-Saxons, French and Germans. According to official records the Ukrainians form 2.73% of a total population of 13,724,000. They settled mainly in the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba in central Canada, fewer went to Ontario (Fort William) and still fewer to British Columbia.

Their chief occupation is agriculture, although after World War II. they took up craftsmanship and trade. Seventy thousand and more Ukrainians live in the towns; in Yorktown, Vagreville and Truscona they form half, in some places the majority of the inhabitants. In World War II. the Canadian Ukrainians sent the highest percentage to the army in proportion to their number; 35,000, i.e., 11.4% of the total Ukrainian population served in the army. The Dominion Army had over 600 Ukrainian officers.

The Communists very soon recognised the political importance of the Ukrainian group in Canada and shrank from no means of getting a strong hold on them. They even tried to make capital out of the occasion of the 60th anniversary, the principal event of which is to be the unveiling of a monument in honour of Taras

Shevchenko, Ukraine's greatest national poet. The monument, significantly, comes from Moscow as a present! The Society of Ukrainians in Canada, which is under Soviet-Russian influence, is alleged to comprise 100,000 Ukrainians in 250 groups. These numbers are obviously exaggerated. The Society issue three newspapers.

There is little result from all these efforts, however, because the great mass of the Canadian Ukrainians is strictly anti-Communist. That attitude has been very much strengthened by the new mass immigration (1945-1951), when more than 35,000 Ukrainian Displaced Persons arrived from Europe. The newcomers were well acquainted with Communism, having experienced it as it really is; they were not to be deceived. Time has shown that the Canadian Ukrainians are conscientiously loyal to the Dominion and its constitution.

UKRAINIAN THEATRE ALSO IN CANADA

(U.I.S.)—Thanks to the initiative of the well-known stage manager and actor, H. Yaroshevych, a Ukrainian theatre has been founded in Canada under his direction. Mr. H. Yaroshevych, as well as the other actors, are all political immigrants who fled to the West during the Second World War to escape Bolshevik oppression and cruelty. They found a new home abroad. When they formed their ensemble they thought of creating a "theatre on wheels." Now they intend to visit different cities in Canada during the season 1951-52.

This Ukrainian theatre under the direction of Mr. H. Yaroshevych is the second of its kind in the New World. In 1949 a similar enterprise was founded in U.S.A. under the direction of the famous Ukrainian stage manager and actor, Volodymyr Blavatskyj, and has been very successful. The Ukrainians are passionate theatregoers.

THE TRUTH ABOUT UKRAINE BECOMES KNOWN

(U.I.S.)—On May 21st, 1951, a group of newly arrived Ukrainian D.P. students handed the Ukrainian national flag to the rector of the Lincoln University, Nebraska, U.S.A., at a local campus celebration. The flag found its place in the Hall of Fame of the University among the flags of other nationalities whose youth are studying there.

The Ukrainian flag, as the flag of a people subjected by tyranny, was put up in a central place, with an appropriate text.

"UKRAINE—HOUSES" ABROAD

(U.I.S.)—In New York, N.Y., U.S.A., a Ukrainian committee was set up, under the direction of Mr. N. Lepkaluk, with the task of erecting a representative "Ukraine House" in U.S.A. This house is to become a cultural centre for the Ukrainians in U.S.A., to preserve and cherish the cultural treasures which have been banned or destroyed by the Bolshevik regime in the Ukrainian home country. Special attention is to be given to the foundation of a library and art gallery, in order to preserve those treasures which were menaced by systematic destruction on the part of the Bolsheviks. The estimate for the house, with-out equipment, is some 165,000 dollars. The first 65,000 will be collected this year through a subscription among the Ukrainians.

In Australia, too, the recently immigrated Ukrainians are planning a "Ukraine House" in Melbourne, to be a cultural centre for them. The chairman of the Association of Ukrainians in Australia has worked out a project for voluntary national "self-taxation" to finance the project. Every Ukrainian who emigrated to Australia after the war is to contribute £5 by the end of 1951. It is hoped that the house will be ready by the end of 1952.

Furthermore, plans are being discussed for a "Ukraine House" in Germany by the Ukrainians who will remain permanently there. Munich or Frankfurt-on-Main are proposed. It is not quite clear, however, how the financial problem is to be mastered.

BRAZIL HEARS THE TRUTH

(U.I.S.)—In May, 1951, the Brazilian broadcasting station Garcia, in Curityba, Parana, introduced into its programme regular broadcasts on Ukraine, partly in Portuguese, partly in Ukrainian. The introduction to the Portuguese transmission gave a detailed report on Ukraine. In Brazil, until now, Ukrainians were considered either Poles or Russians. Therefore these broadcasts made the difference between the Ukrainians and other Slavic nationalities quite clear. A special stress was laid on the fact that the Ukrainians have fought during the last decades against Poles, Russian Bolsheviks and German Nazis, and that they have always been fighting for the recreation of an independent Ukrainian State separated from Russia. The Ukrainian broadcasts of Curityba are mostly surrounded by an artistic programme containing Ukrainian folk-songs, etc. The local Ukrainian newspaper, *Pracja* ("Work"), reports that the introduction of these broadcasts may be considered a remarkable success of the Ukrainian Congress-Secretariat in Brazil. This is a central organisation of the Ukrainians in Brazil, which issues as well an 'Information Bulletin' in

Portuguese. A great percentage of the settlers in the State of Parana are Ukrainian agricultural immigrants.

II. CONGRESS OF UKRAINIANS IN ARGENTINA

(U.I.S.)—May 26-27, 1951: The Second National Congress of the Ukrainians in Argentina was held in Buenos Aires. About 100 delegates, representing a number of Ukrainian organisations, participated.

At the Congress the position of Ukrainians in Argentina was discussed, especially the difficulty of fitting the new arrivals, D.P.s and refugees into their unfamiliar surroundings. The Congress passed a series of resolutions, among which there was a strong protest against the occupation of Ukraine by Russia and Bolshevism. The wish of the Ukraine people was emphasised for a final separation from Russia and the setting up of an independent national State. The Congress acknowledged the Ukrainian Exile Government which developed in 1948 from the Ukrainian National Council. The Congress appealed to the whole civilised world to support the Ukrainian people's movement for independence.

On June 8, 1951, the chairman and committee of the Congress were received by the President of Argentina, Juan Péron, and his wife, Eva. The audience lasted one hour.

UKRAINIAN PRESS ABROAD

(U.I.S.)—An interesting article appeared lately in the Ukrainian daily *Ameryka* (Philadelphia, U.S.A.) by J. Seredyak. The author makes a fairly exhaustive analysis of the Ukrainian papers published outside the U.S.S.R. and gives some interesting figures, especially concerning those appearing in America.

A total of 67 newspapers in the Ukrainian language (not including the Ukrainian Communist papers) are published in America. Of these, 32 are in Canada; 23 in U.S.A.; 4 in Argentine. They total 315,000 copies per number. The first number of the *Ameryka* appeared in a record edition of 100,000 copies.

The oldest Ukrainian newspaper in America is the *Svoboda* ("Liberty"). This paper has been appearing in New Jersey for the last 57 years. Then follow *Ukrainskyj Holos* ("Ukrainian Voice") in Winnipeg, Canada, 40 years; *America* in Philadelphia, 39 years; *Narodne Slavo* ("Peoples Voice") in Pittsburg, 36 years; and in South America the Catholic paper *Pracja* ("Labour"), 36 years.

Besides those appearing in America there are 23 in Europe, 4 in Australia—that is, 27 newspapers.

In the whole world outside the U.S.S.R. there are altogether 94 Ukrainian papers or periodicals. None, however, in Asia or Africa.

UKRAINIAN-AMERICAN VETERANS

(U.I.S.)—At the end of May, 1951, the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Union of Ukrainian-American Veterans took place in Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A. The "Union" comprises most of the Americans of Ukrainian descent who fought in the American Army in the two world wars. The chairman of the "Union" is an ex-major of the U.S. Army, T. Darmohray. The statutes of the organisation were changed so that, in the future, active members of the American Army can join the "Union" too. Among other decisions the following were considered very important:—

(1) The Ukrainian-American Veterans will, without reserve, support the defence measures of the American Government in its campaign against Communism within and outside the U.S.A.

(2) The free world must be warned against the danger of the nationalist Muscovite Imperialism, which is aimed at conquering the whole world and at enslaving the whole of mankind.

(3) The "Union" draws the attention of the world at large to the fight which the Ukrainian people has for 30 years fought continually and with great sacrifice against Bolshevism and for the regeneration of an independent Ukrainian National State.

(4) The "Union" will take steps to inform the American public of the truth about the so-called "Ukrainian representatives" in the U.N., who are by no means representative of the Ukrainian people. The annual meeting of the U.A.V. closed with a declaration of loyalty to the U.S.A. and democracy.

RECENT WITNESS FROM UKRAINE

(U.I.S.)—The well-known Norwegian publication *Arbeiderbladet*, of June 18, 1951, published a long article by a fighter for freedom who came recently from Ukraine, and is now living in Norway, about the oppression of the Ukrainians and other subjugated peoples in the U.S.S.R.

He speaks of the astonishment of the people behind the Iron Curtain that the West continues to speak of the many millions of non-Russian inhabitants of the U.S.S.R. as "the Russian people," although the real Russian inhabitants only make up 80 millions of them.

He says that the U.P.A. and the other liberation movements are in close contact with the broad masses, each in its own territory. The objectives for which they, like the A.B.N., are

fighting, are national freedom and independence, objectives which they will never give up.

The subjugated nations behind the Iron Curtain are shocked to hear, especially in the broadcasts from the West, that they are included when these transmissions are addressed to the "Russian people." If no material aid is forthcoming, then at least these nations which are putting up such a hard fight might expect some moral support.

A powerful new force has arisen behind the Iron Curtain which in a future conflict will play an important, even a decisive, part. The West must turn its attention to this new force and seek in it its allies. Then the sacrifices demanded of the subjugated nations—and the West, too—will be very much reduced.

We recommend everyone who is interested in the subjugated peoples' struggle for freedom behind the Iron Curtain to read the most informative literature issued in English by the Scottish League for European Freedom:—

1. "U.P.A. the story of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Ukrainian Red Cross." Price 1s.
2. "Red Russia and the Independence Movements in the U.S.S.R." Introduction by John F. Stewart. Price 1s.
3. "The Russian Danger: Europe's Only Defence." By Jaroslav Stetzko. Price 6d.
4. "The Workers in Soviet Russia." By John F. Stewart. Post Free.
5. "Russia: The Sick Man of Europe." Introduction by John F. Stewart. Price 6d.
6. "Will there be a Revolution in the Soviet Union?" Introduction by John F. Stewart. Price 6d.
7. "The Strength and Weakness of Red Russia." (Congress of Delegates of Independence Movements within the U.S.S.R. held in Edinburgh.) Introduction by John F. Stewart. 145 pages. Price 6s.

Orders may be sent to the Editor, or to Ukrainian Information Service.

FLOURISHING UKRAINE

(U.S.)—The Kiev Kino-Studio, the State Soviet film studios of Ukraine, produced a full-length colour film, "Flourishing Ukraine." The scenario was done by the well-known Ukrainian Communist writer, A. Malyshko; it was directed by M. Slutsky; music by P. Mayboroda and D. Pokras; photography J. Katzmann and I. Marchenko.

The film was shown for the first time in the West during the Film Festival at Cannes in 1951. It was pronounced "artistically good" and was given a high award.

It may be gathered from the "trailer" that the film describes "the efflorescence in Ukraine under the Soviet Government and under the care of wise Stalin," as well as the "enthusiastic co-operation of the whole Ukrainian people in productive work."

What is really interesting about the film is not so much the studio-produced contents as the fact that it cannot be shown in cinemas in Ukraine itself. There it is only shown in private to Communist top leaders.

The film is intended solely for export and propaganda abroad. "The Song of Siberia," which was shown some time ago in the West, was produced for the same purpose.

It is not difficult to guess why "Flourishing Ukraine" cannot be shown in the country itself. The much-tried, impoverished population, so ruthlessly exploited by the Communist regime, would see through the picture and turn it down for what it is, an infamous lie, a mockery of the sufferings they have to endure, a brazen forgery of reality and a flourishing nonsense.

THE "DECADE OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE" IN MOSCOW

(U.S.) From June 15 to 25, 1951, a so-called "Decade of Ukrainian Culture" took place in Moscow—one of the usual window-dressings arranged at intervals by Moscow to demonstrate the "indissoluble friendship and fraternity among the Soviet peoples." "Culture decades" like this are held annually, alternately for each of the peoples in the Soviet Union, for Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, the Baltic peoples, Turkestanians, etc.

The Muscovites, as the hosts, know how to give a certain festive air to these "Decades." Performances are held in the large (Bolshoy) as well as the small theatres, in the concert hall of Peter Chaykowsky, in the "House of the Soviets," etc. The guest nation is granted the opportunity to show what it can do, presents its best artists and exhibits its greatest artistic achievements.

This year four Ukrainian and one Russian theatre companies came from Ukraine, the ensemble of the Great Opera House in Kyiv, the Ukrainian State Symphony Orchestra, five choirs and two ballets. In the Tretyakow Gallery the work of 200 Ukrainian painters and black and white artists was exhibited, consisting of about 1,000 works of art. The work of some 800 Ukrainian craftsmen, more than 2,500 pieces, was displayed in a large exhibition pavilion. From 80 Ukrainian poets and authors over 200 new books and other recent publications (1950-1951) were accepted. Altogether more than 2,000 Ukrainian artists, actors, singers, composers, musicians, authors, craftsmen, painters, sculptors, etc., participated. That was the facade.

To the uninitiated this mass display would give the impression of extraordinary Ukrainian cultural activity behind the Iron Curtain. Yet those who know are not deceived. Everything, actually everything, shown in Moscow gives evidence of hopeless stagnation, the stunting of all mental development in Ukraine. It is as if that development had abruptly ceased 50 to 100 years ago and all the springs of Ukrainian culture had dried up since.

There is nothing new, nothing modern, nothing that evinces any progress in the Ukrainian people's cultural development. Most of what was exhibited was folklore, ethnography—Ukrainian cultural raw material, so to speak.

All were museum pieces or taken over from the Russian. For example, the Ukrainian actors were permitted to put seven plays on the stage, all Russian, not a single one by a Western playwright. There was not a new Ukrainian opera; not a single modern song was allowed. There were only popular plays and farces which used to delight the leisure hours of Ukrainian grandfathers 50 to 100 years ago and can do the Stalin regime no harm now.

Whatever is "new" or boasts of being "new" bears the Stalin mark. The "modern" songs sing of Stalin, the "modern" plays are about Stalin, the artists only paint Stalin, the contents of all the life presented in that "Decade" are Stalin in every shade of meaning. After 10 days of such performances one might imagine that the whole cultural life in Ukraine was—Stalin.

This "Decade" was accompanied by a certain splendour, but it was rather the splendour of a mortuary. Living Ukrainian culture, in the meantime, has either gone underground or escaped through emigration.

COMMUNISM

Name adopted by Russian Imperialism

From a Leaflet just published by The Scottish League for European Freedom, Edinburgh, we publish the following extracts:—

“At Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, Stalin not only got all he asked for, but Roosevelt, instigated by Harry Hopkins, a man with neither background nor foreign experience, poured everything he could think of into the lap of the astonished Bolshevik leader, till now, thanks to American politicians and financiers and British supineness, Stalin bestrides the world and holds it in terror.”

“To imagine that America has a monopoly, or even a superiority, in appalling weapons of destruction, is a dangerous fallacy; it is not true.”

“Actually, ‘Communism’ is a name adopted by Russian Imperialism to hoodwink the soft-hearted and soft-headed Westerns, and Russian Imperialism has been the same for at least 800 years, and its policy from the first has been

world conquest. It does not matter two pins that Russia is Tsarist, Bolshevik, Communist, Socialist, or anything else. Russian Imperialism is inherent in every Russian heart.”

“There are followers of Kerensky” (for a minute space of time Russian Premier, the most ineffective ruler Russia ever had) “with a good deal of unenlightened American support, who merely want to sit down in the seats of the mighty in the Kremlin, take the place of the Stalinists and rule an undivided ‘Holy Mother Russia.’ Kerensky is even quoted as saying, ‘Better a bad dictator than a divided Russia.’ Movements such as this give immense pleasure to the Kremlin, as dividing opposition to itself, and very likely the Kremlin has even found means to subscribe largely to the considerable funds which keep going such organisations as Kerensky’s.”

“United Nations, Atlantic Pact, United Europe, Federated Europe, Peace Movements, none of these has had or will have any effect in arresting Moscow’s march towards world conquest. The only thing that will arrest it is the disintegration of any kind of Russian Empire, an Empire whose ideal and mission are too deeply rooted in every Russian heart to be eradicated.”

Just published:

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Russia Once More? — No, Never!

Ukrainian Attitude to the Creation of Kerensky's Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia

— By Zenon Pelensky —

An interesting conference of Russians in exile was held at Ludwigsburg, near Stuttgart, on August 20, 1951. It was generally reported in the world press that Russians in exile had amalgamated politically; the union of "five Russian democratic parties" was alleged to have provided a possible basis for the creation of an "All-Russian exile government". It was even suggested that "Stalin would soon be faced with a strong Russian opponent".

It was much ado about very little, although that little should not be underestimated. What actually happened? On August 20, 1951 the following exile Russian parties met in conference in Ludwigsburg:

1. League of Struggle for National Freedom (L.B.N.S.); 2. The National Labor Alliance (N.T.S., also called "solidarists"); 3. The Russian National Movement (R.N.D.); 4. The Union of Fighters of the Liberation Movement (S.B.O.N.R.); 5. Union for the Struggle for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (S.B.S.R.).

The leading personality at the conference at Ludwigsburg was Alexander F. Kerensky, who was for half a year in 1917 Prime Minister of the temporary government in Petrograde. Journalists gave the conference the name of "The Conference of Eleven"; each of the parties mentioned sent 2 delegates only, 5 of whom, in addition to Kerensky, came from the United States.

At this conference, the "Council for the Liberation of the People of Russia" (S.O.N.R.) was created, on the understanding that its program would be published shortly. Five weeks after the conference, there was no sign of such a publication; on the other hand, Mr. Kerensky summoned a press conference, to whom he gave the following statement:

"The five groups have agreed upon a nationality plank that pledges the right of self-determination for the

minority groups now included in the Soviet Union. Essentially, the five parties have agreed that when Communism is overthrown in the Soviet Union, major nationalities, such as the Ukrainians, shall determine their future relations with the other Soviet peoples by means of a democratic plebiscite.

So far this is merely an internal Russian, or, to put it more accurately, Muscovite affair. We must bear in mind that the five exile parties mentioned are a very small proportion of Russian political parties abroad. There are 34 of these! The entire monarchist bloc has remained aloof, so that the "Council" cannot claim that it speaks even for the Russians.

And this is by no means the most striking fact: for we must remember that the U.S.S.R. is a state of nationalities, as even Bolsheviks had to take into account when they formed, in addition to the Central Russian S.S.R. 15 other national republics and areas. These nationalities played no part at all in the formation of the Ludwigsburg "Council" there being not a single non-Russian in the "leading eleven". It is most striking that it should be Russians only who wish to liberate non-Russian peoples from Russian and Communist tyranny. Whatever may

happen, Russians desire to remain the "leading people". History will then say that it was not the peoples who liberated themselves, but that the Russians "granted" "their" peoples liberty.

These internal Russian meetings and agreements would not in themselves, be particularly interesting; there have been too many of them in the 33 years of Russian exile. But they acquire interest when we notice, that American "private" circles are behind them. The "new" anti-Soviet center will be financed by funds provided by the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", a private United States organization headed by Eugene Lyons. The center is expected to operate a powerful radio station transmitting to the Soviet Union, to publish newspapers and magazines for distribution behind the Iron Curtain, to maintain a Russian Research Institute in Munich and to engage in other activities aimed at the overthrow of the present Moscow government.

The creation of this center of Russians in exile with pronounced American support has caused a certain uneasiness, and, to put it mildly, great surprise, among the peoples oppressed by Moscow. The support of American circles, behind which more is suspected than merely "private" initiative, is interpreted as meaning that the U.S.A., in the event of armed conflict with Stalin and Bolshevism, has even now decided to retain an undivided Russian Empire! The democratic formula of the promised "plebiscite" is unsatisfactory in so far as Russians have evidently from the beginning been given the leading role, and later, doubtless, will form the executive. The results of Russian "plebiscites" are too well-known by experience to the peoples concerned, for them to be duped again by a "guarantee of the U.N. and the U.S.A.". The United States would have to send ten millions of its own soldiers to Rus-

"Everyone who opposes the transformation of the U.S.S.R. in to the independent states of all the oppressed nations is an imperialist or a tool of imperialists; everyone who denies the Ukrainian people the right to re-establish a sovereign Ukrainian state is a Russian imperialist; everyone who opposes the separation of Ukraine from Russia is an imperialist".

O. Hornovy

(Quoted from one of the last articles written before the Author fell in action recently against Russian M.G.B. troops)

sia in order to carry out a plebiscite that would not be influenced by the Russians.

The very name of Alexander Kerensky acts as an irritant on the nationalities concerned. He is known to have been the man who prepared the way for Bolshevism in Russia. For Soviet masses he is a ridiculous and unsuccessful man — a hopeless failure. Now he comes along on American crutches. He is not the kind of man to win the masses, to inspire or lead them. Quite a different kind of person must appear for that.

Moreover, in non-Russian national circles, Kerensky's move is regarded as a clever Bolshevik move! Actually the reasoning is very simple, as in all big things. Kerensky promises the Americans an anti-Stalin revolution, "a rising of the Russian masses" though he knows quite well that the Russian, the Muscovite masses would never rise against Stalin and his regime. Why should they? When has governing people risen against its leader, especially one who has realized in his foreign policy the Muscovites' boldest dreams? It was not an accident that in 1945, after victory, Stalin should have showered extravagant eulogy not on the peoples of Russia but only on the Russian people.

To suggest the "help of the Russian masses" to the Americans is to lead American policy astray. There is only one really revolutionary power in the U.S.S.R. — that of the oppressed peoples in Russia! What does Kerensky gain by selling America the idea of an indivisible Russian Empire? His reward is the alienation of the nationalities in question, who once believed in America and who now begin to lose this belief. And that is what the Bolsheviks want. Here it is where Kerensky is playing the game of the Kremlin. America is faced with the alternative either of having Kerensky's Russians on her side and the oppressed nations of Russia as opponents, or vice-versa, i. e. of having these nations for her and Russians proper against her. There can be no compromise here.

Those are the considerations which have led the peoples concerned, represented by their legal exile organizations, to refuse to have anything to do with Kerensky's "Council". This found unequivocal expression at the Press Conference of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) in Munich on August 24, 1951. Representatives of 22 nations in the A.B.N. pronounced a decided — "No!"

It is possible that Mr. Kerensky will be able to buy various willing quislings with the help of his American money. In this way he can — and probably will, form committees of "Ukrainians", "Byelorussians", "Georgians", "Turkistanians", and other nationalities, who

The Meaning of the Latest Bolshevik Purges

Moscow's Fight against Ukrainian "Bourgeois Nationalism"

(U.S.) — The great wave of purges, which has been sweeping over the satellite states and the U.S.S.R. since the spring of 1951, has assumed horrifying proportions. According to estimates given by Mose Pijade of the Communist Politbureau in Yugoslavia (and he should know), this is a political campaign launched by Moscow on the same scale as the purges that shook the Soviet Union in the years 1935 to 1938.

There are, however, differences. Fifteen years ago, the entire Communist party in the U.S.S.R., including Russia proper, was subjected to the purge. Now Russia proper is excluded, and the purge is limited to areas inhabited by peoples subjugated till 1939, and to the countries which became satellite states after 1945. The countries most affected are Ukraine, Turkestan, Aserbaijan and all the satellite states.

Another difference is that, 15 years ago, the purge and the Moscow show-trials shook the whole world. But today, though the numbers involved are as high, the effect on Western public opinion is not one tenth of what it was in 1935—1938. Facts are conscientiously recorded, but that is all. It is no longer a matter of principle, but a problem of statistics. "There is no evil to which we cannot get used", says a Russian proverb. The West seems to have got well used to this evil.

The motives behind the latest purge are of particular interest. It is carried out under the slogan of "Down with bourgeois nationalism"! It is no longer a fight carried on by a Stalin clique against this or that "right" or "left" deviation; it is not a fight of the Communists among themselves over the interpretation of Marx-Lenin dogmas. "Bourgeois nationalism" is merely the Communist party's synonym for national patriotism in the countries concerned, and is expressed in the increasing efforts of those countries for independence. It is Moscow's fight for the preservation of the Russian Empire. It is not a fight between classes or parties, but between nations.

It is interesting to note what classes of society are attacked by the purge.

will publish papers in their own language, etc. This procedure will have nothing to do with democracy.

At any rate, the Ukrainians, one of the biggest nations concerned, will have nothing to do with Kerensky and his "Council". This has been repeatedly and clearly stated of late. They do not want unions with Russians, nor plebiscites, they want no false pronouncements of the will of the Ukrainian people. They want one thing only, to be free of Russia! They want their own, sovereign national state — and they will fight for it, even if it should cost a sea of blood, of their own, or of other peoples, come what may!

In Poland and Bulgaria, the victims are officers; in Hungary, officers, the remaining nobility, wealthy peasants and the Catholic clergy; in Ukraine, writers and artists; in Rumania, officers and well-to-do peasants. Everywhere it is the middle classes, the intellectuals, the clergy, the intellectually progressive that constitute the backbone of every modern, independent, national state.

The purge has been particularly severe in Ukraine. The criticism of "nationalist deviations in literature" that followed the "decade of Ukrainian culture" in Moscow was only a prologue to the severe purge that was carried out, especially in Western Ukraine. It is also significant that the masses of the people are affected even more than the leaders of society, or people of outstanding reputation. According to news which this paper has from underground sources, thousands of intellectuals have been liquidated — officials, engineers, teachers, technicians, young officers, artists, economists, etc. The Ukrainian people has once more, so to speak, got its "brain removed by operation", lest it should "get wrong ideas" in the event of another World War. In the Second World War, Ukraine proved to be most unreliable, although the country had no great sympathy with Hitler and the Nazis. The situation might become more dangerous if Moscow were to come to grips with the democracies of the West, as Ukrainians are particularly susceptible to democratic ideas of freedom.

The purge has had one interesting result — the entire Ukraine and the other countries affected regard this measure as a certain sign that war is not far off. All are convinced that this is a definite measure of mobilization, though in the negative sense. Ukraine expects war, and through war, its final liberation and independence as a State.

A.B.N. Press Conference

(U.S.) — At a press conference in Munich on 24. 8. 1951, attended by representatives of the press in Germany and abroad, delegates from the A.B.N. stated the attitude of the non-Russian nations to the "Council for the Liberations of the Peoples of Russia" which was recently founded in Stuttgart. The conference was given a review of the A.B.N.'s political program, a summary of which was contained in the resolution passed by the central committee of the A.B.N. on 24. 8. 1951.

The following organizations were represented at the conference: Associated Press, United Press, Overseas News Agency, the Bavarian Broadcasting Company, C.N.D. (Christian News Service), Die Neue Zeitung, Stars and Stripes, Der Monat, Tablet, Frankfurter Allgemeine, Der Mittag, Stuttgarter Zeitung and other German dailies and the national press of the peoples oppressed by Bolshevism.

Young Ukrainians Fight for their National Honour

Communist Infiltration at European Youth Rally on Loreley Rock

(U.S.) The "Meeting of European Youth" was held this year in July and August in a camp on the romantic Loreley Rock on the Rhine. Every ten days the campers — 1,500—2,000 young people from 20 states in Central and Western Europe — changed. They met here in order to exchange ideas in a free, happy atmosphere, the motto of the organization being: "Europe Grows Together". The camp was sponsored by the German Federal Government and the three Allied High Commissioners of Western Germany. America supplied most of the money.

Young Ukrainians were also invited. The Ukrainian delegation consisted of 10 members with definitely democratic ideas, some of them with leanings towards liberalism and socialism.

Though they had been invited, the Ukrainians were not received or treated well in the camp. They were forbidden to hoist the Ukrainian blue-yellow national flag on the pretext that the only flags that might be hoisted were those either of free or of oppressed states. In spite of this, the flag of the Spanish communist-republican government, which does not exist at all, fluttered over the camp for weeks. The Ukrainian state was not recognized either as existing or as oppressed. The Ukrainian delegates asked the camp Executive to give them in writing a reason for their refusal, but they did not get it.

Nor were the Ukrainians permitted to hold a political lecture on "Ukraine and Europe" giving a proof that, historically, the Ukraine had always inclined towards Europe and had belonged to that continent both culturally and politically. The maps in the camp, on the other hand, had the Baltic States, Byelorussia and Ukraine marked in red as parts of the Bolshevist Empire of Russia, designated as "Euro-Asian" i. e. not belonging to Europe.

Nor were Ukrainians allowed to broadcast messages, to give Ukrainian cultural entertainments (songs, dances, etc.) or to print Ukrainian contributions in "The Camp", the paper published by the rally. It is significant that the original editorial staff of "The Camp" was forced to resign, as a result of the pressure, partly of German public opinion, as it had expressed frankly Communist opinions and tendencies. American policy in Europe was also sharply attacked in "The Camp".

The Ukrainian delegation was faced with the alternative either of ostentatiously leaving the inhospitable camp with flags flying or of taking up cudgels against injustice and presumption. It decided for the second. It was clear immediately to the Ukrainian delegates that many members of the camp were friendly to the Soviets and to imperialist Communism. An irritating tussle began with the camp Executive with its "red" leanings, but it

did not alter its attitude during the 10 days that the Ukrainians were in the camp. The fight of the latter for their honour and their national rights became known, and the Ukrainians had often opportunity to meet other national groups and explained their point of view.

In consequence, Ukrainian delegates were very disappointed with the "Meeting" on the Loreley Rock and went home filled with doubts. They were compelled to come to the following conclusions:

Either this decidedly pro Communist and soviet-friendly infiltration in the camp was unintentional, i. e. the result of Communist intrigues, in

which case the organizers of the camp were not capable of discharging its functions properly and must be put in other hands for the future.

Or this organization and its attitude was deliberately planned; in this case the Ukrainians do not wish to have anything to do with this sort of "democracy". By democracy Ukrainians understand freedom of opinion, freedom of speech and the right to cultivate and pursue national cultural practices. All of these were refused the Ukrainians at the Loreley Camp. The Ukrainians feel it is scandalous that here, in the centre of Europe, on an occasion like this "Meeting" for practical and intellectual cooperation in Europe, at a moment when Europe must be defended at all costs against Bolshevism and Russian imperialism, young Ukrainians should be denied the opportunity of announcing their national independence and their coherence to Europe.

A Dangerous Poem

Can a Western Mind make out why the poet was castigated?

(U.S.) When the soviet Ukrainian Volodymyr Sossyura wrote his poem "Love Ukraine!" in 1944, he certainly did not dream that these verses would once be world-famous. Hardly any other poem in all the literature of the world has made such a stir in the political world as this has, or been so widely commented.

Let us glance at the history of its origin. In order to win the support of the Ukrainian people against Hitler when he invaded the country, Stalin relaxed somewhat his iron hold on

Ukraine. Ukrainian poets, writers and other artists were allowed and even encouraged to produce patriotic verse. It was then that Sossyura wrote his poem. It is merely a piece of lyrical, romantic writing that might have been written by any poet in any country. It was only seven years later that the Powers in the Kremlin discovered that the poem says nothing about Communism, or, what is more serious, nothing about Stalin. Nor is there a single word about Russia, the "elder brother". That was the crime. The poem runs:

*Love Ukraine, love it like the sun;
Like the wind, and grass and water ...*

*In the hour of happiness and in time
of joy,*

Love it in the hour of misfortune.

*Love Ukraine in your dream and when
you are awake,*

*Your cherry-like Ukraine,
Its beauty, eternally live and new,
And its tongue like that of the
nightingale.*

*Among the brotherly peoples, like a
flourishing orchard*

*She is shining for centuries.
Love Ukraine with all your hearts
And with all your deeds.*

*For us she is unique in the world,
Only one in the sweet charm of spaces...*

*She is in the stars, in the birch
And in every pulse of the heart;
She is in the flower and bird, in the
electrical fires,*

*In every song, in every d u m a,
In the child's smile, in the girls' eyes,
And in the reddish fluttering of
banners ...*

*As the fire that burns but never burns
out,
She lives in the paths and meadows,
In the whistling of sirens, and the waves
of the Dnieper,
And in the fiery red clouds.
In the fire of cannonades that crushed
to death
The invading foreigners in green uni-
forms,
In the bayonets that in the darkness
pierced our way,
To the springs, glorious and sincere.*

*Young man! Give her your smile,
Your tears and all you have ...
You cannot love other people
If you do not love Ukraine.*

*Young girl! Like its blue sky
Love her every minute.
Your boy friend will not love you
If you do not love Ukraine.*

*Love her in work, in love and in battle,
Like a song that sails with the star ...
With all your heart love your Ukraine,
And we will be eternal along with her.*

What the West Has Failed to do

Ideological Negligence of Western Youth

(U.S.) The Soviet Youth Festival in East Berlin at which some 2 million young people were assembled in its three week's duration, for games, sport and entertainment, from 60 different countries, has been watched by the Ukrainians living abroad with a great deal of misgiving. The Ukrainian political exiles who know the means and ways of Bolshevism from bitter experience, are not likely to underestimate the meaning of this massed youth concentration. The Ukrainians know what is behind the Russian-Bolshevist net spread for these young people and what it means for the future of the world. They know, too, why the Kremlin has devoted so much care and attention to organizing and schooling the young in their ideology. Like all revolutionary movements with an eye to the future, Bolshevism depends on the young people, expecting them in this case to realize Stalin's programme of world domination.

It is almost horrifying to see how well the Kremlin understands how to arouse the enthusiasm, devotion, readiness to fight and to toil of a great number of the youth of 60 nations of 5 continents, for the ambitious aims of Russian imperialism.

It is mere foolishness to seek to diminish the importance of this red rally by referring to the lack of rationing, causing many thousand of these young people to go hungry; to stress the fact that they got a possibility to gaze at the full shop windows of the West; that they allegedly were "brought to Berlin by force" etc. etc. Who ever heard of young people being deterred by hunger and deprivation from an ideal they had once ascribed to? Stalin carried out his first two five-year plans, not alone by terror of the G.P.U. and N.K.V.D., but much more through the enthusiastic devotion of starving members of Komsomol. The counter propaganda, too, with its insistence on "Full Shop Windows" is dangerous, or at least, double edged. It is not always the case that the prosperity of another awakens the wish to imitate it; only too often it awakens a feeling of envy and hate. For instance, the Americans are not always conscious of the distaste their repeated emphasis on their prosperity and their "invitations to copy" has called forth in the world.

The misgivings of the Ukrainians living in the free world are not so much based on the marching hundreds of thousands, as on the fact that the free western world has undertaken nothing to give this red flood of Soviet youth any constructive ideas, aims or organization from the opposite standpoint. Our world is, after all, a world of the masses. Western democracies do not give much thought to, or, above all, do anything to capture their own young people in a like manner, but with an opposite ideology. The totalitarian ideologies and parties have been magnanimously left to do what they like with the young. There seems to be very little inclination to recognize,

on principle, youth as an independent, sociological and political factor, and a most essential factor at that. In this respect the Anglo-Saxon countries especially, appear to be extraordinarily conservative. Scouting seems to be the farthest development for youth movement. Such organizations as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. cannot be compared with youth organizations like the Komsomol, Hitler Youth, B.D.M. etc. While Communism forges its youth in every eastern country into a bloc, the youth of the West is practically nothing better than a shapeless muddle.

"The New York Times", in a commentary on the East Berlin Soviet Youth Festival of August 7, 1951, attempts to compare the Soviet youth rallies with the much more modest meetings of Western youth: 1. The World Assembly of Youth on the Cornell Campus, at Ithaca, N.Y., U.S.A.; 2. The World Boy Scouts Jamboree at Bad Ischl, Austria, to which the meeting of the youth of Europe at the Rock of Loreley, on the Rhine, August 1951 may be added. But even the "New York Times" cannot conceal its anxiety that all these western youth meetings are but a weak substitute for what is really needed. The British caricaturist, Low, seems to have hit the nail on the head. The western observers watch the marching red columns and say "It's childish!" To which Low answers: "Meanwhile ist's getting the children."

It is worth while pointing out here, that one of the most inspiring factors

for the youth of the East is the national idea, the love of the native country, the pride of homeland. The whole of Asia and all the peoples of the so-called "Russia" live for this idea. Like the people of the West in the past century, the people of the eastern countries are now awakening in this century to a conscious national life.

It is not as if the West had no ideas to propagate, or none with which to inflame the imagination of peoples of the East. The idea alone of democracy is splendid and very desirable, but is not enough for the East of today. The Bolsheviks have not hesitated for a moment to make use of the idea of nationalism and to turn it to the purposes of purely Russian aspirations. The West has allowed Moscow to steal that national thunder away. But to-day too, the West might still win many young hearts in the East by raising the banner of liberation of subjugated nations, especially those under the yoke of U.S.S.R. and upholding the idea of nationship.

As if in mockery, American policy insists upon regarding Russia as an entity, a national entity that is to say. The State Department, as well as the Foreign Office, are doing a great deal to harden the greatness and strength of Russia, by refusing to support the national-State liberation tendencies among the "Russians" i. e. people subjugated by Russia.

Russia and Bolshevism can only be overcome if one has the youth of the eastern peoples on one's side. The national liberation idea is the surest and best way to reach the hearts of those young people. And that is most especially the case in Ukraine.

Russians are Reprimanded only — But Ukrainians are Shot

(U.S.) — Wide publicity has been given to the severe reprimand dealt out by the Kremlin to V. Sossyura, the prominent soviet Ukrainian poet for the poem "Love Ukraine!" which he wrote in 1944 without mentioning Stalin and Communism.

At the same time other Ukrainian poets and writers have been publicly reprimanded, such as A. Korneichuk and his Polish wife, Vanda Vasilevska. These are leaders of soviet-Ukrainian intellectual circles, loyal Communists of long standing, mostly fanatic admirers of Stalin, who at least need have no fear for their lives in spite of reprimands and warnings. They are deliberately spared, and even honoured, in order to give the world the impression, that criticism from the Kremlin does not necessarily mean death. Some genuine Russian writers and artists have been reprimanded thus recently, e. g. Akhmatova, Valentin Katayev, O. Fadyeyev, W. Koshchynikov, D. Shostakovich, etc.

It is not, on the other hand, generally known how severely some other intellectual circles in Ukraine suffered under Moscow's blows. For weeks soviet-Ukrainian papers have been publishing a continuous series of confessions on the part of many Ukrain-

ian writers, poets, artists, scientists and other intellectuals, who accuse themselves in sackcloth and ashes of "narrow nationalism", "chauvinism", "deviations", "blindness to the demands of the day and the party" etc. The following are some of the many Ukrainians who have had to tread the way of penitence: M. Rylsky, I. Stebun, S. Shakhovskiy, O. Kylymnyk, Y. Kotsiubynsky, Y. Pervomaysky, Y. Yanovsky, P. Tyshyna, M. Stelmach, Y. Vyhren, P. Usenko, L. Novychenko, A. Trostyanevsky, K. Storchak, A. Malysko, P. Panch, P. Koslanyuk, I. Wilde, etc. Such names have probably little meaning for people abroad, but all the more for Ukrainians. They represent the elite of Ukrainian men of letters.

Experience has shown that such reprimanding, and the purge that is bound to follow, has not the same consequences in Ukraine as in Russia proper. We are not aware that such measures have ever resulted in the physical liquidation of Russians proper. In Ukraine, on the other hand, they have invariably entailed a more or less tragic end for the Ukrainians concerned. The following really eminent Ukrainian poets, writers and artists have been either executed or driven to commit suicide: Hryhory Chuprynka, Hryhory

Ukrainian Students in Action

(Z.R.W.) The Ukrainian students who are studying in the free atmosphere of western Universities belong to an association, the "Central Union of Ukrainian Students" (C.E.S.U.S.), with its chief executive office in Munich, Germany. The C.E.S.U.S. is a world-wide organization of Ukrainian students. Its activity is the continuation of the work of the National Union of Ukrainian Students established at Lviv, the capital of West-Ukraine, in 1908.

The former National Union comprised not only students at home but also those living abroad. There were other student associations abroad, as for instance: the Union of Ukrainian Students in Vienna, founded in 1868; the Association of Ukrainian Students in Graz, Austria, founded in 1895; the Association of Ukrainian Students in Tallin, Estonia, founded 1905; as well as the unions and associations at the German, Russian and Yugoslav Universities.

In 1921, when the Ukrainian Republic lost the war against Russian Bolsheviks, thousands of Ukrainian students went abroad. Thus the Central Union of Ukrainian students, was founded at Prague, Czecho-Slovakia, to continue the work of the previous National Union. At the Prague Convention of the Confédération Internationale des Étudiants (C.I.E.) the Central Union of Ukrainian Students was made a member of this confederation which represented the world organization of students between the wars.

From that time on our Union always took an active part in international student life, up to World War II. Through that war all international ties were broken off. The C.E.S.U.S. had to bear some hard blows during the war. It was forbidden by the Gestapo; its executive committees were thrown into prison or concentration camps. So it was not until after the war that our Central Union was able to take up its work again.

Our activities are mainly concerned in the following field: co-operation with other Ukrainian organizations in the western world. Among the international organizations we do our best to acquire, as far as possible, care-free study for our students; further we keep an eye on the proper distribution of the students among the different faculties, with the object in view of preparing highly qualified young

Kossynka, Oleksa Vlyzko, Dmytro Fal-kivsky, Kost Burevy, Ivan and Taras Krushelnytsky, Mykola Zerov, Mykhaylo Plushnyk, Mykhaylo Dray-Khmara, M. Filansky, Ivan Mykytenko, Stepan Kyrylenko, etc.

Ukrainian writers and artists and other intellectuals who have been reprimanded recently, know from experience only too well that Moscow will also take blood-toll from them. The question is no longer what or how, but only who will have to pay next. Moscow has doubtless already decided whose turn it is.

experts for the Civil Service. Work with the Ukrainian Youth Organization and the Union of Ukrainian Boy Scouts is not neglected either, of course, and we seek to solve the common problems of our young people together.

We have made special efforts just in the last few years for participation in international student life. Our international work has become extremely difficult, as the world student movement since 1946 now lies under the shadow of the Cominform. The International Union of Students (I.U.S.) founded in 1946, in our opinion, by no means serves the ideal of the co-operation of all the students in the world, but rather has become the Stalinist fifth column. Many of the western national student unions have failed to free themselves entirely from the trammels of Communist influence as, for instance, the Free International Trades Union and the World Assembly of Youth among others, have done. It is a signum temporis that the Student Cominform, i. e. the International Union of Students (I.U.S.) in Prague represents students in the U.N.

Members of our Union are studying in Austria, Belgium, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, England, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, U.S.A., Canada, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Australia. In other countries where there are smaller groups, there are no Ukrainian Student Unions but only our representatives, that is to say our Union is constructed on a world-wide basis, just as f. i. World Union of Jewish Students is.

The President and Executive Committee of our Union are chosen at the General Meeting. The last one took place in Munich in August 1949 and the next, the sixteenth, will be held in Paris in September this year.

Our students are not only to be found at the universities of the western countries, where they have met with kind hosts, but also at our own universities which exist to-day in countries abroad. Of these we should like, in the first place, to mention the Ukrainian Free University which was in Prague from 1921 to 1945 and is now in Munich.

The social conditions among our students are very different. A certain percentage receives scholarships or endowments, others study with the support of the Ukrainian Student Relief Fund (K.O.D.U.S.). Thanks partly to the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (U.U.A.R.C.), students' homes and canteens have been established for our students and afford considerable relief financially. In spite of all that, however, their economic situation is far from satisfactory and the percentage of those who can support themselves is low.

In their free time our students like to discuss political events and more especially, problems of the world student movement. Sport and sociability are not neglected either, of course. Many Ukrainian students marry during their university time and that contributes largely to the healthy moral

Bishop Platon †

(U.I.S.) By the death of the Right Reverend Bishop Platon, secretary of its Synod, the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church has suffered a great loss. He died in Toronto, Canada, as the result of a stroke on August 5, 1951.

The deceased was 58 years old and his civilian name was P. Artemiuk. He was born near Lublin, in the western area of Ukraine, and was long a teacher; in 1956 he became a priest of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church. In the course of the restoration of U.A.O.Ch., 1942 he was elected bishop with the see of Rivno. This town, as is well known, was where Erich Koch, the bloodthirsty Reichs-commissar of Ukraine had his headquarters. So all Nazi experiments in politics and in church affairs were tried out in Bishop Platon's see. From December 1942 till June 1944 in the Rivno area alone, 59 priests belonging to the Autocephalic Ukrainian Orthodox Church were shot. Many churches have been burnt, often when congregations filled them. The Bishop's interventions and supplications in the Reich Commissioner's office were a real martyrdom for him.

As an exile in Germany, Bishop Platon after the war organised church services for Ukrainian D.P.'s and refugees in Württemberg-Baden, giving proof of marked talent for organisation.

It was here that he started the leading journal of the Orthodox Ukrainian Church: "Church and Life". Early in 1951 Bishop Platon emigrated to Canada, where he continued to devote himself to the development of the Autocephalic Orthodox Church of Ukraine. He regarded his stay in Germany and Canada as temporary, and firmly believed he would be able to return home. But the Almighty, to whom he was so fervently devoted, has willed otherwise.

In the Right Reverend Bishop Platon Ukrainians lose not only a gifted church dignitary, but a great public figure and a patriot.

basis of these young people living abroad.

Every year in January our students keep the day of "Kruty", for in January 1918 the town of 'Kruty' became the Thermopylae of the Ukrainian youth when the capital of our country Kyiv was defended against the Bolshevik hordes by student detachments all of whom lost their lives in the heroic attempt.

The Ukrainian student never forgets that a free Ukrainian State in East Europe is the condition for a better, more permanent and advantageous political system in Europe. The Ukrainian student is as much interested in the welfare and future of Europe and the whole world, as every other student. On that is based enthusiasm for international co-operation as a real, practical school for tolerance, love of one's neighbour, and understanding among nations.

Seventh Anniversary of the Battle of Brody

A Sanguinary Page in the History of Ukrainian National Liberation Movement

(U.S.) — On July 29, 1951, Ukrainians in Munich met to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the tragic Battle of Brody in Western Ukraine (July 17—22, 1944). On that occasion the "First Ukrainian Division, Galicia", a unit in the German Thirteenth Army Corps (Fourth Armored Army) on the Russian front, was almost annihilated. About 5,000 Ukrainians fell in battle, while at least the same number of wounded managed to escape out of the Russian pocket. At that time the Galician Division numbered about 22,000. The tragedy was that it was the flower of Ukrainian youth that fell. Every year in July their death is remembered by Ukrainians and veterans of the Division all over the world.

It is perhaps necessary to recall the history of the Division. From 1942/43 the Nazi government increased its efforts to mobilize members of foreign nations in the German Wehrmacht; but these foreign units differed considerably from each other. Recruits from Western countries (Norwegians, Flemings, Walloons, French, etc.) were organized within the Waffen-SS on a racial and ideological basis, such, for instance, as the well-known "Viking" Division. They were given special ideological training and treated accordingly.

Attempts were made in 1943 to include Ukrainians in this movement and the Galician Division was formed. Although this Division was administered as a unit of the Waffen-SS, its spirit was purely national Ukrainian, and had nothing to do with either German or Nazi principles. The educational program that ran parallel with military training dealt only with Ukrainian history and culture. Being a deeply religious people, the Ukrainians insisted on having representatives of their Church attached to the troop. It was probably the only unit in the German Wehrmacht to have so many padres. Nor had the Division any part in antisemitism or other Nazi persecution. Statements to the contrary are based either on ignorance or on anti-Ukrainian propaganda.

Recruiting for the Division was nominally on a "voluntary" basis. Actually, pressure was exercised, which, later, became downright compulsion. There were various reasons why Ukrainians did not openly oppose the Division, but even tolerated it without protest. Its existence did something to relieve the dreadful pressure of the Nazis on the Ukrainian population. Ukrainians got the opportunity of having hundreds of young Ukrainian officers trained in modern warfare; and the thousands of young Ukrainians would have been mobilized in any case, forced to join the German army or to go to work in Germany. It seemed preferable to have them united in a purely Ukrainian unit.

The main idea was that one day these young soldiers would be able to

fight for the liberation of Ukraine from Russia and Bolshevism (which is the same thing for Ukrainians). It is utterly false to accuse Ukrainians in the Division of Nazi sympathies or leanings. Ukrainians are moved by one political principle only, viz., to liberate their country from Russian despotism and re-erect their own national state. It was perhaps a mistake to attempt to realize this ideal in co-operation with Nazi-Germany. The Division requested that it should fight only on the Eastern Front; and this was granted. Not a single Ukrainian shot was fired on the Western Allies during the whole war.

And the Division paid heavily with its blood for this experiment. All top commanders of the Division were

Germans and, as events proved, not able to command the unit with any success. Its losses were out of all proportion to any advantages it might have reaped. The final punishment dealt out to its members was that the West refused to recognize them as political refugees and to allow them to be resettled abroad by I.R.O. — this at a time when an attempt is being made to unite Europe on an anti-Bolshevist basis and to inspire enthusiasm for liberation from the Kremlin.

In spite, or perhaps because of all this injustice, Ukrainian ex-members of the Division hold firmly together, keep their common memories alive and foster their old feeling of comradeship — and their military morale. In 1949 they formed a "Fraternity of Members of the Division" which publishes its own paper and helps fellow-soldiers to the best of its ability. They would certainly come to their own if the political constellation were ever favourable to the realization of a liberated Ukraine.

Ivan Franko — "The Great Russophile"

One more Muscovite Distortion

(U.S.) — There is nothing in the world that Bolsheviks, with the help of their famous dialectics cannot turn upside down, or twist to an opposite and false meaning. This is what is happening to Ivan Franko, the greatest poet of Western Ukraine.

Russian Bolsheviks have seized the occasion of the 95th anniversary of his birth (he died in 1916) in order to transform Ivan Franko into an out and out Russophile. Actually there was nothing Ivan Franko detested so much and so passionately as the long enslavement of Ukraine by Poland and Russia. He was the poet of what is known as the second Ukrainian national anthem "Ne Pora" which contains the following verse: "The time is past when we can be forced to serve Moscow and Poland; the measure of our oppression is full; now we must live and work for Ukraine alone!"

Ivan Franko filled too great a place in the intellectual life of Ukraine for Russian Bolsheviks to erase him from popular imagination. He was not only a divinely gifted poet, dramatist and prose writer, but also a great popular leader. He was the champion of a constructive and progressive socialism, on the lines of western democracies, which makes it possible for the Bolsheviks to intervene and claim him as "one of themselves".

There was once a Soviet "historian" who managed to write the history of the Soviet Revolution from 1917—1935 without once mentioning the name of Trotzki; according to him, Stalin alone was personally responsible for all victorious wars against national movements for independence, and he alone defeated all foreign interventions in U.S.S.R. during the Civil War. Now a certain E. Kyryluk publishes a biographical sketch of Ivan Franko in the "Rudyanska Ukraina", in which he

says: "Franko was the greatest bard of the friendship of the peoples who now form the U.S.S.R. . . . He was Russophile through and through; he was the man who, as none other before or since, expressed in incomparable verse the deep love of the West Ukrainian people for the great Russian people. He was the translator of Marx and Engels, the disciple of Herzen, Dabrolyubow, Dombrowsky etc. He was the bitterest enemy of Ukrainian nationalism in any form whatever . . ." "He was the first Ukrainian publicist in Galicia to fight for the union of Western Ukraine with . . . Moscow." Franko's deep and historically founded hostility to every form of Russian imperialism is simply obliterated — in the same way as Trotzki was ignored in the history of the revolution.

So much for a man who spent his life in passionate devotion to his people and in fighting, often embittered, and to his last breath for the liberation of Ukraine, above all from the yoke of Russia, whatever its form. He hated none of the peoples of the world, not even the Russians, but he believed that a free, world-wide community of nations can only be founded on really free peoples, and therefore he demanded the separation of Ukraine from Russia and the formation of an independent Ukrainian national state.

Ivan Franko has been lying in his mausoleum of granite in Lviv these 35 years and so is personally unable to defend himself against these Bolshevik distortions. The unexpurgated pages of his books, still available in the free world, speak the more eloquently for him. Above all, they appeal to Ukrainian youth to continue the struggle for the national liberation and the political independence of Ukraine — and this appeal will be answered, in opposition to, not accordance with Moscow!



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Russia Once More? — No, Never!

Ukrainian Attitude to the Creation of Kerensky's Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia

— By Zenon Pelensky —

An interesting conference of Russians in exile was held at Ludwigsburg, near Stuttgart, on August 20, 1951. It was generally reported in the world press that Russians in exile had amalgamated politically; the union of "five Russian democratic parties" was alleged to have provided a possible basis for the creation of an "All-Russian exile government". It was even suggested that "Stalin would soon be faced with a strong Russian opponent".

It was much ado about very little, although that little should not be underestimated. What actually happened? On August 20, 1951 the following exile Russian parties met in conference in Ludwigsburg:

1. League of Struggle for National Freedom (L.B.N.S.);
2. The National Labor Alliance (N.T.S., also called "solidarists");
3. The Russian National Movement (R.N.D.);
4. The Union of Fighters of the Liberation Movement (S.B.O.N.R.);
5. Union for the Struggle for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (S.B.S.R.).

The leading personality at the conference at Ludwigsburg was Alexander F. Kerensky, who was for half a year in 1917 Prime Minister of the temporary government in Petrograde. Journalists gave the conference the name of "The Conference of Eleven"; each of the parties mentioned sent 2 delegates only, 5 of whom, in addition to Kerensky, came from the United States.

At this conference, the "Council for the Liberation of the People of Russia" (S.O.N.R.) was created, on the understanding that its program would be published shortly. Five weeks after the conference, there was no sign of such a publication; on the other hand, Mr. Kerensky summoned a press conference, to whom he gave the following statement:

"The five groups have agreed upon a nationality plank that pledges the right of self-determination for the

minority groups now included in the Soviet Union. Essentially, the five parties have agreed that when Communism is overthrown in the Soviet Union, major nationalities, such as the Ukrainians, shall determine their future relations with the other Soviet peoples by means of a democratic plebiscite.

So far this is merely an internal Russian, or, to put it more accurately, Muscovite affair. We must bear in mind that the five exile parties mentioned are a very small proportion of Russian political parties abroad. There are 54 of these! The entire monarchist bloc has remained aloof, so that the "Council" cannot claim that it speaks even for the Russians.

And this is by no means the most striking fact: for we must remember that the U.S.S.R. is a state of nationalities, as even Bolsheviks had to take into account when they formed, in addition to the Central Russian S.S.R. 15 other national republics and areas. These nationalities played no part at all in the formation of the Ludwigsburg "Council" there being not a single non-Russian in the "leading eleven". It is most striking that it should be Russians only who wish to liberate non-Russian peoples from Russian and Communist tyranny. Whatever may

"Everyone who opposes the transformation of the U.S.S.R. in to the independent states of all the oppressed nations is an imperialist or a tool of imperialists; everyone who denies the Ukrainian people the right to re-establish a sovereign Ukrainian state is a Russian imperialist; everyone who opposes the separation of Ukraine from Russia is an imperialist".

O. Hornovy

(Quoted from one of the last articles written before the Author fell in action recently against Russian M.G.B. troops)

happen, Russians desire to remain the "leading people". History will then say that it was not the peoples who liberated themselves, but that the Russians "granted" "their" peoples liberty.

These internal Russian meetings and agreements would not in themselves, be particularly interesting; there have been too many of them in the 33 years of Russian exile. But they acquire interest when we notice, that American "private" circles are behind them. The "new" anti-Soviet center will be financed by funds provided by the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", a private United States organization headed by Eugene Lyons. The center is expected to operate a powerful radio station transmitting to the Soviet Union, to publish newspapers and magazines for distribution behind the Iron Curtain, to maintain a Russian Research Institute in Munich and to engage in other activities aimed at the overthrow of the present Moscow government.

The creation of this center of Russians in exile with pronounced American support has caused a certain uneasiness, and, to put it mildly, great surprise, among the peoples oppressed by Moscow. The support of American circles, behind which more is suspected than merely "private" initiative, is interpreted as meaning that the U.S.A., in the event of armed, conflict with Stalin and Bolshevism, has even now decided to retain an undivided Russian Empire! The democratic formula of the promised "plebiscite" is unsatisfactory in so far as Russians have evidently from the beginning been given the leading role, and later, doubtless, will form the executive. The results of Russian "plebiscites" are too well-known by experience to the peoples concerned, for them to be duped again by a "guarantee of the U.N. and the U.S.A.". The United States would have to send ten millions of its own soldiers to Rus-

sia in order to carry out a plebiscite that would not be influenced by the Russians.

The very name of Alexander Kerensky acts as an irritant on the nationalities concerned. He is known to have been the man who prepared the way for Bolshevism in Russia. For Soviet masses he is a ridiculous and unsuccessful man — a hopeless failure. Now he comes along on American crutches. He is not the kind of man to win the masses, to inspire or lead them. Quite a different kind of person must appear for that.

Moreover, in non-Russian national circles, Kerensky's move is regarded as a clever Bolshevik move! Actually the reasoning is very simple, as in all big things. Kerensky promises the Americans an anti-Stalin revolution, "a rising of the Russian masses" though he knows quite well that the Russian, the Muscovite masses would never rise against Stalin and his regime. Why should they? When has governing people risen against its leader, especially one who has realized in his foreign policy the Muscovites' boldest dreams? It was not an accident that in 1945, after victory, Stalin should have showered extravagant eulogy not on the peoples of Russia but only on the Russian people.

To suggest the "help of the Russian masses" to the Americans is to lead American policy astray. There is only one really revolutionary power in the U.S.S.R. — that of the oppressed peoples in Russia! What does Kerensky gain by selling America the idea of an indivisible Russian Empire? His reward is the alienation of the nationalities in question, who once believed in America and who now begin to lose this belief. And that is what the Bolsheviks want. Here it is where Kerensky is playing the game of the Kremlin. America is faced with the alternative either of having Kerensky's Russians on her side and the oppressed nations of Russia as opponents, or vice-versa, i. e. of having these nations for her and Russians proper against her. There can be no compromise here.

Those are the considerations which have led the peoples concerned, represented by their legal exile organizations, to refuse to have anything to do with Kerensky's "Council". This found unequivocal expression at the Press Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) in Munich on August 24, 1951. Representatives of 22 nations in the A.B.N. pronounced a decided — "No"!

It is possible that Mr. Kerensky will be able to buy various willing quislings with the help of his American money. In this way he can — and probably will, form committees of "Ukrainians", "Byelorussians", "Georgians", "Turkistanians", and other nationalities, who

The Meaning of the Latest Bolshevik Purges

Moscow's Fight against Ukrainian "Bourgeois Nationalism"

(U.I.S.) — The great wave of purges, which has been sweeping over the satellite states and the U.S.S.R. since the spring of 1951, has assumed horrifying proportions. According to estimates given by Mose Pijade of the Communist Politbureau in Yugoslavia (and he should know), this is a political campaign launched by Moscow on the same scale as the purges that shook the Soviet Union in the years 1935 to 1938.

There are, however, differences. Fifteen years ago, the entire Communist party in the U.S.S.R., including Russia proper, was subjected to the purge. Now Russia proper is excluded, and the purge is limited to areas inhabited by peoples subjugated till 1939, and to the countries which became satellite states after 1945. The countries most affected are Ukraine, Turkestan, Aserbaidjan and all the satellite states.

Another difference is that, 15 years ago, the purge and the Moscow show-trials shook the whole world. But today, though the numbers involved are as high, the effect on Western public opinion is not one tenth of what it was in 1935—1938. Facts are conscientiously recorded, but that is all. It is no longer a matter of principle, but a problem of statistics. "There is no evil to which we cannot get used", says a Russian proverb. The West seems to have got well used to this evil.

The motives behind the latest purge are of particular interest. It is carried out under the slogan of "Down with bourgeois nationalism"! It is no longer a fight carried on by a Stalin clique against this or that "right" or "left" deviation; it is not a fight of the Communists among themselves over the interpretation of Marx-Lenin dogmas, "Bourgeois nationalism" is merely the Communist party's synonym for national patriotism in the countries concerned, and is expressed in the increasing efforts of those countries for independence. It is Moscow's fight for the preservation of the Russian Empire. It is not a fight between classes or parties, but between nations.

It is interesting to note what classes of society are attacked by the purge.

will publish papers in their own language, etc. This procedure will have nothing to do with democracy.

At any rate, the Ukrainians, one of the biggest nations concerned, will have nothing to do with Kerensky and his "Council". This has been repeatedly and clearly stated of late. They do not want unions with Russians, nor plebiscites, they want no false pronouncements of the will of the Ukrainian people. They want one thing only, to be free of Russia! They want their own, sovereign national state — and they will fight for it, even if it should cost a sea of blood, of their own, or of other peoples, come what may!

In Poland and Bulgaria, the victims are officers; in Hungary, officers, the remaining nobility, wealthy peasants and the Catholic clergy; in Ukraine, writers and artists; in Rumania, officers and well-to-do peasants. Everywhere it is the middle classes, the intellectuals, the clergy, the intellectually progressive that constitute the backbone of every modern, independent, national state.

The purge has been particularly severe in Ukraine. The criticism of "nationalist deviations in literature" that followed the "decade of Ukrainian culture" in Moscow was only a prologue to the severe purge that was carried out, especially in Western Ukraine. It is also significant that the masses of the people are affected even more than the leaders of society, or people of outstanding reputation. According to news which this paper has from underground sources, thousands of intellectuals have been liquidated — officials, engineers, teachers, technicians, young officers, artists, economists, etc. The Ukrainian people has once more, so to speak, got its "brain removed by operation", lest it should "get wrong ideas" in the event of another World War. In the Second World War, Ukraine proved to be most unreliable, although the country had no great sympathy with Hitler and the Nazis. The situation might become more dangerous if Moscow were to come to grips with the democracies of the West, as Ukrainians are particularly susceptible to democratic ideas of freedom.

The purge has had one interesting result — the entire Ukraine and the other countries affected regard this measure as a certain sign that war is not far off. All are convinced that this is a definite measure of mobilization, though in the negative sense. Ukraine expects war, and through war, its final liberation and independence as a State.

A.B.N. Press Conference

(U.I.S.) — At a press conference in Munich on 24. 8. 1951, attended by representatives of the press in Germany and abroad, delegates from the A.B.N. stated the attitude of the non-Russian nations to the "Council for the Liberations of the Peoples of Russia" which was recently founded in Stuttgart. The conference was given a review of the A.B.N.'s political program, a summary of which was contained in the resolution passed by the central committee of the A.B.N. on 24. 8. 1951.

The following organizations were represented at the conference: Associated Press, United Press, Overseas News Agency, the Bavarian Broadcasting Company, C.N.D. (Christian News Service), Die Neue Zeitung, Stars and Stripes, Der Monat, Tablet, Frankfurter Allgemeine, Der Mittag, Stuttgarter Zeitung and other German dailies and the national press of the peoples oppressed by Bolshevism.

Young Ukrainians Fight for their National Honour

Communist Infiltration at European Youth Rally on Loreley Rock

(U.S.) The "Meeting of European Youth" was held this year in July and August in a camp on the romantic Loreley Rock on the Rhine. Every ten days the campers — 1,500—2,000 young people from 20 states in Central and Western Europe — changed. They met here in order to exchange ideas in a free, happy atmosphere, the motto of the organization being: "Europe Grows Together". The camp was sponsored by the German Federal Government and the three Allied High Commissioners of Western Germany. America supplied most of the money.

Young Ukrainians were also invited. The Ukrainian delegation consisted of 10 members with definitely democratic ideas, some of them with leanings towards liberalism and socialism.

Though they had been invited, the Ukrainians were not received or treated well in the camp. They were forbidden to hoist the Ukrainian blue-yellow national flag on the pretext that the only flags that might be hoisted were those either of free or of oppressed states. In spite of this, the flag of the Spanish communist-republican government, which does not exist at all, fluttered over the camp for weeks. The Ukrainian state was not recognized either as existing or as oppressed. The Ukrainian delegates asked the camp Executive to give them in writing a reason for their refusal, but they did not get it.

Nor were the Ukrainians permitted to hold a political lecture on "Ukraine and Europe" giving a proof that, historically, the Ukraine had always inclined towards Europe and had belonged to that continent both culturally and politically. The maps in the camp, on the other hand, had the Baltic States, Byelorussia and Ukraine marked in red as parts of the Bolshevik Empire of Russia, designated as "Euro-Asian" i. e. not belonging to Europe.

Nor were Ukrainians allowed to broadcast messages, to give Ukrainian cultural entertainments (songs, dances, etc.) or to print Ukrainian contributions in "The Camp", the paper published by the rally. It is significant that the original editorial staff of "The Camp" was forced to resign, as a result of the pressure, partly of German public opinion, as it had expressed frankly Communist opinions and tendencies. American policy in Europe was also sharply attacked in "The Camp".

The Ukrainian delegation was faced with the alternative either of ostentatiously leaving the inhospitable camp with flags flying or of taking up cudgels against injustice and presumption. It decided for the second. It was clear immediately to the Ukrainian delegates that many members of the camp were friendly to the Soviets and to imperialist Communism. An irritating tussle began with the camp Executive with its "red" leanings, but it

did not alter its attitude during the 10 days that the Ukrainians were in the camp. The fight of the latter for their honour and their national rights became known, and the Ukrainians had often opportunity to meet other national groups and explained their point of view.

In consequence, Ukrainian delegates were very disappointed with the "Meeting" on the Loreley Rock and went home filled with doubts. They were compelled to come to the following conclusions:

Either this decidedly pro Communist and soviet-friendly infiltration in the camp was unintentional, i. e. the result of Communist intrigues, in

which case the organizers of the camp were not capable of discharging its functions properly and must be put in other hands for the future.

Or this organization and its attitude was deliberately planned; in this case the Ukrainians do not wish to have anything to do with this sort of "democracy". By democracy Ukrainians understand freedom of opinion, freedom of speech and the right to cultivate and pursue national cultural practices. All of these were refused the Ukrainians at the Loreley Camp. The Ukrainians feel it is scandalous that here, in the centre of Europe, on an occasion like this "Meeting" for practical and intellectual cooperation in Europe, at a moment when Europe must be defended at all costs against Bolshevism and Russian imperialism, young Ukrainians should be denied the opportunity of announcing their national independence and their coherence to Europe.

A Dangerous Poem

Can a Western Mind make out why the poet was castigated?

(U.S.) When the soviet Ukrainian Volodymyr Sosyura wrote his poem "Love Ukraine!" in 1944, he certainly did not dream that these verses would once be world-famous. Hardly any other poem in all the literature of the world has made such a stir in the political world as this has, or been so widely commented.

Let us glance at the history of its origin. In order to win the support of the Ukrainian people against Hitler when he invaded the country, Stalin relaxed somewhat his iron hold on

Ukraine. Ukrainian poets, writers and other artists were allowed and even encouraged to produce patriotic verse. It was then that Sosyura wrote his poem. It is merely a piece of lyrical, romantic writing that might have been written by any poet in any country. It was only seven years later that the Powers in the Kremlin discovered that the poem says nothing about Communism, or, what is more serious, nothing about Stalin. Nor is there a single word about Russia, the "elder brother". That was the crime. The poem runs:

*Love Ukraine, love it like the sun;
Like the wind, and grass and water ...
In the hour of happiness and in time
of joy,
Love it in the hour of misfortune.*

*Love Ukraine in your dream and when
you are awake,
Your cherry-like Ukraine,
Its beauty, eternally live and new,
And its tongue like that of the
nightingale.*

*Among the brotherly peoples, like a
flourishing orchard
She is shining for centuries.
Love Ukraine with all your hearts
And with all your deeds.*

*For us she is unique in the world,
Only one in the sweet charm of spaces...
She is in the stars, in the birch
And in every pulse of the heart;
She is in the flower and bird, in the
electrical fires,
In every song, in every dum a,
In the child's smile, in the girls' eyes,
And in the reddish fluttering of
banners ...*

*As the fire that burns but never burns
out,
She lives in the paths and meadows,
In the whistling of sirens, and the waves
of the Dnieper,
And in the fiery red clouds.
In the fire of cannonades that crushed
to death
The invading foreigners in green uni-
forms,
In the bayonets that in the darkness
pierced our way,
To the springs, glorious and sincere.*

*Young man! Give her your smile,
Your tears and all you have ...
You cannot love other people
If you do not love Ukraine.*

*Young girl! Like its blue sky
Love her every minute.
Your boy friend will not love you
If you do not love Ukraine.*

*Love her in work, in love and in battle,
Like a song that sails with the star ...
With all your heart love your Ukraine,
And we will be eternal along with her.*

What the West Has Failed to do

Ideological Negligence of Western Youth

(U.S.) The Soviet Youth Festival in East Berlin at which some 2 million young people were assembled in its three week's duration, for games, sport and entertainment, from 60 different countries, has been watched by the Ukrainians living abroad with a great deal of misgiving. The Ukrainian political exiles who know the means and ways of Bolshevism from bitter experience, are not likely to underestimate the meaning of this massed youth concentration. The Ukrainians know what is behind the Russian-Bolshevist net spread for these young people and what it means for the future of the world. They know, too, why the Kremlin has devoted so much care and attention to organizing and schooling the young in their ideology. Like all revolutionary movements with an eye to the future, Bolshevism depends on the young people, expecting them in this case to realize Stalin's programme of world domination.

It is almost horrifying to see how well the Kremlin understands how to arouse the enthusiasm, devotion, readiness to fight and to toil of a great number of the youth of 60 nations of 5 continents, for the ambitious aims of Russian imperialism.

It is mere foolishness to seek to diminish the importance of this red rally by referring to the lack of rationing, causing many thousand of these young people to go hungry; to stress the fact that they got a possibility to gaze at the full shop windows of the West; that they allegedly were "brought to Berlin by force" etc. etc. Who ever heard of young people being deterred by hunger and deprivation from an ideal they had once ascribed to? Stalin carried out his first two five-year plans, not alone by terror of the G.P.U. and N.K.V.D., but much more through the enthusiastic devotion of starving members of Komsomol. The counter propaganda, too, with its insistence on "Full Shop Windows" is dangerous, or at least, double edged. It is not always the case that the prosperity of another awakens the wish to imitate it; only too often it awakens a feeling of envy and hate. For instance, the Americans are not always conscious of the distaste their repeated emphasis on their prosperity and their "invitations to copy" has called forth in the world.

The misgivings of the Ukrainians living in the free world are not so much based on the marching hundreds of thousands, as on the fact that the free western world has undertaken nothing to give this red flood of Soviet youth any constructive ideas, aims or organization from the opposite standpoint. Our world is, after all, a world of the masses. Western democracies do not give much thought to, or, above all, do anything to capture their own young people in a like manner, but with an opposite ideology. The totalitarian ideologies and parties have been magnanimously left to do what they like with the young. There seems to be very little inclination to recognize,

on principle, youth as an independent, sociological and political factor, and a most essential factor at that. In this respect the Anglo-Saxon countries especially, appear to be extraordinarily conservative. Scouting seems to be the farthest development for youth movement. Such organizations as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. cannot be compared with youth organizations like the Komsomol, Hitler Youth, B.D.M. etc. While Communism forges its youth in every eastern country into a bloc, the youth of the West is practically nothing better than a shapeless muddle.

"The New York Times", in a commentary on the East Berlin Soviet Youth Festival of August 7, 1951, attempts to compare the Soviet youth rallies with the much more modest meetings of Western youth: 1. The World Assembly of Youth on the Cornell Campus, at Ithaca, N.Y., U.S.A.; 2. The World Boy Scouts Jamboree at Bad Ischl, Austria, to which the meeting of the youth of Europe at the Rock of Loreley, on the Rhine, August 1951 may be added. But even the "New York Times" cannot conceal its anxiety that all these western youth meetings are but a weak substitute for what is really needed. The British caricaturist, Low, seems to have hit the nail on the head. The western observers watch the marching red columns and say "It's childish!" To which Low answers: "Meanwhile it's getting the children."

It is worth while pointing out here, that one of the most inspiring factors

for the youth of the East is the national idea, the love of the native country, the pride of homeland. The whole of Asia and all the peoples of the so-called "Russia" live for this idea. Like the people of the West in the past century, the people of the eastern countries are now awakening in this century to a conscious national life.

It is not as if the West had no ideas to propagate, or none with which to inflame the imagination of peoples of the East. The idea alone of democracy is splendid and very desirable, but is not enough for the East of today. The Bolsheviks have not hesitated for a moment to make use of the idea of nationalism and to turn it to the purposes of purely Russian aspirations. The West has allowed Moscow to steal that national thunder away. But to-day too, the West might still win many young hearts in the East by raising the banner of liberation of subjugated nations, especially those under the yoke of U.S.S.R. and upholding the idea of nationhood.

As if in mockery, American policy insists upon regarding Russia as an entity, a national entity that is to say. The State Department, as well as the Foreign Office, are doing a great deal to harden the greatness and strength of Russia, by refusing to support the national-State liberation tendencies among the "Russians" i. e. people subjugated by Russia.

Russia and Bolshevism can only be overcome if one has the youth of the eastern peoples on one's side. The national liberation idea is the surest and best way to reach the hearts of those young people. And that is most especially the case in Ukraine.

Russians are Reprimanded only — But Ukrainians are Shot

(U.S.) — Wide publicity has been given to the severe reprimand dealt out by the Kremlin to V. Sossyura, the prominent soviet Ukrainian poet for the poem "Love Ukraine!" which he wrote in 1944 without mentioning Stalin and Communism.

At the same time other Ukrainian poets and writers have been publicly reprimanded, such as A. Korneichuk and his Polish wife, Vanda Vasilevska. These are leaders of soviet-Ukrainian intellectual circles, loyal Communists of long standing, mostly fanatic admirers of Stalin, who at least need have no fear for their lives in spite of reprimands and warnings. They are deliberately spared, and even honoured, in order to give the world the impression, that criticism from the Kremlin does not necessarily mean death. Some genuine Russian writers and artists have been reprimanded thus recently, e. g. Akhmatova, Valentin Katayev, O. Fadyeyev, W. Koshevnikov, D. Shostakovich, etc.

It is not, on the other hand, generally known how severely some other intellectual circles in Ukraine suffered under Moscow's blows. For weeks soviet-Ukrainian papers have been publishing a continuous series of confessions on the part of many Ukrain-

ian writers, poets, artists, scientists and other intellectuals, who accuse themselves in sackcloth and ashes of "narrow nationalism", "chauvinism", "deviations", "blindness to the demands of the day and the party" etc. The following are some of the many Ukrainians who have had to tread the way of penitence: M. Rylsky, I. Stebun, S. Shakhovsky, O. Kylymnyk, Y. Kotsiubynsky, Y. Pervomaysky, Y. Yanovsky, P. Tychyna, M. Stelmach, Y. Vyhren, P. Usenko, L. Novychenko, A. Trostyanevsky, K. Storchak, A. Malyshko, P. Panch, P. Koslanyuk, I. Wilde, etc. Such names have probably little meaning for people abroad, but all the more for Ukrainians. They represent the elite of Ukrainian men of letters.

Experience has shown that such reprimanding, and the purge that is bound to follow, has not the same consequences in Ukraine as in Russia proper. We are not aware that such measures have ever resulted in the physical liquidation of Russians proper. In Ukraine, on the other hand, they have invariably entailed a more or less tragic end for the Ukrainians concerned. The following really eminent Ukrainian poets, writers and artists have been either executed or driven to commit suicide: Hryhory Chuprynka, Hryhory

Ukrainian Students in Action

(Z.R.W.) The Ukrainian students who are studying in the free atmosphere of western Universities belong to an association, the "Central Union of Ukrainian Students" (C.E.S.U.S.), with its chief executive office in Munich, Germany. The C.E.S.U.S. is a world-wide organization of Ukrainian students. Its activity is the continuation of the work of the National Union of Ukrainian Students established at Lviv, the capital of West-Ukraine, in 1908.

The former National Union comprised not only students at home but also those living abroad. There were other student associations abroad, as for instance: the Union of Ukrainian Students in Vienna, founded in 1868; the Association of Ukrainian Students in Graz, Austria, founded in 1895; the Association of Ukrainian Students in Tallin, Estonia, founded 1905; as well as the unions and associations at the German, Russian and Yugoslav Universities.

In 1921, when the Ukrainian Republic lost the war against Russian Bolsheviks, thousands of Ukrainian students went abroad. Thus the Central Union of Ukrainian students, was founded at Prague, Czecho-Slovakia, to continue the work of the previous National Union. At the Prague Convention of the Confédération Internationale des Etudiants (C.I.E.) the Central Union of Ukrainian Students was made a member of this confederation which represented the world organization of students between the wars.

From that time on our Union always took an active part in international student life, up to World War II. Through that war all international ties were broken off. The C.E.S.U.S. had to bear some hard blows during the war. It was forbidden by the Gestapo; its executive committees were thrown into prison or concentration camps. So it was not until after the war that our Central Union was able to take up its work again.

Our activities are mainly concerned in the following field: co-operation with other Ukrainian organizations in the western world. Among the international organizations we do our best to acquire, as far as possible, care-free study for our students; further we keep an eye on the proper distribution of the students among the different faculties, with the object in view of preparing highly qualified young

Kossynka, Oleksa Vlyzko, Dmytro Falkivsky, Kost Burevy, Ivan and Taras Krushelnysky, Mykola Zerov, Mykhaylo Plushnyk, Mykhaylo Draykhmara, M. Filansky, Ivan Mykytenko, Stepan Kyrilenko, etc.

Ukrainian writers and artists and other intellectuals who have been reprimanded recently, know from experience only too well that Moscow will also take blood-toll from them. The question is no longer what or how, but only who will have to pay next. Moscow has doubtless already decided whose turn it is.

experts for the Civil Service. Work with the Ukrainian Youth Organization and the Union of Ukrainian Boy Scouts is not neglected either, of course, and we seek to solve the common problems of our young people together.

We have made special efforts just in the last few years for participation in international student life. Our international work has become extremely difficult, as the world student movement since 1946 now lies under the shadow of the Cominform. The International Union of Students (I.U.S.) founded in 1946, in our opinion, by no means serves the ideal of the co-operation of all the students in the world, but rather has become the Stalinist fifth column. Many of the western national student unions have failed to free themselves entirely from the trammels of Communist influence as, for instance, the Free International Trades Union and the World Assembly of Youth among others, have done. It is a signum temporis that the Student Cominform, i. e. the International Union of Students (I.U.S.) in Prague represents students in the U.N.

Members of our Union are studying in Austria, Belgium, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, England, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, U.S.A., Canada, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Australia. In other countries where there are smaller groups, there are no Ukrainian Student Unions but only our representatives, that is to say our Union is constructed on a world-wide basis, just as f. i. World Union of Jewish Students is.

The President and Executive Committee of our Union are chosen at the General Meeting. The last one took place in Munich in August 1949 and the next, the sixteenth, will be held in Paris in September this year.

Our students are not only to be found at the universities of the western countries, where they have met with kind hosts, but also at our own universities which exist to-day in countries abroad. Of these we should like, in the first place, to mention the Ukrainian Free University which was in Prague from 1921 to 1945 and is now in Munich.

The social conditions among our students are very different. A certain percentage receives scholarships or endowments, others study with the support of the Ukrainian Student Relief Fund (K.O.D.U.S.). Thanks partly to the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (U.U.A.R.C.), students' homes and canteens have been established for our students and afford considerable relief financially. In spite of all that, however, their economic situation is far from satisfactory and the percentage of those who can support themselves is low.

In their free time our students like to discuss political events and more especially, problems of the world student movement. Sport and sociability are not neglected either, of course. Many Ukrainian students marry during their university time and that contributes largely to the healthy moral

Bishop Platon †

(U.I.S.) By the death of the Right Reverend Bishop Platon, secretary of its Synod, the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church has suffered a great loss. He died in Toronto, Canada, as the result of a stroke on August 5, 1951.

The deceased was 58 years old and his civilian name was P. Artemiuk. He was born near Lublin, in the western area of Ukraine, and was long a teacher; in 1936 he became a priest of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church. In the course of the restoration of U.A.O.Ch., 1942 he was elected bishop with the see of Rivno. This town, as is well known, was where Erich Koch, the bloodthirsty Reichs-commissar of Ukraine had his headquarters. So all Nazi experiments in politics and in church affairs were tried out in Bishop Platon's see. From December 1942 till June 1944 in the Rivno area alone, 39 priests belonging to the Autocephalic Ukrainian Orthodox Church were shot. Many churches have been burnt, often when congregations filled them. The Bishop's interventions and supplications in the Reich Commissioner's office were a real martyrdom for him.

As an exile in Germany, Bishop Platon after the war organised church services for Ukrainian D.P.'s and refugees in Württemberg-Baden, giving proof of marked talent for organisation.

It was here that he started the leading journal of the Orthodox Ukrainian Church: "Church and Life". Early in 1951 Bishop Platon emigrated to Canada, where he continued to devote himself to the development of the Autocephalic Orthodox Church of Ukraine. He regarded his stay in Germany and Canada as temporary, and firmly believed he would be able to return home. But the Almighty, to whom he was so fervently devoted, has willed otherwise.

In the Right Reverend Bishop Platon Ukrainians lose not only a gifted church dignitary, but a great public figure and a patriot.

basis of these young people living abroad.

Every year in January our students keep the day of "Kruty", for in January 1918 the town of 'Kruty' became the Thermopylae of the Ukrainian youth when the capital of our country Kyiv was defended against the Bolshevik hordes by student detachments all of whom lost their lives in the heroic attempt.

The Ukrainian student never forgets that a free Ukrainian State in East Europe is the condition for a better, more permanent and advantageous political system in Europe. The Ukrainian student is as much interested in the welfare and future of Europe and the whole world, as every other student. On that is based enthusiasm for international co-operation as a real, practical school for tolerance, love of one's neighbour, and understanding among nations.

Seventh Anniversary of the Battle of Brody

A Sanguinary Page in the History of Ukrainian National Liberation Movement

(U.I.S.) — On July 29, 1951, Ukrainians in Munich met to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the tragic Battle of Brody in Western Ukraine (July 17—22, 1944). On that occasion the "First Ukrainian Division, Galicia", a unit in the German Thirteenth Army Corps (Fourth Armored Army) on the Russian front, was almost annihilated. About 5,000 Ukrainians fell in battle, while at least the same number of wounded managed to escape out of the Russian pocket. At that time the Galician Division numbered about 22,000. The tragedy was that it was the flower of Ukrainian youth that fell. Every year in July their death is remembered by Ukrainians and veterans of the Division all over the world.

It is perhaps necessary to recall the history of the Division. From 1942/43 the Nazi government increased its efforts to mobilize members of foreign nations in the German Wehrmacht; but these foreign units differed considerably from each other. Recruits from Western countries (Norwegians, Flemings, Walloons, French, etc.) were organized within the Waffen-SS on a racial and ideological basis, such, for instance, as the well-known "Viking" Division. They were given special ideological training and treated accordingly.

Attempts were made in 1943 to include Ukrainians in this movement and the Galician Division was formed. Although this Division was administered as a unit of the Waffen-SS, its spirit was purely national Ukrainian, and had nothing to do with either German or Nazi principles. The educational program that ran parallel with military training dealt only with Ukrainian history and culture. Being a deeply religious people, the Ukrainians insisted on having representatives of their Church attached to the troop. It was probably the only unit in the German Wehrmacht to have so many padres. Nor had the Division any part in antisemitism or other Nazi persecution. Statements to the contrary are based either on ignorance or on anti-Ukrainian propaganda.

Recruiting for the Division was nominally on a "voluntary" basis. Actually, pressure was exercised, which, later, became downright compulsion. There were various reasons why Ukrainians did not openly oppose the Division, but even tolerated it without protest. Its existence did something to relieve the dreadful pressure of the Nazis on the Ukrainian population. Ukrainians got the opportunity of having hundreds of young Ukrainian officers trained in modern warfare; and the thousands of young Ukrainians would have been mobilized in any case, forced to join the German army or to go to work in Germany. It seemed preferable to have them united in a purely Ukrainian unit.

The main idea was that one day these young soldiers would be able to

fight for the liberation of Ukraine from Russia and Bolshevism (which is the same thing for Ukrainians). It is utterly false to accuse Ukrainians in the Division Nazi sympathies or leanings. Ukrainians are moved by one political principle only, viz., to liberate their country from Russian despotism and re-erect their own national state. It was perhaps a mistake to attempt to realize this ideal in cooperation with Nazi-Germany. The Division requested that it should fight only on the Eastern Front; and this was granted. Not a single Ukrainian shot was fired on the Western Allies during the whole war.

And the Division paid heavily with its blood for this experiment. All top commanders of the Division were

Germans and, as events proved, not able to command the unit with any success. Its losses were out of all proportion to any advantages it might have reaped. The final punishment dealt out to its members was that the West refused to recognize them as political refugees and to allow them to be resettled abroad by I.R.O. — this at a time when an attempt is being made to unite Europe on an anti-Bolshevist basis and to inspire enthusiasm for liberation from the Kremlin.

In spite, or perhaps because of all this injustice, Ukrainian ex-members of the Division hold firmly together, keep their common memories alive and foster their old feeling of comradeship — and their military morale. In 1949 they formed a "Fraternity of Members of the Division" which publishes its own paper and helps fellow-soldiers to the best of its ability. They would certainly come to their own if the political constellation were ever favourable to the realization of a liberated Ukraine.

Ivan Franko — "The Great Russophile"

One more Muscovite Distortion

(U.I.S.) — There is nothing in the world that Bolsheviks, with the help of their famous dialectics cannot turn upside down, or twist to an opposite and false meaning. This is what is happening to Ivan Franko, the greatest poet of Western Ukraine.

Russian Bolsheviks have seized the occasion of the 95th anniversary of his birth (he died in 1916) in order to transform Ivan Franko into an out and out Russophile. Actually there was nothing Ivan Franko detested so much and so passionately as the long enslavement of Ukraine by Poland and Russia. He was the poet of what is known as the second Ukrainian national anthem "Ne Pora" which contains the following verse: "The time is past when we can be forced to serve Moscow and Poland; the measure of our oppression is full; now we must live and work for Ukraine alone!"

Ivan Franko filled too great a place in the intellectual life of Ukraine for Russian Bolsheviks to erase him from popular imagination. He was not only a divinely gifted poet, dramatist and prose writer, but also a great popular leader. He was the champion of a constructive and progressive socialism, on the lines of western democracies, which makes it possible for the Bolsheviks to intervene and claim him as "one of themselves".

There was once a Soviet "historian" who managed to write the history of the Soviet Revolution from 1917—1935 without once mentioning the name of Trotzki; according to him, Stalin alone was personally responsible for all victorious wars against national movements for independence, and he alone defeated all foreign interventions in U.S.S.R. during the Civil War. Now a certain E. Kyryluk publishes a biographical sketch of Ivan Franko in the "Radyanska Ukraina", in which he

says: "Franko was the greatest bard of the friendship of the peoples who now form the U.S.S.R. . . . He was Russophile through and through; he was the man who, as none other before or since, expressed in incomparable verse the deep love of the West Ukrainian people for the great Russian people. He was the translator of Marx and Engels, the disciple of Herzen, Dabrolyubow, Dombrowsky etc. He was the bitterest enemy of Ukrainian nationalism in any form whatever . . ." "He was the first Ukrainian publicist in Galicia to fight for the union of Western Ukraine with . . . Moscow." Franko's deep and historically founded hostility to every form of Russian imperialism is simply obliterated — in the same way as Trotzki was ignored in the history of the revolution.

So much for a man who spent his life in passionate devotion to his people and in fighting, often embittered, and to his last breath for the liberation of Ukraine, above all from the yoke of Russia, whatever its form. He hated none of the peoples of the world, not even the Russians, but he believed that a free, world-wide community of nations can only be founded on really free peoples, and therefore he demanded the separation of Ukraine from Russia and the formation of an independent Ukrainian national state.

Ivan Franko has been lying in his mausoleum of granite in Lviv these 35 years and so is personally unable to defend himself against these Bolshevik distortions. The unexpurgated pages of his books, still available in the free world, speak the more eloquently for him. Above all, they appeal to Ukrainian youth to continue the struggle for the national liberation and the political independence of Ukraine — and this appeal will be answered, in opposition to, not accordance with Moscow!

Ukraine Behind the Iron Curtain

Ossyp Dyakiv (O. Hornovy) † Obituary

(U.I.S.) The Ukrainians have to grieve over the heroic death of one of the most prominent and noble leaders of their younger generation. Ossyp Dyakiv was scarcely 50 years old when he fell in battle at a place in Western Ukraine, in November 1950, fighting against Bolshevik MGB troops. He was one of the members of the Directory in the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) on the other side of the Iron Curtain; he took a most active part in the Ukrainian anti-Bolshevik underground movement.

But his main task was that of intellectual warfare. He was a first rate publicist and an energetic spokesman of a modern Ukrainian nationalism based on principles of true democracy. Although he had frequent opportunity of going to the West, he preferred to stay behind the Iron Curtain and to continue his work in the underground movement. He hated deeply all forms of dictatorship, oppression and humiliation of human beings. In spite of constant persecution, frequent change of residence, bloody defense actions and the nerve-racking existence of a conspirator, Ossyp Dyakiv still found time and concentration to write articles on fundamental issues, which were printed in underground Ukrainian printing-presses. He was particularly interested in the idea of a peaceful and friendly cooperation between the nations of Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia after the collapse of Bolshevism and the disintegration of the Russian Empire into independent national states. M.G.B. troops surprised Ossyp Dyakiv hard at work on an article in a fortified underground bunker, dealing with the ideas and plans after the liberation of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. He threw down his pen and put an end to his life with a hand grenade, as further resistance was show to be useless. He left the memory of an ardently devoted man who loved and deeply respected humanity. His death is a severe blow for the cause of Ukrainian liberation.

"Blossoming Ukraine"

— a soviet documentary film in technicolour, which was shown in Italy and France in 1950, and in the United States early in 1951, was shown in Moscow in July 1951, but only to an invited audience. In Ukraine itself, the film has not yet been shown. It is so blatantly full of distortions and lies, that it would only provoke scornful laughter in a Ukrainian cinema. It is arrant nonsense, not a documentary on a prosperous Ukraine.

Stakhanov Movement does not appear to have struck deep roots in Ukraine, as is obvious from the report of a debate on the workmen's cadre

at a meeting in June 1951 of the Supreme Council of Soviet Ukraine. Provincial agencies were sharply criticized for having "criminally neglected the Stakhanov movement". Some telling statistics were quoted, which is an unusual procedure in the U.S.S.R. These stated, for instance, that in the Poltava district there were 27,000 Stakhanovists, i. e. scarcely 2.8% of the working population, in Kharkiv 87,000 (5.6%), in Kyiv 45,000 (5.1%), in Odessa 50,000 (2.9%). As elsewhere, these "champions" are most unpopular with the population. The Supreme Council complains particularly of the absence of young workers in the Stakhanov movement, alleging that they are prevented from joining by "illegal pressure" and "lack of understanding". Such frank criticism points to sharp personal attacks and purges in this direction in the near future.

Deliveries of grain in Ukrainian Soviet Republic seem to be as unsatisfactory in 1951 as they had been in former years. This is the conclusion drawn from the propaganda offensive that has been launched this year in connection with deliveries. The services of press, radio, and film have been requisitioned, and there has been a flood of meetings and forced resolutions. The entire Soviet propaganda apparatus in Ukraine is working under the motto: "Deliveries are the citizen's first duty." "Old sins" or, to put it more accurately, the old resistance of the Ukrainian country to Moscow's policy of exploitation, come to light in this connection. It was emphasized that "last year's shortcomings must not be repeated this year". It now became known that in 1950, the following districts were behind with their deliveries: 11 districts in the Volhynia area; 7 districts in the Dniepropetrovsk area; 9 in the Lviv area; 15 in the Voroshylograd area. It is significant that in autumn 1950 the Soviet press announced that the targets for these districts had been fulfilled.

"More Iron" — is the latest slogan of Soviet authorities in Ukraine. It was introduced when the "Josef Stalin" metal concern in Magnitogorsk challenged recently all metal industrial plants in Ukraine to a "socialist competition". Strict orders have been issued that iron and steel production plan for 1951 of the Ukrainian industries concerned, be fulfilled well before the date appointed; production is to be increased, the costs reduced, the quality considerably improved. As if charmed by "love for Stalin" and "enthusiasm for work", the following industrial concerns in Ukraine have announced that they will take part in the competition: "Leninruda", in the iron-producing district of Kryvy Rih, "Dnieprospetsstal", "Ferroaloy", "Zaporishbud", in Zaporohse, "Azovstal", the turbo-combination "Zhdanov", and a whole series of plants in the Donets

basin. Every day other plants announce their intention to take part. The leading organ of metallurgy in Ukraine reports as follows: "It is the duty of every one who is engaged in the metal industry to give our fatherland as much metal as possible, thus making it stronger and mightier; all powers must be pressed into the service of this great, patriotic task." —

Consequently, during recent months pressure on metal industries in Ukraine has been enormously increased, and brutal methods employed. The working-classes in Ukraine can explain this pressure only as preparation for war. It means, they say, that a great war is intended. Ukrainians hope that this will be the last war Russian imperialists will be in a position to wage.

Criticising the critics. In an article published in the "Pravda" on July 2, 1951 on "Literature astray", what were termed "bourgeois and nationalist errors" in the literature of Soviet Ukraine were severely criticised. The writer in the "Pravda" reproached critics of literature in Soviet Ukraine with neglecting their "socialist function", by failing to oppose Ukrainian deviationist publications. Consequently, criticism of literature and art in Ukraine is reviewed these days by its authors with the utmost subservience; prominent critics take it in turn to confess their failings abjectly in public. The worst ribbing was dealt out to Y. Kobyletsky, an eminent critic of literature, to whom the poet V. Sosyura dedicated his so virulently incriminated poem — "Love Ukraine"; Y. Kobyletsky reviewed the poem favourably and helped to have it reprinted many times. This week the daily and the periodical press of Ukraine are full of declarations, justifications and confessions by the following critics: S. Shakhovskiy, L. Novychenko, A. Trypilsky, H. Emelyanenko, M. Novykov, V. Kurashov, A. Teslenko, Y. Kotsiubynsky, Y. Kurylenko, O. Bashkin. — Even O. Biletsky, an established critic who has always enjoyed approval and many favours from the Kremlin has not escaped.

The critics who have been thus reprimanded admit that they have failed in "vigilance"; they make open confession of "deviation" and of having committed all the sins they are accused of. As is always the case on such occasions, the "culprits" are now anxiously wondering whose head it will cost this time.

Publishing Concerns

Moscow continues to fight consistently and with increasing severity against Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalism". It was not for nothing that the "Radyanska Ukraina", the leading newspaper in Soviet Ukraine, announced early in August that the severe censure passed on the Ukrainian poet, V. Sosyura, and on a whole crowd of Soviet Ukrainian poets, writers and

artists was "but the beginning of a great campaign to bring to light the enemies of the people, and all unreliable and misled members of intellectual circles in Soviet Ukraine."

Now it is the turn of Soviet publishing concerns. It was serious enough that poets and artists should have expressed nationalistic ideas.

Thus, the "Radyansky Pysmennyk" ("The Soviet Writer") a big Soviet Ukrainian publishing concern, is the subject of repeated attacks in the Communist press of Kyiv, which assert that it is mainly responsible for the wide publicity given to Sosyura's works, above all to his poem. "Love Ukraine". The publishing concern is reproached with a long list of sins. It is blamed particularly for not having published in Ukraine good translations of the best works in Russian literature. Nor had anything been done to popularize brilliant works of other nations friendly to Soviet Russia. We quote an extract:

"Publishers in Soviet Ukraine have evidently forgotten that Ukraine does not stand alone in the world, but is a member of the greater Soviet family, and that there are other national cultures besides the Ukrainian, above all the inexhaustible sources of Russian national culture. Such a publishing policy must lead to an irresponsible alienation of Ukrainians from other Soviet peoples." For the moment the names of the culprits have not been made public; but lists of such names have most probably been in the hands of the M.G.B. for some time. The criticism ends by saying that the party demands "that a stop be put once and for all to the self-complacency, the liberalism, the paucity of ideas, and unpolitical views in the concern's work, it having been the main instrument in propagating dangerous nationalistic tendencies in the intellectual life of Ukraine".

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Too Few Russian Songs

Early in August, the Central Committee of the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine announced officially in the leading Communist papers in the country firstly, that there were too few songs in Ukraine about the "great, wise, beloved Stalin" and, secondly, that the people do not sing enough Russian songs, although there is an inexhaustible store of very fine Soviet Russian folksongs!

The "Radyanska Ukraina" writes: "Much has been done under Soviet rule in Ukraine to spread the songs of other Soviet peoples. Many beautiful Russian songs have found a permanent place in the repertory of Ukrainian choirs and musical societies... You can hear the full strains of Russian songs in the houses and streets of many Ukrainian towns and villages. But... there is still much that could and ought to be done."

Strangely enough, the Central Committee of the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine complains, there is less Russian sung in the choirs of Ukrainian big towns than songs in other languages. "The Dumka", a well-known Ukrainian band, has only 5 Russian classical songs

in its whole wide repertory. "Little attention is paid to modern folksongs and very few songs by other Soviet nations are sung in public, and few that represent Ukraine as a democratic people's republic and an inseparable part of the greater U.S.S.R."

To come down to brass tacks, the Central Committee decrees that the Ukrainian people must sing many more Russian songs, must love them and make them known. This means that Ukraine is still not sufficiently Russian, and that the process of russification is too slow. It must be accelerated. Moscow is obviously afraid of the peoples oppressed by her, and particularly of Ukrainians; increased efforts at russification point to the conclusion that Moscow is making feverish domestic preparations for the great world conflict ahead.

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After 35 Years: "Too little knowledge of Marxism and Leninism"

In an article published recently, "Radyanska Ukraina", the official organ of the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine in Kyiv, examines why it is possible after 35 years of "victorious Soviet socialist construction" that, particularly in Ukraine, there should be repeated evidence of Ukrainian nationalism, nay, of boldly increasing Ukrainian nationalism. And why does "the plague of nationalism" infect in the first place intellectual circles in the country — writers, poets, composers, plastic artists, teachers, etc.?

The writer comes to the astonishing conclusion that the great part played by Ukrainian nationalism in those circles is due most of all to the ignorance of the doctrines of Marx, Lenin and Stalin to be found in the leaders and lower ranks of Ukrainian intelligentsia. They have inadequately assimilated the "gigantic ideas of these pioneers of Soviet socialism." A number of Soviet educational institutes are reproached with having, through inertia and downright laziness, neglected the political training of Ukrainian intellectuals, have imparted knowledge of Communist doctrines on a criminally primitive level. "Ukrainian nationalism can be overcome only by increasing consciousness and appropriation of the dogmas of Marx and Lenin."

The result of this investigation is that the entire Communist apparatus in Ukraine will immediately put Ukrainian intellectual circles through severe political training, thus hoping to accomplish in a very short time what has been neglected in the last 35 years. But these belated and feverish efforts will not help the Russians. They will lose the Ukraine in spite of them.

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Ukraine's "Debt to the Russian People"

Now more perhaps than ever in the last 35 years of Bolshevik tyranny over Ukraine, Moscow is insisting on the "everlasting bonds of

friendship between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples". It is true that the Kremlin still has Ukraine physically in its power, but its domination is still insecure. So attempts are being made to bind that country "morally", "logically" and "psychologically". This explains the recent campaign launched by Moscow in Ukraine under the parole of "Ukraine's debt to Russia". The purpose of the campaign is to convince the Ukrainians that they have always gained and never lost through their union with Moscow, which, as the "elder brother", has made many sacrifices for Ukraine, her welfare, the development of her culture, etc. Without Moscow and its "help", Ukraine, it appears, would have remained a backward, uncultivated, barbarous country. The Russians quote many such "benefactions", and a thick volume would be necessary to include all these "positive" Russian arguments. And yet a new note makes itself heard in this remarkable "symphony of friendship". A certain Comrade Smishko, "candidate of science" at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv, held a speech early in September this year, in connection with the propaganda campaign, to the assembled staff of a factory for agricultural machinery, near Lviv, in Western Ukraine. He said, among other things: "The Russian people is constantly giving Ukraine the most precious of its possessions, namely, talented, prominent people! They help to maintain the high level of intellectual life and organization in Ukraine." This "human" argument is nothing new for Ukraine. When Ukrainians complained that the Nazis were plundering Ukraine and lifting everything that was not nailed down, without paying for it, they retorted: „Germany is giving Ukraine the most precious of its possessions — its invaluable people!" Whether this gift, particularly in the form that was practiced during World War II, was welcome to Ukrainians is another matter.

Comrade Smishko, however, touched a critical Ukrainian problem when he said that Russia exported "precious" people to Ukraine. Here they are a „master race": 63% of the leaders of the Komsomol in Ukraine are Russians by birth. About 80% of the chiefs of industrial concerns in Ukraine are Russians, while there are not 7% Ukrainians in the entire diplomatic service of the U.S.S.R. The proportion of Russians in state service and the police in Ukraine is oppressively big. All higher commands in the Soviet Army have been monopolized by Russians; the only Soviet Field Marshal of Ukrainian origin, Tymoshenko, a Bessarabian, declares himself to be a Russian. Many Russians love to have themselves "elected" to the Supreme Council of U.S.S.R. as "representatives of Ukraine", e. g. Molotov, Malenkov, Bulganin etc. Ukraine, it seems, should be "proud" of being represented by such eminent Russians! . . .

Ukraine's debt to the Russian people in great indeed. That is why they go about in their own country with clenched teeth and watch with burning eyes what the Russians are doing. And wait.

Decay of Ukrainian Towns

According to reports in the Soviet press, large towns in Ukraine seem to be doomed to slow but certain decay. The only reconstruction of any size that has been done is in Kyiv (Kreshchatyk). Very little building is going on in the town itself. The number of houses is pretty much what it was in 1915; Kyiv houses were mostly built between 1860 and 1910 and are therefore between 90 and 40 years old. Attempts are made to protect them from decay, but no radical measures are taken. The trams in Kyiv are 50 to 60 years old; in houses that lie on the famous hills of Kyiv water pressure is not sufficient to send water higher than the second storey. Kyiv, once a lively, merry town gives an impression of senility.

Things are not much better in Lviv. It was not till 1951, when war had been over for 6 years, that the town council granted 6.2 million roubles to build up the centre of the town. This is a ridiculous sum in comparison with what is required. Trams are to disappear from the heart of the town, and be replaced by trolley-buses. New asphalt is to be laid on some of the streets and pavements and lights repaired. But nothing really new is being built, though there is great scarcity of houses. Once the town had 320,000 inhabitants, but now it has 700,000 and they must all find accommodation. Overcrowding is, of course, worse in consequence of war damage. Lviv, once a Jewish centre, has now no Jews and very few Poles. The language one hears most is Russian. About 20% of the inhabitants are Ukrainians, the great majority being Russians. There are many Mongolian faces, and different oriental languages are to be heard. Lviv is no longer a European "Miniature Paris of the East", with animated, and well-lit streets, where one used to see many elegant and beautiful women and enjoy life. The town is more densely populated, but silent, reserved, almost sulky. It is decaying within as well as without.

The Ukrainian Scientific Academy in Kyiv

has at present 95 full members, 107 corresponding members, 88 doctors of science and 68 candidates of science. The All-Union Communist Party has recently displayed increasing dissatisfaction with the work of the Ukrainian Academy. In particular, its leaders have been blamed for not having utilized Ukrainian scientists properly and for having neglected the "right ideological and political training of young scientists". The Party demands that, in training the young, emphasis be laid on demonstrating "marxist and leninist principles as the foundation of all science."

Young scientists are "to be trained in the spirit of Bolshevik principles and their uncompromising demands".

They must, above all, learn to fight wholeheartedly against all pseudo-scientific theories, particularly those of bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism." This increasing criticism in the press

indicates that a fresh purge is to be expected in the Ukrainian Academy of Science.

Everything for Moscow

According to trade reports in the Soviet press, Ukraine has had an exceptionally good fruit harvest this year. Long express goods trains with fruit are rolling from the southern areas of the country and from Carpathian Ukraine to Moscow and Leningrad. Freight consists, in addition to fruit, of vegetables, especially cabbages, cucumbers tomatoes and the popular Ukrainian melons.

This would be all right and no one could object if this transport was conducted on the basis of normal trade. But there is no question of getting money or other goods in return. Moscow fetches from the collective farms in Ukraine all it needs for itself and its Russians, and does not pay one cent. For the meantime, Ukrainians can only look on with clenched teeth and see the result of their hard labour being transported north by an act of sheer robbery on the part of the state.

Continued Liquidation of Ukrainian Priests

According to a broadcast by Radio Vatican on 14. 8., M.G.B. troops arrested 42 Ukrainian priests of the Greek Catholic Church in the area of Pryashiv, Carpathian Ukraine, partly within the Slovak state.

This report was confirmed by underground information which reached Munich towards the end of August and according to which not 42 but 57 priests have fallen victims to this most recent Communist persecution. This is a continuation of the Bolshevik anti-religious campaign of last year, when 350 Ukrainian Catholic priests were liquidated.

It is known that the Right Rv. Pavlo Hoydych, Bishop of Pryashiv was condemned in January, 1951 to prison with hard labour for life. A similar trial will be held, probably in November, of the other Ukrainian Catholic Bishop, the Right Rev. Vassyl Hopko. This is expected to lead to the confiscation of the entire property of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Czecho-Slovakia which would mark the end of the systematic liquidation of Ukrainian priests in this district of Carpathian Ukraine. But the people's faith still lives.

Ukrainian Nationalism Again

In its No. 17/1951 the "Stalinskoye Plemya" ("The Stalin Stock"), a paper appearing in Kyiv, contained a severe criticism of the district leaders of cultural institutions and the Komsomol in the Lviv area. According to this article, a number of local theatrical societies in the district continue to produce nationalist plays, pieces that once belonged to the regular repertory of the "Prosvita", a Ukrainian "bourgeois and nationalist" popular educational society. The paper insists in unmistakable language that there must be no more such performances. "It is intolerable", the article runs, "that working people

A Personal Note

Mr. John F. Stewart, Chairman of Scottish League for European Freedom, would wish to send his very grateful thanks to all Ukrainian organisations and Ukrainians who so kindly sent him good wishes and congratulations on his 80th birthday. In most cases there was no address on the telegrams, so that he could not reply separately. He again thanks his very good Ukrainian friends and assures them that he will continue the struggle for the freedom and independence of Ukraine, and all countries dominated by Moscow.

in Western Ukraine should still have to see and hear this bourgeois, nationalistic rubbish. The Ukrainian nationalists, the Ukrainian people's worst enemies, must be prevented from using such instruments."

Soviet Newspapers

The Soviet press announces that last year 690 newspapers in Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Tadshikian, Moldavian, Tuvinian, Yakutian, and other languages, had newly appeared. The whole single edition of all the newspapers amounted to 36 million copies this year.

The annual edition of periodicals and magazines amounted to more than 180 millions. The organizations of authors in Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Aserbaijan, Byelorussia, Latvia and Lithuania issued their own magazines.

This announcement shows how much attention the Russian Bolsheviks are giving to the fight on the ideological front. The Kremlin is russifying the souls of the peoples in their own languages.

The Most Persecuted People

The Rev. Leopold Brown who was American chaplain in Moscow from 1934—1946, spoke before a large assembly in Buffalo, U.S.A., on life in the U.S.S.R. Among other things he said: "The Ukrainian people of 41 millions, with its own Church, its own history, culture and own national ideas, is the people that has to suffer the most and greatest oppression and persecution under the Soviet yoke".

Stalin on Mount Elbruz

The sport pages of Soviet Ukrainian papers report that a group of 80 Ukrainian mountaineers, all railwaymen, climbed Mt. Elbruz (17,000 ft.) last July. When they reached the top, these Ukrainian alpinists shouted in chorus, "Hail to our incomparable Soviet home! Our wise leader, Comrade Stalin, hail!"

It appeared that another group had climbed Mt. Elbruz earlier in the year, for an enormous bust of Stalin was found cemented in the rocks.

The mountaineers then descended quickly.

UKRAINIANS ABROAD

Argentina

(U.I.S.) An Information and Publishing Institute. — A Ukrainian Information and Publishing Institute has been established at Buenos Aires with the task of publishing articles in Spanish with information about the Ukrainian liberation struggle. The Institute began with the issue of the monthly "Ukraine Life" in Spanish, and is preparing to publish some books.

At the inauguration of the Institute on August 14, 1951, the editorial staff was chosen, with Dr. O. Maletzkiy at the head.

Belgium

(U.I.S.) The Sixth General Meeting of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Relief in Belgium was held in Brussels on July 22. It was attended by 126 delegates representing as many groups of Ukrainians (mostly labourers) who are scattered through Belgium. Although many Ukrainians in Belgium have emigrated overseas, and to Canada in particular (their number was 2,500 in the year under review), the tasks of the Central Committee are as great as ever. About 8,000 Ukrainians are represented by the Central Committee; there are a few other organisations, but they are too small to count. The Central Committee looks after the legal, cultural and material interests of the majority of Ukrainians living in exile in Belgium. Dr. Marian Dzioba was elected first president of the Central Committee for the third time.

Canada

Catholic Ukrainians in Canada are taking an increasing interest in Ukrainian broadcasts of the "Canadian Broadcasting Corporation". At the consecration of Maxim Hermanyuk suffragan bishop of Ukrainians, in Winnipeg, Manitoba in July 1951, the Eucharistic Congress passed a number of resolutions. They demand among other things that Canadians of Ukrainian origin should have the possibility of addressing their home-country directly in Ukrainian, in order to propagate both the word of God and the ideas of democracy.

Other Ukrainian Catholic organisations in Canada held their annual general meetings at the same time as the Eucharistic Congress, for instance the "Brotherhood of Catholic Women", "Ukrainian Catholic Youth in Canada" and the "Central Organisation of Catholic Ukrainians in Canada".

(U.I.S.) — Appointment for Ukrainian Professor. — The Board of Governors of the State University in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, has appointed Professor Dr. Y. Rudnytsky to be head of the Institute of Slavonic Studies.

Prof. Rudnytsky is of Ukrainian origin and emigrated to Canada after the war. Mr. Pavlo Youzyk, also a native of Ukraine, has been appointed his assistant. Professor Y. Rudnytsky is the best authority on Ukrainian language and literature at present and has been lecturing at Manitoba University since 1949.

A "Ukrainian Book Club Co., Ltd." was founded in Winnipeg, Man. Canada in July 1950. The Club was formed because about 200,000 Ukrainians have emigrated since 1945, particularly to U.S.A. and Canada. As the long Bolshevik occupation of Ukraine has prevented the printing of free Ukrainian literature there for decades, Ukrainian emigrants must see to it that the Ukrainian heritage of culture in general, and printed, free Ukrainian literature in particular is fostered and developed. The Club aims at publishing periodically the best works in Ukrainian literature. Stress is laid on books dealing with the history of Ukrainian culture, the geography of the Ukraine and its geopolitics. Mr. Ivan Tyktor, the well-known Ukrainian publisher, was appointed managing director of the Club.

France

(U.I.S.) Ukrainian Scientific Society of Taras Shevchenko. One of the oldest scientific institutions in Ukraine, the "Ukrainian Scientific Society of Taras Shevchenko", after long, and often bitter, years of exile has at last found a more peaceful, if still temporary home in France. Its address is: Societé Scientifique Ukrainian de Sevchenko, 27 rue de Bauves, Sarcelles (S. et O.), France.

The Shevchenko Society was founded in 1872 in Lviv, Western Ukraine, in one of the darkest decades of Ukrainian history. Serfdom was abolished (1861); the country, which had been shamelessly exploited by the Tsar, sank in economic misery and cultural night. Taras Shevchenko (1814—1861), Ukraine's greatest poet, attacked this state of affairs with vehement passion; the first modern Ukrainian scientific society bears his name; its aim was to carry the torch of learning into this darkness.

The Shevchenko Society flourished until 1918 when the Austrian Empire collapsed. During these six decades it had accomplished enormous things for the education of the people and had trained two generations of Ukrainian intellectuals. During the Polish regime in Western Ukraine from 1919—1939 the Society had many difficulties to cope with, but it was the Russian occupation of that country which started in 1941 that forced it to close down. It went into exile, spent some time in Prague, C.S.R., and then in Munich. But it could not find a firm footing in Germany and when the Ukrainian Catholic bishop Right Rev. Iwan Buczko secured the

house in Sarcelles for it, the Society was able to start work in France.

At the moment the Society has a library of more than 10,000 books and a valuable collection of manuscripts dealing with the history of Eastern Europe and an unique collection of works by Ukrainians in exile and of the papers they have published.

(U.I.S.) The First Convention of Ukrainian Youth in France. — This yearly convention was held in Paris on July 15, and thus a French branch of the world-wide "Ukrainian Youth Association" (known in Ukrainian as the S.U.M.) was formed. The S.U.M. in France is faced with the important task of uniting in one central organization about 15,000 young Ukrainians of both sexes now living in the French Republic. In addition to the one in Paris, there are 15 branches of the S.U.M. in different French towns. The organization is only feeling its way yet and has to meet with determined resistance from French societies of young Communists. This is only natural, as one of the aims of the S.U.M. is to counteract attempts at infiltrating Communism, above all in the ranks of young Ukrainian working people. Mr. Oleska Kalynnyk, the president of the world-wide S.U.M., who closed the Convention, appealed to Ukrainian young people in France to preserve their faith in God, their loyalty to their Ukrainian home and their belief in liberty; he urged them to observe the laws of the land which has so hospitably received them. Mr. Theodor Bun was elected first president of the S.U.M. in France.

(U.I.S.) Ukrainian Theatre Studio — In 1949 a Ukrainian Theatre Studio was founded in Moselle (France). It bears the name of Les Kurbas, in memory of the great Ukrainian actor and stage-manager who was murdered in 1936 by the N.K.V.D., acting on orders from Moscow.

The Studio in Moselle is managed by Mr. N. Krushelnytsky and comprises professional actors only. It produced 12 plays last year, functioning as a travelling troupe among the Ukrainians who work in scattered groups throughout France. In July last a play, called "Otaman Pisnya", was produced. A Ukrainian popular opera, entitled "A Zaporoger behind the Danube" is being prepared.

(U.I.S.) Ukrainians, members of "European Federation of Free Students' Organisations". — The above mentioned students' union was formed in Paris at the end of July; at present it includes 6 organisations of exiled students from countries that are under the yoke of Communism. Ukrainians are represented in this Federation by the "Community of Ukrainian Students in Paris". Mr. T. Bun, a Ukrainian, was elected an office-bearer in the Federation whose task is to establish close contact with the free, democratic students' organisations in the West. It is also much interested in the ideal of a federal Europe.

Germany

(U.I.S.) "Ukrainian Charitable and Medical Service". — The leading Ukrainian charity organization in Western Germany held its annual general meeting in Munich on August 4, 1951. This organization discharges all the functions of a national Red Cross Society in exile, but the constitution of the international Red Cross Society does not permit it to use this title. It has existed in Western Germany since 1945, its Ukrainian designation being "U.S.Ch.S.", and during these 6 years of activity has helped literally tens of thousands of Ukrainians in exile.

One of its most remarkable departments was its search-service which greatly helped thousands to find the scattered members of their families. Increasing emigration has reduced the numbers of Ukrainians in Germany and consequently the activity of the U.S.Ch.S. But it still has 25 affiliations in Western Germany and runs an out-patients' infirmary in Munich and a lodging-house. In addition to other help, the organization paid out more than 20,000 DM in individual grants during 1950/51. The ambulatory in Munich served 1,756 patients. Help was given in the first place to Ukrainians who were not included in IRO's program and when that organization closes down, the U.S.Ch.S. will have far more to do looking after the many thousands who are compelled to remain in Germany. Dr. med. Yaroslav Hynylevych was elected head of the organization which has its headquarters at 9/H Dachauerstr., Munich 2.

*

Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.) — The West German branch of this organization held its second annual meeting in Munich on August 4, 1951. It comprises 14 local groups and had a total membership on 1. 7. 1951 of 290. This is a decrease of 130 in comparison with last year's roll, a result of continued emigration. The report on the past year proved that the organization does useful work. Apart from the fact that the Ukrainian Youth Organization is the best protection for Ukrainian youth in exile from the poison of Communism, it has done much to raise the general standard of culture and training among its members. Mr. V. Lenyk was elected president of the S.U.M. in Germany.

*

(U.I.S.) **Fourth Convention of the "League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners"** (L.U.P.W.) was held in Munich, Bavaria, Germany on August 25, 1951. Its main concern was the legal and material situation of Ukrainian political refugees in Germany. Their position has become very difficult in the past year, as German Land governments have practically refused to grant Ukrainian prisoners in Nazi concentration camps the compensation due them. The long and difficult battle for the rights of Ukrainians to resituation is not yet won. It was resolved among other things to collect material and sources

on the history of political persecution in the Ukraine. Several speakers castigated Bolshevism and Russian imperialism severely. — **Dr. Bohdan Kor-diuk** was elected president of the L.U. P.W.

Great Britain

(U.I.S.) **I. Congress of Ukrainian Catholics in Great Britain.** The "First Congress of Ukrainian Catholics in Great Britain" was held in Manchester, on July 14 and 15. It was under the patronage of the Right Reverend Bishop **Ivan Buczko, D. D.**, Bishop Assistant to the Holy See, Apostolic Visitor for the Ukrainian Catholics in Western Europe. The organization of the Congress with its long and complicated preparations lay in the hands of the Very Rev. **O. Malynovsky**, head of Ukrainian Catholics in Great Britain.

At the Congress, which was attended by more than 1,000 Ukrainians, six lectures were held, dealing from the Catholic point of view with the burning social, national and political problems of our time. More than 2,000 Ukrainian Catholics were present at the service on 15. 7. 1951, at which Bishop I. Buczko officiated. When the service was over, the Ukrainian congregation vowed their loyalty to God, the Catholic Church and their home country, the Ukraine.

It was the most impressive demonstration of religious Ukrainians that has been held in Great Britain since the consecration of the first Catholic Church in the summer of 1948. Under the leadership of the Rev. O. Malynovsky, who is supported by 16 Ukrainian priests, the Catholic Ukrainian Church has found a safe refuge in Great Britain, a country rich in hospitable and tolerant traditions.

Sweden

(U.I.S.) **Ukrainians at the Congress of the Internationale of Liberals** — The "Fourth Congress of the Liberal Internationale" was held at Upsalla, Sweden from August 7—12, 1951. It was attended by 200 delegates representing 24 nations. Among those present was Mr. David Rousset whose name has been made famous by the recent Paris trials against the inhuman practices of Communism.

A Ukrainian delegation, consisting of representatives of the following democratic parties, also took part: 1. Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (U.R.D.P.); 2. Ukrainian National State Society (U.N.D.S.), and 3. Ukrainian National Democratic Union (U.N.D.O.). The leader of the delegation was **Mr. B. Panchuk**.

Ukrainians had already taken an active part in former Liberal Congresses and Mr. B. Panchuk was appointed member of the Executive at the last Congress. This year he was the spokesman for all the exiled liberals in Central and Eastern Europe. The Ukrainian delegates took their share of work in all the committees and other arran-

gements of the Congress. They seized the opportunity of forming many valuable contacts with the representatives of other nations. It was characteristic for this year's Congress that it should have moved from the defensive to the offensive as regards Bolshevism. Ukrainians stated that once their country was liberated and independent, it would be one of the most liberal communities in the world. In their speeches they pointed out that the history of Ukraine was one long and constant struggle against all tyranny, oppression and despotism.

U.S.A.

(U.I.S.) **The "United Ukrainian-American Relief Committee" (U.U.A.R.C.)** — the leading Ukrainian voluntary agency, which regards the resettlement of Ukrainian D.P.'s in the U.S.A. as its chief task, is holding its general meeting in Philadelphia, Pa. U.S.A. on October 13 and 14, 1951, when a report of its activities will be read. Items in the cultural program of the general meeting are at present being prepared by prominent Ukrainian authors, poets, actors and other artists. Well-known American speakers and representatives of the Federal Government and of the U.S. Displaced Persons Commission are expected to take part in the proceedings.

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(U.I.S.) **"Ukrainian Youth Association" (S.U.M.) at the World Assembly of Youth (W.A.Y.) in Ithaca, N.Y. U.S.A.** — Though the Ukrainian Youth Association is not properly speaking a member of the W.A.Y., representatives of the S.U.M. were able to take part in the World Assembly of Youth in Ithaca (August 1951) as guests. They had an excellent opportunity of making many friends among the delegates of different nations who were present. They distributed much literature that gave a true picture of Ukraine and their own present situation. One Ukrainian delegate had the opportunity of holding a speech which was afterwards broadcast by the "Voice of America". It was a sharp attack on Bolshevism and Russian imperialism and a warning against appeasement as a practical policy of combating these.

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(U.I.S.) **Ukrainian Broadcasts by American Radio Stations** — "Obryi" a Ukrainian journal in America, reports from Buffalo, N.Y., U.S.A., that the local radio station, W.W.O.L., broadcasts an interesting Ukrainian program every Sunday, the quality of which surpasses that of similar broadcasts. The program is selected by **Irene and Youri Lavrivsky**, the well-known Ukrainian artist couple. It brings interesting and valuable selections from Ukrainian poetry, drama and music, which up till now have included works like "Moysey" and "Lys Mykyta" by the famous Ukrainian poet, Ivan Franko, and the "Pathetic Sonata" by Mykola Kulish. These broadcasts are getting increasingly popular.

Latest Events**Ukrainian Wave of Protest Swells***Kerensky Unanimously Repudiated***1. Ukrainian Press in Germany**

(U.I.S.) A. F. Kerensky's attempt to save the structure of the Russian Empire after the collapse of Bolshevism by means of his "Council of Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" has caused an outburst of most strong indignation among exiled Ukrainians.

Just immediately after the foundation of Kerensky's "Council", Ukrainians seized the first opportunity offered by a press conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), held in Munich on August 24, 1951, to register a sharp protest by the Ukrainian members of the Bloc against this Russian move.

Early in September a large meeting took place in Munich of representatives of all the free Ukrainian papers which appear in Western Germany. Representatives of all Ukrainian political movements, from monarchists to left socialists met on common ground. Although there are great differences between these movements and their press organs, and also strong personal differences between Ukrainian politicians that apparently could not be bridged, still they all agreed in recognizing the danger of the last Russian move.

After debate, the press conference passed a number of resolutions which were published in two public appeals. One of these was addressed to the Ukrainian public, calling for solidarity and increased national discipline and self-denial. The other is addressed to world opinion and is resumed in the following extract:

Appeal to World Opinion!

"In consequence of Soviet Russia's armed intervention after World War I, the nations which had once been oppressed by imperial Russia and which had proclaimed their independence during the Revolution of 1917-1920, lost their sovereignty again. After World War II, the same Soviet Russia robbed a further series of nations and states in Central and South Eastern Europe of their freedom, and now it threatens the entire world.

"We, exiled spokesmen of a free Ukrainian thought, feel compelled to bring these facts to general attention at a time when certain powers are announcing plans for the continued existence of the Russian dungeon of nations. In the event of the expected collapse of Bolshevism, these powers intend to disguise their plans for this restoration by "prebiscites" and the "self-determination of peoples".

"The so-called "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" was formed in Germany at the end of August 1951. We point out that no responsible representatives of any of the peoples of U.S.S.R., except the Russians, are on the "Council".

"We hereby declare to the entire world that the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" in no wise expresses the will of the peoples oppressed by Russia and is not entitled to speak in their name.

"It is only the national representative bodies of these peoples who have this right. We protest

sharply against the presumption of the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" to speak on behalf of the Ukrainian people and warn the world of this presumption.

"Strange as it may appear, certain American circles are behind this move by Russian emigrés; these circles are organized in the American "Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia". Only as a result of direct pressure from these circles was it possible for different groups of Russians in exile to unite, and it is only because of this American support that these Russians have claimed the right to speak on behalf of "all the peoples" of the U.S.S.R.

"We consider such conduct on the part of the Americans indicated to be an open breach of the principle of the self-determination of nations, proclaimed by President Wilson after World War I, and repeated in the Atlantic Charter after World War II.

"During their struggles for liberation from 1917 to 1920, the peoples of the U.S.S.R. exercised their right of self-determination and established their own independent national states. Even the Bolsheviks recognized this fact for the Constitution of the Union of the U.S.S.R. acknowledges theoretically the right of these peoples to national sovereignty even to secession. This legal status of the Ukraine and Byelorussia is emphasized by their membership of the U.N. The right of Ukraine and other countries to independence has been won by the blood of millions of Ukrainians and legalized by international agreements.

"In spite of this absurd action by certain Americans, we nevertheless believe that American public opinion will not suffer this obvious conspiracy against the self-determination of peoples to go unchallenged. We are convinced that the American "Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" does not represent real public opinion in America, because we are convinced that the American people is on the side of those who are really striving for liberty.

We are convinced further that the American people will support the struggle for independence of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. by refusing to

help restore the Russian dungeon of nations in a new form.

"The representatives of the free Ukrainian press in Germany:

"Avantgarde" — Petro Kizko
 "Vilae Slovo" — Ilko Popovych
 (Free Word) — Borys Lewytsky
 "Vpered" (Forward) — Dmytro Levchuk
 "Ranok" (The Dawn) — Lev Rebet
 "Suchasna Ukraina" (Ukraine of Today) — Mykhajlo Voskobynk
 "Ukrainski Visti" (Ukrainian News) — Bohdan Kordiuk
 "Ukrainsky Samostinyk" (Ukrainian Independent) — Roman Danylevych.
 "Chrystiansky Holos" (Christian Voice)

The Ukrainian free press throughout the world will most certainly join this protest in the near future.

2. Ukrainian National Council

(U.I.S.) The Ukrainian National Council held an international press conference on September 6, 1951 in Augsburg, Germany, in order to state the Council's opinion of the Kerensky campaign. Prof. Izaak Mazepa, president of the Executive of the National Council, refused unequivocally to join Kerensky's "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia". Prof. Mazepa stated that these Russian exiles repudiate the Bolshevik constitution only, but desire to continue the Russian Empire. This is the main reason why the Executive can have nothing to do with the axtempts of Kerensky. The Ukrainian people, Prof. Mazepa concluded, will not rest until it has won its full freedom and its political independence on the basis of the self-determination of nations.

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Just published New book

**Ukrainian Liberation Movement
in Modern Times**

By Oleh Martovych
176 pages / 11 pictures

Published by „Scottish League for European Freedom“, Edinburgh.

This is a short story of the Ukrainian national liberation movement covering the period from Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky till Ukrainian Insurgent Army U.P.A. (1800—1950.)

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Canada: „Arka“, 204 Bathurst St., Toronto, Ont. U. S. A.: Miss Natalia Sas-Jaworska, 215 Broome St. New York, N. Y.

Australia: Mr. Hrabuk Zynowy, 24 Glenview St. Paddington Sydney.

The price in Great Britain: 6 sh. In other countries: equivalent of 2 U.S.A. dollars



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The Icy Breath of American Liberation

The Preview of a War than Can Bode No Good for the Subjugated Peoples of the U.S.S.R.

By Zenon Pelensky

The Shape of Coming War

The American magazine, *Collier's* published a special issue dated October 27, 1951 containing a number of articles by various writers on World War III, its probable date, course and results. The best American and foreign journalists are said to have worked for 10 months on this publication. Their names are known all over the world. Thus the magazine, which has a circulation of 3,900,000, gives countless people in every country an interesting and far from superficial idea of what this "unwanted war" means for the people in the United States and other countries in the West.

In his introduction, the editor states that these pages do not belong to any novel giving a picture of a fantastic future such as for instance is contained in Jules Verne's books: things to come are previewed here on the basis of studies, analyses and researches by a number of allegedly the best and most conscientious experts. He says:

"These writers have consulted eminent authorities on military and economic matters, besides drawing on their own broad knowledge of their particular fields. They have proceeded from the factual basis of the world situation today to a logical analysis of what may come. The war that they describe is a hypothetical war, to be sure. But their description contains no careless fantasy or easy invention. They were not assigned to perform a journalistic stunt. The editors of *Collier's* did not put in ten months of work on this issue with the intention of creating a sensation. Our intention is to look squarely at a future that may contain the most terrible calamity that has ever befallen the human race."

It is therefore legitimate to conclude that the official version held in political circles cannot differ essentially from that in *Collier's*.

Inevitable Disappointment

Without analysing in detail the opinions of the various authors, which would fill a thick volume, we should like to state in brief that the ideas here presented must arouse great disappointment in countless millions of non-Russian inhabitants of the U.S.S.R. and the satellite states. In many cases, these ideas are a direct slap in the face of these inhabitants.

No one hates bolshevism and Russian imperialism more than the subjugated nations in U.S.S.R.. No one longs so ardently for the collapse of communism as the 120 odd millions who do *not* belong to the Russian people and who are held together in the Russian imperium by deceit and force. Life for these millions is at present so wretched, that war, atom bombs, any distress and hardship that may follow the war, can no longer strike fear in the hearts of the population. Many will perish; that we know. But we still have the hope that those who survive will have better times. Life in the U.S.S.R. today is not so fine or valuable that very many fear to lose it. And the masses there have nothing except this life in misery — and their chains — to lose.

If we are to believe the writers in *Collier's*, the pictured future is to be little better, if at all, for the nations at present subjugated by Russia. The war and its sacrifices will have little meaning. These journalists have thought of everything, even of what a mass fashion display will look like in 1960 in a liberated and reconstructed Moscow. But they have not approached the national problem in the U.S.S.R., that is, the problem of the nations now subjugated and longing for freedom from Russian nationalism.

"The Eternal Russia"

Judging from the preview in *Collier's*, there will still be *one* Russian state covering the "Russian" fifth of the globe. This state will be Russia and will apparently be called Russia. All writers use only this one name, Russia, for the whole. Nothing else. The eternal real, indestructible Russia. It is allegedly to be "democratic", "federalist" "liberal", human etc. — but always, and for ever *one* Russia.

Ukrainians above all are bitterly disappointed. Having been members for three centuries of this "submerged nation" which has now been fighting for decades for liberation not only from bolshevism, but also from nationalist and Muscovite oppression, Ukrainians must now be assured by Americans that their country is no better than a province of Russia and they themselves, provincial Russians. Moscow is the head, the brain, the heart of the whole; the Muscovite lead and command which, according to Americans, is their natural right.

Mr. Stuart Chase, for instance, in his article, *Out of the Rubble — a new Russia* tells how he was in Poltava when it was being rebuilt in 1960. Poltava, we may say, is for

Ukrainians the heart of Ukraine; here the purest Ukrainian is spoken, here the biologically purest type of Ukrainian has been preserved and women are more beautiful than elsewhere; this is where both the cultural and the political renewal of Ukraine began, paving the way for its independence. But for Mr. Chase this is Russia. Who is actually rebuilding the economic life of the town and its surroundings? In Ukraine, of course, there is no one fit to do so; a real Russian born in Moscow, Mr. Alexander Maximovich Petrov, an intelligent, strong and outstanding man, has to come. That is just what the communists have done: In order to aid "provincial peoples" they always sent from Moscow their commissars, experts, supervisors — and their executioners. Mr. Petrov speaks only of Russia, knows only Russia, works only for Russia. As Mr. Stuart Chase is staying in Poltava, he cannot help remembering the Battle of Poltava (1709), so he writes: "in the nearby fields Peter the Great defeated Charles of Sweden." If the author really attempts to write factually of these problems, he should know that it was not so much Charles of Sweden as Hetman Mazepa, the head of what had been up till then an independent Ukraine, who was defeated when he attempted to ward off Russian aggression and Ukraine lost her freedom for centuries.

"The Canterbury of Holy Russia"

Another example: Professor *Allan Nevins* (*Free Thoughts, Free Words*) writes from Kyiv also in 1960 of the gigantic effort of the United Nations to rehabilitate Russian scientific institutions. Dozens of foreign educators are engaged in the task: Americans, French, Germans, Scandinavians. Destruction is so great that they ask in despair: "How and where can we ever start the machinery again?" Of course, this reconstruction is started from Moscow — discussions are carried on "in the Kremlin Gardens, looking across at the ruins of the university amid all the twisted rubble of central Moscow". As we mentioned, Mr. Allan Nevins started his work in Kyiv. How? Just as Mr. Stuart Chase meets his Russian, Alex Maximovich Petrov, Mr. Allan Nevins meets his, *Nikolai Antonov*, who does the job. This Antonov is a master-man. Where and how to start?

"We take it for granted that a basic element in our education in Americanism", Mr. Nevins remarks, "You will take it for granted that a basic element in your educational system must be Russianism — true Russian spirit, so long distorted and stunted by the communist dictatorship. Where will you find a means for reclaiming it?"

"The Russian spirit!" exclaimed the white-haired Antonov, his form bent, his face seamed, but his eyes still full of fire. "For that we must go back to the old Russia; to the great truth-seekers of former times — to our immortal writers like Tolstoi and Turgenieff, our mighty poets like Puschkin and Lermontov, our historians like Klyuchevsky."

To repeat, all this is said in Kyiv, the "Mother of Russia's cities, the Canterbury of Holy Russia", as the writer calls it.

The Russian Tricolour Again

Symbolically there is a coloured picture above the article showing the Dnyepyr with the sky-line of Kyiv, above which two flags wave in joyful harmony: that of the U.N. and the all-Russian tricolore; no blue-yellow Ukrainian flag over Kyiv. What has Kyiv, what has Ukraine to do with all these ancient gentlemen: Tolstoi, Turgenev, Puschkin, Lermontov? Granted they are great writers with great minds who have

contributed much to universal culture. But in Ukraine, her people, her freedom, her longing for independence, they were not in the least interested, with the exception of one of Puschkin's poems, where he speaks of the "silent Ukrainian night", the word "Ukraine" is not mentioned once in any of their numerous works, nor, by the way, anywhere in Mr. Nevins' article. This, we may say, is not the case with Mr. Klyuchevsky, the well-known Russian historian who is remembered by Ukrainians only for this one thing; how much he hated the peculiarity of Ukraine and her strivings for freedom against which he fought with every weapon — distortions, lies, historical falsifications. It was Klyuchevsky who did much to submerge Ukraine in the eyes of the world, to eradicate her peculiar character, her independence and her fight for freedom from the memory of man. And now Mr. Allan Nevins wants to base the "new" Russian world on the theories and historical views of a man like Klyuchevsky. What is "new" about his world? It is all old, — old, ugly, servile, reactionary, exactly like the all-Russian tricolore which caused the 1917 revolution. Mr. Nevins and his Russian friend, Antonov, intend to hoist this flag over Ukraine, but they will not succeed, no matter how many millions America puts at their disposal.

"Twenty-two Ukrainian Parties"

Another writer in *Collier's* approaches the problem of Ukraine with open scorn and contempt — *Mr. Arthur Koestler*, allegedly a converted communist. He, too, was in Moscow for years and inhaled deep breaths of the political air there. Now he is breathing it out again. In his article, *Freedom—At Long Last* he describes the elections to the Kharkov Municipal Council on July 5, 1960. No fewer than 22 parties take part in the election. They include: 1. *The Unified Monarchist Great-Russian Party*; 2. *The Ukrainian Separatist Party*; 3. *The Peasant Party*; 4. *The Agrarian Co-operative Party*; 5. *The Liberal Democratic Party*; 6. *The Democratic Liberal Party*; 7. *The Democratic Worker's Party*; 8. *The Syndicalist Workers' Party*; 8. *The Avengers of Trotsky*; 10. *The "Kontry"*; 11. *Pupils of Tolstoi*; 12. *The Theocrats*; 13. *The "Old Believers"*; 14. *The Servants of God*; 15. *The Doukhorob*; 16. *The Esperantists*; 17. *The Pavlovites*, and others.

"Not Ripe for Government"

Where did Mr. Koestler find all these parties in Ukraine? Judging from the editor's assurances, we should imagine that this preview is based on the conscientious study of present political and social movements and their tendencies. There is nothing whatever in Ukraine today that could possibly suggest Mr. Koestler's picture. There are, of course, different political movements and tendencies in Ukrainian society today, but Mr. Koestler's are pure figments of the imagination. If he had taken more trouble to look at life in Ukraine, his picture of the future would have been quite different, and perhaps more credible. But this he did not do — probably did not want to do. Mr. Koestler supplies his readers with a dreadful conglomeration, from which they cannot but conclude that Ukrainians are funny folk; they found ridiculous parties and cannot be taken seriously; they are not ripe for the business of government.

Is it the writer's clear intention to arouse the impression that the Muscovites alone are a politically mature people, able to restore this chaos to order from offices in Moscow. We understand that Mr. Koestler was paid \$ 1500 for this dreadful and harmful rubbish. It is not for nothing that Mr. Koestler got his political education in Moscow of all places. Who ever has drunk the mother's milk of Moscow's Communist Party

Lessya Ukrainka

Honouring the Memory of Ukraine's Greatest Poetess

A ceremony was held in Bradford, England, end of September to honour the memory of *Lessya Ukrainka* (Larissa Kossach), Ukraine's greatest poetess, who died in 1913. She lives in the memory of Ukrainians as the poetess of the renaissance of Ukraine, for she contributed enormously to awakening and spreading Ukrainian national and cultural consciousness in modern times.

It is astounding what spiritual energy there was in her slight, consumptive body. To begin with, she was a divinely gifted poetess in the real sense of the word, with a unique power of creating jewels out of the Ukrainian language. Except for Shevchenko, *Lessya Ukrainka* has no rival in her range of imagination and depth of expression. She it was who proved what this Ukrainian "language of peasants" could accomplish.

She was a woman, and her poetry was feminine in the best sense. She had great depths of feeling and marvellous sensitivity; love radiates from every one of her verses, every line of her dramas. And yet she was called "the strongest man among Ukrainian poets"; her poems express, perhaps more clearly than anything else in the world's literature, what a woman experiences, and how she pictures masculine strength, nobility, courage and steadfastness; the strength of generations and whole historical epochs. There was tremendous strength of imagination in her weak body. Her work was in stark contrast to the somewhat decadent and defeatist



literature of Eastern Europe before the Revolution. There is nothing "relative" in her experience, for she saw nothing by halves; for her, love was love, and hatred, hatred; courage was courage, meanness was meanness and magnanimity, magnanimity. Her language was as clear as her feelings; there was nothing vague in her work, nothing distorted or paradoxical. When she was writing, neither she nor the world knew anything about the "streamlined", "heroic" literature of later totalitarian

movements; clear and strong as she was, her humanity was too deep and sane ever to have approved of men like Stalin or Hitler. And yet she was heroic in the finest, truest sense and she liked to choose themes from the world of classical antiquity, from the "glory that was Greece".

A whole generation of young Ukrainians have been brought up on *Lessya Ukrainka's* poems, epics and dramas. It is a generation which, after centuries of slavery and humiliation, is determined to fight for liberty both with intellectual and physical weapons and with heroic devotion. Every Ukrainian U.P.A. soldier, every Ukrainian girl who helps in this struggle possesses something of *Lessya Ukrainka's* indomitable spirit.

It is no wonder that her memory should be highly esteemed and preserved by the Ukrainian people. She is revered by Ukrainian youth, and above all by Ukrainian women. Wherever they go, they arrange annual celebrations to honour her memory.

So it was in Bradford too. Mrs. V. Smereka gave an account of the poetess's all too short life to a large audience. This was followed by scenes from her dramatized poem, "The Sinner", performed by the Ukrainian Dramatic Club in Bradford. Mrs. H. Kytsiuk recited the poem: "To our Comrades" and Mr. S. Hrubitsky, the "Monologue of Eleazar". The verses, "In Memory of a Friend", were recited by Miss A. Terletska. The evening ended with a performance of the dramatic poem, "Iphigenie in Tauris". It was one of the most memorable experiences in the cultural life of Ukrainian exiles in Bradford.

will never get it out of his blood. This evidently is the source of Mr. Koestler's distaste for Ukraine and his refusal to acknowledge her right to freedom.

The Forgotten Peoples

Innumerable examples of the same attitude could be quoted from every page of *Collier's*. A Byelorussian, a Turkestanian, a Georgian, a Cossack, a Caucasian, an inhabitant of Aserbaijan, the Idel-Urals, etc. would search this magazine in vain for any words of friendship, sympathy or encouragement. These peoples are not even mentioned in this astounding number of *Collier's*, far less their fight for liberation from the yoke of Russia. Professor Nevins had raised the tricolour of Moscow over them all, whether they like it or not; they are not asked. On every page, in every column and line there is nothing but — Russia — eternal Russia — holy Russia. *Collier's* has paid in fees alone 40,000 dollars extra for this All-Russian propaganda and has put this number in the hands of 4,000,000 salesmen and about four or five times as many readers. All the Muscovite Pavlovs and Petrovs will surely wear a medal of gratitude to the publishers of *Collier's* and its writers.

The icy Breath

The tragedy of the whole thing, however, is that all those so-called peoples of Russia have grown up and lived for years in the strange belief that U.S.A. is a land of liberty, that would like every other people to enjoy liberty and that is ready to help every one of them as far as possible in its fight for liberation from tyranny and oppression.

Such a magazine as this number of *Collier's* brings enlightenment to these peoples. From every page, every line, we non-Russian readers feel the icy breath of an unparalleled American political opportunism. The peoples subjugated by Russia grasp from these pages that they can expect nothing good from American "liberation". America is fighting against bolshevism, but not against nationalistic Russian imperialism. Judging from *Collier's*, America will leave those peoples in the dungeon of Russia, under the old Russian imperialist tricolour. The only difference is that communist rulers like Stalin, Molotov, Malenkov, etc. are to be replaced by "democratic" chiefs like Kerensky, Milukov, Klyuchevsky, etc. And this will not help Ukraine or any other people.

On the title page of this number of *Collier's* there is an American GI, with a smile on his lips, but a serious look in

Bishop Ivan Buczko

Sixtieth Birthday

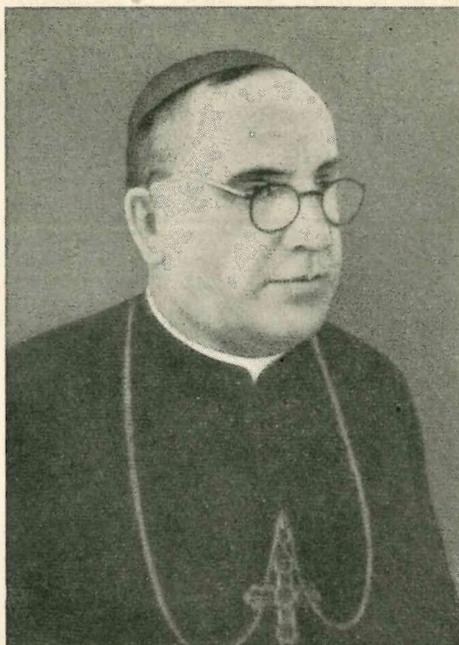
The Spiritual Guardian of Ukrainians Abroad

Catholic Ukrainians in Western Europe recently celebrated in reverence and devotion the sixtieth birthday of Bishop Ivan Buczko, their spiritual leader and Apostolic Visitor to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Europe.

Ever since the Ukrainian Catholic Church has been forced to follow the example of the Early Christians and go underground, its mission and responsibility abroad have greatly increased, a fact acknowledged by Pope Pius XII. He appointed Bishop Ivan Buczko to represent the Holy See in the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the West and charged him with its care. A few months ago he promoted him to be Papal House Prelate and bestowed the title of Count on him.

Bishop Ivan Buczko was born on October 1, 1891 in the village of Hermaniv, Western Ukraine. He comes from a pious family of peasants. After attending the village school and the Ukrainian classical high school in Lviv, from which he graduated in 1910, he followed his vocation by matriculating in the Faculty of Theology at Lviv. Metropolitan Count Sheptytsky made it possible for him to continue his theological studies at Rome and he was ordained by Bishop Lasar Mladenow on February 23, 1915.

A wide field of activity opened to him. He was appointed Prefect of the Ukrainian College in Rome, but his



great love of his native country took him back to Lviv, where he lectured on Fundamental Dogmatics in the Priests' Seminary. In 1921 he returned to Rome and received the degree of Doctor of Theology at the Papal College, Georgianum.

A year later he was again in Lviv where he devoted himself mainly to work among young people. He transformed St. Josophat's Institute into a seminary with the status of a classical

high school. In 1923 he became Secretary to the Papal Visitor to Western Ukraine, Pater Genozzi. In October 1929 he was consecrated as bishop and was appointed to the bishopric of Lviv, a post he held till 1931.

In that year he visited Ukrainian parishes in America on behalf of the Holy See, travelling through Argentina, Brazil and the United States. By this journey, as it turned out, he escaped death, for the outbreak of war prevented him from returning to the Ukraine, where he would certainly have shared the fate of the other 12 Catholic Bishops in the Ukraine who were all murdered, deported or otherwise liquidated between 1941 and 1941.

In 1941 he returned to Rome. In 1946 Pope Pius XII put him in charge of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in exile in Western Europe. He founded a college for Ukrainian priests at Hirschberg in Bavaria which was later transferred to Holland. Today, he is the spiritual guide of all Ukrainian Catholics throughout Western Europe, North Africa and Scandinavia. His recent promotion by the Pope was therefore for them a special occasion for rejoicing; it recognized the lifework of a great man and at the same time acknowledged the martyrdom of a church and a people in the cause of its faith.

Bishop Ivan Buczko is a zealous supporter of Ukrainian art and science, a tried friend of Ukrainian youth, the helper and counsellor of thousands in their bitter exile. His support and protection accompanied all gatherings of Ukrainians regardless of their creed. He is one of the greatest assets in the life of Ukrainians Abroad.

(From "Ukraine")

his clear, brown eyes; he is supposed to be an MP on duty in the occupying forces of the United Nations. This young fellow does certainly not cherish wicked thoughts; he only does what his superior authority orders him. He would witness the post-war misery in the territory of the former U.S.S.R. with horror, sympathy and, though ready to help everywhere, with growing disgust. These soldiers would be welcomed by the people in the countries subjugated by Moscow and received, as the custom is in Ukraine, with the last crumbs of bread and salt in token of hospitality. It was thus that German soldiers at the front were received in 1941 in Ukraine, because the population assumed that social and national liberation would follow the defeat of bolshevism. Soon the smile died out of Ukrainian faces, outstretched hands were withdrawn, eyes hardened and became more tense, lips were compressed to a thin line. All too soon the rumour spread that the Germans were not bringing liberty, but greater hardships and bitter need. If *Collier's* prophesies are fulfilled, the news will spread just as quickly among the oppressed nations, that the Americans were not bringing national liberation, and that the Moscovites and Moscovites were to continue to rule. In Poltava the rumour that Mr. Alex Maximovitch would come from Moscow would spread like wild-fire, people would soon be telling each other that he was coming, this time on behalf of the U.N. but in

accordance with Russian traditions of the commissar, sent to see to things. Do people in New York not grasp the unbearable horror of this idea? The GI on the front page of *Collier's* need not be astonished if people, hitherto friendly, begin to behave in a "funny" manner, refusing to speak and watching everything with hard eyes . . . That is how it started with the Germans.

That must not Happen!

It would be dreadful for all of us — for the peace of the world, for U.N., U.S.A., for all the peoples in the old U.S.S.R. Complete freedom is what the East demands; not only social, but above all, national freedom. It took the Nazis only one year to reconcile the stiff-necked peoples of the U.S.S.R. with Stalin again. Nothing like that must be allowed to happen again. A magazine like *Collier's* should be careful, very careful with its pictures of the future. This number was a hard slap in the face for all nations exiled from the U.S.S.R. The preview concocted by *Collier's* and its sponsors must not be realized; nor will it. *This poisonous Great Russia propaganda in the U.S.A. must come to an end, for the sake of freedom, democracy, the welfare of the U.S.A. and of all humanity.*

Kerensky's Calamitous Campaign

• *About the Ill Fates of the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia"*

The Ubiquitous Mr. Isaac Don Levine

(U.S.) *Mr. Isaac Don Levine* is a sorely tried man. He could be compared to Sisyphus, whose thankless task it was to keep rolling a huge stone up a steep mountain, only to watch it topple down again to the bottom whenever he was within a few feet of the top.

Mr. Don Levine is a member of the Executive of the *American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia* and has set himself a task that can never be accomplished, — to attain the unattainable, namely to reconcile the peoples oppressed by the Russians with their oppressors, and to bring both sides into one camp.

For weeks Mr. Don Levine has set up his headquarters in the "Vierjahreszeiten" Hotel, in the Maximilianstrasse, Munich, with the idea of launching from there an extensive Russian policy. It is his starting point for flying visits that have already become famous, for instance to Frankfurt, Paris, New York and to every place where there are circles of exiles from areas in the Soviet Union. He opens negotiations wherever he goes. He tries to defeat bolshevism without hurting the unity and the greatness of Russia.

The Issue

Public opinion in America, and indeed throughout the Western World, was always been faced with the problem of finding the best way of dealing with the monster of bolshevism. People have now come to the conclusion that physical means alone, such as great armies and atom bombs, are no solution.

Two theories have emerged from the recent discussion of this subject in the United States. On the one hand, some people are convinced — and they are still a minority in the States — that the danger of Russian bolshevist imperialism can be effectively overcome only by dismembering the U.S.S.R. into its national components. Others, on the other hand, maintain that the dismemberment of Russia is not at all necessary, and that there are sufficient constructive forces of resistance in Russia to guarantee a peaceful regime after the collapse of bolshevism; they also insist that the peoples at present oppressed by Moscow are ready and willing to continue to live within a common frame-work of such a "democratic" and "reformed" Russian community of peoples.

This second theory is responsible for the recent foundation in New York of the *American Committee for the liberation of the Peoples of Russia*. This Committee is ready to support with "means from private channels" an anti-bolshevist campaign of liberation, *provided* it can be proved (1) that Russians in exile work together harmoniously and (2) that oppressed peoples actually accept their continued existence within the "Russian community of peoples".

Mr. Spencer Williams, an office-bearer in the "American Committee", tried to produce such proof six months ago. But out of about 37 parties of exiled Russians he has only managed to unite 5 Russian "democratic" parties under the leadership of *Mr. Alexander F. Kerensky*. The representatives of oppressed peoples were so unwilling to join, or even to talk of uniting, that Mr. Williams abandoned the attempt. Here it is where Mr. Don Levine enters the scene.

Mr. Don Levine seems to be tougher; he took over where Mr. Williams either could not, or perhaps would not carry on. Mr. Don Levine is absolutely determined to prove that a great, united, peaceful anti-bolshevist Russia can and must be preserved. He, too, has no ambition to coordinate more than 5 parties of exiled Russians. It is much more important

for him and his supporters to prove that "Russian" peoples are willing to remain in the Russian prison of nations. And this is where Mr. Don Levine reminds us of Sisyphus.

What Should the „Council“ Look Like?

The Americans have said clearly that no money will be forthcoming unless "Russian" nationalities support the movement. For they are intelligent enough in New York to see that no successful anti-communist movement of resistance can be launched in Russia without the cooperation of these nations.

The parallel non-American "Council of the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" is to be the practical instrument for carrying out the campaign. The nucleus of such a "Council" was formed in Ludwigsburg, near Stuttgart, Germany, on 20. 8. 1951. In order to satisfy American demands, the "Council" was to be formed on a basis of equality; it was to consist of 60 members, half of them Russians, and half belonging to "minority" peoples. 20 seats were to be reserved for representatives of the above mentioned 5 parties of exiled Russians, while 20 were to be given to representatives of political parties or of leading national committees of "Russian", peoples. The remaining 20 seats in the "Council" were to be distributed among representatives of non-political organization, such as the Church, art, learning, social organizations, etc., and here, too, on an equal basis, i. e. 10 for Russians, 10 for "minority peoples".

The Nations Say — 'No!'

As we said above, the Russian members of the "Council" were on the spot immediately; 5 Russian parties put up long lists of candidates. But the seats of the "minorities" remained empty for weeks, which, of course, meant that Kerensky's campaign might get no American money. We append a short survey of Mr. Don Levine's various attempts to remedy this state of affairs.

Ukrainians

Mr. Don Levine did not even attempt to open serious negotiations with the nationalistic groups of Ukrainians, being probably convinced of their futility. But, thanks to the mediation of *Mr. Dmytro Andriyevsky*, a Ukrainian engineer, a meeting was arranged in Augsburg between Mr. Don Levine and *Mr. Isaak Mazepa*, the leader of the Executive of the Ukrainian National Council. The meeting lasted about an hour and ended with a pointed Ukrainian refusal to accede to conditions offered. Mr. Levine was told that the Ukrainians, in intimate connection with other peoples oppressed by Moscow, would go their own way of liberation; an anti-bolshevist front in common with Russians was considered to be illusory as the Russian people proper, the Muscovites, the master-people in the state, could scarcely be interested in the collapse of bolshevism and in a change in the Russian totalitarian regime. This indicated that there, too, it was no use continuing the conversation.

Byelorussians

Mr. Don Levine negotiated in Munich with *Mr. Vladymyr Bortnik*, Chairman of the 'Byelorussian Central Committee in Germany' and *Dr. Stanislav Stankevych*, the editor of the leading Byelorussian newspaper in European exile, "Batskauschchina". It should be noted that the "Byelorussian Central Committee in Germany" is the chief political organization of Byelorussians in the whole of Western Europe. Both gentlemen told Mr. Don Levine to put the question of federation with Russia to a popular vote in Byelorussia, but only when that had become a sovereign state. Mr. Don Levine was not satisfied and the negotiations were broken off as useless.

Cossacks

Through a Georgian socialist, Mr. Don Levine suggested to the Executive of the "Supreme Cossacks' Representation" that negotiations should be opened. The Cossacks refused, stating that the parliament of a sovereign Cossack state alone could decide about federations, plebiscites etc.

Azerbaijan

Mr. Don Levine tried first to contact the Executive of the 'Azerbaijan Committee of Liberation' in Germany but received an unfavourable reply from Mr. Akber Ismail, who spoke for the Executive. Mr. Don Levine seemed to have better luck with the Azerbaijan group in Paris where he had conversations with Mr. Akber Agha Islamov and Mr. Dshygun-Bey. But this luck did not last, as the conversations ended with a refusal.

North Caucasians

Mr. Akhmet Mahoma, the president of the "National Committee of North Caucasians", acting on behalf of his countrymen, rejected Mr. Levine's proposals. Mr. Akhmet Mahoma asked Mr. Don Levine: "What evil have we North Caucasians done to you Americans that you want to shut us up again in the prison of Russia?" Mr. Levine had no answer and the conversation was broken off.

Georgians

Mr. Don Levine was for some reason or other particularly anxious to secure the support of the Georgians. He flew repeatedly from Munich to Paris in the cause of the Georgians, the prospects in the French capital being evidently more favourable for Kerensky's "Council" than in Bavaria. Mr. Jordanya, the president of exiled Georgians and Mr. Cenkelli, their prime minister, both live in Paris. They are both members of the Georgian 'Social-Revolutionary Party', in reality a branch of the 'Russian Social-Revolutionary Party' in which Kerensky played a leading rôle. All were, therefore, old party colleagues and the Georgian group in Paris was not averse to open negotiations with Kerensky's "Council". But very strong opposition came from Georgian groups in Western Germany, Great Britain and Belgium. In consequence a congress is to take place shortly in Paris in order to give exiled Georgians of all camps opportunity to discuss the matter. Mr. Don Levine has advanced 1,000,000 French francs to meet expenses. It is rumoured in well-informed Georgian circles that "disruptive elements" will be refused visas, so that the congress may lead to the desired conclusion. The general opinion, however, is that the question of joining Kerensky and his "Council" still will be decided in the negative.

This is all the more probable now that the 'Coordinating Council of Caucasian peoples' which includes representatives of Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and the Ossetes, have announced their opposition to Kerensky and his "Council".

Turkestan

Turkestanians in exile are represented by the *National Turk-estanians Unity Committee* which, as is well known, comprise the following Turk tribes: from Kasakhstan, Kirgizistan, Usbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tadjikistan. It was not necessary for either Mr. Don Levine or Mr. Kerensky to approach Turkestanians, for they had rejected Kerensky's "Council" categorically immediately after the formation of its Russian nucleus. This attitude was expressed in an interview with Mr. Veli Kajum Khan, president of the 'National Turkestanian Unity Committee', which was published in various organs of the European press in the middle of September. And his Committee sent a correspondingly sharp refusal on 28. 8. 1951 that appeared in the *Millij Türkistan* (National Turkistan), the Committee's official organ, published in Geneva.

The Baltic peoples were ignored from the start, as official American opinion does not consider them as members of the union of the "Russian family of nations". Mr. Kerensky's "Council" had to dispense with the Baltic States from the outset and openly declare this.

Buying Allies

Those are practically all the possibilities of success open to Mr. Don Levine. What remains is perhaps better organization of the Russians themselves, say, an attempt to unite not 5, but 10 or 15 parties. That task ought to be worthy of the most skilful political tactician. But it does not interest Mr. Levine at all. He wants to get hold of the "Russian" nationalities, for they alone can get American money for

Mr. Kerensky and Co. So Mr. Levine began once more to roll the huge stone of nationalities up the hill.

But he seems to be a some what modernized Sisyphus, for, immediately after the first failure, he applied various 'hoisting devices' or tricks, which, he hoped, would be more successful where direct efforts had failed. Foreseeing such a course of events we wrote in our September number:

"It is possible that Mr. Kerensky will be able to buy various willing quislings with the help of his American money. In this way he can — and probably will — form committees of "Ukrainians", "Byelorussians", "Georgians", "Turkestanians", and other nationalities, who will publish papers in their own languages etc. This procedure will have nothing to do with democracy."

What we foresaw has happened. Material distress among exiles is too great and the character of many too weak to be able to withstand 'jingling arguments'. We are not in a position to give details of the application of "hoisting jacks" in the case of other "Russian" peoples. For the moment, we are in the position to give results of their application in the case of Ukrainians.

Baiting the Ukrainians

Not a single Ukrainian party with any self-respect or popular support is for Kerensky's plans for the re-union of Russians. All, from Ukrainian monarchists of the Right to socialists of the Left have said — "No!". On another page of our paper we publish the protests of numerous Ukrainian organizations, papers, communities, etc. Such is the voice of Ukrainians.

But Mr. Don Levine hasn't subsided. In the middle of October, Ukrainian editorial offices, organizations, unions and many private persons received by post a pamphlet containing a remarkable "resolution" passed by a "Conference of delegates of Ukrainian democratic groups" which was held in Fürstenfeldbruck on October 6—7, 1951. The pamphlet announces that a new political organization was formed, the *Ukrainian Liberation Movement* (U.V.R.). The following are listed as founders: 1. "Ukrainian Free Cossacks", 2. "Union of Ukrainian Agrarians", 3. "Ukrainian Democratic Union", 4. "Ukrainian People's Movement", 5. "Ukrainian-Cossackian Republican Movement", 6. "Ukrainian Democratic Group — Württemberg".

Ukrainian readers gasped at this unexpected wave of Ukrainian political organizations. They asked each other: "What organizations are these? Who leads them? Since when have they existed? Have you ever heard anything about them?"

No answer was forthcoming for nobody had ever heard up until now of their existence. Suddenly they were "there", like mushrooms after rain. Soon we knew what the rain was and where it came from. The "Ukrainian Liberation Movement" asked and got DM 3,000.— to hold its "Congress" at Fürstenfeldbruck, near Munich, which was attended by — 25 people. In 2 or 3 DP camps near Munich there were signs of the outbreak of this "Liberation Movement"; thus, one man appeared in a new suit, another bought a wonderful new brief case, and three or four men had a great binge in the canteen, etc.

At All Costs: Integration of Russia

The "resolution" was signed by three alleged leaders of the "Liberation Movement". There is no purpose now in going into the very varied biographies of these gentlemen, though it may be necessary later. All we wish to say now is that they have not a good reputation among exiled Ukrainians, and still a worse one at home, that they have no self-respecting followers and no positive support from any circles of society.

One of their first "resolutions" suffices to show which way the wind is blowing. One of its sentences runs: "The groups which have amalgamated to form the "Ukrainian Liberation

Movement" consider that it is possible to work with organizations which aim at a federal union of the peoples living in the Soviet Union." This is a significant statement. In the "American Committee" and in Mr. Kerensky's "Council" it has been said up till now that the peoples of Russia are to unite only in order to overthrow bolshevism together and that these peoples shall thereafter decide which way they want to go. And here a "federal union" of the peoples in the Soviet Union is put up as a definite aim, and the catch in the arrangement appears later in a united, uniform "eternal" Russia, which is the ultimate object of the European wire-pullers of Mr. Kerensky's "Council". Its aim is not so much to combat bolshevism, but rather to continue the old Russian imperialism in "democratic" form. No smooth phrases, however, no promises will ever avail to blind the nations oppressed by Moscow to the "Council's" imperialist and Muscovite aims.

Cheating Americans

The names of the American sponsors of the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" are certainly held in honour in Europe. But — is *Mr. Eugen Lyons*, the president of the "American Committee" aware how, and of what elements the "representatives" of the peo-

ples of the U.S.S.R. are selected and in what way Kerensky's Council is constructed? Do *Mr. Reginald T. Townsend* and *John F. B. Mitchell* really approve of allowing their names to be connected with a movement in Europe which tens of thousands of refugees know to be founded on deception and false premises? Mr. Kerensky and his accomplices in Europe need "representatives" of non-Russian peoples, and he picks them up anywhere, even from the gutter; but we might expect an authority on Eastern problems like *William H. Chamberlain* to know exactly what sort of "representatives" are being offered to Americans.

Is it generally known that the names of *Charles Edison*, *William Y. Elliot* and *Allen Grove* are being used to cloak nefarious practices and to promote plans that are deeply repugnant to millions of human beings?

It is not out of the question that *Mr. Isaac Don Levine* will actually in the end set up some kind of "Russian Peoples' Front" allegedly to combat bolshevism. Americans will give much money to support this front in the fond belief that they are helping a good cause. But with such a "front" they will not advance a single step towards liberating the world from bolshevism and imperialism. *Mr. Isaac Don Levine* is very obviously working for the Russian Empire, not for America and the true liberty of nations.

Indignant Rejection

of Kerensky's "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" Rising Wave of Ukrainian Protest Against the „Council"

(Z. P.) The September number of this paper contained a detailed report of the creation of the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" under the leadership of *Alexander F. Kerensky*, the exiled Russian politician. Storms of indignation have been raised both by the form and the content of this Russian action among the nations to be "liberated". The legitimate exiled representatives of these peoples have recognized Kerensky's campaign for what it really is, namely, an attempt by Russian imperialists in exile to replace Bolshevism by a great Russian Empire, this time under a "democratic" regime.

Not a single member of the peoples oppressed by the Russians believes for one moment in Kerensky's assurances of "independence", "autonomy", "liberty", "equality", for the nations to be "liberated" within the framework of a "restored", "democratic" Russia. The history of this Empire, a conglomeration of stolen territory, is paved with too many Russian lies, too much treachery, too many breaches of promises and treaties, faithlessness and violence, and with the wholesale destruction of whole tribes, for anybody to put any trust in these latest expressions of the Muscovite creed, couched in "democratic" terms. Kerensky's honest face conceals Moscow's ancient greed of power, of land, the old determination to exploit and annihilate peoples. These "Russian" peoples do not want Russian "democracy"; they want nothing but their own freedom and state sovereignty. That is all.

No one, moreover, is surprised by Kerensky's insolent plan. Russians in exile see that the bolsheviks are at the end of their tether and that great changes and revolutions are bound to come in and round the U.S.S.R. And by means of lies, false promises and bribes, and by deliberately misleading world opinion and many credulous Americans, they are trying even now to save the Russian dungeon of nations once more. Such schemes were quite naturally to be expected of Russian imperialists in exile.

But the exiled representatives of the peoples concerned have been more than astonished by the fact that Kerensky has evidently succeeded in winning a group of influential, apparently misinformed, Americans to support his imperial-

ist Great Russian plans. The peoples who are struggling for their freedom simply cannot grasp that Americans can exist who are ready and willing to promote such Russian plans and to procure considerable sums of money for a campaign like Kerensky's. The Americans have gained a world wide reputation for having always and consistently supported genuine liberty, for having taken the part of the oppressed and helped all fighters for freedom, and for instinctively championing the underdog. It is absolutely contrary to this conception that, in the case of Russia, they should support the holders of power, the tyrants of Moscow who have for centuries tormented so many other peoples, and that they should lend a hand to restore them to authority.

In another article in this paper we give details of the methods Kerensky adopts and the kind of men he attracts or bribes to fulfil his purpose of deceiving the Americans about the reception given to his plan by representatives of the nations concerned. All really patriotic and honest groups of these peoples have unequivocally, often sharply, expressed their opposition to Kerensky and his "Council".

This holds above all for Ukrainians. We do not need to emphasize the futility of attempting to overthrow bolshevism without the help of the Ukrainians and without the co-operation of their movement of resistance against bolshevism and Moscow. Kerensky will not succeed in getting anywhere, and, except for a few mercenary quislings he has a united front of Ukrainians against him. And nothing can alter this state of affairs, even in the future.

In support of this assertion we append a survey of the increasing protest by Ukrainians to Kerensky's plans. These protests are not, of course, directed so much to Kerensky and his "Council"; Ukrainians do not consider him sufficiently important. Ukrainian protests are addressed in the first instance to American public opinion and in particular to those Americans whose financial backing made Kerensky's campaign possible at all. These protests seek to let American public opinion have the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, about the real attitude of the majority of Ukrainians, to Kerensky's plans. Americans who support Kerensky are wasting both their time and their money.

Wave of Protest

Germany

Protest of Ukrainian Central Representation

(U.I.S.) The Executive of the Ukrainian Central Representation in Germany, which represents the legal, social, cultural and economic interests of about 28,000 Ukrainians DP's and refugees in Germany, being an amalgamation of 21 Ukrainian societies, has joined the general protest of Ukrainians in exile against Kerensky's campaign.

At a press meeting on 15. 9. 1951, the following resolution was passed:

"The aim behind the reation of the 'Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia' is obviously to work in the spirit of Russian imperialism in order to win over public opinion in the West, which was beginning to be interested in the liberation of peoples subjugated by Russia.

"At the same time, steps are being taken to attract to the Council representatives of so-called 'Russian minorities' who have already assumed the characteristically Russian mentality and outlook. As a matter of fact, the 'representatives of minorities' are nothing but national traitors who are willing to work as agents in the interests of Russian imperialism.

"As the leading organization of tens of thousands of Ukrainians in Germany, the Ukrainian Central Representation, thoroughly approves and supports the protests launched by the Ukrainian independent national press. It is convinced that all Ukrainian organizations abroad will join in these protests."

Ukrainian Youth Association

(U.I.S.) On September 12, 1951 the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Germany published a strong protest against Kerensky's imperialist plans. We quote:

"Our organization of Ukrainian youth in Western Germany protests with vehemence against the claims of Russian circles round Kerensky which endanger the Ukrainian fight for liberty. We assert that the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" (S. O. N. R.) is nothing more or less than a product of Russian imperialism which completely violates the Atlantic Charter, the freedom of nations and the dignity of man.

We protest in particular against the pretence of the S.O.N.R. and its stooges to represent the Ukrainian people and issue declarations on their behalf.

We declare before the whole free world that we will never consent to

any federation or plebiscite whatsoever until we have secured, if necessary at the cost of our own lives, the full sovereignty of the united Ukrainian people."

Protest of Ukrainian Students

(U.I.S.) On October 7, 1951, the Central Union of Ukrainian Students in Germany published their protest against the "Council" in the free Ukrainian press in Germany. The following sentences may be quoted:

"The Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia is an artificial formation which cannot even claim to represent the Russian people, let alone speak on behalf of other peoples in the Soviet Union;

"We protest in particular against the pretence of the S.O.N.R. to speak in the name of the Ukrainian people and its struggle for liberation;

"The S.O.N.R. aims solely at replacing Red Russian imperialism by White Russian imperialism;

"Ukrainian students will never agree to hold any kind of plebiscite in Ukraine before it is completely liberated;

"We protest sharply against the plan of foreigners to force federation with Russia on Ukraine."

Ukrainian Veterans

(U.I.S.) On 14. 10. 1951 Unions of Ukrainian Veterans met in Munich in a reception hall in the Ministry of Economics to hold the traditional "Pokrova" ceremony in honour of the Holy Virgin, the Guardian Angel of Ukrainian soldiers.

The hall was packed when the chair was taken by the doyen of the corps of Ukrainian officers, General M. Kapustiansky. A lecture on the present situation of Ukrainians was given by Dr. L. Ortynsky.

He said that recent Russian and international attempts to reconstruct the Russian empire in all its power and extent after the collapse of bolshevism, hut on "democratic" principles, will fail because of the military resistance of the entire Ukrainian people.

Ukrainians, he said, must preserve and foster their ancient soldierly spirit, joy that they may be well equipped as bonds of friendship; and promote plans, the struggle for the liberation of their country.

Kerensky's campaign must be interpreted as an attempt on the part of Russian imperialists to lull the peoples oppressed by Moscow into a false sense of security and to check their desire for liberty; the future of the Russian empire and the supremacy of Russians over other peoples would thus be assured without armed intervention.

The lecture was warmly received by the veterans present.

Aged Ukrainians

(U.I.S.) On 3. 10. 1951, 41 Ukrainian inmates of the D.P. Home for the Aged in Darmstadt joined in the general protest of Ukrainians against the plans of Kerensky's "Council". In their declaration they emphasize that no trust can be put in Russian promises, even if they are "democratic". Innumerable experiences in the past have proved that Russians have always broken their treaties and promises whenever it was a question of attaining greater power over the peoples subjugated by Moscow. For Ukrainians, the sole guarantee of freedom is the re-erection of an independent state of their own.

Ukrainians in Lübeck

(U.I.S.) "We Ukrainian men and women who live in camps near Lübeck join the protests of the Ukrainian press against the imperialist plans of Kerensky and his group and of his misled American supporters."

This resolution was passed by Ukrainians in Lübeck and its environs on September 28, 1951. The text continues:

"We declare that neither Mr. Kerensky nor any of his clique has the right to speak on behalf of the Ukrainian people or to make decisions for them. Nor have the few Ukrainian quislings in Mr. Kerensky's service any such right."

"We shall above all have nothing to do with any votes or plebiscites in Ukraine. Ukraine voted for its independence as a state on 22. 1. 1919 and does not require to repeat that vote."

"The flower of Ukrainian youth is fighting today in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgents' Army (U.P.A.) against Russian imperialism in the sacred cause of Ukrainian liberation. This bloody struggle is an unceasing testimony to Ukraine's determination to win independence from its Russian oppressor."

Communiqué of the "Union of Ukrainian Journalists"

On October 10, 1951, the Union of Ukrainian Journalists in Germany sent the following Communiqué to the Ukrainian press in Western Europe:

"Following the example given by the free Ukrainian press in Western Germany, spontaneous meetings and demonstrations against Russian imperialism are being held throughout Western Europe. This imperialism finds expression also in the foundation of the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia." At these meetings, resolutions were passed and signatures collected. We publish below the first list of these protests with the number of signatures attached:

Germany: Ukrainians, living in camps: Lingen-Ems — 122; Perulinglu — 30; Münster — 22; Augustdorf — 73; Luttensee — 92; Altenstadt — 26; Eselsberg — 60; Pinsberg — 8; Bad Aibling — 104; Prien — 35; Farell — 107; Dornstadt — 41; Gauting — 144; Amberg — 262; Gahn — 6;

Ukrainians not in camps: Ingolstadt — 112; Erlangen — 6; Trabitiz — 2; Bamberg — 14; Lamsdorf — 2; Grossauheim — 2; Münster — 9.

Great Britain: Blackburn — 114; Westwood Quarry — 9; Towyh Merioneth — 2; Gurrey — 2.

France: Gens — 43; Mulhouse — 44; Thiers — 8; Herauet — 13; Etain — 2; Ben Metie (Tunis) — 106.

Belgium: Lolder — 27.

Sweden: Kessbergo — 1.

France

Ukrainian Free Press

(U.I.S.) On September 17, 1951 a demonstration of protest was organized by representatives of the free press in France, and the following resolution was passed:

"At a special meeting on 17. 9. 1951, the "Union of Ukrainian Journalists in France" issued the following declaration:

1. "The Union of Ukrainian journalists in France declares its complete agreement with the resolutions passed by the representatives of the Ukrainian free press in Germany and joins in the protest against the formation of the "Council".
2. "The Union appeals to Ukrainians in France to give solid support to the general campaign of Ukrainians throughout the civilized world. The Union realizes that the creation of the "Council" is a denial of the right of the Ukrainian people to its independence as a state. Through the centuries of its struggle for freedom, a struggle that is still going on, the Ukrainian people has shown the world that it will never abandon its goal of liberation and of re-erecting the sovereign Ukrainian state which was liquidated by a Red Moscow in 1920."
3. "The Ukrainian people considers the federal plan announced by the "Council" to be a deliberate manoeuvre with the sole purpose of misleading political circles in the free world, this federal plan obviously aims at re-establishing the old regime of oppression in Moscow after the collapse of bolshevism, and at russifying and exploiting the economies of non-Russian peoples."

"The peace of Europe depends on the restoration of independence to Ukraine."

"It is a principle of the Ukrainian people's faith to preserve peace in a new, free Europe."

1. For the Union of Ukrainian journalists in France:
*Roman Holian, president,
Zenon Matla, secretary.*
2. For the review: "Ssorborna Ukraina":
*Roman Holian, publisher,
Mykhaly Dobriansky, editor.*
3. For the weekly: "Ukrainets-Chass":
Danylo Chaykovsky, publisher.
4. For the weekly: "Ukrainske Slovo":
O. Zhdanovych, publisher.

The above protest of the free Ukrainian press in France has appeared in almost all Ukrainian papers in Europe and America.

Ukrainian Community in Paris

(U.I.S.) There was a mass meeting in Paris on September 29, 1951 of Ukrainians living there and in the surroundings. The meeting of Protest was organized by the "Union of Ukrainians in France" (O.U.F.) and the French section of the "Ukrainian Youth Association" (S.U.M.). A number of speakers sharply censured the plans of Kerensky's "Council". Resolutions were passed, such as the following:

"We Ukrainians living in France maintain that the destiny of our native land can be decided only by the Ukrainian people itself, and not by any foreign organisations or influences."

"We are greatly astonished at the policy pursued by certain circles of Americans who, probably through lack of proper knowledge, support the undemocratic plans of Russian exiles and approve of their imperialist aims as regards Ukraine."

"It is high time that these Americans distinguish the problem of Ukraine from that of Russia and deal with it separately, in the same way as the problems of member states of the U.N. are treated apart from Russian questions although they are languishing under the yoke of Russia."

Ukrainian communities in Catillaux, St. Just en Chaussée, etc. subscribed to this protest and hundreds of signatures are being collected.

Vaisin-Chalet

(U.I.S.) At a meeting of the Ukrainian community in Vaisin-Chalet on 7. 10. 1951 energetic protests were raised against Mr. Kerensky's plans and his "Council". A resolution that was signed by 150 Ukrainians present runs:

Mr. Kerensky's "Council" has no right to act on behalf of the Ukrainian people; it is not even entitled to represent Russians in the narrower sense. "The Ukrainians are not one

of the peoples of Russia", which they were coerced into joining in the 17th century. They have full right to secede from the Russian Empire.

Nor can the "democratization" of Russia, which experience with Moscow in the past renders illusory, bring freedom to the nations that have been forced into the strait jacket of the U.S.S.R.

Peace, freedom and genuine international understanding in Eastern Europe can be assured only if Ukraine and the other nations oppressed by Moscow are separated from that power to become completely independent nations."

Demonstration in Lans

(U.I.S.) On October 7, 1951 there was a demonstration in Lans, North France of representatives of Ukrainians living in the départements of Pas de Calais and Nord and, above all, of delegates from the *Ukrainian National Unit (U.N.Y.)* a society with more than 1000 members. After lengthy discussion, the following resolution was passed:

"The delegates of Ukrainians living in the départements, Pas de Calais and Nord, protest sharply against Kerensky's campaign and against his "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia". Attempts are being made to force or bribe Ukrainians to join this "Council" who will then be regarded as "representatives of the Ukrainian people." Thus the

The delegates protest against such manoeuvres by reactionary, muscovite imperialists and assert that the campaign launched by Kerensky and his followers is a deliberate provocation of the freedom-loving world and a violation of the basic right of every nation to a free and independent life. It perpetuates the slavery of peoples and destroys the possibility of the formation of a common anti-bolshevist front. Such a front can only be founded on the voluntary cooperation of the subjugated peoples and it becomes impossible as soon as the re-erection of a White instead of a Red Russian imperialism is held up to these peoples as the aim of the struggle."

Canada

Ukrainian Press Opposes Kerensky

(U.I.S.) On September 20, 1951 a conference was held in Toronto of representatives of all Ukrainian papers that are published there. Toronto, as is well known, is an important centre of Ukrainian settlements in Ontario. This conference discussed the appeal issued by the Ukrainian press in West-

Ukraine Behind the Iron Curtain

Driven Into Paradise

A Factual Report of the Building of the "South Ukrainian Canal" and "Kakhovka Electro-Combine"

(U.S.) Tens of thousands of slaves are once more required to build the *South Ukrainian Canal* and the electricity plant of the *Kakhovka Combine*. There is going to be a repetition in Southern Ukraine of the dreadful tragedy that occurred when Stalin's famous White Sea Canal was built. Petersburg (now Leningrad) is known to have been built by Peter I, the "Great", literally on the bones of tens of thousands of Ukrainian Cossacks and men from Zaporog who perished in the marshes of the River Neva. The White Sea Canal destroyed the lives of hundreds of thousands of soviet slave labourers, mostly Ukrainians. It is already clear that the building of the gigantic *Kakhovka Electricity Combine* will live as a curse in the memory of the Ukrainian people, as vividly and lastingly as the building of Petersburg which has been preserved in the moving verse of *Taras Shevchenko*, Ukraine's greatest national poet.

What Americans, for instance, accomplish quickly and quietly, without boasting or fuss, by means of technical equipment — bulldozers, dredgers, ex-

cavaters, explosion technique, cranes, etc. — must be done in Russia by hundreds of thousands of hands, at the cost of hundreds of thousands of breaking backs and tens of thousands of starved slaves.

The "magnificent", "unparalleled", "unique", "work of genius", the South Ukrainian Canal is not dredged by machinery; it is shovelled out literally by tens of thousands of spades and shovels. "There are always more people than necessary in the world", is a popular and genuinely Russian saying which finds expression in such projects.

The burden this time must be borne mainly by Western Ukrainians, i. e. Galicians, Volhynians, Huzuli, Boyki, inhabitants of Lemkenland and the Carpathians. In deliberately forcing Western Ukrainians to work on this project, Moscow hopes to kill two birds with one stone: firstly, to get the canal built, and secondly to depopulate the "eternally rebellious Western Ukraine" and to break its resistance to russification.

We have received the following report from reliable sources behind the Iron Curtain:

Those in charge of the building project — a job shared by various ministries in the Union — ordered as early as last February that 230,000 workers were to be provided in three groups. The *first* group, a "basic nucleus", of about 11,000, "mostly men", had to be enlisted and ready for work by the end of March. The *second* group of about 63,000 had to be collected, ready for work, at centres alongside the construction by the end of April 1951. This group, too, was to be mainly composed of men. The *third* group of about 155,000 workers, "also women", were to be employed gradually in the course of June, "but not later than the middle of July".

As in the case of the White Sea Canal, the M.G.B., the State Ministry for Security, undertook responsibility for "providing the necessary workers, and seeing to their readiness to work and their general condition". This is the surest guarantee that these workers will actually be provided and that reserves will be promptly found when gaps occur.

It turned out later that the first group came mostly from Inner Russia; the majority were Russians proper and in quite good condition. These were to

foremen and informers with some trained workmen to build barracks and trained workmen to build lean-to huts and hovels, look after drains and roads of approach and garages, motor technicians, etc.

The second group was in decidedly poorer condition and was composed of many nationalities. The dialect most frequently heard was that of Western Ukraine. There were many workers from the Baltic States and Eastern Germany. They were set to jobs in road construction, levelling, ditching, making roads from and to the actual job, building huts and digging underground quarters ("Zemlyanki"), holes in the earth with roofs that let in light.

In June, the third group was scheduled to start, the shovellers proper, "gold-diggers", as they were soon scoffingly called. Very many women. Almost all came from Western Ukraine, particularly from south-west Galicia (Carpathian foothills), from the districts of Stanislav, Kolomyia, Pidmonastyr, Buchach, Halych, Khodoriv, Zydachyiv, Mykolaiv, Stryi, Dolyna, Drohobych, Turka, Sambir, Stara Sil, etc.

It must not be imagined that these workers arrived at living quarters that had been prepared for them and from which they could proceed every day to their work.

Mostly they were unloaded from trucks at points in the fields along the canal and left to their own devices. A group of about 760 Galicians, almost all from the district round Zwydachiv, were unloaded in the beginning of June from cattle trucks at Tarassovka station on the Kherson-Dniepropetrovsk line and had to walk the 87 kilometers from there to Chorna Dolyna, via Beryslav and Kakhovka. When they arrived completely exhausted three days later, there were 34 women and 11 men fewer — they had died on the way. During this dreadful march they did not receive a crumb of bread or a single potato: they were led a long way round the collective farms in the area, as there was fear of "political infection" from these "Galicians sick of the pest of nationalism" . . .

It is impossible to name the towns or villages where these workers live, as there are none. There are only numbered labour centers which change constantly as they go proceeds. These people have no addresses, the neither receive nor send mail. Mortality among them must be appallingly high as substantial fresh "supplies", or "recruits", are always being called up in Galicia. We all know that there were almost no veterans at the celebrations that marked the conclusion of the White Sea Canal,

ern Germany in connection with Keresky's action, and declared its unanimous support of the protest. At the same time, all other Ukrainian papers in Canada were invited to join in the protest. The resolution of the Toronto conference was signed by representatives of the following papers:

- Homin Ukrainy*
("Ukrainian Echo") — Mr. M. Sosnovsky
- Lemkivshchyna*
("Lemko-Land") — Mr. Y. Tarnovych
- Na Warthi*
("On Guard") — Mr. V. Makar
- Nasha Meta*
("Our Aim") — Rev. R. Khomyn
- Novi Dni*
("New Days") — Mr. P. Volyniak
- Svitlo*
("The Light") — Rev. V. Dribnenky
- Ukrainsky Robitnyk*
("Ukrainian Toiler") — Y. Tarnovych

men who were able to say that they had worked on the project from the very beginning. Most of them died in the course of the job. Nor will there be many Galicians left to enjoy the electric light produced by the Kakhovka Combine they helped to build.

And that is but the beginning. A fourth enlistment is scheduled for the end of October to provide more than 200,000 workers. The M.G.B. can be depended on to fulfil the target.

And the greatest evil in the whole thing is that Ukrainians are here being forced to forge with their own hands another link in the heavy chain of

slavery laid on their country by Russia. For the South Ukrainian Canal is nothing but a new means of transport to enable the Russians to exploit the Ukraine more easily and quickly than in the past. The object of the canal is to supply a better connection by water between the Ukraine and Russian industrial areas and markets. It will enable Ukrainian agricultural produce, ores, coal, and half-manufactured products from the Donetz Basin to be transported conveniently to Inner Russia. This is the cause for which Western Ukrainians have the honour to die, on the field of slave labour.

stud farm in the district of Furmanova, West Kazakhstan. There she concealed her membership of the Komsomol for eight months, for she did not report to the local branch as she ought to have done. When it eventually transpired that she was a member of the Komsomol, she was recommended to join afresh by submitting a signed application. She refused, declaring boldly:

"I prefer to declare that I am no longer a Komsomol girl." The "Komsomolskaya Pravda" comments on this declaration with a flood of base columny and threats. Such admissions are branded as subversive activity and high treason. The paper does not tell what became of poor Hanna. It is not difficult to imagine her fate, seeing that her case became famous as *typical* throughout the Soviet Union and abroad. She is not likely to be in Furmanovo, and less likely to be in Kyiv; if she is alive at all, she is probably somewhere in the Arctic Circle.

It is still more significant that the indignant red press of Moscow must complain of such shortcomings only in the case of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Aserbaijanians, Turkestanians, and other subjugated nations, seldom in the case of genuine Russians. The explanation is not far to seek. For the youth of Russia proper there is little sense in sabotaging a youth organisation which is part of the state apparatus for enslaving people that helps Russians to maintain their supremacy over the nations they oppress. It is no accident, but the natural and necessary consequence on the structure of the Russo-bolshevist state in the U.S.S.R. that more than 60% of the leading posts in the Komsomol in Ukraine should be filled by genuine Russian youths and girls. Genuine Russians can never be expected to rebel against the bolshevist regime, for bolshevism is *the* doctrine that best enables Russians to tyrannize over subjugated peoples and exploit them.

Everything for Moscow

Bigger Ukrainian Harvest Transported immediately into Russia

(U.I.S.) Favoured by good summer weather the Soviet Union in general, and Ukraine in particular reaped a larger harvest this year than last. There was a noticeable over-all increase in the wheat crop. The wheat acreage for 1951 harvest was about 10,000,000 acres more than last year; it was achieved by substantial shifting of land from rye and corn to wheat. The largest shifts were made in Ukraine. In 1950 the total Soviet Union grain harvest was about 82,000,000 short tons; 1951 it may increase to 85,000,000. Again the main gains were obtained in Ukraine.

L. Melnikov, D. Korotchenko, V. Kalandashnikov, N. Kalchenko and O. Vlasenko, all of them special Moscow agricultural commissars in Ukraine, agents mainly responsible for the prompt deliveries of Ukrainian grain to Moscow, wrote Sept. 15th a collective letter to Stalin reporting "outstanding success in the campaign of Ukrainian grain deliveries". The letter which was recently published in all Soviet Ukrainian newspapers, runs:

"The men and women working on the collective farms, the employees on the tractor cooperative stations and the state farms in Soviet Ukraine report herewith that they have kept the promise they gave you, dear Comrade Stalin. We have even before the time set fulfilled 100.7% of the state plan for the production and delivery of grain, and have delivered to our beloved Soviet state 71,726,000 puds (1 pud = about 36 lbs.) more grain than at this time last year. Proud as we are of our performance, we are not yet content. We promise you, dear Josif Vissarionovich, that we shall do our best to reach a higher figure next year."

Almost 72 million puds more grain than last year — that is no trifle! One might suppose that this miracle of a harvest was produced by the fertile Ukrainian soil, the sun, timely rain and

wind, the hard work of the Ukrainian people. Not at all! This increased harvest, as we learn if we continue to read the letter of the competent Moscow official, is due first and foremost to the "elder brother", the Russians, proper, the Muscovites. We quote:

"The workers of Soviet Ukraine know only too well, dear Comrade Stalin, that it is only in consequence of the friendship and brotherly help of the great Russian people that agriculture in Ukraine prospers and develops so well, as do all other branches of economy and culture in our republic."

Nothing, obviously, could be done without the Russians! This is sufficient reason to carry out another of Stalin's orders without further delay, namely, to transport the harvest of Ukraine immediately to the central provinces of Russia, above all to Moscow. In other words, Moscow takes payment for its imaginary "brotherly help". At present unending trains and trucks of grain are rolling from Ukraine to the north. What does Ukraine get in exchange? No Moscow agents would report on this to Stalin with pride. There would be no sense in such an action, for Moscow never pays a penny for what it takes from Ukraine. Ukraine remains a colony of the Russian people.

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"I am no longer a Komsomol Girl"

(U.I.S.) An example reported in the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" of September 28, 1951 illustrates to the catastrophic conditions in the Komsomol in Ukraine.

Masses of young men and girls, who are members of the Komsomol stay away from all the activities of the organization; nobody wants to take any leading position. *Hanna Kostantynenko*, a Komsomol girl who finished her course at the Kyiv veterinary college a year ago, was ordered to work on a

New Schoolyear

Another Arena in the Fight against Ukrainian Nationalism

(U.I.S.) The new schoolyear in Soviet Ukraine began in 1951 as usual on September 1. The Ministry of Education of Ukrainian S.S.R. publishes the following facts about certain schools in the Soviet Ukrainian press:

At present there are 158 High Schools in Ukraine, attended by 160,000 students. 43,000 new students have been enrolled for the new schoolyear; 55,000 more attend evening classes or take out courses in correspondence colleges. In 1951 altogether more than 7 million children and young people in Ukraine are attending school.

Education in Carpathian Ukraine has made astonishing strides. Up till

1945 this Ukrainian province which had been administered for centuries by Hungary, was the most backward in culture. Now it counts 332 seven-grade intermediate schools and 437 elementary schools, with a total enrolment of 150,000.

This year, as always at the beginning of a schoolyear, Soviet Ukrainian teachers were carefully instructed by the Communist party as to their particular duties and were told what they were to emphasize in the classroom. These instructions throw light on the nature of the problems facing the Soviet regime and, above all, on the resistance it has to deal with in the country. An article in "Radyanska Ukraina" runs:

"Following the wise instructions of our party, Soviet teachers must above all see to it that they utilize to the full their lessons in literature, history and geography in order to inspire youth with a burning Soviet patriotism, a Stalin brotherhood of nations, Soviet national pride and proletarian internationalism, and this, in the first instance, for the purpose of uncompromising combat against bourgeois nationalism."

The Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalism", or, in the language of the West, Ukrainian national patriotism, must have struck deep roots in the country if it is considered necessary to warn and inoculate firstgraders against it.

Escape from the Monotony of Everyday Life

(U.I.S.) According to Soviet statistics, the theatres in Soviet Ukraine gave in the first half of 1951, 14,012 performances, of which, 8,462 were of works by Soviet authors. In spite of the obvious numerical superiority of new Soviet productions, the Communist party is not content. Their henchmen have found out that "Soviet pieces are for the most part intentionally produced by second-rate theatres, while the better ones, mostly theatres with pre-revolutionary traditions, prefer old, ethnographic, so-called 'entertaining' plays". The "Radyanska Ukraina" comments thus:

"In the course of the last six months, the hunt for 'box-office' plays was particularly lively. These plays are alleged to be 'entertaining' and 'much in demand'. In reality they are mostly empty, if not injurious, products, of which we should be ashamed. Individual theatres have often produced real rubbish, such as "The Law of Lycurgus", "The Fatal Inheritance", "The Stolen Grandfather" etc."

To put it more simply — the public just refuses to accept Soviet plays. The people have to endure the monotony of life in the Soviet Union by day, more, indeed than is tolerable. In the evening, they prefer to escape into an unreal country, even if provided by such rub-

bish as the "Stolen Grandfather". They have no alternative. That is what the "happy life of the Soviet citizen" looks like — in their own Communist mirror.

*

Agitation against America

(U.I.S.) The "Radyanska Ukraina", the official organ of the Communist party of Ukraine, in its number of 6. 9. 1951 published a whole page of photostats and reproductions from papers printed at the time of the Revolution, for the purpose of "demonstrating the aggressive nature of Anglo-American imperialism. For centuries it has shed the blood of innocent nations, plundered and subjugated them. This imperialism is Enemy No. 1 of working people in the Soviet Union, of peace, democracy and socialism."

The caption under this collection reads: *Ukraine Accuses!* Subtitles are: "Their Plans", "Dollars and Blood", "We Shall Never Forget!" The kaleidoscope is "enlivened" by many photos of alleged atrocities and other war crimes committed during the occupation of Southern Ukraine in 1918 by troops of the British and French armies.

The report concludes with the following threat: "The Ukrainian people will always remember the crimes of imperialists in the U.S.A., England and France! It cannot forget the murder of Soviet citizens, the ruins of its factories, and railways, nor the ashes of its houses. The Soviet people is only too familiar with the bestial habits of imperialists; it watches with anxiety the tricks of such imperialist robbers as Truman, Churchill, Acheson and Attlee, all of them greedy for land, and, seemingly unable to learn from history, still rattling their swords."

Shortage of Trained Technical Workers

(U.I.S.) The *Visnyk* ("Information") of the Academy of Sciences in Ukrainian S.S.R. reports that 23 departments of the Academy and other technical institutes in Ukraine are working at problems connected with the building of what is known as the *South Ukrainian Canal*, and the power plant known as the *Kalkhovka Combine*. The "Visnyk" complains that, in spite of the employment of masses of scientific and technical experts in Ukraine, there is "a severe shortage of technically qualified workers". This is particularly true of the provinces of hydrology, conservation of soil, thermodynamics, electrical engineering, etc.

Instead of complaining, the Academy's bulletin should explain the reason for the shortage of trained technical workers in Ukraine. If it were honest, the "Visnyk" would have to admit that this shortage is due directly

to Russia's treatment of Ukraine as a colony. Moscow's policy was to develop Ukraine solely as a source of agricultural products, above all as a huge area for growing wheat and sugar-beet. Ukraine has been developed more and more as a one-product agricultural country. Technical training institutes have paid a certain amount of attention to agricultural study and research, but other technical training has been deliberately forbidden for decades. Soil conservation, thermodynamics and electrical engineering in particular, are the special provinces of Russian engineers and more than 80% of the colleges dealing with those subjects are in Russia proper, particularly in and around Moscow. It is, therefore, no wonder that there are no experts in these branches in Ukraine. Now that, in spite of these difficulties, these new technocological Cheops pyramids are being erected in Southern Ukraine, we are sure to hear how the Russian "elder brother" has once more "generously helped" Ukraine out with experts, engineers, etc. and has "pushed the cultural development of Ukraine ahead". This will provide a reason for strengthening Moscow's claim to supremacy over Ukraine.

Increasing Indifference to Komsomol

(U.I.S.) The "Komsomolskaya Pravda" of October 19, 1951 complains of growing indifference and a falling off in numbers in the Komsomol in the Soviet Union in general and in Ukraine in particular. A certain comrade Krywolutsky wrote to the paper mentioned complaining of the inadequate support given him by higher local and district secretaries of the Komsomol when he was organizing a local branch.

In replying, the paper tells tales out of school. In Ukraine during the first half of 1951, 224 secretaries were dismissed from the Komsomol altogether, while 1,306 were dismissed from office. The reasons given are always the same, namely, carelessness, indifference bureaucracy, lack of devotion to the cause, deviations.

Whatever efforts the Moscow powers make, communism simply will not take root in Ukraine, especially among young people. Mass purges will be of little avail.

A Station That Was Never Finished

(U.I.S.) The old railway station in the town of Dnipropetrovsk with its 600,000 inhabitants was completely destroyed during the war. The old station was most inadequate for the growing city, so the "Soviet planners" with "unusual boldness" had designed a new station and given orders for the building.

It was to be a huge thing with 4 ar-

UKRAINIANS ABROAD

Argentina

REPORT OF THE "PROSVITA"

(U.I.S.) Judging from activity among Ukrainian emigrés in Argentina, the *Ukrainian Popular Education Society, Prosvita*, is gradually becoming an important centre of Ukrainian life there.

The "Prosvita" Society in Argentina is, to a degree, a branch of the great Ukrainian society for Adult Education which existed for many years until 1945, i. e. till Ukraine was finally subjugated by Russia and bolshevism, and which was last active in Western Ukraine. The "Prosvita", a non-political organization, which combated illiteracy and superstition among Ukrainians, provided the population with books and papers, organized educational courses and evening classes, founded schools, promoted national customs and culture and helped to preserve historical traditions. The "Prosvita" saved millions of Ukrainians from being spiritually absorbed by Poland and Russia.

At present the "Prosvita" in Argen-

ina owns a centre in Buenos Ayres and 17 branches in provincial towns. Last August, the foundations were laid for the latest "Prosvita" houses in the towns of Doc Sudi and Villa Carassa. At these ceremonies 11,000 and 6000 pesetas respectively were collected to be used for further bilding.

In 1950/51 "Prosvita" houses or branches were founded in the following towns of Argentina: Berisso, Valentin Alcina, Florida, San Martin.

UKRAINIAN PRESS EXHIBITION IN BUENOS AIRES

(U.I.S.) The Exhibition of the Ukrainian Press in Buenos Aires closed on 18. 8. 1951. It was held in the premises of the "Prosvita", the Ukrainian Education Centre, where a reception was held during the exhibition for representatives of Ukrainian organizations in the Argentine. In his address, *Mr. M. Danylyhyn*, president of the "Prosvita", emphasized that, since the war, Ukrainians have published out of their own funds 39 papers, magazines and books in Argentina, i. e. almost 10 per cent of all non-Soviet Ukrainian periodical publications produced abroad during 1950. One of the exhibits was a copy of the first edition of the first Ukrainian newspaper in Halychyna, the "*Halytska Zoria*" ("The Star of Galicia"), dated 1848, and printed in Cyrillic type, a bibliographic curiosity. A resolution was passed to found a museum in the Education Centre.

Australia

UKRAINIANS IN CANBERRA

(U.I.S.) The "Union of Ukrainians in the Area of the Capital" met for its general meeting in Canberra on July 29, 1951. About 177 of the 20,000 Ukrainian immigrants in Australia have found work and accommodation in Canberra. The meeting elected new office-bearers, *Dr. Roman Mykytovych* being chosen as president. He is supported by 6 other office-bearers. Among the resolutions passed was one for cultivating close contact and exchange in the province of culture and national traditions with Ukrainians immigrants in Great Britain, U.S.A. and Europe

UKRAINIAN CHOIR IN BRISBANE

(U.I.S.) At the suggestion of the Catholic hospital in Brisbane, the Ukrainian Choir and the ballet under *Peter Holoyad*, the eminent Ukrainian artist, gave a concert and ballet evening in Brisbane end of September. The enter-

tainment was a great success. The Australian public received the choir's performance enthusiastically; it is gradually acquiring a notion of the value of Ukrainian folk art.

Brazil

COURSES IN UKRAINIAN

(U.I.S.) From August 1951 weekly courses in Ukrainian language and literature will be held in the rooms of the "Ukrainian-Brasilian Society" in Curytiba, Porana, Brasil. The courses aim at spreading and refreshing knowledge of Ukrainian among all interested. Courses in Portuguese will also be given for Ukrainians who have immigrated recently and who do not yet master the language of the country. They will receive lessons on the history, geography, culture and general knowledge of Brazil. These courses are well attended.

Canada

CONSTITUTION OF THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

(U.I.S.) On August 8th and 9th 1951, the special Convocation (the Ssobor) of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada took place at Winnipeg, Manitoba. During the Convocation the fundamental form of its organization was laid down, and hierarchical questions decided.

Metropolitan *Ilarian Ohienko* was appointed primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada, his title to be "The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Winnipeg and the whole of Canada". Archbishop *Mykhail Khoroshy* was chosen as his deputy, with the title of "Archbishop of Toronto and East Canada". A decision was passed to enthrone the protoierey *W. Kudryk* as bishop at an early date.

The Convocation accepted a new statute of organization, according to which Canada is to be divided into three main dioceses (eparchies), the Eastern, the Central and the Western. The Convocation passed a unanimous resolution deciding the community rights of the Church constitution which was to "answer the requirements of practical life and be in conformity with the democratic principles of the Canadian Constitution".

THE CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER AT UKRAINIAN JUBILEE

(U.I.S.) The Canadian Prime Minister, *Mr. St. Laurent*, took an active part in the sixtieth anniversary celebrations of the first settlement of Ukrainian immigrants on Canadian soil. The second half of August, *Mr. St. Laurent* travelled through the provin-

rival platforms, electric plant, many tunnels, escalators, fantastic waiting-rooms, restaurants, theatre, cinemas, etc. Everything had to be mechanized, automatic and standartized. It was designed to meet the growing demands of a town that was expected to reach the 2 million level. It was to be opened for traffic in 1948. That was postponed to 1949, then to 1950, then to 1951 which is also drawing to a close. The 4 big platforms were reduced to 3 and then to 2. It has ended by the trains arriving along the level ground. True it is enormous, but their are no escalators, no theatre no cinemas, only huge halls inhabited by swarms of sparrows.

One of the special features of the new station was that it was to be done in marble, the same marble that had been used in the Moscow underground stations. The architects and specialists of the Moscow stations were ordered to Dnipropetrovsk. There, however, they found no marble and went back to Moscow, having done nothing. Thus the station has remained bleak and bare, with roughly finished walls, just plastered in places; an ugly great grey thing surrounded by rubble and building material over which passengers are forced to climb to reach their trains...

No even the local press makes fun of the station.

An excellent example of "stormy socialist reconstruction".

ces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba where the Ukrainian farmers are most numerous settled. Wherever the Premier went he was received, after ancient custom, with gifts of bread and salt as symbols of loyalty and hospitality. In his speeches Mr. St. Laurent pointed out the extensive rights enjoyed by Canadian citizens, citizens of so many different nationalities. He praised the activity and hard work of the Ukrainian pioneers in the cultural and economic development of Canada in general, and the achievements of the Ukrainians in opening up the above mentioned provinces in particular. The Prime Minister stressed the fact that the welfare and security of the Dominion is built upon three main supports: the unity of citizenship, respect for minorities and readiness to make sacrifices for the sake of peace.

At Mounder, Alberta, Mr. St. Laurent attended a Greek Orthodox service held by the Archbishop, the Right Rev. Nil Ssawaryn. In Elk Island Park the Premier was present at the opening of a Ukrainian Pioneer Museum. The museum is built in the form of a thatched wooden farmhouse, such as was usual among the Ukrainian settlers sixty years ago, in the pioneer epoch.

Among the crowd of 20,000 persons attending the inauguration of the museum was an 86 year old pioneer, Hryhory Drohomiretsky, who had been one of the first settlers in those parts. The Prime Minister presented him with a commemorative plaque.

To mark the occasion the Premier received many presents, such as, for instance, Ukrainian Easter eggs painted in 12 colours, embroidery, carving, etc.

The Premier was accompanied by a number of distinguished personages, among others Mr. Ivan Dikur, Mr. G. Proudhomme, both members of the Dominion Parliament; the Provincial Minister of Economics, A. Hook; Senator Bowlen, Archbishop Nil Ssawaryn, Senator G. Stamlow, the M. Ps. McDonald and S. Wellborn.

MONUMENT TO SETTLERS

(U.I.S.) Ukrainians who settled in Rowsdale, Manitoba, three generations ago have decided to erect a monument to commemorate their settlement, in the form of a Greek-Catholic church. The first collection produced 1,500 dollars. The church is to be consecrated and given over to public worship by the end of 1952.

UKRAINIAN THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS

(U.I.S.) The Faculty of Theology in St. Andrew's College, Winnipeg, has begun to inscribe students for the academic year 1951/52. This college gives theological training to Ukrainians belonging to the Greek Catholic (uniate) Church.

UKRAINIAN HOLDS TWELFTH PLACE

(U.I.S.) The *Novy Shlakh* ("New Path"), a Ukrainian paper published in Toronto, compares Ukrainian with other world languages, of which there are said to be 2,796. More than 54 million people in the world can speak and understand Ukrainian. This language comes twelfth in the list of world languages which is topped by Chinese. In Europe, Ukrainian comes seventh. These figures are interesting enough, but Ukrainians are not in any way puffed up about them.

Chile

ANOTHER UKRAINIAN CHOIR

(U.I.S.) In consequence of the War, Ukrainians have emigrated to Chile as well as to other countries. Some dozens of these have founded a "Ukrainian Society" in Santiago, the capital of Chile.

Coming of a people that is fond of singing, they have lost no time in forming a Ukrainian choir. After much hard practice, Mr. N. Ciznevsky, the organizer and conductor, decided that the choir was ready to give a concert.

In the middle of September, therefore, a concert by the Ukrainian choir was broadcast by *Radio Pacifico*, the Santiago of Chile station. It was introduced by explanatory comments in Spanish, mention being made of the history of Ukraine and her culture, her subjugation by Moscow and her fight for freedom. Critics in the local press gave favourable notices of the performance.

France

AN IMPORTANT VISITOR

(U.I.S.) His Eminence, Cardinal *Eugène Tisseran* paid a visit on September 24, 1951 to the *Ukrainian Scientific Society of Taras Shevchenko* in its new house in Sarcelles (S. et O.), France. The honoured guest was accompanied by *Mgr. Du Menile*, vice-director of the Catholic Action in the East and *Mgr. Leveque*, Canon in the same organization, *Mgr. Perridon*, Vicar General of Ukrainians in France, the *Rev. Leskovych*, chancellor of the Ukrainian Catholic Visitor in France, and the *Rev. P. Brown*, representing the entrance by *Prof. Dr. Z. Kuzela*, president of the Ukrainian Scientific Society of Taras Shevchenko, who, in accordance with an old Ukrainian custom, offered the honoured guest salt and bread as a token of hospitality and respect.

His Eminency inspected the chapel in the house and there dispensed the church's blessing on all present. Cardinal Tisseran spent about two hours in the house and inspected the library,

the exhibition of old and recent publications by the Society and the scientific work being done by its members.

The guest was greatly interested in the information about the Society's work supplied by the following Ukrainian professors: *Prof. Dr. V. Kubiyovych*, *Prof. Dr. O. Kulchytsky* and *Prof. M. Hlobenko*. His Eminency showed particular interest in the publication of the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* which the Shevchenko Society is at present engaged in. He accepted presentation copies of the "Atlas of Ukraine" edited by *Prof. Dr. V. Kubiyovych* and *Prof. Dr. Z. Kuzela's Ukrainian German Dictionary*.

A small reception held in honour of the occasion was attended by other Ukrainian personalities from Paris, including *Prof. I. Borshchak*, *Prof. P. Shumovsky*, *Eng. D. Pisniachevsky*, *Dr. M. Mostovych*, etc.

His Eminency seemed favourably impressed by the program of the Shevchenko Society during its exile in France.

Great Britain

A UKRAINIAN SCHOLAR GOES TO ENGLAND

(U.I.S.) Towards the end of September, *Prof. Dr. Vadym Shcherbakivsky*, one of the most eminent Ukrainian scholars of the present, left Munich for London. The professor, who is 76 years old, has made a name for himself in Ukrainian and foreign academic circles by his work as a pioneer in the province of Ukrainian archaeology and prehistoric culture in Eastern Europe.

Professor Shcherbakivsky comes from an old Ukrainian family connected with the Church in the neighbourhood of Kyiv. After the first world war he spent some 30 years in scientific research, mainly in Prague and Rome. He taught at Free Ukrainian Universities in Europe, above all in Prague and later in Munich. He was a familiar and greatly respected figure at all the congresses of experts in his subject which have been held in past decades in European capitals.

Professor Shcherbakivsky is a member of the Free Ukrainian Academy of Learning and of the Ukrainian Shevchenko Society.

He was warmly welcomed in London by *Mr. Theodor Danyliv*, secretary of the *Society of Ukrainians in Great Britain* (S.U.B.), who expressed the wish that the honoured guest would have health, happiness and success in his new home. He was transferred from Munich with the help of the Society of Ukrainians in Great Britain which also undertakes to look after his welfare in the future.

When the learned professor, who is still hale and hearty, was invited by a group of Ukrainians at his reception

to take some refreshment after the long journey, he replied: "I have no time to rest. I have much to do yet."

MEDALLION IN MEMORY OF GENERAL CHUPRYNKA

(U.I.S.) A Ukrainian committee was formed in London at the end of September to arrange a special celebration in memory of General Taras Chuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgents Army (U.P.A.) who fell in action against Russo-bolsheviks. A commemorative medallion is planned for this occasion. It will be consecrated on the second anniversary of the great hero's death.

KEEPING CONTACTS

(U.I.S.) In the middle of September Dr. Josef Fundak, president of the Society of Ukrainians in Great Britain (S.U.B.) started on a journey to the Continent on behalf of the S.U.B., for the purpose of keeping in contact with similar Ukrainian organizations there, with whom he planned to exchange ideas and experiences and above all co-ordinate various schemes of relief.

Dr. J. Fundak travelled in Belgium, France, Austria, visited Trieste and Western Germany and returned to London at the end of October.

His visit to Trieste was of particular importance, where, in consequence of post-war events there are many Ukrainian refugees and DP's. Most of these peoples fled in 1945 to Trieste after the communist coup in Yugoslavia or were expelled after 1948 by Tito's regime. Dr. Fundak had a number of consultations with the local Ukrainian committee which resulted in getting the committee officially recognized by the Occupying Powers and in improving living conditions for Ukrainians there.

In Geneva Dr. Fundak discussed the state of Ukrainians in exile in Irig, Trieste and Tunis with IRO authorities and with the U.N. High Commissioners for Refugees.

Dr. Fundak's visit to Ukrainian committees in Belgium, France and Germany certainly helped to strengthen bonds of friendship; and promote plans.

NEW UKRAINIAN HOUSE

(U.I.S.) The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Great Britain has recently acquired a fine house in Bradford and the grounds attached to it. It is a two-storey building at 28, Pemberton Drive which runs off Morley Street. The house has 9 living-rooms and kitchen premises and will be used mainly to accommodate Ukrainian priests. It is planned to build a chapel in the house where services can be held daily. One room is equipped as a schoolroom where Ukrainian children can be taught the catechism. The house cost more than £ 2,300. It is the third house in Great Britain that the Ukrainian Catholic

Church has bought and the ninth to belong to the organized Ukrainian community.

Spain

CONFERENCE OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC STUDENTS

(U.I.S.) The *Obnova* ("The Renewal"), a society of Ukrainian students, held a week of study in Madrid from September 3—9, 1951 which was attended also by representatives from Switzerland, Belgium and Holland. One of its chief aims was to establish contacts between Ukrainian and Spanish students and teachers, to exchange ideas and experiences and to form personal friendships. A number of eminent Ukrainian scholars, notably of the younger generation, were present at the Madrid conference. Lectures and seminars were held on various subjects by Dr. V. Yaniv, Dr. R. Tsymbalisty, Dr. W. Markus, the Rev. Dr. S. Vassylyk, Dr. N. Buchynsky, and others. The week concluded with an address by X. M. Otero, a Spanish scientist in charge of the Department for Optics in the Spanish Institute of Scientific Research, and also First President of the Students Catholic Relief Organization. He said: "You must be ready for the enemies of God and your fatherland. A brave underground army is fighting in your country against overwhelming odds. Peace is the outcome of justice. Where 40 million people are languishing in slavery, there is no justice, and therefore no peace. We feel and suffer with you, but we hope that you will return to your native land to renew there God's peace and justice." Antonio Correa Veglison, a member of the Spanish Cortes, also spoke. He pointed out that the Ukrainian people, as an outpost of Christianity and European culture, had guarded the Eastern frontiers of Europe loyally and bravely for centuries. "Today, our ancient Spain cannot offer you many comforts, for it has none, but it does offer you sincere hospitality."

This week of study was most valuable for Ukrainian university men, for it brought them a host of new acquaintances, ideas and inspirations.

U. S. A.

UKRAINIAN EDUCATION IN AMERICA

(U.I.S.) In its No. 39/1951, *Ukrainska Dumka* ("Ukrainian Thought"), a weekly appearing in London, examines fundamental problems of schools and education for Ukrainians both in the United States and in Canada. Arguing from many statistics and critical press notices, the writer comes to the conclusion that Ukrainian education in these two great American countries is in the throes of a severe crisis.

M. Kokovsky, a well-known Ukrainian educationalist, writes, for instance in the "Svoboda", a Ukrainian daily that appears in Jersey City N.Y., in an article entitled "A Cry in the Wilderness": "Ukrainian life in the United States is growing rapidly and spreading perhaps too quickly. Businesses and enterprises are founded, political parties formed, new papers and magazines published, books edited, theatres, music-halls, choirs and choral societies launched... Outwardly this energy is expressed in numerous concerts, academies, entertainments, lectures, celebrations, meetings, demonstrations, etc... Do we not make too much fuss about it all? Are all these things really so valuable and important? Does the education of the young, the most vital factor in a people's life, not suffer?" The author comes to the conclusion that two-fold damage is done by neglecting education. Firstly, Ukrainian youth ought to contribute to American culture only what is best and highest in its own. And that is impossible as long young people do not carefully tend and develop their Ukrainian cultural traditions. Secondly, these young people have a sacred duty towards the old country. He writes: "If we do not want to perish as a nation, if we dream of contributing to the erection of an independent Ukraine, our first duty should be towards the education of Ukrainian youth. It is our duty to provide Ukrainian schools for them. And we must act quickly and energetically, for tomorrow it will be too late." It is the author's opinion, that Ukrainian young people in the U.S.A. become too quickly and superficially American for it to be of any benefit either to the States or Ukraine.

Ukrainians in Canada are devoting attention to similar problems. A "Council for Ukrainian Education in Canada" has been formed. This body recently appealed to Ukrainian priests in the country to pay particular attention to a national Ukrainian education for young people and to urge parents to send their children to Ukrainian schools in Canada. This, the Council thinks would be in the best interests both of the cultural development of Canada itself and of the old country. The Council has drawn up a uniform curriculum for Ukrainian schools in Canada which emphasizes the place of these schools in the educational system of Canada, and deals with practical questions of method. Professor Leonid Biletsky, the well-known Ukrainian scholar, has published an appeal to Ukrainians in Canada entitled "Ukrainian Children Go To Ukrainian Schools!"

THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION

(U.I.S.) The Third Annual Convention of the *Ukrainian-American Relief Committee* (U.U.A.R.C.) was held in Philadelphia from October 12—14. This

is a voluntary agency with a twofold aim: 1. to help and cooperate with competent American and foreign offices in resettling tens of thousands of Ukrainians who emigrated to the U.S.A. in 1948/1951 under the U.S.A. DP-Immigration Law; 2. to help those Ukrainian D.P.'s and refugees who for any reason are unable to emigrate from Germany or Austria and who are compelled to stay in Europe.

The U.U.A.R.C. is an amalgamation of various Ukrainian societies in the United States — social, charity, occupational and entertainment societies. 70 delegates of these societies attended the Third Annual Convention.

In the report submitted to the Convention it was stated that, from the beginning of its activity, the U.U.A.R.C. has helped about 26,000 Ukrainians to resettle in the U.S.A. and spent about 1 million dollars for such work in the year under review.

During the Convention a new board of directors (27), a new executive board (7), and the commission of control (5) were elected. *Mr. Ivan Panchuk*, a lawyer, is president of the board of directors and *Dr. Valter Gallan* is president of the executive. In connection with the Convention, an exhibition of Ukrainian painting, drawing and sculpture was held in the same hotel and there was also an exhibition of the Ukrainian free press abroad, of books and underground literature which appears continuously in Ukraine although it is oppressed by Moscow and terrorised over by bolshevism.

“UKRAINIAN IDEALISM — BALM FOR DISAPPOINTED AMERICANS“

A Ukrainian Woman fights in U.S.A. for the Recognition of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle

(U.I.S.) An organization has been started in Detroit, U.S.A., called the *Common Cause*, with the object of waging determined propaganda warfare against Muscovite dictatorship. The organization is to have 25 million members.

At its inauguration on Sept. 22, 1951, an anti-bolshevist demonstration took place in front of the Detroit City Hall in the presence of thousands of people, at which *Mr. Harold E. Stassen*, President of the Pennsylvania University, *Mr. Drew Pearson*, the well-known journalist, and *Mrs. Matusia E. Beck*, a Detroit magistrate and Ukrainian by birth, spoke.

Mr. Henry Ford jr. gave a reception after the meeting at which *Mr. M. E. Beck* had the opportunity of speaking again. Basing her remarks on undeniable facts, she declared, that the potential power in the fight against Russian, bolshevism was the nations subjugated by Moscow, with Ukraine at their head.

It was therefore imperative that the American world and, above all, the State Department should understand the Ukrainian struggle for liberation and give it the necessary diplomatic, moral and material support.

Mrs. Beck lived for five years in Ukraine and knows from her own experience the individualist, peace-loving Ukrainian people. A people that in spite of terrible suffering and sacrifice has kept up the struggle against Russia and bolshevism.

Those present at the reception listened with interest and attention to the remarks of the Ukrainian magistrate of Detroit. After her speech *Mr. Stassen*, the ex-Governor, rose and suggested that *Mrs. Beck* should hold a lecture at the Pennsylvania University, on Ukraine and its struggle against Russian bolshevism. This well-known politician and potential Republican candidate for the Presidency said:

“You radiate such inspiring spontaneity and so much fiery idealism, that you are like balm for the souls of diasappointed Americans. Be good enough to come to our University with your lecture and I am sure you will find many there who sympathize with your ideas.“

Vatican

UKRAINIANS AT THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE LAY APOSTOLATE IN ROME

(U.I.S.) The Ukrainian Catholics took a lively and by no means unimportant part in the work of the World Congress of the Catholic Lay Apostolate in Rome, October 7th to 16th. Thirty-eight international Catholic organisations from seventy-four countries were represented at the Congress by 250 authorized delegates, beside thousands of pilgrims who had come to Rome especially for it.

The Ukrainian delegation comprised, 5 from Italy; 4 from France, 5 from Germany, 3 from Belgium, 2 from England, 1 from Switzerland; in all 20 persons, led by the Right Reverend *Bishop Ivan Buczko*. The main work of organization, the distribution of Ukrainians in the various committees, the problem of Ukraine's spiritual and intellectual part at the Congress, was most conscientiously and successfully accomplished by the Vicar General of the Ukrainians in Germany, the Reverend *Dr. Petro Holynsky*.

Catholic Ukrainians played an active part in the work of the following committees

- 1) Union Group concerned with the problems of the union of the churches;
- 2) Employment and living conditions among the refugees in Europe;

- 3) Schools and education;
- 4) Professional classes.

Preparation for the Congress lay in the hands of:

- 1) The Ukrainian Catholic Action;
- 2) Women's Organisation within the Ukrainian Catholic Action;
- 3) Federation of Ukrainian Catholic Organisations;
- 4) the Ukrainian Catholic Academic Association “*Obnova*“, (“Renewal“).

The Ukrainians availed themselves of this opportunity to draw the attention of the Congress and the world to the persistent persecution of the Church in general and the United Catholic Church of Ukraine in particular. They brought forward once again the fact that 11 Ukrainian bishops and over 2,700 clergy had been murdered, exiled or liquidated.

The Ukrainians from Switzerland protested in moving terms against the extraordinary conspiracy among the western newspapers to hush up these facts, and the martyrdom of the whole Ukrainian people.

At the close of the Congress there was a solemn procession to the Palatine for the persecuted churches behind the Iron Curtain, in which 17 national groups from countries behind the Iron Curtain took part. The idea of the Lay Apostolate is very active among Ukrainian Catholics. Their delegates returned to the countries of their exile with many new thoughts and inspirations. This visit to Rome has certainly been one of the most beautiful and impressive experiences in their lives.

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Yaroslav Stetzko

Seven Questions

Put to Mr. George F. Kennan

Former Chief of Department of Planning in the State Department of the U. S. A.

Dear Sir,

You will allow me to put you a few questions which you may perhaps be good enough to answer. Your knowledge of Russia, or as we Ukrainians say, of the dungeon of nations, is generally accepted as great. We assume therefore that an expert of your standing is probably well-informed both of Russia's continued oppression and of the movements for national independence in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Georgia, Aserbaijan, etc.

We have long been aware that you are no friend of such movements. But it is only since reading your now famous article *America and the Russian Future in Foreign Affairs* for April, 1951 that we have realized that your attitude to them is not only negative, but to a certain extent downright hostile. From the article it was obvious that your attitude was not the result of ignorance of the true state of affairs, but of certain considerations and trends in American policy as you see it. We find proof of this unfriendliness in the advice you give the American government and public opinion not to interfere in the problem of nationalities, as it is an *internal Russian problem*. This, translated into action, means unreserved support for the Russian dungeon of nations in *democratic* guise. So your *neutral* attitude is in reality in *favour of Moscow*.

We are exceedingly sorry not to be able to count you among our friends today. But we hope that the day will come when further experience with Moscow will compel you to alter your views. We hope that you will join the growing company of our real friends in America, men like *Harold E. Stassen, Charles J. Kersten, H. Alexander Smith, Representative George Smathers, Commissioner Edward O'Connor* and many others who have grasped that the only way to solve the nationality question in the U.S.S.R. is to separate these nations completely from Russia and to grant them independence.

What we object to most strongly is that you are forcing America's Russian policy in what seems to us a wrong direction. We do not presume to set up rules for American foreign policy, for that is not our business. Nor was it our business to set up rules for German foreign policy when we warned the Germans in the period 1941—1944 that their treatment of Ukrainians was not only wrong but suicidal; after all, it was their own affair. We are convinced that the dismemberment of Russian Empire is also a vital concern of U.S.A.

We are well aware of the discrepancy of our respective positions. You, Mr. Kennan, have an enormous world power

behind you which has an apparatus of state with practically unlimited means; you have at your disposal a wide network of intelligence; as chief of the Planning Section in the State Department you presided over a large staff of experts; i, on the other hand, speak on behalf of a *handful* of fighters, but a handful which has all the powers of resistance in Ukraine behind it.

Our position was similar in 1941. At that time we confronted the powerful German state; we warned a foreign office that also had a wide network of intelligence and a great staff of experts; we were a "*mere handful of Utopians*", "*eccentrics*", "*rowdies*", "*agitators*", "*leaders of robber bands*" — and yet it was *we* who were right and the entire nazi-German state wrong.

Of course we do not know if we will be listened to at all. Still, we consider it our duty to raise our voice and put our questions to you. In so doing we believe we are serving a good cause, and above all, our conscience will be clear, as we shall have left nothing undone to attract American opinion to these problems as we see them. Here, then are our questions:

Question 1

Is it really the wish of America to preserve a united, great, Russian Empire within its former imperial frontiers and to support its continued existence?

We shall not discuss whether the existence of such enormous empires, comprising so many nations as the Russian empire does, is really desirable at this stage of human history. Experience teaches that the bigger such empires are, the wider and more comprehensive the conflicts in which they are involved, the mightier their weapons and the crueler, the bloodier their wars. Such enormous powers alone can afford to produce and use atom weapons. The small wars of the classical world, the Trojan War for instance, the feuds of the Middle Ages, or the cabinet wars with mercenaries in the Europe of the Renaissance and later are like boys' games at Red Indians in comparison with the increasing massacres of modern great powers. Therefore we are firmly convinced that it would be quite better to keep the world divided into small and medium-sized states. This would perhaps mean more local wars, but also less unhappiness, bloodshed and destruction for the human race.

As far as the Russian imperium is concerned, its existence entails loss of freedom for all the non-Russian peoples comprised in it, i. e. for Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Turkestanians, Caucasians, etc.; there are altogether *16 full-scale states* and

a lot of *half-state* autonomous soviet republics today. Turn it as you will, the leaders, the master people in the imperium are the Russians, the Muscovites and as long as the imperium exists, they will remain supreme. What, may we ask, do you consider more valuable for human welfare — the “unity” and power of an imperium of Russians, or the welfare and liberty of many non-Russian nations?

Question 2

Are you aware that all the non-Russian peoples in the Russian imperium proclaimed to the world their right to freedom in the form of secession from the Russian (Muscovite) people and of separation from the Russian imperium, during the Revolution of 1917/1921, when a number of independent national democratic states were founded?

Even you will scarcely be able to maintain that all these peoples are voluntary members of the Muscovite imperium today. You will hardly be able to deny that this imperium, and indeed the entire Russo-bolshevist regime, is upheld only by means of compulsion and brute force. And yet strangely enough it is just this fact of compulsion that you, an American of the year 1951, after 34 years of bolshevist supremacy, seem to doubt, when you put the question: “How can we know whether a given national group will require an independent status, or a federal status, some special brand of local self-government, or no special status at all?” Must we remind you of all the declarations of independence issued by various nations and of the bloody history of their resistance movements, and, in particular, of their renewed subjection to Moscow? You are an expert and you ought to know of them. And you do know of these people's, all united in the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), present efforts to secure liberation, of their resistance fight, guerilla warfare and general opposition.

The worst thing about your standpoint is that you quite erroneously assume that the existence of the great Russian imperium is useful and desirable for America's purposes, and these purposes are evidently paramount, superior, for instance, to the right of many subjugated, tortured and exploited peoples to freedom. Will you not admit that this is pure utilitarianism and power politics and that it has nothing to do with morality, with the ideal of liberty, with the meaning and purpose of democracy?

Question 3

Do you seriously believe, Mr. Kennan, that democracy is possible in Russia, or, to put it more accurately, with the Russians?

In spite of the brilliant style and apparently convincing logic of your article, you cannot help revealing that your recommendation to preserve a united Russian great power is not quite sound. The world is too familiar with the despotic, cruel methods of Russo-bolshevism to accept their continuance in a united state without demur. You have a solution, a panacea for all these complaints, all the fear and bitterness between Moscow and the subjugated peoples. And that is — *democracy*. You say: “*What is plainly necessary and the only solution worthy of American encouragement, is the rise of such a spirit among all the peoples concerned as would give to border and institutional arrangements in that troubled area an entirely new, and greatly reduced, significance. Whether that spirit will actually arise, we cannot tell.*” But we can. As an expert, you ought to know that in all the 700 years of Muscovite history there was not one single year of democratic government, not one year when the Muscovite people showed the slightest desire for self-government. You say elsewhere: “*There is no liberal tradition finer than the strain which has existed in the Russia of the past.*” For Ukrainians this is an astonishing statement. A

liberal Russia? Ukrainians have never noticed any sign at all of Russian liberalism. On the contrary, Ukrainian history is full of severe oppression by Russia. We should be much interested to have an essay from you giving proofs of Russian liberalism in practical politics. We know all about it, and we did not get it from books — it was written, as it were, on our skins. The Muscovites have always wanted power only, never liberty.

But even if the Russians would be able to turn to democracy — so what? I should like once and for all to state quite frankly that we are not interested in whether Russians can be democrats or not. That is their own affair in which we have no right to interfere. Let them, as the word goes, *stew* as a democratic, despotic, republican or monarchist state within their ethnic frontiers, just as it suits them. But they must not interfere in our affairs. Great Britain, for instance, has a model democratic government in its island, and yet India, Pakistan, etc. want to secede. We desire neither a *democratic* nor a totalitarian, neither a republican nor a monarchist Russian dungeon of nations. We want simply to separate from Russia and no one can force us in our hearts to remain living in a community with them.

(On another page of this number of the U.I.S. we deal with the question whether democracy is possible in Russia. The author of that article comes to the conclusion that this never was, nor ever will be the case in Russia. In referring to this article we hope we have answered your query about the rise of a new spirit in Moscow. — Editors.)

Question 4

Do you really believe, Mr. Kennan, that economic interests are sufficiently important for their consequences to destroy the independence and sovereignty of whole nations?

Your statement that *Ukraine is the Pennsylvania of Russia*, has filled hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians in exile with astonishment, disappointment, bitterness, even with personal resentment, beyond everything you can imagine. The entire Ukrainian press has mentioned and commented at length on this attitude to Ukraine. Not even the hardest-boiled Russian reactionaries would dare to make such an absurd assertion today.

To be just, you do admit that Ukraine has a character of its own, and therefore, special needs and possibilities. But you do not concede Ukraine a right to independence as, for instance, you do, in the case of the Baltic states. The relevant sentence runs: “*But the Ukraine is economically as much a part of Russia as Pennsylvania is a part of the United States.*”

I find that this sentence can be understood properly only in connection with the following one. “*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. The future should see a minimum of disruption of these economic ties, and that in itself would normally warrant a close political connection.*”

Here economics are placed to go before politics — the stomach, so to speak, before the heart. We must constantly realize that even highly intellectual Americans are simply unable to grasp the meaning of the national idea in Europe. Most Europeans simply *desire* to be independent and to remain so.

Real independence postulates a fairly distinct separation in economy. We prefer to be poorer, and keep our independence, to being absorbed in a mass. Up till now prosperity in his own state was always more important for the imperialist politician; the conqueror never helps the oppressed, he always exploits them. I don't see why the imperialists of today should suddenly become angels.

This certainly applies to Ukraine. In the first place it does not require to share its produce with the Russians. Providence has been good to Ukraine and has given it all that is necessary for life. Secondly, to share produce with Russia has always meant economic exploitation for Ukraine. Ukraine

has always given everything to Russia and has never received anything in return. In this sense, Ukraine is not even a Pennsylvania, where all resources are developed to the maximum, but a classical Russian semi-colony, with a one-sided agricultural economy, and regarded as a source of raw materials. Thirdly, community of goods with Russians, combined with the political supremacy of Russians, entails the prolonged destruction of Ukrainian ethnic independence and an increasing russification, above all of Ukrainian towns.

We simply do not want a Russian melting-pot. We resist the idea so violently that even the Russians themselves have had to make certain concessions. No Russian, as we said above, would compare Ukraine today with Pennsylvania; so you, Mr. Kennan, go further than even they. You try to turn the wheel of history back. Not even the Russians call their imperium Russia, as you do, but the U.S.S.R. Pennsylvania is not a sovereign independent state, while Ukraine, according to the soviet Constitution is. Pennsylvania is not a member of the U.N., while Ukraine is. It is true that no Ukrainian has any illusions about the practical consequences of such membership for Ukraine's international status. But Moscow at least tries to preserve certain rules of conduct which you simply ignore. And this leads to our next question.

Question 5

Do you agree with the excellent description of bolshevism given by Dean Acheson, your Secretary of State, when he said to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate recently that bolshevism was in reality only a continuation of the 500 year-old traditions of Russian imperialism? And what conclusions do you draw?

One would imagine that a statesman of your standing and an intellectual leader of a great freedom-loving people would do his utmost to put an end to this imperialism and to repair, if possible, the evil it has wrought. One would expect that in your opinion all the land beyond the ethnic frontiers of ethnic Russia, all that has been stolen by Moscow in the course of centuries, should be liberated again. It seems to us that this is the real meaning of such famous democratic declarations as Wilson's Fourteen Points, the Atlantic Charter, the U.N. Charter, etc. It is in consequence of such declarations that countries have recovered their freedom, such as Korea (at least in the South), the Philippines, Indonesia, Burma, India, Pakistan and Israel, while Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Lybia, Tunis and Morocco are going the same way. Your freedom-loving country moderates the revolutionary impact of the liberation movements and does everything in its power to keep them from disturbing the general trend of peaceful world development. But America understands them and helps them, in principle at least. Why is that not your personal view of the peoples who wish to secede from Moscow? Why this double standard, this double code of conduct? Why do you use your great influence to shape American foreign policy as regards Russia so that it ignores Wilson's Fourteen Points, the Atlantic Charter and the U.N. Charter?

Question 6

Do you really believe, Mr. Kennan, that it is only the Bolshevik Party in the U.S.S.R., and not the Russians that are to blame for Russian imperialism, for the subjection of increasing millions, the cold war and the great danger threatening the world?

You are not fond of the word *blame*, either in your article or in your practical politics. You think that any people may have the misfortune to fall a victim to a totalitarian regime. Your write: "*We will get nowhere with an attitude of moral indignation directed toward an entire people. Let us rise above these easy and childish reactions and consent to view the tragedy of Russia as partly our own tragedy, and the people of Russia as our comrades in the long hard battle*

for a happier system of man's coexistence with himself and with nature on this troubled planet."

This reminds us of the well-known saying that *it is not the murderer but the murdered man who is to blame*. That is absolutism in its essence, no matter what has happened or what will happen in the future, no punishment will be meted out. You say: *These realities leave no room for our favored conviction that the people of a totalitarian state can be neatly divided into collaborators and martyrs and that there will be none left over*. It appears that, just as denazification in Germany was a failure, debolshevization and purging from communism in the Soviet Union can hardly succeed; *all are somehow or other to blame*.

All? Those are remarkable opinions. Is no one to blame for having deliberately organized general famine in Ukraine twice, in the course of which first 2 million and then 3½ million people died of hunger? Are *all* equally to blame in this case, the organizers of this crime *and* their victims? The Russo-bolshevik regime has expelled more than 10 million Ukrainians from their native country in the last 22 years, transporting them to Siberia, the Far East, to Kolyma and Kamchatka, and has settled in Ukraine more than 6 million Russians; are *all* equally to blame here?

This idea, Mr. Kennan, that all the peoples in the U.S.S.R. are equally to blame for bolshevism and its crimes coincides exactly with the statements of *all* Muscovite imperialists — monarchist, communist and now *democratic*.

And we beg to put a question: did Ukrainians, Turkestanians, Georgians, Aserhajianians occupy Moscow? Or was it the Muscovites, the genuine Russians who gradually defeated the independent governments of the non-Russian peoples and occupied Kyiv, Tiflis, Minsk, Baku, Tashkent? Have Ukrainians, Georgians and the others imposed their language on the Russians, or vice-versa? The Russian bolsheviks said they were not responsible for the policy of the Tsars. Russian democrats say they are not responsible for the policy of the bolsheviks. No one knows anything about anything; it was the fault of Mr. Nobody. But, are the 6 million Russians among the 7 million members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), not *Russian* people? Are the almost exclusively Russian leaders — hundreds of thousands of men! — in the M.G.B. troops and the administration of forced labour camps, not *Russian* people? Is the entire head administration of the state, High Command of the Soviet Army, not staffed by the *Russian* people?

It is obviously the intention to deprive the peoples subjugated by Moscow of their moral basis, their historical right to secede from the Russian despots. Moscow does not want to stand alone as a collective criminal in the eyes of the world; it tries to put its burden of crime towards the world on other shoulders.

Do you think it is right to help the Russians imperialists in this job?

Question 7

And now the last question. Do you really think it advisable, Mr. Kennan, to lead the American public to believe in help from Russians and thus automatically force non-Russian peoples to become opponents of America?

You write in one passage that if we want to end the war successfully, we must secure the help and cooperation of the population. "*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.*"

The problem for the future is rather different: it will be impossible for the West to fight for the preservation of the Russian imperium and simultaneously to defend the freedom of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. These aims are mutually incompatible. The West will have to choose — between Moscow imperialism and the peoples who are fighting for freedom.

America would not be able to secure the support of the Russians, even if she sacrificed the subjugated peoples to

Is Democracy in Russia Possible?

Ukrainians have good reason to answer "No"!

By Zenon Pelensky

Why smash Russia?

The Western World, especially the U.S.A., does not like the idea of the dismemberment of U.S.S.R. The West is accustomed to the unity of Russia; in popular American thinking, Russia is a homogeneous national entity, and Americans naturally recoil from the idea of dismembering an integrated living organism, allegedly evolved as such in the course of centuries. Not very many British or Americans even know that Russia is virtually composed not of one, but of scores of different nations.

Besides, present political trends in the U.S.A. are in favour of the integration, not of the splitting up of states and nations. Our globe becomes smaller and smaller; Western nations and Americans are rather inclined to promote the rise of continental super-national political and economic units.

Why then, ask many Westerners, smash Russia? It is enough, they argue, to overthrow her dictatorial regime, abolish bolshevism, and create a true democracy; this would enable the classes and the nations of Russia to coexist amicably, to develop freely and happily, in a word, to get along satisfactorily.

Western opinion is often inclined to regard democracy as the best possible way to settle satisfactorily all the internal and external problems of Russia. With the installation of democracy, all constitutional, social and national inconsistencies and difficulties in Russia would be solved by the

them. Neither Yalta nor Potsdam, nor the sacrifice of ten more European nations have sufficed to appease Stalin and his Russians. Nobody can promise the Russians more than the bolsheviks do—and fulfil this. To legalize a limited Russian imperialism will make it impossible ever to overcome the Russian desire for hegemony in the world.

It will be impossible to legalize the sacrifice of these peoples by means of the undignified comedy of *plebiscites*. They are not *Russian minorities*; on their national soil, they are huge majorities. Suppose the Germans had occupied France for a hundred years, would you have insulted the French with things like *plebiscites*? Can you explain why George Washington refused to conduct a referendum in the United States after the War of Independence in order to find out whether the country wished to remain a British colony? Why were there no *plebiscites* in the Philippines, in Indonesia, India or Pakistan? Why is one to be forced on Ukraine? A *plebiscite* of bloodshed has been being held for decades in Ukraine and other A.B.N. nations, and this alone is binding in the eyes of the people.

It was, indeed, a strange article. We are far from underestimating your influence on American policy toward Eastern Europe today. But we are sure that your scheme of supporting Russian plans in opposition to the reality of the fight for liberation being waged by the peoples subjugated by Moscow will inevitably be wrecked.

Our familiarity with the great traditions of liberty in the American people strengthens our belief. We refuse to suppose that, in the decisive moment, the American people would support the preservation of the Russian dungeon of nations and oppose the subjugated people's desire for liberty. And we think that you, too, Mr. Kennan, in the decisive moment, will be on our side, on the side, that is, of truth, freedom and justice. We should like to win you as a good friend.

creation of some sort in voluntary *Commonwealth of Russian Nations*, working peacefully and harmoniously with the rest of the world.

Recalcitrant non-Russian nations

Why then don't the non-Russian nations of U.S.S.R. accept the idea of the democratization of Russia? The answer is very simple: because they know Russia, i. e. they know that no democratization of Russia was ever, is ever or would ever be possible. The fine word *democracy* is no panacea to cure and heal all the diseases and ailments of Russia.

In order to avoid misunderstandings, we must stress from the outset that by Russia, we understand here Russia proper, ethnic Russia, the Muscovy of history, the master-nation of the empire. The question is whether *this* Russia can become truly democratic, i. e. would ever be able to assume and keep the ways and practices of life which for Western nations constitute democracy?

The answer of all the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. is clearly and emphatically: No! The non-Russians know this from their century-long experience. They know it from their prolonged and close study of the political and social psychology of the dominant Russian people. They know it from the fact that an empire like the Russian, composed virtually of one hundred thoroughly divergent pieces can only be kept together by means of implacable brute force. Give the nations of U.S.S.R. the chance of a really free vote and genuine self-determination, and the whole empire would immediately fall asunder. The democratization of Russia is absolutely incompatible with the idea of the preservation of the Russian empire.

The Americans assume that every mass of tolerably intelligent people and every nation is by nature capable of democracy. Consequently, they also assume that the average mass of the Russian people, like the average mass of people in any other country, is capable of democracy. This assumption is erroneous. The Muscovites are different. We are convinced that, even if presented with it, they not only would not be able to make proper use of it, but would reject it even as a principle, with contempt and scorn. The non-Russian nationalities of the U.S.S.R. will not compromise with Moscow on democracy — it would be far too risky.

What is democracy?

The democratic way of life is not a fundamental form of social behaviour among men. It is the highest of all social orders and a product of century-long endeavour, struggle, experience, teaching and training. It is not a *natural* attitude: it is a very complicated and artificial device, and its working is preconditioned first of all by the ability of the peoples concerned to impose upon themselves many moral and material restrictions. Democracy is a matter of strict spiritual self-discipline.

Democracy is the end-product of many *don'ts* and of many *thou shalt's*. Don't kill. Don't cheat. Don't exploit others. Don't oppress. Don't impose your will forcibly upon your fellowmen. Thou shalt give everybody his fair chance. Thou shalt respect his way of life. Thou shalt compromise voluntarily and fairly and learn to get along. These spiritual premises alone can produce the material democratic form of social life in the world. The use of force is allowed only if these basic moral principles will not work.

It may be understood and even to a certain extent excused when sometimes, by an unhappy coincidence of events

a tyrant or a dictator usurps power over a nation or continent; but this is generally felt to be wrong and is therefore opposed. The mass of the people is assumed to be right, though oppressed, and the whole blame lies with the usurper; he is the evil. But, if dictatorship lasts for centuries and is accepted for centuries, as is the case with Russia proper, there is something wrong, not only with the usurpers, but also — and firstly — with the nation itself who consents to endure it.

The history of the Western world is largely the history of peoples fighting incessantly for their many liberties and freedoms — political freedom, religious freedom, cultural liberty, social and individual liberty. Naked power, arbitrariness, constraint from above, wilful domination is regarded as a basic evil to be combated; the ultimate goal of life is full freedom and liberty for the individual as well as for society, and their interdependent and harmonious coexistence. The Western World believes this can be obtained only through compromise and tolerance.

They cannot change their skin

What about the Muscovites? Russia proper, Muscovy, has never known or guessed what democracy is. For more than 700 years the Muscovites themselves were ruled by tyranny and dictators, while as a collective body they ruled over other nations with a rod of iron. It is not an accident but in accordance with the rule of Russian history that the domination of the bloody White Czars should be replaced by the still more bloody domination of the Red Czars — Lenin and Stalin. It is significant that between the white and the red dictatorships, Mr. Kerensky's attempted democracy in 1917 should not have been able to hold its own for more than six months; and this was literally the only such attempt in the course of Russian history.

It is absolutely wrong to think of Russians or, more accurately, of Muscovites, as of a deeply *unhappy* people who had the bad luck to become the helpless prey of ruthless conquerors and oppressors of their own race. The bolshevik regime in Muscovy, radiating from this core throughout the U.S.S.R., is not an accident; it is the natural and inevitable product of the Russian *holy soil* itself. Of course, it would lead too far to try here to explain why the Russians became like that, i. e. what geographical, racial, social and historical conditions have caused and influenced the creation of the specifically anti-democratic political psychology of the Muscovite nation. But they are what they are, and they cannot be different. This regime is the essential form of their life. It is simply the Russian political style. It always has been so; Russian soil is incapable of producing anything else. No tiger can change its stripes. It would be more accurate to call all that is happening now in the world from Moscow and through Moscow not *communism* or *bolshevism*, but rather *Russianism*.

The political psychology of Russians

Russianism, first and foremost is an *organisation of power*: power, pure and simple. It is a terrible spiritual and mental perversity, a morbid addiction of a whole community of persons who see in power, in absolute dominion over the lives, souls and possessions of others the most valuable prize of life, the fulfilment of the highest of all possible human wishes. All that serves conquest, the growth and the maintenance of power, is right and estimable; all that detracts from it is wrong and damnable. Thus the slogans, the catchwords, the programmes, the temporary tasks, the material aims and tactics of Russianism alter; the lust for power, as the hard core of the system, remains constant.

The typically Western, especially American, individualistic and democratic philosophy of the *pursuit of human happiness*, so clearly expressed, for instance in the Preamble to the Constitution of the U.S.A., is unknown and unfamiliar to Muscovite political thinking. The happiness of the individual,

individuality as such, does not matter very much in Russia, and indeed it never did, just as it is of little account to the individual bee in a bee-hive or the individual ant in an ant-hill. All that counts is the might and power of the *collective body*. And what matters most for this collective body is *expansion* — by all means and at all costs: the constant, implacable drive to the conquest and domination of all surrounding peoples.

The moral and psychological substance of *eternal Russia* is not, and never was, a fertile soil for the growth of genuine democracy. There is no chance either with any Russian government or the people that basic democratic principles as embraced by the Western World, would work. All experience of the past lead to the conclusion that Russia, whatever its constitutional attire — black, white, red or pink, — will always remain imperialistic, always bound to rule, to oppress and to exploit neighbouring nations. Russians have no sense for personal freedom, for liberty, for individuality; but they have a very strongly developed sense for their collective domination over other peoples and nations, even over the whole world. For their collective supremacy over other nations they are always ready to sacrifice their personal liberty and freedom.

The non-Russians won't take the risks

In any case, not a single nation inside U.S.S.R. believes in the possibility of Russian democracy. Ask a Finn or a Lithuanian, a Pole or a Ukrainian, or a Georgian what he thinks of Russian democracy and you will inevitably be answered by a laugh. They have had their Russian lessons in the past, and they now know where they stand. To allow Moscow to continue to dominate non-Russian nations on the assumption that, one day, Moscow will become liberal and democratic, is to take a very great risk, one that no non-Russian would ever be inclined to take.

The main proof of the sincerity of Russian democracy would surely be that Russia would let her subjugated nations go as, for instance, the British now are doing. Moscow would devise all possible schemes to keep its dependencies together, would cajole its nations into diverse forms of *brotherhoods*, would promise stars from heaven, but would never let them go.

In what concerns the unity of the empire, all in Russia that is allegedly *genuinely democratic* differs not a whit from the avowed programs of White and Red imperialists. Thus, for instance, the main concern of Mr. Kerensky's six-month democratic government was not to fight bolshevism, but to fight the more determinedly the national government of many peoples of Russia who proclaimed their full independence during the Revolution. Ukraine was the first to feel bitterly the imperialistic impact of that kind of *democracy*. If nations are at all educatable, maybe — but a very big *maybe* — after the downfall of communism, and in consequence of prolonged democratic control by Western Powers over Russia proper in the course of the next decades, two or three absolutely new Muscovite generations might grow up capable of conceiving the real meaning and of adopting the fabric of true democracy. For the time being, no such hope can be cherished. So the non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R. are determined to go their own way.

This applies first of all to the Ukrainians. They have been cheated too often by Muscovite "*democracy*" and by specifically Muscovite conceptions of *liberty* and *freedom* to believe again in the possibility of any reconciliation with Russia. Ukraine is determined to go her own way because, in contrast to Muscovy, she has always had to put up with totalitarianism, first from tsarist and then from bolshevik Moscow and would like to realize democracy to the full extent in her own independent national state. This never was, and never will be possible in coexistence with Moscow. Ukraine's struggle for her national liberation and her separation from Russia is at the same time the struggle for the true democratization of this part of the world.

Metropolitan Polykarp

The Head of Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church

Seventy Fifth Birthday

(U.I.S.) There are two main churches in Ukraine: the Greek Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic. About 75 per cent of the population belong to the former which, however, is not a uniform organization in Ukraine. The overwhelming majority of nationally minded Ukrainians incline towards the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church. (U.A.P.C.) The U.A.P.C. is severely persecuted by Moscow and has no legal status in the Soviet Union. Its Head, Metropolitan Polykarp, and more than a dozen bishops have been living in exile since 1945.

Millions of Orthodox Ukrainians at home and abroad are devoted to their venerable church leader, Metropolitan Polykarp, who has been a wise and tactful head of the U.A.P.C. for nineteen years. He is one of the leading spirits of modern Ukraine and his beneficial influence makes itself felt, not only in the Church, but also on Ukrainian political and social life.

His Grace, Metropolitan Polykarp, in civilian life Petro Sikorsky, was born on 20. 6. 1875 near Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine. Even in his early youth he felt the call of the Church, which determined his schooling. As a member of an old Ukrainian family of landowners, he was also very conscious of belonging to the Ukrainian nation and was a glowing Ukrainian patriot from youth. A reverent belief in God, a compassionate Christian spirit, a devotion to the Orthodox Church and a live Ukrainian patriotism characterized this wise leader, whom Ukrainians were quick to appreciate and obey.

His life is a story of constant prayer, work and combat. As a young member of the Theological Seminary, he organized a "Union of Young Ukrainians" which devoted itself to the study of Ukrainian history, literature and culture, and that at a time when it was one of the principles of the Tsar's Russian empire that "there never was, is, or shall be a Ukraine"; it was Russian policy to weld everything into one Russo-Muscovite nation.

After the youthful theologian had graduated from college with flying colours, he was immediately appointed to work in the administration of the See of Kyiv, even before he was ordained. He utilized his position to appoint nationally minded Ukrainians to vacant posts in the Church in the Kiyv district.

In 1917, when revolution broke out in Tsarist Russia, Petro Sikorsky immediately offered his services to the government of Ukraine which had de-



clared its independence. After the bolsheviks' victory in Ukraine, he went into exile along with the members of Symon Petliura's Ukrainian government. He settled in the Ukrainian part of Poland where he entered a monastery and was ordained as a priest in 1922. Up till 1932 he was active in various posts in Ukrainian monasteries and was consecrated in that year as Bishop of Lutsk (Volhynia). From then on he regarded it to be his special task to

build up the Ukrainian Autocephalic Church in Ukrainian territory under the occupation of Poland.

When the Russians occupied Volhynia in 1939 after the collapse of Poland, they did all they could to persuade Bishop Polykarp to recognize the supremacy of the Patriarch in Moscow. But he refused stubbornly, and would certainly have been liquidated if the Germans had not occupied the country in 1941. As an ardent Ukrainian patriot Metropolitan Polykarp supported vigorously the Ukrainian government which had been created June 30, 1941 and proclaimed in Lviv. Under German occupation he continued to work tirelessly for the U.A.P.C. and by 1942 had removed every trace of its dependence from the administration of Moscow.

This service alone would have given Metropolitan Polykarp a claim to honorable mention in the history of the Ukrainian people. But he continued his work in the service of God and his native country when he was forced to flee to Western Europe in 1945. His first task here was to organize the Ukrainian Orthodox Church among exiles in Europe and overseas. In a short time tens of thousands of Ukrainian refugees were put under the charge of the Church, new priests were trained, ordinations were arranged and bishops appointed.

At present, Metropolitan Polykarp is living in Paris, France. Ukrainians in Abroad celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday this year with gratitude and joy. They pray God to grant their spiritual leader many more years of health and energy to serve the Christian faith and the Ukrainian nation.

Ukrainian Nationalism Again

(U.I.S.) By order of Moscow a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine was held recently, at which fresh demands were made to intensify opposition to the Ukrainian movement for liberation. The following report by its own correspondent in the capital of Ukraine appeared in the *Pravda* of November 14, 1951.

Kyiv, November 13. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine discussed the activity of the paper *Bolshevik of Ukraine*. The conclusions reached were that the paper is badly run, that the editorial staff has not managed to make it a genuine organ for propagating the policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. It has too few articles on the history of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, on philosophy and political economy, and many of those that are published are on a very low level as regards political theory. The paper pays little attention to the history of

the Soviet Union, the history of bolshevik organization in Ukraine and of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. Nor is enough space devoted to publicity for the achievements of the Soviet People.

The editorial staff was especially blamed for the absence of articles in the paper against Ukrainian nationalism.

In the resolution passed at the meeting, it was stressed that the articles in the paper on the conduct of economic and political problems did not deal adequately with generalizations from experience of work in the best Party organizations. This *Pravda* article with its demand for the intensification of opposition to nationalism in Ukraine is fresh proof of the continuance of the anti-bolshevik fight for freedom in the Soviet Ukraine; it shows that this fight is being conducted under the motto of the liberation of all non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union from Russo-bolshevik supremacy.

Ukrainian Youth Association (S. U. M.)

A World-Wide Organisation of Young Ukrainians Abroad

(U.I.S.) Ukrainian political exiles are distributed over 27 countries in the old and new world. In spite of being so widely scattered, however, the Ukrainians cling firmly together. Distance does not prevent them from keeping up social, political, cultural and personal contacts and a whole series of Ukrainian organizations have sprung up which develop and further the connections, in special spheres of life.

One of the most noteworthy, active and consolidated of them is the S.U.M. (Soyuz Ukrainskoyi Molodi) — Ukrainian Youth Association. Without exaggeration it may be said that no other national exile group has its youth so well organized as the Ukrainians.

Young Ukrainians of both sexes, from 18—32, can be members of the S.U.M.

longing to the Ukrainian people; 2) to foster national culture; 3) to live on a religious basis; 4) to be mutually helpful to one another; 5) to make the good name of Ukraine known in the world; 6) to assist the liberation struggle at home and abroad by word and deed; 7) to combat Russian imperialism and every form of totalitarianism wherever it may be in the world, uncompromisingly and with perseverance; 8) to lead a strictly moral life personally and as a community; 9) to foster socialbility, friendship, physical and mental fitness; 10) to respect the customs, laws and culture in the foreign countries in which the S.U.M. members live and to behave with circumspection.

The S.U.M. did not arise only after the war in 1945. The beginning of the



Consecration of S.U.M. flags June 30, 1951 in London



A S.U.M. Unit at Anti-Communist Demonstration in Manchester

After 32 a member becomes a *patron* of the organization but remains within its sphere of action.

S.U.M. is a non-political, educational organization, though its members may belong to any political party, except the communist party and fellow-travellers.

The aims of the organization are 1) to keep alive the national sense of be-

organization goes back to 1925 when it was instituted as an underground, anti-communist, definitely nationalist youth organization under the direction of the University student *M. Pavlushkiv* in Kyiv and Kharkiv. In 1930 it was broken up by the terror of the N.K.V.D., its leader and numbers of its members shot, banished or otherwise liquidated. Still the idea of the organization was

not crushed out, but continued underground. The S.U.M. abroad feels deeply and inseparably bound to the S.U.M. at home.

The first cell of the S.U.M. abroad was formed in the spring of 1946 in the U.N.R.R.A. D.P. camp *Somme Kaserne* at Augsburg, Germany. Local groups were rapidly formed in all the D.P. camps in Germany where there were Ukrainians. With increased emigration the number of cells in Germany diminished, while the organization spread in other countries.

The high demands made upon members by the Statutes of the S.U.M. hinder some young Ukrainians from joining, but still membership is in-

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A S.U.M. Choir in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada



Mr. Oleksa Kalynyk, President of S.U.M.

Two Encouragements From America

Mr. George M. Smathers

U.S.A., Representative of Florida

(U.I.S.) As was reported in the November number of this paper, the annual Convention of the *United Ukrainian American Relief Committee* was held on October 13, 1951 in Philadelphia, Pa. — U.U.A.R.C. is a voluntary agency created three years ago to help many thousand Ukrainian DP's and Refugees to settle in the United States, and to support needy Ukrainians compelled to remain in Europe.

Mr. George A. Smathers, Representative of Florida, was one of the many eminent Americans who attended the Convention. He listened to a speech by Mr. Edward M. O'Connor, Commissioner of US Displaced Persons Commission, Washington D. C., who discussed problems of settling Ukrainians in the States and went on to speak of the general tragedy of the Ukrainian people under Moscow's century-long oppression.

There are more non-Russians than Russians

Representative George A. Smathers was so struck by Mr. O'Connor's remarks and by their importance for American policy that he submitted a resolution on October 17, 1951 to the Senate of the U.S.A. to have Mr. O'Connor's speech printed in the Appendix of the U.S.A. Congressional Record. This resolution was passed unanimously. In submitting his resolution, Representative Smathers said:

"The information contained in the Commissioner's speech about the Ukrainian people came as a pleasant surprise to me, for I had no idea there was such a large group of people within the borders of the Soviet Union who loved democracy and personal freedom with the same passion and fervency that we here in the United States do. Mr. O'Connor pictured in eloquent terms the unfortunate plight of those brave, Christian people who have been caught up in the mad ambitions of the Nazis on one side and the equally sinister evil of communism on the other.

"The speech was not mere flattery of a brave and honorable people, but it pointed out factually that a majority of all persons imprisoned behind the iron curtain are non-Russians and unsympathetic to the Soviet Union's ambitions. Mr. O'Connor made it clear that there is great hope for the future in those many millions of people who will not for long submit to the domination and oppression of the foreign Soviet tyranny. He pointed out that we people here in the United States, and people elsewhere in the world who believe in personal freedom and democracy, must be ready to assist the Ukrainians and all those like them in their efforts to throw off the chains of slavery."

Mr. Edward O'Connor

Commissioner, U.S. Displaced Persons Commission, Washington, D. C.

We reproduce an extract from Mr. O'Connor's speech to the Convention:

"As we gather in this great hall to pay tribute to the Ukrainian patriots who down through the centuries made the good fight for national independence, we are more than ever conscious of the fuller meaning of the great American birthright of independence. A little more than a stone's throw from where we now meet, the courageous American patriots signed into action a Declaration of Independence which gave birth to our great Nation. This Declaration set forth the basic rights and freedoms to which all men are entitled, and made it clear to deny men these rights was just cause for revolt. Thus, the principle set forth in the Declaration of Independence became the battle cry of the American patriots and has served ever since as an inspiration to freedom-loving peoples everywhere.

"In the conspiracy to enslave all mankind, we find the Soviet Union the announced and admitted leader. The Soviet Union is the result and the embodiment of the false teaching of Karl Marx, Lenin, and now Stalin. Even a cursory reading of the writings of these men will dispel any doubts as to the actual and final aims of that regime. But we shall commit a fatal error if we believe the majority of the people within the Soviet Union are sympathetic to the notions of Marx, Lenin, or Stalin, or that they are in support of the conspiracy of the Kremlin.

"The most common understanding about the Soviet Union is that it is a nation of Russian people. This is, of course,



Mr. Edward O'Connor
Commissioner, U.S. Displaced Persons Commission,
Washington, D. C.

completely untrue. According to the 1939 census, and reasonable projections on those figures to bring them up to date, we find that of the total population of approximately 202,000,000, 91,500,000 are Russian and 110,500,000 are non-Russian. Thus the majority peoples of the Soviet Union are not Russian; on the contrary, over 54 percent are non-Russians.

"To carry this point even further, only two of the Soviet Republics, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Republic are predominantly Russian. The other 14 Soviet Republics are overwhelmingly non-Russian in complexion.

"Now you may ask: 'What is the special significance of this well-documented point on the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union?' There is a great deal of special significance to this point, and to demonstrate the most significant point I wish to review with you briefly the tragedy of the Ukrainian nation — the most numerous non-Russian people in the Soviet Union."

The Reason for Germany's Lightning Advance Across U.S.S.R.

Mr. Edward O'Connor then gave a summary of the changing fate of the Ukrainian people throughout nine centuries, and dwelt on the unhappy coincidence of events that brought Ukraine in the 18th century under the yoke of Moscow, so that it became a victim of Russian imperialism. The speaker also described the constant efforts made by the Ukrainian people to free themselves of that yoke. Regarding the situation in World War II, the speaker said:

"With the outbreak of World War II, the masters of the Kremlin and the forces of Hitler were as one — joined together in a common conspiracy to absorb all of the smaller and weaker nations. This union was, of course, aimed at

For the Cause of Ukrainian Liberation

defeating the defenders of Western culture and traditions. It was inevitable that this alliance would fall apart and that the two international gangsters would fight it out among themselves to see who would take all spoils. Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union and history records the unusual and unprecedented rapidity with which the German armies penetrated to the gates of Moscow and Leningrad, swept across Ukraine to the Black Sea and beyond. The uniformed masses of the West had the feeling that the Nazi war machine could not be stopped and that it was most likely the Soviet Union would be conquered within an unbelievably short time. It was only during the closing days of the war that we learned the real reason for this rapid, almost unresisted advance across the reaches of the Soviet Union. We learned that the people of the Soviet Union, particularly the Ukrainians, first looked upon the German invaders as their liberators — as another historical opportunity for them to regain national independence. They had expected that the opportunity would be theirs to take up arms and drive the Bolsheviks completely from Ukraine, and that after the war was over, somehow they could reconstruct the Ukrainian nation. But here they were deceived; their hopes were dashed upon the rocks of despair when the Nazi invaders treated them as inferiors and little better than animals. When the Ukrainian people realized that their hopes for independence were in vain and that the Nazi invaders were as evil as the communist oppressors, they then turned upon the new invader. The resistance movement then had to fight two oppressors, the communists and the Nazis. These same circumstance apply to many other Soviet Republics which were overrun by the Nazi armies."

Non-Russian Peoples — the Weak Point in Russia's Plans

The speaker went on to say that resistance to Moscow in Ukraine today has not ceased, but, on the contrary is a source of hope, inspiration and help for the resistance of other nations oppressed by Moscow. Mr. O'Connor continued:

"The tragic story of Ukraine, together with its many heroic epics, is a story that applies to all the captive nations held within the iron grip of the Kremlin. We can rightfully look upon this story of Ukraine as a symbol and a guidepost for understanding to other peoples who make up the various republics of the Soviet Union. There is one great lesson we can learn from these historical facts. That lesson is that the non-Russian peoples, who are the majority peoples of the Soviet Union are the weakest link in the Soviet plan for world conquest. They are the weakest link because for centuries they have been despised and have suffered under Russian imperialism; they have nothing in common with either the old princes of Moscovy or the new princes of the Kremlin, and can be counted on — once given an opportunity — to make a heroic effort to throw off the yoke of their oppressors. This is the greatest weakness in the plan of the enemies of all mankind which must be recognized and fully exploited. We must be outspoken and firm in our commitment to the universal principle of self-determination, and we must make our stand in this matter known to the peoples of all these captive nations. If we get our story across and stand firmly by it, we will then have created great possibilities for averting a war and establishing a peace with justice and freedom for all."

Practical Help Necessary

Mr. O'Connor demanded that practical steps be taken in the United States to help the nations oppressed by Moscow. He said:

"I have noted with interest and great pleasure that there has been formed in the United States an organization known as the Free Russia Fund, Inc. It is encouraging to know that some good Americans have recognized the plight of the Russian people and are planning to do something to bring about their well-deserved freedom from the tyranny of communism. On the other hand, I find myself seriously disturbed that no one appears to have done anything about the cause of the non-Russian people of the Soviet Union who make up the majority, and who clearly comprise a group of nations who want their freedom and liberties just as much as any other people. To the best of my knowledge, no American organization has been formed to advocate the cause of these captive nations nor to encourage them to keep alive the spirit of national culture and independence nor to provide a practical means whereby their hopes for a better life will some day be realized. I therefore strongly commend to your consideration — and to the consideration of all freedom-loving Americans — the need for the immediate formation of an organization to be known as the American Committee for the Liberation of the non-Russian Peoples in the Soviet Union. I am confident that when the American people are given the facts that have been presented to you this evening, they will gladly support such a worthy and necessary undertaking. When it is made clear that such an organization can make a major contribution to the removal of the menace which endangers free men everywhere, its success will be assured."

'Like our Founding Fathers'

Mr. O'Connor concluded with the following expressions of hope and confidence:

"The spirit of the patriots which brought forth in this city of Philadelphia the historic Declaration of Independence is very much alive in the hearts and minds of those patriots of today who reside in the captive nations. The hopes and ambitions, the yearnings and struggles of the Ukrainian patriots parallel those of our founding fathers. If we are to continue to enjoy the God-given liberties which have come to us through the application of this Declaration, we must see to it that all those who struggle for these same principles attain them at the earliest possible moment. This clearly is our historic mission. The ranks of free men must be multiplied many times before we can expect to attain that great objective of a universal peace toward which we now devote our wholehearted efforts. May God speed the happy day when all men will be free and all nations, founded on the natural principle of self-determination, are formed into a world community of nations dedicated to permanent peace."

Encouraging Voices

Ukrainian public opinion abroad gratefully and joyfully welcomes these two American voices. Words like these, full of sympathy and understanding for the cause of the liberation of Ukraine are rare, unfortunately very rare, even in the United States; that is why Ukrainians appreciate these speeches all the more. We hope that they will not remain without an echo, but that serious and influential men will take them to heart. Above all, Ukrainian public opinion hopes that Mr. O'Connor's suggestion for the creation of an American Committee for the Liberation of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union will quickly materialize. The creation of such a Committee would not only be a blow for Moscow's imperialism, but also an immense step on the way to freedom for millions of men.

Ukraine Behind the Iron Curtain

A Gift for Ukraine:

"The Priceless Suvorov Relics"

(U.I.S.) In the Soviet Union there is one law for Russians and another for Ukrainians. What is a virtue for Russians, is a crime for Ukrainians. This double standard applies even to museums.

For instance, the *Pravda* of September 13, 1951 contained a sharp criticism of Ukrainian museums in Lviv, Western Ukraine, blaming them for showing Ukrainian, nationalist, even reactionary tendencies. The *Pravda* was particularly incensed by the skull of a Ukrainian medieval prince, which was excavated recently in the old fortress of Halych. The unhappy curator had put this skull in a glass case by itself, which displeased the *Pravda* correspondent. We read: *Why has so much honour been shown to this very ordinary skull? The answer is given by a study of the department showing the history of feudal Ukraine. Here, objects and pictures of many princes, sultans, Polish nobles, Cossack army leaders, patriarchs, archimandrites, etc. are uselessly shown.*

Now, Ukraine cannot help having had a history illustrated by princes, nobles, army leaders, etc. Moscow is not pleased because the people are reminded by such exhibits that the Ukrainian people once had a glorious history independent of Moscow. The consequence of the *Pravda's* comments was, of course, that these "useless" signs of Ukrainian nationalism in Lviv had to disappear immediately — and the heads of the museums with them.

What replaced them? The *Pravda* of October 17, 1951 gives the answer:

A meeting of the curators of Suvorov museums in Ukraine was recently held in Leningrad, at which the Suvorov Museum of Military History in Leningrad announced that it would generously lend the Ukrainian museums, in Lviv, Ismail and Ochakiv to begin with, a number of precious Suvorov relics. These priceless mementoes have great historical importance. At first, 600 Suvorov exhibits were sent and, in addition, many Russian and captured arms dating from the 18th century, many engravings and lithographs illustrating the campaigns of the great Russian commander, and portraits of the heroes of the Russian army who took orders from Suvorov.

The Ukrainian prince's skull, we see, is useless and must be removed. Ukrainian hetmans and military leaders are Ukrainian nationalism and must likewise disappear. But the Russian Suvorov and his generals are glorious history; they are of immense importance for Ukraine and must be shown!

Everything for Peace . . .

(U.I.S.) There is surely nothing now in Ukraine that is not working for Stalin's peace. Every mason swings his trowel, not for the building he is on, but for peace. The cobbler mends shoes for peace. Children go to school for peace. Soviet soldiers are not simply soldiers, but soldiers of peace. It goes so

far that the *Radyanska Ukraina* recently complained about the abuse of the expression, when a meeting of the union of grave-diggers called themselves *workers for peace*; of course they work for peace, they were told, for the eternal peace of the dead. Nothing is safe from this wave; never did a word experience such an inflation as has been the fate of this expression in the Soviet Union. The purpose is only too clear. The Soviet Union's desire for peace is to be hammered so incessantly into the people, that, if a war should come, they will believe that it was not by the wish of the Soviet Union.

This universal tendency is reproduced by any article in any paper in Ukraine that you like to read. In the *Radyanska Ukraina* of October 28, 1951 we read in the article, *Increase and Strengthen the Power of our Fatherland* "The more coal, the surer peace. Peace would be all the stronger, the more metal our country produced . . . Let us exceed our target of getting wood for our fatherland, to build up communism and strengthen peace! . . . The peaceful aims of our Soviet population, the constantly increasing prosperity of the working classes in the Soviet Union — that is what frightens foreign, imperialist warmongers most!" . . .

The peaceful use of coal, metal, wood, etc. in U.S.S.R.? The organ of the Communist Party in Ukraine ought to quote Josef Stalin's words when he said lately in an interview on the atom bomb: *Naturally aggressors would like to have the Soviet Union standing helpless when they attack. But the Soviet Union differs, and intends to meet aggressors fully armed.*

Ukrainian Youth Association

(Continued from Page 7)

creasing steadily. At present the S.U.M. has 8,022 members attached to 175 cells.

Divided according to countries the membership of the Organization is as follows:

Great Britain	—65 cells	2,472 members
U.S.A.	—28 "	2,450 "
Belgium	—22 "	640 "
Canada	—20 "	1,440 "
Germany	—12 "	240 "
Australia	—6 "	240 "
Paraguay	—6 "	140 "
France	—5 "	150 "
Argentina	—4 "	120 "
Austria	—2 "	38 "
Brazil	—2 "	46 "
Tunis	—1 "	6 "
Venezuela	—1 "	20 "
Spain	—1 "	20 "

175 cells 8,022 members.

The whole organization is built up on a democratic basis. Though the organization in the different countries is founded on uniform Statutes, local requirements are respected and taken into consideration. The General Meeting of the members is the supreme authority. Heads of the Organization in the various countries, as well as the local cells, are chosen by normal democratic elections. Each organization besides its executive, elects also a Board of Control and a Court of Honour. Once very two years the S.U.M. holds a World Congress, attended by delegations from all the countries in question.

The World Congress then chooses from among those present, the Central Committee whose task it is to co-ordinate the work and determine the general line of development; to give incentive and strengthen the contacts between the individual organizations.

The Central Committee of the S.U.M. is at present in Germany. The first chairman and President of the S.U.M. for the whole world is *Mr. Oleksa Kalynnyk* of Dnipropetrovsk, Central Ukraine, an underground fighter of long standing, who was besides for 7 years an inmate of various Russian concentration camps.

The Organisation is financed solely by subscriptions and contributions from its members. The work of the leaders in the local groups is, as a matter of principle, honorary.

The S.U.M. has a good deal of publicistic work to its credit. It issues the following periodicals, *Vanguard*—in Germany; *The Voice of Youth*—Great Britain; *On Guard*—Canada; *Wings*—U.S.A. as well as a number of leaflets and books. Many local functions are arranged, such as lectures, theatrical performances, concerts, training courses,

"The Elder Brother"

(U.I.S.) Under the title *Triumph of the Lenin-Stalin National Policy*, *Pravda* published a long article on November 5, 1951, devoted to an article Stalin wrote 30 years ago, entitled *The October Revolution and the National Policy of the Russian Communists*. One of the passages quoted by *Pravda* runs as follows:

"The essence of that policy can be summed up in the following words; renunciation of all "claims" on and "rights" in the territory peopled by non-Russian nations; recognition (not only in words but also in deeds) of the rights of those nations to an independent state existence; voluntary and economic alliance of said nations with central Russia".

The Kremlin declares to-day that these aims have been achieved. Soviet Russia, *contrary to the false ideas prevailing in the West*, is only one of the 16 theoretically equal Soviet Republics, each of which has its own government, its own parliament, own language etc. Each, according to the Soviet Constitution, can secede from the U.S.S.R. and become a perfectly independent State.

The old form of Russian rule over alien peoples having proved impracticable in the years 1817—1921, Russian imperialism adopted a new colour for its camouflage.

Another quotation from the above-mentioned *Pravda* article shows plainly that even after the Bolshevik revolution the Russian people remained a master race.

"The Russian people holds a special position in the family of the Soviet nations. The peoples of our land feel great respect and gratitude for the great Russian people, looking upon the Russian people, and rightly so, as their elder brother. From the Russian people

they have learned the best traditions of the revolutionary struggle; with the help of the Russian people they have burst the bonds of the bourgeois and landowner's yoke and have established Soviet power.

The help given by the Russian people to the other peoples of our land in their economic, political and cultural development is immeasurable. All the nations and peoples of our land take a deep interest in the study of the instructive history of the people that has had such tremendous and beneficent influence on all the peoples of our country.

For these very reasons all attempts by bourgeois nationalists to diminish the role of the Russian people and its culture, in the development of all the nations in our country, have met with determined resistance from those peoples."

The appearance of bourgeois nationalism (that is to say, the appearance of the struggle of the subjugated nations against Moscow's alien domination) of course, meets with determined resistance. But this resistance does not emanate from the peoples themselves, but from the Russian imperialist.

Live without the kolkhose? No, never!

(U.I.S.) Ukraine, formerly a happy country, whose people were always ready for fun, has been transformed by Stalin's regime into a land of reserved gloomy silence. But life still produces situations that call for a smile. The blowers of the Soviet horn of propaganda sometimes send forth lies that become anecdotes. Anatoli Shyan, a Ukrainian newspaper hack recently unconsciously reported a story that has been told everywhere as a joke.

social meetings, and where necessary, demonstrations and other publications.

The bulk of the membership is made up of workers, both men and women; there are miners in Belgium, lumbermen in Canada, farm labourers in England, and Wales, millhands in Manchester, shepherds in Australia, factory hands in U.S.A., etc.

The work of the S.U.M. has proved most necessary, important and successful in Belgium and France where the Ukrainian workers had been exposed to communist influence. It is no idle statement when we say that the S.U.M. has saved countless Ukrainians from communism, and that is due not only to the active members of S.U.M., but also to thousands of workers in Belgium and France especially, who have still not joined up. For this reason, the communist party in those countries is more than hostile to the S.U.M. and fights

against it with every possible means, including provocation and discrimination.

The members of the S.U.M. are all religious and loyal to their homeland. They look upon their sojourn abroad as temporary and only caused by adverse circumstances. Their greatest wish is to be able to return to their liberated country and take an active part in building up an independent Ukrainian State. As long, however, as they are forced to live abroad they do everything to learn all that is good and worthy of imitation in the countries of their hosts, and to uphold the good name and reputation of the Ukrainian people everywhere. They want to be remembered when they leave as useful, decent people whom those they have lived with will not want to forget. If they achieve that they will justify the existence of the whole organization.

The *Radyanska Ukraina* had a article entitled *Happiness* by Shyan who wrote: *"Slyvinska, a peasant woman from Mykytyntsi, in the Stanislav area, suffered great misery in Western Ukraine where Polish and German bourgeoisie was rampant until 1944. Things improved only when the Soviets arrived, but particularly after she joined the local Kolkhose. 240 working days in the year brought her sufficient bread, maize, grits and potatoes to live carefree and in happiness. But trouble also came, for Slyvinska fell ill. She was taken to hospital where an operation was ordered. And now the dreadful scene came. You are so excited... Are you afraid of the operation?, the surgeon asked. No, not at all, the woman answered quietly... But tell me the truth, Doctor... Shall I be able to work after the operation just as well as before? If not... the operation is not necessary. Life without the kolkhose — no, that's no life at all — and a tear rolled down her cheek."*

The story was told all over Ukraine and the whole country laughed.

"Gleaming Vistas"

Recent Scientific Drilling in Ukraine

(U.I.S.) The *Radyanska Ukraina* published an article on 26. 10. 1951 entitled: *Theoretical Training in the scientific Cadre* with authoritative information about new directives for scientific training in Ukraine. We read:

"The marvellous works of Comrade Stalin on philology have opened gleaming vistas to a great army of research scholars in all branches of knowledge. They show how to attack the most complicated scientific problems from the standpoint of creative marxism and how they can be solved."

The Party organization in the Academy of Science of Ukraine has seized on such statements. A week after the above article appeared, it announced in its bulletin that *whatever his province, the Soviet scholar must follow the doctrine of Marx and Lenin as a guiding star and sure sign-post*. In consequence of Stalin's philological articles, the Academy has decided to *appoint and train immediately 100 advisers on the philosophy of Marx and Lenin and 50 for the history of the Communist Party in Ukraine*. In addition, the Academy has arranged 6 seminars for publicists and 4 for advisers in the present year. And their task? *Simply to make the thoughts developed by Comrade Stalin in his philological articles, and his valuable results the common property of intellectuals in Soviet Ukraine*.

This means the creation of a special cadre for propaganda for the purpose of drilling Ukrainian intellectuals in Stalin's newest ideas. The effect of his

great intellect was apparently slow in appearing in Ukraine. This must be remedied, so new drilling has been arranged.

Important Archaeological Finds in Kyiv

(U.I.S.) In the spring and summer of this year, the Archaeological Institute of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine carried out a number of excavations and researches in the area of *Pecherska Lavra*, the old monastic town near Kyiv. At one place, eroded by water, remains were found of an old brick wall two meters thick; it was found that this was part of the fortifications of Lavra, for the monastic town was a fortress until the fortifications were destroyed by Tatars in 1240.

Excavators also found old glass furnaces more than 900 years old, in which monks made coloured glass for church mosaics. Other ovens for ceramics for church use were also found in the vicinity. Nowhere else in Ukraine have such early traces of native glass manufacture been found.

It was also discovered here that many of the oldest Ukrainian churches had mosaics and church vessels. The remains of this ancient plant are eloquent proof of the high level of civilization in Ukraine at a time when life elsewhere was very primitive.

A Ukrainian Dramatist Celebrates his Seventieth Birthday

(U.I.S.) Towards the end of October *Ivan Kotcherha*, a Ukrainian dramatist, celebrated his seventieth birthday and the completion of fifty years of literary activity. When he was twenty, he decided to devote himself to drama. He simply could not exist without the stage and the theatre. He is not a great genius, not a revolutionary pioneer, but a steady and reliable worker. He has written popular plays, such as: *The Song of the Cornfield*, *The Way to Freedom*, *Mark in Hell*, *Yaroslav the Wise*, etc. After the Soviets took over, he was naturally forced to toe the line, but in spite of that, he has managed to produce much that is beautiful and attractive and to emphasize lasting human values. He is honoured in Kyiv as the Nestor of the Ukrainian theatre and his double jubilee was an occasion for showing him general respect.

"Ukrainian in Form, Russian in Content"

(U.I.S.) The *Izvestiya* of September 13, 1951 published the repertory of the Taras Shevchenko Theatre in Kryvyi Rih for the first half of 1951. It contains *The Law*, by Gorkij; *Uncle Vanya* by Chekhov; *Late Love* by Ostrovsky — all of them Russians. There is not one play by a Ukrainian writer. So much for Moscow's equality of cultures.

The Increasing Role of Russia in the U.S.S.R. Ukrainian Patriotism Must Disappear

(U.I.S.) In recent times, literary and art criticism throws more light on the general line of Stalin's policy than do the decrees issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Long before official agencies have made any announcements, we can see the way the wind is blowing from critical comments and literary articles in the Soviet press.

On 28. 10. 1951, for instance, an article appeared in the *Pravda*, entitled *Reactionary Patriotism in Literary Criticism* which passed almost unnoticed. The article is a severe attack on *A. Gurvich*, a literary critic who has hitherto enjoyed all the favour of the present regime. It is not saying too much to assert that he was a kind of official guide for Soviet writers. His articles in *Novy Mir* (The New World) were looked forward to eagerly as they showed what was expected by the government, what themes would be popular, and what should be particularly stressed. Now Gurvich's latest article, *The Force of Positive Examples* has proved fatal for him.

Gurvich made the mistake of exaggerating the value of contemporary Soviet literature in general and of minimizing the value and historical influence of pre-revolutionary, Russian literature. We quote: "*Gurvich promulgates decidedly anti-patriotic views on the great heritage of classical Russian literature. He presents Soviet writers as contrasted with classical Russian literature, whereas no such contrast exists. He distorts the tendencies of the Russian classics and despises the past, of which the Soviet people should be proud. He is of the erroneous opinion that Russian classical writers failed to include the leading men of their time among their characters.*"

In other words, the critic has failed to discover the patriotic motives of earlier Russian literature and to present them to his readers. At the same time he has not drawn attention to the leading patriots in Russian literature.

When we remember that the *Pravda* simultaneously attacks Ukrainian literature most severely for its Ukrainian patriotism, censoring it as subversive and hostile to the Soviets, we realize the real drift. Russian literature is expected to be national, patriotic and based on traditions, but not Ukrainian. Russian nationalism is a virtue, Ukrainian a deadly sin. V. Sossyura, the Ukrainian poet, is severely criticised because he sings of a timeless, eternal Ukraine, without reference to contemporary Soviet Ukraine. The Russian critic, on the other hand, is blamed for not being sufficiently patriotic and

nationalistic. Ukrainian patriotism must cease. Reverence for Russia, for Moscow must increase.

2,000,000 Schoolbooks

(U.I.S.) The Lviv Branch of the Soviet State Publishing Concern, *Radyanska Knyzhka* (The Soviet Book) reports that it has printed and distributed in 1950/51 2,080,000 schoolbooks for use mainly in districts in Western Ukraine. It is an impressive figure, but what about the contents? We know by experience that at least one third of every Soviet schoolbook must be devoted to the person of Josef Stalin. No great service is rendered to the youth of Ukraine systemically poisoning it with Stalinism and bolshevism. We understand, moreover, that the production of the Lviv Branch of the same concern is to be trebled in 1951/52. When will this systematic murder of a people's soul come to an end?

Along the Dnister

Another Film full of Lies

(U.I.S.) The department for scientific and popular films in the *Kino-Studio, Moscow*, is scheduled to produce the colour documentary *Along the Dnister*. The purpose of the film was to reproduce in pictures the pioneer work of the *Stakhanov brigades along the River Dnister, in Southern Ukraine, in all its unique beauty*. We wonder if this film will have the same fate as the Colour Film *Prosperous Ukraine*, which was made for export but never allowed to be shown in Ukraine itself. The lies it contained were so obvious that the authorities hesitated to expose it to the scorn and laughter of the populace. It would not be at all surprising if Ukrainians were not allowed to see their own Dnister.

Grand to Give Presents to Moscow

(U.I.S.) *Mykola Yatko*, a reporter on the staff of the *Radyanska Ukraina* tells an involuntary joke from the district of Zbarazh in Western Ukraine. Somewhere or other he watched a fruit harvest and reports:

"*What a wonderful orchard! How grateful its shade . . . The branches bend under their burden of red-cheeked apples, green-yellow pears, dark blue plums. Slender, rosy-cheeked girls chatter and make fun; they are sorting out the different apples. Every apple is wrapped in thin paper and put into a square box.*

What are you doing? they are asked. Don't you see, stupid?, they reply in chorus with a laugh. It is for Moscow. It is so grand to send presents to those dear people" . . .

Anniversary of Western Ukrainian State

Ukrainian Celebrations to Commemorate November 1, 1918

(U.I.S.) One of the most important Ukrainian national festivals today is the celebration of November 1, 1918. Wherever 3 or 4 Ukrainians are together in the free world, they think of this date. It was then that, after the collapse of the Austrian Empire, the parts of Austria inhabited by Ukrainians — Eastern Galicia, North Bukowina and Carpathian Ukraine — declared their secession from Austria-Hungary and proclaimed the *birth of the Western Ukrainian Republic* as an independent and sovereign state. This happened as a corollary to the right of the self-determination of peoples, one of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. The areas in question have been inhabited for centuries to a great extent by Ukrainians. The Poles, Hungarians, Rumanians or Czechs living there are small national minorities.

On October 18, 1918, the *Ukrainian National Council*, under the leadership of *Dr. Evhen Petrushevych*, a member of the former Austrian parliament, was formed in Lviv, the capital of Galicia, and was declared to be the Constituent Assembly of Western Ukraine. It consisted of democratically elected representatives of the Ukrainian people, particularly Ukrainian members of the central Austrian parliament in Vienna and the Galician parliament in Lviv.

On November 1, 1918, the Ukrainian National Council solemnly proclaimed the independence of the new state in Lviv. On November 9, 1918 the first full government of Western Ukraine was formed under Minister President *Dr. Kost' Levytsky*. On November 9, 1918 the new republic received its official title: *The National Republic of Western Ukraine* (Z.O.U.N.R.). This was an emergency measure taken for reasons of international law; it was considered important to rank as one of the successor states of Austria and to be recognized as such by the *High Allied Council* in Paris. On 22. 1. 1918 Eastern Ukraine, too, was proclaimed as a National Republic and a successor state of

imperial Russia. Eastern and Western Ukraine declared their union on January 22, 1919.

With the proclamation of its independence, the Western Ukrainian Republic announced on November 1, 1918 that its entire area was under its military control and administration. This measure, in accordance with the principle of the self-determination of peoples, was immediately notified to the Western Powers, U.S.A., Great Britain, France, Italy, etc.

Thus the Ukrainian dream of centuries was fulfilled and the Western part

against the Ukrainians. The Western Ukrainian army had been defamed as *bolshevist*, though it was engaged in bitter anti-bolshevist conflict. The Poles resorted to every weapon, propaganda, lie and blackmail in order to attain their aim. After they took possession of the country with their army, the Poles were granted official supremacy over Western Ukraine by the High Allied Council on March 14, 1923. This was one of the bitterest, blackest days in the history of Ukraine. The entire population of Western Ukraine publicly swore on that day that it would never acknow-



St. George's Cathedral in Lviv, Capital of Western Ukraine

of Ukraine was free at last. Until 1772 it belonged to Poland, and since 1772 formally to Austria. But in accordance with an unwritten agreement with the Austrian government in Vienna, Polish nobles in Galicia continued to exercise supreme power there. One of the consequences of this Polish supremacy was that the whole country was extremely backward economically and culturally, and indeed in a state of great poverty.

In violation of the principle of the self-determination of peoples, the Poles did not wish to recognize the formation of the Western Ukrainian Republic. They immediately involved the country in a brutal war. For ten months, the Western Ukrainian government and its army resisted Polish aggression from without and Polish guerilla war within. The Poles were supported by the High Allied Council of Western Powers in Paris who denied their own principles and delivered Western Ukraine to Poland. The balance was heavily weighted against the Ukrainians when the High Allied Council gave the Polish *Haller Army*, which had been trained and equipped in the West, permission to march

ledge or respect that decision. It was, indeed, always felt to be treason and a breach of faith.

In order to save their face, the High Allied Council made the Poles promise to introduce an autonomous regime in Western Ukraine. This they promised, so as to reach their goal, but they did not keep their word. The twenty years that followed — 1919 till 1939 — was a period of humiliating, degrading and shameful Polish terrorism, a heavy burden for the Ukrainians. The world was called upon to witness one of the most senseless, one of the maddest jingoistic experiments — how about 20 million Poles, largely on a lower cultural level, tried to force their nationality on more than 7 million Ukrainians, 3 million Byelorussians, 2 million Germans, etc. It is not worth while going into details of this Polish rule here. Poland gave proof of its own incapacity as a state in 1939 when it collapsed after three weeks of war with nazi Germany, after being deserted by 13 million *minority* peoples. The concept *Poland* is associated for Ukrainians with cunning, lies, broken promises and

The Best Marble

(U.I.S.) In the district of Rakhiv, Carpathian Ukraine, rich deposits of marble for building were recently discovered and preparations have been made to exploit them. This marble is of various colours: pale pink, red, blue, green, dark grey, black and snowwhite. It is the finest marble in the Soviet Union. The stone is particularly hard and is used as veneer in the many show buildings erected recently by the Soviets.

UKRAINIANS ABROAD

Belgium

UKRAINIAN THURSDAY SCHOOLS

(U.I.S.) Four years ago, in November 1947, the *Ukrainian Society for Popular Learning* (U.N.O.T.) was founded in Belgium for the purpose of preserving Ukrainian traditions of culture among Ukrainian refugees there. In the first place, the Society devoted itself to school-age children who must be trained in such traditions, it being possible that they would be alienated in Belgian schools from their own native traditions. Private Ukrainian Thursday schools were therefore established where children were taught Ukrainian, including the Ukrainian alphabet, grammar, history, religion, geography, dancing and singing.

In 1951 very many Ukrainians emigrated from Belgium and the attendance at these schools naturally fell. Although at the moment there are 600 Ukrainian children of school age in Belgium, they are so scattered that the Society can run only five such schools. On 20.9.1951 a General Meeting of the Society was held in Brussels in order to consider future policy. New office bearers were elected: Prof. A. Yakovlev, I. Vytiaz, Dr. Boznyk, Rev. I. Kot, Y. Pryshlak and Dr. Tsybala.

Canada

EVERY TENTH INHABITANT OF WINNIPEG, A UKRAINIAN

(U.I.S.) Statistics show that 21,000 Ukrainians live in Winnipeg which had a population in 1950 of 222,000, it being the capital of Manitoba, i. e. every

treaties, expulsions from office, schools, commerce, thousands of prohibitions, the persecution of Ukrainian culture and language, many prisons, mass trials, dragooning and pacification; it signified the indescribable arrogance of the Polish small ruling class who imagined that, with a population of 19 million Poles, they were a *Great Power* between Germany and the Soviet Union, a power great enough in any case to quarrel with all its neighbours. This was true at least of its relations to Ukrainians.

This is the factual background of November 1, 1918, a day that shines like a brilliant star for all Ukrainians. It marks the proclamation in Lviv of Ukrainian independence in those areas. Sooner or later this proclamation will be fulfilled. In consequence, there is not a single group of Ukrainians in the West that does not celebrate most devotedly November 1, 1918.

tenth inhabitant is a Ukrainian. The town has 10 Ukrainian churches, 9 big cooperatives and a few hundred private businesses. Ukrainian cultural life in Winnipeg reaches a high level. The floods of fresh emigrants that have appeared recently have helped to stamp out some tendencies friendly to Soviet Russia that were noted among former Ukrainian Canadian immigrants.

French Africa

PROMOTION FOR A UKRAINIAN ARCHAEOLOGIST

The Rev. Yuri Shumovsky, a Ukrainian priest and professor of archaeology, is well known among Ukrainian exiles. Since the war he has lived in France, where he was a member of the *French Institute for Black Africa*. Recently he was promoted to be head of the Department for Archaeology in that Institute and is working at present in Kuluba-Bakamo (Sudan).

Early in December he is leaving Bukamo as head of a scientific expedition to conduct excavations some 800 kilometers further into the desert at *Ghan*, formerly the capital of the Sudan. The expedition will conduct archaeological research in villages like *Mopti*, *Djene*, *Matsina*, *Timbuktau*, *Hach* and *Baudaghara* where prehistoric tombs are to be examined. The expedition consists of 10 experts and a corresponding technical staff and it hopes to make interesting discoveries about cultural and historical connections between these areas and ancient cultures in Europe and Asia.

Great Britain

FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE S.U.B. IN BRADFORD

(U.I.S.) On October 7, 1951, Ukrainians in Bradford celebrated the fifth anniversary of the foundation of the S.U.B., the *Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain*. The S.U.B. is known to unite more than 30,000 Ukrainians who are living in Great Britain. The occasion was marked in Bradford by a concert in Southgate Hall which was attended by about 800 Ukrainians and British friends. Some 300 people had to be turned away for lack of room. *Mgr. T. Danyliv*, London, addressed the meeting. He reviewed the experience of Ukrainians in Great Britain during the last 5 years and had

warm words of appreciation for the hospitality and courtesy of British authorities and the people in general, which had given tens of thousands of Ukrainians a roof, work and a living wage in Great Britain. The speaker urged his audience to respect the laws and customs of their hosts loyally and to do nothing that would damage the cause of Ukraine in England. Ukrainian artists gave musical performances that were enthusiastically applauded.

TOURING LIBRARY OF THE S.U.M.

(U.I.S.) Thousands of Ukrainian emigrants in Great Britain suffer from what we might call *cultural under-nourishment*. They cannot have enough Ukrainian publications, books, magazines, papers, etc. Most of them are unfortunately not sufficiently advanced in English to profit from the great treasures of English literature and journalism. On the other hand, they live in small groups too far from each other to be able to run a library of any size. The Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.) has therefore decided to set up a touring library. It will attempt to satisfy the book-hunger of Ukrainians who are scattered throughout the country, by sending round something like a *Bookmobile* for which they have already collected more than 6,000 volumes.

Italy

UKRAINIANS BECOME MEMBERS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

(U.I.S.) At the beginning of October the general meeting of the *International Bureau of Catholic Youth* was held in Rome. Delegates from 29 countries took part in the meeting where Ukrainian Catholic youth was represented by the *Obnova*, its central organization, under the leadership of *Dr. V. Fedorenchuk*. This Ukrainian organization, which has hitherto been loosely affiliated to the *Bureau*, has now been accepted in it as a full member, thanks to the offices of the *Rt. Hon. Bishop Ivan Buczko*, the Apostolic Visitor to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Europe.

New Zealand

FOUNDATION OF A UKRAINIAN CLUB

(U.I.S.) In September 1951 a *Ukrainian Club* was founded in Wellington, New Zealand by immigrant Ukrainian DP's and refugees. The Club aims at helping Ukrainian immigrants to become familiar with legal, cultural and social conditions in their new home and to provide a social centre for them.

A similar Club has also been planned for Auckland, the biggest town in the country. However small their numbers, Ukrainians always try to get together and keep in contact with other Ukrainians scattered throughout the world. Up till now, New Zealand has not heard much about Ukraine, so the immigrants are pioneers and feel the lack of publicity in English.

U.S.A.

A UKRAINIAN PROFESSOR OF AERODYNAMICS

Early in September *Dr. Ing. Bohdan Hnatiuk*, a Ukrainian refugee who emigrated to the United States under the D.P. Law in 1950, was appointed associate professor of aerodynamics at Notre Dame University, Indiana. When he first arrived in the States, *Dr. Hnatiuk* worked as a mason. But it did not take long to discover that he was more at home with problems of aerodynamics than with the trowel, and the Line-Belt-Company soon appointed him to a good engineering job in Philadelphia. The new professor is comparatively young and studied at the Faculty for Shipping and Aeroplanes at the Polytechnic in Danzig where he became Assistant to the professor of aerodynamics. From there he went as research engineer to the Aero-Technical Institute in Vienna. Afterwards he worked in the Dornier Plant at Friedrichshafen, one of the biggest aeroplane factories in Germany.

UKRAINIAN LITERARY AND ART CLUB IN NEW YORK

(U.I.S.) In the middle of October the Ukrainian Literary and Art Club, founded three years ago in New York, opened its third season. At a special meeting, when about 200 members and invited guests were welcomed, the president, *Prof. Serhij Lytvynenko*, a famous Ukrainian sculptor, gave a report of the Club's activity which showed that, in spite of many initial difficulties, members had been very active in art and literature. The various sections reported as follows: In the *Music Section*, 6 pianists and 1 violinist give lessons to more than 50 pupils. The *Section for Literature and Journalism* had a successful season. The *Art Section* was able to arrange three exhibitions, one in Philadelphia and two in New York. An exhibition is being planned for *Free Europe* although Ukrainians are not represented in that organisation.

The evening closed with musical performances under the leadership of *Mr. Roman Kupchynsky*. Among the items were choruses by the *Dumka Choir*,

violin solos by *Mr. V. Zissyk* and piano solos by *Mrs. Chapelska*.

The activity of the Club is a positive expression of the life of Ukrainian immigrants in the United States.

COURSES IN UKRAINIAN IN NEW JERSEY

(U.I.S.) *Prof. T. Matskiv* has been giving courses in Ukrainian for some time at Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey. Thanks to the initiative and tireless efforts of Ukrainian students at the University, broadcasts are now given in Ukrainian as well as English.

*

END OF FREE RUSSIA FUND?

(U.I.S.) More than a year ago a *Free Russia Fund* was established within the Ford Foundation. Its self-appointed task was to study East European problems and prepare for building up a free way of life in those areas. The Fund started with \$ 200,000.

From the beginning, imperialistic Russia influence was very strong. Its very name indicated that its founders regarded the problems of Eastern Europe as a pure Russian affair, a view that was strengthened by the appointment of *Mr. George Kennan* as head of the F.R.F., as he is known to support strongly the Russian solution for Eastern Europe.

The reaction among exiled groups of the so-called *Peoples of Russia* was most unfavourable; they did not wish to count as belonging to Russia, nor did they want to be called *Russian*. Ukrainians blankly refused to cooperate in the F.R.F. Much as Ukrainian scientific institutes in various provinces required material assistance from America, they refused to accept such assistance from the F.R.F., as they could not stomach the word *Russia*.

A short time ago, the *Free Russia Fund* became the name *East Europe Fund*. *Mr. Paul O. Hofman*, Director of the Ford Foundation, has confirmed this change of name.

Venezuela

BROADCASTING UKRAINIAN MUSIC

(U.I.S.) Thanks to the suggestion and efforts of the *Ukrainian Cultural Center* in Venezuela, Ukrainian music is to be broadcast by the State Radio Station there. Commentaries on all items broadcast will be given in Spanish which will make it easy for Venezuelan listeners to understand them. Ukrainian music will be broadcast every Sunday at 1700 hours in Radio Nacional on wave Y.V.K.A. 630 KHz or Y.V.K.A. 6170

KHz. The first broadcast was on October 21, 1951. It received favourable comments and there are hopes of extending this Ukrainian service.

UKRAINIAN CULTURAL CENTRE

(U.I.S.) An organization was formed in 1949 under *Prof. P. Makarenko*, entitled *Center for the Study of the Cultures of Venezuela and Ukraine*. In 1950 the Centre arranged a concert in honour of *Taras Shevchenko*, the greatest Ukrainian poet, and also one in honour of *Generalissimo Francisco de Miranda*, the national hero of Venezuela. On April 22, 1951 a meeting was held to commemorate *Dmytro Doroshenko*, the Ukrainian historian who had died a short time before. On May 27, 1951 a concert was given in honour of the memory of *Ssymon Petlura* the President of Ukraine who was murdered in Paris by the bolsheviks in 1926 and of *Colonel Evhen Konovalets* a leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement who was likewise murdered by the bolsheviks in Rotterdam in 1938. On July 5, 1951 the Center celebrated the anniversary of the proclamation of Venezuela's independence. These meetings were attended not only by Ukrainians but by many Venezuelan friends. Ukraine and its brave fight against bolshevism and Russian imperialism has now got some meaning for Venezuela.

UKRAINIAN CIRCLE FOR DRAMA AND OPERA

(U.I.S.) A Ukrainian Circle for Drama and Opera has been formed as a branch of the Ukrainian Society in Venezuela. The Circle is under the leadership of *Mr. O. Halchenko* and the first object of its study is the Ukrainian musical comedy, *Natalka Poltavka*. At the moment the Circle is rehearsing the opera, *Zaporoger beyond the Danube* which, it is hoped will be produced in the Municipal Opera House in Caracas in the near future.

UKRAINIAN HOUSE IN CARACAS

(U.I.S.) The efforts of the Ukrainian Society in Venezuela to get a centre for Ukrainian social and cultural life in Venezuela have at last been crowned with success. In September 1951, the *Ukrainian Home* in Caracas was opened. Although the new house is not yet finished, it is already in use. Ukrainians in Venezuela were greatly in need of such a meeting-place and centre and the house will do much to hold Ukrainian immigrants together.

UKRAINIAN ARTISTS ABROAD

(U.I.S.) Mr. and Mrs. *L. and I. Mat-syak*, the Ukrainian singers, were recently invited by the Brazilian State Department of Culture to give a concert in Rio de Janeiro.

In addition to arias and songs by Mozart, Scarlatti, Schumann, Brahms and Vile Logos, Ukrainian compositions were also included in the programme, works by Artemowsky—Hulak, Lato-shynsky and Stetsenko. The Ukrainian couple had a warm reception and their performance received favourable notices in the press. They were invited repeatedly to broadcast songs from Radio Nacional (Brazil).

Volodymyr Blavatsky, the well-known Ukrainian actor and stage-manager started a series of broadcasts on September 23, 1951 in U.S.A. from WDAS, Wave-length 1400 which sponsors a *Ukrainian Radio Hour* on Sundays from 9—10 a.m. His program includes Ukrainian news, instrumental and vocal music, literature, plays and criticism. It was such a success that the management is contemplating broadcasting it three times a week.

In the middle of October, *Theodor Teren*, a Ukrainian bariton made his debut in New York. He sang Western classical songs and compositions by the Ukrainian musicians, Lato-shynsky, Bar-vinsky, and Nyzhankivsky. Critics promise him a future in America.

172 PERIODICALS

(U.I.S.) The clatter of the falling iron curtain could not shut out or strangle free Ukrainian thought. Soviet terrorism could not prevent the publication on this side of the curtain of 172 *Ukrainian periodicals* which have

appeared after World War II. These include newspapers, magazines, bulletins, etc. They are distributed as follows: *Great Britain* — 7; *Argentina* — 9; *Brazil* — 4; *Holland* — 1; *Spain* — 1; *U.S.A.* — 72; *Italy* — 1; *Canada* — 41; *Germany* — 27; *France* — 7; *Sweden* — 2.

Immediately after the end of the Second World War, Soviet agents did all they could to get a mass of Ukrainian refugees and DP's behind the iron curtain again. By cunning and terrorism, and at the beginning, often with the help of Allied Occupational Authorities, they tried to get hold of intellectual Ukrainians in particular. The Soviet knew what they wanted, and why. Of the 172 Ukrainians periodicals mentioned above, no fewer than 122 are published by these recent political exiles from Ukraine. They are now spreading throughout the world accurate information about the Soviet Union and the entire truth. That is what Russobolsheviks fear most.

Wave of protest:**Indignant Repudiation**

(U.I.S.) The general meeting of the *Ukrainian Relief Society in Switzerland* on November 4, 1951 passed the following resolution of protest against the imperialist plans of Kerensky's group and their supporters:

"We Ukrainians in Switzerland, who have come together for our national commemoration of November 1, 1918 join the general protest raised by Ukrainians throughout the world

against the imperialist plans of Kerensky's group.

We indignantly repudiate this group's attempts to falsify the political attitude of Ukraine in the eyes of the world by bribing questionable elements to form *Ukrainian* political parties, then proclaiming that they are the *Voice of Ukraine*.

Such attempts to falsify the genuine movements of liberation in nations oppressed by Moscow are doomed to failure as were similar attempts on Kerensky's behalf in Ukraine in 1917. This Russian arch-imperialist attempted at that time to destroy the purely democratic First Ukrainian Soldiers' Congress because he feared its aims of independence. He also attempted to arrest and try before a court the democratic Ukrainian government appointed by the Soldiers' Congress. Today he uses his *Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia* in order to get the reins into his hands. He will *never succeed!* And if his protectors should help him into the saddle after the collapse of bolshevism, they will cause great misery, resistance and bitterness in Ukraine.

Long live the Independent, United Republic of Ukraine!"

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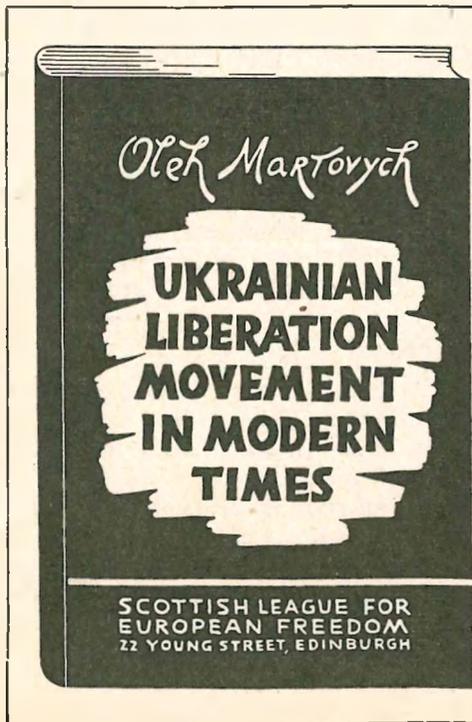
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