



# UKRAINIAN OBSERVER

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## "Russia Lobby"

By Zenon Pelensky

America is still wondering how it was possible for China to fall a victim to bolshevism. After 1945 Moscow formed a friendly alliance with China's nationalist government, probably following up the famous "gentlemen's agreement" drawn up in 1943 in Teheran and Cairo between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, according to which China was not to be troubled by communism. And yet, not quite 5 years after the friendly alliance between Stalin and Chiang Kai Shek, we find China engulfed in a red wave.

The answer is simple. The Chinese nationalist government, which was on good terms with Western Europe and America, could exist only as long as these powers sent it help. We must remember that by 1945 China had already been at war with Japan for 12 years. For its recovery the country required continuous support, some kind of Chinese "Marshall Plan".

And this is what it did not get. No direct help was, of course, given to Chinese communists. But, by *deliberately* refusing to help Chinese nationalists, the communists were indirectly helped to victory, for everybody knew what must happen if the nationalists were deprived of Western assistance. Much was said later about the mysterious "China Lobby" which by intrigues launched behind the scenes has helped communism greatly to obtain power. Attempts were made to spot the guilty. Especially the pernicious influence of the review "Pacific Affairs" was discussed, and attention was drawn to Owen Lattimore and even to Philipp Jessup; but nothing could be changed, China was lost.

It is interesting and instructive to see how this was done. "China Lobby" schemed carefully, delicately, but resolutely. The main aim was to undermine Chinese nationalism morally to start with, and then to destroy it physically, cost what it might. American opinion about national China, and, later, official American propaganda unconsciously adopted many ideas and terms that came straight from the Lobby, i. e. from the diabolic workshop of Moscow. Chinese nationalism was branded consequently and obstinately as reactionary, fascist, mediaeval, old-fashioned, "a blot on the twentieth century". At the same time the red side was excused, mitigated, explained. No, it was not communism, it was not the destruction of the legal national and constitutional state, but merely the "just liquidation of mediaeval antiquities"; it was not the assault on the principle of private property, it was merely "an attack on corruption", etc.

We have dwelt on the case of China in order to throw more light on the theme of the present article, namely our opinion that a similar "Russia Lobby" is in operation in Europe, as far as America is concerned. We should not be at all surprised if Russia were to spread in a similar way all over Europe as communism did in China.

We are of opinion that the true friends and natural allies of the West and America in their struggle against bolshevism and Russian imperialism are solely the nations subjugated by Moscow, both the satellite states and the "Russian minorities" proper. Yet, as in the case of Chinese nationalists, everything possible is being done to



weaken, compromise and discourage those America friendly powers. They too are constantly being called fascists, separatists, disturbers of the peace, rebels; they are obstinately accused of preventing the formation of a common front and of destroying all united action in the East by their crazy chauvinism.

### The "Shining Russia"

Russia shines all the more brilliantly against this murky background: "eternal", "good", "long-suffering", "noble" Russia, the "other" Russia that will appear after the collapse of bolshevism as the only great, benevolent, fortunate power for order in the East, now being anticipated.

Many things point to the presence of a regular Russia Lobby in Europe aiming at preserving the unity, glory and greatness of the Russian Empire, cost what it may. It is interesting to note that this campaign is being financed to a large degree by millions of dollars from the pockets of American tax-payers (in addition to huge, so-called "private funds").

The work for this "shining Russia" of the future is done through a number of different institutions, such as the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" and the "Free Russia Fund". Particular services were rendered in 1950 by the "Russia Institute" of Harvard University; it conducted an "objective" inquiry into immigration from Eastern Europe after the war, purposely excluding Western Ukraine and allowing Ukraine "in the framework of the Soviet Union" merely 10% space. Inhabitants of DP camps were paid DM 10.— for providing serviceable statistics. The American "National Committee for Free Europe" stops at Russia's sacred frontiers of 1939; "Radio Free Europe" may broadcast in the languages of the satellite states, but not in those of the subjugated non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union.

### "Ost-Probleme"

The U.S.A. Information Services Division in Germany i. e. the American tax-paper, has financed now for 4 years a weekly in German, called "Ost-Probleme"; it appears in Frankfurt/Main and is quite an interesting periodical on a fair level of excellence. Significantly, the editors know only Russia; they systematically and deliberately ignore the existence of the nationality problem in the U.S.S.R. They pass in

silence over the national movements of liberation and the underground revolutionary struggle. The contributors to this review have almost nothing to report about the life and work of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Turkestani etc. etc.; the culture, art and science of those nations are insignificant to them. The reader who has no other source of information about Eastern European problems than "Ost-Probleme" would not have the slightest idea about one of the most important problems of the East. The periodical has a select circle of readers and, considering the editors' policy, it is no wonder that the only problem worth consideration is the Russian. Neither the American nor the West European public learns the full truth; by deliberately omitting facts, Russia's claims are furthered and Russian imperialism supported.

### "Der Monat"

The European equivalent of "Pacific Affairs" seems to be "Der Monat", a monthly in German, published too with funds supplied by the U.S.A. Information Services Division. German has been chosen as the vehicle of expression, as more Europeans speak German than English, especially in Central Europe. The editor is Mr. *Melvin O. Lasky*. Not for nothing has "Der Monat" acquired a reputation in Europe as being a kind of spiritual refuge for all intellectual communist big shots who tried it with Stalin but have been disappointed. They are all there, the brilliant red-stars: Arthur Koestler, Theodor Plivier, Ignatio Silone, Ruth Fischer, Eugen Lerch, A. Weissberg, Albert Kamas, Günter Birkenfeld, to mention only the most prominent, and innumerable others, but not one who was not nourished at one time or other at the fount of communism.

We are particularly interested in the persistency with which this monthly works for the future "shining Russia". The "Ost-Probleme" at least displays a certain tact, but "Der Monat" is outspoken and unambiguous. Let me give one example: When George F. Kennan published his famous article, "America and Russian Future" in "Foreign Affairs" in April 1951, Mr. *Lasky* invited a number of "Russian experts" to express their opinion — but only people who insist on an undivided Russia from Kamtchatka to the Carpathians; not a single Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Caucasian, not one member of any of the Siberian peoples was asked to take part in this remarkable "discussion".

### Americans, a Broken Reed

Europe thus gets accustomed to the greatness, the sacred indivisibility of Russia, as conceived even by Americans. Stalin, of course, is a criminal, for he has "betrayed communism". The real high priests have fled to "Der Monat". In its pages they preach what the real meaning of the revolution in the East should have been if it had not been falsified by Stalin. From this crowded "Russia Lobby" a veritable mildew spreads all over Europe, a slow poison that makes it ready to receive Russia.

It is obviously a successful method. Many people, in particular non-Russians from the East, are compelled by this "American publicity" to say: "There is no use putting any hope in America. Americans will join hands with Russians. They are aliens, who will never be able to understand us. It will be all the same to them whether we are sold to Russia in one way or another. Mr. Lasky is, after all, an American. Is there any difference between him and the worst Russian imperialist? Very little indeed.

It was thus that the spiritual resistance of the Chinese nationalists was first paralyzed, then corroded, till in despair, calumniated and forsaken, they finally yielded. That is exactly what the "Russia Lobby" is doing in Europe, in the American language and at the expense of the American tax-payer. America need not be surprised if the case of China is one day repeated in Europe.

And why should the peoples of the East fight on the side of America? It will not help them — at least not as long as the Mr. Lasky's, the editors of "Ost-Probleme", the organizers of "Free Europe" and the "Councils for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" look after Russia's interests in Europe.

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**Commentaries:****Ambassador George F. Kennan**

(U.I.S.) Mr. George F. Kennan's appointment as ambassador of the United States in Moscow has greatly astonished Ukrainians in exile. It has been announced that Mr. Kennan will take up his new duties in March or April 1952. He is no stranger in Moscow, for he worked there as a Secretary in the United States Embassy for many years. His promotion from this relatively humble position to the office of ambassador with full powers is nothing short of brilliant.

A Great Power like the United States is, of course, entitled to make ambassadorial appointments in accordance with its own national interests. But this should not prevent a really free public from forming its own opinion. And that is what we propose to do.

All freedom-loving Ukrainians were surprised at the news because Mr. Kennan, thanks to a strange combination of circumstances, has the reputation, and not only among Ukrainians, of being profoundly inimical to bolshevism. He is alleged to be the originator of the now famous *policy of containment* towards the Soviets. He is credited with establishing the principles of a vigorous campaign to prevent communists from their further conquest of the world. He has occasionally been suspected also of having taken part in an organization for active anti-soviet resistance, a suspicion strengthened by the leading part he played in the "Free Russia Fund" in New York. The fear has often been expressed that all these activities of Mr. Kennan will make it difficult for the government in Moscow to approve his appointment, all the more because the "Pravda", immediately after Washington's plans for his

appointment were made known, published a severe criticism of Mr. Kennan, calling him a warmonger, an agent of American imperialism, an espionage chief, etc.

But the article in the "Pravda" soon proved to be a mere blind that concealed much that was more important. We are sure that Mr. Kennan will receive approval from Moscow. Only innocent ignoramuses can still be in doubt. There is no doubt about Mr. Kennan's hostility to bolshevism; but this is only a half truth. Mr. Kennan's reputation in Moscow does not rest on his brief connection with the "Free Russia Fund". The main thing is that Moscovs knows that Mr. Kennan has *always been an enthusiastic champion of the unity and indivisibility of Russia as an imperium controlling the fate of two scores of nations*. Mr. Kennan is a trusted friend of Russia as a World Power. He is decidedly against splitting the Russian imperium up, he even advises the peoples oppressed by Moscow to "make peace and cooperate constructively with Moscow", in other words to accept the fate of the weaker side. Ukraine, for instance, is in his view merely the "Pennsylvania of Russia".

Mr Kennan's article, "*America and the Russian Future*" in the April number, 1951, of "Foreign Affairs" leaves no doubt at all about his friendly attitude to Moscow's greatness. It, more than anything else, has opened the door of the Kremlin to Mr. Kennan as the U.S.A. ambassador.

Ukrainian non-communist politicians are aware that it is no mere accident that Mr. Kennan should be appointed and sent to Moscow just now. There is

much behind this appointment. It is a presidential year, and the American people's longing for peace and international security is well known. America is ready to make huge sacrifices in the cause of peace. The party most likely to guarantee peace will receive most votes from American electors. And here we find the reason for Mr. Kennan's appointment, e. g. to produce concrete evidence of security before the election in November 1952.

A better man, a warmer friend of Russia could not have been found for the job. Ukrainians fear that Mr. Kennan's journey to Moscow will prove to be another Munich or Yalta; a new wave of appeasement is almost sure to come. We suddenly realize now how unreliable and weak Washington's support of oppressed "Russian" nations must be to permit the appointment of a man like George F. Kennan to be American ambassador in Moscow in 1952; these nations know very well what Mr. Kennan thinks of their claims. We should not be at all surprised if the very small American help that the freedom movements among exiled peoples at present enjoy were now reduced. It goes without saying that Mr. Kennan's mission to Moscow, like so many similar missions of appeasement, must be unsuccessful in the end. The only genuine result of Mr. Kennan's appointment will inevitably be a weakening of confidence in the United States on the part of the nations oppressed by Moscow. That is a pity.

### **Disintegration of the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia"**

(U.I.S.) According to recent reports in the daily press, the "*Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia*", formed with much ado in Stuttgart on August 20, 1951, mainly of Russians, and completely under Russian leadership, collapsed at the beginning of January 1952. Readers will remember the fuss that attended the birth of this "Council"; it appeared almost as if the organizers of the plan were aiming at creating in exile something like a "Russian democratic counterweight" to Stalin's regime of terror. It looked at first as if the "Council" made preparations to swamp Russia with antibolshevist literature, to erect powerful radio stations to penetrate the Iron Curtain, to bring messages of encouragement and hope to the tortured nations of the U.S.S.R. They spoke and dreamed of dozens, nay, hundreds of millions of dollars required by such a huge undertaking.

Four months later, the entire plan collapsed like a bubble in an atmo-

**Our Readers and Friends** will be interested to know that the name of our paper has been altered from "**Ukrainian Information Service**" (U.I.S.) to

#### **"UKRAINIAN OBSERVER"**

the present number being the first issue under the new name. We hope to give English speaking readers reliable information and comments on the Ukrainian problem in general and on present conditions in Ukraine behind the Iron Curtain in particular. We are gratified to be able to report that our paper has found many good friends, above all in Anglo-Saxon countries. We shall do our best to maintain the level of the paper and trust that it will continue to have a wide appeal. Our unchangeable ideal being complete liberty and political independence for Ukraine and its separation from Russia and the Soviet Union, we believe that we are making a contribution to the freedom of all peoples and to world peace.

*Publisher & Editors*



sphere of scandal typical of Russians in exile. Reports were rife in Munich of questionable money transactions, of attempts to buy the services of faked "representatives of Russian minorities"; there were some pugilistic encounters; some people boasted openly of non-existent "close connections" with very important American offices, etc.

The idea of creating an antibolshevist, united front of Eastern nations against bolshevism was quite praiseworthy in itself. And it was this idea that was at the bottom of the American part of the plan — "*The American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia*", — under the leadership of Mr. *Eugen Lyons*.

It would have been comparatively easy to purge the European "Council" of undesirable elements. But the fatal weakness of the "Council" lay deeper. It was overcome by the indestructible spirit of Russian imperialism and chauvinism. The Russian did not, and probably never will, understand that it is quite impossible to create such a united front without a reconciliation with the nations oppressed by Moscow. Such a front can be formed only on the basis of complete equality among its parts, and Russians in exile do not concede such equality to the peoples in question. The right of equality includes the inviolable right of the individual nations to a separate existence as independent states. To what extent they would make use of this right under genuinely democratic conditions, could eventually be seen. But the Russians refused to acknowledge this right *even in principle*, and thus exposed the nature of their pretensions to democracy.

It was the "American Committee" however, that committed the most serious error of tactics. Instead of leading and supervising the enterprise themselves, the Americans put all initiative into the hands of 5 "consolidated" Russian "democratic" parties — and waited for marvellous results of a "consolidation" under the leadership of *Alexander Kerensky*. Although the Russians from the very beginning got all their money from America, it was partly amusing, and partly humiliating, to watch their antics. They behaved as if they alone were in charge, as if it was *their* own money they were spending, as if *they* were the bosses, or to use a typically Russian expression, the "khazains", the heads of the house. Equality? American democratic intentions? No, *they*, the Russians invited other nationalities; *they* made the regulations and chose the subjects for discussion at meetings; *they* took it for granted that all concessions — concessions, be it noted — must be due to *their* good will, expressions of *their* grace. This was all founded on the assumption that the Russians would be the master who would condescend to abandon some of his sovereignty.

This kind of "consolidation" was but another, and worse, edition of typical Russian arrogance and imperialism. The Russians have no idea of what a real "round-table conference" is like, where all members are equal. They are ready to take part in a conference only if they are allowed to take the first place, the place due to them as a ruling-nation. *They*, surely, are the masters!

The non-Russian nationalities were quick to notice this and refused to work on such a basis. The Russians sought a way out of the blind alley and tried to put the problem of the representation of the non-Russian nationalities on a commercial basis; this opened the way for disgraceful corruption. "Representatives" of the "nationalities" in question were picked literally out of the gutter. Even Mr. Don Levine, the American protector of the Russians in the "Council" soon saw the quality of the goods which the Russians were offering the Americans. They money stopped and in four months the "Council" was no more.

It is to be hoped that the sponsoring "American Committee" has learnt its lesson and that it will not repeat these mistakes in the future.

### Dollar Millions haunt their Dreams

(U.I.S.) There have recently been disquieting signs that certain groups of Russians in exile are again trying to swindle huge sums out of Americans for a doubtful bargain.

The ear-making of \$ 100,000,000 in the American budget of defence to be used for foreign help, in particular for the support of the struggle being waged against bolshevism by the nations oppressed by Moscow, haunts the dreams of many groups of Russian exiles. They think feverishly about nothing else but how to get hold of this money.

First, an attempt was made to form a "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", an anti-bolshevist front of eastern peoples under Russian leadership. That would surely be a cause worthy of American support. This attempt failed, however, by reason of the resistance of the non-Russian nations concerned, who proved that the "Council" contained Russian imperialists of the deepest dye.

Exiled Russians are now trying another line. It seems that the American funds referred to above are to be used to support resistance to bolshevism that can actually be proved. Now it is well-known that all resistance against bolshevism and Russian imperialism in the Soviet Union is to be found solely on non-Russian territory and that it stops at the frontiers of Great Russia proper. In and after the Revolution, all the battles against bolshevism were fought in non-Russian areas. In Russia proper,

in Muscovy, there has never been anything corresponding to the Ukrainian "U.P.A." or to partisans elsewhere, e. g. the "Basmachi" in Turkestan, the "White Partisans" in Slovakia, the Byelorussian national guerilla troops, etc.

It is nevertheless to be expected that the Russian N.T.S. (Natsionalno Trudovyi Soyuz = National Labour Union), an organization with accentuated fascist leanings will make desperate attempts to create the impression in the West, and particularly in America, that it is an active resistance movement, operating in Russia. Reports are to be spread in the West in support of this claim; in the past, the N.T.S. has already tried to assert that the resistance struggle of the U.P.A. is a Russian (!) movement and proof of their moral strength.

After the collapse of the Russian "Council" a secret conference was held in Hamburg in the middle of January 1952 between Alexander Kerensky, the ex-leader of the "Council", and V. Baydalakov, the leader of the N.T.S. Several of their closest supporters were also present. The purpose of the conference was to draw up a plan whereby Kerensky, who has good connections in the U.S.A., is to help Baydalakov, whose reputation in the same country is not too good, to sell his "resistance stock" in the United States. Baydalakov is to be presented as the "strong man" of "Russian underground" with many connections inside Russia. This, of course, is a fairy tale, as there is no resistance in Russia. But they are counting on the famous credulity of the Americans. In this way they hope to come into possession of the looming American dollars.

### For a Crumb of Bread . . .

(U.I.S.) According to the latest reports from Moscow, Ukraine delivered 90,850,000 pud (1 pud = about 36 lbs.) more wheat to the "beloved Soviet state" in 1951 than in 1950. The soviet government exported a tiny part of this abundance to famine-stricken India. In November 1951, the soviet freighter "Midhurin" unloaded more than 6000 t of Ukrainian wheat in Calcutta harbour. The Soviet press does not mention that Moscow charged high and immediate payment for this delivery of "its" wheat. Nor does it report that in 1951 the United States undertook to give India millions of tons of grain valued at more than 190 million dollars, and that it mobilized a whole fleet of freighters for this purpose.

In spite of this, the Soviet press made great propaganda out of this shabby Moscow delivery. The Soviet Ukrainian versifier, *Pavlo Tychyna*, for instance, (he once was a real poet before he was forced to toe the party line) was ordered to write a poem in honour of the event. Tychyna wrote as ordered, more even, and then de-

Continued on Page 6



# The West is Blind to Facts

By Dr. D. Donzow

According to the New Testament, the blind who *will not* see are the worst: those whose eyes never penetrate beyond the surface, who never see the powers that are hidden now, though they will one day appear in full strength.

Western politicians regard the 1917 Revolution in the Empire of the Romanovs as a *Russian* revolution. Was that actually the case?

When the ex-Tsar Nicolaus was interned in one of his palaces during Kerensky's farcical government, his Ukrainian guard hoisted the national Ukrainian flag one day. The Tsar, when out for a walk asked the commanding officer what nationality the blue and yellow flag represented? "The Ukrainian", was the reply. And the Tsar answered gloomily: "Yes, I owe the loss of my throne to the Ukrainians." It actually was regiments of the guard, soldiers of Ukrainian nationality stationed in Petrograd, who were the first to rebel and who were then joined by the entire garrison. Is this known to anyone in the West?

## Ukraine was the first centre of resistance to Lenin

During the first years of Lenin's tyranny, and of civil war in Russia, the West supported Denikin and Wrangel, tsarist generals. But none of the political leaders of Western Europe noticed that Ukraine was at that time the real centre of resistance, that Ukrainians constituted the bulk of all anti-bolshevist armies, that Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital, the seat of an independent Ukrainian government with its own army, resisted long after Denikin was defeated.

Western politicians were not interested in the reasons for this fact. Why was the national Ukrainian army able to resist Red and White Russians for so long and without any help from outside? No attention was paid in the West to the striking fact that reports in all papers at that time (1917—1920) on the civil war in Russia contained names only of Ukrainian, seldom of Russian towns and that resistance to bolshevism suddenly ceased along the ethnographic frontier between Russia and Ukraine?

## Different Standards

The West did not want to know anything about all this... In 1918, Ukraine made peace with the Central Powers, a fact for which Western "democrats" have not yet pardoned her, though she did it only to save her liberty and organize her strength for the coming attack by Moscow. In 1918, Russia made a separate peace with Germany which the Western "democrats" pardoned very soon, although it was treason on Moscow's part, giving that power time to organize its later fight against the West.

## Events in Ukraine in 1941 and after

In 1941 all the bolshevist armies which consisted of Ukrainian regiments laid down their arms, and the victorious "democrats" in the West cannot forgive Ukraine, although it was Ukrainians who started guerilla warfare against Hitler a year later. In 1939, Stalin formed an alliance with Hitler which these "democrats" forgave completely.

The West seems ready to give Stalin half of Europe and three-quarters of Asia, if he will only leave the small remainder of the free world alone. They forgive him both the cold and the hot war against the West. What they cannot forgive is Ukraine's fight against a despotic Russia. Anyone who dares to engage in such a fight is labelled "fascist" and "nazi" in the "democratic" press. What is it that these politicians are actually defending? The interests of the West? Its Christian culture? Or the interests of the dictators in the Kremlin who have extirpated whole nations? And why is there so little resistance against Russia's friends who masquerade as "democrats" in the West?

## Western Plans after the Collapse of Moscow

As if this were not enough, these Western "democrats" are concerned about the re-erection of their beloved Muscovite dungeon of nations by Kerensky, as soon as the Red regime of Moscow shall have collapsed; they are afraid lest any of the oppressed nations should regain their liberty... Is it not

high time to unmask the "democratic friends" of this monstrous regime? Is it not high time for the West, in its own interest, to support the only power able to annihilate the tyranny of Moscow — the freedom-loving peoples of Europe, including Ukraine?

## Dostoyevsky as Witness

If they don't believe us, they might perhaps believe Dostoyevsky, a real Russian. He knew very well where the Achilles heel of the Russian Empire lay. He writes in one of his books: "The general European ignorance of all that concerns Russia is of great benefit to us. It would not help us at all, if our neighbours were to be more observant. Our great strength up till now came from their ignorance of our affairs. Now, unfortunately, they are beginning to understand us better, and that is dangerous... They are seeing through a lot. Consider only our vast area and our borderlands, populated by non-Russian nations which are increasing in strength from year to year... Consider them and remember our many vulnerable points."

## A Pre-Revolutionary Opinion

Another Russia, B. Chicherin, wrote in 1881, long before the Revolution, a memorandum to the Government, where he says: "We have long, open frontiers on all sides and their people will not always be ready to defend them — Poles, Finns, Germans, Ukrainians, not even Kazan-Tatars. Liberal reforms will open up the question of these nationalities and our bureaucrats will certainly not succeed in uniting the conflicting interests of these peoples and in forming a uniform and great empire, a constitutional Russia."

He was right. It was beyond the power either of liberal Tsars or the "democrat" Kerensky. The Muscovite Empire is dying. But, as Dostoyevsky rightly remarked, the West refuses to notice it; it even wants to revive the dying monster.

*The West will repent its blindness bitterly.*

(A.B.N. Correspondence)



# The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences

## A Great Cultural Achievement of Ukrainians in Exile

By Professor Petro Kurinny, Chairman of the U. V. A. N. Section in Germany

The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (U.A.N.) was founded in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, as a result of the Ukrainian Revolution of Liberation in 1919. Under the regime of Pavlo Skoropadsky, the Ukrainian hetman, the Academy became a state institution. Its foundation was an important sign of the renaissance of intellectual life in Ukraine, for up to the collapse of the Tsar's Empire in 1917, cultural life in Ukraine had been suppressed in accordance with the general and ruthless policy of the All-Russian regime. Russian jingoist imperialism put all possible obstacles in the path of cultural and scientific life in Ukraine. It robbed the country of its scientific leaders and discouraged the study of specifically Ukrainian national needs and problems.

As soon as the fetters of Tsarist imperialism were broken, it soon became clear what valuable intellectual forces were still alive in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences experienced an enthusiastic period of foundation that was all too short. The best scientists both in Eastern and Western Ukraine reported for work. Contacts were formed with many scientific institutions throughout the world and a lively exchange of ideas ensued.

**For a Crumb...** Continued from Page 4

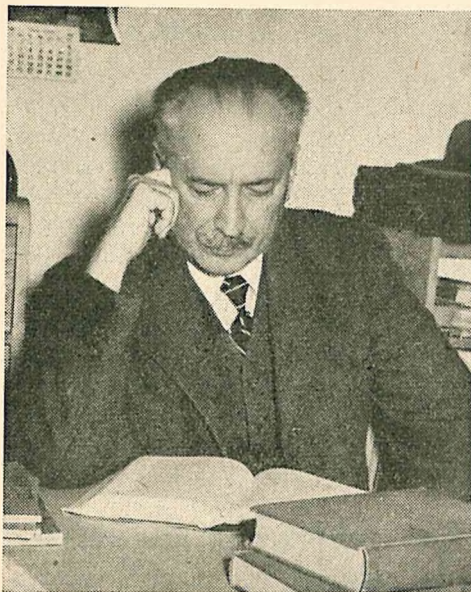
livered a long story in verse to the propaganda office in Moscow. After passing the censor, it appeared in "Radyanska Ukraina" in Kyiv. We reproduce an extract:

"And now the Indians rejoice — hail! hail! It is Stalin who sent us the wheat. O, brothers! What cargoes have arrived! Now there is an end to misery and tears. The Soviet freighter has brought us wheat from the Soviet Union."

So it goes on for lines and lines. It was not sufficient for India to pay cash for the wheat — they are required to pay much more for the "generous help": they are expected to reconstruct the entire state of India and its society. Tydyna "sings":

"And then the Indians thought: Changes? Yes! If the workers in India are to live, both the plants (referring to Michurin's theory of plant-breeding) and the constitution of the state would have to be changed."

And all for 6,000 tons of Ukrainian wheat.



Prof. Dr. D. Doroshenko (1882—1951)  
First President of U.V.A.N.

This activity continued even during the first years of occupation of Ukraine by the bolsheviks. The Academy assumed the name of All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (V.U.A.N.), as a symbol of its interest in the cultural life of all Ukrainians. (After World War I important parts of Ukraine were occupied by Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia.)

The year 1929 marked the zenith of the Academy's life, but also the beginning of severe attacks against it by Russian bolshevism. The Academy was accused of fostering Ukrainian nationalism and of aiming at separating the intellectual life of Ukraine from that of Russia. During the next 4 years (up to 1933), the original staff of the Academy was completely broken up, deported, arrested, transferred or liquidated.

The following statistics show clearly how heavily the hand of Moscow rested on the Academy: archaeology, represented by many first-rate Ukrainian experts, was always on a particularly high level in Kyiv. An All-Soviet Congress of Archaeologists from Febr. 25—28, 1945, was attended by delegates of the following nationalities: Russians — 105, Jews — 11, Ukrainians — 6, Georgians — 6, Armenians — 3, Poles — 3, Byelorussians — 1, Uzbecks — 1, Cossacks — 1, Aserbeijanians — 1, Buryets — 1. But in 1929

there were still 49 Ukrainians in leading positions in charge of many scientific archaeological excavations.

Before its destruction, the Academy had 81 full members and more than 600 scientific collaborators of various rank. It had 71 Chairs, 3 technical-scientific institutes, 1 psycho-technical institute, 1 institute of geography, 1 institute of scientific photography, 1 institute of European culture, 1 institute of philology, 1 institute for research in works by Taras Shevchenko, 7 other institutes of research, 8 special libraries, while it administered and supervised 16 museums.

The bolsheviks gradually changed the character of the Academy. They transformed an institute of research, devoted particularly to Ukrainian culture and history, into a kind of industrial and agricultural college, whose chief function was to train technicians for the material exploitation of Ukraine in the interest of Moscow.

The restrictions placed in Ukraine on intellectual life and true science by Russian bolsheviks, their repudiation of humanism and their materialist philosophy of life and history led at last to the foundation abroad of a Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (U.V.A.N.), — a creation of Ukrainians in exile. The fundamental aim of the U.V.A.N. is to free Ukrainian learning from Russian bolshevist material philosophy. It is a non-political, non-party organization which endeavours to maintain contact with similar scientific organizations throughout the free world. It is based on idealism, on the absolute liberty of conscience and thinking, on religious tolerance and respect for the scientific opinions and convictions of others. The U.V.A.N. regards it as its supreme task to cultivate everything in the province of intellectual and scientific life that is forbidden and practically impossible under the totalitarian regime of Russian bolshevism at home.

The U.V.A.N. was initiated on November 11, 1945 at Augsburg, Bavaria, in order to continue the work of the Kyiv Academy that had been destroyed. The following figures show how membership has increased: in 1945 — 12, 1946 — 92, 1947 — 150, 1950 — 260.



## Ukraine Behind the Iron Curtain

*Moscow's 1952 Program for Ukraine:*

### Russification and Exploitation

(U.I.S.) The end of 1951 saw Ukraine living and slaving under the increasing pressure of Russian imperialism. We do not need to seek proof of this in reports from underground channels; it is obvious from authentic and official soviet publications.

In No. 330 of the "Pravda", for instance, (No. 26, 1951) there is an interesting account of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine. The agenda contained only two points, viz. 1. The unsatisfactory condition of ideological work and party propaganda in Ukraine, and measures for its improvement, and 2. The preparation of the kolkhose, the M.T.S. and the sowkhose in Ukraine in order to achieve maximum production in all branches of agriculture in 1952.

To put it shortly, the communist party in Ukraine was concerned mainly with the facts 1) that Ukraine is not sufficiently Russian and bolshevist, and 2) that it should produce more deliveries for Moscow.

The whip of Moscow's criticism, terrorism and dissatisfaction was in the hands of the secretary of the Central Committee, *L. O. Melnikov*, a Russian, who has been the representative of the regime in Ukraine for the last 3 years. His severe, sometimes devastating, criticism revealed all the problems, dif-

ficulties and the more or less open resistance which Moscow had to meet in Ukraine in 1951.

In connection with the first point on the agenda, the Communist Party of Ukraine was censured for its lack of energy and vigilance in combating "nationalist ideology, political opportunism and cosmopolitanism" although Stalin's demands and instructions were familiar to all communists.

Now, as before, Enemy Nr. 1 was "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism". The following central organizations of cultural life in Soviet Ukraine were subjected in turn to such censure: 1. The Union of Soviet Writers in Ukraine; 2. The Union of Soviet Composers in Ukraine; 3. The Union of Soviet Artists in Ukraine; 4. The All-Ukrainian Academy of Science; 5. The Committee for art in the cabinet of Ukraine and, in addition, a number of leading Soviet Ukrainian newspapers.

Moscow's representative in Ukraine was particularly incensed by the tardy progress in the integration of the language of Soviet Ukraine with Russian. The following is an extract:

"Even today many words are still being deliberately used in papers, magazines and conversation which Ukrainian nationalists have introduced because they do not resemble the corresponding Russian expressions; nationalists

wish to keep the two languages separate. The Ukrainian Academy of Science, the literary institutes and some writers are not sufficiently energetic in freeing the Ukrainian language from the rubbish introduced by bourgeois nationalists."

The various secretaries, who are also heads of departments in the communist organizations were severely criticized for slackness in their sections and for failing to exercise proper supervision.

When Melnikov finished, reports were given by practically all the important functionaries in the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine; there was an orgy of self-criticism and all promised to mend their ways. It was once more decided to fight "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism" to the death. All, one after another, promised to "consolidate the unbreakable bonds between the Ukrainian people and its elder brother, the Russian people". All resolved to draw more freely on "the inexhaustible stores of Russian culture and make them more accessible to Ukraine". In other words, promises were registered to russify Ukrainians more completely and rapidly than ever.

Criticism and resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine in connection with Ukraine's position as regards Soviet imperialism, ran along the same lines. Here, too, faults and sins of omission were confessed and improvement was repentantly promised. Here, too, promises were made of more work, greater pains, bigger harvests, and still

Of those, about 100 work regularly for the Academy.

Research in the U.V.A.N. is divided into 5 departments and 22 sections. The departments are: 1. History and Philosophy; 2. Law and Economics; 3. Natural Sciences; 4. Medicine 5. Mathematics and Technology. During the five years of its existence the Free Academy has held more than 400 lectures.

In consequence of the difficult financial situation in Germany, the headquarters of the U.V.A.N. was transferred in 1950 from Augsburg to Winnipeg, Ont., Canada. The death in 1951 of its co-founder and president, *Prof. Dr. Dmytro Doroshenko*, an eminent Ukrainian historian, was a severe blow for the Free Academy. A new president has not yet been elected. The first vice-president, *Prof. Dr. Leonid Bilecky*, and the secretary, *Prof.*

*Dr. Yaroslav Rudnytsky*, are in Winnipeg.

The U.V.A.N. has branches and institutes in the United States, France, Germany, Argentina, etc. The Slavic Institute and the Shevchenko Institute are in Winnipeg. The Institute of Ukrainian Geography, the Institute of Eastern Europe, the Institute of Archaeology and the Technological Institute work in Munich. In addition, the Free Academy has a number of special institutes, such as the Commission for the Protection of Monuments of Ukrainian Culture, the Ukrainian Archives (with a complete collection of Ukrainian publications which have appeared abroad since the war) and a number of important Ukrainian libraries abroad. It publishes many scientific works; it has printed 73 scientific treatises, including some valuable essays. Lack of funds prevents the Academy from printing

all the results of scientific research that it has collected during the past years, which means that much valuable material, referring in particular to Eastern Europe, cannot be made accessible to those interested.

The Free Academy is financed entirely by the very modest funds supplied by Ukrainians in exile. It has no outside means of support, especially no American resources. But the work and financial sacrifices of these men and women are a very real contribution to the world's struggle against totalitarianism and bolshevism, and its fight for liberty, especially for freedom of thought, conscience and science. Ukrainians in exile are rightly proud of this great achievement. They believe the day will come when the Academy will return to Kyiv, where it will continue its work of teaching and research for Ukraine and humanity as a whole.



## The Russian Master-Nation:

### An Orgy of Russian Jingoism

*A Severe Attack by Moscow's Minion on the Ukrainians University in Lviv*

(U.I.S.) On July 2, 1951 an article appeared in No. 183 of the "Pravda", entitled, "Against Distortions of Ideology in Literature", in which Volodymyr Sosyura, the Ukrainian poet, was severely censured for "Ukrainian nationalistic deviations". The article was more than mere literary criticism. It was the signal for the start of a lengthy anti-Ukrainian campaign launched by Moscow throughout the U.S.S.R. As if by order, a two-day meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine was held a fortnight after the publication of this article, where members vied with each other in long-winded self-criticism and servile fawnings before Moscow. The central committee regretted that it had failed in "bolshivist vigilance" by permitting "this lapse into Ukrainian nationalism".

The most recent of these victims — but certainly not the last — was the Ukrainian University of Lviv, Western Ukraine. On 1. 12. 1951, an article appeared in *Radyanska Ukraina*, entitled "Serious Faults in History Lectures at Lviv University". The article by way of penance to Stalin and Moscow for this sin, anti-nationalist agitation set in, claiming many victims in Ukraine. The most recent of these victims — but certainly not the last —

greater exploitation of the country in order to "provide the soviet fatherland, the beloved soviet state, with the necessary produce it demanded".

The meeting of the communist Central Committee is a kind of preview of the soviet programme for Ukraine in 1952. This programme contains only 2 points for the subjugated territory, namely, *russification* and *exploitation*.

#### Russian Teachers

(U.I.S.) Stepan Nazarchuk, a Ukrainian motor mechanic who works in a motor factory in Lviv, wrote a letter a short time ago to the "Radyanska Ukraina". Or rather, as is always the case, a "suggestion" was put to him to write such a letter. Mr. Stepan Nazarchuk writes that he "is happy to be a co-owner of the factory, to forge his own luck". He adds "here we have Russians, Georgians and Byelorussians, people of different nationalities, but all like brothers". So far, good. And then the rub comes. "The Russians are our best friends, there are many of them — Alexander Perfilov, Ivan Ssokin, Timofey Chyrov, Semyon Vestrybov, etc. They *teach* us how we have to live and work for the welfare of our Soviet Fatherland."

was the Ukrainian University of Lviv, Western Ukraine. On 1. 12. 1951, an article appeared in *Radyanska Ukraina*, entitled "Serious Faults in History Lectures at Lviv University". The article was signed by Comrades L. Kizia, A. Korniychuk, and K. Stetsiuk. These names are significant as being those of the first comrades to get a ribbing from the Central Committee (published by the "Pravda" in July 1951). To wash their own slate clean and give proof of their reliability and loyalty, they now denounce others. Denunciation in the press is so characteristic of present life in Ukraine that it is worth while giving details. We quote:

"The lectures on the history of the Soviet Union and Ukraine at Lviv University are far below the requisite level as regards political theory; they do not satisfy the demands of a university course. The lecturers (Aladkin, Herbytski, Ossechnyisky, Tsybko, Hladkivsky, Horbatiuk, etc.) neglect or merely touch on problems which ought to educate students in the spirit of live-giving soviet patriotism and of our fatherland's great friendship of peoples. It is not made sufficiently clear to students that the Ukrainian people owes these achievements to the beloved soviet state, to the help of the great Russian people, the bolshevist party and the mighty Stalin. The reactionary and aggressive nature of Anglo-Saxon

imperialism is not sufficiently stressed. There is not enough connection between the lectures and the facts of the construction of socialism, particularly in Western Ukraine . . . In particular, Professor Aladkin, who lectures on the history of Ukraine, has omitted to lay bare the bourgeois, nationalistic nature of the historical theory of M. Hrushevsky and his school . . . Professor Ossechnyisky found it necessary to present to his students the smallest details of the counter-revolutionary views of every nationalistic, bourgeois Ukrainian historian, he quotes long extracts from their rubbish; in this most reprehensible way he creates a platform for the enemy . . . The degree papers do not contain themes dealing with the aggression of Anglo-Saxon imperialism and the criminal activity of its Ukrainian nationalistic and bourgeois minions . . . There is a lack of a healthy spirit of fighting; no attempt is made to lay bare hostile ideology, especially that of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism."

The article closes with a summary of the best way of meeting those failings. "The inspired works of Comrade Stalin on Philology must be the basis of a proper view of the history of Ukraine, works which have contributed greatly to the astounding progress of soviet science, which were, indeed, a milestone on that great highway."

The organs of the M.G.B. are sure to have received more severe instructions to remedy these failings. No such censure is ever passed on a *Russian* university. It is only in non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. that science and culture is attacked by Moscow in an orgy of Russian jingoism.

### Taras Shevchenko was "discovered" by the Russians

(U.I.S.) What wonderful fellows the Russians are we learn at last now that the Communist Party has revealed all their abilities and virtues. We have learnt, for instance, that Russians were the first to invent the aeroplane, the steam-engine, the automobile, the telephone, the submarine, and God knows what else. They founded bacteriology, discovered the viruses of most diseases, their surgeons were pioneers, etc., etc.

It is natural in view of these epoch-making inventions and cultural achievements that the Russians should also have discovered Taras Shevchenko and made him great. If there were no Russians, there would be no great Shevchenko. This is the conclusion anybody would come to who read the exalted notices in the soviet press on the first performance in Moscow of the coloured film, "Taras Shevchenko".

Two such notices appeared lately in "Radyanska Ukraina" and "Vilna Ukraina". Even the titles are character-

istic: "Thanks to the Lenin-Stalin-Party" and "Hail to the Russian People!" We quote:

"Our hearts overflow with unspeakable pride in our great soviet people and in the wise party of Stalin and Lenin when we see this fantastically beautiful film full of poetry . . ." the poet M. Stelmakh writes. "And if our people can be justly proud of the great Taras Shevchenko we must express our warmest thanks to Lenin and Stalin's party and to the Soviet power." (Shevchenko lived from 1814—1861, at a time, that is, when there was not a sign of Lenin-Stalin or of such a party). "With a father's love the soviet power and the party have preserved the works of our great poet and have purged them (!) of the blots that the foul hands of Ukrainian nationalists made on them."

In the other notice, Iryna Kyrychenko writes: "The film shows the friendship between Taras Shevchenko and the leading representatives of the great



Russian people... when we look at this film, our heart overflows with pride in our Russian brothers who have rescued Taras Shevchenko for us and have helped him to climb the peak of genius. That was the work of leading Russians... Thanks to our Russian brothers, Shevchenko and his great poems have been preserved for the Ukrainian people... When we come out of the cinema, we feel like shouting "Hail to the Russian people!"

Thanks to our Russian brothers? Yes, Shevchenko was by birth the serf of a big Russian landowner in Ukraine, and liberated by him in his 18th year in return for 1,000 roubles. It was the Russian Tsar who signed with his own hand his sentence, when he was 36, to punitive military service for his "rebellious ideas". For ten years Russian sergeants and officers drilled him in exile and only let him go in 1850 when, at 46, he was an old, broken man. It was the Russian government that prohibited the publication of his poems for years and punished severely their circulation as manuscripts among the Ukrainian people. These are hard facts.

In spite of all this, Moscow asserts today that it was the Russians who saved Shevchenko's life and work, and helped him "to greatness, to the peak of fame". We often wonder what bolshevism is? This is Russian bolshevism.

## Ukrainian Opera in Moscow

*Russians alter Ukrainian History  
to Suit themselves*

(U.I.S.) Russian imperialists give themselves great trouble to convince their subjugated peoples of their everlasting friendship. A short time ago the Stanislavsky Theatre in Moscow decided to produce "The Zaporog Cossacks Beyond The Danube", one of the most popular Ukrainian operas in the 19th century. The libretto was written by M. Kostomariv, a Ukrainian historian. It describes scenes from the life of the Ukrainian Zaporog Cossacks and their courageous wars of liberation from Russia. As these historical facts did not suit the Russians, the management of the theatre in Moscow decided to alter entirely the Ukrainian history presented. An article in the "Literaturnaya Gazetta", a Moscow paper, dated January 10, 1952, describes what this classical Ukrainian opera looks like on a Moscow stage:

"The music by S. Hulak-Artemowsky is inspired by ardent patriotism. But the old libretto, the work of the historian, M. Kostomariv, is full of distortions of historical facts that are anti-patriotic and nationalistic in nature. — The management of the theatre has not changed the colourful music, but it commissioned G. Shipov to write a new

libretto... In the new version, the deeds of the Zaporog Cossacks have an internal logical truth and are organically connected with the music, which greatly enhances the power of the final scene, "The Cossacks' Prayer". Here the Zaporog Cossacks pray to their Russian liberators, to the people which is bound for ever to the Ukrainian people by indestructible bonds of friendship."

The events of the new libretto take place in the years 1828 and 1829. According to Moscow, Ukraine regarded the Russians as liberators in the first half of the 19th century and worshipped them in gratitude. In works by Western Europeans who travelled in Ukraine in the first half of the 19th century, however, we read that then, as now, all Ukrainians regarded the Russians as their oppressors, and that "the hatred of Ukrainians for Russians is increasing". (See e. g. the book by J. G. Kohl, a German historian, "The Ukraine. Little Russia", Dresden 1841, pp. 315—316.)

The extract from the Moscow paper shows how brazenly Russians falsify the history of Ukraine. Such forgeries have been common for centuries, so it is little wonder that the outside world should be so ill informed about the Ukrainian people.

\*

## "The Most Rabid Fiends"

*Ukrainian Nationalists are Regarded  
as Enemy No. 1.*

(U.I.S.) At the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine on November 25, 1951, details of which are given on another page of this issue, Leonid O. Melnikov, the Russian secretary of the organization, gave an address from which we quote:

"The bourgeois of Ukraine and their nationalistic prophets are, and always were the detestable agents of foreign imperialism, the most rabid, blood-thirsty enemies of the Ukrainian nation. They have always tried to separate the Ukrainian people from its closest ally, its best friend, its older brother, the Russian people, and to isolate Ukrainian from Russian culture. These nationalistic bloodhounds have always been particularly ruthless in their antagonism to leninism, the greatest product of Russian culture. But the power of the soviet state, the indestructible friendship between Russia and Ukraine, our eternal alliance, will trample the poisonous viper of Ukrainian nationalism to death." — Such is culture!

## Ukrainians at the Meeting of the "Union of European Youth"

(Y.Z.P.) The German organizations of the above European Union sent delegates to a meeting that was held in the House of European Youth at Marienberg (Westerwald) 17.—19. Dec. 1951. The purpose of the meeting was to work out directives and set up conditions for cooperation with different national groups of exiles from Eastern Europe. Guest delegates included representatives of various German youth organizations, one Bulgarian, two representatives of the Russian N.T.S. and one representative of the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.). Graf Werthern, who was in charge of proceedings, opened the meeting with a speech that outlined the problems to be discussed. He stressed the following points:

1) Opposition to the formation of national big states, such, for instance, as Great Hungary, Great Poland and Great Ukraine, etc.;

2) Opposition to all "nationalism" and "separatism" as lending support to the thesis of the invincibility of the Red Army, the Party and the People;

3) The necessity for distinguishing between *Russians* and *communists*. He said that it was essential to make some sort of beginning to found a United Europe and that negotiations should start with exiled representatives of national states as they existed in 1937 (!).

In the ensuing discussion on the problem of a United Europe and Ukraine, the Ukrainian representative stated that Ukraine had never cherished imperialist aspirations and that, therefore, the term, "Great Ukraine" was out of place. He thought that opposition should be directed in the first instance against the imperialist claims of various groups of exiles and less against so-called "nationalisms" and "separatisms". The Ukrainian representative emphasized that, culturally and psychologically, Ukraine belonged to Europe and that it would be decisively important for that continent's economy if Ukraine became part of the Union of Europe.

The meeting terminated with the appointment of a "Commission for All-European Cooperation", consisting of Graf Werthern, representing Germany, the Bulgarian and one delegate from the Russians. The Ukrainian representative protested against any attempts by the Russian to represent Ukraine or speak on her behalf. He also said that it was not at all in the interest of the cause of Europe and the idea of a United Europe to disregard for reasons of "political tactics" a nation which is still fighting for existence against bolshevism.

Continued on Page 13



# January 22, 1918 and 1919

## Two Memorable Dates in Ukrainian Modern History

By Z. Poray

Every year Ukrainians in the free world celebrate a double event on January 22. Firstly, they commemorate the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine and its secession from Russia (January 22, 1918). Secondly, they celebrate the proclamation of the union of all Ukrainian ethnic territories in one state (January 22, 1919). The following recapitulation may illustrate the significance of those two dates.

### The Partition of Ukraine

Up to the outbreak of World War I, Ukraine, against the will of its people, had been divided into two. Russia owned by far the greater part, about 85% of the total Ukrainian territory, with about 40 million inhabitants. The remaining 15% of Ukrainian territory, with more than 5 million inhabitants, belonged to the Empire of Austria-Hungary, and comprised Eastern Galicia, Carpatho-Ukraine and North Bukovina.

### "Russian" Ukraine

The outbreak of revolution in Russia in March 1917 released social and national revolutionary movements in that part of Ukraine. On March 17, 1917, the *Ukrainian Central Council* was established in Kyiv on a broad, democratic basis, as the representative body of all political parties and social classes of the country. Prof. Mykhailo Hrushevsky was elected President of the Central Council, which was considered to be the *revolutionary parliament* of Ukraine. Intoxicated with joy at the fall of the abhorred autocratic regime of the Tsars and with the democratic and liberal ideas of the early revolutionary period, the Ukrainian Central Council did not immediately sever the bonds uniting the country to Russia. In the light of the socialist and liberal doctrines that swayed this parliament, it seemed possible to lead a free life in federal union with the other peoples of the former imperium.

### All Russians Are Imperialists

This proved to be a false hope. The Russians, the ruling nation in the imperium, even when disguised as democrats, had no intention of allowing the other nations to lead a free life. Oppression by the Tsars was succeeded by democratic, Russian nationalist and imperialist tyranny. The great country was, as before, to be centrally governed from Petersburg or Moscow. Stern measures were taken to suppress national liberation movements among the non-Russian nations that had been sub-

jugated up till then, particularly Ukraine. One of the most intolerant and chauvinist leaders at that time was Mr. Alexander Kerensky, the notorious Prime Minister in the "democratic" Provisional Government at Petersburg.

### Four Historical Messages

Increasing Russian pressure produced corresponding counter-pressure from the

frame-work of a Federal Republic of all former nations of the Empire. The proclamation of an independent republic was Ukraine's direct answer to the bolshevist coup of November 11, 1917 in Petersburg. Ukraine knew too well what the consequences of this seizure of power by the bolsheviks would be for the world, and immediately set up a defence. As was to be expected, the bolshevist at once made a war of aggression on Ukraine. But it is much more important to note that this Message expressed a desire long cherished by the Ukrainian people to be master in its own state and of its own fate.

On January 22, 1918, the "Fourth Message" of the Ukrainian Central



The Proclamation of the integration of Ukrainian territories into one independent sovereign state, in Kyiv, Jan. 22, 1919.

non-Russians nations. This found expression in Ukraine in *four historical messages or proclamations* issued by the Ukrainian Central Council (the so-called "Four Universals"). With increasing energy and decision these proclaimed the will of Ukraine, first for autonomy, then for complete independence.

The "First Message" of the Central Council to the Ukrainian people appeared on June 23, 1917; it announced that "from now on, Ukraine will strive to realize its national aims independently".

On July 16, 1917, the "Second Message" appeared, announcing an agreement between Ukraine and Kerensky's Provisional Government with regard to autonomy for Ukraine.

### Re-establishment of the Ukrainian State

On November 20, 1917, the "Third Message" was issued by the Central Council, announcing that "Ukraine is herewith constituted an independent national republic", but still in the

Council was issued proclaiming Ukraine's full sovereignty as a national republic and her separation from Russia. This put the coping stone on a structure which had been planned for generation.

For Ukrainians it was not essential that the young Ukrainian state was not able to withstand the attacks of bolshevist hordes for more than 2 years. It is first of all the *idea* behind the Fourth Message that matters. When free Ukrainians throughout the world celebrate January 22, 1918, they thereby renew the oath expressed in the 4<sup>th</sup> Message to strive and fight until Ukraine's freedom, sovereignty and political integrity is assured. For Ukrainians there is no abandonment of the principles of this Message.

January 22, 1919 is a date of equal importance to Ukrainians.

We must revert here for a moment to the history of the *Austrian* part of Ukraine. As already mentioned, there were more than 5 million Ukrainians, mostly on their ethnic territory, in the



empire of Austria-Hungary. This empire collapsed on November 1, 1918, and all the nations in it quarrelled about the succession. Ukrainian claims to the territory inhabited mainly by Ukrainians were disputed by Poles, Czechs, Hungarians and Rumanians. The Ukrainians did not wait to be attacked, but erected the independent state of Western Ukraine in Lviv, its capital, on November 1, 1918, including, in the first place, the area of Eastern Galicia. They soon found themselves involved in bitter conflict with Poland, though there was only a small minority of Poles in Galicia.

#### *Two Ukrainian States*

There were therefore at the turn of the year 1918/19 *two Ukrainian states* in Eastern Europe: 1. the Eastern State, the *Ukrainian National Republic* (U.N.R.), on what had been Russian territory, with *Kyiv* as its capital; 2. the Western State, the *West-Ukrainian National Republic* (Z.U.N.R.), on what had been Austrian territory, with *Lviv* as its capital. This division was to a great degree the result of considerations of foreign policy. As Austrian successor states, Eastern Galicia, Carpatho-Ukraine and North Bukovina were subordinate after November 1, 1918 to the Allied and Associated Powers in Paris. The Ukrainians based their hopes of recognition of the independence of sovereignty of the West Ukrainian state by the High Allies in Paris on the right of peoples to self-determination (Wilson's Fourteen Points). As Eastern Ukraine was not subordinate to the Allies in Paris, it would only have complicated the situation to unite the two sections of the country at that time.

#### *Rejection by the West*

It was soon obvious, however, that the West was not inclined to support Ukrainians in their just fight for liberation. On the contrary, the West supported Poland; France even helped the Poles to equip their army against Ukraine (the so-called "Haller-Army"). But the feeling of national unity among Ukrainians proved stronger and more spontaneous than all constitutional and international considerations. Yielding to the pressure of public opinion, the Parliaments of the two Ukrainian Republics formed one state, thus re-uniting Ukrainian territories that had been separated for centuries.

#### *A Holy Oath*

This union was solemnly celebrated on January 22, 1919 in *Kyiv*, the capital of the now united Ukraine. The text of the union was read to a huge and enthusiastic crowd before the Cathedral of St. Sophia. It marked a climax in the tragic struggle for liber-

## K r u t y a Ukrainian Thermopylae

*In Memory of January 30, 1918*

(U.S.) Thermopylae, the Greek pass between the Callidromas range and the sea, has become a symbol for courageous defence. It was there that 300 Spartans fell fighting against Persian invaders in the year 480 B. C., setting up a standard of patriotic heroism and manly devotion to a great ideal. Though every one of them fell, the barbarian, the Persian king, was held up and Greece remained free.

The Ukrainian people may with pride record a new Thermopylae in the blood-stained pages of its modern history. We recall events: On January 22, 1918 the Ukrainian Central Council, the national parliament of Ukraine proclaimed the sovereignty of the Ukrainian national state.

Russian bolsheviks, who had seized power 6 weeks previously, on November 11, 1917 in St. Petersburg, immediately set about restoring the united Russian imperium and ruthlessly attacked Ukraine after its declaration of independence.

Trotsky sent bolshevik troops to quell "rebellious Ukraine", one of the first being that under Col. *Muravyev*, a Muscovite, who attacked *Kyiv*, the capital. *Muravyev* had about 7—8000 men under him, mostly Russian sailors from war-ports on the Baltic, chiefly from Cronstadt. In those confusing days of revolution, this was a troop of some size.

On January 28, 1918 — 6 days after Ukraine's declaration of independence — a report reached the commander of

ation that has cost Ukrainians for centuries so much blood and so many tears. In addition to the oath of January 22, 1918, when the Ukrainian people swore that they would never again give up their independence as a state, a year later the people, on January 22, 1919 swore that they would never allow their country to be divided again. Although Poles, Czechs, Hungarians and Rumanians stole bits of Ukraine in the period from 1918 till 1923, the oath still held and will hold for ever.

It is clear now why Ukrainians throughout the whole free world celebrate January 22. This is for them a solemn state festival; it is observed everywhere, even Underground in Soviet Ukraine, under the eyes of Russian bolshevik dictators. January 22 is for free Ukrainians what July 4 is for Americans and July 14 for Frenchmen. It is a date whose glory will illumine many centuries to come.

*Kyiv* that *Muravyev* was rapidly approaching the town from the north-east. Just then the town had no experienced Ukrainian troops, for all such had been sent to the front some 3—4 weeks previously.

There were plenty soldiers of a kind in the town — fragments of all sorts of units, all manner of adventurers, a mixture of 20 Russian nationalities — people for whom "revolution" meant endless meetings, speeches, lounging in the streets, or worse, robbing and pillaging and violation of women. Fight? Defend the country and its capital against bolshevism? Fight for the nation's freedom? No! The mob knew nothing about bolshevism. For it, *Muravyev* was merely one of the many war-lords who were parading the country then.

But there was one group in the town which realized what was at stake, the two hundred odd cadets at the Ukrainian Military Academy, young lads, 16 to 19 years old, not yet fully trained as soldiers. There were also some sections of the Ukrainian students' militia, composed of students at the University, the Technical College, the Academy of Art. They were to have formed the Students' Battalion, the so-called *Sich Snipers*; but there was no time to realize this plan.

The troop that went out to meet *Muravyev*, then, numbered little over 300, mostly semi-trained soldiers. In the first hours of dawn on January 30, 1918 they came into contact with *Muravyev's* outposts at *Kruty*, a station on the line between *Kyiv* and *Bakhmach*. 130 km from the capital. Unprepared, untrained, badly equipped, they opened battle, though they knew from the outset that they could not win.

The spirit in the weak, often bovish bodies of the 300 was astonishing. They fought with whatever was in their hands. They did not yield, and wave upon wave of the enemy broke on their resistance. In spite of a superiority that was more than twenty-fold, *Muravyev* was held back for almost a day by the little band of Ukrainian students at *Kruty*. — a fact that confounded professional soldiers and strategists. The Ukrainians slew thousands of Russians, fighting sometimes with bayonets, sometimes with knives.

Finally the overwhelming superiority of the Russians broke through to the undefended, unhappy town of *Kyiv*.

All the 300 were left lying on the field of honour; not one surrendered, not one was taken prisoner. Ukrainians



## Col. O. Hasyn-Lytsar, Chief of Staff of U.P.A.

*The Third Anniversary of his Death in Action*

(U.I.S.) When once the history of the Ukrainian army comes to be written, the year 1907 will not be missing from its annals. For it was in that year that two of the leaders of the liberation struggle were born.

One was General Taras Chuprynka, Commandant of the U.P.A. and the other, Col. Oleska Hasyn-Lytsar, his Chief Staff Officer, who was born on July 8, 1907 in Koniukhiw, in the district of Stry, Western Ukraine.

Both met a similar end, fighting in the great struggle of the Ukrainian people for liberation. Col. Oleska Hasyn-Lytsar fell on 31. 1. 1949, and Gen. Taras Chuprynka on 5. 3. 1950. Let us take time on the third anniversary of the former's death to dwell for a little on the sacrifice he made for his great ideal of freedom.

Even as a boy Oleska Hasyn showed signs of unusual gifts. He was sent to a classical high school from which he graduated in 1928. From there he went to the Polish army and finished his course at the Officers' Training College, second in his year. His character is summed up in the secret records of the school, as follows: "Gifted beyond the average, with an extraordinary talent for orientation. Qualified for service with all types of arms. He should be watched, as his hobby (probably for underground purposes) is military strategy." This gives an excellent idea of the native gifts and preferences of one who was later to become a brilliant officer.

In 1930 he was discharged from the army and was soon afterwards arrested by the Polish authorities for "intriguing with Ukrainian liberation circles". While he was in prison he got to know other leaders in the organization of

Ukrainian nationalists, such as Zenon Kossak, Dmytro Hrytsay and Wasyl Tyzhkowsky. Stepan Bandera, the present leader of the O.U.N. was the friend of his boyhood. After his



release he began to study at the Technical College, occupying himself at the same time with the military section of the underground movement.

After the great mass-arrests in 1935 to 1936, which took heavy toll of the executives of the O.U.N., representing the army and the organization section. In 1938 Colonel Evhen Konowalcz appointed him to the army staff in the headquarters of the O.U.N., where he finished the course for staff officers as a first lieutenant.

In 1940-41 he worked as an office-bearer in the O.U.N. along with Roman

make no difference between officers and privates — all are heroes, no matter their rank. These young soldiers gave an example of patriotism and fearlessness, of devotion to duty and contempt for death that will perhaps never be paralleled.

In contrast to the Greek Termopylae, the barbarians did sweep through Ukraine in January 1918. But they could not subjugate the country. Though dead, the 300 heroes of Kruty continued to live and inspire their fellow-countrymen. Their memory, particularly among young Ukrainians can never be stamped out, in spite of all the efforts of Stalin, the M.G.B. in spite of terrorism and lies. At Kruty the Russians, the bolsheviks, suffered a moral defeat from which they will never recover in Ukraine.

January 30, 1918 has become a day of remembrance for all Ukrainian youth, for students in particular. Kruty has inspired whole generations of young Ukrainians, influencing all their thoughts and actions. The legend of Kruty is passed from mouth to mouth, from mother to child, from friend to friend, and it grows with the passing years. It is something the Russians cannot stand against the wall and shoot dead.

These 300 have not died. They are alive; they increase a hundred- and a thousandfold; they are reborn with every Ukrainian. There were but 300, but they are so strong that one day they will heat the Russian imperium in all its power. They did not die in vain. Through their victory at Kruty Ukraine will live.

Shukhevych who, as Gen. Taras Chuprynka was to become his superior officer.

In the very first year of the German occupation he was arrested by the Gestapo, but was liberated shortly afterwards by members of the O.U.N. From 1943 on, he worked on the staff of the U.P.A. and organized a permanent officers' training college in the Carpathians. In 1946 he succeeded General Dmytro Hrytsay (fell in action on 19. 2. 1945) as chief of the staff in the U.P.A., a post he held until his death in battle. During those years he was faced with the difficult task of working out the new tactics and different methods of fighting rendered necessary by the increasing terrorism of the M.G.B. and the M.W.D. In 1947 he was again one of the office-bearers of the O.U.N. and was on January 22, 1948 he was promoted to the rank of colonel by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.).

During all these years, Colonel O. Hasyn was engaged in hard fighting against all the oppressors of his beloved native country. He never shrank from danger, but fought always in the front ranks, setting an example to his soldiers in their difficult circumstances. All who knew him gave glowing reports of his character. He was brave and loyal, ready for every sacrifice, living up to the ideals of his old scout troop, a hero whom young Ukrainians worshipped.

That is why the news of his death on 31. 1. 1949 near the Central Post Office in Lviv, where he was surprised by superior numbers of the M.G.B., was such a blow for the Ukrainian people. Unfortunately we have few details. The bulletin from headquarters runs: "Shooting at the M.G.B. men who were pursuing him, he fell in action in the streets of Lviv on 31. 1. 1949."

This man with his short, crowded life in the service of Ukraine, his 20 years of work as a soldier, a revolutionary and a nationalist, is a symbol of fighting Ukraine.

We cannot yet hold memorial services in his honour or write an exhaustive account of his life; an adequate appreciation of his personality must be left to future generations. Ukrainians today can think of him only in silence and derive fresh courage for their struggle from his great energy and self-sacrifice. They can still copy his example whose epitaph is: *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*

**For God, and a free Home!  
For Freedom  
of the Subjugated!**



# UKRAINIANS ABROAD

## Our Youth:

### Fourth Congress of Ukrainian Youth Association (S. U. M)

(U.I.S.) At the Fourth Congress of the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.), which was held in Brussels from January 26—29, 1952, many problems common to the youth of all nations were discussed. The Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M)\* has branches in 14 different countries and a total membership of over 8000. It is the biggest Ukrainian youth organization outside the frontiers of Ukraine and is fully aware of its responsibilities.

One of the main problems the Congress had to decide was where the Association's headquarters was to be. The final choice was London, where conditions are at present more favourable than elsewhere. Other meetings were concerned with the organization of young Ukrainians who leave Europe for overseas.

The aims of Ukrainian youth can still be summed up under the device, "God and Home"; their most characteristic spiritual feature is their Christian faith. The other dominant value, "home", expresses the relationship of young Ukrainians to the concept, nation. At the Congress ample proof was given of the spiritual unity of those who are fighting at home and young Ukrainians abroad. The same spirit is alive in the various branches of the Association; scattered though they are, the bonds uniting them are strong and everywhere they plead the cause of their enslaved country.

The Central Committee of the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.) is particularly concerned with satisfying their members' intellectual needs, as is shown by the great number of papers and publications which they edit. In connection with these efforts, one of the most important institutions is the Ukrainian Institute for Adult Education. The lectures held there on history, Ukrainian literature and social problems are intended to give young Ukrainians an idea of the importance of their home and the significance of independence.

As regards the position of the Ukrainian Youth Association towards other youth organizations, it is interested in all associations based on Christianity and democracy that respect the freedom of the individual and of nations.

The Ukrainian Youth Association has

always cooperated with such societies and has done its best to keep young people in the free world informed about Eastern Europe and Ukraine in particular. Its representatives testified their loyalty to Europe and to the ideal of freedom at the Congress of the World Assembly of Youth in Ithaca, U.S.A., then the Youth Congress in West Berlin, and the meetings of the Association of European Youth on Lorely Rock and Marienberg (Westerwald), Germany.

Ukrainian youth gave repeated witness to their lofty ideals, in spite of constant obstruction from the Western

World. The Ukrainian Youth Association has nevertheless attempted to work with other youth organizations and to enlighten them about what is actually happening beyond the iron curtain and particularly in Ukraine. Their efforts have been partly successful, in spite of frequent disappointments that make it hard for young people to cooperate with enthusiasm.

Nevertheless, it was resolved that the Ukrainian Youth Association should continue its efforts on behalf of all young Ukrainians to bring the problem of Ukraine before the Western world. *Mr. Oleksa Kalynnyk* was once more elected President of the Central Committee of the S.U.M. The Central Committee is composed of 11 members and the 14 presidents of the local branches in particular countries who are thus kept in close contact with each other. It is hoped that this will ensure helpful cooperation and the exchange of ideas in this world-wide organization.

### Sixteenth Congress of the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (C. E. S. U. S.)

(U.I.S.) Delegates from the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (C.E.S.U.S.) met in *Louvain, Belgium* from January 26—28. This Congress of the Ukrainian students' organisation with old traditions and comprising Ukrainian student unions throughout the world, was faced with new tasks.

Ukrainian students are scattered all over the world and their situation calls for centralization to enable them to play their part as emigrés. They can devote themselves to their studies in a measure denied to those who have to live in the home-country.

The 16th Congress of the Central Union of Ukrainian Students, attended by delegates from Ukrainian students' unions all over the world, devoted itself to discussing most urgent students' problems of today.

The retiring office-bearers were thanked for the work they had done, special mention being made of the Foreign Section of the organization and its Chairman, *Zenon R. Wynnytsky*. Thanks to the devoted cooperation of Ukrainian students, the organization did much to support the struggle of all Ukrainians for freedom. It has won a recognized position in the life of students' world organization.

At various international meetings, representatives of the Central Union of Ukrainian Students have shown that they are interested in the problems of students in the free world, and they are justified in hoping that their particular problems, above all those of Ukrainian students who are still studying under Russian tyranny, will meet

sympathy and understanding in the free world.

It was pointed out that the first problem a Ukrainian student has to face is the importance of a free and independent Ukraine. It is the duty of every Ukrainian student to prove to the world, and above all to youth in free countries, that the idea of the *Universitas* is cherished by Ukrainian students as well as by their colleagues in other countries.

It will be the task of the 12 new office-bearers under the newly elected president, *Dr. Vassyl Markus*, to carry on the great traditions of the organization; it will above all endeavour to show the Western World that Ukrainian students will devote their knowledge and their gifts first of all to the great fight for freedom now being waged by the entire Ukrainian nation.

### Ukrainians at the Meeting ...

Continued from Page 9

Thereupon the name of the commission was altered to the "Commission for the preparation of All-European Cooperation," thus emphasizing its provisional character. The Ukrainians were also requested to submit a statement in writing in the near future.

From the above it is obvious that the problem of a United Europe and its relation to the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe are still being presented in a false light. *We maintain that a United Europe can be realized only on the basis of the sovereignty of individual nations.*

\* For further information about S.U.M., see the December (1951) issue of "Ukrainian Information Service" Vol. III. No. 12.



## Canada

### "Break the Neck of the Commune"!

(U.I.S.) On November 22, 1951 Mr. John Yaremko, a young Canadian of Ukrainian origin was elected a member of the provincial parliament of Ontario province. It is not an event of overwhelming importance, but nevertheless it is characteristic of the ways and means of fighting bolshevism with success. Mr. Yaremko stood as a Conservative candidate for a constituency in Toronto, the capital of the Province, which for decades had been represented by a Red member completely under Moscow's thumb. The motto of Mr. Yaremko's campaign was "Break the Neck of the Commune!" Many of his constituents were Ukrainians, old Canadian immigrants who had long lost all connection with their old home and who believed the communist propaganda about a new and free life in Soviet Ukraine. The candidate had to win those people back for the cause of true freedom and democracy. For weeks there was a bitter struggle between the "Nationals" and the "Reds" and it was not only a seat in parliament that was at stake. The Ukrainian candidate stood for nationalism and received energetic support from anti-bolshevist Poles, Lithuanians, Slovaks, Latvians and Czechs. The solidarity of these nations paid and the red candidate was well beaten. When the chairman of the conservative party in Ontario Province congratulated Mr. Yaremko on his hard won victory, he threw the red flag at his feet, saying: "You have at last torn this flag down from the stronghold of the Commune in our town." The result of the election was also influenced by the Ukrainian DPs who have emigrated to Canada during the last 5 years. They know bolshevism and nobody can cheat them. Yaremko's successful campaign proves that communism can be overcome if properly tackled.

## Germany

### Third Conference of the Union of Ukrainian Students

(U.I.S.) The Third Conference of the Union of Ukrainian Students in Germany was held in Munich on January 13, 1952. This organization is concerned above all with the welfare of needy students in Germany and is the in legal representative.

The retiring committee had done its work to the satisfaction of all. It helped many needy students to bursaries and grants-in-aid for their studies. Conditions for young Ukrainian students are particularly difficult in Germany. The retiring committee under Dr. H. Vaskovych had done its best to estab-

lish good relations with German student organizations. Useful contacts from various discussions together in an atmosphere of helpful cooperation.

The newly elected office-bearers will continue to support the Ukrainian students still in Germany to the best of their ability. Of these, there are about 160 and each of them knows that his welfare is the concern of the Union.

## Great Britain

### General Meeting of Ukrainian Students

(U.I.S.) The annual general meeting of the Union of Ukrainian Students (U.U.S.) in Great Britain was held on December 23, 1951 at 49 Linden Gardens, London, the premises of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain. Twenty-eight delegates took part, representing the seventy Ukrainians students who studied at different universities and colleges in Great Britain in 1951.

In his report, Mr. V. Svoboda, the president, emphasized that the U.U.S. had made particular efforts in the course of 1951 to enter into close contact with British students. The National Union of Students of England, Wales and North Ireland (N.U.S.) recognized the U.U.S. as the body representing Ukrainian students in Great Britain. Delegates from the U.U.S. had been present at two general meetings of the N.U.S. and had thus had an opportunity of discussing common problems.

It should be mentioned that the office-bearers of the U.U.S. succeeded in gaining admittance to British Universities for all properly qualified Ukrainians and in securing bursaries for them. It was decided to urge other young Ukrainians in England to prepare themselves for such study.

The U.U.S. expressed its heartiest thanks to the "Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain" and to the Visitor of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Great Britain for their great help, without which they could never have reached their aims. The U.U.S. is interested in increasing the number of Ukrainians studying at British universities, and thus create spiritual bonds between Ukraine and Great Britain. Ukraine knows little about the English, or their history and culture, not having had much contact with Great Britain in recent years.

Mr. V. Svoboda was re-elected president of the U.U.S. He is assisted in office by Mr. S. Levytsky who is responsible for relations with the N.U.S. and with British student life in general.

## Spain

### Ukrainian National Life

(U.I.S.) There is at present a Ukrainian community in Spain consisting of some families and 30 students at various university faculties and technical colleges. Madrid is the headquarters of the "Obnova", the organization of Catholic Ukrainian students throughout the world. Students receive bursaries from the "Obra Catolica de Asistencia Universitaria" (O.C.A.U.) and are thus enabled to continue their studies. At first, little was known about Ukraine in Spain. But these students gradually aroused interest in this particular problem. One happy result of their efforts is to be seen in the Ukrainian broadcasts from "Radio Nacional" which can be heard on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays from 6.15 p. m. to 6.30, on wave-length 32.05. Credit for this must be given to the "Obnova" and to the energetic assistance of Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Ivan Buczko. There are also broadcasts about Ukraine in Ukrainian and Spanish in the programme of "Radio Sindicato Español Universitario", every Tuesday between 8.30 p. m. and 9, on wave-length 42.33. These broadcasts are concerned mainly with problems of Ukrainian youth and the well known organization, the "Ukrainian Youth Association", and of Ukraine in general.

Members of "Obnova" and of the "Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.) arrange meetings and concerts (in June 1949, the Ukrainian Choir was Second in the competition for singing and dancing organized by the Society, Educacion y Descanso), and lectures for spreading the truth about Ukraine. In consequence of this activity, Ukrainians are respected in Spain. The following are among the leaders of the community of Ukrainians in Spain: Mr. Theodor Barabash, President of the World Federation of Ukrainian Catholic Student Union Obnova; Mr. Zenon Rudavsky, Chairman of the local branch of the "Obnova". Mr. Mykhailo Hychka, president of the local branch of the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.), and Mr. Dmytro Shtykalo, in charge of Ukrainian broadcasts in Radio Nacional.

## Yugoslavia

### One of the Last Greek Catholic Dioceses

(U.I.S.) We have news from Yugoslavia of the difficulties in Krizevac, one of the last Greek Catholic dioceses in that country. It counted originally 62 priests, but many of them have been imprisoned. Many churches and vicarages were burned or otherwise destroyed in and after the war. There were



# George Kennan and Russia's Aggressive Wars

By *Historicus*

It was surprising when, during a hearing before the Internal Security Congress Subcommittee, Mr. Stassen quoted from a speech by George F. Kennan at a conference of prominent Americans in the State Department pertinent to the situation in the Far East after the defeat of the government of Chiang Kai Chek on the Chinese mainland. Mr. Stassen was at this gathering, Autumn 1949, and New York Times quoted him on September 13, 1951 as saying:

"Mr. Kennan said: 'I think there is a distinction between these Russian leaders and the people like Hitler and the Japanese leaders of the Twenties and Thirties. Never in Russian history have Russians ever, that I can remember, been enthused about any deliberate aggressive action of their own outside Russia.'"

Mr. Kennan is considered in America an outstanding authority on questions of Russia with a deep scientific background but he cannot recall any aggressive wars which Russia has waged. On the other hand Dean Acheson, the Secretary of State in his well known talk on 500 years of Russian aggression spoke of the way in which the Russian empire was built up. It might be worthwhile for Americans interested in Red Russia to see whether George Kennan or Dean Acheson is correct.

Due to the lack of space, we merely list the definitely aggressive wars which the Russian Empire and its predecessor, the Grand Principality of Moscow, has waged:

1478. Ivan III, Grand Prince of Moscow conquered the free Republic of Novgorod the Great, took away its liberties and deported to Moscow the most prominent representatives of the Republic.
1485. Ivan III conquered and annexed to Moscow the Grand Principality of Tver.
1492. Ivan III provoked the first war with Lithuania for the border lands (to 1494).
1499. Ivan III provoked the second war with Lithuania (to 1503).
1507. Basil III provoked his first war with Lithuania and in 1508 concluded an "eternal peace" but —
- 1512 he provoked a second war with Lithuania (till 1522).
1510. Moscow finally conquered and annexed the Republic of Pskov and took away all its republican freedoms.
1517. Moscow annexed the independent Grand Principality of Ryazan.
1552. Ivan IV (the Terrible) conquered the tsarate of Kazan.
1556. Ivan IV conquered the tsarate of Astrakhan.
1581. Ivan IV conquered the tsarate of Siberia.
1654. Alexis Mikhaylovich began a war with Poland for Ukraine.
1658. Moscow began a war with Hetman Vlyhovsky of Ukraine, because he wished to become free of Moscow.
1667. Moscow renewed war for Ukraine.
1687. Peter I began a war with Turkey and the Khanate of the Crimea until 1700).
1700. Peter I began a war with Sweden (which lasted until 1721) for the Baltic coast (a Window on Europe).
1722. Peter I began war with Persia (until 1723).
1733. Empress Anna interfered in the war of the Polish Succession.
1756. Russia interfered in the war with Prussia (the Seven Years War. — until 1763).
1769. Catherine II began war with Turkey (until 1774). War for the Black Sea coast.
1772. Catherine II attacked and made the first division of Poland.
1775. Catherine II ruined the Zaporozhian Sich, the semi-independent Ukrainian Military Republic.
1787. Catherine II began the second war with Turkey.
1793. Catherine II made the second division of Poland.
1794. Catherine II attacked Poland which was struggling for its independence under Thaddeus Kosciuszko. Brigadier General of the American Continental Army.
1795. Catherine II made the third division of Poland.
1799. Paul I interfered in the war with France (until 1800).
1805. Alexander I interfered in the war with France.
1806. Alexander I interfered in the war with France (until 1807).
1806. Alexander I began war with Turkey.
1813. Alexander I began war with Persia.
1816. Russia began to conquer Caucasus.
1826. Nicholas I began war with Persia (until 1828).
1828. Nicholas I began war with Turkey (until 1829). He continued to conquer the Caucasus.
1853. Nicholas I began war with Turkey (the Crimean War) until 1856. — Russia began to conquer Turkestan.
1855. Alexander II (a new tsar) finished the conquest of the Caucasus and finally conquered Turkestan.
1877. Russia began war with Turkey (until 1878).
1904. Nicholas II began war with Japan (until 1905).
1918. The attack of Russia on Ukraine, the independence of which it had recognized.
1920. The attack of Russia on Georgia, the independence of which it had recognized.
1939. The attack of the U.S.S.R. on Poland with which it had a non-aggression pact.
1939. The attack of the U.S.S.R. on Finland.
1940. The annexation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

A more careful survey of Russian history would vastly increase the number of unprovoked attacks of Russia on its neighbors but the above are sufficient to justify the remarks of Dean Acheson, that the Russian Empire grew by the aggression and the seizure of the lands of its neighbors.

(*The Ukrainian Quarterly*)

## Music as Propaganda

(U.I.S.) In Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, there are 23 schools of music. In mid-December 1951, an institution was opened under the somewhat strange name of "University of Musical Culture". One would normally suppose that such a university would teach subjects like the history of music, musical styles, various schools of music (classical, modern) etc. Not at all. A recent article in "Radyanska Ukraina" reported that the University was established in order to provide lectures and concerts "to make Ukrainians familiar with the musical works which extol the deeply-rooted friendship and patriotism of the Soviet men, the creators of communism."

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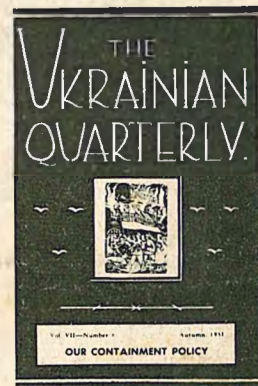
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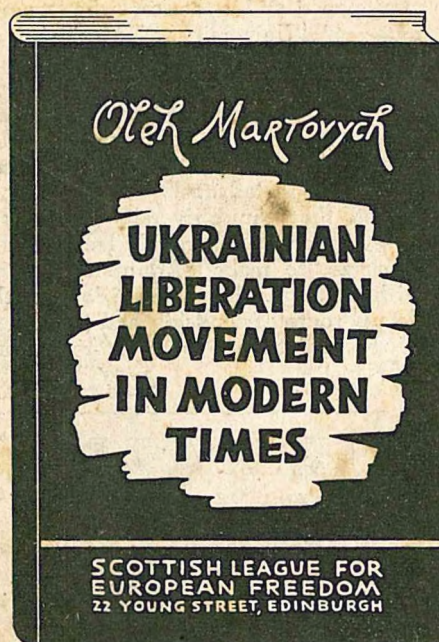


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## The Evil Seed of Discrimination

By Zenon Pelensky

Probably no other people in the world suffers at present so much incessant discrimination as the Ukrainian. No other exiled nation encounters more difficulties in the presentation of their cause before the world opinion than the Ukrainian. All their pains and efforts to present their cause for what it is, the justified liberation struggle of a nation since centuries suppressed and submerged by Russian imperialism, encounters here and there some understanding and sympathy, but for the most part enmity, annoyance, vexation, even indignation. It seems that the Ukrainian cause disturbs too many circles, endangers too many vested interests to please everybody.

Of course, the consciousness of this unfavourable psychological situation does not prevent this proud and ambitious nation from continuing her fight, if needs be even singlehanded. The Ukrainians are not astonished to be discriminated against by Russians, or by other nations who for so long occupied unlawfully parts and bits of Ukrainian territory and now can't get used to the idea of continuing without this accustomed Ukrainian "dowry".

But it is not only the Russians who play the "elder brother" and the "better people" in order to justify their claims to power in Ukraine.

Much more grievous is the fact that this discrimination is practised as much in the West. Especially the American press insists too frequently that Ukraine is a part of Russia and that Ukrainians are to be regarded and treated as "South Russians", "Little Russians" etc. The American government grants Ukrainians no political status, will not even recognize the representatives of Ukrainian political refugees in the

U.S.A. Even broadcasts in Ukrainian in the "Voice of America" are under the supervision of a Russian. The "American Committee for Free Europe" acknowledges neither Ukraine itself nor its severe and obstinate struggle for liberation, and therefore, its programme contains no free Ukrainian broadcasts. Although the same Committee has difficulty in filling its *University Free Europe* in Strassburg with so-called satellite students, it admits no Ukrainian students. Much fun is made in the West of the notorious Russian "Nyet". But no one seems to be aware how often Ukrainians have to hear the analogous Western "Nyet". The "American Committee for Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" and its counterpart, the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" were founded on the basic assumption that after the breakdown of bolshevism there should emerge a new democratic state — but still the same big, unified, indivisible *Russia*, the very idea of the non-Russian national liberation movements being regarded with distrust and suspicion. Only too often this idea is branded and discriminated against as "reactionary", "fascistic" etc. The leadership of the whole anti-communist campaign within the frame-work of the "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" is put in the hands of Russians. The Ukrainians are expected simply to submit to the Russians.

The Americans, unfortunately, are not alone in this matter. We refer our readers to the article "Ukrainians and the European Movement" in this issue of the "Ukrainian Observer". Although the West is supposed to be doing its utmost to win the support of all those behind the Iron Curtain who persevere in their

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## Commentaries:

# Ukrainians Are United!

*Western Politicians, please note!*

(Z.P.) It is true that Ukrainians in exile are split up into many parties. That is a weakness characteristic for exile and all exiled nations. There are two main Ukrainian state centers: the U.H.V.R. (Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) representing the Ukrainian forces of resistance in Ukraine; and the U.N.R. (Ukrainian National Council), uniting some Ukrainian political parties in exile, both of which claim to aim at constructing an independent Ukrainian state after the collapse of bolshevism. Apart from these, there is the Ukrainian monarchist group, the Union of Ukrainian Hetman Adherents ("Ssoyuz Hetmantstv — Dershavnykiv"); although this group has not formed a government in exile and is ready to cooperate with other official groups on certain conditions, it nevertheless supports the idea that Ukraine's future lies in a democratic, constitutional monarchy, the model being Great Britain.

Then there are many political parties: the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) under the leadership of *Stepan Bandera*; the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Solidarists, (O.U.N.-S) under *A. Melnyk*; the U.N.D.O., the Ukrainian National-Democratic Union; the U.N.D.S., the Ukrainian National-Democratic Federation; U.R.D.P., the Ukrainian Revolutionary-Democratic Party; S.Z.S.U., the Federation of Ukrainian Provinces, and many smaller parties.

On the whole, differences between Ukrainians are neither greater nor less than among other peoples. They hate or love each other just as much as elsewhere. There is talk and gossip, just as there is in all party offices, from Washington to Canberra. People rejo-

ice when they get the better of their opponents. They get irritated and there are internal party crises that harm individual members. And, as everywhere else, efforts are made to court the "great unknown", the masses, to win their approval and support. If there was an independent Ukraine, official and other parties would carry on the same contests that we find in other countries even including, perhaps, coups and revolutions. But national opponents of Ukraine, hostile to their ideals of independence would be quite in error if they thought they could derive any advantage from these internal divisions among Ukrainians. It does not help much to play one group off against another; nor does it lead very far. However much Ukrainians may quarrel among themselves, they immediately close their ranks and form a united front whenever danger from without threatens. That much they have learned from bitter experience.

A striking proof of this was given by the decided and united resistance put up by Ukrainians to the imperialist claims of Kerensky's group. The Russians were much astonished and upset when they suddenly found themselves confronted by an unbroken Ukrainian front. They were not accustomed to this kind of thing. Their policy of conquest in Ukraine had always been based on bribing supporters in Ukraine with money and promises of opportunity or in founding party friendly to Russians. That is what they tried to do here, but with American money. They were able to get hold of a handful of mercenary people, whom they literally had to pick out of the gutter; not a single decent, self-respecting Ukrainian was taken in by the fair promises of the Russian "Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia". The Ukrainians answered with a clear, decided "No!"

If anyone needs Ukrainians, if he wants to launch any campaign with Ukrainians he must negotiate with them *directly*, for Ukrainians do not require any Russian intermediaries. The presence of many Ukrainian parties is no obstacle to negotiations; where genuine and serious affairs of foreign policy are concerned, Ukrainians will immediately unite and from without delay bodies qualified to speak for them and make arrangements on their behalf. Every other method is wrong; every attempt to draw one or the other group out of the common front of Ukrainians in questions of foreign policy is doomed to failure from the start.

Ukrainians may march in separate formations, but they attack together. They have an inclination, often a passion, for parties. But, first and fore-

most, they are *Ukrainian patriots*. However great differences between parties may be, there is one thing in which all are united, namely in their reaction to the *Russian danger*. When Russia threatens they rise as *one man*, as was proved in the Kerensky affair. It will be proved in the future, too, for *Russia* is the danger, no matter which Russia — bolshevist, czarist, or "democratic", all are imperialist! As long as Russia is not disintegrated into its national component states, there will be no peace in the world. Of this *all Ukrainians* are convinced; here their front is united.

## The Struggle Transferred to the Intellectual Plane

*Why the U.P.A. has ceased fire*

(U.I.S.) It is not without reason that we have recently devoted so much space in our paper to news and comments dealing with the spiritual atmosphere in Ukraine. The Ukrainian struggle against bolshevism and Russian imperialism has largely been transferred from the physical to the intellectual plane. It is here that the Russians are making most strenuous efforts to break Ukrainian resistance. Moscow knows quite well that material, purely physical, dominion over the country can never be complete and secure as long as the spiritual and intellectual life of Ukraine has not been completely assimilated to that of Russia.

At present Moscow has not much to fear from Ukraine on the physical level. Stalin's grip on the country is severe; a net of military and police safeguards has been spread even over the smallest village, and thousands of Russian spies keep constant watch over the people.

This is one of the reasons why the U.P.A., in the course of the last two years, has, to use its own technical expression, "scattered and gone home", in order to deprive the enemy of opportunities of attack. Local actions of the U.P.A. are very occasionally carried out, more for the purpose of reminding the Ukrainians of the cause than of damaging the enemy physically. Another reason why U.P.A. activity has lessened, is that leaders are aware that their fight is taken little notice of in the west; it would be irresponsible on their part to waste the strength of the U.P.A. in an unassisted fight against the Russian foe. Meantime, the struggle has been largely transferred to the intellectual plane.

Here, most dramatic battles are being fought. It almost seems as if Moscow instinctively felt the approach of the great decision and as if she were attacking with all her might, often even in blind stupidity, while there is still time. The main enemy is the ever-increasing nationalism of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet-Union; this must be destroyed with all available means.

When, therefore, we read of this or that decision by a local party organiza-

Continued from Page 1

opposition to the Soviet regime and who are in sympathy with Western aims, in practice everything is done to separate Ukrainians from the West and throw them into Stalin's arms. This is probably what is behind the recent refusal of the "European Movement" to accept Ukraine as a member. Nothing is left undone to convince Ukrainians that they have not the least chance with the West, that they are undesirable and unpopular, that they are a nuisance, that they had better make peace with Russia and leave the West alone. It seems as if the West intended to achieve this aim by every possible means. Does the West not see what dragon's teeth they are sowing with this policy of constant humiliation, negation and discrimination?



tion in the field of ideas, it is just as important as a report of an armed contest between units of the U.P.A. and the M.G.B. Measures against a Ukrainian writer are just as significant of Ukraine's state of mind as direct and physical action by the M.G.B. Reports from beyond the Iron Curtain show that Ukraine is fighting and ready to continue fighting. How long it will hold out, depends to no small degree on the West's attitude to the Ukrainian struggle for independence which hitherto has verged on indifference.

### "The Honour of the Uniform"

Uniforms are known to have played an important part in the Russia of the czars. Every official of state, from the Czar down to the humblest janitor always appeared in public in some uniform or other. No one, for instance, ever saw a picture of the Czar in civilian clothes. Everybody who had anything to do with public life, had to wear uniform, even university students, and midwives who were recognized by the state. The uniform was the idol before which the simple subject had to kneel in the dust. A century ago, *Nikolai Gogol* made fun of the power of the Russian uniform in his comedy, "The Inspector from Petersburg"; it was enough to upset a whole town when a swindler in uniform gave out that he was an "inspector"; they all fawned on him, offered him everything, from bribes to love, begged for his approval, for promotion, for forgiveness of sins, and all sorts of favours...

The Russian revolution wanted to do away with uniforms once and for all. But Russians are Russians; they need a grand uniform, as a kind of steel corset to keep them straight. Less than 15 years after the revolution Stalin once more introduced the steel corset of the uniform — and what a uniform! The uniforms of czarist Russia pale in comparison with the musical comedy splendour of soviet uniforms today. There never was as much gold and silver braid in the whole Soviet Union as there is today. When a soviet Field Marshal appears, for instance, we are not sure whether he is a soldier, a Field Marshal or an "exhibition of medals". At a parade, *Marshal Zhukov* managed to find room on his manly chest for no fewer than 87 stars, medals and orders, a display that must have weighed 15—20 pounds. Under Stalin, midwives, of course, got their uniforms again, and miners; we have heard that first-graders are to be given uniforms.

And Gogol's inspector is here again; the swindler, the speculator, the climber who makes use of his uniform as a cloak to protect his dubious transactions. The forms that corruption in uniform has assumed in the meantime, may be gathered from the complaint in

the "Radyansky Ukraina" of February 2, 1952. In *Zhmerynka* district, Vinnytsia area, Ukraine, various swindlers and vagabonds in uniform have settled in the local inland revenue office, with the intention of sabotaging state plans, and all for their own dishonest interests. One honest man was courageous enough to rebel against the manoeuvres of this gang in Zhmerynka. He sent in a report to his superior officer, and an inspector was sent from Kyiv. The hero who had attacked the tyrants in the revenue office at Zhmerynka received approbation and was left in office. But he was advised to put in for a transfer — in order to save the uniform from dishonour? The intention was to prevent a scandal "at all costs"; better cover up misconduct than expose the Soviet Union. The paper, indignant at these attempts at whitewashing, concludes: "The state officials are to blame who suppress all criticism for fear of besmirching their own uniform."

Was a bloody revolution really necessary to produce this sorry parade of uniforms? Is this the "redemption of the world" the Russian bolshevist messiahs promised?

### All Millionaires?

(U.I.S.) At the beginning of February, 1952, there was a conference in Kyiv of the heads of kolkhoses in that area. The local secretaries of the C.P. the chairmen of the executive committees, correspondents, etc., were present. The chairman of the executive committee of the area, *comrade S. Hryza*, delivered the main address on "The Fulfilment of Our Principal Task, namely the Intensifying of Agriculture and the Increase of Cattle Stocks".

Summing up results for 1951, *Comrade Hryza* said: "The incomes of kolkhoses have risen considerably in the year under review. This made it possible in the Kyiv area to place no less than 129 million roubles to the reserves. At the moment, every seventh kolkhose in the area is a millionaire. The average yield per cow in our area was 2,413 liters..."

The so-called reserves represent the clear profit earned by the kolkhose in the course of the business year, which, however, is not distributed to the farm workers. It is a kind of capitalist reserve, used for land investments, state loans and various compensatory enterprises. *Comrade Hryza* reported about the average milk yield, but he deliberately avoided indicating how much of the rest of the income would reach the workers, i. e. how much on an average the kolkhose labourer would earn. Such a statement would be necessary in order to complete the picture — namely, that the kolkhose is a millionaire as far as the reserves are concerned, while each individual member is wretchedly poor, which means that

his share of the fruit of his labours is practically nil. The kolkhose worker with calloused hands and threadbare clothes is expected to take pride and satisfaction in the fact that his kolkhose has swallowed so much of his work that it has become a millionaire.

This explains why the labourers on collective farms in Ukraine anxiously, and with scarcely disguised rage, watch the efforts of their bosses to make their kolkhoses millionaires; it all means more and longer work, more pressure to reach the quality demanded and still greater personal poverty. It also explains the typical soviet paradox — the poorer a kolkhose, the better off are its workers, and vice-versa the richer the kolkhose, the worse off the workers. There is no greater curse for the workers than to have to be a Soviet collective millionaire.

### Publishers Pulp Books Still in Press

#### *Intellectuals in Ukraine*

The Russian bolshevist master is not easy to please. Whatever one does is wrong, particularly what a non-Russian does. Moscow always objects to something.

In an endless chain of repetition, the "Literaturnaya Gazeta", a Moscow publication, deals once more with "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism". On the occasion of a campaign organized by Moscow for Russian writers to help Ukrainian colleagues, a certain *V. Vladko* writes: "They must above all devote attention to methods of combating Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism".

The old hackneyed phrases, appeals for self-criticism, for strengthening proletarian activity, etc. would not interest us, if it were not for a passage which we quote:

"During the conference with Ukrainian writers, the completely inadequate attitude of Ukrainian publishers to critical works by some Russian writers was established. After some books of poor quality had been unfavourably criticized, the publishing firms decided to run no more risks, so they pulped galleys and books about Soviet writers which had been set up."

Such is the language of fear, of the primitive and undisguised fear of one's life. That is what "freedom of the spirit and of thought" in Stalin's paradise looks like in practice. It would not be possible to find a parallel in any publishing house in the world. We should realize the position of a Ukrainian publisher who pulps a book that is already being printed, as he can never tell how the "general line" may turn tomorrow. Fearful, worried, constantly censured, always afraid of the M.G.B. — that is how intellectuals in Ukraine live and work today. Particularly in Ukraine. For we have never heard of any Russian publishing firm being driven to take such measures.



# Admiral Alan G. Kirk's Difficult Task

## *Changes in the Staff of the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia"*

The private *American Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia* (A.C.L.P.R.), founded 2 years ago in New York, was welcomed by legitimate representatives of these peoples in exile, partly indeed with a thrill of excitement. But this atmosphere of friendliness was soon dissipated. Non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R. soon realized that the American Committee under the leadership of Mr. Eugene Lyons was, for all practical purposes, a one-sided organization for the preservation of the unity and greatness of the Russian imperium.

This was obvious from the fact that the peoples to be liberated were from the first not treated as equal in rights or value. The first place was given to Russian imperialists, by the following methods:

As a counterbalance to the "American Committee" a non-American "Council" for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" was founded in Stuttgart and Munich. In this "Council", the nationalities in the U.S.S.R. were to appear on the programme as equal. In reality, however, Mr. Eugen Lyons, with the active cooperation of Mr. Isaac Don Levine, managed to give the Russians priority in the Council. The core of the "Council" was to be formed by 5 Russian parties, 2 of which, at the most, could be designated as truly democratic. All "minority" parties were to be grouped round these 5 Russian parties which were at first under the leadership of the notorious Alexander Kerensky. From the start Russia was the centre, the sun around which the other nationalities were to rotate as satellite planets.

In accordance with this fundamental principle, the Russians took the reins of the "Council" into their hands. Every single thing that was done in the four month of existence of the "Council" was labelled *Russian* and as expressing exclusively the desire of the Russians. The consolidation that had been requested, the cooperation of the various nationalities in the fight against bolshevism, the freedom and self-determination anticipated were represented not as the expression of a democratic spirit, but as a condescension, a concession, a gesture of good will on the part of the Russian master nation. The non-Russian nations naturally refused to continue on those lines and the "Council" collapsed.

### Admiral Kirk's Appearance

In the middle of February, 1952, news reached Europe that Admiral Alan G. Kirk had been elected to be

the new president of the "American Council" and that he had accepted the nomination. The ex-president, Mr. Eugene Lyons remained, however, in the organization as the administrative director.

Admiral Alan G. Kirk's election and his consent are the more remarkable as he was ambassador for America in Moscow for 2½ years and resigned at the beginning of this year. That a diplomat, who had just retired should assume the leadership of an organization like the "American Committee" speaks volumes for the horror of the Soviet regime which he has seen for himself. He had apparently seen and experienced things that made him take over the leadership of an organization whose program it is to liberate the subjugated, and long tortured peoples in the Soviet Union from the evil of bolshevism and Russian imperialism.

In theory, we have every reason to wish Admiral Kirk success and to give him all possible support. In practice, however, our support must depend on how he tackles his job.

### Expression of Sympathy

The new president's first public pronouncement strikes a note of sympathy. A report in the "New York Times" of February 11, 1952 contains the following statement by Admiral Kirk:

"I was able to do some travelling in the Soviet Union. I came to admire its peoples and to sympathize profoundly with their long ordeal of suffering and terror. It is my firm belief that they are overwhelmingly opposed to the Kremlin regime, hate its aggressive politics, and yearn for freedom from the bolshevik yoke."

The italics are ours. They indicate that Admiral Kirk recognizes without reserve the existence of many peoples in the Soviet Union. We hope that he will draw all the logical and democratic conclusions from this fact, for instance, and in the first place, *the fundamental right of these peoples to the complete national and political right of self-determination, including the right to secede from the Soviet Union.*

### Disquieting Signs

What is disquieting about this first public pronouncement by Admiral Kirk is that he is here speaking *only* of the yearning of the peoples in the U.S.S.R. to be liberated from *bolshevism*. And that is only half the truth, the other half being that the peoples in the Soviet Union are *yearning just as eagerly for liberation from Russian imperialism*. The national question in the

U.S.S.R. is just as important as the social problem. There is no sense in overthrowing bolshevism and leaving the nations subjugated to Russia. Either they acquire complete freedom or they do not. We recall Lincoln's famous words when he said: "It is not possible for America to be half free and half enslaved." There is no freedom for the Soviet peoples without their complete national freedom. We do not envy Admiral Kirk this thorny problem, but it must be tackled. There is no way out.

### Mr. Lyons Remains

Seen from the perspective of the exiled peoples in Europe, the change in the office-bearers of the A.C.L.P.R. is still more disquieting in so far as Mr. Lyons remains in the organization as its administrative director. From the very start of the organization, Mr. Lyons, as an American, ought to have been objective and neutral. But he was decidedly, even passionately, on the side of the Russians from the very beginning. He asked only Russians to be his closest collaborators and advisers, and Russians, moreover who were pronounced imperialists and chauvinists. The fact that these Russian gentlemen called themselves "democrats" made no difference to their jingoism. Instead of acting as a mediator, Mr. Lyons considered it his duty to make propaganda for Russia for the purpose of depreciating the meaning, the strength, the historical significance and the idealism of national movements of liberation among the peoples of the U.S.S.R., especially the Ukrainians. We can scarcely expect Mr. Lyons to alter his opinions in the future. We therefore find that, if Mr. Lyons remains in the A.C.L.P.R., he will rather hinder than help Admiral Kirk in his further work.

### Genuine Equality

It is, of course, of little use to put obstacles in Admiral Kirk's way at the start, above all as we have no reason to doubt his sincerity. On the contrary, every attempt should be made to help him and to suppress all fears and suspicions.

We think that the first condition should be the recognition of the equality of peoples as a fact and not merely as a phrase. First of all this would result in the change of the name of the organization. The peoples who are to be liberated simply refuse to be labelled "Russian". They do not belong to the Russians and are humiliated and insulted by the adjective "Russian". Neither the Caucasians, the Turkestani,



the Ukrainians, the Byelorussians or the Balts etc. are the property of Russians. The A.C.L.P.R. would be more acceptable if "Russia" were replaced by the "Soviet Union". It would then be called: "The American Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of the Soviet Union."

### Secession from Russia

The second condition would be the absolute recognition of the principle of the right of these peoples to self-determination, including the right to secede immediately from the Union and create their own sovereign states on a purely ethnic basis. This, it should be noticed, must be an *unconditioned principle* regardless of whether the peoples make use of it, or not. The Russians ought to give proof of their democracy by accepting this principle without resorting to "plebiscites" and the like. It is well-known, of course, that the Ukrainians would immediately make use of the right to separate from Russia; no power in the world could prevent them, least of all a few Russian emigrés. Ukrainians refuse to trust the Russian's professions of goodwill until they not only recognize Ukraine's right to self-determination and secession, but actually cooperate for its achievement. The fulfilment of these conditions alone would guarantee that the two peoples could live and work together in the future.

### Clarifying the Moral Atmosphere

Another condition for the success of Admiral Kirk's work is that a stop must be put once and for all to dirty tricks and swindling. It was playing a dirty trick on the American people, for instance, and on the peoples to be liberated, to give *priority* from the outset to the Great Russians. Nor was it fair dealing when the Russians and some of their American friends deliberately set about calumniating all who do not agree with their imperialist views. Whoever, for instance, is against his peoples staying within the Russian imperium, whoever advocates his people's complete independence, is immediately branded "fascist", "antidemocrat", "nazi", "collaborateur" etc.

### False Representatives

It was a gross deception on the part of the Russians and some of their American friends, above all here in Europe, to artificially create "representatives of nationalities" or, still worse, of "Russian minorities" where genuine representatives were not forthcoming. The Munich branch of the "American Committee", or rather what remained of the non-American "Council" has meantime become a real Augean stable, for every swindler and opportunist every guttersnipe is good enough for the Russians to be a "representative" of this or that Russian "minority" when

it is a question of filling non-Russian gaps for purposes of representation. Thus all manner of "Ukrainian", "Byelorussian", "Caucasian", "Cossackian", "Siberian" and other "ministers", "generals", "members of parliament" etc., scenting dollars, have appeared on the surface and been accepted. The number of "Ukrainian", "Caucasian", "Turkестanian" and other ultra "democratic" parties that reported as soon as the possibility of American support for the exiled peoples of the Soviet Union was rumoured, was positively frightening; there was a real inflation of them, filling the masses of national emigrés with revulsion. It is a procedure that has been frequently repeated in Russian history — to make use of stooges as representatives of the people.

### The Harder Way is the Better

It is easy to foresee that Admiral Kirk will not advance one step until he has cleaned out the last corner of the stable in Munich. American foreign politicians are sufficiently informed about the internal affairs of exiled nations not to know who their genuine representatives are and where they are. The fact that negotiations with them are difficult does not excuse the use of stooges. It is better to negotiate for months and even for years more, to do without radio, newspapers, propaganda and similar activities, better, indeed to do nothing at all than to make use of methods and men who must ultimately completely compromise the good intentions of America in the eyes of the peoples to be liberated. As things are today, and as seen by tens of thousands of exiles, the "American Committee" and the remnants of the affiliated "Council" are not an instrument of genuine American policy but of Russian imperialism and chauvinism. The peoples subjugated by Russia will continue to resist such a development in Eastern Europe with all their might. It lies with Admiral Kirk to make the "American Committee" a powerful instrument of American foreign policy if he really turns to the nations enslaved by Russia and does not allow this "Committee" to sink to a kind of Russia Lobby. We know full well how hard this task will be, but it is worth the sweat and the toil, seeing that it will help not only America and the peoples in question, but above all, the cause of world peace.

### "The Russians are Better" An Intellectual Offensive Against Ukraine

(U.S.) As Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals, poets, novelists, essayists, critics, artists, etc. are evidently not able to perform the tasks entrusted to them by Moscow, the Russian "elder brother" has found means of helping them. At the beginning of 1952 a number of Russian writers, artists and critics were commissioned to go to Ukraine and look after things. The official bulletin reads: "Intellectual Russia is offering Ukraine a helping hand." The names of these intellectual "elder brothers" are: *B. Rusikov, V. Piemov, O. Pleshkov, E. Surkov, Y. Karabutenkov, O. Dementyev*. Now they are visiting the large towns in Ukraine, arranging various conferences and bringing everybody together who plays any part at all in the intellectual life of the country. The number of recipients of Russian help is to be as large as possible. The visitors have already been in Kharkiv, Kyiv, and Lviv and are going farther afield.

The "Radyanska Ukraina" of 31. I. 1952 contains the following comment on their visit to Kyiv: "Our dear guests helped their Ukrainian colleagues to find mistakes in their work and permitted them to benefit from their great experience." Mistakes? Of course Ukrainians make mistakes. All the peoples in the Soviet Union make mistakes. It is actually the purpose of the campaign to make the peoples of the Soviet Union feel the superiority of the Russians in every single thing, and to present them as a better, cleverer and more gifted people, thus strengthening the Russian claim to leadership.

*Alexander Korniychuk*, president of the Union of Writers of Soviet Ukraine, the notorious Soviet opportunist and climber, showed his devotion to duty by prostrating himself in spirit before his Russian colleagues. He expressed thanks for the help received, for the revelation of mistakes, for "brotherly criticism" and the abundant advice given; he promised improvement, more devotion to Russia and still more zeal. Unanimous confirmation was expressed of his statement that "the main aim of our criticism must be to combat vigorously bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism and other expressions of hostile ideology."

As usual there were examples of exhibitionism. The Soviet Ukrainian writers and critics, *Y. Kobyletsky, M. Novikov* and *V. Burlay* openly confessed their sins and shortcomings, castigating themselves, so to speak. In spite of severe flagellations and repentance, their penance was not considered sufficient. The paper does not say what happened afterwards to this trio.

*Prof. Mykhailo Vozniak*, an ancient Ukrainian historian from Lviv, got a ribbing on this occasion. In an article on *Ivan Franko*, the Ukrainian poet, *Prof. Vozniak*, had "been quite wrong, and had contradicted Stalin's theories on philology when he said that Ukrainian was based on the dialect of Galicia." "The dialect of Galicia" cannot of course, be such a basis. As Russia is the source of all the good in the world, Russian is the source of Ukrainian. The M.G.B. will see to it that Voznyak recognizes this truth. It is only a question of time when Vozniak repents and rectifies. We think of the well-known Soviet song: "Nowhere do I know a country where man can breathe as freely as here," i. e. in U.S.S.R.

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# Taras Shevchenko

## *The Life, Struggle and Death of Ukraine's Greatest Poet and Hero in the Fight for Freedom*

By Petro Zelenko

### March 9, a Red Letter Day for Ukrainians

On the 9th of March every year the entire Ukrainian people celebrates the birth of Taras Shevchenko, its greatest poet.

These celebrations are unique occasions. Though other nations, of course, have their great national poets, they do not celebrate them every year in lectures, concerts, public



Self-portrait of the poet (1844) shortly before his deportation as the Tsar's convict to a punitive regiment in Khirghizia

meetings and plays, attendance at which is an unwritten law for every Ukrainian, young or old.

And the 9th of March is something more than an official national gala. It is a people's day, in the truest sense of the word, when the Ukrainian people honours the ever-green memory of its greatest son with an enthusiasm and fervour that never grows cold. None of the figures from the thousand-year-old history of Ukraine has taken such hold of the people; none is so near and alive today as Shevchenko.

For he was more than a poet. He was at the same time a Prometheus, a prophet who roused and renewed his people; he is the conscience of Ukraine.

### The Spirit of the Man

It is good in our materialist time to dwell on the unprecedented life and achievement of this man whose lot it was to show what a great rôle can be played among his fellows by one man's strong, pure spirit.

When Shevchenko emerged in Ukrainian history, he stood alone against a mighty world, against the tyranny of the Russian tsars against an unjust, narrow-minded, corrupt society; against opinions, manners and customs that could only be regarded as humiliating for human dignity; against a view of life that could only be termed criminal today. He had nothing at his dis-

posal but his quill pen, — but in the long run Shevchenko, by his courage, his indefatigable labour, his flaming protests, his self-denying struggle, worked wonders; the world round him was different when he quitted it.

What a life it was!

His earthly pilgrimage lasted but 47 years (born on March 9, 1814, he died on March 10, 1861); only 7 of those were spent in freedom, and 40 in slavery. And the "freedom" of those 7 years was modified by the fact that they were spent in the Russia of Tsar Nicholas I, when oppression and reaction were at their worst.

### De Profundis

Little Taras is born in the wretched hut of a Ukrainian serf, Hryhory Shevchenko, in the village of Moryntsi, in the province of Kyiv. Life in the hut recalls "Uncle Tom's Cabin", Harriet Beecher Stowe's great novel, — the same misery, the same hardship, the same flouting of human dignity, the same uncertainty, the same slave-trade. The lord of the manor, the owner of body and soul, is called *Engelhardt*, a Russian of German origin. For 24 long years Taras is his property.

Young Taras lost his mother so early that he could not remember her distinctly. But his memory of her was sufficient to create the image, the idea of motherhood, of maternal love and a child's devotion that appeared later in his verse in a moving, beautiful form that scarcely finds its equal in the great poetry of the world.

His widowed father soon married again — took, no, was given by the lord of the manor, a widow with many children, and Taras became most bitterly familiar with what a wicked stepmother means. He was to write later: "There is not an evil in hell that I did not suffer in my father's house."

### A Genius in the Peasant's Hut

One never knows who is kissed by fairies at birth. Here they chose a little peasant boy, who, from his earliest years, gave proof of extraordinary talents, views, inclinations and longings: "he's out of the common", the people said, and so he was tormented, made fun of and petted; he liked best to run away and weave his strange thoughts in solitude. And in the village it was quickly rumoured that little Taras was "a bit crazy".

But there were several good fairies at the boy's birth. He soon shows that he has a marvellous memory. He can draw everything he sees with a piece of charcoal or chalk, and so accurately that everybody is astonished. He can speak in rhyme — whenever he likes. He does not attend school, for in the years 1820—1860 there is none in a village in the Tsar's empire, — "what does a peasant want a school for?" And yet by the time he is ten, Taras has learnt "by himself" how to read and write, an art known only to the lord of the manor, the pope and his deacons.

What use was a young Ukrainian serf in a village to the Russian estate-owner? Young Taras passed through various "careers"; he

became the village shepherd, the errand-boy, servant and assistant of the seldom sober church soloist, an undertaker's mute, a housepainter's apprentice, finally reaching the top rung of the ladder when he became a servant in the splendid rooms of the lord of the manor. Thus the boy's best years passed without his getting any chance for himself.

### Shevchenko Freed

But a young man of this talent cannot long remain obscure; the neighbouring country gentlemen see the lad, are amazed and talk about him; his star glows more and more brightly; even the most reactionary estate-owners realize soon that it is



Self-portrait of the poet (1860) three years after Taras Shevchenko, crippled and broken, had been released from banishment and forced labor

a scandal for such a young man to be a serf; Shevchenko's case becomes known in Petersburg itself. But also Mr. Engelhardt, the owner, begins to be aware of the great "property" value of the boy and increases the ransom demanded from year to year; at last he asks 2,500 gold roubles; never before there was born such a valuable serf in one of the thatched huts in his village. What a deal! Here the famous poet V. A. Zhukovsky intervenes; in cooperation with the painters K. P. Bryulov and S. Venetsianov, he organizes a collection which soon gathers the 2,500 gold roubles necessary.

Taras, now 24 years of age, is free. His friends in Petersburg immediately send him to the Academy of Arts where he seizes on everything that will satisfy his great hunger and thirst for knowledge; he reads and reads, for days, nights and years, but nothing can satisfy his intellectual and spiritual hunger. At the same time he draws, paints, etches, wins many gold medals and becomes one of Ukraine's greatest painters.

But his painting pales beside his poetry. It is incredible what this young man does with the Ukrainian language. And what kind of language was it? For the Russian masters of the country before Shevchenko's time it was a rustic language, a primitive means of communication among men in the lowest social class, a "dialect", degraded,



distorted and despised by the Russians of the superior classes, suppressed for centuries by Russian despots.

### The Poet

Now Shevchenko begins to sing in this language, and with the help of this "primitive idiom" he charms into existence images, experiences and emotions that are incomparable and untranslatable. In order to appreciate Shevchenko to the full, one must know Ukrainian. It is not only the content of his poetry that throws a spell on the reader; Ukrainians are affected just as much by the melody, the colour and brilliance, the accuracy of his language, its concentration and rhythm. It is quite natural the people should seize on his verse; even during his life-time Shevchenko heard his verse sung as folksongs, set to music and spread among the people by anonymous composers.

### Only Seven Years

It was only for seven short years that Shevchenko was allowed to write for himself, relatively free of all care. What he wrote and sang in this brief space of time is nothing short of *volcanic*; there is no other way of describing the convulsive eruption of feelings, thoughts, spiritual experiences, visions, criticisms, warnings and prophecies that scarcely have equal in all the literature of the world. It is as if Shevchenko knew by instinct the dreadful fate that was awaiting him, as if something in him was forcing him to say all he had to say with elemental energy, before it was too late.

### "Kobzar"

In 1838 Shevchenko, at 24 was freed; two years later his epoch-making book, the "Kobzar" was published in St. Petersburg\*). It is a collection of lyric and epic poetry. The tsar's censor did not at first realize the dynamic power of the little book. Shevchenko, now 26 years old, has visions, hears voices, wrestles through to truths which mean the end of a world — the tsarist regime — and which conjure up the hope of a new world of freedom.

For "Kobzar" is a revolution, pure and simple. Shevchenko rises, and grows with every word to gigantic stature, as the bard and defender of free humanity and international right, as the formidable accuser and bitter opponent of all compulsion, all force, of the degradation and enslaving of man and humanity. The young poet is a passionate humanist; he loves man, respects him, trusts him, stands up to defend him. He believes that *man is by nature good*, and that he must only be helped to goodness. Every line of his verse is a flaming "Yes" to love, kindness, understanding, respect and confidence; but also a no less flaming and forceful "No" to all compulsion, hatred, egoism, to the exploitation and humiliation of the individual and nations.

### He Rouses his People

He considers the history of his people in the light of pure humanism, realizes the enormous injustice the Russian conqueror has done his country with its enslaved populace and he flings his passionate "No!" in the face of the Russian regime of

tyranny. He now undertakes the titanic task of revealing epoch by epoch his country's great past, purging its record of lies, distortions and forgeries; in poems, ballads and epics he revives the glory of Ukraine's past. All at once the "Ukrainian Peasant People" sees how it was forced and duped into slavery, how its own leading classes were alienated until they became the slave-drivers of their own people. He proclaims aloud how the ancient culture of Ukraine was humiliated, degraded to an object of ridicule, so that it could be replaced by "higher" Russian culture.

### Fight for Humanity

Shevchenko is no champion of a narrow nationalism, for he fights for the freedom of Ukraine within a free humanity. He demands liberty for the peoples of the Caucasus, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Germany, even for the Russians themselves, just as passionately as he champions the cause of Ukraine. He realizes that many other peoples besides Ukrainians were doomed to the slavery he had endured as a boy, and his pride as a human being revolted.

In a poem entitled "Sson" (Vision), which appeared in 1844, he reviews tsarist Russia and parades all its horrors before his readers, every word a flaming torch of protest. This poem, together with the "Kobsar" procured him a sentence of ten years' exile to Siberia and "the strict prohibition to write or paint", as Tsar Nicholas added, in his own writing, to the verdict.

### The Tsar's Convict

Shevchenko was sent to share the forced labour of a punitive battalion in the steppes of Khirghizia. After ten years in exile, when he suffered brutality that was as deliberate as it was inhuman, he was allowed to return to St. Petersburg, but not to Ukraine. The

literature of the world contains many records of convict life, such as Dostoyevsky's "Memoirs from the House of the Dead", Silvio Pellico's "Le mie prigioni", or Oscar Wilde's "Ballad of Reading Gaol". But none of these come anywhere near the sufferings that Shevchenko had to endure as a convict. His body was beaten, but nothing could break his spirit. He died of weakness and exhaustion not quite four years after his release.

Thus, a poet and champion of freedom with very few equals in the history of the world was destroyed. Anyone who looks carefully at Shevchenko's portrait of 1860, three years after his release, when he was but 47, will find it hard to believe that this same man had written beautiful, delicate lyrics, had been a most courteous troubadour who had especially sung the praise of woman in haunting verse. Poems like "Lileya", "Vidma", "Kniazhna", "Varnak" are devoted to unsullied love between girls, sisters, husband and wife, of a mother's nobility and sacrifice. He himself, having been exiled in the best years of life, could never taste the joys of love.

### The Victor

For the Ukrainian people, Shevchenko did not die. His spirit lives and has so inspired his people that they have fought for freedom with unparalleled ardour; eight decades after his death, victory, in the form of liberation from Moscow, is within reach. For Ukrainians, this great national hero and poet is an inexhaustible source of courage, strength and confidence. The world of the tsars which sought to crush him, has long crumbled in decay, but for Ukraine Shevchenko lives now and will live for all time. *That is why the Ninth of March will always be a great festival, a V-Day for Ukrainians.*

## Ukrainian Nationalism

### Enemy Number One

(U.I.S.) On February 8, 1952 the "Pravda" published a report from its own correspondent in Soviet Ukraine from which we quote:

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine convened a meeting of representatives from all over the Republic to discuss questions connected with the teaching of political subjects at the various colleges in the country. The meeting was attended by the following persons: the secretaries of local and municipal party committees, the directors and heads of the sections for science, colleges, literature and art in the local communist committees of the party in Ukraine, the professors of marxism and leninism, philosophy and political economy in the Ukrainian universities, — more than 1000 persons in all. The discussion was opened by a short speech by Comrade L. G. Melnikov, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

The discussion revealed that at present the programme of reforming the teaching of political science at Ukrainian colleges has not advanced beyond the first stages. In many of the colleges in Lviv, Kyiv, Odessa and other Ukrainian towns, the

teaching of the elements of marxism and leninism, philosophy, political economy and history has not yet been brought up to necessary standards. The low level of lectures and seminar work in a number of departments for political science came in for special criticism.

It was stated in the course of the discussion that college prospectuses in Ukraine list few lectures on the friendship of peoples, Soviet patriotism, proletarian internationalism, the eternal friendship between the great Russian people and Ukrainians and the beneficial influence of the great Russian culture on the culture of the Ukrainian people.

Professors were severely censured for distorting historical facts in their lectures so as to countenance bourgeois nationalism and political errors."

So much for the "Pravda". The report proves how persistently the Ukrainian intelligentsia is resisting the Russian conqueror, thus continuing the struggle for Ukraine's independence in the face of terrorization. Ukrainian nationalism is Enemy Number One! Moscow is well aware of the Soviet regime's most vulnerable point.

\*) *Kobzar*, a Ukrainian stringed instrument, on which bards (often old and blind) accompanied their folksongs.



# Taras Chuprynka - Roman Shukhevych

## Statesman and Soldier

By Z. Poray

### Death of a Fighter for Freedom

March 4, 1950, when General Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), President of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) and Chief of the Staff of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) behind the Iron Curtain, fell in battle, is one of the most memorable though sorrowful dates in the modern history of Ukraine. He fell in a bunker, the headquarters of the underground forces, in the forest near the village of Bilohorshcha, near Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine. In consequence of a tragic chain of circumstances, the Russian bolshevist security police, after five feverish years of pursuit got possession of clues to the General's hiding-place. The whole district and the village itself were suddenly combed by troops of the M.G.B. and heavy fire was opened on the bunker itself. After hours of bitter resistance, General Chuprynka, in company with faithful comrades (high staff officers and men) fell fighting to the last. Not one surrendered, not one of the wounded allowed himself to be taken prisoner. In accordance with the rules of underground fighting, the wounded were killed by their own comrades and the bunker blown up by the last survivor. The Russians found nothing but the charred remains of about 30 bodies and of some documents, not what they had expected from the General's death. The resistance movement in Ukraine did not come to an end; arrangements had long been made for such an eventuality; now the leadership of the U.P.A. and the entire Ukrainian Liberation Movement was assumed without a break by Colonel Wassyl Kowal, thus carrying on the tradition of the U.P.A. — "fighters fall, the fight continues!"

### Ukraine Stands Alone

Yet the death of its general was a severe blow for the entire liberation movement in Ukraine as it lost in him one of its most intelligent and tried leaders, its brain and its inhumanly iron will. The very fact that for five long years, sought and surrounded by hundreds of M.G.B. spies and agents-provocateurs, General Chuprynka should have been able not only to live behind the Iron Curtain, but to organize and fight, bears eloquent testimony to his human and manly qualities; a testimony that is all the more striking when we remember that the General and his men were alone, did not get any moral, technical or material help whatever from abroad (and no such help is forthcoming even today); that they fought, and are still fighting only with the material they win in direct hard conflict from the foe.

The General's task was naturally severely handicapped by the attitude of the West to Ukraine's fight for freedom; he had to suffer indifference, neglect, silent and, sometimes even open hostility; but such political blindness could not break his iron will. He knew that one day the West would wake up to the significance of Ukraine's struggle for liberation. It is easy to see

that the hardest of his political tasks behind the Iron Curtain was to uphold the morale of the Ukrainian population and to strengthen it notwithstanding the consciousness of being alone and of fighting a single-handed battle. The West never stirred a finger to help General Chuprynka in his gigantic task.

### More than a Soldier

What has hitherto been published about General Taras Chuprynka in the West is one-sided and misleading in so far as it has



A bust of General Taras Chuprynka — by M. Cheresniyovsky  
The Ukrainian letters on the flag mean: U.P.A. = Ukrainian Insurgent Army

emphasized unduly the *military* aspect of his activity. The West has got the impression that this eminent man was first and foremost an excellent soldier, a bold reckless warrior who undertook, with the help of a few just as reckless men, to defy the power of the Soviets behind the Iron Curtain. The general picture of him in the West was that of a glorified captain, of a romantic but rather desperate brigand of the forests and hills who, for all his acknowledged contempt for death, was fighting for a hopeless, nay, a mistaken cause. For, the worldly wise argued, how could a handful of partisans ever hope to overwhelm the fantastic military superiority, the terror and control of Soviet totalitarianism? On the contrary, had it not been proved that the united powers of the West, their combined economic and spiritual resources, including those of the U.S.A., hardly sufficed to hold the Soviet Union's urge for expansion in check? Further, the General's idea of disintegrating the Soviet Union into two dozen sovereign national states was, at a time when efforts were being made not to split up but to integrate whole continents.

### First and Foremost a Statesman

This is a distorted picture of General Chuprynka. It is true that he was a great soldier and military leader, but first he was a politician; not merely a Ukrainian statesman but also a great European. He combined military efficiency with profound,

political, social and cultural problems was far-sighted vision, the vision of a statesman accustomed to weigh every consideration calmly.

In Ukraine, fighting for liberation, he had a far more important post than that of Commander-in-Chief of all the resistance troops in the country. He was more: *President of the Underground Government of Ukraine*. His main task was to lead the nation as a politician; his military work was for him only secondary; only one of his many public functions. Judging from his whole character, his abilities, his personal inclinations, he had not the qualities of a military dictator; nothing was more repulsive for him than the figures of modern dictators, hung with gold braid, but with blood-stained hands, who considered that the only effective solution for all human,

to use brute force, to command whole nations like fighting squads and to exact blind obedience. General Chuprynka was modest and reserved to self-effacement; he desired nothing for himself, everything for the cause.

In complete contrast to modern dictators, Taras Chuprynka regarded it as his most important task to subordinate the entire military power of the Ukrainian movement of resistance to civilian, democratic control. He was an enlightened soldier who wished to have armed forces under the authority and control of the people's representatives. To make this clear, we should like to give a short summary of the Ukrainian resistance movement which was developed in three stages.

### U. V. O.

*First stage: 1920-1929.* After the failure of the Ukrainian revolution and the lost wars of liberation from 1917—1920, Ukraine was occupied by Soviet Russia, Poland, Czechia and Rumania and subjugated by these powers. The greater parts of the country were allocated to Moscow and Poland. But the fight for freedom continued.

The U.V.O., the "Ukrainian Military Organization", was formed in Soviet Ukraine and in Poland for the purpose of continuing military resistance, or at least, of fostering the military idea, as the essential condition for a successful revolution to liberate the country at a given time. Col. Eugen Kono-



*valets* was the leader of the U.V.O. The organization was non-party and non-political, working on the principle that the political aspect of liberation was the affair of political parties; the U.V.O. regarded itself as the military arm, the executive organ of the political authority in the country.

In 1925, young *Roman Shukhevych*, later *Taras Chuprynka*, the son of a Ukrainian family of priests and judges, joined the U.V.O. when he was 18 and still at a college. In the ranks of a fighting squad, he took part in active service, displaying a cold and calculating contempt for death combined with great intelligence, and was soon promoted to more responsible work.

At this time, however, the leadership of the political parties was not satisfactory. There was much quarrelling, and the U.V.O. was not always sure which was right. More serious was the fact that these parties, which had been founded before World War I and had not changed their principles, were not capable of dealing with the altered situation. The regime in the U.S.S.R. was totalitarian, while that in Poland was semi-totalitarian, and Ukrainians had to live under both, which meant that fighting methods had to be adapted to the new conditions. Finally the U.V.O. severed its bonds with the old parties and was affiliated to the "Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists" (O.U.N.); this body had gradually developed from 1920—1929 and had been formally organized at the turn of the year 1928/29 during the *First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists* in Vienna.

#### O. U. N.

*Second Stage: 1929—1944.* Amalgamation with the O.U.N. provided the U.V.O. with the necessary ideological foundation; gradually took over the military section of the O.U.N. The revolutionary movement of liberation, therefore, became a united organisation with a political and a military department. At the Congress in Vienna *Col. Eugen Konovalets* was appointed head of the O.U.N.; in May 1938 he was killed in Rotterdam by a bolshevik bomb. During the 16 years from the Congress in Vienna until the end of World War II, the O.U.N. continued to intensify its revolutionary campaign for liberation in Poland and, more particularly, in the U.S.S.R.

The differences of opinion that resulted from the conduct of the war, created a split in the O.U.N.; after internal strife, *Mr. Stephan Bandera* became the acknowledged leader of the majority of the organisation. *Roman Shukhevych*, who had meantime advanced to a position of responsibility, supported *Mr. Bandera* and recognized him as the leader of O.U.N. until he fell on March 5, 1950.

The O.U.N. increased in strength and power; on 30. 6. 1941 the Ukrainian National Assembly, on the initiative of the O.U.N., proclaimed the renewal of the independence of Ukraine at Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine, the Prime Minister being *Mr. Yaroslav Stetko*. The Nazi regime did not view this renaissance of Ukraine with favour, so the Ukrainian Government was arrested and put into a concentration camp. But this made no decisive difference to the movement which was not held up for one instant by the arrest of *St. Bandera* and *Y. Stetko*. In 1943, at the instance and under the leadership of the O.U.N., the U.P.A. was formed, the "Ukrainian Insurgent Army", as a regular revolutionary force

and no longer a number of fighting groups. The aim of U.P.A. was to liberate the country both from the bolsheviks and the nazis; it had to fight on two fronts. By 1945 the U.P.A. had a fighting strength of over 200,000. The entire Ukrainian people became devoted to the U.P.A. and helped it whenever possible. News of its victories were and till this very day are received with enthusiasm.

#### U. H. V. R.

*Third Stage: 1944—1945.* This is where *Roman Shukhevych* stepped in. As a high officer in the U.P.A. he was in command of its South-West Front (Galicia, Carpathians, Slovakia, Rumania) from July 1943. As the end of World War II approached, more and more Ukrainian territory came under the military administration of the U.P.A., for instance the whole of Volhynia, Polissya, parts of Podolia, the Carpathians, etc. These areas wanted an orderly state administration, but the O.U.N. did not possess any such competence. End of 1943 *Roman Shukhevych* was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the U.P.A. and assumed as his official name the old underground nom de guerre — "Taras Chuprynka". *Mr. Bandera*, *Mr. Stetko* and most of their friends were at that time in Nazi prisons; the World War II was drawing to a close. *Taras Chuprynka* realized that he had to take the initiative. He saw that the whole of Ukraine would once more fall to Russia and that the fight for liberation must be continued on a higher, a state level. The existing organisations (U.P.A. and O.U.N.) were no more sufficient to carry out a successful fight against the Soviet Union and its communists, either politically or from a military point of view.

*Taras Chuprynka*, therefore, set about a task that is unparalleled, namely, to create within the U.S.S.R. a proper Ukrainian underground state with a President, Parliament, Government, army, legislation, budget, etc.; Parliament and Government were to assume the political and military responsibility for the continuance of the fight and to have control over the army (U.P.A.).

Thus the U.H.V.R. ("Ukrainska Holovná Vyzvolna Rada) the "Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council" was born. Under conditions of great difficulty, *Taras Chuprynka* summoned the leaders of the Ukrainian people from all quarters of the country in summer 1944: leaders of pre-war parties, eminent clergymen belonging to both of the Ukrainian churches (Orthodox and Catholic), labour leaders, scholars, artists, former Ukrainian members of the parliament in Poland, leaders of trades unions and women's organizations, journalists and other public men. The intention was to include every department of national life. These leaders met in the depths of the Carpathian forest and established the U.H.V.R., the underground liberation Parliament of the Ukrainian people. The president of the U.H.V.R. became for the time the President of Ukraine. The U.H.V.R. assumed power in the state, appointed the Government (known as the "General Secretariate") and allocated various departments to its members (ministries); it entrusted *Taras Chuprynka* with the formation of a cabinet; approved a budget, determined the Foreign Representation of the U.H.V.R. and sent it abroad in order to inform the free world about Ukraine's fight for liberation and to win foreign support for this great and just cause.

#### In the Spirit of Democracy

The U.H.V.R. was inspired with a spirit of true democracy. *Taras Chuprynka*, who was given enormous power, subordinated himself to the Assembly, recognizing it as the legitimate representation of the people and waiting for its orders and instructions. Everything that happened in free Ukraine was now accomplished in the name, not of O.U.N. or U.P.A., but of the U.H.V.R. *Taras Chuprynka*, of course, acknowledged the initiative of the O.U.N. and recognized *Mr. Stephan Bandera* as its leader; but the U.H.V.R. was at the head of the structure, e. g. the state, uniting the whole people in an administrative organisation at the highest level. It is the third stage in the modern political development of the Ukrainian people; after the purely military formation of the U.V.O. and the party-like organisation of the O.U.N., the people became now organized as a state, its highest representation being the U.H.V.R.

The establishment of the U.H.V.R. with all its affiliations was *Taras Chuprynka's* most eminent contribution to the history of Ukraine. The fight for liberation will proceed inevitably along the lines he laid down, and the U.H.V.R. is an unalterable, real, binding, fact for the entire Ukrainian people behind the Iron Curtain.

Russian bolsheviks may have destroyed *Taras Chuprynka* physically, but they cannot destroy his political legacy; it still lives and will continue to grow. It has given Ukraine definite political and state forms which will function automatically and immediately should bolshevism collapse in a Third War. The outside world will in such a case find an established constitutional organizations in Ukraine created by *Taras Chuprynka*. It is ludicrous for some American "private circles" to organize various "Committees" for the liberation of the "peoples of Russia" without taking established facts in Ukraine into consideration. Ukraine will not receive any *Kerenskys*; the spirit and the great organization of *Taras Chuprynka* will prevail.

#### For the New Free World

In order to appreciate to the full *Taras Chuprynka's* importance as a Ukrainian leader we also must bear in mind his greatness as a *European*; he possessed a genuine love and respect for other European nations. For him, the liberty of Ukraine could have been guaranteed only by the cooperation of other European nations, in particular of non-Russian peoples in Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia. He was one of the founders of the *Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)* laying down the principles which he considered binding for harmonious cooperation among free peoples.

#### Appointment for a Ukrainian Scientist

(U.I.S.) *Dr. T. K. Pawlichenko*, up to now chief of the Agricultural Research Institute of the American Chemical Paint Co. in Ambler, U.S.A. recently received a call to the Far East in order to carry out research on agricultural chemicals for New Zealand, Australia and Japan. *Dr. Pawlichenko* was also invited to Formosa in order to advise the leaders of agriculture there and give them the benefit of his experience. He will hold lectures at various universities during the trip. *Dr. Pawlichenko* began his scientific career as lecturer in Ukrainian at the university of Saskatchewan, Canada in 1938.



*Side-Lights on Modern Ukrainian History:***Carpatho-Ukraine's Fight for Freedom**

*By its declaration of independence on March 15, 1939, Carpatho-Ukraine proclaimed that it belongs irrevocably to an independent state for all Ukrainians*

Ukraine was divided into four after the first World War — 443,000 sq. km. to the Soviet Union; 132,000 sq. km. to Poland (Eastern Galicia, Volhynia), 72,629 sq. km. to Rumania (Bukovina and Bessarabia) and 12,598 sq. km. to Czechoslovakia.

The part allocated to Czechoslovakia by the *Treaty of St. Germain* (10 September 1919) is called *Carpatho-Ukraine*; it stretches over the southern slopes of the Carpathians down to the Hungarian plain.

That this part of Europe should be called "Carpatho-Ukraine" is quite justified since by far the majority of the population is ethnically Ukrainian, speaks Ukrainian and clings to ancient Ukrainian customs and traditions. This explanation appears to be necessary, for Hungarians and Czechs, long the rulers of the country, tried hard for centuries to erase or disguise the Ukrainian character of the country.

So the country was at various times called "Carpatho-Russia", "Carpatho-Ruthenia", "Subcarpathian-Russ" etc. In spite of all the Hungarian and Czech attempts and experiments, carried out, often with inhuman severity, to change the national character of the Ukrainian population, the country has preserved its ancient Ukrainian quality.

**A Partial Solution**

This was obvious when an *independent Carpatho-Ukrainian State* was proclaimed at *Chust* on March 15, 1939 and solemnly ratified by the freely elected democratic Parliament of the country. This, of course, was merely a partial solution, as the country was too small to exist for any time as an independent state, too helpless economically and strategically; the independence of Carpatho-Ukraine was declared with the obvious reservation that the country would unite sooner or later with the main mass of the Ukrainian people. But no other solution was possible at a time when Benesh's Czechoslovakia was collapsing.

**Hungarian Legacy**

March 15, 1939 marks a bright spot in a gloomy, century-old record of this beautiful but always unhappy country. In the sixteenth century the country passed in the course of dynastic alliances into the possession of Hungary, where it remained until the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918. The lower classes were Ukrainian, the ruling caste Hungarian. The Hungarians proved to be bad rulers and still worse financiers and administrators. In 1918, when Hungarian supremacy ended and the country was handed over to Czechoslovakia, it would have been hard to find in all Europe a country more backward, poorer, sunk lower in the tragic depths of ignorance and humiliation. In 1918 80% of the population was illiterate. Unbelievable ignorance and superstition were rampant; when, for instance, cocoa arrived in American gift parcels in 1919, people in many districts did not know what it was for, and painted their walls with it. The general state of health was wretched: more than 10% were tubercular, and 10% had lues. The small towns, whose population of 5—6000 where 60—70% Jewish, were even

worse off than the rural districts. It is clear, therefore, that the fondest dream of the people before 1918 was to emigrate to America, cost what it might. And many emigrated; in 1925 it was discovered that there were more Carpatho-Ukrainians in Canada and the U.S.A. than in the old



Members of the Government of Carpatho-Ukraine, March 1939  
In the centre: President of Carpatho-Ukraine, Very Rev. Avhustyn Voloshyn; at his right: Prime Minister A. Shtefan; at his left: Minister of Information: Dr. V. Komarynsky

country, though the landscape there was beautiful, for Carpatho-Ukraine has many springs and healing waters, rivers that could produce millions of kilowatt hours of current, forests with great stores of timber, mountain meadows where a flourishing dairy industry could be developed. In wise hands it might have become a second Switzerland. But it became a home of misery — such was the Hungarian legacy.

**20 Years under Czechs**

The Czechs owned the country from 1918 till 1938. Justice compels us to say that the new owners did more for the social, economic and cultural life of the country in these twenty years than the Hungarians in long centuries. But politically the Czech regime was no better than its predecessor. The Czechs, too, cherished the illusion that they would perhaps succeed where the Hungarians had failed for centuries, namely, in altering the Ukrainian character of the people, this time in favour of the Czechs. The Hungarians had not allowed an indigenous class of educated people to develop, a fact that the Czechs utilized when they took over; the country was swamped with Czech officials who tried to make Czechs out of the natives. They tried above all to prevent at all costs the re-awakening of any natural Ukrainian patriotism.

When the Czechs took possession of the country, they promised that it should have a government of its own. The *Treaty of St. Germain* provided that home-rule should be introduced in Carpatho-Ukraine "as soon as the situation proved to be favourable". For this "favourable situation" the population had to wait for 20 years, until Czechoslovakia

was no more. As autonomy would have meant a rise in the level and in the number of local Ukrainian intelligentsia and the spread of the Ukrainian outlook among the leading class, the Czechs tried for years by means of various administrative tricks to prevent the realization of autonomy.

In spite of this, the country rapidly improved. Schools of all kinds were established; banks were founded and various economic, social and cultural institutions. By degrees a new intellectual class sprang up that was Ukrainian through and through, in spite of Czech education and administration.

**A Turbulent Time**

It was natural that the mass of the Ukrainian people should demand independence in 1938/39, when pressure from Hitler was causing Czechoslovakia under Benesh to fall apart.

The history of these years was most turbulent. Hitler was playing with the idea of using the Ukrainian card in the East, with Carpatho-Ukraine as his starting-point. Then he abandoned the idea just as abruptly as he had taken it up. He arranged with Hungarian chief of state Horthy to give Carpatho-Ukraine to Hungary again, Hungary promising in return to join the Axis powers. We all know how that ended for Hungary. This solution received enthusiastic support from Poland, too. The Poles were anxious to have a common frontier with Hungary and that was possible only if Carpatho-Ukraine was handed over to the latter. As Poland had a Ukrainian minority of 6 million politically and nationally very alive Ukrainians, she feared that the creation of a Carpatho-Ukrainian state would favour the growth of her own Ukrainian irredentists. The efforts of Polish diplomats under Josef Beck, the foreign minister, to prevent the establishment of Carpatho-Ukraine were positively hysterical; a regular Ukrainianophobia spread among the Polish people, resulting in mass-arrests, street pogroms and lynchings of Ukrainians.

**On the Way of Freedom**

The people of Carpatho-Ukraine were not consulted; nevertheless, in spite of the manoeuvres of diplomats, they proceeded on their way to Ukrainian freedom. With the loosening of the bonds of Czech admini-



stration, the country was overwhelmed by an irresistible wave of Ukrainian patriotism and passion for independence. In consequence of the Munich Agreement of September 22, 1938, Dr. Benesh, the President of the C.S.R., resigned on October 5, 1938. On October 6, 1938 an autonomous Slovak State and Government was formed, and on October 11 an autonomous Government of Carpatho-Ukraine. On November 23, 1938, after a law had been passed by the central Parliament in Prague, Carpatho-Ukraine at last, was declared to be an autonomous republic with a Parliament and Government of its own. On Febr. 12, 1939 general elections were held throughout the country for a Carpatho-Ukrainian Parliament and the result was an overwhelming majority (265,000 votes = 86.1%) for the united Ukrainian nationalists. This plebiscite was the first opportunity the Ukrainian population had in all the history of the country to register its free will.

### Hungarian Massacres

Meanwhile Czechoslovakia continued to decay. Slovakia declared its independence and secession on March 14, 1939, which separated Carpatho-Ukraine geographically from Prague. As a logical consequence the government of Carpatho-Ukraine declared the full political independence of their country. On March 15, 1939 the Carpatho-Ukrainian Parliament, elected a short time before, met to ratify the government's declaration, at the same time passing a provisional Constitution. The Rev. *Ahustyn Voloshyn*, a Ukrainian Catholic priest, was elected president and immediately entrusted *Julian Rebay* with the formation of a new government.

At this very moment the treaty began to take effect which Hitler had concluded with Hungary and which handed Carpatho-Ukraine over to the latter. Hungarian troops marched into the country on March 14 and began to occupy it systematically. Although the young state had no trained military forces, the "Sich", a civilian militia of 6000 men, made determined resistance. This unequal struggle is one of the most moving and heroic episodes in the history of the Ukrainian people. Pushed back into the hills, the "Sich" did not give up till the end of May 1939. No prisoners were taken in this war, for all who fled across the Polish frontier into Galicia were caught and immediately handed by Poles over to Hungary — and shot. Whoever was caught by the Hungarians was shot immediately. Thus hundreds of young Ukrainians were murdered by Hungarians and Poles. There are pictures and documents which tell this tragic tale all too plainly. The episode was certainly not a credit to Hungary. This Hungarian massacre will never be forgotten.

### The Will of the People — Not the Will of the Soviets

Hungary kept Carpatho-Ukraine only till the autumn of 1944, and at the end of the War, the country was occupied by Soviet troops. On November 26, 1944 the occupying power convened in Mukachiv, largest town of the country, a congress of 600 members of the so-called "National Committees" which proclaimed the definite union of Carpatho-Ukraine with the rest of Soviet Ukraine. The population hates the Soviets; but the union with the Ukrainian motherland is based on the clear will of the population.

On June 29, 1945, a treaty was signed between Moscow and Kyiv on the one side and

### Another Great Cultural Achievement of Ukrainians in Exile:

## The Ukrainian Free University

Formerly in Prague, at present in Munich/Bavaria

By Scholar

### I. The Past

In 1917, after the collapse of tsarist Russia, the Ukrainian National Republic was founded spontaneously on the Ukrainian territories of the former Russian empire. Having once tasted independence, the Ukrainian people did not cease fight-



Rector of the Ukrainian Free University,  
Prof. Dr. Ivan Mirdnuk

ing for its future. Besides its military actions, it always kept struggling for its spiritual life based on national schools and science. By means of violence the occupants prevented the Ukrainians from having their own secondary schools and independent science. Consequently the necessity arose to found intellectual centers abroad, i. e. in the free democratic countries.

In 1921 the Ukrainian Free University

the "People's Republic of Czechoslovakia" on the other whereby the latter renounced all claim to Carpatho-Ukraine.

These Soviet treaties are no more binding for the political consciousness of the Ukrainian people than other Soviet agreements. The decisive factor is the free will of the Ukrainian people which was plainly expressed when it elected the Carpatho-Ukrainian Parliament on February 12, 1939 and declared its intention of amalgamating with Ukraine. This expression of the people's free will was ratified by the Parliament on March 15, 1939, a date which the Ukrainian people, wherever free today to express its opinion, regards as the most significant in its history. It is an expression of the fact that Carpatho-Ukraine was, is, and ever will be a Ukrainian country. Constitutionally and politically it is part of the state of the Ukrainian people, and the entire Ukrainian people is prepared to work and fight to the utmost to realize this aim.

was founded in Prague, Czechoslovakia, a center of education for the Ukrainian emigres who, because of political reasons, had been forced to leave their homeland after it was lost. The first instructors were former university professors from Russia and Austro-Hungary, and its founder and protector until death was Professor *Masaryk*, President of Czechoslovakia. Its structure was based on the principles of the universities of Czechoslovakia. The statutes of the U.F.U. are almost identical with the statutes of the Czech Charles University at Prague. Two faculties were opened to meet the requirements of the emigres: the faculty of philosophy, with history philology and science departments and the faculty of law, including political economy.

The aim of the University was teaching and research. Not only were specialists trained, but great attention was paid to the education of Ukrainian youth. The scientific activity of the University displayed itself in the University itself and also in various scientific societies. The Historical-Philological Society as well as the Law Society published scientific works and compilations of their own. Professors of the U.F.U. cooperated with Czech and foreign scientific institutions, took part in international congresses, and their publications appeared in many scientific journals. Through the Ukrainian Academic Committee at Prague the University was made a member of the "Commission Internationale pour la Cooperation Intellectuelle" which existed as a branch of the League of Nations in Geneva. The U.F.U. was treated as a legally constituted university and was enrolled in the official list of Czechoslovakian universities, and in the international list of universities. (*Minerva Jahrbuch*).

The name "Ukrainian Free University" was chosen to indicate that it is not a state university, but fully independent. But it has always held to the traditional forms and exigencies of European state universities.

After the German occupation of Czechoslovakia the U.F.U., as an emigree institution did not cease to exist; its activities, however, dropped to a very low level because of many restrictions.

As a result of the war most of the professors had to emigrate once more and sought refuge in countries occupied by the Western Allies.

### II. The Present

War events put a sudden end to the work of 24 years; the professors, however, did not lose confidence in their mission. Ukrainian independent science has no place on Ukrainian territory as yet, so hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians must go on building such centers in foreign countries.

At the end of 1945, the professorial staff of the U.F.U. therefore, decided to continue



# Ukraine Behind the Iron Curtain

## The Supervision of Reading Matter

### Another Way of Spreading Russian Culture

(U.I.S.) As his reading is closely supervised, the Soviet citizen cannot simply read what he likes. This is true in particular of non-Russian peoples, and above all of Ukraine. As the average man in the Soviet Union cannot afford to buy books often, he depends for his reading matter chiefly on lending libraries. Accurate card indexes are kept in those libraries showing how much and, still more important, *what* the subject reads. The names of the authors whose works are borrowed and the most popular subjects are accurately listed. After, say, a year, the index gives a good idea of the reader's intellectual interests, and often also of his political and national attitude. And it is with the latter that the M.G.B. mainly concerns itself during its regular and thorough inspections of library files.

The most popular program in the U.S.S.R. at present is "The Consolidation of the eternal friendship between soviet peoples; the strengthening of bonds of brotherhood between non-Russian peoples and the great Russian people." The non-Russian peoples have to give proof of their friendship by recognizing the spiritual leadership of Great Russia, subordinating themselves to it without reservation and with gratitude. Here, the unruly Ukrainians are subject to special control. Facts relating to the intellectual attitude of the Ukrainian people are provided by the so-called local "correspondents" who are officially commissioned to send reports to "the paper" on the life of the community.

Scarcely 5% of their reports are ever printed, 95% are evaluated in the offices of the M.G.B.

The "Radyanska Ukraina" recently published an article by such a "correspondent" on what the Ukrainian public likes to read. The writer had visited the public library in the village of Holokhvasty, district of Wolochysk, Podolia, Western Ukraine and inspected the library card of *Havrylo P. Derkachuk*, the village carpenter. What had the man read? The list of the authors' names is characteristic. Here it is:

Lev Tolstoy, Gogol, Serafimovich, Pomialovsky, Sergeyev-Tsensky, Katayev, Maurice Thorez, Jacobson, Cassil, Makarenko, Tarlé, Rybak, Zola, Victor Hugo, Ehrenburg, Polevoy, Ivan Lé...

When inquiries were made of Derkachuk, he replied: "That is what all of us read. That is what our life is like."

Among the authors listed, only 2 are Ukrainians, 4 are foreigners and the rest Russians. Russian literature is preferred. Why? Because Russian writers are actually better, on a higher intellectual level? Have they no equals in Ukrainian literature? Of course they have.

It is characteristic of this list of authors that it does not include even Ukrainian stars like Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, Lessya Ukrainka and Wassyl Stefanyk.

The explanation is quite simple: the readers know that they are under supervision. They know that proof of friendship for the Russian people is demanded.

So they ask for Russian authors, see that the books they borrow are noted, take the Russian book home even if they never open it. On the other hand, they avoid the names of Ukrainian writers, the frequent borrowing of whose works would lead to suspicions of Ukrainian nationalism. And when they borrow books by foreigners they must be very careful to avoid incurring suspicion of cosmopolitanism. It is safest to stick to Russians. That is why libraries in the remotest Ukrainian villages order great numbers of Russian books and why the circulation of these reaches six figures. A Ukrainian writer, on the other hand, may be glad if his book reaches an edition of 15—20,000.

On the battlefield of culture, the Russians are ready to seize every way of pushing their own culture to the top, even if they must enlist the help of the M.G.B. If the people are not interested in Russian culture, it is rammed down their throats. Swallow it they must.

## Wayward Nations

### Moscow Demands Severer Training

(U.I.S.) The Moscow press continues to demand increased ideological training to counteract movements for independence among the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. On February 1, the "Pravda" published a report from Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital, from which we quote:

"In Kyiv there are 6 theatres, the State Philharmonic, unions of composers, artists, writers, the Theatre Institute and a number of other active associations. In each of these there are communist party 'cells'. The municipal communist committee has

to work, and in the beginning of 1946 both faculties began their normal courses in Munich. Since it always has been an university of emigres it was not difficult to continue on these lines. The only and greatest change was that of place. Each faculty conducts the courses within its limits and has its regular program as at any other European university. Subject matter has been supplemented in accordance with the curricula of Western universities. The political, economic and cultural problems of Eastern Europe, especially those of Ukraine, are studied thoroughly. Eight terms are prescribed for graduation, i. e. four years of continuous studies. Every student has to attend a certain number of courses and to pass the necessary final examinations. Only graduates from secondary schools are admitted as ordinary students.

The teaching staff has been enlarged by well-known Ukrainian scientists from different European countries. In the year 1947 the U.F.U. staff consisted of 23 ordinary professors, 19 extra-ordinary professors, 15 instructors, 9 lecturers and 7 assistants — together 73 persons. With the 9 persons of the administration staff, 82 persons.

The conditions for qualifying as a lecturer

correspond to those of Western European universities. An independent work of research is requested and (must be recognized) by the board of the faculty.

Today the U.F.U. exists on subsidies granted by the Apostolic Visitor for Greek-Catholic Ukrainians in Western Europe, fees paid by the students and gifts contributed by friends of the University and former students.

The property of the University had to be left behind in Prague. Only the small but very important library, above all on Eastern problems, was saved. Besides, some of the professors placed their own valuable books at the disposal of their University.

As an aid to students, lecturers prepare scripts on their subjects. A small library of the University's own scripts helps to supply the great lack of books which handicaps the students in their work.

Besides their lectures, the instructors of the U.F.U. perform scientific work and, as members of scientific societies, take part in conferences and discussions. The lack of money handicaps publication on a large scale. There are, however, the collaborative works: "Ukraine and Its People", a hand-

book on Ukraine, and the "Collected Scientific Papers". Other works of importance are reduplicated by means of a hectograph. All these books are works on the problems of Eastern Europe, especially on the history, economy, and culture of Ukraine, and can also be used by foreign scholars who wish to study questions of Eastern European.

## III. The Future

Looking back on a tradition of 30 years and performing its present difficult duties, the U.F.U. does not forget to consider future plans. It is well aware of the fact that the present situation of Ukrainian emigres will not last forever, and that settlement in overseas countries may be considered the only solution of their problem. In 1947, the number of students amounted to 400 persons — today a great many of the students and professors of the U.F.U. have already settled in the United States and Canada, so that the number of lecturers and students is constantly decreasing. For the time being, however, the University will stay in Germany, all the more since in 1950 it was formally recognized by a decree of the Bavarian Ministry of Education.



established training courses for the secretaries of these organization where two lessons or lectures have already been held. At the first of these, the secretaries of the "cells" discussed the implementation of the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine "to eliminate serious deficiencies and mistakes in the party organization in Ukraine with reference to supervising ideological activity."

This report is fresh proof of the fact that no Russian bolshevik terrorism is able to prevent the spread of the Ukrainian people's fight for independence. It is significant that this report from Kyiv is published in the "Pravda" alongside of two similar reports from two other non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. The paper's correspondent in *Izhevsk* reports on meetings in the local communist party in Udmurtsk as follows:

"The Communist Party finds much to censure in the ideological programme. Too few lessons and lectures are organized for the population particularly in the villages. The local committee of the communist party does not devote sufficient attention to translations of marxist-leninist literature into the Udmurtsk language. No efforts are being made to raise the political and artistic level of Udmurtsk writers."

Another correspondent of the "Pravda" in *Frunse*, *Turkestan*, reports similar conditions there. In Russia proper there is no such fight against bolshevism, and therefore no "ideological distortions" and no ideological purges.

It is high time the West realized that it is only non-Russian peoples who fight against bolshevism, a fact that is clearly supported even by the Soviet press.

## Re-education of Students

### A Process of Russifying West Ukraine Intended to Last for Years

(U.I.S.) Up till 1939, West Ukraine (especially Galicia, Carpatho-Ukraine and Bukovina, part of Volhynia) never was under Russian rule. Although divided into several states, these Ukrainian territories always had the same outlook as the West.

It was not till 1944 that, as a result of World War II, they fell under Russian bolshevism for some time. The Russians were faced with the difficult problem of adapting these newly incorporated Ukrainian territories to the mentality of Russia and bolshevism. There was nothing to be expected from the older generation; they were already too much infected by Western ideas ever to become proper bolsheviks and Russians. For this reason they concentrated on youth.

The young people concerned were about 10-15 when the Russians seized power in 1944. Today they are 17-22 years of age. Their decisive school-years were spent under the Soviet system. Now they are of student age, and attend universities, technical colleges, and economic courses etc. Moscow is trying to regard these young people as its own generation and treats them as such.

It is interesting to throw a glance at their time-tables and their scientific studies, their interests and examinations. Let us take, for example the curriculum of the Teachers' Training College at *Stanislaviv*, *Galicia*. This town has about 70,000 inhabitants, is the seat of the Ukrainian

Catholic bishop, has various industries, such as oil refineries, etc. The whole area was pronouncedly Ukrainian. The function of the Training College is to train elementary and secondary school teachers.

Y. *Remezovsky* had an article in the "Radyanska Ukraina", February 3, 1952, dealing with this institution. Established only after World War II, it began its work, as was to be expected, by founding a Chair for Marxism and Leninism. The writer says: "It is the task of the Institute, and above all of this Chair to train students ideologically."

"The entire lecturing staff has to study Marxism and Leninism in some form or other. Of the 42 professors and lecturers, 13 read Marxism and Leninism at university evening courses; the rest teach independently. Different methods are employed in training, e. g. political information, classes, discussions and lectures. The entire political education of the students is based on plans approved by the party bureau of the Institute. Some of the more important subjects of lectures and discussions are: "The Lenin-Stalin Party as organizer and inspirer of the victories of the Soviet people;" "Social Movements in the West Ukraine;" "Monumental Buildings of Communism;" "Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalists — grim enemies of the Ukrainian people, agents of Anglo-American imperialists," and the like. Debates were held on the following subjects: "Eternal friendship between the Ukrainian and the Russian peoples;" "The assistance given by the great Russian people to the Ukrainian people in its liberation from the yoke of capitalism and foreign imperialism;" "Lenin and Stalin as leaders of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation;" etc. All the students of the Institute were instructed to prepare lectures, to take part in discussions. The best papers were then published. During their vacation, students visited towns and villages and factories, giving these lectures and holding debates."

Obviously these methods are used everywhere in West Ukraine. Strongly attached to the West as it is and though offering determined resistance, Western Ukraine cannot carry on this struggle alone.

## "Have You Yessentucky?"

(U.I.S.) In Russian slang the expression "to polish a person's glasses" is often used, meaning to pull a person's leg, to lead him up the garden, i. e. to deceive him. This is one of the principal occupations of the Soviet press which is constantly conjuring up an image of the "happy life" of the Soviet citizen, though there is no such thing.

"Borzhom", "Narzan", and "Yessentucky" are famous makes of Caucasian mineral waters, particularly recommended for the treatment of diseases of the digestive tract. They are also for sale in chemists' shops as powders and salts, provided, of course, that supplies reach these shops. In actual practice this is rare, and if there is any, the party bosses come first. Here's where peoples legs are pulled. The "Ukrainska Dumka" of February 14, 1952 published interesting remarks by a Soviet Ukrainian kolkhose correspondent who complains about conditions in local chemists' shops. We quote: "The Soviet government takes the greatest pains to realize the provisions of Stalin's constitution, doing its best to look after the welfare of workers. The farms in the country supply the masses with the

necessities of life, but the chemists do not always do their bit. A kolkhose workman recently inquired in a neighbouring chemist's for Borzhom, Narzan and Yessentucky. "I am sorry", the chemist replied. And the kolkhose worker remarks indignantly: "Why can we not get mineral water?"

To put it shortly the working people are so well off, eat so well that they must resort to Borzhom and Yessentucky. But these are not to be had. Is it not scandalous?

The readers of Soviet papers must read things like this every day and may not even smile. Everything is done in dead earnest. They will end by believing themselves that all they need in order to be completely happy is Yessentucky.

## Bandera, the Hated

### Every trace of his Name to be Stamped out in Ukraine

(U.I.S.) The following characteristic report appeared in the "Radyanska Ukraina" of February 3, 1952:

"The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R., by a decree of February 2, 1952, changed the name of the village of BENDEROVSKA, district Sosnytsia, area Chernyiv, into POLISSIA; the Benderovsky Village Soviet to Polissky Village Soviet, etc. The decree comes into effect at once."

As we all know, *Stepan Bandera* is the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists which for decades has fought a constant battle for the liberation of Ukraine against Russian bolshevik occupation, oppression and russification. Ukrainian fighters for independence are often simply called "Banderivtsi" in Ukraine, although Bandera himself objects strongly to this designation. Nevertheless, the name has become very popular in the country and is detested and combated by the Russians.

## "Century-Old Friendship Between China and Ukraine"

(U.I.S.) The Moscow regime is particularly interested in constantly drawing public attention to new proofs of friendship between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China. This is all the more necessary in view of the fact that the Western press has repeatedly reported tension between the Politbureau in Moscow and Mao Tse-Tung's regime. As evidence of the "eternal friendship", 200 members of the Chinese Youth Movement have for months now been visiting the U.S.S.R. and the satellite states. This group includes a choir, an orchestra, a dance ensemble and many individual artists, and even circus and music-hall performers. After a tour through some of the largest towns in Russia, the East Zone of Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania, these Chinese finally arrived in Kyiv. Here the visitors were welcomed with flowers and speeches by "representatives of Ukrainian theatrical and musical life." References were made to the "century-old friendship between the peoples of China and Ukraine, a friendship which the wise guidance of our leaders, Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung, will consolidate and strengthen." The visitors from China stayed in Kyiv for a week at the beginning of February and gave demonstrations of their different arts in theatres that were always sold out. According to the press, there were some excellent items, particularly national scenes.



# UKRAINIANS ABROAD

## Australia

### Against Kerensky & Co.

(U.I.S.) More than 20,000 Ukrainians in Australia joined the general protest of Ukrainian emigrés in the free West against the imperialist, Great Russia claims of Kerensky and Co. In the middle of February written protests from Australia reached Europe, with many signatures, all against the campaign of Kerensky's group and other so-called "democratic" parties, to reconstruct a uniform Russian imperium. One of the strongest protests is that of the "Union of Ukrainians in Australia", signed by the president, V. Solovey, and B. Podolyanko, chief secretary. It announces that "Kerensky and his crew will never be able to reverse the wheel of history... Humanity and the freedom of nations continues to advance, as does also the freedom of Ukraine, and no Russian reaction, no matter its disguise, can prevent this progress." The document was the common work of representatives of seven Ukrainian parties, i. e. of practically all the Ukrainians now in Australia.

## Belgium

### Young Ukrainian Liberals

(U.I.S.) The First Congress of the Liberal Youth of Europe took place on January 26 and 27, 1952 in Brussels. It was attended by delegates from 12 European nations, including a delegation of young Ukrainian liberals in exile. The Congress was devoted to problems connected with the unity of Europe and also spent much time on discussing the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia. All agreed that Europe's existence depends on international federation, and that a united Europe alone can guarantee the future of democracy and liberalism in the world. The cause of the nations subjugated by Russia was most enthusiastically championed by delegates from Germany and Italy. The Ukrainian representative was elected a member of the executive of the Congress and his motions were sympathetically supported by all delegates.

## Canada

### Canadians Learn Ukrainian

(U.I.S.) The Labour Relations Office at Alberta University, Edmonton has arranged for the introduction of courses in Ukrainian as a subject in the University curriculum. Two courses have been announced, one for beginners and one for advanced student. The former is taught by Mr. P. L. Lazarevych, while the latter is in the hands of Dr. O. Starchuk, Reader in the Department of Slavonic Studies at the University. The administration of the University gives interesting reasons for this step; it hopes that these courses will be attended not only by Ukrainians desirous of refreshing and improving their knowledge of Ukrainian and their country's history and culture, but also by other Canadians, for whom a knowledge of Ukrainian "would be useful

in business." We remind our readers that there are many Ukrainians in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, especially in the towns. As their number keeps increasing, it is worth while learning Ukrainian there, as it is a great help in every way.

## Chile

### A Ukrainian Choir

(U.I.S.) The Ukrainian Choir of mixed voices under Conductor L. Gizhevsky, which has already been mentioned in these columns, continues its career of artistic success in Chile and wins friends for Ukraine. We reported in a recent number that the choir had given a series of concerts in different towns in Chile arranged in co-operation with local musical societies in the autumn of 1951. Ukrainian songs have proved popular in this music-loving country; they are enthusiastically received both by audiences of simple people and by critics of music. After their last concert in San Fernando, the choir was entertained by the town, on which occasion the mayor proposed the toast: "Long live free Ukraine!"

## France

### A.B.N. Founded in Paris

The French branch of the A.B.N. (Antibolshevist Bloc of Nations) was founded in Paris on February 2, 1952. Ukrainians took an active part in the foundation. Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, former Ukrainian prime minister, now president of the A.B.N. came to Paris for this occasion. — Prince Tokarevsky of Ukraine, in the Chair, led the proceedings. On the second day of the Congress a mass meeting was arranged with members of the 16 participating nations. The meeting was addressed both by President Y. Stetzko and Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, secretary general of the A.B.N. A number of resolutions were passed against bolshevism, Russian imperialism, and false political trends in the West. From the interest shown by exiled politicians in Paris we gather that the prospects of the A.B.N. in France are promising.

### New Ukrainian Bulletin

The "Messenger Ukrainien", a new Ukrainian bulletin of information in French appeared for the first time in Paris early in 1952. The paper, edited by Mr. Ivan Leskovych, will appear at intervals. Its object is to give the French public impartial and objective information on Ukraine's struggle for liberation and the life of the Ukrainian people.

## Germany

### In Memory of General Chuprynka

(U.I.S.) On March 8, 1952, the Ukrainian Representative in the A.B.N. in Munich arranged a meeting to honour the memory of Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) President of the General Secretariate of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.) and Chief of the Staff

of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) who fell fighting against the Soviet army on March 5, 1950. Prof. Dr. Ivan Mirchuk, Rector of the Ukrainian Free University, was in the Chair. Dr. K. Hodovanets sketched the character of the fallen hero and indicated in his address what he had done for the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people. Leading exiled politicians of non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. and representatives of the liberation movements in satellite states also paid tribute to the fallen hero and emphasized the necessity of a common front. Among the guests were representatives of German expellee organizations. Col. Grache, president of the German-Ukrainian Herder Association, said that millions of Germans today felt that the interests of the champions of independence in the Soviet sphere of power were also theirs.

On the same day there was a meeting of hundreds of Ukrainians in Munich, organized by the Central Representative of exiled Ukrainians in Germany (C.P.U.E.N.). Prof. Dr. V. Plushch presided and R. Ihnytsky, editor, devoted his address to the sacrifices and suffering of Ukraine for freedom from the regime of Moscow, and, in particular, to the dead hero. Prof. V. Shulha recited two of his own poems.

### Publicity for an Ukrainian Businessman

A book was published recently by the firm of Wilhelm Neumann, Augsburg, Bavaria, entitled "Köpfe der Politik, Wirtschaft, Kunst und Wissenschaft" ("Leaders in Politics, Economics, Art and Learning"). It is a collection of monographs on leading representatives of public and intellectual life in Germany. It includes a biography of Mr. Wassyl Orendchuk, a well-known Ukrainian businessman who was Ukrainian consul in Munich 31 years ago. We quote:

"Mr. W. Orendchuk comes from an old Ukrainian family and was born in Stoyaniv, Ukraine on 13 .1. 1890. After finishing his law course, he took part in the first World War as an officer of the Austrian army. At the end of the war he was appointed to a responsible post in the Ukrainian Foreign Office. In 1918 he became Ukrainian Consul in Munich where he founded a German-Ukrainian club ("Deutsch-Ukrainischer Wirtschaftsklub"). In 1928 he founded a firm of his own in Munich and is today one of the most respected figures connected with German import and export trade. He is also vice-president of the governing body of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. He has a good reputation as a journalist and has written many well-informed articles in the daily press and in economic journals."

Consul Orendchuk is always ready to help Ukrainian exiles in their difficulties.

## Great Britain

### Ukrainians and the European Movement

(U.I.S.) From January 21—24, 1952 a conference was held in London of the European Movement for Central and East Europe, Mr. L. S. Amery, a member of the British Parliament being in the Chair. Representatives of the following countries took part: Albania, the Baltic States, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia. There were also delegates from Belgium, Germany, France, Great Britain, Holland, Austria and the Scandinavian countries and representatives of various international non-political organizations.



Members of the American Committee for Free Europe were present as observers and the international press was strongly represented.

The aim of the conference was to work out the general plan for the economic, industrial, social and cultural reconstruction of Europe after the collapse of bolshevism. In addition, a common ideological creed was to be arrived at for these countries which would duly serve as a basis for the international political reconstruction of this part of Europe.

Ukraine is not a member of this "European Movement". Although a "Ukrainian Committee for the Unity of Europe" was established years ago and although its leaders have repeatedly tried to join the "European Movement", they have always been refused admission.

This is not strange, considering the important part played in the "European Movement" by delegations from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, all of whom appropriated good bits of Ukrainian territory after World War I with little intention of giving them back. Thus it happens that countries keep summoning conferences to protest against Russian bolshevist imperialism and at the same time practice themselves an imperialism that is no better. Ukraine is to pay the costs.

The "Ukrainian Committee" is refused admission to the European Movement in order to make it difficult for the cause of Ukrainian liberation to attain international status. Countries which claim freedom for themselves are disinclined to let Ukraine enjoy freedom.

This procedure on the part of the Central and East European groups in the European Movement was felt to be deliberate discrimination of the Ukrainian just cause, and measures were immediately taken to deal with it. Before and during the London conference, the Ukrainian Committee for the Unity of Europe had held a number of press conferences and submitted a number of informatory memoranda to the leaders of the conference. These memoranda claim that geopolitically, economically and culturally Ukraine belongs to Europe and the Western World, that for centuries the Ukrainian people has been waging a bitter struggle to maintain its Western character and no pretensions on the part of neighboring peoples can ever weaken Ukraine's loyalty to the West or its claim to independence as a state within its ethnic frontiers, and that Ukraine deserves a fitting place in discussions about the reconstruction of the political status of Central and East Europe.

The Ukrainian Committee concludes by hoping that good will, justice and wisdom will yet win the day and that Ukraine will be accepted as a member of the European Movement on an equal footing with the others. How far this hope is justified, remains to be seen.

#### Annual General Meeting of Ass'n of Ukrainians in Great Britain

(U.I.S.) On March 21 and 22 the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain will hold their annual meeting in Kentish Town Baths Hall, Prince of Wales Road, N.W. 5.

This is an important event for the 24 000 Ukrainians, mostly young men and women who have found a refuge and work through the hospitality of Great Britain. They are well treated, their conditions of work being the same as those of the native popu-

lation. After great hardship, oppression and indignity in the semi-fascist Poland and communist U.S.S.R. of pre-war days, they now have the possibility of getting to know democracy in action in a free country.

The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain unites about 24,000 members, being one of the biggest and best administered Ukrainian organizations abroad. It has formed a series of social and cultural organizations in the interest of the Ukrainian community in Great Britain. It is financed by members' dues and has been able to purchase a number of houses including the beautifully equipped home for disabled Ukrainian veterans and workers.

The association also helps groups of Ukrainians in other European countries where conditions for exiles are not so easy, e. g. in Germany, Austria and, more recently, in Trieste.

We hope that *Dr. Yosyp Fundak*, president of the Association will be able to present as favourable a report for 1951 as for the previous year. It is of interest to Ukrainian exiles all over the world that the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain should continue to be well organized and active in all domains, as it is a source of hope and help to them all.

### Vatican

#### Convalescence of the Bishop Ivan Buchko

(U.I.S.) The health of their Primate, His Lordship Bishop Ivan Buchko has for weeks been causing great anxiety to Ukrainian Catholics in Europe and overseas. It was necessary for him to undergo a severe operation in a hospital in Rome. The day before the operation Pope Pius XII sent a telegram to the Ukrainian bishop telling him that he was praying for his health and sending him warm wishes for a speedy recovery. After the successful operation the patient received visits from the following high Catholic dignitaries: Cardinal Tisseran, secretary of the Holy Congregation of the Church in the East; His Eminence Gregory XV, the Patriarch of Cilicia; His Eminence Cardinal Agadjanian; His Lordship Archbishop Valerio Valeri, assessor of the Holy Congregation of the Church in the East (twice); the Polish Bishop Gawlina and many others. Ukrainians were naturally anxious about Bishop Buchko as he is the last of Ukrainian bishops on the other side of the Iron Curtain, his life having been saved by Providence and a series of fortunate coincidences. All the other seven Greek-Catholic bishops in Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine were murdered or deported by Russian bolsheviks.

### U.S.A.

#### Big Ukrainian Anticommunist Rally in Philadelphia, Pa

(U.I.S.) On February 10, 1952 there was a big anticommunist demonstration in Philadelphia, attended by 3,000 Ukrainians; the bigger part of the audience. Many members of non-Russian nations subjugated by Moscow were also present. Among the honorary presidents there were members of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, e. g. *Mr. E. Rohach*, *V. Dushnyk*, *M. Pizniak*, and the Americans, Senator *E. Martin*, U.S.D.P.C. Commissioner *Edward O'Connor*, Congressman *O. K. Arm-*

*strong*, etc., delegates of the Cossacks, Kalmucks, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Slovaks, Georgians, etc. In their addresses, both American and Ukrainian speakers stressed that the world cannot continue divided in two halves, a free and an enslaved part. They pointed out the necessity of a world-wide fight against Russian imperialism. Commissioner *O'Connor* stressed particularly once more the necessity of creating an American committee for liberating the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. He demanded from the American government clear and unconditional recognition and practical application of the principle of self-determination for nations. Similarly, the equality of all partners in this common fight must be recognized without reserve; in the common fight there must be no distinction between nations, no better and no worse peoples, therefore no privileged and no neglected nations. The American ideals of liberty must be fully applied in the liberation struggle, also of non-American peoples. Representatives of peoples subjugated by Moscow — Byelorussians, Cossacks, Lithuanians, etc. — spoke of the eternal friendship and comradeship among the subjugated nations. Their motto was: "Together we shall begin the decisive and final battle" — According to press reports it was one of the most successful and enthusiastic antibolshevist demonstrations that had ever taken place in the town where the American Declaration of Independence was signed.

#### Preparations for the Congress of Ukrainians

(U.I.S.) Towards the end of May, 1952, the Fifth Congress of the "Ukrainian Congress Committee in America" will be held, probably in Philadelphia. It is intended to make this an occasion for demonstrating on a large scale the part played by Ukrainians in the U.S.A. The Ukrainian Congress Committee is the leading responsible organization of Ukrainians in the U.S.A., uniting as it does all Ukrainian societies concerned with political, economic, social and cultural life. The idea behind the Fifth Congress is to "appeal to all circles in the U.S.A. for support in the fight for the highest ideals of humanity." Several committees have been formed to prepare for the Congress. A committee for "Internal Relations" will work under the leadership of *Dr. Luka Myshuga*; another for "Foreign Relations", under *Mr. S. Yarema* and technical preliminaries are in the hands of a committee under *Y. Lyssohir*.

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## Editorial

### Moscow's Desperate Fight For The Soul Of The Ukrainian People

#### *Cultural Warfare Between Ukraine and Russia*

We should like to draw the particular attention of our readers to the repeated reports in our publication of recent happenings in Ukrainian cultural life. We are justified in regarding them as signs of a genuine cultural war between Moscow and Russian bolshevism on the one hand and an ever-increasing Ukrainian nationalism on the other, of a war which is constantly becoming more desperate and bitter.

Papers in the West, and particularly in America, have paid little attention to these facts. Revelations about the armed fighting of a few groups of Ukrainian insurgents would certainly secure bigger headlines in the American press than, say, news about the "bourgeois-nationalist" music of "Bohdan Khmelnytsky" an opera by the Ukrainian composer K. Dankevych, which has been altered three times, or about the helping by Moscow's command of the big Ukrainian-Russian Dictionary published in 100,000 copies only 3 years ago.

And yet these clashes in the cultural world are probably much more important today and their consequences farther-reaching than if whole divisions of Ukrainian partisans were to open armed conflict. For what is happening today in Ukraine shows that Moscow is fighting a desperate but losing battle for the soul of the Ukrainian people, its spiritual heritage, and its place as a permanent member of the Soviet Union.

#### **Facts that Have Been Neglected**

During the last seven years the press of Ukrainians in exile has constantly dwelt on the existence and spread of this cultural warfare between Moscow and Ukraine, without being able to make much impression on the public opinion of the West. The World paid

attention only after the sensational appearance of comrade *Leonid O. Melnikov*, Stalin's personal representative in Ukraine, on the field of battle. This bolshevist dignitary, as the first secretary of the communist party in Ukraine, published in the "Pravda" of March 31, 1952 an article entitled "The Ideological Work of the Party Organisation in Ukraine" which expresses the serious problems at issue.

#### **Rise of Ukrainian Culture**

In the introduction to his article, *L. O. Melnikov* dwells first on the great achievements wrought by the Revolution, or, as he asserts, by the communist party in Ukraine, both in politics and in culture, particularly after World War II. He maintains that Lenin and Stalin, personally as it were, laid "the foundations of the independent state of Ukraine within the framework of the Soviet Union". The record in culture, he says, is astounding. The communist party in Ukraine under the personal leadership of Stalin and the central committee of the communist party in Ukraine, has continued to extend and intensify communist education in recent years. At present Ukraine has about 30,000 elementary schools and supplementary schools, attended by 6,500,000 pupils. There are 158 universities, academies and institutes where more than 160,000 students devote themselves to higher learning. In the Ukrainian S.S.R. there are 75 theatres, 26 philharmonic societies, 28,000 cultural clubs, 21 book publishing concerns which in the 6 years since the end of the war have published more than 10,000 different books in Ukrainian and Russian with some 300 million copies in all. There are more than 1,200 papers with a total circulation of 5



million and 64 reviews with a circulation of 869,000 copies. The country has an Academy of Science, an Academy of Architecture and an Academy of Fine Art, a large network of institutes for scientific research where thousands of scientists and scholars pursue researches.

### Sounding the Alarm

Yet there are "very serious shortcomings" in the work. Comrade Melnikov says: "The attention, supervision and help of the party in the training of intellectual Ukrainians has been lax. Party organisations in the Republic have hesitated to criticize sharply the distortions and deviations that have appeared in works of literature." Who and what is to blame? We read in the article: "The fact that many communists failed to notice ideological distortions in Ukrainian art and literature was the result of their inadequate standards of theory."

What measures are suggested to counteract this deficiency? Here Stalin's representative in Ukraine calls for "the strengthening of bolshevist principles and uncompromising condemnation of all expressions of bourgeois ideology and in particular of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." The main task of all bolshevist organisations in the field of culture, thus threatened in Ukraine, is according to Melnikov "to enlighten the Ukrainian people concerning the beneficial influence of the leading ideas of Russian social and political theory and of Russian culture on the growth of Ukrainian culture and to convince them of the eternal friendship between the two peoples."

### The Counter-Action

The program of the bolshevist counter-action as proclaimed by Melnikov shows the extent to which "distortions" and "hostile inroads" have advanced in the cultural life of Ukraine.

*Firstly*, all the plans for teaching Ukrainian and Russian language and literature at all schools in the Ukrainian S.S.R. are to be checked in the near future and thoroughly reformed. According to Melnikov, there were many defects in language and literature teaching up-to-date. This teaching ignored the subject of the friendship of the peoples in the U.S.S.R. and consequently that of the indissolubility of the Soviet Union. It did not sufficiently illumine the beneficial and creative influence exercised by Russian culture on the thousand-year-old cultural life of non-Russian peoples.

*Secondly*, all plays, operas and other theatrical productions in Ukraine are to be revised and purged. This measure is extended to all belles lettres, poetry, criticism of literature and art, and to all works of research and science, which have been published in Ukraine since the war. A supplementary censorship

of literature, the stage and science is to be introduced into Ukraine on an unparalleled scale.

*Thirdly*, great meetings are to be held throughout the country of people concerned with culture, special committees formed and copious advice given for the purpose of criticizing all recent works of culture in Ukraine and bringing them into line with the latest directives.

*Fourthly*, in addition to the 29 evening colleges for the study of marxism and leninism already in existence, many new ones are to be established in order to promote the knowledge and understanding of marxism and leninism among leading intellectual circles and to consolidate their grasp of these theories. The practical result of this is that many members of the party and of the intellectual classes will have to submit to a severe examination in political theory.

*Fifthly*, all organisations of writers, artists, musicians, journalists, etc. are to be strictly supervised by the communist party. From now on, no work can be produced or published until it has been broadly discussed and officially approved by the party.

This program would in itself be interesting enough; but there are other sensations in Melnikov's article. He reveals that in the six years since the end of the War more than 29,000 higher party functionaries, propagandists and editors received a thorough training in the higher party school of the central committee of the communist party in the Ukraine and in other similar institutes.

These efforts, however, do not seem to have been very successful and they have been redoubled. Melnikov announced that in 1952 no fewer than 710,000 Ukrainian communists, i. e. almost all the members of the party in Ukraine and, in addition, 640,000 members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia are to receive constant and compulsory political training.

### Unreliable Ukrainian Communists

It is worth noting that Melnikov mentions 710,000 Ukrainian communists. We should have been less astonished if the re-education program had been planned for indifferent people in Ukraine who are not party members and whose support for the regime was to be won by such training. But communists?

We find the answer to this question if we look at the four main points of Melnikov's training program, for they reveal the weaknesses of the Russian bolshevist system in general and of the communist party in Ukraine in particular. In his article, Melnikov indicates the following main aims:

1. To promote the knowledge and understanding of the theory of Marx and Lenin;
2. To intensify and consolidate Lenin's and Stalin's policy of friend-

ship between the peoples of the Soviet Union;

3. To strengthen soviet patriotism;
4. To unmask bourgeois ideology in general and Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism in particular.

This means that Ukraine as a whole and the communist party in Ukraine in particular are not sufficiently bolshevist, that the Ukraine is not sympathetic enough about friendship with the "glorious, leading, Russian people"; that there is little enthusiasm in country and party for Stalin's imperium and, the worst sin of all, that both are susceptible to "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism", i. e. to the idea of the independence of a Ukrainian national state.

### Campaign Against Resistance of Intellectuals in Ukraine

These sins are deadly enough to make a people ripe for liquidation in Stalin's eyes. It is the good fortune of the Ukrainians, however, that there are too many of them for Stalin to dispose of them as he did with the Volga Germans, the Crimean Tatars, the Kalmyks, etc. small nations who were simply wiped out after World War II in punishment for their political unreliability and "treason" to Moscow.

Public opinion in the West should be under no illusions about the real meaning of the official "cultural" campaign thus undertaken by the leading secretary of the communist party in the largest non-Russian Soviet republic in the U.S.S.R. We are witnessing a social development similar in scope to the collectivisation of agriculture in 1929—33, to the purges and liquidations of the period 1935—38, and to the profound social changes after the War. We can predict with fair certainty what will happen in and with Ukraine in consequence of such an article, of what we might call the mass-sentences passed by the article in the "Pravda": tens of thousands will be arrested and liquidated, hundreds of thousands will be deported, millions will have to undergo the torture of "training", the severity of which it is impossible for people in the West to imagine. It took ten years for the West to receive details about the artificial famine which destroyed 4 million people in Ukraine in 1933 and broke the resistance of the peasants to collectivization. Today, Moscow is planning to break the mass resistance of intellectuals in Ukraine.

### Failure to Win Ukraine

The article by comrade O. Melnikov in the "Pravda" is an open avowal that, in spite of 35 years of bolshevist supremacy, Russia and the communist party have not been able to win Ukraine. And not only that. After 35 years of unheard-of pressure, constant agitation and the systematic training of

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# A Disappointing Message

## The Address of 72 Representative Americans to "The Peoples of Russia" on the Thirty-Fifth Anniversary of the Revolution in the Russian Empire

*American public opinion still underestimates the importance of the national struggle for liberation waged by the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R.*

By Z. Poray

### America's Message

To mark the 35th anniversary of the Revolution in the tsarist Russian empire on March 12, 1917, seventy-two prominent representatives of American public opinion addressed a message of friendship to "the peoples of Russia". We find among the signatories the name of the only ex-president of the U.S.A. still alive — *Herbert Hoover*, and of 13 senators, two leaders of the biggest American labour unions, and of famous soldiers, journalists, professors, artists, politicians and economists.

It is fair to maintain that this message represents a good cross-section of *national* American public opinion. Exiled Ukrainians who have read it and other peoples known as "Russian" to whom this message is addressed, are of the unanimous opinion that it reflects fairly accurately the policy that America would pursue towards Eastern Europe, in the event of war between the West and bolshevism. And it must be stated at the outset that the American principles expressed in this message will certainly not arouse undivided enthusiasm among the "peoples of Russia".

The first thing they object to is being addressed as the "peoples of Russia". The conclusion to be drawn from this denomination is that for American public opinion Russia is still a territorial, political and economic unit, welded together by history, an organic unit that cannot be disintegrated and torn asunder. There have indeed been rumours in the United States that the Soviet Union is not a uniform structure, and that it is composed of so many republics and nations. But Americans regard this

internal "Russian" division as something very similar to the internal divisions of their own country. They, too, have 48 states and various other American territories, which, though enjoying a large share of self-government, are nevertheless content to belong to the Union. Why should the same thing not be possible in Russia? Why should not Russia be transformed into a kind of "Commonwealth of Russian Nations"? The idea of splitting Russia up arouses in the average American merely a feeling of uneasiness and reserve. Now more than ever, America is making enormous efforts, shrinking from no commitments or sacrifices to induce a quarrelsome, divided Europe to come together and unite; are we not living in an age of integration, of the union of increasingly large states? Why should Russia be split up? Why should it be what Europeans call "balkanized"? Americans argue that, instead of hating and quarrelling with each other, it would be better for the "peoples of Russia" to get to know and respect each other, to live at peace, in tolerant friendship with each other.

### Russians are not Americans

Attractive as these humane, liberal American arguments are, they do not unfortunately apply to Russia. The Russian imperium is not America nor is the political and social psychology of the two nations comparable. Principles which are taken for granted in the U.S.A. do not hold for Russia; the Russians, as the "master-people", are different from the Americans, and will most surely always be. It is difficult to imagine that American liberty could ever

take root and grow in the hard soil of Muscovy.

The fundamental error of the American message lies in regarding Russia as an organic, historic whole. It is not a unit, never was and will never be such. The Russian imperium, or more accurately, the imperium of the Russians, has not *grown* into one; its parts were *stolen* and *conquered*. It was not voluntary federation that kept the imperium together, not compromise, or mutual understanding among its peoples, but always violence, and power imposed by the ruling Russian people as the centre of the state. Thus it was under the tsars, and thus under the bolsheviks.

The message of these 72 American leaders is based on the false assumption that the real Russian democratic revolution took place on March 12, 1917, a movement to be compared with the glorious American Revolution of 1776. The message runs: "We recall that your revolution of March 12, 1917 which established a democratic government, was the common achievement of all classes of the Russian peoples, not the work of communist conspirators who later destroyed liberty in Russia." No, the government that was formed in Petersburg in March 1917 and existed till November 7, 1917, mainly under the leadership of Alexander Kerensky, was *neither truly democratic, in the sense of 1776, nor was it representative of all the peoples of Russian Empire*. The message errs in maintaining that it realized the most important principles of a truly democratic way of life. This is what we shall attempt to prove.

### Two Sides to the Revolution

From the beginning, there were two sides to the revolution — a social and a national side. The Message, as is customary in the West, is inclined to over-emphasize the social side of that momentous upheaval. Yet it was really far more than the fall of tsarist autocracy, the removal of remnants of feudalism, class warfare and reforms of the social, economic and constitutional structure of the state.

It was just as much a victory for the *national idea of liberation over the Russian imperial idea*, the liberation of peoples who had been imprisoned for centuries in the dungeon of the Russian imperium and exploited by the Russian master-people. It was not only a rising of classes. It was a rising of nations such as the world had never seen; actually, it was the national movements of liberation, the renaissance of independent political life among two scores of nations that gave this revolution its volcanic, monumental character.

## Isaac Mazepa

### Prominent Ukrainian Politician Dies in Exile

Dr. Isaac P. Mazepa, veteran Ukrainian politician and up to a few weeks ago head of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Rada, died after a brief illness on March 18, 1952, in Augsburg, Germany, at the age of 68. As a student Mr. Mazepa participated in the revolution of 1905, and was exceedingly active in Ukrainian political and cultural activities. In 1917, the year of the national revolution in Ukraine, Mr. Mazepa became prominent as an editor of Ukrainian social-democratic papers and a leader of the Ukrainian social-democratic movement. Mr. Mazepa became one of the leaders of the first Ukrainian Labor Congress which met in Kyiv in 1919. Shortly afterwards he was appointed Interior Minister of the Ukrainian National Republic, and Premier of the Ukrainian government at the end of 1919.

After the fall of Ukraine as an independent Republic in 1920, Dr. Mazepa went to Czechoslovakia, where he taught at the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy in Podebrady and devoted much of his time to the writing of Ukrainian political history. After World War II he found himself in Western Germany, where in 1948 he helped organize the Ukrainian National Rada. He became the first president of its Executive Committee, holding that post until his resignation a few weeks ago owing to illness.

Dr. Mazepa was the author of a series of books on Ukrainian political history, most prominent of which are "Bolshevism and the Occupation of Ukraine", and "The Bases of Our Rebirth."



## The Rising of Nations

In the years 1917—1920, no fewer than 19 peoples, hitherto "Russian", declared their independence and secession from Russia and all made tremendous sacrifices in the struggle, sometimes, as in the case of Ukraine, for instance, involving the lives of millions.

Even today, the West only sees what took place in Petersburg in March 1917 during the famous "10 days that shook the world". But that was but part, and a small part of the Revolution. No fewer than 90 million non-Russian inhabitants of the imperium consider that the liberation events in their own national capitals were more important — in Finnish Helsinki, Estonian Reval, Latvian Riga, Lithuanian Vilna, Byelorussian Minsk, Polish Warsaw, Ukrainian Kyiv and Lviv, in Aserhajianian Baku, Armenian Eriwan, Georgian Tiflis, Turkestanian Aschabad, Tashkent and dozens more. It is true that Americans and West Europeans are confused by the names of all these Tartars, Bashkirs, Daghestani, Buryato-Mongolians, Kabardines, Mordvines, Udmurts, Chuvashi, Kirgissians, etc. But should they find them more confusing than the names of Mexicans, Guatemalans, Hondurians, Salvadoreans, Nicaraguans, Costa-Ricans, Panamense, Brazilians, Argentinians, Columbians, Peruvians, Chileans, Venezuelians, Bolivians, Uruguayans, Paraguayans, Guayanians, etc.? It is not clear why the same right to liberty and independence should not hold for them all. All these "Russian" peoples sought their freedom after 1917.

## More is at Stake than "Ethnic Restrictions."

The American Message maintains that the so-called Russian "democratic" Revolution of March 12, 1917 gave proof of its democracy when it alleged that it had given the national peoples of Russia their freedom. This is probably what the Message means when it says: "The revolution . . . ended religions and ethnic restrictions". No, the revolution of March 12, 1917 did not do this. Something far greater was at stake than the removal of "ethnic restrictions", namely, the genuine national freedom of dozens of peoples — and Kerensky's government wanted to ignore such claims.

How was it possible for the bolsheviks to seize power on November 7, 1917? Their terrorism, according to this American Message, as the main cause, is only part of the truth. In November 1917 the bolsheviks were physically far too weak to be able to conquer by pure terrorism. There is no getting away from the fact that they also knew how to inspire the masses, and one of their most effective ideas was that of national liberation. Kerensky's government never had the courage to make a complete revolution — a social and a national revolution. On the contrary, it was soon obvious that the March government in 1917 had a most reactionary conception of the problem of nationality; they were fettered to Russian jingoism, an idea that hampered their progress, as a revolutionary party and finally caused their downfall.

This reactionary attitude alienated non-Russian peoples from Kerensky and drove

them into the arms of the bolsheviks who promised complete national freedom. The fact that they, like proper Russians, broke their word, is another matter. But the idea was right: *there can be no true and honest liberating revolution in the U.S.S.R. if it does not bring, in addition to necessary social reform, freedom to the peoples imprisoned there.* This cannot be done merely by removing "ethnic restrictions".

## What the Message Omits

What is most disappointing and disquieting about this Message from leading American public men is that they either really do not see and understand the national liberation problem implied by this great revolution, or that they prefer for various reasons to ignore it. But a problem does not cease to exist merely because people do not or will not see it.

It is impossible to solve the difficult problem of this revolution satisfactorily if its two fundamental aspects, the national and the social are not satisfactorily solved *at the same time.* We shall never tire of repeating that here, too, Lincoln's principle holds, that a country under one government cannot be half-free and half-enslaved. What is known as "Russia" cannot be socially free and nationally enslaved. Liberation in both fields must be achieved at the same time. If exiled Russian parties declare today that they will first overthrow bolshevism and then talk about national liberty, it is of course a deliberate and tactical lie; every non-Russian knows exactly that once bolshevism is overthrown under the direction of Russians in the positions of power they are endeavouring to assume, nothing much would be done about the liberty that non-Russian nations hope for; it will certainly never be granted by Russians, for they all are chauvinists by nature.

## Two Immutable Principles

*Our first principle is that bolshevism can never be overthrown without the active help of the non-Russian peoples in the imperium.* We even go one step further and maintain that bolshevism can be overthrown only with the help of non-Russian peoples; the Russian people proper, the Muscovites, being the ruling nation, are not particularly interested in the fall of bolshevism. For it is from bolshevism that they derive most of their privileges.

Our second principle is that *no one can win the non-Russian peoples in the Russian imperium for his cause if in the program of nationalities he offers less than the bolsheviks.* However empty and useless the concessions the bolsheviks make to the national claims of non-Russian peoples, in practice they are nevertheless as principles of infinitely more value than the mere removal of "ethnic restrictions". What disappoints non-Russian readers of the American Message is that, according to it, the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. must fear that they would not only lose all claim to national self-determination in practice as under bolshevism, but even in theory; the reason for this fear lies in the phrase about the realization of democracy as soon as

"ethnic restrictions" are removed. That does not leave much room for hope.

## The Problem Must be Tackled

The Americans will not advance one step in the mobilisation of the world against bolshevism until they tackle the problem of nations in the Soviet Union with courage and vision. What the Message has to say about it is so scanty, narrow and timid, that it does not sound American.

We know that there is nothing more stupid and humiliating in the world than national hatred and the eternal fear of one's neighbours. No people can progress along such lines. But Americans must understand at long last that it is not for nothing that the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. fear and distrust the Russians. Americans have had but 5—6 years' experience in dealing politically with Russians at close quarters, and they have probably had enough; but there are peoples who have had an experience of centuries.

The non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. will never conclude any kind of agreement with the Russians only on the basis of assurances from the latter that in future they will behave humanely, reasonably and decently. The only argument the Russians understand is that of power. It may be that the peoples who at present want to get away from Russia might at a later time feel the necessity for forming friendly alliances with the Russians. But their fear and distrust must first be destroyed. This can be done only if non-Russian peoples now subjugated regain their absolute, full and sovereign freedom. If it is true that Russian parties in exile really think on democratic lines, they must be the first to recommend the complete separation of the non-Russian peoples from Russia proper, from Muscovy. They ought to have the political wisdom, the self-control, the capacity to give up that modern Britons display today. In any case they will not be able any longer to keep and rule over "their" peoples; it would be better to give them freedom now; the sooner they determine to do so, the sooner the subjugated peoples, when freed, will be inclined to make honest peace with the Russians.

## More Disappointment than Hope

In conclusion we fear we must say that, instead of helping the peoples "of Russia", the American message can only harm them. They have not found anything in the Message to support their hopes of national liberation. On the contrary, it appears from the Message that America's policy is based on the March Revolution which did not bring the non-Russian nations freedom. As regards the national question, the Message is vague and ambiguous. This is not the way to gain friends in Eastern Europe. The peoples of the Soviet Union want to know in clear, precise terms what the American program for the independence of the nationalities subjugated by Moscow really is. Unless it answers this question clearly and plainly, the indefinite American propaganda for liberty will not make great headway behind the Iron Curtain.



# More About Admiral Kirk's Difficult Task

*Is it Really Impossible for the Peoples of U.S.S.R. to Conduct a United Campaign Against Bolshevism?*

By Zenon Pelensky

## Another Argument

In the previous number of the *Ukrainian Observer* we discussed the difficult task which confronts Admiral Alan G. Kirk as leader of the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia". It is obvious that bolshevism and Russian imperialism cannot be overcome by physical weapons alone. Admiral Kirk's success depends first and foremost on the *ideas*, on the political and social program with which he approaches his job. Not atomic bombs, not even dollars, but what he *says*, what he *promises*, will ultimately determine the nature and extent of the support behind the Iron Curtain that will be given to America and the West in the coming struggle. It is therefore not out of place to submit a further argument to the discussion.

## Two Concepts

The first important thing Admiral Alan G. Kirk probably noticed when he assumed office was the lack of enthusiasm, and even more, the positive *distaste* the legitimate representatives of non-Russian peoples from the U.S.S.R. display for cooperation with Russians in exile. It is quite wrong to put this down to "ill will", "thwarted ambitions", "prejudices", etc. on the part of political leaders of non-Russian nations.

It is not merely a problem of personalities, for it goes far deeper. Nothing would come of it if the representatives of Russian and non-Russian peoples were to sit round the same table and begin "at last" to talk things over with each other. At such a meeting there would certainly be a clash between two opposite programs, two different concepts. The difference between the aims of Russians and non-Russians would soon be evident.

## Russian Aims

For Russians in exile, the Soviet Union is still Russia: the state first and foremost of the *Russian* people, while the other peoples might at best enjoy a greater or less measure of self-government. Russians in exile consider that the entire problem consists in overthrowing the communist party and altering the Constitution, but that Russia must remain a united state, a Russian federation. This past-bolshevist Russia, they say, must be national, and as large as ever. It must not be divided and must have a strong, effective central government. All the problems of these states are in the first instance Russian problems; their solution will come only *after* bolshevism has been overthrown and a united Russia established. The problems that must wait for solution till that has been done include the burning one of nationality. If the Russian parties in exile admit in theory the principle of self-determination, it is only *after* the re-birth of a

Russian Empire with a strong government. The non-Russian peoples know only too well from the bitter experience of the past what "self-determination" under such circumstances will amount to. These peoples put no great store by Russian promises, too many of which have been given and broken in the past. All references made by Russians to their allegedly liberal literature, to the so-called "great Russian minds", who have enriched the culture of humanity, fail to convince, as it was never these great minds, but always white and red Czars with the help of their police who ruled over the imperium with violence, coercion, blackmail, imprisonment and exile. Nor is there anything in Russian history and, in the psychology of the Russian people that would justify hope for the future. The post-bolshevist "new" central Russian regime is to extend over the entire state territory and the exiled Russian parties will certainly not indicate where they imagine the frontiers of Russia should be — where they were in 1914, 1939 or 1952? It is necessary to state here that *all* Russian parties in exile, from the extreme Right to the extreme Left, adhere to these basic ideas.

## Aims of Non-Russians

Non-Russian peoples have aims that are fundamentally opposed to those just described. For them there is no Russia as a whole state, the Russian Empire of the Russian people, including many nations. Such a Russia has not existed for more than thirty-five years. Today, there is only the Union of the Soviet Republics, including many nations held together against their will by a central power. The Russian people in the Russians Soviet Republic forms one of many republics and is actually in a minority in the Union. This minority has all the key positions in the Union in its hands, and rules the majority with the weapons of terror, lies and oppression. The great task is not only to break bolshevism, but also to break the power, the terrorism and the oppression of the Russian minority over the non-Russian majority in the imperium. This task would not be accomplished if some of these nations, for instance the Balts, the Ukrainians or the Caucasians, were perhaps to succeed in breaking away from the imperium. The entire structure of the imperium, based as it is on pillage and brute force, must be changed. One of the most blatant falsehoods of Russian propaganda in our days is the assertion that the Russian imperium has developed organically in the course of centuries and must not be arbitrarily dismembered. If this were true, terrorism would be superfluous in the Soviet Union. Terrorist measures, under both tsars and bolsheviks, and directed mainly against non-Russian nations (the fight of the regime against so-called "bourgeois nationalism") is striking and convincing proof that there

can be no question of an organically developed imperium. Give the peoples of Russia one short fortnight of freedom, and the imperium would immediately collapse. The Russians know this, and if they wish to preserve the imperium, they *must* apply terrorism. Democracy and a Russian imperium are incompatible ideas. The national movements in the Soviet Union have neither fallen from Heaven nor been concocted by the Devil, nor are they the work of German, English or American agents. They grow *naturally* in a state composed of many nations that have *not* amalgamated. To call Russia a dungeon of peoples is as true today as ever — truer indeed. Russians in exile may have promised that the regime in this dungeon is to become milder, but that the nations are to remain imprisoned in it, and this is no solution of the problem. If "freedom" means anything worth while, it is not the regime that must become milder, the whole dungeon must be blown up; and that is the immutable aim of the non-Russian peoples.

## No "Balkanisation"

One of the biggest lies of exiled Russian parties, who tremble for the preservation of the Russian imperium, is that they reproach non-Russians with trying to "balkanise" Eastern Europe. This despicable word "balkanisation" should be used with more care. If the peoples of the Balkans had been left to themselves, their peninsula would long have been one of the quietest corners in the world. They do not "balkanise" themselves, they do not wage their wars from pure quarrelsomeness, love of adventure or murder; they are "balkanised" from without, for it is the Great Powers who constantly stir up Balkan peoples against each other. The non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. have no hatred for each other. It is unthinkable that Ukrainians should ever have waged war against Byelorussians, Cossackians or Georgians, or that they will ever do so. It was always Russians who waged such wars. The non-Russian peoples are well aware that we are living in an age of federations, when states are uniting, in the era of the United Nations and of efforts to create a European Union. But must the union of Eastern Europe take the form of the hated Russian imperium with its black record of oppression? Why may Ukraine or Georgia not form their own local unions, which could then be extended? Why can such local unions not belong to the United Nations directly, not through the intermediacy of Moscow? Or why may the peoples of U.S.S.R. today not be admitted as members of the United Nations? There might, for instance, be a Caucasian Federation, or a union of Ukraine, Byelorussia and Cossackia, or a union of states in Central and Eastern Europe, say from the Baltic to the Black Sea. All these probabilities are being discussed with inter-



est; why should only the Russian solution, represented by Moscow, have priority?

### No Need for Russian Empire

Further, *must* ethnic Russia, Muscovy, have an imperium? Is it not sufficiently big and strong to stand alone? Can it not represent itself to the world and the United Nations? Can it not live without the Baltic States, Ukraine, Caucasias, etc.? Of course it can, and very well, too. It does not need the peoples known as "marginal" in order to live, but merely in order to extend her power, and she needs this power only to rule the world — such is the unambiguous statement she presents to the world. If the parties of Russians in exile were really concerned about democracy, liberty and international understanding, and not about the Russian imperium, they would learn to give up of their own free will and not under the compulsion of national risings for liberation, in the same way as the British, for instance, have done. The sooner the British let "their" peoples go, the sooner they will be able to build a foundation of friendship with these peoples in the future. The Russians ought to learn from British experience. Love cannot be produced by force, least of all the love of the subjugated nations for the Russians. This fact should have been grasped by now, both in Moscow and in the capitals where there are exiled Russians.

### America's Dilemma

Now, Admiral *Alan G. Kirk* and other Western politicians ask, what are we to do? We should like to help. But it is a dilemma. If we help the Russians, we shall have the non-Russian nations against us. But if we help these nations, we should arouse the opposition of the Russians. And this dilemma is most serious. The non-Russian nationalities say to themselves: why should we help the Americans? There will probably be a war. What good would that do us? The war would be fought mainly on our territories and by the terrible methods of today. Suppose bolshevism were overthrown as the result of war, what would come next? The Americans will hand the reins of government over to Russians again, for that is the aim of the "American Committee for the Liberation of the People of Russia"; then, other Russians, but still Russians, Muscovites, would appear after a war; instead of Stalin, Malenkov and Molotov, we should have Boldyrev, Kerensky, Nikolayevsky, etc., all of them with their innate Russian imperialist claim to power; we should have changed masters, but the system of Russian mastery would remain. And for this "change" we should have to pay with the victims of an atomic war, with the destruction of our country and of millions of men. Then we would prefer the old Russian terrorism, but *without* war sacrifices. Perhaps when Stalin dies it will be better. Stalin's program as it regards the policy pursued towards the nationalities is more liberal than, for instance, the nationality program for the "new" Russia propounded by a man like George F. Kennan. The Germans managed even to reconcile the non-Russian

peoples with Stalin in consequence of their mistaken policy towards nationalities. It might well happen that, in consequence of their one-sided Russian policy, the Americans should alienate the present sympathies of non-Russian peoples; Washington should cherish no illusions about the anti-American feelings now arising among non-Russians in exile; these have been greatly fostered by the decidedly one-sided, russophil policy of men like Eugene Lyons and Don Levine, in the "American Committee".

### "Whatever We Do Is Wrong"

On the other hand, if the "American Committee" adopts the program of the A.B.N., i. e. the program of the disintegration of the Russian imperium into national states, it will set the Russians on U.S.A., and reconcile them with Stalin. For they will use the same arguments as the non-Russians. They will say why risk a war and the destruction of our country, if this would only mean the collapse of the imperium. Then it would be better not to have war and not to overthrow bolshevism, but to keep the imperium, even under the hated Stalin. Etc., etc. Is there no way out of the dilemma? No possibility of a compromise?

If we look at the matter frankly, we must admit that there is no possibility of a real compromise. The conflict between the Russian imperium and the non-Russian nations in it is a *real* one and must be decided one way or the other. In consequence of the deeply-rooted Russian jingoism, there is not the slightest chance of ever transforming this gigantic state into a really democratic commonwealth of nations; the Russians would always see to it that it was a commonwealth of *Russian* owned nations. The whole sense of their fights is to preserve *Russia* and the Russians as the master-nation in the imperium. That is why they cling so stubbornly to "Russia" as the name for the structure, a name that can never be acceptable to non-Russian peoples who are in the majority. So the vicious circle goes round and round.

### The „As If“ Thesis

There is no final way out of the dilemma today. But it is useless to say "No!" to everything and we are anxious to avoid that reproach. The only thing possible in the circumstances would be, we think, to create a kind of "common working hypothesis", an "As If" situation which might enable us to get round the present stalemate. This stalemate is caused by the fact that the West, and America above all, cannot throw its whole weight into a political and moral campaign against bolshevism, particularly in the Soviet Union; it would be severely hampered either by Russian jingoist tendencies or by the more justifiable patriotic tendencies of the non-Russians.

But there is one thing that unites all Russians and non-Russians — their hatred of bolshevism. And this might provide a basis for common efforts. The national programs of both sides are too different to allow of a common program being set up either for the near or more distant future. But many

steps could be taken "as if" the final decision about the future of this great area were not urgent, as if it could be taken later. The whole thing might be regarded as a sort of election, *both parties being granted complete freedom to canvass and organize before going to the polls*. The Russians should be allowed to stand up for their imperium. But the *non-Russians should be given the same chances, the same technical assistance for their ideas, for the final solution of their problems*. We should not try to decide everything at once, but should leave something to fate. If they were granted complete liberty to organize and publicize their campaign, the non-Russians need not fear any future decision. The main condition for both parts would be first to attack Bolshevism with all possible means.

### Extension of the Practical Program

This would mean that, in addition to the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" there should be created a parallel "American Committee for the Liberation of the Non-Russian Peoples in the U.S.S.R.", equipped with the same means. The non-Russian nations would have to possess a broadcasting system of their own, free from Russian control, so that they could broadcast what they liked, what they believed would be most effective in rousing the masses in their countries behind the Iron Curtain against bolshevism. It is intolerable for two dozen non-Russian nations to know that there are members of the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" who are in favour of a completely one-sided, if "democratic" Russian and imperialist solution of the problem without giving non-Russian arguments the slightest chance. As things are today, the *present* structure of the A.C.L.P.R. means a one-sided decision for the Russians. That is unjust, unfair and very bad politics.

Although this division in anti-Bolshevist propaganda is not an ideal solution, it is better than the blind alley we are in. The Americans would still be able to prevent jingoist excesses on both sides and to exercise a moderating influence. It is difficult to say from Europe whether Admiral Alan G. Kirk could or would alter the structure and even the name of the A.C.L.P.R. But this much is certain: with its present one-sided imperialist Russian solution and its neglect of the legitimate representatives and justified national liberation movements of the non-Russian peoples, it will not reach its aim of stirring the masses of the peoples in the U.S.S.R. into effective resistance against bolshevism. Further possibilities might develop from the "As If" hypothesis suggested above that might bring the solution of the thorny problem nearer; but a start must be made sometime and somewhere. The A.C.L.P.R. in its present form is no such start. Little, if any, consideration is paid to nationalities and their desire for freedom. This intolerable state must end and we hope Admiral Kirk will prove the right man for the job.



# Trial of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (S.V.U.)

1930—1932

## A Rehearsal by Ukrainians

The world remembers the big show-trials of 1936—1938 when Stalin's regime put a violent end to opposition from the Right and the Left wing of the bolsheviks. Thanks to these trials, the world realized for the first time the monstrous deception of Stalin's Russian "legal order".

One of the first of Stalin's destructive trials took place almost unnoticed between March 9, and April 14, 1930 in Kharkiv, then the capital of Soviet Ukraine, when 45 leaders of the Ukrainian movement for liberation fell victims to Russian-bolshevik "justice". This big soviet show-trial may justly be called a kind of dress rehearsal in Ukraine, for it gave an opportunity of trying out and perfecting all kinds of "court" methods, with all their tricks, from forced confessions to public repentance. Six years before eminent Trotskists, Bukharinists, Zinovyists, adherents of the military clique round Marshal Tukhachevsky, confessed their deepest sins with tears, imploring execution and obliteration from all human records, 45 Ukrainian men and women were brought to court in order to deal a fatal blow to the Ukrainian national liberation movement and, at the same time, to test the effect of this blow on public opinion. The West is greatly to blame because it was indifferent to this trial ("of some Ukrainians or other") and neglected to stir up protests in the world. At the time, the West was attracted by trade with Russia, and countries competed for her orders; they naturally thought it best to ignore "separatist, unrest in Ukraine". And yet this trial reflected all the diabolic methods of soviet-Russian oppression and revealed its weapons of deception, falsehood and terrorism used for the subjugation of nations. All that was rehearsed here with Ukrainians, was performed later with others.

## The Accused

The trial of the *Union for the Liberation of Ukraine* ("Soyuz Vyzvolennya Ukrainy" — S.V.U.) took place exactly twenty-two years ago. It engraved the letters S.V.U. deeply in the political consciousness of the Ukrainian people as everlasting symbols of the Ukrainian people's desire for freedom and independence, symbols branded with blood and death, and never to be removed. The following sat on the prisoners' bench:

*Professor Sserhiy Yefremov*, 53; an eminent scholar, historian and critic of literature; author of the standard work in two volumes, entitled "History of Ukrainian Literature", in which his thorough study of sources led to the following conclusions: 1. Ukrainian literature differs fundamentally from Russian; 2. it has always developed in close connection with the spiritual world of the West; 3. it is the reflection of the democratic basic tendency in Ukrainian society. These ideas sufficed to make Professor Yefremov abhorred by the Rus-

sians. He was one of the organizers of the State Ukrainian Academy of Science in Kyiv in 1918. In 1927 pressure from the communist party in the Soviet Union made him leave the Academy, because he had energetically opposed the organization plan-



Prof. Sserhiy Yefremov

ned for it, whereby it was to be put completely under the domination of the Communist Party;

*Volodymyr Chekhivsky*, 64; an eminent member of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic party, was also in its Central Committee; also once Minister in the Ukrainian National Government (U.N.R.). Disappointed by politics he finally devoted himself to religious matters, and took a lively share in establishing the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church (U.A.P.C.);

*Volodymyr Durdukivsky*, 55; a well-known educationalist, the director of the First State Ukrainian Grammar School in Kyiv, once a member of the Social Federalist Party and a relative of Prof. Yefremov;

*Prof. Yosyf Hermayze*, 67; professor at the Kyiv Academy of Sciences, professor of marxism at the Academy, a leading member of the Ukrainian National Social Democratic Party (U.N.S.D.);

*Andriy Nikovsky*, 44; writer, formerly a member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Social-Federalist Party, formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the government of the Ukrainian National Republic in exile (1921—22); close collaborator of Prof. Yefremov;

*Mrs. Ludmyla Starytsky-Cherniakhivsky*, 60; her husband was a professor at the Ukrainian Medical Institute in Kyiv, also an eminent member of the Ukrainian Social-Federalist Party; since childhood she had

been an ardent Ukrainian patriot, a champion of the ideal of Ukrainian independence.

*Oleksander Hrybunetsky*, 55; member of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, teacher at the First School for Working People in Kyiv, member of the U.K.S.F.;

*Prof. Vsevolod Hantsov*, 37; an important philologist, reader at the Academy of Science, member of the U.P.S.F.;

*Mykola Pavlushkiv*, 26; a student at the University in Kyiv, son of the well-known Ukrainian politician *Fedor Matushevsky*;

*Yuriy Hreshynsky*, 49; teacher at the First School for Working People in Kyiv, member of the U.P.S.F.;

*Mrs. Nina Tokariivsky*, 41; teacher at the First School for Working People in Kyiv, member of the U.P.S.F.;

*Andriy Palisky*, 45; teacher at the First School for Working People in Kyiv, member of the U.P.F.F.; as early as 1928 he had been deported from Ukrainian territory "for counter-revolutionary activity";

*Prof. Hryhoriy Ivanytsia*, 38; philologist, lecturer at Kyiv University, affiliated to the Ukrainian Academy of Science; formerly a member of the U.P.S.D.;

*Prof. Vassyl Deha*, philologist, member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, formerly a member of the U.P.S.D.;

*Konstantyn Shylo*, 30; head of the editorial department in the Kyiv branch of the State Publishing Institute, affiliated to the Ukrainian Academy of Science, formerly a member of the U.P.S.D.;

*Zinovy Marhulin*, 50; lawyer, recognized by the state as counsel for defence; affiliated to the Academy of Science, formerly a member of the U.P.S.F.;

*Mykhailo Ivchenko*, 47; an eminent writer; a member of the Ukrainian Social-Revolutionary Party (U.P.S.R.);

*Hryhoriy Holoskevych*, 44; member of Ukrainian Academy of Science; editor of "Dictionary of Living Ukrainian"; formerly member of Ukrainian Central Council (Parliament of Ukrainian National Republic), former member of U.P.S.F.;

*Hryhoriy Kholodny*, 44; member of Ukrainian Academy of Science; lecturer at the Institute for Adult Education in Kyiv; head of the Institute of Ukrainian Philology; former member of the U.P.S.F.;

*Mykola Kryveniuk*, 59; biologist, member of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, on editorial staff of the Institute of Ukrainian Philology; former member of the U.P.S.R.;

*Volodymyr Strashkevych*, 54; member of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, on editorial staff of the Institute of Ukrainian Philology; former member of the U.P.S.R.;

*Professor Vadym Marko*, 47; mathematician, member of the Ukrainian Academy of Science; an eminent writer, non-party;

*Viktor Dubrovsky*, 50; collaborator of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences; well-known writer, non-party;

*Konstantin Turkalo*, 37; engineer, chem-

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## A Draconic Verdict

*The Faith of Countless Ukrainians in American Justice Shaken  
by an American Court in Munich*

Wide circles of exiled Ukrainians, not only in Germany, but throughout the Western world, followed with concern the trial of three young Ukrainians — *Mykola Lytwyn, Roman Gnyp and Hryhoriy Cypera* — before a court of the American Occupying Power in Munich, Bavaria, from February 18 — March 7, 1952. All free Ukrainian papers and periodicals — there are nearly 100 of them in the Western world — devoted much space to this trial. The American public prosecutor was *Wolfgang Baur* and the judge, *E. Ambrose Fuller*. All 3 accused were sentenced to 7 years hard labour; all three appealed.

The sentence aroused profound compassion and manifestations of open sympathy with the accused in all Ukrainian circles. It also detracted greatly from the friendly feeling Ukrainians have for Americans in general and from their respect for American justice in particular. Judge E. Ambrose Fuller can scarcely realize the damage his inhumanly severe verdict has done to the cause of America and democracy among thousands of Ukrainians. For the three young Ukrainians will one day have served their time. But the sore of political resentment against America will continue to fester among innumerable Ukrainians.

For it is characteristic of this trial that Ukrainians regarded it as a *political* trial and as an indicator of American policy towards the liberation movement of the Ukrainian people. This demands a short explanation.

We recall to our readers that the *American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia* created a parallel organization in Germany called the *Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia* (Russian abbreviation: S.O.N.R.). This parallel organization was to consist of exiled representatives of the peoples of U.S.S.R. Actually American organizers of both Committees gave the decisive influence in S.O.N.R. to well-known Russian imperialists, such as *Kerensky, Baydalakov*, and other reactionary Russian parties. S.O.N.R. was based on the program of indivisibility and preservation of the Russian imperium. For this reason it was boycotted by all Ukrainian exiles; nor did the legal representatives of other non-Russian nations join it. The Russians in S.O.N.R. then attempted to get non-Russian representatives by hook or by crook. A certain Ukrainian, *Demed Gulaj* by name, deserted the Ukrainian national front and offered S.O.N.R. his services. Ukrainians were incensed at his conduct and he was generally branded as a base, contemptible traitor.

This is the psychological background. *Mykola Lytwyn* and *Roman Gnyp* attacked *Gulaj* in his room in a DP camp in *Schleissheim*, near Munich, as they maintained, in order to give him "something to remember". The court decided that it was attempted murder, a supposition which no Ukrainian believed seriously for a moment. Nevertheless this attack on *Gulaj* was a serious misdemeanour and deserved to be punished accordingly. But Ukrainian public opinion cannot see why a political affray should be punished by 7 years hard labour. Ukrainian public opinion believes the judge to have been prejudiced also from the fact that the prosecutor asked for "only" 5 years.

Of course there is no *direct* connection between this Munich verdict and the American policy towards nationalities in the Soviet Union. According to the American constitution, American judges are independent and do not allow the administration to interfere with their judgements. Maybe, there can be no legal objection to the Munich sentence. But the ordinary man in the street is scarcely able to make this distinction. For tens of thousands of exiled Ukrainians it is not a sentence pronounced by Judge E. Ambrose Fuller, it is simply an *American* sentence; they lay the blame on American administration, on American policy.

For ordinary Ukrainians the shocking severity of the sentence is a sign that American circles do not intend to allow anybody to disturb the policy as expressed in the *American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia* and in the S.O.N.R. The unfortunate thing about this whole trial was that the court simply did not allow the political motives of the deed of these young people to be discussed at all. Whether rightly or not, Ukrainians concluded that Americans are determined to support the indivisibility of the Russian

imperium. This conclusion seemed to be justified by the fact that a member of the U.P.A., *Hryhoriy Cypera*, who had arrived in Germany only 2 days before the attack on *Gulaj*, and who alleged that he had nothing whatever to do with it, was punished just as severely. As is well known, the U.P.A. aims at complete independence for Ukraine. In consequence the sentence was regarded as a punishment not only for an individual, but for the idea he represents.

There is not a single exiled Ukrainian who would extol or even approve the young people's conduct. Nevertheless, Ukrainians feel the judge went too far. Ukrainians are not alone in their reaction. Ukrainian committees abroad have received many expressions of sympathy from other non-Russian national groups. The case of the three young men who were thus draconically sentenced was discussed in many places in Western Europe. We reproduce here two letters on the subject from *Mr. John F. Stewart*, the Chairman of the *Scottish League for European Freedom* who indignantly repudiates the sentence.

It is to be hoped that a higher court will revise the sentence so that a reprehensible act will be duly punished without the sentence degenerating into a condemnation of a justified political movement. This is urgently to be desired in the cause of friendship and good feeling between the Ukrainian and the American peoples.

## "Scottish League" Against The Munich Verdict

*Two Letters from Mr. John F. Stewart*

**Editorial Notice:** As is well known, the *Scottish League for European Freedom* is an organization for freedom to which many eminent Scottish personalities belong. Its president is the Earl of Mansfield. The following are vice-presidents: *Gordon Duncan, Professor A. Dewar Gibbs, Sir M. Barclay Harvay, K.C.M.G., Major Guy Lloyd, D.S.O., M.P., Captain J. H. F. McEwen, Lt.-Col. Sir Thomas Moore, C.B.E., M.P., Sir John A. Waters.* The vice-chairman is *Mr. D. McNaughton, W.S.* — It is a real consolation for Ukrainians in the free world that a blow like the Munich trial of 3 young Ukrainians should arouse great sympathy in the ranks of the League.

Here is the text:

28. March 1952

The United States High Commissioner  
For West Germany,  
Berlin, Germany.

Dear Sir!

The following matter has come to our notice and we beg your personal intervention.

In the Camp *Schleissheim*, a Ukrainian named *Gulaj*, who is considered a renegade by the Ukrainian nation which has been fighting for its freedom so long, a freedom which America, among other peoples, professes to wish to see all nationalities possess, was assaulted by two other exasperated Ukrainians, *Mykola Lytwyn* and *Roman Gnyp*. *Gulaj* was definitely working in the interests of Russians and against his own people. It was obviously a case of common assault and possibly breach of the peace; such cases are common enough, and here in *Edinburgh* would have been dealt with by something like a fine of ten shillings or seven days imprisonment. The assault took place on 15. November 1951, and the trial of the accused, instead of being summary, did not begin till 18. February 1952, surely in itself a miscarriage of justice, intensified by its lasting

three weeks! Judge *Fuller* and Prosecutor *Bauer* were both Americans. In the result the amazingly savage sentence of seven years imprisonment was passed. It is impossible not to believe that it was not justice that was dealt, but political vengeance.

We wish to protest against this grievous miscarriage of justice first, on the ground that it was not a matter for American intervention but was within the jurisdiction of the West German Government and should have been dealt with under German law.

Our second ground of protest is the savagery of the sentence and the bias which was plainly shown by the Court. We understand that witnesses for the defence were available but that Court would not hear them, and so the accused were prejudiced in their defence. We claim that the sentences should be quashed. We make this claim on the ground of simple justice to two individuals. But the incident may have repercussions beyond the capacity of the minds of the Judge and Prosecutor to grasp. It must arouse bitter feelings against the Americans among Ukrainians generally, and, without the help of the Ukrainians and the other nations in the U.S.S.R. who are not Russians, even the United States will not



succeed in any future struggle with Moscow, no matter whether they have bigger and better atomic and other horrible bombs than the Russians, which we question.

There is an even more unpleasant feature in connection with this trial. It may not be known to yourself that the Ukrainian nation, through its Underground Insurgent Army and with obviously the support of the whole people, and including both men and women, has been and is now fighting Red Russia; the insurgent Army is known as U.P.A. At stated times a number of Ukrainians leave Ukraine in secret to bring us intelligence from behind the Iron Curtain and go back with medicines etc. Most are probably shot and captured by the N.K.V.D., and if one in twenty gets through, in danger of torture and death at every step, it is as much as we expect.

Another Ukrainian, a soldier of the U.P.A., had just arrived from the Underground two days when he was also arrested in connection with this assault, with which he had nothing to do, but he was not allowed to produce witnesses for his defence; he was also sentenced to seven years imprisonment. This U.P.A. soldier, Hryhory Cypera, instead of being congratulated on the success of his daring, was actually told by Judge Fuller that, while he had had a long walk coming to Germany from the Underground, he would now have a long rest! It is difficult to imagine anything more brutal and callous, and the feelings of the fighting Ukrainians when they learn it, as they will, may be imagined.

With all the emphasis at our command, we ask that you will personally investigate sentences, not on the grounds of political expediency, but of simple justice.

Yours faithfully

John F. Stewart,  
Chairman.

28. March 1952

His Excellency

The West German Chancellor  
Bonn, Germany.

Your Excellency!

We beg to enclose a letter (copy) we have today addressed to the United States High Commissioner in Berlin, which will explain itself. We protest, in the first instance, that the case should have been tried under German law, and that it was subject to American not German jurisdiction.

As far we know, it was a common assault, possibly richly deserved, as the person assaulted was in the pay of Russians whose object is merely the seizure of power in Moscow and the defeat of Ukraine and the other non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. or dominated by Moscow in the attempt to regain the freedom which the Stalin regime deprived them of.

A case such as this, which is common everywhere, would have been dealt with summarily in Edinburgh in the local Police Court by the infliction of a fine of ten shillings, or, in default of payment, seven days imprisonment. The sentences passed were merely savage and without any possible justification, and we trust that if Your Excellency can do anything to secure the release of the three men, you will be good enough to do so.

Your Excellency's Obedient Servant

John F. Stewart,  
Chairman.

## A Political Tour

Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko in Canada

Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, president of the Antiholshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), arrived in Canada from Great Britain on March 26, 1952 for a lecture tour and to gather information. As is well known, the A.B.N. is a union of the revolutionary organizations of 23 nations oppressed by Moscow and bolshevism whose aim is to overthrow bolshevism and disintegrate the Russian imperium. Up to the present, Mr. Stetzko has only paid a short visit to Montreal and a longer one to Toronto, Ont., but he is planning to visit several Canadian cities. If he should get an American visitors' visa, he will probably spend a short time with his friends and followers in the U.S.A.

Mr. Stetzko gave his first public lecture in Massey Hall, Toronto, to an audience of more than 2,500 on April 13. We quote the account of the meeting given by the "Toronto Daily Star" of April 14, 1952:

"Outlawing of the Communist party of Canada, the Labor-Progressive Party and the Canadian Peace Congress, because they are 'tools of Russian imperialism', was called for at a mass anti-Communist rally in Massey Hall last night.

"An expression of loyalty and full support for Canada 'in the longterm moves of the Canadian government toward preserving peace, justice and freedom for all nations,' was also made by those present.

"Many Slavic nations were represented in the capacity audience that heard Yaroslav Stetzko, president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, declare: 'The peoples behind the Iron Curtain desire national freedom, and not a federation with the aggressor who for centuries has threatened and finally enslaved them.'

"A.B.N. is determined to fight for the sovereignty of each member nation in its belief that only in this way can the Russian threat be eliminated, he said.

"One of Soviet Russia's greatest fears, Mr. Stetzko said, is the threat made on its empire by the movements for national independence. Coordination of Western efforts with A.B.N. would lessen the Russian threat to the world and might localize the war and lessen the number of casualties.

"A weapon much stronger and more effective than the atom bomb," Mr. Stetzko said, "is the idea of national liberation of nations under Russian domination. Because of this threat to his empire, Stalin is more afraid of the A.B.N. than the atomic bomb."

"It was resolved that since true reconciliation between Moscow and the free world is impossible, the Soviet system must be destroyed for the sake of the whole world. The Russian empire must be disbanded and Russia forced back to its ethnic boundaries. This would deprive her of many raw materials and hamper her in any future aggressions against the democratic world."

Much interest has been shown in Canada in Mr. Stetzko's arrival. Leading Toronto papers published detailed biographical sketches and reports of the lecture in Massey Hall. Other Canadian towns have invited Mr. Stetzko to come and lecture and he has been warmly welcomed by various societies of Ukrainians and other non-Russians.

Mr. Y. Stetzko, 41, formerly Prime Minister of Ukraine, is a prominent member of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.). From early youth he has devoted his life to the fight for liberty waged by Ukraine and other peoples subjugated by Moscow. He is familiar with Polish and German prisons: from 1941-1944 he was in German concentration camps. He is an excellent journalist. He has been president of the A.B.N. since 1946. His work forces him to be constantly on his guard against Russian attempts on his life and provocations.

## Fourth Congress of the S.U.M. in Great Britain

The Fourth Congress of the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.) met in London on March 1 and 2, 1952. It was attended by about 100 delegates and guests, including Dr. Y. Fundak, president of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain and Oleksa Kalynnyk, president of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Youth Association. New office-bearers were elected as follows: President, Y. Deremender, office-bearers: Krushelnytsky, Popadynets, Fedchyniak, Koval, Hosak, Ing. Oleskiv, etc.

As regards organisation, the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain has reached a high level. There are 50 departments and 22 "cells" concerned with youth work. At the time of the Congress, the membership of these sections was 2,057, 81 of whom were girls. It should be mentioned that there are in England some 800 more members of the Ukrainian Youth Association, who, however, were not represented in the sections mentioned above at the time of the Congress, though they are fully qualified members.

Education is one of the main aims of the Ukrainian Association. At English universities there are 12 members of the Youth Association, 12 more attend evening courses and 756 attend 86 Extension Courses of the Ukrainian college.

Members of the Ukrainian Youth Association arrange various meetings and entertainments, dramatic and musical. In 1951 there were more than 1500 such entertainments given by 7 choirs, 5 orchestras and 5 dramatic clubs.

The report of the Congress shows that the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain puts great stress on practical affairs, thus giving our young people an opportunity of training and activity.

### Ukrainian Youth Association

(U.I.S.) A meeting of the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.) was held in Buenos Aires on February 9, 1952, the first general meeting since the Youth Section of the "Prosvita" society resolved to join up with the S.U.M., the biggest organization of free Ukrainian youth. This meant that they assumed its name and accepted its constitution and all the duties involved thereby.

This resolution was passed on December 15, 1951, the tenth anniversary of the Youth Section in the "Prosvita" society in Argentina. At the last general meeting, new office-bearers were appointed, 12 in all. Among these are V. Horlatovych, president; B. Petruk, vice-president; B. Holian, secretary.



# April 29, 1918

## A Great Day in the History of the Ukrainian National Fleet

By Nauticus

For 34 years, April 29 has been celebrated solemnly by all free Ukrainians as the Day of the national Ukrainian Fleet. It commemorates the historic occasion on April 29, 1918, when the Ukrainian people took over the Ukrainian national War Fleet, formerly the Tsar's Black Sea Navy, on behalf of the government of the Ukrainian National Republic and by decision of the Ukrainian parliament — *Ukrayinska Centralna Rada* (Ukrainian Central Council).

From time immemorial, 75% of the crews of the Black Sea Navy were Ukrainians. The Ukrainian national idea was strong among both officers and men in this Navy and had developed rapidly since the beginning of the twentieth century, particularly since 1905. In that year, "Kobzar", a secret Ukrainian national Liberation organization was founded in Sevastopol, the main base of the Black Sea Navy, to which Ukrainian sailors, officers and men, belonged. The following were among the most eminent members: V. *Savchenko-Bilsky*, Colonel of the Admiralty, Captain N. *Nekievych*, Commander *Mykhailo Bilinsky*, Commander (later rear-admiral) *Svyatoslav Shramchenko*, Commander (later rear-admiral) V. *Stepaniv*, Commander (later vice-admiral) H. *Pokrovsky*, and many others.

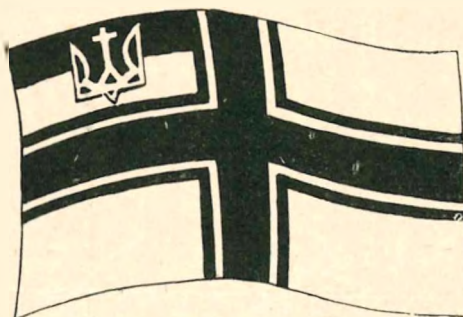
The outbreak of the Revolution of March 12, 1917 in Russia was followed by great activity among the Ukrainian crews of the Black Sea Navy. In Sevastopol the *Ukrainian Black Sea Council* was immediately founded under the leadership of M. *Lashchenko*. This Council convened a number of mass meetings of Ukrainian sailors who demanded that the entire Black Sea Navy should immediately become Ukrainian. Similar councils were founded on various ships and often on their own initiative they hoisted the Ukrainian national flag, for instance on the battleships, "Yoann Zolotousty", "St. Evstafy", "Rostyslav", and on the cruisers, "Pamyat Merkuria", "Kahul", "Pruth", on the mine-layer "Zavydny", etc.

But the situation in the Black Sea Fleet remained confused and obscure throughout the first year of the Revolution, 1917/18. Other political influences arose in addition to the Ukrainian. Bolshevik marine councils were active, and followers of the deposed tsar and his regime also made themselves felt. Thus some ships flew red flags, in others both Ukrainian and red flags were hoisted.

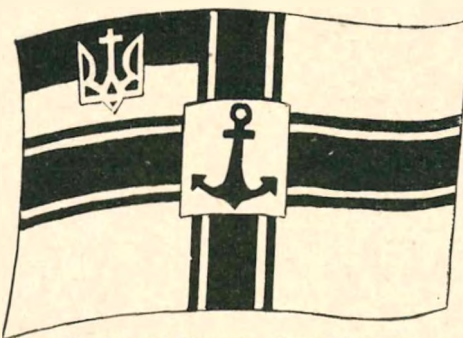
On December 22, 1917, the Ukrainian National Government appointed an *Office for Naval Affairs* in Kyiv; this was re-organized on March 1, 1918 as the *Ukrainian Naval Ministry*. The first National Ukrainian Naval Minister was Mr. *Dmytro Antonovych*.

On January 14, 1918, the Ukrainian National Parliament ("Centralna Rada") passed a preliminary law on the Fleet of the Ukrainian National Republic, the most important provisions of which were:

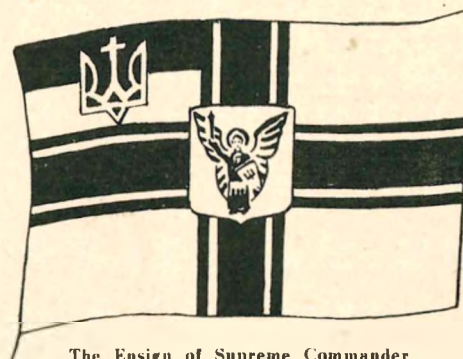
1. "The Russian Navy and the Merchant Fleet in the Black Sea is herewith declared to



The Flag of Ukrainian Navy



The Flag of Ukrainian Naval Ministry



The Ensign of Supreme Commander of Ukrainian Navy



The Flag of Ukrainian Mercantile Marine

be the Navy of the Ukrainian National Republic; from now on, it takes over the duties of protecting the coast and of transport and trade on the Black Sea and the Sea of Asov;

2. "The Ukrainian National Republic takes over all the obligations of the Russian government towards the Black Sea Fleet

and the maintenance of harbours on the Black Sea;

3. "Immediately after the proclamation of this law, all Russian war and merchant ships stationed in the Black Sea and the Sea of Asov shall hoist the Ukrainian flag."

The Ukrainian national flag could only be hoisted some 4 months later, on April 29, 1918, in consequence of the confusion, already mentioned, which prevented the Ukrainian government from assuming power over all ships in the Black Sea in the months after the Revolution. Bolshevik infiltration made itself felt more and more and a special difficulty for the Ukrainian government consisted in the fact that the Peninsula of Perekop was occupied by bolshevik infantry and marine troops who cut the Crimea off from the rest of Ukraine.

This difficulty was solved by a courageous action by the Ukrainian Colonel V. *Bolbochan*, then in command of the Saporog Division in the south of Ukraine. In forced marches he reached the Peninsula of Perekop on April 20, 1918, defeated the bolsheviks, occupied the station of Djankoy on 22. 4. and Sympheropol on 25. 4. On the same day, a regiment of Ukrainian cavalry reached Bakhchissaray, and Sevastopol on 26. 4. Crimea was thus in Ukrainian hands. Three days later, on April 29, 1918, at 4 o'clock on a sunny afternoon, the entire Black Sea Fleet hoisted the Ukrainian National Flag.

On that day the Ukrainian Government took over the following units:

2 dreadnoughts ("Katarina the Great", "Vola");

7 battleships ("St. Evstafy", "St. Pantaleymon", "Yoann Zolotokety", "Rostyslav", "Try Svyatyteli", "Synop", "Yuriy Pohidonosets");

10 cruisers ("Kahul", "Pamyat Merkuria", "Pruth", "Almaz", "Tsar Alexander", "Imperator Trayan", "Redmele Karol", "Dakia", "Princess Maria", "Tsar Nikolay I").

Also 13 destroyers 22 submarines, 3 gunboats, 6 mine sweepers, and a number of cutters, trawlers and smaller units.

They joy of the Ukrainian government and the people at taking over the Black Sea Fleet did not last long. Ukraine was occupied by German troops at that time; on May 1, 1918, German units moved into Sevastopol, immediately seized all warships, hoisted their flags and seized the entire Black Sea Fleet. The Germans did not leave Ukraine till the collapse of the German Empire on November 11, 1918 and on that day, they gave what was left of the Black Sea Fleet to the Ukrainian National Government.

But this was merely a gesture, for units of allied armies immediately appeared in Sevastopol and other Black Sea ports and occupied Ukrainian men-of-war.

This ended an episode in the history of the Ukrainian Black Sea Fleet for the time being. But *only for the time being*, for the Ukrainian people will never relinquish their legal right to their share of the Black Sea and will one day resume rightful possession. This will raise the curtain on a new epoch in the history of the Ukrainian Black Sea Fleet.



# Ukraine Behind the Iron Curtain

## A Language On The Rack

*Ukraine is „Brought Nearer Russia“*

(U.I.S.) In 1948 a big Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary was published in 100,000 copies by the Publishers Office attached to the Soviet Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv. The editors, under the leadership of *L. Bulakovsky*, the Soviet Ukrainian philologist, and *Maxym Rylsky*, the poet, took more than three years to compile the comprehensive work.

Definite conditions were attached to the publication of the dictionary when it was commissioned in 1945; it was "to bring the Ukrainian and the Russian languages nearer" and to stress the elements they have in common rather than the differences between them. The basic idea was to facilitate the process of the amalgamation of the peoples in the Soviet Union and to promote a more genuine friendship between them. This translated into practice meant that the Ukrainian language was to be russified and sovietized more than formerly.

Wherever, for instance, daily intercourse used Russian or russified foreign words in the fields of engineering, trade, commerce, politics, and officialese, words only half understood by the Ukrainian people, those expressions were to have precedence in the dictionary over real native Ukrainian words; the use of such Russo-Ukrainian hybrids was to be encouraged in everyday life, the press, literature, the wireless, and official publications.

Spurred on by the unequivocally expressed desire of the central committee of the communist party in the Soviet Union, the editorial committee did its best to complete its assignment. When the book finally appeared in 1948, its first reception was enthusiastic; serious students of pure Ukrainian made long faces, but they were impotent to do anything about the mixture of Ukrainian and Russian that had thus been concocted.

Early in 1952, however, it was rumoured in Kyiv that, in spite of everything, Moscow was still dissatisfied with the dictionary. The linguistic "approchement" was apparently not all that could be desired. The dictionary was withdrawn, tacitly but all the more effectively, from libraries, schools and shops, and pulped. On February 16, 1952, members of the Institute of Philology in the Soviet Ukrainian Academy of Sciences met in order, as it was put officially, "to discuss necessary addenda and improvements for the dictionary". Subsequent meetings followed, attended by a considerable number of Russian and Ukrainian "experts". An article by *Y. Kyrchenko* in *"Radyanska Ukraina"* in Mid-February, 1952, indicates the lines along which work will proceed. We quote:

"Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists were impelled by their nationalist desires to don a mask when they were compiling dictionaries. They gave themselves great trouble to obliterate from these books everything that was revolutionary; they avoided words and expressions that were linked with post-revolutionary life. For political reasons they omitted words that Ukrainian and Russian have in common, and defaced their dictionaries by filling them with words the masses could not

understand. They clung obstinately to the idea that Ukrainian is fundamentally different from Russian and tried their utmost to widen the gap between them. These destructive activities on the part of nationalists have been revealed and put an end to. Thus all artificial obstacles to the free and natural development of the Ukrainian literary language were removed. . . . The Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary of 1948 was intended to help the process, but it was unsatisfactory. Life has been going on with mighty strides and much that was new has come to the surface. . . . In the domain of philology, the revolutionary linguistic works of *J. V. Stalin* had to be noted. . . . Regarded from the point of view of this great work and of the needs of the present, we come to the conclusion that the dictionary is not adequate for our days. . . ."

In his "great linguistic work" Stalin did point out plainly enough what was required today in the U.S.S.R. According to his "new" theory, "social developments demand that there should be one central language

in the U.S.S.R.", the most advanced one which, of course, is Russian. Other languages are not prohibited; but they are to — nay, "inevitably must" — sink to be local, provincial languages, and this applies to Ukrainian. The more local languages adapt themselves to the central language, the greater the "progress". According to Stalin, there will one day be a "central world language"; naturally this will once more be Russian as the most "progressive language".

It is not the first time that Ukrainians have had to learn the advantages of Russian and have been driven into the paradise of the Russian language as "convinced converts". The tsars and their regime persecuted Ukrainian mercilessly and Stalin is following in their footsteps. It is difficult to say how long this new purge from "nationalism" will last and when the new dictionary will appear. But it is easy enough to imagine its contents; it certainly will not contain a language fit for a poet like *Taras Shevchenko*. It has been reserved for Stalin and Russian bolshevism to put not only millions of people, whole nations and classes on the rack, but also languages. Ukrainian is probably the first important European language to be condemned to fall a victim to Russian "progress".

## "To Little Help" For Composers

*The Fight Against Ukrainian Nationalism*

(U.I.S.) The seventh annual meeting of the office-bearers in the Union of Soviet Composers in Ukraine was held in Kyiv in the middle of February, 1952; this is a professional union of musicians in Ukraine with a few hundred members. During the meeting, *P. Kozytsky*, a well-known Soviet Ukrainian composer, submitted the Union's plan of work for 1952. The usual criticism was heard of the past year's work and the usual resolutions passed. All bowed low to the "great genius", Stalin; Americans, as the leaders of capitalist conspiracy in the world, were condemned root and branch; the usual eulogies of peace were heard, and repeated thanks to the "great Russian brother" for the many-sided help he "unselfishly" granted Ukraine; promises were registered to interest the masses in new music; in short, it was the same old story.

One note in the meeting, however, merits our attention. The composer *P. Kozytsky*, who submitted the plan for 1952 and who was "elected" to be the new president, sharply criticized the annual report and reproached *H. Viryovka*, who retired after long years of service as president, with "passivity and refusal to give sufficient help to composers in their daily work." Help? No, the proper reading is *carelessness in supervision*. The "help" here referred to means constantly making composers toe the party line just then in vogue. Strange though it may sound to Western composers, who work in liberty, every Soviet composer is given a definite exercise, a norm, like every bricklayer. The famous *Shostakovich*, for instance was commissioned two years ago to represent and glorify the afforestation that was carried out in the U.S.S.R. by order of the party; he did so and received a decoration and 100,000 roubles. The general task set for composers in Ukraine

for 1951 was "to bring the Ukrainian people nearer the great Russian people". This is where *H. Viryovka* failed; Ukrainian composers have not sung the praises of the noble Russian people to the extent that was ordered, they did not receive adequate "help" from the party, i. e. sufficient pressure from above. And Moscow has no use for such lukewarm presidents. So *Viryovka* had to go. The new man, *P. Kozytsky*, obviously knows what he owes his masters. He began his term of office with a tirade against Ukrainian nationalism, and at the same time with a flourish of reverence for the "great Russian people". It is more than probable that he will see that his colleagues are adequately "helped" by the party, for his leadership is likely to be more energetic than that of his predecessor. Whether he will change the typically Ukrainian national music into Russian music remains to be seen. No one has hitherto succeeded in doing so and it will probably prove beyond the powers of those who are the leaders of Ukrainian musical life by the grace of Moscow.

## "The Common Source"

*Travesties of History in Soviet Russia*

(U.I.S.) The Institute for the History of Ukraine in the Ukrainian Academy of Science in Kyiv recently published a "History of the Culture of Ancient Russ" in two volumes. This is a collection of essays edited by *B. D. Grekov* and Prof. *M. J. Artamanov*, both members of the Academy. In a review published in the *"Radyanska Ukraina"* of 19. 4. 52, Prof. *K. Huslysty* indicates the tendency of the book. We quote:

"This fundamental book is also important as it reveals the common sources



of the related Russian Ukrainian and Byelorussian cultures. In particular it unmasks the distortions of the history of the state and culture in ancient Russ which were common to bourgeois nationalist literature in Ukraine. These bourgeois historians attempted to prove that the Kyiv state, with its high level of culture, belonged exclusively to the history of the Ukrainian people . . . Both volumes of the "History of Ancient Russ" give a convincing picture of the unity and common Russian character of the culture of the Kyiv State."

So much for the reviewer. But thousands of "scholarly" soviet Russian books can never alter the historical fact that the beginnings of the genuinely *Russian* state and of the formation of the Russian people, more accurately, the Russian people, are to be sought much later round Moscow, only in the 13th century. However zealously soviet Russian historians, by order of Moscow, attempt to ante-date by 2 centuries the foundation of the Russian state and thereby to claim a leading position for it, the truth remains unaltered. All the historical forgeries in the world will not help the Russians to steal their birthright from the Ukrainians. In spite of apparent similarity of language, Ukrainians are racially and culturally greatly different from Russians; the two peoples developed in different centuries and under totally different social, cultural and legal conditions; they did *not* spring from the same source.

### A Ticket To Kyiv . . .

(U.I.S.) One of the chief functions of the Soviet press is to extol in superlatives and continuously the happy, prosperous, progressive and carefree life of the Soviet citizen and of everything in the Soviet Union. If we believe these eulogies, the life of the average American, Briton or West German must be a scene of misery, humiliation, of primitive poverty.

But accidents may happen even to the Soviet press that lift the thick veil of lies spread by Soviet propaganda. Two letters to the editor of the "Radyanska Ukraina" of 17. 2. 1952, probably escaping the censor's notice, give an idea of the real benefits and conveniences of everyday life in the Soviet Union. These letters deal with the autobus service between Kyiv and its suburbs.

One reader writes: "A short time ago I had to go from Kyiv to *Hurivshchyna*, Makariv district. I had to get in to the bus at *Sviatoshyno* where there were crowds of people and no order. The bus is so full that there is no room to turn round. The ticket-collector is so hemmed in on every side that he cannot get through the bus to sell tickets. So he sells them when the people get out, which takes time. Things are no better if you have to travel by the post bus to the suburb of *Kurenivka*. Nobody keeps order here, passengers just fight for seats, women and children getting the worst of it. In *Kurenivka* most of the passengers get out. The ridiculous thing is that from here to *Dymer*, the bus is almost empty, because the passengers for *Dymer* hardly ever manage to get in. Often buses are very late, or they don't come at all. So after having waited for hours, would-be passengers try hitch-hiking, or turn and go home."

The report given in another letter is similar. Its writer complains that he had the fantastic idea of leaving the town one fine day for a breath of winter air; he came home with bruised ribs and nearly suffocated with the air in the bus.

That's what happy, socialist life looks like.

## Ukrainian Youth Association

### Its History and Growth in Ukraine from 1920—1930

(Y.Z.P.) In order to understand the problems with which young Ukrainian were faced in the years 1920—1930, and the reasons for the show-trial of the two organizations (S.V.U., Union for the Liberation of Ukraine; and S.U.M., Ukrainian Youth Association) we must recall some details from the history of these movements.

Conditions immediately after the struggle for liberation in the Ukraine in the years 1917—21 called for the foundation of the S.U.M. Until 1921 there had been various Ukrainian youth societies not controlled in any way by the soviet government. Being nationalist in sympathy, they were all prohibited in 1922.

In addition to the Komsomol, the official association of young communists, and recognized by the communist regime as the only union of importance for young people, there was in Ukraine in 1922 a "Ukrainian Communist Youth Society". Although this had extreme leftist views, it also displayed decidedly nationalist tendencies. Its members accepted marxist ideology, but hoped (vainly, as it turned out) that the communist government would uphold the national rights guaranteed in the Constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. They even offered resistance to the official communist Komsomol, partly in open, partly in masked hostility. This led ultimately to the dissolution of the Society and the persecution of its members.

There were also illegal, but often most active, groups of young Ukrainians who were not, however, organized in any regular union with rules and a constitution. It is important to note that young Ukrainians everywhere, in the country and in the towns, and particularly students, were opposed to soviet ideas, and above all to the policy pursued by the Russian bolshevik power of occupation. This opposition, increasing pressure from Moscow and the desire to develop national values were the conditions that produced the S.U.M.

One might date the activity of the Association from 1922 when a system of Ukrainian high schools under the leadership of V. Durdukevsky, was founded in Kyiv. Actually, the formal foundation of the Association took place in April 1926.

It had two main aims, viz., 1) to promote national life everywhere and to resist the occupying power's official policy, and 2) to develop an idealist and national attitude in opposition to prevailing materialist internationalism.

It is obvious that such a movement could not be tolerated by the communist regime. This organization of young people was not permitted to work for long; it was persecuted soon after its foundation.

In 1928 Soviets began to arrest individual members and by the middle of 1929 there were mass-arrests. At the same time, there were mass-arrests of people who had nothing to do either with the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (S.V.U.) or with the S.U.M., although they were accused of supporting these movements. The official trial of the two organizations took place in Kharkiv from March 9 to April 14, 1930. The bill of indictment accused the prisoners of belonging to an underground organization which aimed at separating Ukraine from the U.S.S.R.

Among the accused were M. Pavlushkiv, then president of the S.U.M. and Vynohrad-

sky, one of its most prominent members. On April 16, 1930 the verdict was pronounced condemning the accused to various terms of imprisonment. Pavlushkiv, for instance, was condemned to 8 years' hard labour and exiled to Siberia. Both organizations were declared to be subversive and were therefore dissolved and prohibited.

In spite of such methods of oppression, the communists did not manage to stamp out the movement of Ukrainian youth. Young people in Ukraine continued to perform their national duty and to pursue unafraid their high aim of restoring their independent national state. After World War II young Ukrainians in exile re-constituted the S.U.M. with its former ideals and aims. For them the month of April will always be a reminder of their first organization which was liquidated in that month by Russian bolsheviks. Its spirit continues to live in all young Ukrainians.

### Conference of Elementary School Teachers

(Y.Z.P.) A conference of elementary school teachers in Soviet Ukraine was held from March 3—6, 1952 in Kyiv, in the Hall of the Supreme Soviet Council. Delegates from districts, towns and party met under the chairmanship of H. P. Pinhuk, Minister of Education in Soviet Ukraine, assisted by P. T. Dudnyk, his deputy, to discuss all problems connected with elementary education. The "Radyanska Ukraina" of March 9, 1952 (No. 59) devoted a special article and a commentary to the event. It is important to note that the communist party pays great attention to elementary education, doing all in its power to educate human beings along communist lines from the very beginning.

One proof of this is the fact that 600 million roubles are provided in the 1952 budget of the Soviet Union for elementary education. It is stated, further, that "elementary education — the soviet school — is the most important domain of political training". The intention is obvious; "to educate children in the elementary school in the spirit of ardent soviet patriotism, of complete devotion to the ideas of Lenin, Stalin and communism". Further, education at school is "to train pupils in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and Stalin's friendship among peoples, and of socialist internationalism."

Some statistics may illumine this program in Ukraine. In towns and villages in Soviet Ukraine 4,380 school premises were rebuilt or newly established. At present 29,500 schools are in operation in Ukraine, attended by 6.6 million pupils.

As has frequently occurred in other fields in recent times, "many serious deficiencies were censured on the part of the Ministry of Education in Soviet Ukraine and of organizations in the country and in towns which are concerned with the elementary school." These are due to shortcomings of young teachers who are too lazy to relate their teaching to proper principles. As elsewhere, the *Russian master people* is quoted as a model. The question was discussed whether it would not be "good to utilize experiences in Russian schools in training teachers".



## Moscow's Desperate Fight For The Soul Of The Ukrainian People

Continued from Page 2

an entire new generation, which was born under bolshevism, comrade Melnikov is compelled to admit that "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism" is a threat even for the minds of 730,000 communists in Ukraine. What does it avail Moscow to have a hard grip of the Ukraine physically, if its power over the souls of the people is gradually weakening? If, in the event of war, Moscow should lose its military battles in that country, this would be a result of the fact that it had long ago lost the soul of the Ukrainian people.

The formal education which the bolshevist regime brought to the masses of the Ukrainian people, has proved in the long run to be a two-edged sword of Moscow. With their one-sided education, bolshevists wanted to force the masses to think along bolshevist lines. But, since it taught the masses to read, learn and think, the regime could not prevent them from thinking further and becoming interested in "forbidden" things and facts. Thus the Ukrainian masses, including communists, began to reflect about the real position of Ukraine in the framework of the entire Soviet Union. The necessary consequence was the irresistible growth of Ukrainian national consciousness and the desire for political, economic and social independence.

### The Power of the Ukrainian Soil

The soil in Ukraine seems to exercise what can only be called a magic power of assimilating other peoples, races and political groups. This beautiful, fertile country has experienced countless wars, occupations and years of foreign rule in long centuries of its history, but the Ukrainian people still survives. The Scythians, the Pechenigi, the Polovtsi, the Normans, Mongols and Turks, the Poles, Hungarians, the Russians, and even the Germans in World War II have each and all tried to change the people, but every time the opposite happened — all these invaders were assimilated by the native population, absorbed by the soil, altered in character and "Ukrainized". For 600 years, for instance, the Polish state tried to make the parts of Western Ukraine under its regime Polish; today there is no more than a handful of Poles in these areas. For 300 years the Russians tried to make Ukraine Russian, but one single decade of "Ukrainization" (1923—33) sufficed to wipe out the deepest traces of Russian influence. Now the entire terrorist machinery of Stalin's Russian state, making use of severe purges, deportations and indescribable hardships, was necessary to restore during the last decade Moscow's position in the count-

ry. Communism was thought to be the most reliable tool, the best instrument for the realization of Russian plans in Ukraine, but communists, too, were found wanting, for they, too, were constantly assimilated, re-shaped and Ukrainized. In the years 1929—1939 Moscow destroyed Lenin's (the first) team of the communist party in Ukraine in mass purges (see the article in our present number on the "Trial of the S.V.U."). This first team had to die because it was conscious of has being Ukrainian. Thereupon Stalin created the second communist team in Ukraine, "his own"; it was to be more reliable, more faithful to Moscow and more centralist. And now, in 1952, comrade Melnikov discovers that they too have already been attacked by the germ of Ukrainian nationalism and are ripe for a thorough re-training and purge.

### A Warning to the West

The West keeps on wondering what psychological weapons to use in order to break the power of communism, the power of Stalin. Melnikov's article and Moscow's measures to stem the spread of Ukrainian nationalism are a clear answer that is not to be misunderstood.

Similar condemnations and "corrective measures" to those resorted to recently in Ukraine have now been introduced in Turkestan and in the Caucasus. Everywhere in the Soviet Union, as well as in the satellite states, the deadly force of dissident nationalisms is rising and growing stronger and stronger against Muscovite bolshevism. And yet the exiled Ukrainians who have every right to speak in the name of their enslaved countrymen, are not believed when they point out that the only realistic power behind the Iron Curtain able to resist bolshevism and Russian imperialism is and remains the idea of national liberty. In pernicious contrast to this sound policy such formations as the *Council for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia* are organized, encouraged and supported, — formations which are dominated entirely by Russians who have no other thought than to reinstate in case of the downfall of bolshevism the status quo of the Russian Empire.

The German attempt to disrupt bolshevism perished because the national liberty idea was neglected. The West will have the same experience if this ideal is not given its due weight. *The West must at last learn to read and interpret articles like Melnikov's aright and act accordingly.*

### Trial of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine

Continued from Page 7

ist; former member of the Ukrainian Central Council, and of U.P.S.F.;

*Volodymyr Pidhayetsky*, 41; scientific collaborator at Ukrainian Academy of Science, former member of U.P.S.R.;

*Professor Mykola Kudrytsky*, 46; member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, professor at the Institute of Medicine, Kyiv; former member of the U.P.S.R.;

*Arkadiy Baber*, 50; scientific member of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, lecturer at the Institute of Medicine in Kyiv; former member of the U.P.S.R.;

*Professor Volodymyr Udovenko*, 42; scientific member of the Ukrainian Academy of Science; professor at the Institute of Medicine in Kyiv, non-party;

*Aksentiy Bolozovych*, 43; in a cooperative, lecturer at the Kyiv Trade Union Institute; former member of the U.P.S.R.; deported from Ukraine in 1928 "for counter-revolutionary activity";

*Maksym Botvynsky*, 50; in a cooperative, director of Soviet Milk Pool in Ukraine; former member of the U.P.S.R.;

*Mykola Chekhivsky*, 53; priest in Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church;

*Professor Petro Yefremov*, 46; brother of the chief accused; professor at the Institute of Adult Education in Dnipropetrovsk, former member of the U.P.S.F.;

*Mikola Bilyi*, 32; teacher, non-party;

*Liubov Bidnova*, 43; teacher, non-party;

*Konstantyn Torkach*, 47; lawyer, former member of the U.P.S.F.;

*Professor Volodymyr Chepoter*, 60; teacher at the Institute of Adult Education in Poltava; former member of the U.P.S.F.; deported from Ukraine in 1928 because of "counter-revolutionary activities";

*Petro Blyzniuk*, 49; in a cooperative; non-party;

*Mykola Lahuta*, 34; teacher at the Institute of Adult Education in Mykolaiv/Black Sea; non-party;

*Yosyf Karpovych*, 43; teacher at the Institute of Adult Education in Chernyiv, former member of the U.P.S.F.;

*Valentyn Atamovsky*, 37; head of the local All-Ukrainian Public Library in Vinnytsia, Podolia; non-party;

*Professor Mykhailo Hubchenko*, 47; member of Ukrainian Academy of Science, professor at the Institute of Adult Education in Odessa;

*Taras Slabchenko*, 47; secondary school teacher in Odessa, non-party;

*Kyrylo Panchenko-Kalenko*, 42; educationalist in Odessa, non-party.

Continued in the next issue

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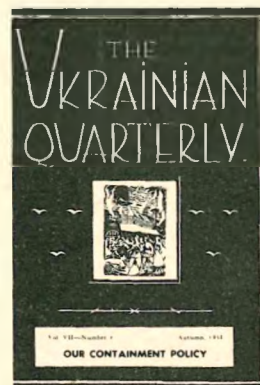
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## Editorial

### A Serious Error On The Part Of The West

#### *Self-Determination of Nations Ignored*

#### **Bolshevists Retain Initiative**

The Western world is astonished that Soviet propaganda should manage to continue to gain ground. An interesting international development that we have just witnessed is a striking illustration of this. We refer to the different treatment of the principle of the *self-determination of peoples* on both sides of the Iron Curtain. It is amazing how clever the bolshevists are in making use of this principle in practical politics. And it is equally astonishing to see how Western nations, and above all America, contrive to turn the power of this idea against themselves.

The paradox is that in everyday practice the Russians, in blatant contrast to their propaganda, trample the principle of the self-determination of peoples under foot, enslaving more and more peoples in the course of the expansion of communism. In the first stage of the Russian revolution of March—November 1917, no fewer than 19 nations in the Tsar's empire declared their independence and the secession of their restored national states from the Russian imperium. These included Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Byelorussia, Poland, Ukraine, Cossackia, Georgia, other Caucasian republics, Turkestan, etc. Moscow managed gradually to regain control over all of them. After World War II many other countries, were added to this list, known as the *satellite states*, who, by the way, were considerably helped by the West to come under Russian power.

#### **The U.S.A. "Board for Psychological Warfare"**

In spite of all this, the Bolshevists have managed practically to monopolize the idea of the self-determination of

peoples as a powerful instrument of propaganda, and at any rate to strike this instrument out of the hands of the West. In order to grasp the great importance of this question we must recall the political success it brought *President Wilson* when he wrote the right of peoples to self-determination on the banner of his war aims; it won the enthusiasm of hundreds of millions for America.

In America today there is a special "Board for Psychological Warfare". It evidently has plenty of money but few ideas. It appears that this body has come to the conclusion that the right of nations to freedom and independence are antiquated theories, and that humanity is striving for the formation of "higher", "supernational" and "superstate" units; they have obviously stopped supporting movements for national independence while the Soviet Union has worked out a *complete theory of nationality* and has incorporated it in its constitution, the West and America have still to such adequate doctrine, and no practical answer to the question of what to do with different nationalities in Eastern Europe, the Near East, Asia and Africa.

#### **A Victory for the Soviet Bloc**

The bolshevists are all the more active in this field. The entire Soviet press has been flooded in recent weeks by commentaries on the noteworthy political victory that the Soviet Bloc, with the help of a number of non-Soviet peoples, won in the United Nations in the cause of the right of peoples to self-determination. We refer to the following events:

On April 21, the 8th session of the "U.N. Committee for Human Rights"



was held in the U.N. House in New York; it will be remembered that the VI General Assembly of the U.N. had asked this Committee to work out drafts of International Treaties on Human Rights. The following 18 member states of the U.N. belong to the *Committee*: Australia, Belgium, Chile, China, Egypt, France, Greece, India, Lybanon, Pakistan, Poland, Sweden, Ukraine, U.S.S.R., Great Britain, U.S.A., Uruguay and Yugoslavia.

The representatives of the Soviet Bloc moved that an amendment dealing with the right of peoples to self-determination be added to the International Convention on Human Rights. The following provisions were to be included in the amendment: 1. all peoples and nations shall have an inalienable right to decide for themselves what their political, economic and cultural status shall be; 2. the powers responsible for non-self-governing peoples shall be obliged to see that the right self-determination is realized as quickly as possible in the territories entrusted to their care; 3. all states shall be obliged to grant their national minorities legally the free exercise of the rights of minorities in language, schools, associations, culture, customs, economics, etc.

*Carlos Valanzuela*, who represented Chile, brought in a supplementary motion that the right of peoples to self-determination should also include their right to sovereignty over natural resources, raw materials and sources of revenue. In no case shall a people be robbed of its means of existence on the basis of any foreign laws or claims.

### Scorn and Laughter

The voting on those two motions is described in the following article in the *New York Times* of April 22, 1952:

"Today's vote was a double defeat for the Western powers, particularly Britain, France, Belgium, Australia and to smaller degree for the United States, since these nations objected that the new text was vague and legally unsound. The insisted that the text would raise formidable obstacles if an effort was made to enforce it as law."

An amendment by *Mrs. Eleonore Roosevelt* was received with scorn and sarcasm by the Soviet press, she having moved that the right of peoples to self-determination "should be exercised only in accordance with constitutional procedures and with due regard to the rights of other states and peoples". The Soviet press was of opinion that peoples desirous of self-determination would have to wait a long time before acquiring their freedom and independence on the basis of the constitutional procedures of the peoples governing them.

It does not require a great stretch of imagination to see how cleverly the Soviet press exploits the "Noes" of Great Britain, France and Belgium and

the fact that America refrained from voting. Moscow's propaganda machine has hardly ever been presented with better and cheaper material. "Now you can see", the Soviet press repeats, particularly to the peoples of Asia, the Near East and Africa, "what the West's ideals of liberty are like in practice. The West refuses to accept the right of peoples to self-determination and so furnishes proof of its anti-national and colonial imperialism."

### A Neglected Subject

The Soviet press extols all the higher the Soviet solution of the problem of nationality. It is pointed out that the Bolsheviks would not have hesitated for one moment to divide the united Russian imperium into 13 (now 16) republics, if by so doing it would satisfy justified national claims by these peoples. It is emphasized that even the smallest ethnic group in the Soviet system is taken into consideration and treated as a constitutional unit if this group has any desire to be so treated. What is known as "Stalin's Conception of the Friendship among Peoples" is proclaimed at great length as being the ideal solution for the question of nationalities throughout the world. The right of nationalities as contained in the Soviet constitution is represented as a model to be imitated elsewhere.

In glaring contrast, the West does not even know how it should approach the problem of nationalities in the U.S.S.R. if bolshevism should collapse, let alone in the Near East, Asia, etc. Obviously it has no positive programme as regards nationalities, and no modern pertinent theory on which to base a practical policy.

### The Indestructibility of the National Idea

In view of this difference of attitude to the question of nationalities it is no wonder that Soviet propaganda should be successful and that Moscow should know how to exploit this success to the full. The national idea is and always will be a great power, spiritual as well as physical; its influence on people's minds is certainly not reduced because it is declared to be "antiquated" and "out-of-date" by some "Office for Psychological Warfare", or other. The "rising tide" of colonial peoples and their ardent nationalism is an elemental phenomenon, a deep social, cultural and psychological process, long overdue; the essential character and political significance of this process is not altered by the fact that the peoples of Asia, the Near East and Africa are undergoing it now, 100—150 years later than the peoples of the West. As Western powers do not know what to do with this elemental power, the Soviets were glad and ready to take over, to control and exploit it. Thirty-five years ago, Woodrow Wilson's name was a symbol;

it was synonymous with the idea of the liberation of nations; today his name has been replaced by Stalin's for millions of Asiatics and Africans; it might interest the "Board for Psychological Warfare" to find out why this exchange of symbols has taken place.

### The Problem of Nationalities in the U.S.S.R.

It is not for nothing that the importance of the nationality problem in the U.S.S.R. has been repeatedly stressed by the Ukrainian press in exile. Instead of winning the peoples of U.S.S.R. by stressing their right to full national sovereignty and independence, the West has been content to put the *idea of natural and justified nationalism* on the same level as *fascism*, thus condemning it entirely. And yet it is the healthy national idea of liberty alone that can win great political battles in the East today; that, and no other will be able to attack bolshevism successfully and break Russian imperialism. Instead of scorning, or even denying the national idea, the West ought to form policies for realizing it among the peoples of the U.S.S.R. These peoples regard the constitutional division of the Russian imperium into separate national states as an absolutely positive achievement of the Revolution. In practice, Bolshevism has made a mere form of this division; Western propaganda should aim at proclaiming ways and means for giving this empty form full content, i. e. for making these peoples genuinely free and independent.

### The Only Way

But just as they voted against the right of nations to self-determination in the U.N., the West is here, too, going the opposite way. There are many signs that America is opposed to the present division of the Russian imperium and that it aims at *restoring a united, democratic Russia* after the collapse of bolshevism, under the "natural leadership" of the Russians. This is the foreign policy of many decisive officials in the State Department; this is the basic idea of the so called "Kennan School", and also of the *American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia*. The practical realization of this policy would not be one but ten steps back in the historical

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# A Lost Illusion

## *The American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia Openly in Favour of the Preservation of the Russian Imperium*

By Zenon Pelensky

### Hopes set on Admiral Kirk

Two previous numbers of the "Ukrainian Observer" contained reports on the difficult task that confronts Admiral Alan G. Kirk as leader of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia. The greatest difficulty lay in settling differences between Russians and the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. in order to assure a common front against bolshevism.

As we said, all Ukrainians in exile welcomed Admiral Kirk's appointment to be head of the A.C.L.P.R. with positive hopes and frank understanding. We expressed the desire of exiled Ukrainians to help Admiral Kirk in a task that was certainly not easy and to support him as much as possible by eliminating secondary and disturbing factors.

Our first hope was that Admiral Kirk, who is personally acquainted with conditions behind the Iron Curtain, would give the *problem of nationalities* in the practical program of the A.C.L.P.R. its due consideration. It was expected that he would be able to distinguish the two aspects of what is known as the "Russian problem", namely, the *social* and the *national*, and that he would realize that a positive solution of *both* is an essential condition of peace and liberty in Eastern Europe.

### The Weakness of A.C.L.P.R. up till now

We hoped particularly that Admiral Kirk would thoroughly reform the concepts and procedures practiced by the A.C.L.P.R. up till now. Under the former leadership of Mr. Eugene Lyons, the A.C.L.P.R., as is well-known, was in favour of the Great Russian project of preserving the Russian imperium as a national state of the Russian people. Five so-called democratic parties of Russian exiles were formed from the very beginning as the nucleus of the planned anti-communist movement of the Soviet peoples; the parties and representatives of

non-Russian nations were supposed to circle round this Great Russian nucleus like planets round the sun and to keep in their prescribed dependent courses. The non-Russian peoples, represented by their own organizations and acknowledged political leaders, finally refused to cooperate on such terms.

We expected Admiral Kirk to have more understanding and sympathy than Mr. Lyons had for the claims of non-Russian peoples to liberty and independence. We were reluctant to see in him a liberal, freedom-loving American, the guardian of the Great Russian imperium.

### Non-Russian Peoples Ready to Cooperate

Responsible and truly representative non-Russian exiles pondered most seriously over ways and means of preserving the unity and strength of the anti-bolshevist campaign of the peoples of U.S.S.R. and of helping Admiral Kirk in his endeavours. The general opinion was that this could never be done through a united organization with the name and character of a Russian organization and dominated by Russians. A separate organization for the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. was demanded that would work in close connection with Admiral Kirk's Committee, have all the latter's technical propaganda apparatus at its disposal, and be self-governing. In order to preserve the unity of the anti-bolshevist campaign, the non-Russian peoples, working through their own Committee were prepared to form together with Russians a co-ordinating committee on the basis of equality of membership and under American supervision.

At any rate, political exiles from Eastern Europe were intensely interested in Admiral Kirk's views and plans; his program, both in theory and practice, was expected to differ basically from that of Mr. Eugene Lyons.

development of these areas. Although the Soviet division of the imperium into different national states is a mere form, and although the Soviet government is exclusively centralist, the peoples of the U.S.S.R. nevertheless cling tenaciously to the principle of national divisions, in the hope that it will be realized to the full extent some day. Thus bolshevism can offer more (in principle, at least) to the subjugated and neglected peoples of the earth than the conservative, if not reactionary, West with its refusal to acknowledge the right of peoples to self-determination.

The Soviet press has, therefore, the

laugh on its side; exiled Ukrainian journalists, who are otherwise not at a loss for arguments against bolshevism, find they have little to say, considering the regrettable Western step back in the U.N. Committee for Human Rights. The way the Western powers handled the problem of the right to self-determination in the U.N. was a grave political and psychological blunder. *For until the West, and particularly the U.S.A., regards the liberation and the independence of nations, not last in the U.S.S.R., as its main task and sacred mission, the West will not have the slightest chance of overcoming bolshevism, either psychologically or physically.*

### An Official Declaration of A.C.L.P.R.

Exiles in Berlin, Munich, Paris and London were, as we have said, naturally eager to know about the first publication of the program of the A.C.L.P.R. after Admiral Kirk had become its head.

This was a pamphlet of 22 pages, published in New York and entitled: "The Free World's SECRET WEAPON — The Peoples of Russia" The sub-title runs: "How can Americans Help to Mount This Potent Weapon for a Psychological Offensive Against the Kremlin? The American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, Inc. Gives a Challenging Answer to this Question." Lower down on the title-page we read: *Declaration by A.C.L.P.R. Inc.*

The next page has a list of all leading Americans in the A.C.L.P.R., members of the Executive, and others without posts. From this list, political emigres from the U.S.S.R. learn that the executive director of the A.C.L.P.R. is not Mr. Eugene Lyons as originally planned, but Mr. Reginald T. Townsend; Mr. Lyons remains in the Committee, but has no specified post.

The names of Mr. Forrest McClunney, as radio director, and of Mr. Henry S. Stern Jr. as counsel are new for exiles in Europe. This personnel shift in the office-bearers of the Committee was undertaken without any public announcement we know of and has been interpreted in various ways in Europe. The fact that Mr. Eugene Lyons was no longer executive director was understood by many exiles to indicate that the A.C.L.P.R. had not the intention of continuing to pursue its previous one-sided pro-Russian policy, but would pay more attention to the problem of liberty for the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R.

### The Decisive Sentence

But this interpretation is rendered untenable by the text of the pamphlet. This, the first official announcement by the A.C.L.P.R. under the leadership of Admiral Kirk, is a *bitter disappointment* to non-Russian exiles. New men have appeared, but the program is as it was before; as far as this pamphlet goes, there is little hope of the fight for freedom being waged by the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R.

The following sentence is decisive for the policy and intentions of the A.C.L.P.R.:

*"The American Committee has been helpful in bringing some of them (i. e. politically-minded emigration groups fighting for the freedom of their native lands) together as a preliminary step in creating a centralized coalition, pledged to democratic principles and supporting the right of self-determination for all nationalities within the Russian empire."*





Such a statement is too clear and unambiguous to permit of the slightest doubt. The A.C.L.P.R. is self-admittedly in favour of preserving the Russian empire as a whole; the principle of the self-determination of "Russian" peoples on a "democratic basis", obviously only applies if it does not disturb the unity and indivisibility of the imperium.

#### Americans as Guardians of the Russian Empire

Strange as it may sound, it is an American committee, the A.C.L.P.R., that would like to preserve and to guard the Russian imperium. What is aimed at is Russian democracy, but on "empire terms". Obviously all the long work of publicity on the part of non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R., all the centuries of tragic experience of these peoples with Russians have not been able to persuade American public opinion that every Russian imperium whatever is, and must always be, a dungeon of nations, that this imperium can only be held together by terrorism, and that the Russians will never cease to consider themselves a chosen people in this imperium, and as the rightful lords, masters and beneficiaries of the state. This statement by the A.C.L.P.R. means in practice nothing but the "liberty" of many nations — but within a prison; it is, therefore, a program these nations can do without.

#### The Old Order Remains

Everything else follows from this attitude of the A.C.L.P.R. The A.C.L.P.R. continues to regard the five alleged democratic parties of Russian exiles as the centre of the entire planned antibolshevist movement of resistance, round which the "peoples of Russia" have to group themselves. The resolutions passed by these Russian parties in Füssen, Stuttgart, and Wiesbaden, resolutions that frankly defined and confirmed the Russian people's claim to the leadership of the imperium, still stand as a positive contribution. And the presumptuous statement that the non-Russian "national committees" who met in Wiesbaden in November 1951 and declared they were ready to cooperate with the Russians are the legal and rightful representatives of these peoples still stands, as does also the no less insulting assertion that those non-Russian parties that repudiate the Russian imperium and refuse to cooperate with Russians and Americans on the basis of its preservation, are "fascist-tainted, racist groups." A pamphlet under Admiral Kirk's name might have dispensed with such a presentation of those who venture to oppose the Russian imperialist plans of power and domination.

#### Poor, Innocent Russians . . .

Bad blood has been caused (particularly among Ukrainians) by the passage in the pamphlet where Ukrainian parties are said to make the Russian people responsible for the scourge of bolshevism. That is not true. Not every Ivan, Pjotr and Semyon is a born bolshevist. By the way, in no country is the people really responsible for the actions of its government; no people is "guilty" in this sense. In all the countries of the world, the masses desire nothing better than to be

allowed to live and work in peace. And this is equally true of Russians. But this makes no difference to the fact that the creators and preservers of bolshevism, as we know it today, in all its cruelty, are to an overwhelming extent Russians. Bolshevism as a specific form of state and society is the product of a *Russian* brain — Lenin's. Stalin is not Russian, but he rules with the decisive intellectual and administrative help of a Politbureau that is composed to 80% of Russians. Of course, the overwhelming majority of the 90 millions of Russians in the U.S.S.R. are *not* bolsheviks. But it is Russians, Muscovites who provide the majority of the M.V.D. and M.G.B. It is Russians who have the many key positions in the Soviet apparatus of state, and Russians who provide most of the officers of the army. It is Russians, also, who dominate the diplomatic corps of the U.S.S.R.

#### Fresh Discrimination of Ukrainians

To put it briefly, it is Russians who are the main beneficiaries of the regime and, quite naturally, are therefore little interested in upsetting it. We have never heard of Russian writers, composers, artists, etc. being accused of the sin of Russian nationalism, and censured or even liquidated on that account. But many Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Cossackians, Turkestanians have been so treated. We have never heard of a mass-grave in Russia proper where 10,000 genuine Russians might have been buried; we know, on the other hand, of mass-graves in Vinnitsia where the bodies of 10,000 Ukrainians were heaped, and in Katyn, where 4,500 Polish officers were buried, etc. No, Ukrainians do *not* accuse the Russian people as such. It is that people's own affair to boast of figures like Lenin, the members of the Politbureau and the bolshevist state apparatus that is to a great extent composed of Russians. What the Ukrainians, on the contrary, demand, is that they should not be compelled to live together with a people that constantly produces such classes of leaders. If the Ukrainians were left to themselves, bolshevism, or any kind of totalitarianism would be impossible among them. Is it "racism" if a people is unwilling to assume an alien form of state and society? And that is the truth of the situation between Ukraine and Russia. Are the Americans "racist" because they repudiate the present *Russian* form of state? At any rate, repeated scorn for the Ukrainian liberation movement, the *moral terrorism* with which Ukrainians are treated when they are branded as "fascists", will never break their opposition to the Russian imperium.

It is a pity that Admiral Kirk has remained in the russophilic toils of the Committee. It is often difficult to explain why any particular personality or institution arouses general sympathy. So it was undoubtedly in the case of Admiral Kirk. Influential circles in non-Russian peoples mistrusted Mr. Eugene Lyons from the very start (rightly, as it turned out), while somehow they trusted Admiral Kirk. They regarded him as a *genuine* American, who was *not* born in Russia, or *brought up there*, had not been in contact with pre-revolutionary Russian so-

ciety or bound to it by a thousand threads, traditions, inclinations and views, and had, therefore, no reason to swear by any particular solution of the Russian problem, and might be expected to be sufficiently objective in his judgement of the affairs of Eastern Europe.

Now, the declaration of the A.C.L.P.R. has made the exiled non-Russian peoples from U.S.S.R. change their minds. If the principle of the preservation of the Russian empire is to be upheld, Mr. Lyons might just as well have remained at his post as chairman of the A.C.L.P.R.; if the plan of the preservation of imperial Russia is to be realized, it does not matter much who is the instrument — X or Y; the only thing that results is, in this case, a uniform, great, "eternal" Russia. There is no place for liberty in it.

#### Not what we Wanted

The non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. will have to accustom themselves with regret though with some difficulty to the fact that Admiral Alan Kirk proves *not* to be a friend of theirs. Well, on their long and hard way to liberty these peoples have already had to bury many illusions. But it has not taken them off their way. They have held to it bravely. But it might be as well if influential Americans would realize to what extent they can rely on the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. in time of need, if such a Russophil policy is continued. These people are not interested in changing merely the person of their slave-driver and in remaining in a Russian prison, as the Russian "democratic" imperium to inevitably would be. The A.C.L.P.R. has obviously decided for the *Russians*. It will have to see how far it will advance in the campaign against bolshevism if it relies on "resistance movements" à la N.T.S., Baydalakov, etc. Should it come to a war, we state openly that the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. would not support as *their* war any war that would end in the preservation of the Russian imperium, no matter in what form. Our people have enough to suffer from the Russian terrorism of a Stalin. They do not want to exchange it for that of people like Baydalakov, Melgunov, Kerensky, etc. Thus the A.C.L.P.R. degrades itself merely to a kind of legalised, big Russia Lobby; a regrettable development we had not expected.

#### The "Ukrainian" Theatre in Kyiv

(U.I.S.) The press in Kyiv publishes the following theatre programmes for April 16, 17, and 18, 1952:

"Red Poppies" (Ballet); "Carmen", opera, French music, Russian libretto; "The Sea of Life", drama, Russian; "The Inspector", comedy, Russian; "Under the Golden Eagle", drama, Russian; "The Enemies", drama, Russian; "Borys Godunov", opera, Russian; "Beyond the Horizon", play, Russian; "Thirty Pieces of Silver", drama, Russian; "Rusalka", opera, Russian; "Martin Borula", comedy, Ukrainian.

One Ukrainian entertainment to nine Russian — an eloquent testimony to the "flourishing" of Ukrainian cultural life, so heartily supported by the Russian "elder brother".



## Two Significant Verdicts

*Ukrainians cannot forget the severe sentence passed by an American court in Munich on three Ukrainians*

The April number of the "Ukrainian Observer" contained a report on the severe sentence passed by an American court in Munich on March 7, 1952, on three young Ukrainians; Mykola Lytwyn, Roman Gnypp, and Hrykoryi Cypera. Each was sentenced to 7 years hard labour for the "attempted murder of Demed Gulay, a Ukrainian, on November 15, 1951 in the DP camp at Schleissheim." The delict had a political background. According to statements made by the accused, they did not want to murder, but only to chastise Demed Gulay, in order to punish him for what they considered to be his treason towards the Ukrainian people.

Ukrainians were unanimous in condemning the attack made by these young men and found that it deserved fitting punishment. But all were equally sure that the sentence was undeservedly severe; right or not, they felt it to be a blow at the Ukrainian movement for independence.

We were right in saying that this sentence would have political repercussions; it was fitted to upset the good relations between Ukrainian emigrants all over the world and the American government and administration, up till now so friendly. Ukrainian papers keep commenting on this sentence and it is sharply criticized wherever Ukrainians come together.

Mention is made in this connection of the very different attitude taken by American authorities in another political case when it was a matter of satisfying Ukrainian demands. This was the case of *Wilhelm Wirsing*, one of the most dangerous agents of N.K.V.D. and Gestapo who personally tortured to death many Ukrainian men and women during the period 1939—1944 in Gestapo cellars in Lviv, Rivne, Kyiv, Berlin and Prague for having taken part in the movement for Ukrainian independence; though sentenced, Wirsing has evaded justice.

This ogre in human form, a giant 2 m tall, with the weight of a prize bull, killed with his own hands many of the leading men and women in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), including *Ivan Klymiv-Legenda*, *Oleh Olzhych-Kandyba*, a well-known Ukrainian poet, *Mrs. Olena Teliha*, *Mrs. Halyna Stolar*, *Volodymyr Fedak-Hrab*, a prominent leader of youth, and the fighters for Ukrainian liberty — *Stepan Masney*, *Hryhoriy Caladzhun*, *Ivan Gabrussevych-John*, *Bohdan Sheremeta*, *Volodymyr Sushkiv*, etc. The number tortured to death by him was put at over 70.

This individual managed in 1946, in the guise of a Latvian D.P., and under a false name, to become head of the I.R.O. police in the Ansbach I.R.O. Area, and to remain in this post till February, 1950, as an officer of the Occupying Power. Wilhelm Wirsing was recognized and reported by his Ukrainian victims. Although denounced by the *League of Ukrainian Political Persecutees*, Wirsing was not immediately arrested and brought before a judge.

One of the most remarkable games with "officially incompetent agencies" that has been seen in the American Zone of Germany began. Nobody wanted to touch the Wirsing case. In January 1950, the *League* just mentioned reported Wirsing to the Main American Court in Nueremberg, the American Public Prosecutor in Munich, the Bavarian Minister of Justice and the Bavarian Office of Restitution.

The German courts could not deal with Wilhelm Wirsing, because he was still a DP, and they were apparently not competent to deal with D.P.'s. The Americans, on the other hand, were unwilling to take the case up, as crimes belonging to the time prior to the occupation were not under their jurisdiction. Meantime, Wirsing was allowed to go about as he liked. As head of the D.P. police he acquired a reputation of being an "expert in Ukrainian political affairs", and as such was evidently known and supported by some security agency. It was only when the affair threatened to become a big public scandal that Wilhelm Wirsing was arrested by the German police on April 21, 1950, four months after he had been reported.

Although both accusers and accused were D.P.'s, the American prosecutor definitely refused to deal with the case, and it was handed over to the Germans. Ukrainians did not understand why Americans were not competent, as all German war crimes came before Americans though they had been committed before the occupation.

The next surprise was in the German court. Wilhelm Wirsing was accused of several murders and killings, but the verdict

pronounced was only for maltreatments, cruelty, extortion of confession and bodily injury. In spite of 21 sworn testimonies, murder and killing was not proved. It seemed that some "last link in the chain of proof was lacking".

The result was that Wirsing was condemned in a Munich court on January 25, 1952, to five years hard labour. In the case of the three Ukrainians who attacked Demed Gulay, the Americans prosecuted themselves instead of handing it over to the German court. And the three Ukrainians got seven years each for their political brawl.

As far as form goes, the accusation and court proceedings in both cases may be quite correct, but that does not prevent Ukrainians from comparing methods and sentences and from drawing their own conclusions. These conclusions are not exactly favourable to American agencies or political circles; and the public cannot be forbidden to form whatever opinion it likes. Wirsing, who had many murders to his account, got off lightly in comparison with the three Ukrainians who swore that they did not intend to kill anybody.

The Munich sentence of March 7, 1952, is a sad misfortune and that, indeed, for all, — for the three young men who, although they deserved punishment, were punished out of all proportion to their crime. It is a misfortune for the cause of friendship and good feeling between the Americans and the Ukrainians. And it is a great joy for bolshevist agents who are beginning to make use of this case as a means of stirring up unrest and hatred for Americans among Ukrainian fugitives. It would be most desirable in the name of reason, justice and friendship between peoples to have this sentence revised and the punishment mitigated so that the case might be forgotten as soon as possible.

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"What Americans, for instance, accomplish quickly and quietly, without boasting or fuss, by means of technical equipment — bulldozers, dredgers, excavators, explosion technique, cranes, etc. — must be done in Russia by hundreds of thousands of hands, at the cost of tens of thousands of starved slaves. The "magnificent", "unparalleled", "unique" "work of genius", the *South Ukrainian Canal* is not being dredged by machines, it is being 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 is illustrated by such projects."

The "Radyanska Ukraina" of 16. 4. 1952 published a significant description of this

"advanced Soviet technique", in its description of the building of the main canal in the drainage system of Kamyany Pid, part of the *South Ukrainian Canal* project. We quote:

"This project began on February 20, and 4½ months later, the river had a dam of earth 360 meters long and 10.8 meters high. Thousands of kolhose workers toiled incessantly to erect the dam. *With their hands* they dug out more than 130,000 cubic meters and piled up 110,000 cubic meters of earth. One episode was unforgettable. At the end of June the Bilozerka (i. e. the river in question) rose and threatened to flood the boilerhouse of the pumping station. About 350 workmen were immediately thrown into the breach. But the pressure of the water increased. The alarm was given and in a very short time, more than 1000 extra hands arrived, kolhose farmers, employees in the district, etc. After a few hours, the breach was finally closed."

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# The Eastern Orthodox Churches

## *During and After World War II / A Concise World Review*

**Editorial Note:** The Eastern Orthodox Churches played a pretty negligible part in the public life of the Soviet Union after the bolshevist revolution of 1917, and especially, offered no resistance worth mentioning in Russia proper. Thirty years later, more precisely in 1939, they became prominent once more when Stalin's chauvinism called for the Church's help to further the aims of Russian imperialist expansion. This occasioned considerable resistance among non-Russian Orthodox Christians. The "Ukrainian Observer" starts now to publish a series of articles that may give its Anglo-Saxon readers a better idea of the confused issues involved. We hope to be able to deal some time later in detail with several problems of Eastern Orthodox Churches; this appears all the more important as we are in opinion that, in the further course of the Cold War between Russia and the West, Moscow will very probably use the Russian Orthodox Church increasingly as a pawn in the game of world politics.

### **Position of the Orthodox Church in U.S.S.R. till 1939**

Up till 1939 there were in the Soviet Union four active Orthodox bishops, i. e. bishops who were allowed by the N.K.V.D. to carry out their pastoral duties in public. In 1939 these were:

1. *Metropolitan Sergey* (Starogradsky), viceregent of the Patriarch See of Moscow. In order to work at all, he had to secure the close cooperation of the N.K.V.D.—N.K.G.B. (Ministry of the Interior and Security Police). He had a motor-car for his own use and an N.K.G.B. man as chauffeur. The N.K.V.D. often made use of Metropolitan Sergey when they wished to make an impression on prominent foreign visitors.

2. *Metropolitan Alexey* (Simansky), deputized for Metropolitan Sergey in 1939 and was at the same time Metropolitan of Leningrad. Later, when Stalin introduced his plan for reforming and reviving the Church and did away with the provisional position of the Patriarch of Moscow, Metropolitan Alexey, after the death of Metropolitan Sergey, was promoted to the supreme position of the Patriarch of Moscow.

3. *Metropolitan Nikolay* (Yarushevich), metropolitan of Krutitsy and Kolomna; he was the right hand man of the N.K.V.D. / N.K.G.B. in matters of the staff of the Russian Orthodox Church beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

4. *Archbishop Sergey* (Voskressensky), with his seat in Moscow, a man who, also enjoyed the confidence of the Security Police in Moscow.

Before the momentous events set afoot in 1939 by the Ribbentrop—Molotov agreement and Germany's attack on Poland, almost all the other higher dignitaries in the Eastern Orthodox Church — metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops — were either in prison or in exile. Many of them had abandoned their profession and sought cover as porters in houses and factories, as book-keepers, clerks, etc.

Before 1939 there was indeed, no church life worth mentioning in the U.S.S.R. But conditions changed rapidly thereafter.

### **Russia's Occupation of Western Ukraine and Byelorussia**

Moscow took the first step in reviving the church when Russia, after the downfall of

Poland, occupied and annexed Western Ukraine (Galicia, Volhynia, Polissya) and Western Byelorussia. In these areas there were about 3 million Orthodox Christians (Ukrainians and Byelorussians), who had enjoyed relatively great freedom of worship under Polish rule, and who had a well-organized system of churches.

Moscow was now faced with the task of taking charge of these Orthodox Christians, as regards both administration and spiritual welfare. This was more urgent still in 1940 when the Russians practically annexed Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, which brought many more Orthodox Christians into the Soviet fold.

In compliance with a resolution of the Ministry of the Interior in Moscow and the Ministry for Security, and with the approval of the Patriarch of Moscow, Metropolitan Sergey, — Metropolitan Nikolay (Yarushevich) was sent from Moscow to Lviv (Ukraine) and to Myensk (Byelorussia) in 1940, in order to initiate a "union in love" between members of the Orthodox church there and "their" patriarchate in Moscow. He received the title and the position of "Exarch for West Ukraine and West Byelorussia".

### **Purge of Bishops**

Metropolitan Nikolay stayed in West Ukraine (in Lviv and Lutsk) about a year and a half, i. e. till war broke out between Germany and Russia in June 1941. During that time, working under direct orders of Patriarch Sergey, Metropolitan Nikolay took energetic measures to purge the newly annexed provinces of "unloyal" and "unreliable" churchmen, who were in his view hostile to Moscow, or otherwise suspect. In addition, Metropolitan Nikolay also interfered with the non-Orthodox Ukrainian Greek-Catholic (Uniate) Church in West Ukraine, which counted 5 million members, and here, too, carried out severe purges of its clergy.

At the end of 1941 he was rewarded by Moscow by being appointed responsible for the Church affairs all over Ukraine, being entitled "Metropolitan of Kyiv and Galicia".

His main task was to unite all the newly "freed" Western Orthodox bishops who had remained after the country's occupation by

Russia in their provinces of Volhynia, Kholmnia, Pidlassha and Western Byelorussia, and all those who had worked in Poland before the war in the Autocephalic Orthodox Church (independent of Moscow) with the Russian Orthodox Church, and to establish the authority of the Patriarch in Moscow over all of them. He succeeded with two notable exceptions:

1. *Alexander* (Inozemzov), Archbishop of Pinsk and Polissya, and
2. *Polykarp* (Sikorsky), auxiliary Bishop of Lutsk in West Ukraine, later Metropolitan and head of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Church in exile.

Those two bishops refused to acknowledge the authority of the Moscow Patriarch over them and their flocks. In spite of the severe pressure the N.K.G.B. exercised on them, they did not yield and were, nevertheless, able to escape with their lives. Oleksiy (Hromadsky), up till then Autocephalic Archbishop of Volhynia, yielded and took orders from Moscow. He went to Moscow in great pomp to do homage and was there rewarded with honours of all kinds. But his good fortune did not last long. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) declared him to be a traitor to Church and Nation, and liquidated him.

The church in the Baltic states was also "re-united" with that of Moscow. In the middle of 1940, Archbishop Sergey (Voskressensky) was dispatched from Moscow as the "Exarch for Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia". His task was similar to that of Metropolitan Nikolay in Western Ukraine.

### **The Year 1941**

In 1941 war broke out between U.S.S.R. and Germany. The fact that practically all the bishops who had been "re-united" with the Patriarchate in Moscow did not flee with the bolsheviks but stayed with their flocks in their sees proves how superficial the "union" had been, in spite of the efforts of the N.K.G.B. and all the terrorism that had been employed. This applies even to the bishops who had been appointed during the Soviet occupation in 1939/41 and with the approval of the Patriarch of Moscow. Among them were: Bishop *Panteleymon* (Rudyk), a Galician by birth; the former Archimandrite of the Convent of Pachaiv; *Venedikt* (Vassyl Bobkovsky), Bishop of Lviv; the Bishop of Brest-Litovsk, etc.

Archbishop Sergey (Voskressensky), who had been nominated by the Patriarch of Moscow a short time before to be Exarch for Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, stayed in Vilna, the capital of Lithuania till the Germans came. The Moscow Exarch for Ukraine, Nikolay (Yarushevich) retired cautiously to Moscow.

To be continued



# Mykola Mikhnovsky

1873—1924

## A Great Politician

Great politicians are few and far between and history books, whatever their tendency, do not pay them the attention they deserve. In the cases of nations who have lost, or are seeking to regain their independence as a state, a politician with new ideas, who points to new ways and means of achieving political liberty, is generally misunderstood during his life-time, and appreciated only after he is dead.

*Mykola Mikhnovsky*, the great Ukrainian national politician and publicist at the end of the nineteenth century, was such an one. He was the son of a Ukrainian village priest and was born in 1873 in the village of *Turkova*, in *Poltava* district. In spite of persecution and oppression by the tsarist regime his father, a good Ukrainian patriot, clung to the traditions of his country. He brought his son up in the same spirit. The boy attended a classical school where he gave evidence of his talent for organizing by forming a "Hromada", an association of young Ukrainians for liberty.

In the years 1890—1891 he studied law at *Kyiv University*, at the same time taking part in the political life of his country, which was beginning to expand. He became a member of the "Tarasivsi", a student's club founded in 1891 in honour of *Taras Shevchenko*, the great hero of Ukrainian literary history, and liquidated by the Russian government in 1893.

After completing his studies he went to *Kharkiv* in 1899, where he set up practice as a lawyer. Here he was active politically and made a reputation as an uncompromising opponent to the Russian oppression of his home country. It soon became necessary to concentrate forces of resistance and to organize the national movement. This marked a turn in the history of Ukrainian politics round about the year 1900.

## Nation and State

In that year the Ukrainian Revolutionary Party (R.U.P.) was founded (5. 2. 1900), the founders including the following students: *Dmytro Antonovych*, *Mykhailo Pugov*, *Bonifaty Kaminsky*, *Yuriy Kollard*, *Alexander Kovalenko*. But the most important figure was *Mykola Mikhnovsky*, who published the programme of this political party in his booklet, "Independent Ukraine" (first published in 1900), after he had already pointed out the necessity of "revolutionary and armed fighting for the rights of the Ukrainian people" at the founding meeting of the *Poltava Ukrainian Community* ("Hromada") on 19. 2. 1900.

"Independent Ukraine" is important, not so much because it announces the programme of a new organization, but because it puts a new interpretation on the national problem and emphasizes the principle of the state in the Ukrainian revolutionary movement of liberation. The relation of the nation to its own state and the position of the latter is there formulated as follows: "... if it is right that every nation wishes to develop

into an independent state on international lines, if it is right that the state alone can offer the stormy national consciousness of its citizens an unlimited chance for intellectual development and maximum economic growth, if it is right that the individual



Mykola Mikhnovsky

can only develop properly in the state, whose care is the promotion of individual interests, then it is clear that the independence of the state is the first condition of a nation's existence and that the international ideal is that every state should be independent.

The author, a man well versed in law, emphasizes throughout his book the rights of the Ukrainian nation and the meaning of the legal contracts it had signed which had been broken by other partners (*Moscow*) and thus deprived of their binding power (*Treaty of Pereyaslav, 1654*). The tsars, with their oppression of the Ukrainian nation, are designated as the chief offenders in this respect. *M. Mikhnovsky* writes on this subject as follows: "Our existence is a protest against the oppression both of us and our forefathers... it imposes on us the duty of bursting our fetters, so that we, the descendants of *Bohdan Khmelnytsky*, may come into our inheritance..."

As a statesman, he is characterized by uncompromising idealism, combined with a lucid grasp of the realities of political life. In his opinion the Ukrainian state must be "a united, undivided, free, independent Ukraine, from the Carpathians to the Caucasus." *M. Mikhnovsky's* view of his own state was completely opposed to all the philosophies in vogue at the beginning of our century. Intellectual circles in Ukraine and all the more privileged classes were so much under the influence of Marx's socialist theories that they seriously believed in the "decay" of every state; they alleged that history has proved the state to be an antiquated concept. As Marx had said that "the proletariat had no home", the necessity for any kind of state was ignored.

It is obvious that the contrary ideas of *Mikhnovsky* were too much in advance of his time. That is why the R.U.P. ceased to exist as early as 1903.

## Party Man and Publicist

This would not deter the great organizer and politician from pursuing his own way. In the same year he founded the "Ukrainian National Party" of which the *Shemet* brothers and the *Shevchenko* brothers were members. The main aim of the new society was again to secure independence for Ukraine, its first demand being: "a united, undivided, independent, free, democratic Ukrainian Republic for working people."

This formulation shows the contrast between *Mikhnovsky* and his socialist contemporaries. As a lawyer he was often called upon to defend peasants, accused and persecuted by tsarist courts after the unrest of 1902. He always emphasized that "the proletariats of a ruling and of a enslaved nation cannot have the same interests; Ukrainian working classes have nothing in common with the demands of the Russian proletariat." This brought him into conflict with Russian social democrats who were concerned with the preservation of a "great and strong Russia". The following sentences from "Independent Ukraine" show that *M. Mikhnovsky* was interested not only in his own people but in all subjugated peoples and their role in history.

"The end of the Nineteenth Century marks a turning-point in history" he wrote. "There are indications that the fifth act of the historical tragedy entitled 'The Battle of Nations' has already opened and that the end is approaching. Such indications are armed risings in the subjugated nations against their oppressors..." One of the aims of the "Ukrainian National Party", for which he was responsible was "the independent republic of Ukraine for working people", the "liberation of oppressed people all over the world" and the "liberation of labour from capital".

In 1905 *M. Mikhnovsky* worked out a draft of a Ukrainian Constitution which was published in the same year in the *Lviv review*, "Independent Ukraine". Here, again, the position of the state is clearly defined; in keeping with the trends of the time, he proposes a federal solution for Ukraine.

In the following years and right up to the outbreak of the war in 1914, *M. Mikhnovsky* worked as a journalist and editor of four different papers, all of which, however, were prohibited in succession by the Russian government, fines and other punishment being used to suppress the real voice of Ukraine.

## An Army and a State of its own for Ukraine

When the Revolution of 1917 broke out *Mikhnovsky* was a lieutenant in *Lviv*. It gave him a chance to display all his great and various gifts. He immediately produced a plan for a Ukrainian army, organized different military institutions and was the indefatigable initiator of the *Congress of Ukrainian Army*. He urged the formation of an independent army which he rightly regarded as a guarantee of independence.

Continued on Page 12



# Thirtieth Anniversary of the Ukrainian Technical University (former Ukrainian Economic Academy)

## Another Ukrainian Achievement Abroad

### Beginnings

After Ukraine was defeated in 1920 and the country incorporated into the system of soviet republics, a very large number of Ukrainian workers in the domain of science, culture, politics, etc. and of young men who had belonged to the army of the Ukrainian National Republic found themselves outside the boundaries of their native country. This gave the basis for the foundation of a Ukrainian Economic Academy, an academic school of the polytechnic type.

This school originated in 1922 in Czechia under most favourable conditions, being generously supported by the government of Czecho-Slovakia and its president, Professor T. G. Masaryk. Under the name of "*Ukrayinska Hospodarska Akademiya*" (U.H.A.), with its place of residence at *Podebrady*, near Prague, this school conducted normal courses of instruction for those Ukrainian student emigrés who came from Western Ukrainian territories (annexed by Poland), the Eastern Ukrainians being cut off from it by the iron curtain of the Soviets.

This year is the *thirtieth anniversary* of the founding of the Ukrainian Economic Academy (U.H.A.), and the *twentieth* of its Department of Correspondence Courses. On this occasion celebrations are held in all centers of Ukrainian exiles. The rector of the Ukrainian Economic Academy (since 1945 — Ukrainian Technical University) is *Prof. Dr. Borys Ivanytsky*, one of their founders and a well-known expert in the domain of forestry in Ukraine.

The Academy was divided into three faculties: the Faculty of Agronomy and Sylvi-

culture, the Faculty of Engineering, and the Faculty of Economics. The lecturing staff amounted to about 100 persons.



Rector of the Ukrainian Technical University,  
Prof. Dr. Borys Ivanytsky

Until 1945, the Academy had published about 230 manuals. Five hundred and sixty students graduated from this school with diplomas of engineers in various special branches. They subsequently worked in various countries of America and Europe, with the exception of the Soviet Union.

Through many of the publications of the

professors at the Academy, translated into Czech, English, French, German, Serb, and Spanish, the civilized world became acquainted with Ukraine, her learning and her problems. About one fourth of the total number of 698 publications were translated into foreign languages.

Lectures at congresses of experts and university men in Czechia and elsewhere helped to spread information and to give the world an idea of Ukrainian higher learning. Professors of the Academy took part in the Congress of Slavonic Botanists in Prague, the International Agricultural Congress, the Congress of Scientists and Physicians, the International Congress of the Agricultural Academy in Prague, the International Congress of Geometers in Paris, the International Congress of Geodesy and the Geographic Union in Prague, etc.

The Academy undertook the task of planning and executing maps and diagrams of and about Ukraine, which were sent to the International Exhibition in Chicago (1933) for the Ukrainian Section.

### Correspondence Courses

In 1932 a new department (U.T.H.I.) was opened for study by correspondence. Study by correspondence is widespread in the West, as it gives scattered Ukrainians an opportunity of drawing directly on scientific Ukrainian sources and of remaining in touch with the Ukrainian University. There were no territorial barriers, it being possible for Ukrainians interned by the Poles for political reasons, say in Drohobych, Vronky, etc. to take part in such correspondence courses where prison commandants were sufficiently broadminded.

In the last twenty years 10,078 students took part in correspondence courses. During the Second World War, young Ukrainian men and women who were forced to do civilian work in Germany, registered in masses for study by correspondence, in order to learn the truth bolsheviks had suppressed. Unfortunately the Hitler regime did nothing to help the work; although such numbers wished to register, it was forbidden to increase the administrative staff, while textbooks were severely censored and courses on Ukrainian such as the history of Ukraine and Ukrainian culture, and the geographical economy of Ukraine were forbidden. The U.T.H.I. was under severe control by the Gestapo; Wilhelm Wirsing, a Gestapo agent, had the secretary of the Institute, Mr. Oleksiy Kozlovsky, arrested, and gathered material that would justify closing down the Institute.

### Renaissance in Western Germany

The course of events in 1945 after World War II caused the majority of the lecturing staff of the Academy to settle in Regensburg; here, and in Munich, teaching, direct and by correspondence, was resumed on the



Students of Forestry of the U.H.A. in Laboratory — Podebrady near Prague, 1925



basis of the permit of Military Government issued on June 28, 1945 under the new name of *Ukrainian Technical University*. This gave students the opportunity to complete studies interrupted by two wars and to prepare themselves for a profession; younger students, instead of putting in time waiting for emigration, thus were able to acquire scientific knowledge which would help them wherever they settled.

At present there are 5 faculties of direct teaching: Agronomy and Sylviculture, Engineering (building and chemistry), Economics, Pharmaceutics and Veterinary Medicine.

The teaching staff includes 103 persons.

Between 1945 and 1952, 1232 students were enrolled, 301 of whom graduated with diplomas in various faculties. Some of the students have emigrated and are able to continue study in their new homes, mainly Canada and U.S.A.; the 250 who are left hope to complete their courses before emigrating overseas.

About 2,000 students registered for extension courses. This section of the Ukrainian Technical University has issued 49 manuals during the past 4 years.

#### Research and Publications

In addition, active research work has been carried on, especially in connection with various branches of technics and economics of Ukraine, the survey and evaluation of results of research in scientific, technical and economic subjects in the Old and the New World; and with the training of young scholars in these fields.

The Research Section organizes full and part sessions for lectures and discussions on various scientific problems.

The work of Prof. Dr. M. Yefremov is of outstanding value. It is dedicated chiefly to two problems, viz.:

- working out a new hypothesis for the evolution of chemical elements and, in connection therewith,
- working out the symmetric construction of the new form of a periodic system of chemical elements, in which, for the first time, the lawful place of the rare earth is being rendered clear.

These problems were first discussed at the scientific session of the U.T.U. in September, 1945.

Celebrating  
the Thirtieth Anniversary of the  
U.T.U.  
Munich, May 16,  
1952



tember, 1945. The results of Prof. Yefremov's research work have been published in a series of papers in Ukrainian, English and German.

Members of the Ukrainian Technical University publish results of their research in its "*Naukovi Zapysky*" (Scientific Notes) also periodicals "*Naukovy Buletyn*" (Scientific Reports) and "*Visti U.T.H.I.*" (News U.T.H.I.)

By exchanging publications, the U.T.U. has made contacts with scientific institutions and libraries both in Europe and America.

#### Destruction by Russians

The following facts from an uncensored report and oral sources throw light on the last days of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Pödebrady, Czechia.

In the last days of April 1945, the main body of the Academy had left Pödebrady, bound for Domazlice in Sudetenland. Before the departure, it was arranged that all the property of the Academy should be handed over to the Czech Museum of Pödebrady by Prof. Ch. who intended to remain and put notices to that effect on all the doors of the Academy. But Prof. Ch., contrary to what had been arranged, handed over the keys to the Czech Revolutionary Committee, the consequence being that part of the equipment (laboratory apparatus, typewriters, radios, etc.) was looted.

When the bolsheviks first arrived, they seemed to have no interest in the Academy; but in May, 1945, Prof. Ch. was summoned to the C. O. of the local occupational forces, Major Baron, and questioned about the Academy. Thereafter, all the members of the Academy left behind (Bezpalko, Ch., Cherniakhivsky, Chernov, Dohrylovsky) were summoned by the C. O. to the Academy. After inspecting the premises thoroughly, he examined various members about the management, political life, work, aims, and finances of the Academy. He asked about the members who had already gone (Professors Dohrylovsky and Ssodovsky had already been arrested), about their political views and the reason for their departure. He ordered a detailed report on the activity of the Academy to be made and sent to Kyiv where the fate of the School would be decided. Then Dr. Bezpalko was arrested. A representative of the political administration of the Army, sent specially to Pödebrady, was chiefly interested in "nationalist influences" in the Academy and in finding out what countries had supported it, etc.

Meanwhile the Czech Revolutionary Committee started an investigation against the Academy on the charge of collaboration; minutes are extant which prove how little ground there was, and the charge was ultimately dropped. Nevertheless, all the property of the Academy was declared by the Red Army to be "war booty". It was seized for the purpose of being handed over to the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv. Only a small portion of the library was handed over to the Czech Museum, including the publications of the University, together with the matrices. Thus ended the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Pödebrady.

#### Hopes for the Future

After re-organization in Bavaria as the Ukrainian Technical University, this school endeavored to continue its activity in accordance with its tradition. In the seven years from 1945—1952 many young Ukrainians of both sexes have taken these courses of the Ukrainian Technical University. Here the figures: agricultural engineers, — 91; forestry engineers — 26; building engineers — 12; technical chemists — 6; economists — 10; masters of political science — 2; vete-



Students of the  
U.T.U. at a lecture  
Munich, 1950



# Trial of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (S.V.U.)

Continued from the last issue

1930—1932

## The Charge and the Accusers

The "crime" of the persons listed above, according to the writ of arrest, consisted in their having founded a subversive and illegal organization, fully conscious of the illegality of so doing, and of having canvassed for members, the aim of the organization being a) to study reasons for the difference between Ukraine and other republics in the Soviet Union and to disseminate conclusions; b) as a result of those conclusions, to separate Ukraine from the Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics and to found a separate nationalist and capitalist state; c) in addition to those aims, the accused also made systematic attempts to influence and control various departments and sections of Ukrainian public life, above all in culture and literature and in trade; d) they communicated with hostile foreign agents in pursuance of their plans.

The trial took place in public in the large opera-house in Kharkiv; and all stages in it were broadcast from stations in Ukraine. Seven judges were appointed by the People's Commissar for Justice in the Ukrainian S.S.R., V. Porayko, and confirmed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Ukraine. The names of the judges were: 1. *Antin Prykhodka*, chairman, Revolutionary party, since 1922 member of the Communist Party of Ukraine; 2. *P. Korolenko*, a workman in the Kyiv arsenal member of the Communist Party; 3. *Havrylo Odynets*, a peasant, former member of the Ukrainian Social-Revolutionary Party, and as such in 1918/1919 a member of the government of the democratic Ukrainian National Republic (U.N.R.), after its fall he joined the Communist Party, in which he was a member of the Committee of Landless

Peasants; at the time of the trial he was a close confidant of *Petrovsky*, president of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party in Ukraine. Before the revolution he was on intimate terms with Professor *Yefremov*, the first of the accused; now he was his judge; 4. Professor *S. Sokolansky*, delegate from the scientific-technical section of the All-Ukrainian Council of the Trade Unions; 5. Professor *N. Volkov*; 6. *Gregor Mukha*, a workman; 7. *L. Korzhenkova*, a peasant woman.

Nor did the accusing counsel fare any better. Here are their names: 1. *Pavlo Mykhaylyk*, deputy for the Attorney General of the Ukrainian S.S.R.; 2. *Sam Akhmatov* deputy for the First Prosecutor in the Supreme Court of Justice; 3. *N. Yakymyshyn*, prosecutor at the People's Court of Justice in the Ukrainian S.S.R.; 4. *S. Bystrukov*, prosecutor in a local court in Kyiv. But there were also men known as "accusers for the public", who represented various departments of public life; 5. *Panas Lubchenko*, representing the All-Ukrainian Trade Unions; until 1928 he had been a member of the Ukrainian Social-Revolutionary Party and had been a communist only for 2 years; he had all the zeal of a newcomer. He was a gifted speaker, a dialectician and merciless in cross-examination. He was like the Russian *Andrey Vischynsky*, also a renegade from the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, who made short work of his Moscow victims 6—8 years later; in 1937 Stalin got *Lubchenko* into his clutches. To escape trial *Lubchenko* put a bullet through his head in 1937; 6. Professor *R. Sokovsky*, representing the Ukrainian Agricultural Institute in Kharkiv; 7. *Petro Slisarenko* for the Union of Writers of Ukraine; 8. Professor *B. Kravchuk*, representing the Ukrainian Academy of Science.

In the course of about seven weeks, these eight accusers drove their 45 victims through every kind of humiliation and floods of self-criticism, all under the watchful eyes of the supervising agents of the G.P.U. All had to confess, just as the prosecutors desired. But *Panas Lubchenko* was not the only one whom death overtook in a few years. Not one of the 8 accusers was able to save his head in the purges between 1936 and 1938.

## Two Aspects for the Revolution in Russian Empire

The trial of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine had a deeper political significance than appeared from the bill of indictment. In reality, the accusation was addressed to the national movement of liberation among the entire Ukrainian People. It was not so much Professor *Serhiy Yefremov* and his 44 fellow-sufferers who sat on the prisoners' bench, as rather an idea, which this trial was to expose and compromise by order of Moscow. The tragedy was that this

was to be done in Ukrainian by servile Ukrainians, typical tools of Moscow.

In order to understand the real meaning of the trial we must glance at its historical background. What is known as the great Russian revolution of March 12, 1917, had two aspects from the very beginning, namely a social and a national aspect. More was at stake than the overthrow of the mediaeval and feudal regime of the Tsar and the introduction of social reforms and a modern regime. At the same time it was a definitely non-Russian revolution, a rising of countless non-Russian peoples who, at long last and after centuries of bitter slavery, now saw the opportunity of bursting the Russian dungeon of nations and dissolving the Russian imperium. In the years 1917-19 no fewer than 19 non-Russian peoples proclaimed their independence as states in consequence of the democratic principle of the self-determination of nations, at the same time seceding from Russia, thus letting loose bloody wars of liberation.

The Ukrainians were among the first to tread the path of independence. It has not been sufficiently stressed that it was the Ukrainian Volhynian regiment of the guard, then part of the garrison in St. Petersburg, which was the first military unit to rebel and which hoisted the blue and yellow Ukrainian national flag over their barracks, the signal for the outbreak of the revolution in St. Petersburg on March 12, 1917.

## The First Russian Occupation of the Ukraine

Russia made three determined efforts to bring "eternally rebellious Ukraine" to its senses and to force its obedience at whatever cost. In December 1917, a General Congress of the Councils of Soldiers, Workers and Peasants in Ukraine met in Kyiv in order to decide what the political future of the country was to be. Moscow had hoped that this congress would decide in favour of a union between Ukraine and Russia. But the opposite happened: the congress demanded for Ukraine complete independence and separation from Russia, denounced the Bolshevik revolution of October 1917 and promised to support the independent democratic Ukrainian government in Kyiv. This led immediately to the first Russian war against Ukraine from December 1917 till April 1918. The Russian Bolshevik troops overran considerable parts of Ukraine in a comparatively short time. To save their face and to justify this occupation, the Russians resorted to their typical method of forming a Bolshevik "Ukrainian" puppet government which then appealed for help to the "elder Russian brother". This "Ukrainian government" was the result of a rival Congress of "Soldiers' and Peasants' Councils held in Kharkiv, Ukraine, from December 13-26, 1917. This government called itself a "People's Secretariat" and

inary surgeons — 32; masters of pharmacy — 122; total — 301.

The number of students graduating from U.H.A. and U.T.U. in the last thirty years was: agricultural engineers — 216; forestry engineers — 118; building engineers — 12; technical chemists — 64; hydro-electrical engineers — 117; economists — 177; masters of political science — 2; veterinary surgeons — 32; masters of pharmacy — 122; total — 860.

In the year under review 2 agriculturalists and 8 veterinary surgeons got a doctor's degree — 10 in all. Corresponding figures for the last 6 years are: agriculture — 2; engineering — 4; economists — 3; veterinary surgeons — 15; pharmacy — 2; total — 26. It worked without any kind of regular support, only on occasional donations from private patrons; it certainly could not have existed without the staff's devotion to the cause and their conviction that the Ukrainian Technical University will one day return to Kyiv, the capital of a free and independent Ukraine.



counted the following well-known Ukrainian Communists among its members: *Eugenie Bosh, Yury Kotsubynsky, Mykola Skrypnyk, Yury Lapchynsky, Volodymyr Zatonsky, Evhen Medvedev, V. Aussem*, etc. Not one of them survived Stalin's later purges. This first Russian occupation lasted almost 4½ months, as the armies of the democratic Ukrainian National Republic succeeded in freeing the country fairly quickly. Towards the end of April 1918, the country was free of bolshevists, who, however, were succeeded by Germans.

### The Second Russian Occupation of Ukraine

When the German empire collapsed in November 1918 and German troops were withdrawn from Ukraine, the Bolsheviks immediately launched, the second war on the Ukrainian National Republic. In December 1918 Lenin and Trotzky ordered a red army under Antonov-Orsyenko (later shot as a Trotskist) to occupy Ukraine. In addition to its importance for world revolution as an outpost towards the West and the Balkans, Ukraine was necessary to Moscow's food and industry. Under pressure from the Red Army, the government of the democratic Ukrainian National Republic left Kyiv in February 1919 for Podolia and Volhynia. On March 14, 1919, the Bolsheviks convened in Kyiv the III All-Ukrainian Congress of the Soviets, which once more appointed a "Ukrainian" Bolshevik puppet government. The leadership of this government was entrusted to *Christian Rakovsky*, a Rumanian of Bulgarian origin, who had never seen Ukraine till 1917; (he, too, was shot in 1936, in the course of one of Stalin's purges). The Bolshevik III All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets accepted a constitution for the *Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic*, which declared Ukraine to be a "sovereign, independent, national state." Ukraine as a Sovereign State, a political structure under international law, dates from then. Yet the entire administration of state and party was almost exclusively in the hands of Russians. The mass of the Ukrainian people repudiated the regime as entirely alien. The country was swamped by hundreds of groups of partisans, who prevented the Bolsheviks from penetrating into the interior. This second Russian occupation of Ukraine only lasted till June, 1919. The occupying troops were pushed back by forces of the Ukrainian National Republic, advancing from the West. At the same time, units of *General Dinikin's* (later, *General Wrangel's*) anti-Bolshevik army advanced from the south. It is characteristic of the Russian political attitude that this Russian army of Denikin's should have practically abandoned its fight against Bolshevism in order to concentrate on attacking the Ukrainian national democratic army. It thus gave time to the Red Armies of Lenin and Trotzky and enabled them to collect and reorganize their forces. The consequence was that Denikin weakened the Ukrainians considerably, only to be beaten himself by the Bolsheviks who had meantime grown stronger. It is typical of Russians that they prefer to sacrifice freedom, their own and other peoples', to the

## A.B.N. Speaks in New York

### An Impressive Meeting

On the 4th of May at Manh. Center, the largest meeting hall of New York, a meeting took place, which was organized by the "American Friends of the A.B.N.". There were more than 4000 participants. The meeting was led by the Slovak representative Mr. *John Sciranka*, a well-known publicist, with delegates of the following nations present: Aserbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, National China, Cossackia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungaria, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, North Caucasus, Slovakia, Turkistan, Ukraine.

The Central Committee of A.B.N. was represented by the Chief of the Hungarian Delegation and Chairman of the Military Commission of A.B.N. General *Farkas de Kisbarnak*, who held a military lecture that evoked much applause. He estimated the potential of peoples subjugated by Moscow in the fight against bolshevist tyranny and warned the West not to lose the opportunity of preparing a "second front" against Moscow, if the victory of the West is to be secured. Among guests were present: Congressman *Ralph W. Gwinn* from Westchester and *O. K. Armstrong* from Missouri, with many other representatives of the press. Mr. Armstrong also held a warm speech. Greetings from Senator Robert A. Taft, the Republican candidate for the presiden-

cy, Senator Lodge from Connecticut and others were read out to the meeting. The were received with loud applause.

After the meeting, two press conferences for the delegates of American newspapers and press agencies were held, General Farkas de Kisbarnak was in the centre of them. The meeting was favourably reported in the American press.

It is astonishing, however, that the President of A.B.N., Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko was not present, although he was staying at that time, so to speak, in the neighbourhood, i. e. in Toronto in Canada. It would not be difficult to go to New York from Toronto. We know that Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko declared himself ready to participate in the meeting and tried to obtain an American visum. It was refused. Some newspapers tried to present Mr. Stetzko as a dangerous „revolutionary“, „fascist“ and „warmonger“. Behind this stood, of course, certain Russian and russo-phil American circles, who would like to prevent at all costs that American public opinion should learn the truth about the national problem in U.S.S.R.

We hope that other meetings of the A.B.N. will take place in the U.S.A. and that the president of A.B.N. will be able to speak to the American public.

unity of the Russian imperium. Russian imperialism is more important to them than anything else. Late in the summer of 1919, the Bolshevik counter-attack set in and succeeded in conquering large parts of Ukraine by October of the same year.

### Third Russian Occupation of Ukraine

By these struggles, bolshevist leaders under Lenin had realized that the Ukrainian people was too mature politically and culturally to be subdued by military force alone. In December 1919, Lenin addressed a "Letter to the Workers and Peasants of Ukraine" in which he recognized the equality of the Ukrainian and the Russian peoples and in which he suggested a treaty of peace between the two, though with a Communist Ukrainian government. So much for the Lenin who a year previously had doubted the existence even of an independent Ukrainian language. This peace treaty was concluded in December 1919 in Moscow and was signed by Lenin for Russia and by Christian Rakovsky on behalf of the Soviet government of Ukraine. Lenin's letter to Ukrainians and the treaty that followed it were to mark a "completely new epoch in the relations of the two peoples as good neighbours;" there was to be a complete break with the "regrettable imperialist past." This "break" began by the Russians introducing immediately a series of "common" ministries, for instance of War, Foreign Policy, Foreign Trade, Finance, Naval Af-

fairs, Labour, Transport, Post and Telegraph. Ukraine's right to diplomatic representatives of its own abroad and to its own Red Army was recognized. The most important concessions granted by the Russians were in the province of culture. A Communist of tried worth, but a Ukrainian, *Hryhory Hrynjko*, was appointed People's Commissar for Education in Ukraine. But these concessions lost their attraction when Lenin at the same time introduced militant Communism into Ukraine for the purpose of nationalising its entire private economy. As is well known, this experiment brought the economy of the whole imperium to the verge of disaster and occasioned a wave of hatred among the people that forced Lenin to withdraw his measures early in 1921.

Meantime, the Ukrainian Army of Liberation retreated west, partly to Poland. On April 22, 1920 an alliance between Ukraine and Poland was proclaimed in Warsaw upon which war with Russia broke out. By June 20, a great part of Ukraine freed from Russians; on May 7, 1920 Kyiv was taken and the third Russian occupation of Ukraine came to an end. This war lasted till October 18, 1920 when Poland broke away from its alliance with Ukraine and declared an armistice with the Soviets. In spite of the defection of the Poles, the Ukrainians continued their war of liberation in the form of stubborn guerilla activity till 1923—24, and longer.

To be concluded in the next issue



# Ukraine Behind the Iron Curtain

## Lukewarm Students

### *Decline of Soviet Doctrines Among Young Intellectual Ukrainians*

(U.I.S.) Lenin is reported to have said once that two generations of Soviet citizens would have to endure great suffering, but that the third would live in a paradise on earth. First, all would have to die that were familiar with old, capitalist conditions. Only young people born and brought up under the Soviet regime would grasp the real meaning of socialism, and gradually be able to introduce the principles of communism.

If Lenin were to look closely at Soviet students today, after 35 years of bolshevism, particularly in Ukraine, his former belief in the rôle to be played by youth in the socialism of the future would be severely shaken. Recent Soviet papers have been printing strange reports about the intellectual attitude of students, i. e. of this so ardently awaited *third generation*. These young people, now between 18 and 25 years of age, have never come in contact with foreign countries, nor known anything but Soviet conditions, and have therefore no standards of comparison. Now, it becomes obvious that, in spite of the terrible and incessant pressure exercised by the Soviet state on young people by means of propaganda and schooling, *neither bolshevism nor Stalinism have been able to strike deep roots among young students*. These young people are not capitalistic, but neither are they bolshevist. They are obviously going their own way.

In a telling article in the "Radyanska Ukraina" No. 93, of April 18, 1952, entitled: "Improve the theoretical education of students", conditions prevailing among 2,500 students at the State University in Odessa are sharply criticized. This university is one

of the best institutions of its kind in the Republic; its graduates enjoy a good reputation for professional ability and are eagerly sought after by all sorts of enterprises. Their political value and reliability seems to be all the weaker. We quote an extract:

"There are many serious defects in the political training of students. Little interest is shown in political conferences and discussions, which are poorly attended, while few take any part in discussions. Conferences have been known to be cancelled because lecturers were badly prepared. It has happened more than once in the Faculty of Geography and Geology that a conference about the importance of patriotic instruction could not take place owing to shortcomings on the part of Komsomol and Party organizations. . . . Lessons on political information in academic groups are also unsatisfactory. They are monotonous and devoted almost exclusively to celebrating historical and political anniversaries. . . . The Party Bureau in the Faculty does not take sufficient pains to utilize propaganda in the proper way. Party and Komsomol organizations are not interested in political work among the mass of students outside the university, in student's homes, dormitories, clubs, etc. University lecturers and teachers could contribute a lot to the political education of students, but they never visit student homes. This is true in particular of the teaching staff in the department of Marxism and Stalinism. Teachers in this department have little connection with those of other departments and there are few conferences for the exchange of ideas and experiences. The Mu-

nicipal and Provincial Party Committee in Odessa has no influence on the internal life of this, the largest educational centre in the town. More than a year ago, a special section was formed in the Provincial Committee to supervise school and university teaching in the area. This section was to work in close connection with the Municipal Party Committee in order to educate young people in political thinking. But the heads of the Municipal Committee very seldom visit party organizations in the university, and pay little attention to lectures, lessons in political information, conferences on theory, discussions and evenings with students. We are compelled, in consequence, to register with regret a constant decline in political standards among students, particularly at this university."

Students at Odessa appear to be lukewarm towards political indoctrination and everything connected with training by the party, which they would love to escape if they could. They are all the more interested in foreign policy as if they expected some kind of change from it.

The article about Odessa University is not an isolated one. It is typical of the criticism of similar intellectual movements that is uttered in sharp tones throughout the country. The previous day, the "Radyanska Ukraina" (No. 92, April 17, 1952) published a report about similar conditions at the University in *Poltava*. The same paper had shortly before commented on student conditions at the universities in *Kyiv* and *Stanyslav*, and sometime earlier at higher educational institutions in *Dnipropetrovsk* and *Sumy*.

Students have always been an advance-guard in the march of new ideas and movements in Ukraine. Before the revolution, the entire power of the tsar's empire was not able to keep the aspirations of young people in the service of the old order. Nor, as becomes obvious, can the power of Stalin's regime today win the loyalty of youth for bolshevist doctrines of state and society. These young people are politically indifferent, they are bored and play truant wherever possible; they have to be forced to take part in party political training and discussions.

These are significant symptoms deserving great attention. It is well known that before a state decays, its ideals die first among young people. The intellectual decline of bolshevism and the Soviet state is most marked among youth in freedom-loving Ukraine.

### "Ukrainian" Chess Champions

(U.I.S.) In the middle of April the national chess tournament for Ukraine for 1952 was held in Kyiv and the following champions determined: *Zurachov, Kotov, Goldenot, Tokarev*. After them came *Muraschov, Katilimov, Korsakov, Youkhtman, Pollack, Kots* and *Kostyushenko*.

Among 10 Russians, as the names indicate, we find only one genuine Ukrainian, *Kostyushenko*. Are Ukrainians stupider than Russians that they cannot take a higher place in the chess tournament? The problem is of course, trifling — yet still significant. It is not a problem of intelligence, but a question of social standing. Popular as chess is in the U.S.S.R., it is nevertheless a game

## Mykola Mikhnovsky Continued from Page 7

His efforts were unfortunately unsuccessful, which was to a great extent the reason for the failure of the plans for political independence. That Mikhnovsky failed, was doubtless the result of the fact that Ukrainian intellectuals at that time were completely under the influence of Marx. Mikhnovsky lost no opportunity of emphasizing the necessity for an independent state, the precondition, according to him, for all further development. At a meeting of the Ukrainian National Congress he said: "If we want liberty we must have an army and a currency of our own." He was not heeded and was soon transferred to the Rumanian front. Here the tragedy of 1919—20 began, when there were not enough troops to fight against Russian "socialists" who had forgotten their enthusiasm for the "unity of the working classes" in their anxiety to wage an imperialist war against the young Ukrainian state.

### The Tragic End

After a lost war and under a bolshevist regime there was not much chance for the life of man like M. Mikhnovsky. Towards

the end of 1919 he took up work at a Teachers' Training Colleg in the Kuban area where he worked until 1923. At the end of February 1924 he returned to Kyiv where he was immediately put under the supervision of the Cheka (later N.K.V.D.). No one expected him to live long and on 3. 5. 1924 he was found hanged in a friend's garden. It is difficult to say whether he was driven to suicide or killed. In any case, Moscow had got rid of a great Ukrainian patriot and champion of national independence. His death, however, did not avail to wipe the memory of his work out of the consciousness of his people.

His chief feat was that he worked out the idea of the modern Ukrainian state, for him the basic condition for the solution of social and all other problems. He laid most stress on the formation of a strong executive to be maintained by properly balanced state funds. He considered it of secondary importance whether this state was socialist or liberal. The main thing was that such a state should finally appear, and that the liberty and welfare of its citizens should be assured. *Yaroslav Z. Pelensky*



## Incorporation Now!

*Moscow alters slowly Ukraine's political status in the Union*

(U.I.S.) A meeting of the office-bearers of the "Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine" took place in Kyiv on 25. 4. 1952 which was also attended by representatives of provincial branches of the Union.

All manner of professional problems were discussed, including suggestions to improve the unsatisfactory conditions of dramatic art in Soviet Ukraine. These are blamed on an "insufficient grasp of the theory and practice of socialist realism" on the part of Soviet-Ukrainian playwrights.

But these shortcomings were not the main point of discussion. This was provided by a programme put forward by Comrade Y. Zbanytsky, Executive Secretary of the Union, entitled: "Preparations to be made by the Union for the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the incorporation into Russia."

Although this tragic date in the history of the Ukrainian people is not due till 1954, i. e. for 2 years, Moscow is already preparing to celebrate it with particular pomp. There will be various public celebrations throughout 1954, both in Moscow and in Kyiv, to mark this "joyful occasion". The most prominent writers, composers, musicians, and artists in the Soviet Union are to be called upon to cooperate. Prizes are to be offered for all kinds of historical and other essays, novels, dramas, poems, songs, cantatas, pictures, sculptures, etc., to mark most solemnly this occasion. Intellectuals and artists in Ukraine are given 2 years' time to produce something worthy. Ukrainian head of state, the Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, under whose regime Ukraine's union

with Russia was effected, is to get a splendid monument in Moscow. The small equestrian statue of Khmelnytsky on St. Sophia's square in Kyiv is to be replaced by a monumental statue. One of the large towns in Ukraine is to be re-named "Khmelnytsky" etc., etc.

It would perhaps be premature to report on such things today, if a significant detail had not already made Ukrainians regard Moscow's activities with mistrust. The Committee in charge of the preparations received the official title of "Committee to Organize Preparations for the 300th Anniversary of the Incorporation of Ukraine into Russia."

Up till now, official Soviet history has stated that Ukraine and Russia formed in 1654 a kind of *federation as two states of equal rank and with equal rights*. The constitution of the U.S.S.R. is based on the formal principle of the *federation of equal states*; there is no "incorporation"; the states simply unite for common government. Now, the celebrations of 1954 are to glorify the *incorporation of Ukraine into Russia*. This means the disappearance of the former version of the independence of Ukraine as one of the independent members of the Union; Ukraine appears all at once as an integral part of *national Russia*.

This difference is naturally felt with bitterness in Ukraine. These increasing changes in official names signify increasing severity in programmes of Great-Russian nationalism. would be absolutely in keeping with this line of development if the name "Ukraine", too, were to disappear and if "Little Russia" were once more to be adopted officially. Considering Moscow's exaggerated chauvinism, anything may happen.

## The Decline of the Town of Kyiv

(U.I.S.) The Soviet press is full of reports about the many monumental buildings which are said to be rapidly going up in all the capitals of the Soviet Union. It is, indeed, one of the main tasks of the Soviet press to pronounce constant eulogies on these "great buildings of socialism". In the first place, for course, we hear a lot about Moscow's great building activity.

On the other hand, little is said about building in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, and what we do hear is not very reassuring. We quote the following passage from the "Radnyanska Ukraina" of April 8, 1952:

"Last year the first new building arose in Kreshchatyk, the main thoroughfare of the town; the reconstruction of the University was finished; a total of 103,000 square meters living space was handed over. But the general state of building is unsatisfactory, particularly the reconstruction of Kreshchatyk. During the period 1952—1955,

for the better classes, for it presupposes a certain freedom from care, leisure and intellectual adaptability. As all the higher, better paid and intellectual positions in Ukraine are almost exclusively in the hands of Russians, it is no wonder that they are able to produce more and better players of chess. Tu put it simply, there is an enormous choice of Russians. That explains why there are so many "Ukrainian" chess players with names ending in "ov", most of whom are incapable of saying one sentence in decent Ukrainian.

12 blocks of living quarters with 31,700 square meters of living space, 7 large office buildings, a "Palace of Culture" for the Union of Industry Cooperatives, a state conservatorium, hotels, etc. are to be built in Kyiv-Khreshchatyk and the neighbouring streets. Most of the work is to be done in 1952 when 97,000 square meters of living space are to be ready for occupation."

In 1951, therefore, 103,000 square meters of new living space were handed over, and in 1952 there will be only 97,000 new square meters. Before World War II, Kyiv had 900,000 inhabitants, and today there are only 600,000, which shows the extent of war damage. If we assume the official Soviet figure of 4 square meters per person, Kyiv would need 2,500,000 square meters to accommodate its present population. The units produced at the present rate cover scarcely 4% of the area required. If this pace is kept up, 4—5 persons will have to continue to live in one room of an area of 16 square meters, as they do at present also, for the next 25 years; this means that there is not the slightest prospect in the future of any real improvement in the appalling shortage of houses and living accommodation in Kyiv. Nor can the new buildings make up for the normal decay of old ones, the majority of which are 40—70 years old. Thus, one of the finest towns in Eastern Europe is decaying slowly but surely. All Stalin's propaganda cannot give the lie to this plain truth. The town of Kyiv is slowly dying of bolshevism.

## Russian "Elder Brothers"

(U.I.S.) The relation between Russia and Ukraine is expressed in daily life by two ways. The first way is the uninterrupted flow of deliveries from Ukraine to Russia — iron ores, coal, wheat, sugar, fruit, and all kinds of raw materials. The second way — "in exchange" Ukraine receives "the most precious gift Russia can bestow, namely, leaders".

We have selected the names of the following Russian "elder brothers" from three numbers of the "Radnyanska Ukraina" that appeared in the middle of April, 1952; they have come to Ukraine "to look after things":

Sumakrov — head of the Theatre for the Young in Kyiv;

Borysov — professor of children's literature in the Institute of Librarianship in Kharkiv;

Bukvin — head of the local department of art in Kharkiv;

Soshnikov — head of the town council in the comintern district of the town of Kharkiv;

Chesnokov — head of the town council of the Dzerzhynska area in the town of Kharkiv;

Drizhov — head of the department of organization in the town council of Kharkiv.

This type of import to Ukraine flows without a break.

## Who is Boss in Ukraine?

(U.I.S.) According to a report in the "Pravda" of April 9, 1952, from Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine, of 16 students who were accepted by the Lviv branch of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, 10 came from Western Ukraine. In publishing this report, the Moscow paper wanted to emphasize that Ukrainians, too, have chances of scientific education and progress. "Pravda" does not seem to notice that the report proves the very opposite. For what does it mean, if, of the 16 students received into the Academy of Science, 6 were *not* from Western Ukraine? It means that these 6 were Russians, from Moscow, Leningrad and other Russian towns. A few years ago there were *no Russians at all* among the people of Western Ukraine. Today they are in key positions everywhere, directing everything in that part of the country. It is the same policy the Russians have been pursuing in Eastern Ukraine for centuries, the policy of commanding key positions in large towns, whereby russification, the cultural and physical elimination of the Ukrainian people is made easier. Now the Russians are stressing the privilege of Ukrainians that they are able to study with Russians in a ratio 10 : 6 on a soil until now purely Ukrainian. What Russian magnanimity!

## S.U.M. in Paraguay

(U.I.S.) A meeting of the local Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.) was held on February 15, 1952 in the premises of the "Prosvita" Society in Paraguay. The meeting was marked by the friendly cooperation of all delegates and guests.

As a meeting of the "Prosvita" society was held on the same day, delegates and guests had an opportunity to compare the work done by both organizations.

The following were elected office-bearers of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Paraguay: V. Shumylo, president, T. Klymchuk, F. Lytvynovych and A. Kushchynsky, members of committee.



# UKRAINIANS ABROAD

## Australia

### Broadcasting in Ukrainian

D.P. immigrants of different nationalities have been trying for some time to get various Australian radio companies to give them time for broadcasting message dealing with their particular national affairs. Up till now these efforts have been unsuccessful, but now Ukrainians have received through the "Ingos" agency permission for one hour's broadcasting every week in the language of the various immigrants. There are 400,000 aliens in Australia. A quarter of an hour has been reserved for the 30,000 Ukrainians.

("Ukrainski Visti" [Ukrainian News], a semi-weekly, No. 38/1952, Ulm/Germany)

## Germany

### A Sad Anniversary

(U.I.S.) On April 29, 1952, political prisoners who survived the horrors of the nazi concentration camp at Dachau, near Munich, camps, including Ukrainians, Poles, Serbs, Croats, Jews, Frenchmen, etc. met in Dachau in memory of their liberation by the troops of the Allies (in Dachau, Americans). The ceremony in the camp, parts of which are now a museum, was attended also by representatives of various organizations of these nations connected with social, cultural and political affairs.

The Rev. J. Leskovych and the Rev. R. Levytsky held a service in memory of the Ukrainians who had been murdered in Dachau.

Mr. Roman Ilnytsky, a Ukrainian journalist of repute who also spent years in a nazi concentration camp, gave an address at the monument in honour of the Dachau victims. He said that no nazi torture, however cruel, had been able to make the Ukrainian people, and particularly young people, abandon their struggle for the independence of Ukraine. Nor would any persecution in the future, no matter by whom, turn Ukrainians from their great aim.

When the official part of the ceremony was over, those present inspected the scene of their former suffering, looked at photographs, crematoriums, gas-chambers, shooting-stands, gallows, instruments of torture, mass graves, etc. These objects aroused once more a deep feeling of horror that all this could have happened in our century and be the work of our contemporaries. All who have not only seen, but also experienced such horrors will certainly endeavour to prevent similar atrocities from taking place. The Ukrainians naturally asked when bolshevism, as rapacious of human life as nazism, would be swept away. There are thousands of Dachaus behind the Iron Curtain.

## Great Britain

### The Seventh Annual Meeting of the S.U.B.

(U.I.S.) The 7th Annual Meeting of the "Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain" — "Ssoyuz Ukrainziv Velykoi Britaniyi (S.U.B.)" — one of the biggest and most efficient organizations of Ukrainians abroad, took place in London on April 21—22, 1952.

This is a non-political social organization for the purpose of supporting Ukrainians in Great Britain in legal, social, material and spiritual affairs.

According to the yearly report, the Association — abbreviated in Ukrainian to S.U.B. — has 24,806 full members, i. e. 70% of all Ukrainians living in exile in Great Britain. It is the aim of the organization to raise the percentage to 100 and it hopes confidently to be able to attain this in the near future.

The general assembly to which all local branches send delegates is the highest authority of the S.U.B., a democratic organization. The general assembly elects the "Council of the Association", which in turn elects the office-bearers. The general assembly also appoints executive officers to conduct the business of the Association for a year. There is also, of course, a *Supervisory Committee* which keeps an eye on the way the business is conducted. The organization also has a *Court of honour*, a *Committee to support Young People at School and College* (KODUS), and a *branch of the Organization of Ukrainian Women* (O.U.Z.).

The Association runs a library, an home for invalids, and Ukrainian Houses in London, Bradford, Bury, Manchester and Rochdale. A weekly, "Ukrainian Thought" (Ukrainska Dumka) is published in London.

We give a few facts from the report: the Association received during the year under review 4,025 letters, and sent out 4,043 letters, 1,868 circulars, 294 notices, 3,170 reports dealing with all kinds of cultural, social and political subjects, 176 big Christmas parcels to needy people, 1,295 parcels to children on St. Nicholas Day, 191 Care parcels. The Association also has an extensive system of relief in Great Britain. It contributed money and parcels in 1951 for Ukrainians in Trieste, the Free Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Munich and the Ukrainian Community in Turkey (Istanbul). In the year under review much was done to inform foreign countries about the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine, for instance the publication of a book on *Taras Shevchenko*, Ukraine's national poet, by *Professor Matthews* (5,000 copies). Ukrainian choirs, such as the "Homin" (Echo) in Manchester and the choir of the Bradford branch of S.U.B. were supported and hearings secured for the B.B.C. and the Festival of Britain. The Organization has friendly relations, also, with the Home and Foreign Offices which are of great help.

A few statistics: in the year under review, the S.U.B. has been able to buy four more houses in various towns in England for its local organizations, thus raising the number of its houses to seven. Help amounting to £ 4,176 was given. There are 240 sick Ukrainians in England depending on the S.U.B.; 715 Ukrainians were assisted to emigrate overseas, mostly to Canada and the U.S.A. The S.U.B. has 714 local branches, represented at the General Meeting by 130 delegates.

As in the previous year, most of the office-bearers were re-elected. Mr. *Danylo Skoropadsky*, was re-elected honorary president. Dr. *Ossyp Fundak* was appointed president of the S.U.B. and head of the executive, *Mgr. Theodor Danyliv*, chief secretary.

Ukrainians all over the free world have good cause to be satisfied with the work of the S.U.B. and its office-bearers and to wish the organization prosperity in the future.

## Italy

### Foundation of an Italian-Ukrainian Cultural Society

On April 19, 1952, an Italian-Ukrainian Cultural Society was founded in the House of the Italian Society for International Cooperation in Rome. Ambassador Signor *Amadeo Giannini*, president of the Society, gave the inaugural speech. The gathering was attended by many guests, mostly prominent Italians known to be friends of the Ukrainian cause. In his brilliant address Signor Giannini discussed the importance for European and world politics of the Ukrainian problem. Professor Giannini is well known as the author of the excellent book in Italian entitled "Great Ukraine", in which he treats various Ukrainian questions of the past and the present with great objectivity. He devotes particular attention to Ukraine's efforts to establish a state including all Ukrainian territory, i. e. a state that would unite all the Ukrainian territories that have been divided among 5 powers. As Italy itself was for centuries torn and divided among foreign powers, Italians are expert in this particular problem.

Representatives of other enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain also took part in the opening ceremony, such as Mr. *S. Lazoraytis*, formerly Lithuanian foreign minister, then Lithuania's accredited ambassador in Italy, and Mr. *A. Speeche*, formerly Albanian Minister, at present a member of the Committee for "Free Europe".

The reputation of the office-bearers promises positive results in developing friendship between the two peoples.

("Chrystiansky Holos" [Christian Voice], Ukrainian Catholic Weekly, No. 18/1952, Munich)

## U.S.A.

### Great Demonstration

(U.I.S.) On April 30, 1952, a mass anti-bolshevist demonstration of 3,000 Americans of Ukrainian origin was held in the Mosque Theatre, Newark, N. J. It was one of the biggest Ukrainian political meetings that has ever taken place on American soil. The meeting was addressed by a number of Americans prominent in all fields of public life. Other leading Americans sent telegrams testifying to their sympathy with the Ukrainian liberation struggle.

The purpose of the meeting was to attract public attention to the Russian-bolshevist enslavement of Ukraine and that country's bitter struggle for liberty and independence.

The demonstration was arranged by the *Ukrainian Central Committee of Newark* in cooperation with all the local branches of the *Ukrainian Congress Committee of America* in the New Jersey area. It passed a number of unanimous resolutions in which two of the greatest scourges of the present — Russian communism, and Russian chauvinist imperialism — were severely repudiated.

Leading representatives of other nations oppressed by Moscow also took part, e. g. Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Cossackians, Slovenes, etc. All are in favour of dissolving the present Russian Empire and forming their own independent states, and work to this end in close cooperation with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

The meeting was opened by *Walter Dushnyk*, editor ("The Ukrainian Bulletin"), who



said that the liberation of Ukraine was naturally in the first place a concern of the Ukrainian people itself, but that freedom-loving countries abroad, particularly the U.S.A., could contribute help. Mr. W. Dushnyk is a specialist in Ukrainian and Soviet affairs, formerly an interpreter on General MacArthur's staff in Manila and Tokyo, now on the staff of War Relief Services of N.C.W.C.

Professor Clarence E. Manning, Columbia University, stated that Moscow had always been imperialist and, judging from its history and social foundations, would remain so, no matter what flag was hoisted over the Kremlin. He emphasized that the truth about Ukraine was being spread further in the States; at the same time, he added, various Russian imperialist enterprises in the U.S.A. were losing ground.

In a fine speech, E. Dobriansky, professor of Economics at Georgia University and president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, said:

"The fear of Stalin is greater than that of even the atomic bomb; movements for liberty and independence among the peoples enslaved by Moscow are by far the most powerful weapon the West has against bolshevism and Russian imperialism. The ideal of the freedom of these nations is the most effective weapon for destroying the Russian-bolshevist dungeon of peoples from within, no matter, how well Russia is prepared for war."

Other speakers were: Dr. Luke Myshuha, editor of *Svoboda*, a Ukrainian daily, and Mr. Myron Leskiv, chairman of the Rally Committee. Attorney John Romanition served as master of ceremonies.

Among the many messages of encouragement and support, we should like to quote the following:

Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of the State of New York, said in his message:

"We held, as the Americans of Ukrainian birth in New Jersey do, that the two most ruthless diseases of all time are Russian communism and Russian imperialism. It is good to know that there is a strong underground resistance in Ukraine... The people of Ukraine are not alone in suffering political and religious persecution... If we believe and trust in God, we believe that right must prevail and that all sufferers from Soviet cruelty must eventually be set free."

Frank E. McKinney, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, telegraphed as follows to the meeting:

"The aspirations of the Ukrainian nation for independence always have had the deepest sympathy and support of the Democratic Party... The Democratic Party is aware of the suffering of the Ukrainian people and their unceasing resistance to Soviet tyranny... We know about the mass graves of Vinnitsia, and the exploits of the Ukrainian Partisan Army... I'm glad to have this opportunity to promise that the attitude of the Democratic Party will not change. As a final result we all may yet see a free Ukraine, whose real representatives will be sitting with American delegates in the United Nations."

Guy George Gabrielson, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, telegraphed:

"It is my sincerest hope that a truly Free Ukrainian Republic will soon replace the present Kremlin-subjugated Ukrainian republic and that its representation in the U.N. will be made up of genuine delegates instead of the present puppets stooging for the Kremlin. I believe the Ukrainian people are entitled to a government of their own

free choice. Americans of Ukrainian descent should be proud of the record of resistance to bolshevism displayed by their valiant Ukrainian kinfolk, notably the splendid record of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army."

H. Alexander Smith, United States Senator, member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, outlined in his speech the possibility of the Ukraine becoming a free and independent part of a Eastern European Federation modeled after the United States or Switzerland. He said:

"The cause you are working for is greater than a free Ukraine. It is actually for the future of civilization itself."

Irving M. Ives, United States Senator:

"I can only express highest admiration for your splendid achievements in working toward a genuine unity of anti-communist forces here and abroad. I reiterate now: The Ukrainian resistance against tyranny and the fight for freedom must be supported... The eventual liberation from communist enslavement, and that includes 110,000,000 non-Russian people in the Soviet Union, will inaugurate a new community of equal and sovereign nations, sharing in the organization of the future united and free

Herbert E. Lehman, United States Senator: Europe."

"I am more than pleased to take cognizance of the Ukrainian Manifestation Rally and the constructive efforts of Americans of Ukrainian descent to further the causes of freedom and self-determination for all oppressed peoples throughout the world."

Pat McCarran, United States Senator, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee:

"It is gratifying to know that valiant efforts are being made to keep alive the embers of liberty which are even now glowing in the hearts of the Ukrainian people who are under the heel of the Soviet dictatorship."

Brian McMahon, United States Senator:

"Greetings to the participants in the Ukrainian Manifestation Rally. The support and encouragement of the one million Americans of Ukrainian descent can be of inestimable value in keeping alive the faith and hope of Ukrainian victims of Russian imperialism. My sincere best wishes in carrying out your great work."

Robert C. Hendrickson, United States Senator:

"Though physically absent, I support you in your fight for eternal principles of liberty under well-ordered law. No tribute to Ukrainian courage and unselfish sacrifice would do justice to great contribution you have made to high principles of liberty and justice for all."

George Smathers, United States Senator: "That liberty still lives in the hearts of Ukrainians whose country has been so long under the tyrant's heel, is living proof that no amount of force can crush the human heart and spirit... May their day of liberation be hastened."

Edward J. Hart, Member of Congress:

"Heartily join in purpose of Ukrainian Manifestation Rally at Newark March 30. The most cruel dictatorship in history of civilization found in Soviet Russia must under the laws of God and man come to an end. Courage, patriotism and unity of Ukrainian people will hasten this end."

Robert W. Kean, Member of Congress:

"The Ukrainian peoples have always been devoted to liberty. Their continued resistance to tyranny and oppression in spite of overwhelming odds had been and will continue to be an inspiration to all freedom-loving peoples of the world."

Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Member of Congress:

"I am indeed pleased to have this opportunity to... assure you of my wholehearted support of your worthy efforts on behalf of the brave people of Ukraine... In their long and distinguished history, far antedating that of Russia itself, the Ukrainian people have given evidence of fine human qualities, staunchness, integrity and love of freedom... Its present forced subjugation to Moscow is intolerable and, as our Secretary of State has indicated, must be brought to an end... I feel sure that Americans everywhere will wish... to be helpful with whatever constructive steps can be taken to free the Ukrainian people from Russian tyranny."

Short expressions of sympathy and support were also sent by Senators Homer E. Capehart, Margaret Chase Smith, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., and from Clifford P. Case, Member of Congress.

The Rally sent a telegram to President Harry S. Truman, expressing the desire that the U.S. Government might speed up the Kersten Amendment on help and support from the United States for refugees from beyond the Iron Curtain, and pass the new law on the admission to the U.S.A. of 300,000 immigrants from Europe, as quickly as possible. President Truman wrote a letter of thanks on April 8 to Myron Leskiv, Chairman of the Rally Committee.

The size of this Manifestation in Newark on March 30, 1952, and the spirit in which it was held, is one of the few bright moments in the history of America's attitude to the bitter and costly fight of Ukrainians for their freedom.

## Third Congress of the Federation of Free Journalists

### An Antibolshevist Rally in Berlin Only Half the Truth Revealed

(U.I.S.) The Third Congress of the International Federation of Free Journalists In this organization are united national took place in Berlin from April 24—27, 1952. unions of journalists in exile from 11 countries beyond the Iron Courtain. Counting guests, 14 countries now under Russian rule were represented by more than 100 persons, 14 of whom were Ukrainians.

The Congress consisted of two parts: 1. the professional rally of the Federation of Free Journalists (with 2 delegates and 1 representative from every national group) and 2. the General Meeting of all participants in the Congress.

At the professional rally the report for the business year was read, a budget for the coming year discussed, and new office-bearers elected.

The General Meeting was naturally of more interest than the professional groups, where more or less internal matters were debated. At the General Meeting exiled journalists had the opportunity of voicing political views. Alas, many participants left the Congress in doubt whether political views had really been expressed with the necessary freedom.

The general meeting was opened on April 25 in the "Technische Hochschule" of West-



## Truth Arouses Rage

*Bolshevist Opinion on Prof. Clarence A. Manning's  
"XX. Century Ukraine"*

For bolsheviks nothing is more hateful than the truth about conditions behind the Iron Curtain. The despots in Moscow are particularly incensed when the truth about Russian bolshevist oppression and exploitation of subjugated peoples is spread in the West. They lose all sense of decency and attack their opponents with every kind of weapon, foaming, as it were, at the mouth with rage.

Such was the treatment meted out recently to *Clarence A. Manning*, Professor at Columbia University, and an expert in questions dealing with Eastern Europe. From 1944-1951 he wrote four books dealing with various aspects of the Ukrainian problem. His *"XX. Century Ukraine"* appeared early in 1951 and was favourably received by critics in Canada, the United States and Great Britain. Basing his study on objective sources, Professor Manning here reviews the last fifty years of the history of the Ukrainian people, and in particular, its fight for liberation as a state. He emphasizes rightly what great progress towards liberty this people submerged for centuries by the Russians has made during the last fifty years. He also confirms his statement in previous books that the Ukrainian people, as a politically mature nation, has a right to national sovereignty and to secession from Russia.

It is this latter fact in particular that has upset the mighty men in the Kremlin and their local, sometimes Ukrainian, hench-

men. At first they attempted to ignore Professor Manning's books. But in time their fame grew and they attracted too much attention in important circles of public opinion in America for the Soviets to be silent any longer.

That is why it has taken the official Soviet press more than a year to notice *"XX. Century Ukraine"*. The *"Radyanska Ukraina"*, the official organ of the communist party of Ukraine, publishes in its number for February 22, 1952 a two-page article on the book by a certain *Antin Khyzhniak*, which is full of vitriolic abuse.

The article is entitled *"A Word On The Great Friendship"*, i. e. the friendship between the Russian and the Ukrainian peoples. The Soviet article pretends throughout that Professor Manning would like to disturb this friendship and sow discord and enmity between the two peoples, — the last thing, of course, that he intends.

It is not a book review in the normal sense; the critic has no objective opinion about anything at all; he rectifies nothing, refutes nothing; he illumines nothing, praises nothing, objects to nothing. He only foams at the mouth. What he offers as "criticism" is a tirade in terms that are strong even in Soviet journalism. We must apologize to our readers for the tone of the specimen we translate here from the Ukrainian, but it is typical of the entire article:

Berlin by Mr. B. Wierzbianski, the Polish chairman of the Federation. He pointed out that the official and the only press in countries under the bolshevist regime has absolutely no freedom and that the exiled press has all the more responsibility. The Congress of the Federation, he said, was an opportunity to voice the truth.

A number of leading men in the Western world either attended the Congress in person or sent greetings through representatives. These included Professor *Ernst Reuter*, Oberbürgermeister of West-Berlin; the president of the "American National Committee for Free Europe", Rear-Admiral *H. Miller*, who also brought greetings from *General Lucius D. Clay*; the Republican Congressman, *Mr. E. Madden*, chairman of the U.S.-Congress Committee for the investigation of the mass murders of Polish officers at Katyn; *Mr. E. Novak*, vice-president of the "American Newspapers Guild"; *M. R. Aaron*, editor of "Figaro"; *Mr. Maggeridge*, president of the "Daily Telegraph"; *Mr. J. Brown*, the European representative of the "American Federation of Labour".

The Congress was characterized, firstly by the preponderance of Polish interests, the Polish representatives sharing the views of the exiled Polish government in London, and secondly, by the fact that it was financially supported by the "Committee Free Europe". This Committee is known to be concerned in the first place with the fate of satellite states lying west of the Soviet Union till 1939. It pays far less attention to peoples who had the misfortune to be included in the Soviet Union before 1939. The limits thus set to the interests of the "Committee Free Europe" were most decidedly felt at

the Congress. While representatives of satellite states were permitted to demand the complete liberation of their enslaved states, representatives of what are known as the "peoples of Russia", i. e. of the Soviet Union before 1939 were not allowed the same right. Ukrainians, for instance, were not allowed during the Congress to express the will of the Ukrainian people to erect their own national state to secede from Russia. These "peoples of Russia" were permitted only to express their antagonism to bolshevism, and nothing more. A few resolutions, couched in general terms were concocted and directed against bolshevism only, without mentioning the national liberation movements of the peoples enslaved by Russia. But this is *not the whole truth*, and the Congress was allegedly called for the purpose of expressing the whole truth.

The antibolshevist resolutions passed by the Congress are absolutely right, as far as intellectual, economic, cultural and social interests are concerned, and it is good that they should have been clearly pronounced. But politically they are limited, one-sided and unfair to the fundamental interests of non-satellite peoples. The Ukrainian delegation was supposed to be content with being part of the applauding audience. In consequence, the Ukrainian press is at present discussing whether there is any sense in Ukrainian participation at such international meetings, if Ukrainians are not to be allowed to state their point of view clearly. At any rate it would not be astonishing if an internal crisis were to arise in the wake of a Congress conducted on such lines. The agenda of such Congresses should be more carefully and more objectively drawn up in the future.

"The laurels of a Ukrainian expert have not allowed this forger to sleep, still less his superiors, who tapped his humble shoulder and ordered him to produce more lies. So the obsequious toady published a new "work" in 1947, a book entitled the "History of Ukraine". Every chapter is a fresh lie, a calumny, a distortion, a falsehood. The book deals with the same theme as the author's other "historical studies" — the denigration of the friendship between the Russian and the Ukrainian peoples; the aim is to prove that the Russian and the Ukrainian peoples have always been at daggers drawn. The donkey's ears of a bitter enemy of the Soviet people waggle out of every page. But the worst is to be found in those pages where the author eulogizes the most desperate enemies of of the Ukrainian people, the bloodthirsty leaders of national gangsters, — men like *Bandera* and *Bulba-Borovets*."

So it goes on for columns and pages. What is not Russian, Russian Bolshevism, and what is condemned to remain hostile to Russian Bolshevism for ever, is thrown together and vigorously mixed — Truman and Hitler, General Marshall and Goebbels, Bernard Baruch and Petliura, the Ukrainian, "fascists" and social democrats, etc., etc. Clarence A. Manning is called a "reptile" but this is a compliment in comparison with the epithets that are showered on Western opponents of Bolshevism and particularly on friends of Ukraine in the West. We give a few of the choicest specimens: "horrid monster", "intellectual jackals", "block-headed strategists", "yelping curs", "Goebbels' filthy kitchen", "fascist cannibals", "the rubbish heap of history", "infernal foes of the Soviet Union", "ink-slingers in the Cold War", "repulsive rattlesnakes", "blatant filth", "the breeding place of saboteurs", "the Petliura — Bandera — Dontzow pack", "the putrid Hetman movement", "the wholesale and retail sellers of Ukraine", etc., etc.

This attack of fury of the Bolshevist writer in Kyiv, who is merely carrying out orders, is not an accident, for it contains much that is typical of the system. Professor Manning has touched one of the most vulnerable spots in the Soviet system, perhaps not very gently, but with absolute truth. We refer to the problem of nationalities and to the most important of these, the Ukrainian problem. Moscow has every reason to fear that the end of Bolshevist tyranny will soon come if the explosive power of the nationality-idea in the U.S.S.R. is once recognized and properly utilized by the West. From the tone of *Antin Khyzhniak's* "criticism", it is obvious that rumours of the work of foreign friends of Ukraine are penetrating to the Ukrainian people behind the Iron Curtain, so that the Communist party feels compelled to contradict and "rectify". That the result is nothing but vituperation is due in the first instance to the fact that Professor Manning's objective statements cannot be refuted, and of course to the proverbial habit of foaming at the mouth whenever facts prove untractable. The reception this book has met with shows clearly how utterly Bolshevism and Russian imperialism can be routed by the simple truth. Professor Manning is on the right way and his method is the best. Nationalities — that is the Achilles heel of the regime and Moscow is more aware of it than others; it is to be hoped that Western publicists will follow Professor Manning's example and will extend his studies. That would win half the victory for the West.





# UKRAINIAN OBSERVER

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## With Greatest Anxiety

### *Growing Ukrainian Resentment Against the Western Policy of Preservation of the Post-Bolshevist Russian Empire*

By Zenon Pelensky

The Ukrainian free community abroad, i. e. the political exiles after the World War II, as well as the old emigrants, now often citizens of so many Western nations, pursue with uneasiness the actual development of political views and perceptions in the present Western world, and especially in the U.S.A., concerning the situation in U.S.S.R.

Of one thing are the Ukrainians absolutely sure. Knowing the psychology of Russia and the innermost ideological and organizational working of bolshevism, the Ukrainians know precisely that Moscow will never give the West a genuine, permanent peace. To be sure, some temporary “appeasements” are quite possible, i. e. wave-like tactical relaxations in the continuous tension between the two opposite worlds, but not the real peace.

The successful strategy and the tactics of this gigantic contest must be planned in advance. The Ukrainians are deeply concerned lest on the part of the West some basic, strategic, political concepts might prevail which would thwart the victory in advance. The American policy especially should not deem itself to be free of mistakes and even catastrophic blunders. To take only the last war, such a terrible blunder was, for instance, the conception of Germany’s unconditional surrender, which destroyed the European balance of powers and rendered Moscow the master of Europe; or the American belief in the “inward democracy” of bolshevism, etc.

It was unwise to identify the Nazi regime with the mass of average German people. To-day it is, indeed, wise and very timely that American policy discerns between the bolshevist regime and the average Russian people. But again it is unwise and immensely dangerous to assume (and to act accord-

ingly) that what to-day is called “Russian people”, is a national, political and cultural entity, and the whole problem consists only in the downfall of the bolshevist regime; then, it is assumed, “the Russian people” would adopt a new, genuinely democratic constitution, and would peaceably conform to the general pattern of the world freedom and democracy.

But the Great Eastern Revolution was much more than the constitutional problem within a *uniform* people. This Revolution had a double meaning from the very start — a *social* and a *national* aspect. Much more was at stake than merely the collapse and the change of an antiquated form of the Russian imperial government in order to make way for a liberal and democratic constitution. Simultaneously it was a *rising of nations*; no fewer than 19 nations of the former Tsarist empire declared 1917—1921 their full national state sovereignty and their secession from the Russian empire — and fought for years, and now already for whole decades, for that.

Now, the Ukrainian free community this side of the Iron Curtain has all reasons to observe with ever growing concern that the Western moral and intellectual crusade against bolshevism aims only at the abhorrent social aspects of this regime, but *neglects almost thoroughly the national aspect of the desired liberation*. The talk goes only about the liberation within the united “Russian people”, including in this uniform pattern also all non-Russian nations. In other words — *bolshevism shall collapse, but the Russian empire shall remain*.

With greatest anxiety we are noticing that, thus, another monumental blunder is actually in making, no less terrible and pregnant in sheer incalculable consequences than the fatal mistakes of

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# Declaration

*of a Conference of the Ukrainian Political Centers and Parties in Exile, Held in Munich, Germany, on June 25, 1952, Concerning the Policy of the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia"*

"1. The Conference takes note of the fact that the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" is resolved to continue under its new President, Admiral Alan G. Kirk, to support the Russian emigrants in their efforts to retain a united Russian empire; that the European representatives of the American Committee are carrying on their work in this direction; and that all Russian parties working with the American Committee refuse the non-Russian peoples the right to the restoration of their independent states and thus practically uphold the imperialist policy of the Kremlin.

The fact alone that the American Committee has retained its name: "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia"; that efforts are being made to include non-Russian peoples in a common organization with Russians; and the methods which the spokesmen of the Committee employed — all this constitutes a clear proof in our eyes that the problem of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. is to be degraded to an internal question of Russia, and that the object in view is the maintenance of the Russian imperium after the defeat of bolshevism.

The political programme of the American Committee does not even take into account the concessions which the Ukrainian and other non-Russian peoples have already wrung from the Russian bolsheviks after long and bitter struggles viz., formal independence of Union Republics with the right of secession from the Union of the U.S.S.R., representation in the U.N., etc.

2. As the American Committee, under the chairmanship of Admiral Alan G. Kirk, has placed its policy under the motto: "selfdetermination for the nations", the Conference declares that the Ukrainian liberation struggle aims at the restoration of the Ukrainian Independent State which was established 35 years ago by the will of the whole Ukrainian people, — not, however, under the parole of the realization of the right of selfdetermination as such. For the Ukrainian people has already passed that stage, and in consequence to repeat the question as to national interests would mean a step backward.

3. The Conference also takes note that particularly the plan of erecting a special radio station to broadcast in the languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. means a propaganda campaign for a united Russian empire. Such broadcasts, made in the name of a Combined Radio Committee and under its direct control, would give the impression that a united Russian imperium had already been decided upon for the future, and this would have serious consequences in the fight for liberation from bolshevism. For this reason this Conference rejects the proposal to erect such a broadcasting station.

Lone wolves who desire to destroy the unity of the Ukrainian front will in future be regarded as not belonging to the Ukrainian nation.

4. The Conference is of opinion that in future too, joint discussions and decisions by all Ukrainian parties and political groups with regard to the American Committee and Russian emigrants are desirable and essential".

*Representatives of the Ukrainian National Council (U.N.R.);*

*Representatives Abroad of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (Z.P.U.H.V.R.);*

## A Commentary on the Above "Declaration" A United Front of Ukrainians

The "Declaration" of the United Ukrainian political centres and parties in exile, which is above reproduced, merits special attention. One can with right assert that the organizations which have subscribed to this "Declaration" comprise the total of Ukrainian political life, and of the public opinion of Ukrainians in exile. Not included in this "Declaration" are one or two "Ukrainian" Quisling-groups, which are financed by the Russians, and which have been brought into being by the Russians, for the sole purpose of creating rifts in the united Ukrainian front.

### A Solemn Ukrainian Warning

It is regrettable that this "Declaration" has to oppose an American organization, the majority of whose originators proceeded, in the beginning, from what were certainly positive, even noble, motives. Most of the American gentlemen who sat on the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" (A.C.L.P.R.) wished sincerely to help the peoples in the U.S.S.R., who have been subjugated by bolshevism; in practice, however, they have yet only furthered the intentions of the Russian exiled imperialists.

The "Declaration" of the entire Ukrainian political world in exile is intended to draw the attention, not only of the A.C.L.P.R., but also of the rest of the American and Western public, to the fact that their political way of thinking, as at the moment represented by the A.C.L.P.R., is developing on completely wrong lines. The purpose is to create the impression in the U.S.A. that, in the present work of the A.C.L.P.R. for the enslaved peoples in the U.S.S.R., much of positive value is being done, both from the political and moral aspect. One is certainly convinced that, with the programme and present methods of approach of the A.C.L.P.R., much friendship and fel-

*Abroad Units of Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Z.Ch.O.U.N.);*

*Union of Ukrainian Monarchists (S.H.D.);*

*Ukrainian Socialist Party (U.S.P.);*

*Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.);*

*Association for a Ukrainian National State (U.N.D.S.);*

*Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (U.R.D.P.), represented by its two wings;*

*Ukrainian National-Democratic Union (U.N.D.O.);*

*Ukrainian Peasants' Party (U.Z.S.U.);*

*Association of Ukrainian Creative Forces (S.U.K.T.S.).*

low-feeling for the Western world in general and the U.S.A. in particular, is being mobilized beyond the Iron Curtain. This Declaration is, however, an earnest Ukrainian warning, that this is not the case.

### In Contradiction to the Spirit of Americanism

As matters stand at present, the multitudes of non-Russian nations numbering more than 100 million people in the U.S.S.R. can perceive in the policy of the A.C.L.P.R. nothing more than a plan for the continuance of their enslavement by Moscow and the "Russian master-race". In this sense, the work of the A.C.L.P.R. is in direct contradiction to the spirit of Americanism. The policy of the A.C.L.P.R., which is directed to preserving unconditionally the unity of the Russian Empire, is all the more astonishing in a land such as the U.S.A., where the first clause of their own Constitution is born of the idea that there are situations in the life of mankind in which the peoples are entitled to part and separate from each other. Such a situation has long been maturing within the sphere of the Russian Empire. Three dozen peoples wish to separate finally from Moscow, since, in the centuries of

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# Ukrainians and Russians

## *The Ukrainian Struggle for Independence Should not be Misrepresented as the Hatred of Russian People*

The Ukrainian fight for liberation and the establishment of a sovereign Ukrainian national state has called forth a campaign of misrepresentation and libel which cannot go unanswered. Ukrainian patriots fighting devotedly for the liberation of their country are libeled as incendiaries setting free vast firebrands of hatred, dissension and distrust directed against the Russian people as such. The defamation of Ukrainians reaches in specific Russian and Western circles by and by a state of a mass hysteria; this process develops on lines and by technics very similar to the spreading of antisemitism. Without any proof or justification Ukrainian fighters for freedom are branded as "fascists", "totalitarians", "antidemocrats", "professional rioters", "mischief-makers", "war-mongers", etc.; this vocabulary is very extensive.

Of course, the prime movers in this campaign are to be found first among influential circles of Russian emigré imperialists whose chief object is not so much the defeat

of bolshevism but rather the preservation — at any price — of the Russian empire. Put before a choice: preservation of the Russian empire under bolshevist rule or the downfall of bolshevism paired with the collapse of the empire — all Russians, including the emigrés, would invariably choose the empire with the bolshevism; to the rulers of Russia the domination over dozens of non-Russian nations was always — and remains — much more important and worth living for than the liberty of men.

The above charges against Ukrainians are repeated with variations also against all other nations striving to get rid of the Russian domination. This is the reason why the Central Committee of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) deemed it right to publish a special "Declaration" refuting first of all the charge of their chauvinistic anti-Russianism, allegedly directed against the mass of the Russian people. The Ukrainians as one of the members of A.B.N. endorse to the full extent the statements and arguments of this Declaration. Here it is:

## *Declaration*

### *of the Central Committee of A.B.N. Concerning the Attitude of A.B.N. Towards the Russian People:*

1. There is not a single proof of any aggressive or inimical feeling towards the Russian people as such, either in the historical past or in the ideology and activity of the national liberation movement of the A.B.N. The conflicts in the past and in the present between us and Russia have arisen solely and alone from Russian imperialistic policy and not from any enmity or hate of the Russians themselves. Our attitude and our struggle are not now and never were guided by "anti-Russianism" but only by our inalienable right to national and cultural self-preservation.

It cannot be laid at our door that we ever allowed ourselves to be influenced by hate or malice, on the contrary, it was the Russian thirst for power and alleged Messiahship that more than once made our peoples the objects of sanguinary wars of conquest and tyrannical genocidal systems of government, just as to-day. That is why we call upon the whole world to go shoulder to shoulder with us, not against the Russian people and its sacred right to existence and free development as a state, but simply against that aggressive Russian imperialism which threatens the world to-day, with loss of freedom, justice and all that is sacred to man.

2. Taught by experience we have recognized bolshevism with its slogan of "proletarian world revolution" as another type of the old Messiahship that inspired Russian imperialism. The fight against Stalin cannot therefore be separated from the fight against Russia's policy of conquest and accompanying thirst for power. Bolshevism cannot be combatted while Russian imperialists are pandered to and allowed to have their way. It is a contradiction to wish to do away with the Soviet world menace and at the same time preserve the Russian empire. Whoever seeks to guarantee peace and security to the world must of necessity turn against the former and work for the restoration of the freedom of all peoples, including the Russian people.

The Russian people must inevitably remain on the other side of the barricade in this struggle, as long as they support the tyranny of bolshevist aggression or allow themselves to be made tools for it — they themselves need liberation, and not alone from rulers like Stalin, but from every kind of imperialist government clique, so that they may never again be led away from all sense of elementary international justice or be tempted into wars of aggression by

chauvinist catch-words. The Russians as a people must not be manoeuvred into the rôle of a master-race and burdened with a tyrannical domination over alien nations, but be given, at long last, the possibility of developing its own forces in peaceful reconstruction on its own territory, devoting itself to its own cares and joys.

3. It is a cynical travesty of the facts to call the struggle of the A.B.N. for freedom and independence, anti-Russian chauvinism and separatism. On the contrary it is our nations which are the victims of a chauvinistic Soviet Russian regime, and subjected to systematic russification. Disguised as new "Soviet patriotism" which in fact has no other object but the denationalizing of our peoples and their enslavement, Stalin is carrying on a brutal chauvinistic policy to satisfy the mania for world conquest. By defending ourselves against this "new patriotism" we are struggling against our assimilation and are working in the best sense of the word for the interests of the entire civilized world — a world which is everywhere threatened by Moscow's mighty fifth column and with Soviet patriotism. Those who deny the truth of this and take exception to our national defence measures must be



either smitten with blindness or be playing directly and with intent into Moscow's hands.

4. The reproach of separatism brought against us, is just as paradoxical. It can be no secret for any half-way educated person in the West that the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. are no more Russian than those of the so-called satellite states which only had the bad luck to fall under Moscow's rule after the last war. There is just as little excuse for the integration or incorporation into the "great Russian empire" of the one as of the other. All our peoples, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Aserbaijans, Armenians, North Caucasians, Idel-Uralians, Cossacks, Turkestanians, etc. have more than once in their histories had their own highly developed economic national states and have always possessed a marked, wide-spread culture, which has been preserved in spite of years of alien domination and the most brutal policy of assimilation. Besides, these peoples have retained their individual characteristics and have striven always for freedom from Moscow and for independence. It is a travesty of known facts, now, to suddenly call their claims to their irrefutable rights as nations, separatism, just because the world has suffered and become accustomed to their long subjugation under Russia.

There are, it is true, a few elements among our peoples who allow themselves to be bought by Russia's exile imperialists to propagate the preservation of the great Russian despotic empire, just as others, led astray by Stalin's new "Soviet patriotism", now sit at home in high offices, the tools of an alien regime against their own people. Their rôle is no different from that of Maurice Thorez or Palmiro Togliatti who are waiting to receive Stalin's "army of liberation" with open arms. To refuse our peoples and their spokesmen in the A.B.N. the right to combat such elements and to represent our repudiation of the Russians and Moscow as separatism, is as foolish as to call the revolt of the Italian or French people against treason and Moscow's fifth column, separatism.

5. The climax of the whole mendacious propaganda against A.B.N. is the allegation that our demands, directed as they are against the retention of the Russian empire as such, are detrimental to the fight against bolshevism, because they will drive the Russian people over to Stalin's side and, in an armed conflict with Moscow, turn them into enemies of the West. The answer to that allegation is, that the Soviet Russian system is in any case supported by the Russian people. Key positions in the govern-

ments of all non-Russian countries in the U.S.S.R. are in Russian hands. Moscow's "cultural policy" within the U.S.S.R. itself, as well as in the satellite states behind the Iron Curtain, is dominated by the idea of russification. All that is Russian is glorified by every possible means and Russia's "mission" is impressed upon the minds of the people daily. In short, the Russian people to-day, have have been made the bearers of Soviet power and are fired by the worst kind of chauvinism in the form of Soviet patriotism which only proves that, in spite of some discontent with the regime the Russians regard the Soviet Union as their own empire, feel themselves as a master-race within it and are ready to defend it; for, whereas in all the non-Russian peoples strong underground movements and national liberation organizations are at work, there have been none worth mentioning in the whole territory of Russia proper during the Soviet regime.

Even if the West should carry on its psychological strategic warfare against Moscow, according to the Russian exile imperialists' recipe, i. e. preservation of the integration of the Russian empire, the Russians as such, with the exception of those in exile and perhaps a few in the country, could never be made to waver in their "Soviet patriotism" and thus would not be won against Stalin. On the other hand, the West in that case would certainly lose its great chance in a war against Moscow: the sympathy of its natural allies, the 110 million non-Russian people of the U.S.S.R.; their hopes of liberation would be crushed, their national revolutionary incentive paralyzed and they would be forced back into the floods of "Soviet patriotism".

For that reason alone and not from any enmity against the Russian people we demand, with a clear conscience, and also in the interest of the free world itself, an unambiguous avowal that Russian despotism will be abolished and the freedom and independence of our peoples and states restored. The conflict against communism and bolshevism must and can not be fought with the enslavement of our peoples as a pawn.

It is not our conception which is a drawback in the fight against Stalin and the world menace of bolshevism, but vice versa, it is the recognition of the Russian claim to an empire which will destroy this fight, that is the simple sum the A.B.N. sets the world for serious contemplation.

Summarized, our claims are: The A.B.N. fight is not *anti-Russian*, but only directed *against bolshevism* and

## The Revival of the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine"

(U.I.S.) The 25th of May, 1952, was the 26th anniversary of the founding in Ukraine of the vast underground organization — S.V.U. — "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine". For years this organization carried on an unending fight for liberty; it was discovered by the bolsheviks only after years, whereupon, it is true, tens of thousands of people were arrested throughout the Ukraine. Some of the surviving participants of this campaign of the S.V.U. are now in exile, and are propagating in the Western world the ideals of liberty which are held by the Ukrainian people. (A short history and the political background of S.V.U. was published in No. 4 and 5, 1952, of "Ukrainian Observer").

On May 25th, 1952, there were held in Munich (Germany), and in some other cities of the free world, commemoration-meetings. At the meeting in Munich it was decided to build up the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" — the S.V.U. — once more. The meeting in Munich had been convened by an "initiative-committee", among whose members were, among others, well-known Ukrainian politicians, scientists, authors and journalists. The initiative-committee, which is for the time being, established also in Munich, addressed itself, to the Ukrainians of the emigration with a summons, an excerpt from which reads as follows:

"Ukrainians abroad! The warring Ukraine, our unconquerable nation, calls us to be ready for the last campaign. In this pregnant, historical hour, obeying the call of our nation, the call of our fighting people, in a time of the spread of imperialism and of the chauvinism of the Russian emigration, we have decided to revive that united and all-embracing national Ukrainian organization — the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (S.V.U.)."

therefore against its *proto-type Russian imperialism*. This fight is not chauvinistic but for national freedom. It is not separatist, but for national parity.

Our peoples yearn for the hour when they will be able to live as good neighbours with the Russians, and work for economic, cultural and political well-being with them, as well as among themselves, contributing, as members of a harmonious community of nations, to the general welfare of mankind, on a basis of equal rights. In this sense we accept European integration and every other regulation of great areas that does away with selfish national claims of power and ruinous national rivalries.

The Central Committee of the A.B.N. appeals to the responsible statesmen of the West to free themselves from all tendacious propaganda in their attitude towards the A.B.N. and to consider the facts given above without prejudice, in the interest of the whole world.

July, 1952

**Central Committee  
of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc  
of Nations (A.B.N.)**



# Fifth Convention of "Ukrainian Congress Committee of America"

## *The Representative Rally of Americans of Ukrainian Descent*

On the 4th, 5th and 6th of July, 1952, the Fifth Convention of the "Ukrainian Congress Committee of America" (U.C.C.A.) was held at the Statler Hotel in New York City, N. Y.

The U.C.C.A. is a representative, non-party body, representing in its statutory framework about 1,500,000 Americans of Ukrainian extraction. The convention was attended by 825 delegates, representing 591 organizations and unions. In addition came 180 invited guests and some 300 spectators.

The first Convention of Ukrainian Americans took place in 1940. The subsequent Conventions, which took place, on an average, every two years, have shown an extraordinary rapid growth of the organization of Ukrainian Americans. An especially vast increase of the organization was caused by the immigration of more than 40,000 Ukrainian D.P.s into the U.S.A. in the years 1948 to 1951. Today the U.C.C.A. is a noteworthy body, which tries with energy and enthusiasm to make its presence and importance felt in the whole American national framework. Although inspired with deep loyalty and the sincerest devotion to their new country, the Ukrainian Americans have nevertheless not forgotten their old homeland, the beautiful Ukraine, and endeavour by means of the U.C.C.A., as their central representative organization, to aid, by all means available, their old homeland in its present terrible plight under the domination of bolshevism and Russian imperialism.

The Fifth Convention of the U.C.C.A., which externally assumed the gay, variegated and manifold features of the usual large American mass conventions, filled up three complete days and nearly three whole nights. It is a puzzle to know when the more than 800 delegates from all 48 of the United States, plus about 200 guests and countless spectators, found any time at all, in the midst of all these reports, commissions, debates, functions, concerts, lectures, banquets, etc., to snatch a wink of sleep.

The Fifth Convention of the U.C.C.A. had the honour of making welcome and having with it as guests and speakers many well-known Americans. There spoke, among others: *Mr. Charles Horowitz*, representing the Town Mayor, *Mr. Vincent Impellitteri*, who had been prevented from coming; he had the convention welcome in the name of the city of New York; *Mrs. India Edwards* representing the chairman of the Democratic Party. There were also present: the former head of the famous atomic "Manhattan Project", *Gen. Leslie R. Groves*; the former ambassador of the U.S.A. in Moscow, now the president of the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", *Admiral Alan O. Kirk*; the ex-commissioner of the U.S. Displaced Persons Commission, *Mr. Edward O'Connor*; the well-known author *Mr. James Burnham*; the home secretary of the present Government of the U.S.A., *Oscar P. Chapman*; the assistant of President H. S. Truman in the business of legislation, *Mr. Josef S. Finney*; *Prof. Clarence A. Manning*; *Prof. Raphael Lemkin*; and others.

At the conclusion of its conferences the Convention sent President *Harry S. Truman* a greetings-telegram, in which it gave expression to the unbreakable loyalty of the Ukrainian Americans to their American fatherland and to the Constitution of the U.S.A. President Truman had a message of greeting delivered to the convention in which he expressed the hope that the bolshevist tyranny, under which the Ukraine has now to suffer, would one day yield to the forces of freedom and justice. The greeting from the President was acknowledged amid enthusiastic applause.

The Fifth Convention of the U.C.C.A. occupied itself, in the first place, — with the internal business of its organization; one of the main tasks was to draw up its own form of organization and to adopt a revised constitution, in order to render possible the inclusion of all Ukrainians in the U.S.A. in one framework. That is now accomplished. From now on, all non-bolshevist Ukrainian organizations, unions, institutions and establishments in the U.S.A. are bound together in one superstructure.

The Convention dealt thoroughly with the unenviable position of the Ukrainian people under the domination of bolshevism and Russian imperialism. The congress defined its attitude to these pressing questions in a series of important resolutions, which we

have printed for the record at the end of this report. Unfortunately, the Convention neglected to refer censoriously to the work of those forces in the U.S.A. and to condemn unequivocally those institutions who still, even today, regard the Ukraine as an integral part of Russia, and lend energetic assistance to the efforts of non-bolshevist Russian imperialists to retain the Ukraine within the compulsory framework of the Russian empire.

*Prof. Dr. Lev Dobriansky* was unanimously confirmed as the president of the U.C.C.A. The deputies of the president are: *Dr. Dm. Halychyn*; *Mr. Theodor Mynyk*; *Mr. B. Kravtsiv*; *Mr. Mykhaylo Dutkevych*; *Mrs. Olena Lototska*. — The Secretaries: *Mr. A. Batiuk* and *Dr. Hryhor Luzhnytsky*. — The Treasurer: *Mr. Joseph Lyssohir*. The Executive Director: *Mr. Stephan Yarema*. — The Councillor: *Mr. M. Pizniak*.

In conclusion it may with justice be said that the Fifth Congress of the Ukrainian Americans gave eloquent witness to the will to live and the unshakeable faith in the future of the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainians in America believe in the unity of the world, in the indivisibility of freedom and in the deeply inherent sympathy between the liberty-loving Ukrainian people and who value freedom just as highly, as the people of the U.S.A.

## Resolutions

*Adopted at the Fifth Congress of Americans of Ukrainians Descent, Held on July, 4, 5 and 6, 1952, at the Hotel Statler, New York City*

The following resolutions were adopted at the Fifth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent, held on July 4, 5 and 6, 1952, at the Statler Hotel in New York City:

### Introduction:

We, the delegates and representatives of hundreds of Ukrainian American organizations, fraternal associations, political citizens' clubs, veteran organizations, parishes, women's societies, youth clubs, sport groups and civic societies — all of which are organized into branches of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America — have gathered on this memorable and glorious Day of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America to discuss and deliberate problems which have a direct bearing upon us as citizens of this great and democratic republic. On this occasion it is fitting to recall that this is the fifth congress of our organization which, founded in 1940, at a time when the world was gravely threatened by the totalitarian forces of Nazism, Fascism and Communism, has proved to be one of the most spirited and ardent anti-totalitarian and anti-communist organizations in the country. Even during World War II, while so many in this country recklessly glorified Stalin as a trusted ally and even a democrat, our organization never permitted opportunistic exigencies and political expediencies of the moment to besmirch its democratic ideology or to becloud its

realization of the ever-growing universal menace of Russian communist imperialism.

Strongly supporting the efforts of our Government in maintaining peace, our organization boldly and without hesitation stated that a lasting peace could not be achieved without granting freedom and independence to the nations enslaved by the forces of Russian communist imperialism. among which nations is Ukraine, the country of our fathers' origin. In a memorandum addressed to Cordell Hull, then our Secretary of State, the U.C.C.A. stated:

"... We, Americans of Ukrainian descent, are primarily concerned with the establishment after this war of security, lasting peace, freedom and democracy throughout the civilized world. For that is one of the principal reasons why our country is engaged in this war..."

This unshakeable belief of our organization in the vital necessity of having freedom for all nations, including the enslaved peoples of the Soviet empire, was strictly maintained through the course of the twelve-years existence of the U.C.C.A., as attested to by its congresses in 1940, 1944, 1946 and 1949.

Today, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, being a national organization consisting of branches and affiliates in every state of the Union and representing one million and a half of Americans of Ukrainian descent and East European background, in



the light of contemporary international developments has of necessity come to assume an important and unique role in disseminating the truth concerning Russian imperialistic communism and in the task of forming enlightened and realistic policies with respect to the Soviet Union. Its practical services and achievements in this field are by no means negligible, and are to be measured by its wide and vital relations with the American political leadership as well as with many national groups and organizations which have come to recognize and appreciate its role in assessing and evaluating political realities as they pertain to Eastern Europe. The most fitting expression and recognition of this fact was given by President Truman in his commendatory message to this organization on the occasion of its Fourth Congress held in Washington in November 1949.

### A. The United States of America

The United States of America has given shelter and refuge to many thousands of Ukrainians and other people from Eastern and Central Europe, proving once again that America is still the beacon of liberty and the hope of the oppressed. As in 1940, at which time our organization fully supported the peace effort of the United States Government, so do we now fully and unequivocally state:

WHEREAS, the present international peace is gravely threatened by the deadly tension created by the systematic aggressive and expansionist policies of the Kremlin, the self-appointed leader of a vast communist conspiracy to enslave the world and to subordinate it to the dictatorial power of Moscow, the traditional center of enslavement and despotism;

WHEREAS, the United States of America, has become by virtue of its position as leader of the free world, the principal target and the object of covetousness of Russian imperialistic design;

WHEREAS, the American people have long accepted the basic principles set forth in the American Declaration of Independence, which stresses the tenets that "all men are created equal", that they are entitled to the enjoyment and exercise of freedom and independence, and that they believe these principles are universal and applicable to all nations everywhere, at all times and under all forms of government.

### We do Resolve:

1. To support fully and unhesitatingly the ever-increasing endeavors of the United States in its policy of maintaining peace in the world, and in its growing determination to oppose and challenge the aggressive and imperialistic policies of the Soviets, whose ultimate goal is imposition of slavery upon this country and the destruction of its freedom and independence, as it has already done in Ukraine and in many other non-Russian countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Asia.

2. To endorse unqualifiedly the far-reaching statement of Secretary of State Acheson of June 26, 1951 to the effect that the present Soviet policies are an indisputable prolongation of a 500-year-old Russian imperialism, clothed in communist garb and fitted out with international slogans of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

3. To call the attention of the United States Government to the fact that the Soviet Union, with a population of 200 million, is not a monolithic state of the Russian people,

but a conglomeration of many nationalities, among whom the non-Russian peoples, comprising 110,000,000 were conquered by Moscow by force and are kept in slavery and subjugation against their will. Their desire for freedom and independence presents the weakest link in the Soviet system which, if properly capitalized upon could greatly enhance our chances of success in combating Soviet Russian imperialistic communism.

4. To urge the speedy adoption by the Congress of the United States of the following measures, which would greatly enhance our prestige and win over friends and allies among the enslaved peoples of the U.S.S.R. and its satellites:

a) The Kersten Resolution (House Concurrent Resolution 94) calling for the expression of friendship on the part of the American people for the 110,000,000 non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., and of their conviction regarding the inalienable rights of these people to their freedom and full national independence upon the fall of communism.

b) The speedy and full-fledged implementation of the Kersten Amendment to the Mutual Security Act of 1951, which provides assistance to friendly nations and escapees from behind the Iron Curtain.

c) An early ratification of the Genocide Convention by the United States Senate in order to bring about the international codification of crimes of genocide as perpetrated by the Soviet Government upon the people they have enslaved.

d) Senate Resolution 269, calling for an early establishment of a United States of Europe in the hope that once the Soviet menace is vanquished, the federation might be joined by the free peoples from Central and Eastern Europe to the Caucasus.

5. To call upon the United States Government and all free government members of the United Nations to reject the so-called "Draft Code of Offenses Against Peace and Security of Mankind" which was introduced into the U. N. recently by Soviet-inspired members of the international organization. The above draft would sanction Soviet territorial acquisitions and enslavement of free peoples, and would declare as criminal offenses the helping of the oppressed peoples to regain their freedom, and would outlaw the national liberation movements, one such movement being the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

### B. The Enslaved Ukraine

The sufferings of the Ukrainian nation have been largely due to the brutal and enslaving policies of Soviet Russia, which fact is recognized today by everyone save the stooges of Stalin and die-hard Russian imperialists. Mass deportations and executions of Ukrainian patriots, ruthless destruction of both the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches, russification of Ukrainian culture and language, the unrestricted genocidal policy of Moscow with respect to the Ukrainian people — all these crimes express the fundamental and traditional Russian policy aiming at the destruction of the Ukrainians as a separate ethnic entity. Because Ukraine, by virtue of its geographical position, its numerical strength, and its natural resources has been and is a natural springboard for aggressive Russian imperialism, its full and unqualified liberation from the brutal rule of Moscow would contribute considerably to the strengthening of international peace,

### We do Resolve:

1. To support fully and unswervingly the aspirations of the 45 million Ukrainian people in their efforts to regain their political freedom and national independence. We call the attention of the United States Government and the free world at large to the fact that the Ukrainian people had achieved their full freedom, when on January 22, 1918 they proclaimed their independence, and on January 22, 1919 they united all the Ukrainian ethnographic territories into one independent and sovereign Ukrainian Democratic Republic, established through a due process of democratic election and endorsed by the overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian people.

2. To make it known that the legal Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic was forcibly expelled from the country by the aggressive forces of Moscow, and that today the Ukrainian National Council (Rada), which functions in Western Europe, is the continuation of the legal Government of the Ukrainian people in exile. Therefore, the so-called Ukrainian Soviet government installed by Moscow in Kyiv, is not the representative Government of the Ukrainian people.

3. To call the attention of the United States Government and the free world at large that in Ukraine there exists and resists Russian domination an indomitable Ukrainian Insurgent Army and its political leadership, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, as well as an entire network of underground resistance, which oppose the domination of Moscow and strive for the attainment of a free and independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic and a free world as well.

4. To support the basic and democratic desires of the Ukrainian people to have all their ethnographic territories united, so that the liberated Ukrainian nation would not be carved again as it was after World War I. We also call attention to the fact that even the Soviet government did not dare to destroy the framework of the Ukrainian state and even demanded a separate Ukrainian representation in the United Nations.

5. To denounce those undemocratic Russian anti-communist leaders here and in Europe who, in unison with the Kremlin rulers, agitate against the democratic and just aspirations of the Ukrainian people for their basic freedom and independence, thus strengthening the power of Moscow over Ukraine and all other non-Russian countries within the U.S.S.R. and the satellite orbit.

At the same time, guided by the sense of Christian charity and compassion, we recognize the important distinction between the perennially-oppressed Russian masses and the traditionally undemocratic and aggressive Russian leadership; therefore, while denouncing the Russian chauvinist leaders and imperialists who would keep Ukraine in perpetual slavery of Moscow, we deeply sympathize with the Russian masses who are entitled to a better life and unrestricted freedom, as are the Ukrainian and all other peoples enslaved in the U.S.S.R.

### C. Appeal to the U.S. Government

WHEREAS, the United States Government is solely able to rally all the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain toward a hopeful and meaningful free world of tomorrow, and



# Leaders Come and Go – Failure Remains

## *Some Interesting Facts about the Newest Developments in the Work of the A.C.L.P.R. in Europe*

### *A Once Serious Undertaking Peters Out*

(U.O.) The establishment of the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" (A.C.L.P.R.) was taken most seriously by the exiles in Western Europe. All the anti-bolshevist emigrants were duly relieved when finally there was a sign of life from America. There was hope, at last, that the Americans were getting over their passive attitude towards Russian aggression and their clinging to the tactics of "containment". A new period of dynamic approach to the Russian problem seemed to have begun, which would have induced the masses in and from the U.S.S.R., to fight bolshevism and Russian imperialism.

Hardly two years have passed since the foundation of the A.C.L.P.R. This then so seriously regarded movement seems to have changed into a very sad affair. Up to now Munich remains the real centre of it, but instead of passionate discussions and arguments on the programme and tactics of the A.C.L.P.R. you can now hear jokes about it in the coffee houses and beer-halls of Munich, where those who are most interested meet. Where once they met in an atmosphere of serious interest and respect, they are now mocking.

### **Swift change of Leaders in the European Direction of A.C.L.P.R.**

The span of life of the European director of the A.C.L.P.R. last on average only half a year. First *Mr. Spencer Williams* tried it. He started with the Russian exile parties, trying to get the Russians, or rather the Muscovites, as the "central people" into one boat. But he only met with mutual distrust, group hatred, ambition and exaggerated party claims, accusations and discriminations, so that he soon gave up

WHEREAS, the enslaved peoples of Eastern and Central Europe and of Asia look forward to our moral and political leadership, —

### **We do Resolve:**

To appeal to and urge the United States Government to make it known to the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain that it upholds the rights of the non-Russian peoples within the present U.S.S.R., as well as of the Russian people themselves, to their basic and inalienable freedoms which include the right of unqualified selfdetermination and independence. Such a step ranks in importance with the NATO, which is primarily designed to safeguard Western Europe against the encroachment of Russian communism and messianism. In so doing the United States Government will bring encouragement and hope to those peoples oppressed by Moscow, peoples who are fighting against the same tyrannical power which is killing the flower of our youth in Korea and which threatens to thrust into ignominious slavery not only our country, but the entire world as well.

and, leaving the poisonous cauldron of Russian party politics behind — fled to U.S.A.

After Admiral Alan G. Kirk had taken over the whole management of the A.C.L.P.R. in the U.S.A., the former leader of the Committee *Mr. Eugene Lyons* was to be the manager in Europe. He did come to Munich and worked here for a short time, but encountered the sharp and decisive rivalry of *Mr. Isaac Don Levine* who finally won the race. *Mr. Eugene Lyons* returned to U.S.A. but *Mr. Don Levine's* happiness did not last long; he had to go on June 10, 1952. As the fourth in the series of European directors somebody is due from New York; how long will the next man be able to endure it in Europe? The so-called "Russian problem" is most certainly a heavy mill-stone grinding to smithereens the most tough grains, and it needs a lot to handle it properly.

### **Mr. Isaac Don Levine's Fall**

When *Mr. Don Levine* was recalled to New York, he was taken by surprise. He was informed in confidence, the middle of June, by one of his personal friends in the A.C.L.P.R. in New York, that his recall was imminent and was to be effective at the end of that month. As a matter of fact this was not a normal recall but his fall — pure and simple. It was effected by the so-called "right wing" of the A.C.L.P.R. chiefly inspired and assisted by the previously recalled *Mr. Eugene Lyons*, for whom this was partly an act of revenge. The two gentlemen allegedly had disagreed in their basic views. *Mr. Lyons*, known also from former times as an orthodox russophile, stood for the idea that the A.C.L.P.R. was to direct its work towards an internal democratization of the Russian imperium, yet preserving the unity and entity of the same. *Mr. Don Levine*, on the other hand, is said to have represented a "liberal policy" with regard to the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union. Though *Mr. Levine* was also in favour of the unity of the Russian imperium, he wanted to have the wishes for freedom and independence of the so called "minorities" widely considered.

The fall of *Mr. Don Levine* may be regarded as a victory for the Great-Russian imperial tendency in the A.C.L.P.R. in New York. The work of that Committee in U.S.A., as well as in Europe, is to develop in the future in the direction of the maintenance of the imperium and the checking of the "chauvinistic claims of the non-Russians".

### **Starnberg Conference**

Before *Mr. Don Levine* returned to New York he played his last card. He convened a four days' conference at Starnberg on June 18, 1952, of different Russian, as well as some obedient non-Russian dwarf parties which fall easily for pecuniary bait, to

produce a fait accompli. He wanted to prove to his opponents in New York by every means that he had not managed the A.C.L.P.R. in Europe in vain, only generously spending the means of the Committee, but that he could show a positive result of his work. He wanted to prove that a uniform front of Russian and non-Russian political organizations could be established, provided that he, *Mr. Don Levine*, was given a free hand and his efficiency trusted.

The end effect of the Starnberg conference was that on June 21, 1952, two committees were called into being: 1) the *Radio Station "Liberation"*; 2) *"Temporary Preparatory International Committee for the Creation of a Political Centre of Democratic Emigrants"*.

### **Radio Station "Liberation"**

The founding of the committee for Radio Station "Liberation" had long been expected. The preparation for the technical plant is nearly finished. We learn that the total personnel of the station will be more than 1,000 people.

Neither the technical nor the financial side presents any problem, as the Americans take care of that. The real difficulty consists in finding the right professional intellectual people. First there is regular rivalry and intrigue for the leading positions among the Russian parties themselves. This personal rivalry has two sides. At the start it is the question which of the Russian parties will conquer the leading position; and then, that the Russians as a whole, as a national group, have the priority in the radio station. Innumerable anecdotes may be heard in Munich telling of the incredible and subtle ways the Russians try to flatter the American radio director, *Mr. Forrest Mc Clunney*, into giving them the decisive posts. On the other hand, they have only poor qualities to show, when it comes to the question of knowing the trade. All want leading administrative posts, but there are only a few journalists, real propagandists, editors, writers and artists who really know anything. The task, however, is enormous. They have to face and fight the bolsheviks — which is certainly not very easy.

### **The Non-Russian Intellectuals Stand Aside**

And yet, as far as the Russians as such are concerned, these things still could be patched up. But the situation looks more than desperate among the non-Russian peoples who are to join in the work. Everybody knows that their leaders, especially the Ukrainians, have refused to work with the A.C.L.P.R. on account of its imperialistic Russian tendency. Almost at the same time as the Starnberg conference took place in Southern Bavaria, all the Ukrainian exile parties declared their decided rejection of the policy of the A.C.L.P.R. in its present



form. (This Ukrainian declaration is mentioned in detail in another place of this member of Ukrainian Observer.) Of course, some 160 Ukrainians applied for job two days after Radio "Liberation" advertised for personnel. The Russians made much ado about that, for it was to "prove" that "the Ukrainian masses desire peace and collaboration with the Russians".

The truth is, that those who applied were driven by hunger and bitter need, and saw a chance of getting a position, any position, which would give them bread and upkeep. It was all the same to them what the position was like. Those were and are just simple people, workmen, farmers, craftsmen and tradesmen, who may do good work in other places, but certainly not in an editorial office or in front of a microphone.

Ukrainian intellectuals will not go to Radio "Liberation", and as long as A.C.L.P.R. clings to its platform of preserving the Russian imperium, it will seek in vain to attract Ukrainian intellectuals; a fact which holds true, in the main, for all non-Russian nationalities. Of course, Radio "Liberation" will be able to concoct at long last some kind of transmissions in Ukrainian, Georgian, Turkistanian, and other non-Russian languages, but it will never become the radio, that hit, which is essential in the struggle against bolshevism. It will be merely an institution, like Radio "Free Europe" today, that scarcely somebody listens to. Besides, it can hardly be imagined in U.S.A. to what a level some broadcasts by Radio "Free Europe" have sunk in the meantime through the maze of red-tape and dilettantism, although it has practically only recently started.

### The Exile Russians Show their Claws

What the Russians, as the "leading nation" think of their authoritative position in Radio Station "Liberation" soon became obvious by their treatment of the Ukrainians. Mr. Kromiadi, a Russian, formerly the chief of the personnel office of the Vlassow army and a well-known Muscovite jingoist, was appointed here, too, as the head of the personnel department. All the applications for positions go through his hands. This gentleman has now decreed that Ukrainians who were Polish subjects until 1939 are "not Ukrainians" at all and in consequence must not be employed at Radio "Liberation". Thus their applications are refused.

Thus it happens that in a radio station erected with American money, a Russian is able to decide who is a Ukrainian and who not, and who may be employed. That the Russians have an interest in separating the strongly nationally conscious part of the Ukrainian people (the West-Ukrainians of Galicia und Volhynia) from the Ukrainian people as a whole, and isolating them abroad, may be, from the viewpoint of the Russian, quite understandable. But that the Americans should have a helping hand in that same matter is less comprehensible.

### The „Political Centre"

The problem of the aforesaid "Temporary Preparatory International Committee for the Creation of a Political Centre of Democratic Emigrants" is a great deal more

difficult. In whose name, for instance, is Radio Station "Liberation" to speak? Certainly not in the name of the American government, or people. The A.C.L.P.R. as a "private organization" of a few Americans has too little political, to say nothing of constitutional, weight or right, to follow a policy directed at changing the constitution and way of life of a great power that is officially recognized by the U.S.A. Only the inhabitants of the Soviet Union itself have the right to do that. The attempts made by Messrs Spencer Williams, Eugene Lyons and Isaak Don Levine to form a really authoritative centre of the kind, from the existing Russian and non-Russian political organizations, failed.

And now the Americans themselves want to set up a "Political Centre" which would have the right to speak for 200 million oppressed inhabitants of the U.S.S.R. To put it bluntly, they are making the fantastic attempt to buy up this representative political centre of emigrants. The whole idea is as simple as it is false, i. e. if the people required do not come of themselves, and if they cannot be forced, they must be bought.

### Bought Representatives

The process is as follows: Say 1,500 persons are required for the radio station and other affiliated institutions. Many more than 1,500 will be found for the purpose among the half-starved, miserable emigrants of the various nationalities from the U.S.S.R. who can be hired. But would that not be a sufficient number to start a political organization as such? The former European leaders of the A.C.L.P.R. played for a long time with that tempting idea and then started to act accordingly. Apparently little thought was given to the fact that the people upon whom such a representative and most responsible role was to be invested, were in a position of such personal dependence that they would — and even had — to assent to anything. Such a "centre" can be founded, of course, but it will never achieve a true representative character as to speak with authority for the millions outside. No political non-Russian organization in exile that has any self-respect, would ever recognize a "centre" like that. The Americans are attempting to gain a very dangerous thing with their dollars; for, once they have set up an undertaking on a false basis, and a purely pecuniary basis at that, they will add fuel to the fire of bolshevist propaganda, and it will be difficult, if not impossible, to establish a centre, — which is actually much needed, — on a really healthy moral basis.

### The A.C.L.P.R. Should Reconsider the Matter

Without doubt it is far easier to attract people by financial enticements and make them tractable, and thus corruptible, than to negotiate with really legitimate representative parties, organizations and leaders of the nations in question for a sound and respectable platform. The Americans should not cherish any illusions as to the moral outcome of a political centre founded on purely pecuniary principles. This sort of "centre" will meet with the well deserved condemnation, contempt and sneers of the majority of their own countrymen.

## With Greatest Anxiety

Continued from Page 1

"unconditional surrender" and "democratization of bolshevism" had recently been. Sentenced by the Western policy of the preservation of the Russian empire to continued enslavement, more than 100 million non-Russians in the U.S.S.R. would see their hopes and expectations cheated, their confidence in the West generally, and especially in the U.S.A. — severely abused. Not having a real chance of ever gaining the support of proper Russians, the Western policy is already to-day on the verge of losing the potential support of 100 million non-Russians.

We are deeply afraid to observe how the sympathies of non-Russian nations towards the Western world are, in consequence of such policy, progressively cooling off and changing into disbelief, scepticism and emotional negation. We had been witnessing recently how a war won by the West militarily, was then lost politically. The Western policy of the preservation of a post-bolshevist Russian empire might portend a war, lost even before it started; all that matters is not so much Air Wings and A-Bombs but right conceptions. At present the West is abiding by a wrong one.

That kind of centre will never attain the moral and intellectual standard which is absolutely indispensable for effective propaganda warfare against bolshevism and Russian imperialism. It will merely lead to exactly the opposite of what the Americans wish to achieve, namely the weakening of the anti-bolshevist campaign, instead of its invigoration.

### Non-Russian Nations are Willing to Co-operate

The Ukrainians wish ardently to join the big Western ideological Crusade against bolshevism and Russian imperialism. They wish to put at the disposal of the West all their vast experiences in fighting communism and state totalitarianism, experiences accumulated during 35 years of their incessant struggle and opposition to the Russian red aggression. But by the way how A.C.L.P.R. handles at present this problem, whole strata of East European non-Russian intelligentsia, as well as the masses of the plain people, not the least the Ukrainians, are forced to remain outside the planned common endeavour. They cannot join because they simply cannot accept the idea that they have to work in the framework of one, indivisible Russia, as the very name of the A.C.L.P.R. from the outset suggests. Thus literally hundreds of writers, journalists, commentators, artists and other intellectuals are paralyzed, all people who could immensely contribute to the common fight against the red Russian danger.

There is no other way out of the predicament as to create for the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. all the technical facilities which are now offered by the A.C.L.P.R. to the Russians — and let them do their work within a framework in which they could work and would gladly work. Each other solution is bound to end in a failure — and will add to the triumphs of the bolshevist tactics.



# Gen. Mykhaylo Omelanovych-Pavlenko

## An Obituary Notice

### A Member of an Old Cossack Family

By the death of Gen. *Mykhaylo Omelanovych-Pavlenko*, who died unexpectedly in Paris in his 74th year, after a brief illness, the Ukrainians have suffered a severe loss. The deceased was a distinguished officer in the army of the Ukrainian National Republic. *General Pavlenko* was a descendant from an old Cossack Ukrainian family. To serve in the army was a tradition in his family, observed by all eldest sons, at least. The family was always known as consequent supporters of the ideal of Ukrainian independence. One branch of the family took part in the struggle of *Hetman Ivan Mazepa* for the liberation of his country from Russian domination: the General's great-great-grandfather was present at the disastrous Battle of Poltava in 1709 and thereafter spent decades in exile. He was one of the founders of "Sich behind the Danube", — a free Ukrainian military enclave on Turkish territory at the delta of the Danube.

It was only after the Turks attempted to enlist these Cossacks in wars against Christian nations that the exiles acknowledged the fact of the Russian domination in Ukraine, for that was at least a Christian regime. Their leader, *Yossyp Iladky*, got from the Tsar an amnesty for these Cossacks and the restitution of their rights and properties; some of them went back to Ukraine, the majority, however, to Kuban. The General's forefathers settled as soldiers and estate-owners in the district of Katerynoslav (now Dnipropetrovsk). The General himself was born Dec. 12, 1878 in Tbilissi, the capital of Georgia. His father, *Volodymyr*, was a General of Artillery, his mother was a Georgian princess — *Russieva-Kerchabashev* of Tolavyz.

### A Soldier from Boyhod

In accordance with the ancient military traditions of his family, *Mykhaylo Omelanovych-Pavlenko* was sent as a boy to the cadet school for the sons of aristocrats in Omsk, and then to the Military Academy in Petersburg. He completed his training with distinctions and entered the officer's corps of the Tsar's Guards as an ensign: here he was quickly promoted. As young captain, 26, he took part in the Russo-Japan war 1904/05, and proved not only his high tactical skill, but also an exceptional personal bravery; at the end of the war he was the owner of four crosses and medals of bravery with oak-leaves and swords. At first he returns to his garrison in Volhynia, but soon his superiors discover his military scientific and pedagogical abilities. 1907 Capt. Pavlenko publishes his first book: "The tactical preparedness of the non-commissioned officers"; 1908 — "A programme for tactical indoctrination of young officers".

At the outbreak of World War I. he was at 40 a colonel at the head of a regiment of the Guards. In the campaign against the

Germans he was distinguished both by his clever strategy and his extraordinary personal courage; he was decorated with all four classes of St. George Cross. As a result of wounds, his right arm was rendered useless. The Revolution of 1917 stirred old Ukrainian blood in the veins of the valiant



Gen. M. Omelanovych-Pavlenko  
1878—1952

Tsar's officer. In March 1917 he was commander of the Military Academy in Odessa. All at once there arose in his spirit the old reminiscences of the opposition and the struggles of his forefathers against the Russian domination of Ukraine. Without a moment's hesitation he joined the renewed fight for the liberation of his native Ukraine and reported for the service to the newly formed Ukrainian government. He was promoted to the rank of general and charged by the "Centralna Rada" with the entire military training of the forces of the young state. But events made it imperative for him to take active service. At first he took over the command of a brigade of Ukrainian National Republic (U.N.R.) troops in the

town Katerynoslav (today — Dnipropetrovsk), and then became commander of the troops known as "Ukrainian Free Cossacks". Under the Hetman regime he became commander of the *Third Rifles Division* in Poltava, and shortly afterwards of the special unit of Saporogs.

General Pavlenko's first appearance as a huge historic personality in the arena of the Revolution, was in December 1918, when he became Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Galician Army. He re-organized and integrated up until now many isolated and scattered western Ukrainian military units and formed out of them a coherent western front against the attacking Poles. On 9 June 1919 he handed this post over to General *V. Hrehiv*.

### The Winter-Raid of 1919/20

On December 5, 1919, General Pavlenko took the command of the entire U.N.R. army, and was at once faced with a peculiarly difficult task. The bolsheviks had succeeded by then in occupying almost the whole of Eastern Ukraine, the Ukrainian national units having been repulsed to the Polish frontier. In December 1919 General Pavlenko with 5 divisions of national Ukrainian Army broke through the bolshevist front and began the "Winter Raid 1919/20", the now legendary raid, reaching far into the rear of the enemy. Till April 1920 he waged constant war both against bolshevist troops and against Denikin's reactionary Russian forces. The offensive of May 1920 carried out by the U.N.R. army together with the Poles, under the leadership of *Symon Petlura*, president of Ukraine, enabled General Pavlenko to re-unite his exhausted units with the main body of the Ukrainian Army. General Pavlenko owes his place as a hero in the history of Ukraine to the "Winter Raid of 1919/20". He was a pioneer in the successful organization and development of the classical modern partisan warfare in the rear of the occupying enemy.

### Faithful Unto Death

After the temporary collapse of the Ukrainian fight for independence in 1920, General Pavlenko, like his ancestors 1709, went into exile, first to Poland, then to Germany, later to Czecho-Slovakia, then again for a short time to Germany, and finally to France. He left many valuable military writings, in particular, a thorough strategic analysis of the defense of Ukraine on its Western front against the Poles.

He was not so successful as a politician and proved that a distinguished soldier is not always suited to be an able leader in politics. *General Mykhaylo Omelanovych-Pavlenko* was the recipient of the highest first Russian, then Ukrainian military distinctions. His name is indissolubly linked with the history of Ukraine's struggle for independence. He served his fatherland well.

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## A Commentary on the "Declaration"

Continued from Page 2

the forced co-existence with Moscow, they have experienced nothing else but oppression, degradation, humiliation and the cruellest exploitation. This applies most especially to the largest of these oppressed and submerged nations — Ukraine.

### The Spirit of Yalta is Still Alive

It is quite evident that the bitter experiences brought about to a decisive degree by the American policy at Teheran and Yalta, quite evidently have not yet sufficed to teach the responsible circles of the American public, in which we number the A.C.L.P.R. In these circles people are again at the point of creating new Teherans and Yaltas, this time leaving countless non-Russian races under the sway of Moscow. In the ears of the Ukrainians, the name of the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia" sounds for months rather like "American Committee for the Continuation of the Enslavement of the Peoples of Russia". We know of no American organization which was labouring with more obstinacy for the preservation of the historical Russian slave-empire than is at present the case with A.C.L.P.R.

It is for the Ukrainians an established fact that Moscow will give no peace to the non-bolshevist world, above all to the U.S.A. and the British Commonwealth, until, either the entire world has turned bolshevist, or bolshevism itself has perished. Sooner or later the West will have to enter upon the last armed decisive battle with Moscow. In this battle will the West have the choice of declaring itself for the allies which it might find and attract behind the Iron Curtain. There are only two possibilities. The Soviet Union is divided into two. On the one side are about 90 million pure Russians, the Muscovites, the master-race of the Russian Empire. And on the other side are about 110 million non-Russians; that is, more than 20 fully-developed nations and countless small peoples and tribes, who are being ruthlessly oppressed and plundered by the Muscovites.

The choice of the West must, and will be, to ensure for itself the support either of the Muscovites or of the non-Russian peoples.

### Preference is Given to the Russians

There are a number of exiled Russians, professing to be anti-bolshevist, who are promising the West their cooperation and support in the fight against bolshevism. This however, on the principle condition that, in the event of a conflict, the West, mainly the U.S.A. and Great Britain, should not interfere with the continuance of the historical Russian Empire. In other words, the West has to buy the support of the Muscovites at the price of their continued domination of the non-Russians. This price the A.C.L.P.R., at present under the leadership of Admiral Alan G. Kirk, quite unmistakably declared itself ready to pay. The right of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. to independence and separation

from Russia is obviously considered not sufficient to outweigh the advantages which the gentlemen from A.C.L.P.R. hope to ensure from the cooperation of the Russians.

Besides, this sort of action is not a new one. In the years 1944—45, eleven hitherto completely free middle- and east-European nations were sacrificed in order to ensure, by the satisfaction of the Muscovitish hunger for power and territory, Moscow's cooperation with the West. The Western politicians traded for such favours as the entrance of the Soviet Union into the United Nations, and, by this, "securing the world peace." That is the disgraceful story of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. And now, through the work of a Committee such as the A.C.L.P.R., programmatic and psychological groundwork is being laid in order once more to ensure the cooperation of the Russians, this time at the cost of the maintenance and perpetuation of the enslavement of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. That is nothing else but a continuation of the, so to say, "inner-Soviet Teherans, Yaltas and Potsdams".

### The Panacea of Democracy

There are, however, too many of these non-Russian peoples, who for centuries have struggled for liberation from the Muscovitish yoke, just to let them simply disappear from the face of earth and their existence and fight for freedom be forgotten. There exists therefore a panacea for eliminating these unpleasant facts. This panacea is called: Democracy.

For the purpose of Western self-delusion the thinking runs as thus: if there is democracy in Russia, all people have freedom and liberty, and also non-Russian peoples of Russia have freedom and liberty; what more could one desire? In order to preserve their empire, all Russians without exception are for ever ready to offer democracy a hundred times over. Did not Stalin and his cronies promise the states, whom in 1944-45 they wished to get into their fatal clutches all democracy, all liberty, free elections, and thousands more wonderful things? Yet they have not kept their promise. The Russians never do one single thing that they ever promise. In the course of Moscow's history, has one Tsar, or any other ruler in the Kremlin ever kept his word to another nation or another human being? We know nothing of such a wondrous event.

### They are all the same Russians

Do people in, say, New York or London seriously believe that the Kerenskys, Melgunovs, Baydalakovs, Chernovs, Nikolayevskys, Kurganovs, Alexandrov and all the other exiled Muscovites, who want, with America's help, to supplant Stalin, Malenkov, Molotov, Bulganin, etc., — do they really believe that all of them are not exactly the same Russians, psychologically, morally, intellectually and emotionally? Russians are all alike; they all think and feel the same and want the same thing — above all the power, the greatness, the world-wide

expansion of Moscow. In the 600 years of their history they have wanted nothing else. The men, the catch-words, the parties and their programmes change in Moscow, but the ultimate goal remains the same throughout the centuries — always the power of Moscow alone. Beside the might and greatness of Moscow, the terms "freedom" and "democracy", have not a jot more meaning for them than they had for Stalin in 1945, when he promised "freedom" and "democracy", and so on, to the Poles, Hungarians, Bulgarians etc. Exactly the same "freedom" and "democracy" did the Russians and bolsheviks promise in 1917—21 to the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Caucasians, Turkistanians — until they had once more got these nations in their iron grip. What came later we all know.

### Union? Yes, but not on a Russian Basis

Taught by their historical experiences, the nations enslaved by Moscow cannot see in an expression like "Russian democracy" any guarantee, either of their personal, or of their collective, national freedom. Such a guarantee they see only in the creation of their own, sovereign, national states, separated from Moscow, and confirmed in their status of independence by the United Nations. These non-Russian peoples do not exclude the possibility that, in time, they might enter into wider, interstate unions among themselves, but they do not understand why that must come to pass inevitably on a Russian basis. A positive, collective reconstruction of Eastern Europe is quite possible, yet without the Russians standing in the middle of the Eastern European scene as the ruling power. The history of the Russian nation and its unfailingly tyrannical and totalitarian state offers not the slightest security that the union of the Eastern European peoples on a Russian basis could lead to any really democratic conditions in this part of the globe. On the contrary, when Moscow lays its dead hand on anything, all freedom and democracy immediately perishes.

### Unworthy Methods

The joint Declaration of the Ukrainian political organizations condemns certain methods which the European representatives of the A.C.L.P.R., with the aid of their co-foundations such as the S.O.N.R. (an association of the pure Russian exiled parties, but including a few venal non-Russians) up till now have employed to attain their goal. Included in these objectionable methods are attempts to split up the common Ukrainian national front, in order to win over certain Ukrainian elements to the "all-Russian" solution of the East-European problem. As already stated, that has succeeded only in the case of a few, isolated, venal Quislings, whose Ukrainian allegiance consists only of their ability to employ, whenever it serves them, the Ukrainian language. As a consequence of the employment of these methods, the activities of the representatives of the A.C.L.P.R. are surrounded in Europe by an unhealthy, hectic atmosphere, which exudes nothing more than the stink of corruption and venality. Instead of coming with ideological principles and



## Dmytro Myron-Orlyk

*On the 10th Anniversary of the Death of the Great Ukrainian Fighter for Liberty*

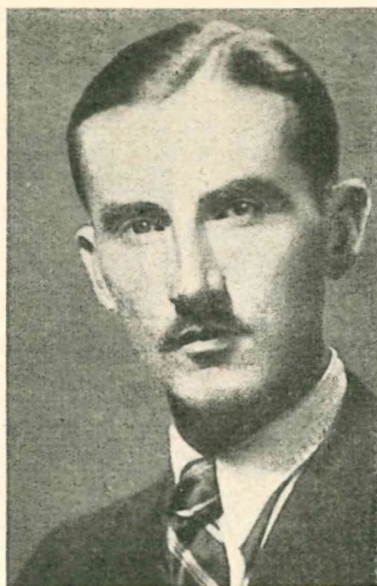
On July 25th 1942, on a street-corner in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, **Dmytro Myron-Orlyk** was killed, at about 3 p. m., by two pistol-shots, fired by Gestapo agents.

Dmytro Myron-Orlyk was born on Nov. 5th, 1911 in Hay, in the district of Berezhany, in Western Ukraine, and was, from earliest youth onwards, a member of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.). One of the most active and self-sacrificing members, he filled various positions in this revolutionary movement, and was able, by his courage, organising ability and the impact of his extremely congenial and inspiring personality, successfully to master the most difficult situations which an underground-fight involves.

For a proper understanding of the life, the struggle and the death of Dmytro Myron-Orlyk, the following introductory remarks must be made:

For centuries the Ukraine was divided into two parts. Since 1654 the Russians have held the Eastern Ukraine, with the capital, Kyiv, in their hands. The Western Ukraine (Galicia, Volhynia, Bukovina, Bessarabia and Carpatho-Ukraine) was occupied by Poland, Hungary and Rumania. One of the chief aims of the national Ukrainian liberation movement was the amalgamation of the Western Ukraine with the far larger territory of the Eastern Ukraine. The capital, Kyiv, was always the Mecca of the Western Ukraine, especially of the youth. When the Germans occupied the Eastern Ukraine in

1941, many West-Ukrainians were under the illusion that now the time had come for the union of all Ukrainian territories. The O.U.N. wanted to accelerate this process of amalgamation; many young West-Ukrainian members of the O.U.N. went at once to the



*Dmytro Myron-Orlyk  
1911—1942*

political arguments, they try in the first place to bring money into the matter; instead of winning political parties and groups by reason of political explanations, they sought to buy whole organizations and also single, rather important men by means of money and alluring positions. Then one thinks in the first place of the bitter want that reigns among the refugees, which in the circumstances would make stronger natures weaken. The leaders of the A.C.L.P.R. in the U.S.A. should become clear on this point — that nothing good and permanently positive in the combatting of bolshevism can be attained by these methods. In this way it is impossible to build up a new, sound and just world.

### The Immovable Goal of the Ukrainians

The Declaration of the combined Ukrainian political centres and parties aims at bringing these basis facts in the life of Eastern Europe before the eyes, not only of the leaders of A.C.L.P.R., but also of the mass of other Western political officials that, without the Ukraine, no fight against bolshevism can be waged and won, and no new order can be established in Eastern Europe; that the Ukraine must be heard; that the Ukrainians alone must decide their own destiny; that the Ukraine will have to be represented in the world only by its own free, non-bolshevistic, and non-Russian political organizations; that all these organizations are as one in their national ideals and basic political leanings; and that one can either break up this common Uk-

rainian national front by threats, nor destroy it by corruption. There is no power in the world which is able to divert this united national Ukrainian front from its ultimate goal: — the creation of their own sovereign, national state, completely separated from Russia, and this within its historical-ethnographical boundaries.

A campaign for the new order in Eastern Europe is condemned to failure from the start, if it is waged without the cooperation of the free people of Ukraine, represented by their lawful political organizations. Despite all unfortunate and exasperating practices of the former representatives of A.C.L.P.R. in Europe, the Ukrainians in exile still wish to believe that, notwithstanding all temporary blunders, such as the present policy of the A.C.L.P.R., the American public, at bottom, is led by principles of true democracy. The united voice of the Ukrainian political centres and organizations in exile is an expression of such true unadulterated democracy; this is the voice of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, who speak in the name of their enslaved brothers behind the Iron Curtain. The Ukrainian political organizations who have subscribed to the Declaration hope that this voice will be heard in the U.S.A., and that the A.C.L.P.R. will forthwith utilise the results not only in theory, but also in its European practice. This is most urgently to be wished, not only in the interests of the common fight against bolshevism, but also in the interests of democracy and the liberty of the nations.

east. This they had to do in a conspiratorial way, as it soon became apparent that the Nazis wanted to maintain the partition of the Ukraine. Soon the Gestapo in Eastern Ukraine instituted regular manhunts after the infiltrating O.U.N. members; they were regarded as dangerous revolutionaries, who might endanger the Nazi-rule in Ukraine. One of the first to go to the Eastern Ukraine was — Dmytro Myron-Orlyk.

The outstanding task which was entrusted to Dmytro Myron-Orlyk was at first the leadership of the youth-work of the O.U.N. in Eastern Ukraine. This task he accomplished with his own special thirst for great deeds and his unconfined youthful idealism. His conception of his work of education reflects itself best in a letter of 16. 2. 42, which he wrote from Kyiv: "I thought that it was a good thing to collect interesting pictures of our campaign, of the court proceedings, of the life of Ukrainian revolutionaries, and of the heroes of mankind who had fought for liberty, in order to inspire the young people with zeal for the Great Experience, the romance of the fight, and for the risk . . .". Himself an uncompromising idealist, animated by the romantic spell of his homeland's past, and ready for any sacrifice in the name of liberty, there was for him never any yielding, but only a pressing forward. In this mind was conceived his writing "*Idea and Action*", at the basis of which lay an idealistic nationalism and which bore witness to his sincere and deeply-felt views.

All this, however, pales into insignificance, when one looks back on his very last, and also most noteworthy, activities in Kyiv. At the command of the leaders of the O.U.N., Dmytro Myron-Orlyk went to Kyiv in the early autumn of 1942, in order, by his work among the young people, to prepare the ground there for a revolutionary action of the O.U.N. and their fight for national liberation. The first attempt miscarried. He was next arrested by the Germans in Fastiv and sent back to Lutsk. Nevertheless he managed to break out of the prison and to get back to Lviv, capital of Western Ukraine. At once he set off for the second time for the Eastern Ukraine and, at the end of September, 1941, succeeded in penetrating to Kyiv, where, despite the difficult conditions and the peril of his mission, he immediately continued his revolutionary activities.

Kyiv meant for him, as for all generations of West-Ukrainians, the highest attainable goal and is at the same time the substance of these peoples' desire for liberty. This city exercised a powerful spell upon him; it embodied, in his imagination, the past and also the mission of his nation. All this is best illustrated in a few extracts from his letter of 14. 10. 1942, which he wrote from Kyiv shortly after his arrival: "Kyiv . . . gives the impression of a second Rome, with its beauty, greatness and glorious past . . . The venerable contemplativeness and culture of Kyiv fills a man with new thoughts. In Kyiv one feels that the centuries look down upon one; great unknown ancestors live once more. When you gaze upon or enter the sanctuaries of Kyiv, you feel some new power springing within you. So must those have felt, who trod the holy soil of Jerusalem. It is worth while to live, to work and to spend all one's strength for the great and indestructible legends of Kyiv, which are ever new . . .".

His love for his nation, his consciousness of its worth and his invincible faith in a



## Mrs. Edith Hyder

### *A Good Friend of Ukraine and its Fight for Freedom*

The truth about Ukraine finds at last its way to the Western world, and especially to Anglo-Saxon countries, but only overcoming tremendous obstacles. Ukrainians are often right when they complain that a "conspiracy of silence" prevails in the West, when it is a question of Ukraine's struggle for liberation and national independence.

The pure facts are: The Ukrainians are an entirely different people from the Russians. Their language, culture, history is not the same as the Muscovites. They were about three hundred years ago subjected and enslaved by Moscow's stratagem and deceit. In the years 1917-21 the Ukrainians declared their independence as a state and its separation from the Russian Empire after a sanguinary revolution of liberation. After 1921 they were defeated by Russian bolshevism and once again forced into the Russian imperium in its present form of the U.S.S.R. In the course of the past 35 years Ukraine has offered most stubborn resistance to Russian-bolshevist domination. Ukraine's resistance continues undaunted against that domination and occupation. Even today the U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) by its continued existence is the best proof of the fighting spirit of Ukraine. U.H.V.R. i. e. the "Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council" is the underground Ukrainian national government. These truths must be realized.

But till this very day there are only relatively very few personalities who stand out against the indifferent masses, to say nothing of the unfriendly western press, what concerns the Ukrainian liberation problem. Yet they who have recognized the truth are ready to stand up for it.

Mrs. Edith Hyder, the well-known Canadian writer, journalist and commentator of the radio system C.H.M.L. is one of these staunch friends of free Ukraine. She speaks regularly in the popular series "Humanity Unlimited," on the burning problems of the post-war world.

Quite recently, for instance, she spoke in a radio lecture from Hamilton, Ont., Canada, on the position, the work and loyalty to

Canada of the 500 000 Ukrainians settled in this vast and friendly country. She then gave an outline of Ukraine, these Canadians had originally come from. She depicted accu-



Mrs. Edith Hyder

rately the condition of Ukraine under Russian bolshevism, its history, culture and its struggle for liberation.

Not long after this lecture she gave another lecture on the A.B.N., the *Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations*, within which Ukraine and 16 other subjugated non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. are fighting for their liberation.

On June 26, 1952, Mrs. E. Hyder gave an address at the 2nd National Convention of U.Y.A.C. (Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada, Ukrainian initials, S.U.M.) in Toronto, Ontario, where she told her hearers about the activities and endeavours of the

better future gave him the power to toil on at his post. He became district leader of the O.U.N. in the Kyiv area — a task which, by reason of persecution by the Gestapo and their Russian and bolshevist agents, demanded the greatest energy. In spite of all, he succeeded in finding more and more new members and helpers for the O.U.N. among the people of Kyiv; they instinctively perceived in the O.U.N. the only real, liberating factor in the Ukrainian effort towards independence. His relations with the inhabitants of the Ukrainian capital were excellent. In his last letter of 24. 7. 42, he writes: "The countryside and the city are magnificent. Now I fully understand why the Ukrainians have such a deep feeling for Kyiv's beauty that they call this city their own heart . . ."

There are, however, not only the trains of thought of a romantic idealist. Dmytro Myron-Orlyk knew also of the needs and desires of his oppressed people which had often been brought close to despair by its so many sacrifices. As an able organizer and, at the same time, a good psychologist, he understood how to bring spiritual and material interests so strikingly into harmony,

that his words seem, in the present situation, almost prophetic: "These broken, oppressed and intimidated souls, which yet possess a lion's strength in their depths, have the need of something great; the all-conquering idea of truth, freedom, yet also bread and work . . ."

It is quite evident that the Nazi occupation forces, with their Russian accomplices, as well as the communist agents which Moscow had left behind in Kyiv, were set upon removing this tireless fighter and organizer from their path. Meanwhile he pursued his fearless way, ever creating new plans for the successful political work of the Ukrainian resistance movement. To prevent this was the aim of the Nazi occupation at that time. For this had Dmytro Myron-Orlyk to lay down his young life. Not in a great open battle did he fall, as he had always sought. He was murdered by the treacherous hand of an agent. On July 25th, 1952, he was shot at a street corner, yet in his above all revered capital, Kyiv. *Here he saw, like others, the whole young Ukrainian nationalistic generation, the nucleus of a Renaissance of Liberty.*

(Y.Z.P.)

Ukrainian Youth Association, an organization that is spread over 4 continents and 19 states.

It is thanks to the absolutely unselfish, most noble efforts of such friends of Ukraine as Mrs. Edith Hyder that makes Ukraine hope that its voice will once be heard and understood everywhere in the West. It is therefore no wonder that Mrs. Hyder's name has come to mean so much among the Ukrainians abroad. Her name and her voice are loved by all the tens of thousands of Ukrainians in exile. Her Ukrainian friends hope that the day will come when in liberated Ukraine her name will be as familiar and respected in their homecountry as it is now in Canada.

### Third General Meeting of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Germany

(U.I.S.) On the 7th and 8th of June, 1952, there was held in Munich the Third General Meeting of the Ukrainian Youth Association, in which 64 delegates and guests participated. In spite of financial difficulties and exceptionally unfavourable economic circumstances, the delegates and guests came from even the remotest parts of Germany.

The chairman of this youth assembly received messages of greeting from 25 Ukrainian organisations and institutions, which shows how closely the Ukrainian youth is allied with the all strata of Ukrainian community abroad.

The first day of the congress was taken up by a report by *Prof. Vasyl Shulha*, and the following discussions. On the second day the delegates were able to hear an account of activities, given by the president of the managing committee, *Volodymyr Lenyk*, and, on their part, to give an account of the work accomplished by the single groups of the Ukrainian Youth Association. The report revealed difficulties which appear above all in the German section.

In spite of growing difficulties and financial straits, the Ukrainian Youth Association in Germany has succeeded in executing and even furthering its appointed work. Moreover, the S.U.M. has fair success to show in the sphere of internal Ukrainian life, as well as in international cooperation. For this reason it is not exaggeration to assert that the S.U.M. is the most active Ukrainian youth organisation in Europe and, above all, is this true of the German branches.

The retiring office bearers of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Germany were given a vote of thanks, with a special emphasis on the performance of *Ivan Kholavka*, the retiring secretary.

*Volodymyr Sharshanevych* was elected as the president of the managing committee and *Ivan Marchenko* as vicepresident. Other members of the newly-elected managing committee are *Kholavka Ivan*, *Kudryk Volodymyr*, *Chornij Ivan*, *Petrukh Yaroslav*, *Trach Mykhaylo*, *Pavlichenko Petro*, *Nazola Volodymyr* and *Bidiak Bohdan*.

After the election of the new managing committee, a whole series of practical questions, dealing with the activities of the S.U.M. branch in Germany, were discussed. The most important were: — the enrolling of new members; the campaign against assimilation, which threatened Ukrainian youth, not only overseas, but also in Germany; the problem of the education of Ukrainian youth in exile; international activities of Ukrainian youth organizations, etc.



## Ukraine Behind the Iron Curtain

### "The Bolshevik Care Lavished On Ukrainian Culture"

#### *Small Examples Illustrating the General Trend*

Some of the most important branches of industrial production in Ukraine turn out  $\frac{1}{3}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the entire production of the U.S.S.R. (e. g. cast iron). The output of some of its main agricultural products reaches 70% and more of the total production of the U.S.S.R. (Sugar beet, diverse sorts of fruit, etc.).

In return, the Moscow Politbureau allocates for educational and cultural purposes in Ukraine this year only 5.5 billion roubles out of the total budget for the Soviet Union of 476.9 billion roubles, i. e. a. little more than — 1%.

The practical results can be seen in the columns of the Soviet press: The "Radyanska Ukraina" quotes such an example: "The school in the village of Sasivka can be seen from afar. It stands on a hill beside the village, but its class-rooms are not a pleasant sight, being dirty and damp. Its roof is covered with a thatch of reeds that lets water in. At the end of the spring holidays, the class-rooms were given a fresh coat of white-wash, but when the snow on the roof began to melt, it was soon obvious that the work had been done in vain. Discussions on thorough repairs to the roof of this school have been going on for a long time. In the summer of last year the head of the school got a chit for a waggon of wood from the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian Republic. All he had to do was to get this wood from the "Lispromhosp" in the district of Drohobych. But that was not at all easy. The local Office of Finance refused to give the headmaster money to pay for transport and so he did not get the wood."

So far the "Radyanska Ukraina" of May 11. In Ukraine, Soviet offices of finance are called "the Russian economic N.K.V.D." for they keep the economy of Ukraine in hard grip, in order to get the maximum out of it for Moscow.

The paper continues: "This is characteristic for the treatment of education for the people in this district. The secondary school in the county town is accommodated in old, small rooms which it shares, in three shifts, with the evening school for young kolkhose workers. The problem could have been solved if they had repaired the school buildings which were partially destroyed during the war."

Nor has the district much interest in teachers' living conditions. The number of teachers' houses would suffice for no more than one tenth of the personnel. There are two teachers in the house of Bilyi, a teacher in the Hubiv school. Bilyi himself teaches chemistry, zoology and botany, while his wife teaches Russian language and literature. Both of them have much preparation to do, both for their regular classes and for the lectures they must often give to the kolkhose peasants. But their living conditions are hopeless. In their one living room, where the stove is, they must work surrounded by their whole family."

"Little has been done in this district to build houses for teachers. The subject is mentioned once a year when the competent offices prepare their budget for the next

schoolyear. We need only to say that one house has been "built" for teachers here during the last five years. Last year there were plans for building two teachers' houses, but they came to nothing. Neither the district executive committee nor the party district committee help the schools."

The article concludes with the usual ending: "The regional party committee for

Kirovograd remains thoroughly self-complacent in spite of the fact that the various district authorities do not consider it important to build houses for teachers."

We may add that neither district nor regional committees can act otherwise, because every measure they take is under the strict supervision of Leonid Melnikov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine — and Moscow's severe and relentless regent for Ukraine. And Moscow is not very much interested in the progress of this "eternally rebellious country". (V.A.Z.)

### Again and Again: This Sinful Ukrainian Nationalism

(U.I.S.) The Institute of Ukrainian Literature at the Academy of Science of Ukrainian S.S.R. was once again charged with having permitted "gross nationalistic misrepresentations". The cause of this was the publication of a complete collection of the works of Ivan Kotlarevsky. The work was planned in two volumes, of which the first has just appeared. The object of the criticism is not so much the contents and arrangement of the works, as the foreword of the publication, which was written by A. Shamray, the editor of the first volume and a Member of the Institute. It is his introductory treatise to the mentioned work of Kotlarevsky that offended. A very long editorial was devoted to a criticism of his foreword in "Radyanska Ukraina" of June 25th, 1952.

One excerpt ran:

"The Institute of Ukrainian Literature has been functioning badly for several years. It is not fulfilling its appointed task. The scientific publications of the Institute are of inferior quality. In some works which have been published by the Institute are gross misrepresentations — bourgeois, nationalistic, cosmopolitan and others."

About the "mistakes" the "Radyanska Ukraina" writes: — "The worst enemies of the Ukrainian people, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, have repeatedly attempted to sever the unbreakable bond between the cultures of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples. By trying to isolate the Ukrainian workers from the influence of the great ideas of liberty, which came from revolutionary Russia, by trying to misrepresent and destroy the revolutionary union of Russian and Ukrainian workers, and by trying to subject the Ukrainian workers to the influence of the great Ukrainian landowners and capitalists, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists of every kind have erased from the story of the Ukrainian people and their culture everything which bears witness to their bond with their Russian brother-nation. In this they have made the most shocking falsifications. The task of the Soviet science of letters, on the other hand, consists of revealing in its great entirety the ancient bond between the two peoples and their leading progressive men."

It is exactly this task that the Institute in general and the writer of the foreword and the publishers of the criticised work in particular have not been able to fulfil. "They have not kept this cardinal question at all in view, although the extent of the

article, which consists of 50 large pages, has, in this respect, offered great possibilities to the writer. Instead of this, the writers of the introduction have furnished a presentation of the evolution of Ukrainian literature that would be just as suitable in any purely nationalistic representation."

As may be seen from this criticism, the writers are reproached, not so much for what they have written, as for what they have not written.

Yet another example follows: "Not less unsatisfactory in this article is the definition of the works of Shevchenko. The entire characteristic is found in the statement that Shevchenko has, in his works, represented the struggle of the Ukrainian people as a constructive, historical force." There was no mention of what kind of war the Ukrainian people have waged and against whom. It is obviously expected that Shevchenko wrote for the Russians and against other peoples. That would of course be a lie. Shevchenko opposed Russian imperialism most bitterly. The writer of the introduction did not wish to lie, and so kept silent. Or another example: "It is necessary to say that this introduction, when it mentions the various questions of the history, culture, the national connection and the bond between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples, does not refer to the works of Lenin and Stalin and does not conform to the Leninistic and Stalinistic principles."

What happened to the writer after this criticism, the "Radyanska Ukraina" does not mention.

### "Literature by Undercurrent"

#### *One of the ways to fight bolshevism*

The "Radyanska Ukraina" of May 11, 1952, contains a criticism of a story called "Our Children" by Oksana Ivanenko, a Ukrainian authoress, which was published 1951, in Kyiv.

Some papers had already discussed this story, but it seemed sufficiently important for the central organ of the Communist Party of Ukraine itself to take the matter up again.

The story tells the fate of many Ukrainian children who were separated from their families during the last war. The theme, in the main, is that of how average Ukrainians, just simple people, experience in reality the Soviet regime, — which explains the dissatisfaction expressed by V. Darda, the critic. He writes: "The authoress is too



## Moscow's "Soviet Morality"

In the Ivan Franko theatre in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, there is running at the present time a play "The Honour of the Family" ("Chest' simyi") by the Turkmenian (Western Turkistan, Ed.) dramatist — Guseyn Mukhtarov. The play portrays the life after the 2nd World War in the Turkmenian Soviet Republic of the family of the old Turkmenian railway-worker, Allan Merdanov. Three of his sons have fallen for Russia during the war, but he still has a wife and four grown-up children. His eldest living son, Bayram, was also a soldier and won several decorations in the war. Demobilized, he was entrusted with the management of a collective-farm which took first

found of tears, almost her only means for expressing human feelings, be they of joy or of sorrow, of fear or of offence. All of them, children and grown-ups, are continually weeping. He goes on to add: "The authoress knows one more, and equally primitive reaction, namely, collapse. As soon as anyone hears anything unexpected, he collapses". Nor does it please the critic that so many people are described as grey-haired, and that so many heroes often — whisper.

Lina, the Russian girl, one of the persons in the story, who worked in Ukraine during the war in the service of bolshevist Russia, is described as very lonely. Nobody cares for her, and she, too, is without friendly feelings for Ukrainians. The critic remarks: "Lina is, for some reason or other, described as lonely, and has only enemies — the doctor, the neighbours, and even the plain workers — all people round her."

It is interesting that, for V. Darda, one of the literary henchmen of Russian bolshevism in Ukraine, it is not Lina, but the Ukrainians who were in reality enemies, including the workers, in whose name the Politbureau exercises its dictatorship.

The story contains also a description of the return home of a group of Ukrainians who had been in Moscow. In one place we read: "When we passed through the village, many of us wept, and wanted to kiss the earth."

The critic cannot stomach this at all. "What village is it? On which frontier does it lie? This village, as we know, is the first railway station on Ukrainian territory, travelling from Moscow, in fraternal Russia", he writes.

But it would be a mistake to regard the authoress's means of expression merely as a sign of "inferior artistry". In reality these means serve her to circumscribe, so to say — to portray "by undercurrent" the actual surroundings and experiences of Ukrainians which she neither can nor wishes to portray quite bluntly and openly, for that would be an invitation to personal self-destruction. She has to use Aesopian language. Thus, in the story, under constant strain the people often lose consciousness; their hair becomes grey; they all are sad and melancholy; they are unhappy; and they all accentuate their love for Ukraine. All of them, children, and grown-ups, the soldier, the doctor, the worker, and others, are emphatically Ukrainians — and not only representatives of certain social groups or classes. This it is what really angers the bolshevist literary critic.

Here we have one of the ways in which Ukraine expresses her real feelings — and continues her fight for national liberty.

(V.A.Z.)

place in the district. The dramatic critic N. G. Kuliyeva, asserts that the family of the old railway-worker, Allan Merdanov, is a model Turkmenian family, because in it, as she maintains, "reigns a high morality and culture, which was brought to Turkistan by the Soviet power and which the Turkmenians learnt and continue to learn from the Russians."

Now of what does this Soviet "high morality" consist?

One day Bayram had guests, whom he entertained with several rams, which he illegally took from the collective-farm and in farm-accounts represented the rams to have allegedly died a natural death. His family learnt of this fraud from the book-keeper of the collective. In the play there arises on this account "a sharp conflict in the family" or, to be more exact, between the manager of the collective-farm, Bayram, and the rest of the family. The whole family, so writes the critic, "is utterly shocked by the infamous deed of the eldest son" and strenuously demands that "he shall acknowledge his guilt, confess and expiate before an assembly of the collective-workers."

In the same family there also lives a Russian girl, Zina. During the war she was evacuated from Leningrad into Turkistan, obviously for the purpose of observing the carrying out of the 'general line' of the party. It is self-evident that her presence in Allan's family exerts a profound influence on the decisions which are reached in family.

The critic writes that the whole family, father and mother are very annoyed "because their beloved son has soiled the honour of the Merdanov family by breaking the Stalinist laws of life on a collective farm. They all condemned his deed and demanded a severe punishment for him."

How does this treatment, according to the laws of the "new Russian morality" now look? N. G. Kuliyeva describes this in the following words: "The most artistic scene is that in which the entire family signs a letter to the secretary of the local party council, requesting that Bayram should be brought without mercy to account." In plain words, the story ends with a common denunciation, in the course of which two characters (one of them being Bayram) die of heart-collapse. The critic sees in this "the victory of the new morality" and "the happiness of our Soviet lives". For this encouraging "masterpiece" of dramatic art the dramatist Guseyn Mukhtarov received the Stalin reward of 100,000 roubles.

The contents and the ending of the play makes it necessary to say a few words about the land and the people which this play depicts. The Turkmenians were, and still are, even today, in the overwhelming majority, peaceable herdsmen, who tend on their steppes innumerable sheep. They produce the golden karakul, one of the most precious furs in the world. The sheep are, for the majority of the population, the sole source of livelihood. Part of the sacred tradition of the Turkmenians is a generous hospitality; a guest must always be entertained with a ram — and Bayram became a victim of this traditional hospitality.

Today all the sheep in Turkmenia are in collective farms. Theoretically they are the common property of the collective workers. In reality, however, Moscow has converted the collective-farms into Soviet state-property. Neither the manager of the collective-farm nor the collective-workers may take a few sheep for their own private needs, without having special permission from the authorities, and this permission they never receive. One can easily imagine how these people feel, who for centuries have had the never contested right to slaughter a sheep when it was needed, especially for the purposes of hospitality. Now they have to be shepherds of the sheep, no more their own, which formerly belonged to them, and have got to "steal" — from their own rightful possessions.

This was all that had been done by Bayram, the manager of the collective-farm, possessor of several Soviet decorations, whose three brothers had fallen in the 2nd World War, in which they were directed by Moscow.

If Bayram were a herdsman of a landowner anywhere outside the sphere of Moscow authority, it would be taken for granted that his employer would allow him to use a certain number of sheep for the private use of his family. And if the landowner should discover that he has slaughtered a few sheep to entertain his guests, he would hardly press for a prison sentence on that account.

The play "The Honour of the Family" is a model of the Soviet artistic "socialistic realism". The play is now being performed in the capital as well as in other places in Ukraine, in order to bring before the Ukrainians this prime example of Moscow "morality" — and in this way to warn the Ukrainians.

(V.A.Z.)

## Ukraine Ignores the Soviet Scenic Art

*The Repertoire of the Ukrainian Theatre Will Repeatedly Subdue the Sharpest Criticism*

(U.I.S.) When a system wishes to vanquish a nation completely, it is obliged, among other things, to subordinate all evidences of the independent spiritual life of the latter, to lead and suitably to mould them. In the present-day Soviet Ukraine it is not otherwise. The bolshevist system attempts, through all its cultural institutions, to force upon the Ukrainians the alien russianized and communistic "cultural inheritance".

To these institutions, of course, belongs the theatre, which supplies in the first place, bolshevistic propaganda, and only incidentally cultural and educational entertainment. Recently there ended the guest-performances of the theatres of Lviv and Odessa,

which took place in Kyiv. In this connection, as reported by the "Radyanska Ukraina" of July 11th, 1952, there took place a session of the Commission of Cultural Affairs, the object of which was the consideration of the results of these festival weeks. As is now customary in Ukraine, references were made to the "inadequacy of the organization of the guest-performances, both as regards repertoire and production."

As the question of the affirmed inadequacy had to be answered, the "Radyanska Ukraina" had the following explanation ready at hand: "The Soviet drama has been undoubtedly relegated to second place in the theatre. In five months a total of 150 performances were given, of which only 32



## Now Comes the Turn of Ukrainian Philosophers

*A Few Words on the Conference of the Party Organization of the Philosophical Institute of the Academy of Science of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic*

The "Radyanska Ukraina" of July 4th, 1952, had in the column on "Party Life" a commentary on the latest conference of the party-organization of the above-mentioned institution. The conference was convened for the purpose of voting and of submitting a report on activities. The basic theoretical problem of this conference was, however, a detailed treatment of the problem of the "Criticism and Self-Criticism" through which, at the moment, very much attention is being given to the high-schools and scientific institutes of the Soviet Ukraine. According to bolshevist ideology, the "Criticism and Self-Criticism" have the distinguished task of serving as "the sharpest, methodical instrument", with whose help "all ideological and philosophical errors will be removed." This instrument will, according to all rules of the dialectic method, then be applied, in the first place the "self-critic", to the task of driving the unwanted teacher or student into a corner and finally, either silencing him in the intellectual sphere, or

were derived from the Soviet repertoire." Furthermore it was maintained: "Before the theatre stand the great task of increasing the demand on the Soviet repertoire, and of permitting the appearance of no performances with superficial and shallow themes".

It is striking that the actors and stage-managers of the Ukrainian theatre presented the works of the Ukrainian classic dramatists, as, for example, Lesia Ukrainka and M. Kropyvnytsky as well as the foreign classics, with great perception and feeling at the Kyiv festival. When it came, however, to interpreting the works of the Russian, and above all the modern Soviet dramatists, on the stage, then they suddenly failed.

The plays of the modern Soviet school, in which all the laws of the system of socialistic realism may be observed, as, for example, B. Lavreniev's "Breach", "The Unforgettable Year 1919", and others, were represented under "wrong" conditions, and in the first not the "revolutionary pathos of the sailors", but the family-life, had been advantageously brought out, and in the second, the figure of Lenin had not been favourably presented. The Ukrainian artists are obviously not in the position to rival their Moscow "colleagues" in the glorification of the bolshevist revolution and its leaders.

In the same way, the Russian plays do not enjoy any too great popularity, and, especially in the Western Ukraine, are performed joylessly and apathetically, and received in the same offish way, although the communist propaganda does its best to bring them before the Ukrainian public. "The theatre is systematically familiarising the working population of the Western districts of Ukraine with the best works of classical Russian dramatic art. On the boards of the drama theatre of Western-Ukrainian Lviv are performed the plays of Gorky, Ostrovsky and Chekhov."

The complete russianising and bolshevizing of art does not stop at the Ukrainian theatres. But, as may be heard from the opinions of the communistic press, it does not make very much progress. Ukraine is very tough.

completely (and this even in personal sense) "liquidating" him.

This "high art" is, it is true, not held in very great honour, among the philosophical intellectuals in Ukraine. This was emphatically declared by the party-reporters and the secretary of the party organization of the "Institute", as well as by other communists. "Radyanska Ukraina" writes in these words:

"Among many students of philosophy in the Ukraine, the 'Criticism and Self-criticism' is not properly esteemed."

On the same occasion, not only the present but also the former activities of the Philosophical Institute of the Academy of Science as well as its scientific results were subjected to a really annihilating criticism. The Institut was reproached, among other sins also of the "irresponsible negligence in creating an adequate organization and lecturing body for the production of scientific workers". Furthermore it was objected that "in the five years of its existence, the Institute has neither performed nor planned, at any time, any fundamental project for the propagation of the practices of communistic performance, and the evolution of social-philosophical thought in the Ukraine." "To great dissatisfaction of the party", it was further declared that "the Institute had

taken little pains to build up a new philosophical school, which, in the spirit of Stalin's work on "Marxism and the Problems of Philology", would bring the "Criticism and Self-Criticism" on to a suitable level."

As a great task for the Institute, the publication of scientific works with the following contents was "recommended": "It is high time to publish works devoted to the Stalinistic doctrine on the science of languages. The Ukrainian intelligentsia lack a work on the evolution of social-philosophical thought in Ukraine. There are also needed works on that important date in the history of the Ukrainian people — the 300 years' jubilee of Ukraine's incorporation to Russia."

From these quotations it is quite clear about what the bolshevist directed science of the Ukraine shall busy itself. In the very first place, the spirit of the Moscow-imbued "Criticism and Self-criticism", which is so alien to the Ukrainian way of living and thinking, will be implanted everywhere. Furthermore, the Ukrainian philosophers will have to supply scientific bases for the absurd theory that Ukraine's forcible incorporation into Russia is for the Ukrainians a positive, historical deed. Most striking, however, is the fact that the bolshevistic doctrinaires are already so far gone on the path of the old Russian imperialism that they speak no longer of the "federation" or the "union" of Ukraine with Russia, but merely of "incorporation". For that purpose is even philosophy stretched, that science which, above all others, furthers the aspirations of the human spirit towards truth.

(Y.Z.P.)

## A New Picture of Eastern Europe

*Lecture Tour of Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, A.B.N.-President in Canada*

The former Ukrainian Prime-Minister, the president of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, visited from April till July 1952 Canada on an extended lecture tour. He was accompanied by his wife, Mrs. Anna Stetsko. Although his visit was mainly of A.B.N. still he had always an occasion to speak about Ukrainian fight for liberation and independence as well.

Mr. Y. Stetsko got in the main cities and smaller towns of Canada into close personal touch with thousands of Canadians of Ukrainian origin. His lectures and conferences on the situation of Ukraine in the present world politics, his evaluation of the international situation and his estimates of the liberation prospects of Ukraine in the nearer or the remoter future drew much public attention. The lecture-rooms which sometimes included 2,500 hearers and more, were always filled to capacity.

President Stetsko's visit to Canada arose much interest not only among Canadian Ukrainians and the members of other A.B.N. nations but also among the general public of Canada, but first of all among the news men. Leading Canadian papers, as well as the emigré press published interviews, photographs and outlines of his life.

April 13, there was a great rally in Massey Hall, Toronto, Ont., with more than 2,500 attendants. Mr. Stetsko spoke about the stubborn, unbroken resistance in the struggle for the liberation being carried out on his Ukrainian home-land and by all other A.B.N. nations behind the Iron Curtain.

The Toronto rally was only the start. In intervals of 2-3 weeks Mr. Stetsko spoke to

the mass audiences in Ottawa, Fort Williams, Winnipeg, Montreal, Edmonton, Vancouver, Saskatoon, Regina and some dozen other Canadian places.

Reporting on the lecture tour of Mr. Stetsko the "A.B.N.-Correspondence", No. 5-1952, stresses the political importance of his Canadian tour as follows:

"There is every reason to assume that the journey of the President of the A.B.N. in Canada will leave a lasting impression both on the emigrés from the countries behind the Iron Curtain and the whole of Canada. While it means a powerful impulse for the people of our subjugated countries to fight on, giving them confidence in the overthrow of Moscow's tyranny, this campaign of enlightenment reveals a new aspect to the outside world for the study and solution of the present world crisis. Thus A.B.N. ideas go their slow but sure way to victory."

The essence of the presentations of Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko can be summed up on following lines:

The combination of the two elements, historical Russian imperialism and its present tool, international communism, forms the foundation of the present Soviet-Russian political theory and practice, aimed at the domination of a whole and undivided world.

It is a dangerous illusion to believe that any reconciliation between Moscow and the free world is possible. Any assumption that a peaceful co-existence of the two power blocs within this world is possible is a misrepresentation of the firm facts of the present political life and future development. Considering the continuous Russian



aggressiveness and the idea of a peaceful co-existence, based on any spheres of influence or the balance of power, is a dangerous illusion which might result only in a full defeat and surrender of the peace-loving partner.

Bolshevism with all its theory and practice lived and still lives to-day psychologically in an atmosphere of war. This atmosphere strikes out any possibility of agreement and co-existence. All peaceful declarations and propositions made by Moscow are in reality propaganda moves to cover its preparations for decisive action and to demoralize the democratic world in order to facilitate the way to achieve their purpose.

Since a true reconciliation between Moscow and the free world is impossible, the only way left to the free world to secure peace and normal conditions is to remove and destroy the only source of to-day's crisis, Russian imperialism and its tools.

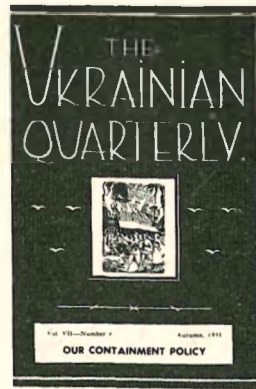
To secure victory two things are necessary. The first one is the maintenance of the physical and moral strength of the free world, and the second is to win the sympathy and understanding of oppressed nations behind the Iron Curtain by supporting their national movement for freedom, their political underground organizations and insurgent armies and fighting groups within the U.S.S.R. and their satellite countries, and by recognizing all fighting groups and still underground armies behind the Iron Curtain as regular fighting forces in accordance with the provisions of The Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907.

It is necessary to combat not only communism but also Russian imperialism which is the actual moving force behind the screen of communism, social justice etc. The Russian empire always was and still is a prison of nations which must be disbanded for the sake of world peace. The necessity of the partition of the Soviet empire into independent national states on ethnic principles must be recognized. Russia must be forced back to its ethnic boundaries. This would deprive Russia of huge natural resources and manpower which would make her unable for future aggressions against the democratic countries. This is the best and the only warrant of the preservation of everlasting peace in the future.

It is necessary to create an atmosphere in which the soldiers of the Soviet Army will prefer to fight on the side of freedom. The majority of them are mobilized from the non-Russian people who are strongly anti-Russian and would utilize the possibility to turn their arms against their Russian oppressors which already happened once during the last war.

Upon this general background Mr. Stejko always presented the special case of Ukraine. This vast and beautiful country, exceptionally rich in natural resources, is the main cornerstone of the Russian-bolshevik empire; once disconnected from Russia it would bring the whole despotic structure of U.S.S.R. to a crash. And just this is the main precondition for the lasting world peace and freedom.

This is an up-hill fight what the Ukrainian nation is doing. The Western world is so accustomed to the existence of the large Russian empire that it cannot conceive the idea and to imagine the picture of a thoroughly different political structure of Eastern Europe: a world of free, independent national states, bound together in friendship and mutual assistance into an organic system of mutual interdependence, but still free from Russian lordship and domination.



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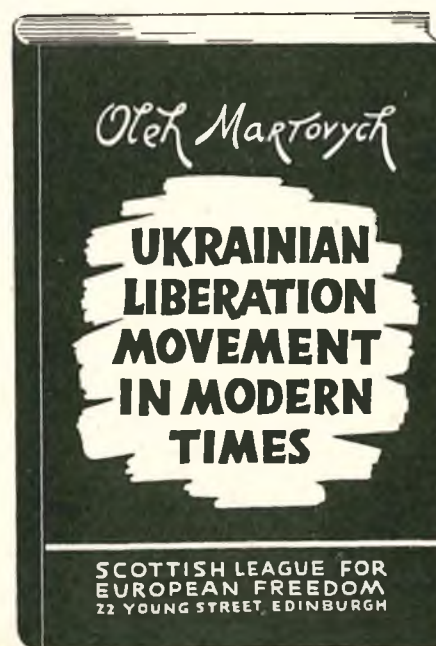
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## Only Defence, And No Attack

*Wherein Both American Party Conventions Have Been Disappointing*

*By Zenon Pelensky*

The proceedings of the electoral Conventions of both leading American parties in Chicago in July, 1952, were followed very attentively in Europe. Yet no one in Europe pursued the fight for the presidential candidatures and the political programmes with greater eagerness than the political refugees from the other side of the Iron Curtain. One problem in particular interested them greatly: the attitude of both parties and of both established presidential candidates to communism and Russian imperialism.

The anti-bolshevistic refugees are reasoning upon the assumption that, as a consequence of the Cold War, which has already lasted for seven years, the nature of bolshevism and Russian imperialism ought to have become overwhelmingly clear to the West. They therefore expected the decisive parties of the U.S.A., as the leading power of the world, to take up a definite position regarding what they intend to do, in practice, after the election, concerning this problem.

It is not possible to be silent on the point that the outcome of the two Conventions, i. e. both the accepted political programmes, as well as the elected presidential hopefuls, have in this very respect seriously disappointed the burning interest and acute expectations of the antibolshevistic exiles.

Certainly, in the course of both Conventions, bolshevism and Russian imperialism were heavily thundered against. Both parties even set up a kind of ideological competition who in the Puncto Programme could show themselves more strongly anti-communistic. That, at present is very popular in the U.S.A., — and catches votes. And votes are the most important thing.

Yet in practice both Conventions did not go further than the policy of a kind of continued "containment" of bolshevism and Russian imperialism. That is

quite clearly only a static policy; it lacks the necessary dynamism, let alone a hard, aggressive, attacking spirit. In this respect, the Republicans have shown, at least something resembling a trace of initiative. Accordingly to their foreign policy slate, they would see to it that at least the secret commitments made at Yalta will be repudiated. Whether, in the event of their accession to power, they would carry this out, is another question. The Democrats have not promised even that.

Yet another thing runs like a red thread through the political programmes of both parties and the foreign policy planks of both candidates. This is their common appeal for collective-security arrangements, the maintenance of the *present* peace through the United Nations, at best the completion of regional purely defensive organizations of strength, such as N.A.T.O., the Latin American defence treaty, the latest treaty arrangements in the Pacific, and the like. They still have only mutual arrangements and preparations for the purpose of *defending* the West against bolshevism, yet nothing clear and definite to the purpose of an onslaught and the liquidation of bolshevism as such.

After a study of both political programmes, one cannot get rid of the feeling that, if bolshevism and Russian imperialism one day declared themselves ready to conclude a sincere peace with the U.S.A. and the West, the West would grant the Russians all that they have conquered in World War II, and let the matter rest there. The peoples subjugated by Moscow do never lose their fear of the evil spirit of western appeasement.

For, in the course of the both Conventions in Chicago, there came to pass, in fact, nothing definite; nothing binding was said on the two platforms; the

Continued on Page 12



# Ukrainian Appeal to the 18. International Red Cross Conference

*Ukrainians demand an international investigation of Russo-bolshevist genocide practices and continued cruelties perpetrated by the Soviet regime against the population of the occupied Ukraine*

As is well known, end of July and the first half of August 1952, there took place in Toronto, Ont., Canada, the 18th International Red Cross Conference. Free Ukrainians in exile welcomed this occasion to direct the attention of the whole free world to the genocidal practices and continued cruelties perpetrated by the Soviet regime against subjugated Ukraine.

July 28th, 1952 a meeting of the "Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation" had been convoked in Toronto which dealt with present conditions of the bolshevist occupation of Ukraine. In consequence of its deliberations, the "League" decided to send a special "Memorandum" to the I.R.C.-Confer-

ence, full text of which we reprint simultaneously.

A day before, there also took place in Toronto and anti-communist mass rally organized by the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), in close cooperation with the "Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation". At this mass meeting Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of A.B.N., delivered an ardently applauded speech in which he castigated severely the antihumanitarian practices of the Soviet regime, perpetrated not only against Ukrainians, but equally against all other member-nations of A.B.N. As the result of this meeting, Mr. Y. Stetzko, too, sent in the name of the Central

## Memorandum

*from the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation to the Presidium of the International Red Cross Conference in Toronto*

The International Red Cross Organization is meeting in Toronto for its 18th Convention to promote the application of humanitarian ideals throughout the whole world. We, Central Committee of the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation in Canada, whose headquarters is in Toronto, feel it is our duty to draw the attention of the lionourable delegates to a problem of great importance from the point of view on which the principles of the International Red Cross are founded.

While this conference is in session there are many nations and millions of people who are deprived of the fundamental right of human beings which is freedom. Hundreds of thousands of thousands of innocent people are dying in prisons and concentration camps, many more are deported, uprooted and terrorized. This is happening today in the U.S.S.R., the country of a complete lack of understanding of human rights and dignity. This occurs now when the country is at peace.

The U.S.S.R. has deliberately set up a barrier around its domain to discourage any welfare organization and especially the I.R.C. to bring physical and spiritual relief to the victims of the most ruthless power in the present world.

On behalf of the Ukrainian nation, who was the first in Europe to be victimized by the U.S.S.R., we wish to express our disapproval of Moscow's methods and deeds as well as to deny any responsibility of our nation for the misery which is only the logical consequence of brutal ideas and imperi-

alistic greed. The Ukrainian nation was represented at I.R.C. during the short period of its freedom 1917—1920 and took an active part in Red Cross work, right up until it was occupied by Russians. Although this occupation interrupted our active participation in the affairs of I.R.C., it did not alter the attitude of our nation towards this worthy organization. We feel that the formal rights of the persons authorized to represent us at I.R.C. in the period of our national freedom (1917—1920) should be recognized today. The rights of the delegates to this conference representing the Ukrainian S.S.R. are derived not from a mandate of the Ukrainian nation, but rather from an order of the Russian aggressor.

The Ukrainian nation is continuing its fight for freedom. Since the Second World War this fight has taken on the character of an armed conflict. In spite of all limitations and difficulties of an occupied nation, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) carries on a difficult task of combatting the aggressor. This army is organized on the same principles as the regular army of any nation. Its members are recognizable by the uniforms and insignias. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army is controlled by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council which functions as an underground government of the Ukrainian nation.

We would like the honourable members of this Conference to consider the above mentioned facts and to:

1) recognize the rights of the Ukrainian delegates to I.R.C. in the period of

Continued on Page 3

Committee of the A.B.N. a "Memorandum", with annexed "Resolutions", to the Presidium of the I.R.C.-Conference in Toronto.

In his speech Mr. Y. Stetzko especially underlined the following:

"The International Red Cross is an institution which has always symbolized the noblest moral qualities of mankind. It has been a streak of light and brightness in the inferno of war and destruction. It has preserved everything that is benevolent, humane, charitable, Christian. For this reason there should be no room in the ranks of the I.R.C. for Russia and her satellites, to whom the very essence of the ideas of this organization is alien and adverse. Bolshevism is a system based on hatred and misanthropy and therefore the membership in that institution should be denied to the communists.

Let us remember the crimes of Bolshevism since the moment when it took the sway over the peoples of the East: how many millions were slain in internecine wars, how many were exterminated on purpose by the means of organized mass starvation, how the human and national dignity has been violated, how the individuals and peoples have been exploited. We accuse herewith the Bolshevik Russia of making use of germ warfare as early as 1918, when she brought about methodically and systematically an epidemic of typhus among our armies of liberation. Today, when Russia accuses unfairly and mendaciously the Americans of applying germ warfare against communist armies in Korea, we charge her with innumerable crimes committed in the course of recent years as well as with barbarous methods of warfare. The notorious "Quadrangle of Death" during the War of Liberation of Ukraine in 1919, where thousands of fighters for freedom were exterminated by typhus, was created by the Bolsheviks. We accuse the barbarians in the Kremlin of bringing the germ warfare into use for the first time in history. These methods are being used in the struggle against the insurgents. We are in possession of documentary evidence and can produce witnesses who will testify that 1944—1948 the Bolsheviks have been using chemical and germ warfare in their exterminatory action against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the insurgents of the Caucasus, Byelorussia, Slovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, Turkistan, Cossackia, Idel-Ural, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Croatia and others. Typhus, dysentery, even venereal diseases are being spread in areas where the insurgent troops are operating. In the drug stores of these areas medicines infected with poison are distributed, deadly germs are accumulated in injections; sometimes water wells used by the insurgents or by the population supporting them are poisoned."

# UKRAINIAN OBSERVER

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# A Friendly American Voice

*The "Address" of Mr. Oscar L. Chapman, Secretary of the Interior, U.S.A., at the V. Convention of the "Ukrainian Congress Committee of America", 6. July, 1952, in New York*

**EDITORS NOTICE:** *There is not much in the everyday practice of the U.S.A. policy of to-day which is very cheering and promising for Ukrainians and their cause of liberation. It is an uphill fight against overwhelming odds that the Ukrainians have to carry on. Although there are some prominent Americans who understand thoroughly the importance of the Ukraine's fight for liberation and separation from Russia to the universal peace and the world balance of powers, such men unfortunately are still only exceptions. The general rule is the preponderance of the unitarian, russophile tendencies in American public opinion, as expressed for instance in the present policy of, say, the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia". We are really sorry to be under the compelling obligation to dedicate so much of the space of this journal to the repudiation of these tendencies. We are all the more glad if there is an occasion of registering a friendly word, or a positive declaration from the U.S.A., concerning the Ukrainian cause of liberation. This is why we reprint, with much gratitude and satisfaction, the pro-Ukrainian address by the Hon. Oscar L. Chapman, U.S. Secretary of the Interior, delivered at the Fifth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian descent, July 5th, 1952, at the Hotel Statler, New York City.*

It is a real pleasure for me to join with you in this Fifth Triennial Meeting of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

I am especially happy that you have chosen the American Independence Day holiday for the opening of your convention. The great message of Independence Day is a message of hope for oppressed peoples everywhere — a reminder that the yoke of tyranny does not endure forever.

Two very different traditions meet, in this convention.

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our independence (1917—1920) to be seated at this Conference on behalf of the Ukrainian nation.

2) recognize the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) as a regular army with all the rights which are awarded to an army under the Hague Convention 1899, paragraphs 1 and 2.

3) investigate the fate and the whereabouts of the soldiers of U.P.A. who were taken prisoners by the forces of U.S.S.R.

5) investigate the waging of bacteriological and chemical warfare against the U.P.A. and the civil population of Ukraine by the Russians.

6) investigate the mass murders of the prisoners before and during the Second World War (Vinnitza, Kyiv, Kharkiv, etc.), slave labour and mass murder of the civil population suspected to be anti-communist.

We believe that this I.R.C. Conference in the name of the ideals on which I.R.C. is founded will take the above items into consideration not only for the benefit of the oppressed, but also for the benefit of all mankind.

Toronto, July 25th, 1952.

*Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation*

(signed) Dr. R. Malashchuk, President  
(signed) Dr. M. Huta, Secretary



*Mr. Oscar L. Chapman  
Secretary of the Interior, U.S.A.*

There is the tradition of the American Nation — a tradition born of the struggles and the dreams of many different folk who came together in an enduring unity because they shared this great desire for human freedom.

The Ukrainian tradition is completely in harmony with the American tradition.

## The Kingdom of Kyiv

A thousand years ago, before the existence of the North American Continent was known, the Great Kingdom of Kyiv was the political and cultural creation of the Ukrainian people, the easternmost bastion of Western culture.

But to the east were the marauding Tartar tribes, later the domination of the Polish invaders.

Still later, the rising princes of Muscovy came to assert their mastery. The independence of Kyiv vanished, and there began a long period of foreign rule, which unhappily exists to this day.

But at the very heart of the Ukrainian tradition lies the significant fact that although political independence was destroyed, the great desire for independence did not die.

It was lived on, through hundreds of years of oppression and with it there has flourished the consciousness that the Ukrainian nation does exist in fact even though its individuality may be temporarily submerged by the cruel rule of foreign overlords.

It is at that point that the Ukrainian and American traditions come close together, and this celebration of the anniversary of American Independence is a good time to emphasize the fact.

For it means that the cause of freedom does not stand alone. Freedom is indivisible — as long as a free society exists anywhere on Earth — free men everywhere may take hope. For tide in human affairs flows in the direction of greater freedom for all, in spite of the long shadows cast by despots and oppressors. And when we in America see a people with a great tradition of freedom — we instinctively offer our friendship to that people.

Let us examine further the American and Ukrainian traditions of liberty. Before the declaration of independence, we found ourselves ground between two hostile imperialisms — the British and the French. Both imperialisms wanted the rich new land of America. Neither cared particularly for the well-being of the folk who lived in that land. The American people were caught in the clash of imperialism.

## Colonial America Caught Between Two Imperialisms

This American land was fought over, not once but several times, and the rival imperialists supposed that all that mattered was the clash of their own armies. That some day the plain people who lived here might assert their right to an existence of their own hardly occurred to anyone.

Finally, when the rival empires had fought their last fight, here was a New Nation, owned by neither, controlled by its own people, establishing a new political demonstration which has not yet told its full story.

There is a recent chapter in Ukrainian history which is very like this chapter in American history. It has a different ending — or to be more exact, it has not yet its ending. But to a point the parallel is very striking.

## Ukraine in 1941

In 1941 the people of the Ukraine lived between two rival imperialism, the Russians and the Germans. Both coveted the rich land. After a shaky and uneasy alliance, the dictators went to war, and the Germans marched into Ukraine.

Hitler's legion marched across Ukraine rapidly, largely because the Ukrainian people themselves at first looked upon them as liberators.





Now that is a fact of deep meaning. It emphasizes the point which is too often overlooked in this country — that the Ukrainians are not in fact Russians at all. There are more than 42 million of them in Ukrainian Soviet Republic, and approximately 91 percent of them are non-Russian. Furthermore, they had been held in bondage by the Russians for many years, and the bondage had become progressively worse with the years. This bondage had become particularly oppressive during the years just before the German invasion.

The Kremlin's program to communize Ukraine was nothing less than an attempt to destroy the Ukrainian culture, whose roots go back to the day before there was a Russia. Mass killings, deportations, and a collectivization program which caused one of the worst famines in history, were a part of this program of the Kremlin.

So when the German armies came in, the Ukrainian naturally felt that the day of liberation had come. The Germans proved to be oppressors just as cruel and heartless as those of the Kremlin. They quickly made it clear that extermination and slavery — not liberty was their objective for Ukraine.

And thus, in the end, the people of Ukraine rose against the invaders and helped to throw them out.

As a result, Stalin was able to make the rest of the world believe that a great "People's Front" had taken shape in Russia. Actually, of course, nothing of the kind had happened. An oppressed people had risen to fight for its own liberty. It had helped to destroy one oppressor, but when the war ended it found its original oppressor more firmly in control than ever.

Now that is a sad and disheartening story. But the struggle for human freedom is a struggle that never ends, and no defeat is permanent. In this year 1952, when the cause of human freedom is uppermost in all of our minds, this great fact of the existence of a Ukrainian nation firmly dedicated to the cause of freedom is a fact to which we need to give a good deal of attention.

As we face the international communist conspiracy against freedom, we sometimes make the mistake of believing that it rests upon a solid, unified, single minded people known as the Russian nation. This case of Ukraine indicates how faulty that thinking is.

#### Ukrainians Are No Enemies of Free Men

It is not the people who live within the borders of the Russian state who stand against freedom. The inhabitants of the Ukrainian Republic are no enemies of free men.

On the contrary, they ardently desire freedom. But the yoke of communism rests upon them as heavily as it rests upon many other unfortunate and helpless nations of this earth.

It must be remembered that no imperialism can endure for long where there are free societies who are determined to remain free. It is high time we realize that our cause commands the allegiance of the immense majority of mankind. We are not out-numbered. Time and numbers and the deepest tide in human affairs are all on our side.

The American revolution of 1776 had effects which went round the whole world, because the ideals which inspired that revolution are embedded in the hearts and minds of men everywhere.

The revolution which took place in Tsarist Russia in 1917 resulted from the same ideals.

Unhappily, before that revolution had progressed very far, designing and ambitious men took advantage of the confused situation to seize power for their own ends. Since then they have been trying to impose on the World a philosophy of life which does not recognize human freedom or human dignity. We have been compelled to see that our own freedom is not safe as long as that philosophy is being imposed by the sword.

#### Acheson's Analysis of Reed Peril and its Challenge to Us

A year ago Secretary of State Dean Acheson discussed this peril before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. His words are worth quoting today. Secretary Acheson said:

"Three other aspects of Soviet policy need to be mentioned. First, Russian policy makers, Tsarist or communist, have always taken a very long view. They think in generations where others may think in terms of a few years or a decade at most. Second, they are land-minded and have a deep and abiding confidence in the vastness of Russia as a factor in their security. Third, the ruling power of Moscow has long been an imperial power and now rules a greatly extended empire. It cannot escape the difficulties that history teaches us befall all empires.

"This is the challenge our foreign policy is required to meet.

"It is clear that this process of encroachment and consolidation by which Russia has grown in the last 500 years from the Duchy of Moscow to a vast Empire has got to be stopped. This means that we have to hold, if possible, against its drives wherever they may be made. To hold means to hold against armed attack; it equally means to hold against internal attack — which is the new weapon added to the Russian arsenal by the Communists.

"This also means that we have to develop collective strength and the political relationship which support collective strength so as to tether Soviet drives against nations, which, if they were standing alone, might fall easy prey."

I am sure that this particular audience can well understand those words of Secretary Acheson, because the Ukrainian Nation is pre-eminently one of those which have fallen prey to the 500-year process of Russian encroachment and consolidation.

We have had our lesson in this matter, and one lesson ought to be enough.

In 1918 the First World War ended. A mighty assault on the World's freedom had been repelled. One of the greatest of our American presidents then took the lead in an effort to create an International Organization by which the free nations could keep the peace and protect their hard-bought liberties. With this effort, Woodrow Wilson also raised the noble slogan of the right of self-determination of all nations.

#### Tragedy of America Lies in our Heedless Rejection of Wilson's Self-Determination Principle

If the tragedy of Ukraine lay in the vicious blindness of the German invaders in the 1940's, the tragedy of America assuredly lay in our heedless rejection of Woodrow Wilson's dream in 1919 and 1920.

To be sure, we gave lip-service to his ideals. We agreed wholeheartedly when Wilson declared:

"We believe these fundamental things: First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live; second, that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon."

Wilson warned us, in unforgettable words. In words that are just as valid today as they were in 1919, he declared: "If you are going to play a lone hand, the hand that you play must be upon the handle of the sword." Then, more specifically — and with most unerring exactness — Wilson said:

"I can predict with absolute certainty that within another generation there will be another World War if the nations of the World do not concert the method by which to prevent it."

Well, we ignored Woodrow Wilson's warning. We tried to play a lone hand, and to our terrible cost we did in truth find that that lone hand presently was grasping a sword. We entered the Second World War which he predicted; entered it, fought it at fearful cost, and helped to win it. Now we are living amid the wreckage and confusion left by that war, and the question now is whether we are going to be wiser than we were a generation ago.

Once again peace and freedom are threatened by a ruthless imperialism. You whose roots go back into the history of Ukrainian Nation do not need to be told anything about the cruel, destructive nature of the imperialism which we face today. Its threat is total. It stands for the obliteration of everything that free people hold sacred.

What are we going to do about it?

#### Must Recognize These Facts

I think that we are going to begin by recognizing the facts;

by realizing that peace and freedom go together and are all in one piece; by understanding that they must be defended wherever they are threatened, and at whatever cost; and by seeing clearly that the strength of free men is immeasurably greater than the strength of the forces which threaten freedom, if the free men will only band together to perfect and use their strength.

That means that we will continue in the path on which we have already started. The work of the United Nations is Woodrow Wilson's noble plan brought by the vision of President Harry S. Truman offers the means by which we can help to strengthen the foundations upon which free societies base their existence.

This is the anniversary of our Independence as a Nation. Because that independence is so precious to us, we are going to make common cause with free men everywhere, so that the independence of nations may continue to exist, and so that we may have a World Society in which it is not necessary for free men to fight a World War once in every generation to beat down the threat of brute force.

Woodrow Wilson said it for us, when he was arguing for this same cause 32 years ago. He said:

"We have got to be either ostriches or eagles. The ostrich act I see being done all around me. I see gentlemen burying



# The Eastern Orthodox Churches

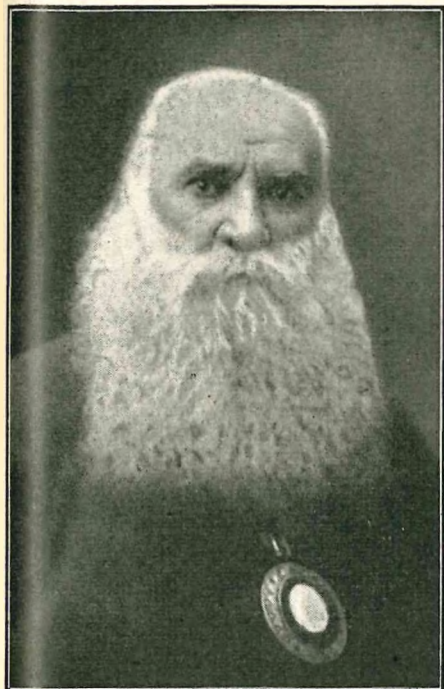
## *During And After World War II / A Concise Review*

(Continued from No. 5 of „Ukrainian Observer“)

### II

#### The Ecclesiastical Liberty of Ukraine

Until the occupation of the free Ukrainian state by Russia in 1654, the Orthodox Church in Ukraine was entirely independent.



Metropolitan Vassyl Lypkivsky,  
Head of Ukrainian Autocephalic  
Orthodox Church (1919-1950)

ent of the Orthodox Patriarch in Moscow. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church had, on the contrary, close connections with the Orthodox Patriarch in Constantinople. The

their heads in something and thinking that nobody sees that they have submerged their thinking apparatus. That is what I mean by being ostriches.

“What I mean by being eagles I need not describe to you. I mean leaving the mists that lie close along the ground, getting upon strong wing into those upper spaces of the air where you can see with clear eyes the affairs of mankind. See how the affairs of America are linked with the affairs of men everywhere, see how this whole world turns with outstretched hands to this blessed country of ours and says, ‘If you will lead, we will follow.’”

“God helping us, we will lead when they follow. The march is still long and toilsome to those heights upon which there rests nothing but the pure light of the justice of God, but the whole incline of affairs is toward those distant heights, and this great nation, in serried ranks... will march at the fore of the great procession breasting those heights with eyes always lifted to the eternal goal!”

All of us here tonight are Americans and we are striving for this goal!

Ukrainians wanted to see, in the Orthodox Patriarch in Constantinople, something similar to what the Roman Catholics see in the Pope — the spiritual overlord of the whole Orthodox Church in the world. Yet, in the internal ecclesiastical authority of their own land, the Ukrainian members of the Orthodox Church were quite independent. It came about, also, in time, of its own accord, that Orthodox Ukrainian Metropolitan in Kyiv enjoyed a certain precedence and a special authority. In other words: until 1654, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was *autocephalic*, i. e. autonomous and independent, ruled itself, and had no alien overlord.

#### Subjection to the Russian Rule

After the Russians occupied Ukraine in 1654, one of the first steps that they took was to destroy the autocephaly of the Orthodox Ukrainian Church and to subject it to the rule of the Patriarch of Moscow. The Russians, then as today, regarded the



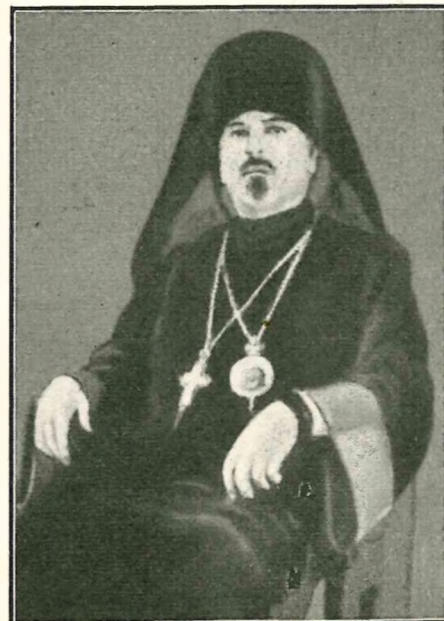
Metropolitan Ivan Teodorovych  
at present in U.S.A.

Orthodox Church as one of the most effective instruments for the purpose of the spiritual and linguistic Russianising of the country. According to the ancient democratic principles of Orthodoxy, the Ukrainian Orthodox believers had, before the reign of Moscow, elected their own bishops. Now the Patriarch of Moscow assumed the right of dismissing and appointing bishops in Ukraine. Naturally the bishops in Ukraine from then on had to be, either Russians themselves, or else entirely pro-Russian Ukrainians. The same thing was also practised farther down the scale: the bishops, on their part, appointed only Russians or pro-Russian Ukrainians as priests. In the half-century after 1654, the entire Eastern Ukraine was covered with

a finely-meshed net of Russian-orthodox ecclesiastical organizations, which then worked on for centuries to wipe the Ukrainians off the map as an independent race and country.

#### Ecclesiastical Liberation of Ukraine

Yet the never-extinguished national spirit of Ukraine turned out, in spite of all this, to be ever stronger. In 1917 there occurred in Ukraine a revolution that was not only national and social, but also ecclesiastical. The Ukraine burst and shook off the centuries-old chains, which had bound her ecclesiastically to the Patriarch of Moscow and Russian Orthodoxy. With unprecedented revolutionary power there awoke, everywhere in the land, the urge towards the revival of the traditional Orthodox autocephaly. In 1917, there met in Kyiv, the pan-Ukrainian Ecclesiastical Council which, according to ancient right and custom, was constituted of laymen as well as of priests. On January, 1st, 1919, the “Centralna Rada”, the revolutionary democratic parliament of the Ukraine, passed a law by which the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church (U.A.P.C.) was to be again permitted and reinstated in its ancient rights. In the face of bitter resistance from the Russian Orthodox Church members, the Autocephalic Ukrainian Church Council was, on October, 21st, 1921, convened in Kyiv. By chirotony (consecration by the laying-on of hands) according to the ancient Christian ordinance, which practice was once employed especially in the Patriarchy of Alexandria, the Ukrainian bishop, *Vassyl Lypkivsky*, was appointed as Ukrainian Autocephalic, Orthodox Metropolitan of Kyiv. At the same time, twenty seven other Ukrainian clergy were consecrated as bishops. In the year 1927, the U.A.P.C. already had 10,657 clergy in



Archbishop Mstyslav Skrypnyk  
at present in Canada



Ukraine. Consequently, there were at this time two Orthodox Churches in Ukraine: the Ukrainian U.A.P.C. and the old Russian-Orthodox, which continued to recognize the authority of the Patriarch of Moscow. The two churches opposed each other bitterly, whereby the bolshevist government of that time poured its red atheistic oil into the fire with all its cunning, in the belief that, as a consequence of his internal struggle, both churches would be irredeemably compromised in the eyes of the populace.

### The Kremlin Destroys the U.A.P.C.

Nevertheless, both the bolshevist government and the Russian Orthodox Church were waging a hopeless campaign in Ukraine; they could not halt the advance of the awakened Ukrainian national feeling. As a consequence, the U.A.P.C. won more and more ground. Now the communists hit upon another trick to set Christianity against itself and therewith to disrupt ecclesiastical life in Ukraine. In 1928 there arose in Moscow the so-called "Living Orthodox Church", which, one could see from the beginning, had been concocted in the heads and on the desks of the N.K.V.D. officials. This "Church" declared its unconditional recognition of, and devotion to, the bolshevistic regime. The "Living Church" was used as a special instrument to break up the Russian Orthodox, the so-called Patriarchal Church. In order to fight the U.P.A.C. the bolshevist state-police thought of something different and created the "Ukrainian Active Church". When this instrument of the N.K.V.D. was found unable to shake, in the smallest degree, the popularity of the U.A.P.C. and the devotion to it of the masses, the "Ukrainian Active Church" disappeared from the scene after barely a year. Instead, the bolsheviks began, at the beginning of 1929, a direct attack against the ever-stronger U.A.P.C. The pregnant command from Moscow was brief: *destroy!* This was acted upon. In the year 1929 alone, more than 8,000 Ukrainian autocephalic Orthodox clergy were either arrested and severely sentenced, or simply banished, by administrative means, to Siberia. In 1930, there was not one single Ukrainian autocephalic bishop remaining in Ukraine.

### Russian Orthodox Church Again an Instrument of Russianisation

In the period between 1930 and 1939, Moscow continued its anti-ecclesiastical and anti-Christian policy. Yet, in process of time, the attitude of Stalin and the Kremlin towards Russian Orthodoxy was mitigated, because the communism in U.S.S.R. was more and more penetrated, and partly supplanted by the spirit of Russian jingoism. The Russian Orthodoxy was again begun to be regarded as an element of Russian nationalism and an instrument for the Russianisation of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. As we have already mentioned in the first article of this series, there was, in 1939, a Russian-Orthodox Patriarch, two metropolitans and several bishops in Moscow once more. Their sphere of activity and their authority become greater and greater and more comprehensive. One thing, however, was certain: neither the Kremlin nor the newly-arisen Russian-Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy had the slightest intention of giving any rope to the national Ukrainian U.A.P.C. In the eyes of the Kremlin, the progressive strengthen-

ing and expansion of Russian Orthodoxy was *not* nationalism; on the other hand, the Ukrainian Orthodox autocephaly was damnable nationalism and as such had to be suppressed and, if possible, completely annihilated.

### The U.A.P.C. Recovers During the German Occupation

This background must be taken into consideration, if one is to understand what happened in ecclesiastical circles in Ukraine in 1941, when the German-Russian war broke out. Not only the political leaders of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R., but also its oppressed religious confessions were under the illusion that, with the entry of the Germans, as a western people, there would be some chance of a freer and better life. The eastern peoples did not yet know the real meaning of Nazism and the German pride of race. In the first months after the German invasion, it was revealed how, despite centuries of oppression, the Ukrainian Orthodox autocephaly was still a living force among the Ukrainian people. As we set forth in the first article on this subject, there were, in the districts of Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia occupied by the Russians in 1939, only two bishops who refused to recognize the rule of the Patriarch of Moscow over themselves. They were: 1. the Byelorussian archbishop of Pinsk and Polissya, *Alexander* (Inozemtsov), 2. the Ukrainian Orthodox autocephalic suffragan of Lutsk (West Ukraine) — *Polykarp* (Sikorsky).

### New Ukrainian Church Organization

These two strong-minded priests were, during the German occupation of Byelorussia and Ukraine, at the centre of the revival of the national, autocephalic Orthodox Churches in both countries. The ecclesiastical autocephalic revival proceeded with truly elemental power. In the beginning, the Germans paid only little attention to these proceedings; at first they had other troubles. So it came to pass that, more or less in the shadow of the global events of War, the U.A.P.C. had, in the course of about a year, covered Ukraine, as far as it was free from the bolsheviks, with its church organizations. In 1942, bishop Polykarp was raised to the office of Metropolitan of the U.A.P.C. By and by, the consecration (chirotony) took place of new Ukrainian Orthodox autocephalic bishops, with the bishops seats in various places in Eastern Ukraine. Thus were consecrated:

- Bishop *Mstyslav* (Skrypnyk)
- " *Mykhail* (Khoroshy)
- " *Nikanor* (Abromovych)
- " *Vyacheslav* (Lissytsky)
- " *Hryhoryj* (Ohijchuk)
- " *Photij* (Tymoshchuk)
- " *Ihor* (Huba)
- " *Platon*
- " *Volodymyr* (Malets)
- " *Sylvester* (Hayevsky)
- " *Serhij*

In addition came two more bishops of the U.A.P.C., who were consecrated somewhat earlier (in the so-called German "General Government", which was established of the territorial parts of Galicia and Volhynia). There were:

- Bishop *Ilarion* (Ohienko)
- Bishop *Paladij* (Vedyhida-Rudenko)

Bishop *Ilarion*, who, before his consecration, was a very renowned Ukrainian

linguistic and literary scholar, was later awarded the title of Metropolitan, yet without see.

### The Russian Work of Interference

Naturally the Russians, at the time of the German occupation of Ukraine, were not content with this spontaneous growth of the U.A.P.C. They continued to try, by influencing the Germans by all possible means, and also by means of the most harsh provocations, to hinder the development of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalic Church. Soon they found a very willing tool for this purpose.

As we have already mentioned in the previous article on this subject, after the Russian occupation of West-Ukraine (Galicia and Volhynia) in 1939, some, until now, Orthodox autocephalic bishops yielded to the pressure of Moscow and acknowledged the authority of the Patriarch of Moscow. Bishop *Oleksij* (Hromadsky) was one of them. For that, the Patriarch of Moscow elevated him to the position of Metropolitan. After he Germans had occupied Ukraine, Oleksij remained by his profession of submission to the Patriarch of Moscow.

Now there happened the following: the Intelligence Office of the Ministry for State Security of the U.S.S.R., had set up in Moscow a special "Department for Temporarily Occupied Ukraine". This Intelligence Office, that was responsible for all anti-German activities in occupied Ukraine, commissioned a M.G.B. agent, a certain *Chakhaidze*, to organize a diversion against the growing U.A.P.C. *Chakhaidze* through his agents, got into touch with the metropolitan Oleksij. Soon afterwards, Metropolitan Oleksij began to create an organization, which was obviously intended to interfere with the U.A.P.C. This was the so-called "Ukrainian Autonomous Orthodox Church".

The Metropolitan Oleksij, had joined in with another pro-Russian bishop, Panteleymon (Rudyk). The last was a man who, throughout Ukraine, had very soon earned for himself the unflattering name of a "quiesling-bishop". This "Autonomous Orthodox Church" however, made little progress. As, in time, the Germans recognized the strong Ukrainian national tone of the U.A.P.C., many influential Gestapo officers supported the "Autonomous Church" although knowing it to be a creation of the M.G.B., and sought to use it in the fight against Ukrainian nationalism. So it came about that the "priests" of the "Autonomous Church" worked, at the same time, for both — the M.G.B. and the Gestapo, against the Ukrainians. Redoubled police protection, however, did not help these dubious figures at all; in the course of national defence measures the majority of the organizers of this diversion were tried by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, (U.P.A.); among others was caught and executed the chief commander of the diversion, M.G.B. agent — *Chakhaidze*.

### The Fight Goes On

After 1945, as Moscow regained control over Ukraine, the U.A.P.C. again went deep underground. Today, in Ukraine, the Russian Orthodox Church, under the Patriarch of Moscow, hold, outwardly, undisputed sway. The metropolitans and bishops who are under his jurisdiction in Ukraine, will have, in the meantime, again covered the whole land with the thick net of Russian-



# How Long Will This Abuse Continue?

*Repeated Discrimination Against Ukrainians and other Non-Russians Peoples of U.S.S.R.  
at an American-Sponsored Congress in Germany*

## Two Sorts of Americans

Since the time when the Cold War was raging between bolshevism and the western world, it has been understood at last in the U.S.A., that the West can never hope to win the war with bolshevism and Russian imperialism, without the active help of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. From that there is only one logical conclusion to be drawn, that this active help of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. should be called upon, organised and promoted. That is, in fact, what is trying to be done.

Nevertheless, one has often to wonder at the Americans. It is really beyond comprehension how, in the field, say of technology, they are able to construct a quite novel and extremely efficient engine or, with a firm, determined energy, are able, in the shortest time, to organize an industrial undertaking on very generously designed scale. Whenever an American engineer sets out to construct a machine, he holds its purpose firmly before himself, makes most thoroughly checked calculations, sketches every detail with the greatest exactitude, tests the availability, strength and durability of the needed materials, the quantity and quality of the fuel which it to provide he motive power, etc. Nothing is left to chance. From these qualities the Americans have built up their land into an economical and technical world power.

In political matters, however, we do not recognize these same Americans. We shall not here dwell upon such brilliant acts of "political genius" as the America-managed thesis of the "unconditional surrender" of Germany, which as good as delivered Europe completely into the hands of Russia; upon such true political tragedies, affecting the entire world, like Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam; upon the belief of America in the "inward democracy" of the bolshevistic regime, which has led to the

Orthodox church organizations. Nevertheless, that does not prevent the Ukrainian Orthodox autocephaly from remaining the primary intellectual, spiritual, and driving force of the East-Ukraine and, at the next favourably opportunity, it will again break through to the surface with all its elemental power. *Every western political plan, which deals with the problem of combating bolshevism, must taken account of this fact.* The Ukrainian Orthodox autocephaly is a very important stone upon the giant playing-field of eastern political and spiritual forces. Strong organization of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalic Church are today existing and working intensively on this side of the Iron Curtain, in the free lands of the West, and, to a great extent, in the U.S.A. and Canada. But, even here they are having a very hard fight with the Russian-Orthodox influences and penetrations. For abroad, also, the Russian Orthodox Church, is working with all its might to preserve the undivided imperial rule of the Russian people.

(To be continued)

system of the policy of the now so ill-famed appeasement. In the realm of politics it is difficult for one to believe that he is here dealing with the same people who perform such brilliant deeds in the sphere of technology.

## Concerning the Peoples of the U. S. S. R.

Similar blunders are at the moment developing, to a very great extent, in the American treatment of the problem of the desired co-operation of the peoples of U.S.S.R. As one of the weightiest instruments of this policy, the now so dubiously famed "Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia", for example, was brought to birth by certain American "private circles". Yet this Committee, upon which we have so often bestowed so much attention, shall not this time be the main object of our consideration.

As another such instrument for the treatment and propagandistic influencing, at least in exile, of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., the West-German "Union of Victims of the Nazi Regime" (B.V.N.) has recently been deliberately selected. We unfortunately do not know with what U.S.A. officials the B.V.N. is connected, nor who bears the direct, primary responsibility for what happened recently in this field. In any case, a plan was formed some months ago of holding in Western Germany a large-scale "Congress of Free Nations" in Düsseldorf, Westphalia. The B.V.N. was to act as host, technical organizer, and leader of the Congress. There was much talk in German journalistic circles that 25,000 had been placed at the disposal of the B.V.N., for the purpose of creating a "worthy framework" for the Congress; about 10,000 was said to have been contributed by the American labor unions. However that may be, it admits of no doubt that this "Great Congress" enjoyed the favour and wholehearted support of the Americans. Naturally, we are not in a position to submit direct evidence that the Americans did, in fact, stand behind this Congress. There exists only indirect evidence: without American aid, such a Congress could never have taken place; no European nation, least of all the Germans, could afford such a Congress. It is scarcely possible that it was the American government. Whoever it may have been, however, the Americans cannot repudiate their large part of the responsibility.

## The Official Aims of the Congress

The Congress, which took place in Düsseldorf on the 17th—20th of July, set before itself — according to its official programme — of achieving these four aims:

1. "The Congress shall endeavour", in "the common fight against totalitarianism", to "unite prominent personalities", the élite, so to say, of Western Europe and America, "in a united front with the most active representatives of the peoples enslaved behind the Iron Curtain";

2. The Congress shall aim at showing that "a sharp and clear distinction should

be drawn between the clique of power possessing, unrestrained and fanatical party functionaries, and the majority of the people who are brutally enslaved by them";

3. The Congress shall instigate a political, antibolshevistic crusade, which "would force the Moscow Politbureau to the defensive, both ideologically and as regards propaganda". It shall institute immediate practical measures and "commission a planning-group for future action". Out of this would later arise a firm, international, strong anti-bolshevistic organisation.

4. The Congress shall lay down and resolve that, "in the moment of very great danger and menace, all disputes and quarrels, all resentments and all hostility between parties, peoples and philosophies must remain open, and all decisions on these problems must be shelved until such time as bolshevism is put down".

## The Russian „N. T. S.“ — The Main Spokesman

So far, these postulates sound quite reasonable and acceptable, until one has viewed the practical organization of this Congress more closely. Only then does the deep, political meaning of these postulates appear. After a close analysis, and in conjunction with certain facts, which will be discussed later more fully, these resolutions do not sound so convincing.

The most striking fact concerning this Congress was the circumstance that the leaders of the B.V.N., certainly not without the knowledge and wish of its higher sponsors, actually allowed itself to be led exclusively by the extremely jingoistic exiled-Russian "N.T.S." party (Natsionalno-Trudoy Sovyuz), both as regards the organization, and the composition of the orders of the day. The great speakers at the Congress were N.T.S.-Russians, such as Prof. C. W. Boldyreff, Washington; Gregory Klimow, Munich; Dr. Alexander Trushnovich, Berlin; Dr. Wladimir Poremsky, Frankfurt; Prof. Yakov Budanov, Munich; Dr. Leonid Rshvskij, Frankfurt/Main, and many others. The point in question is that this same exiled-Russian party, which has today not the slightest connection or communication with Russia, recently published its political programme, as follows:

"Russia does not need the comedy of parliamentary elections, it needs much more the choice of strong personalities. Foreigners are not considered to be part of the Russian nation, even when they have lived in Russia for many years. The same applies to the Jews. The Jews are conceded the right to leave Russia, provided they leave their property behind. The Government is not responsible to Parliament. The Prime-Minister is appointed by the Head of State, and is responsible only to Him."

## What the Congress, In Fact, Intendet To Do

The whole energies of this party are directed, purely and simply, upon one thing, and that is — after the fall of bolshevism to preserve the Russian Empire.





cost what it will, in its old form, and to win all power for this party. Only in the light of this furthestmost goal, commence the postulates of the Congress to be understandable. The Russians shall as a nation be absolved from every guilt and responsibility for bolshevism and Russian imperialism; for the thesis of their innocence, the Russians should receive, through the Congress, a formal acknowledgement from the West. The Congress was to create a "planning group for future action", out of which, in the course of further development, would arise an international, anti-bolshevistic, militant organisation. With this, the already existing organisations, which have been fighting bolshevism for a very long time, e. g. the A.B.N. (Anti-bolshevistic Bloc of Nations), will be automatically eliminated. Since the N.T.S.-party, as the pretended "leading, eastern political power", in this prospective international organisation, must appear as the spiritual initiator and driving power of the whole enterprise, it would, naturally, irrevocably decide, at least politically, the course of events *at* and *after* the fall of bolshevism. So that these gentlemen might have an easier game, "all quarrels, all resentments and every hostility between parties, peoples and philosophies should, first of all, be shelved", until the Russians by means of the N.T.S. — have again set themselves at their lever of power in Moscow, Kyiv, etc.; then, but only then, might the opponents "hold discussions" — as long and as much as they wished. It could not do any more harm to the centralized Russian rule and the renewed Russian mastery. They would be again in the saddle. The same seduction was once practised by the bolsheviks. They preached: "First, all power to the Soviets. Then the realisation of liberty." What was the result of this sequence, all the world can see.

### They Shone by Their Absence

There were invited about 180 prominent German personages and representative of other countries. Of these, literally 90% did not appear or directly refused to participate. Among these were.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; Ralph Bundie, New York; Dr. Kurt Schumacher, first president of the S.P.D.; D. K. Armstrong, Springfield, U.S.A.; Lord William Henry Beveridge, London; Prof. Hendrik Brugmans, Brügge, Belgium; General Lucius D. Clay, U.S.A.; Senator Pat Mc. Carran, U.S.A.; Dr. Hermann Ehlers, President of the Bundestag; William Green, labor union leader, U.S.A.; Graham Greene, novelist, London; Ortega Y. Gasset, author, Madrid; Victor Gollancz, publisher, London; Bishop Y. Gawlina, exiled Pole, Rome; Prof. Walter Hallstein, West-German Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Bonn; President Philip Murray, labor union leader, U.S.A., and others.

Of 21 guests who were invited and had been scheduled, in the prepared programme, as speakers, not fewer than 15 put off their lectures, as well as their participation in the Congress. Among them were such personages as: Bundespräsident Dr. Theodor Heuss; Paul Henry Spaak, Brussels; Mario Scelba, Rome; Prof. Carlo Schmidt, Bonn; André Philip, Paris; Karl Arnold, Düsseldorf; Jakob Kaiser, Bonn; Prof. Ernst Reuter, Berlin; Dr. Wilhelm Högnér, Munich; etc.

All that remained were 6 speakers, of whom, characteristically, 4 were Russians

from the N.T.S. — and 2 Germans. In perplexity, the organizers of the Congress searched for speakers who could jump into the breach, but for the most part — in vain. The hall of the Rhineland-Westphalian Parliament building, in which the Congress was held, presented a sorry spectacle; scarcely 70 participants and spectators "filled" the first rows of the round hall; and into such a thing, a good deal of money had been poured.

### The Evasion of the Problem of Nationality

We would not bestow one minute's notice upon this ludicrously miscarried Congress, if there were not visible in it certain tendencies, whose effects were, in the highest degree, alarming to Ukrainian public opinion; for, at the Congress, the agents and their sponsors wanted to discuss all possible problems, except one: the nationality-problem in the U.S.S.R. The intellectual leaders of Congress, as well as, certainly, their higher sponsors acted as if this problem did not exist at all, or was only such a tiny fraction of the entire picture that it need only be touched upon cursorily. The Congress was to call up the vision of the existence of only *one Russia*, and to prove the unity of the Russian problem to the world.

It is also no coincidence that, according to this aim, of the 18 peoples behind the Iron Curtain, only the Russians were invited in great numbers. The Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Cossackians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Croats, Byelorussians, Caucasians, Slovaks, etc. were either not invited at all, or declined the invitation as a protest against the one-sided and biased arrangement of the Congress, as well as the way in which the problems were approached. And this was intended to be a "Congress of Free Nations"!

### Legal representation of Ukraine

In the previous number of the "Ukrainian Observer", we reported on the formation of a common front of *all* Ukrainian parties in exile, from the extreme Right to the extreme Left, who have met in order to form a united front and to undertake all necessary common actions concerning the problems of external politics, with which the Ukrainians people are meeting. A comprehensive Declaration, signed by 12 Ukrainian political organizations, was simultaneously published in this journal. Of course, in the circles of the B.V.N., it did not even occur to them to apply to these truly representative spokesmen of the exiled Ukrainians. As a result of the biased course of the Congress, the entire, above-mentioned Ukrainian political groups, parties and resistance-movements have taken up a negative attitude towards it. A Ukrainian professor from New York, Mr. V. Kossarenko-Kossarevych, was certainly invited, but his appearance was without the voted consent of the legal representatives of Ukrainian policy. Yet he as well, though elected as vice-president of the Congress, resigned his office as a protest against the spirit of intolerance of the Congress towards the Ukrainian nation and the other non-Russian peoples.

### Another Sort of "Ukrainians"

As well as overlooking the legal representatives of Ukraine, the organizers of the Congress allowed Ukraine to be represented by two entirely pro-Russian quislings, two men named Gulay and Zolotarenko. In the description of the participants of the Congress, is was declared of Diomed

Gulay that he was a "retired general" and a "leader of the Ukrainian resistance-movement". Not one of hundreds of thousands of exiled Ukrainians knows anything of the general's rank of this man, and still less of which "resistance movement" he led, or of what it consisted. The same thing, exactly, is true of Volodymyr Zolotarenko, the "Secretary of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement". Apart from the coincidence that they were probably born in Ukraine and can speak Ukrainian, there is nothing Ukrainian about them, but the more purely Russian.

Who advised Dr. Peter Lütches, the president of the B.V.N., to invite these two "Ukrainians", for the purpose of allowing them to appear "for the Ukraine" in a representative capacity? As Dr. Lütches, the town councillor from Düsseldorf, is certainly not well versed in the nationality problems of Eastern Europe, it is certain that he followed the advice of the N.T.S.-people and of their higher sponsors. It was from the start quite evident that the invitation of these two will make very bad blood among many thousands of Ukrainians. It is also self-evident that the Düsseldorf Congress was held in connection with the American efforts concerning the organization of the peoples from behind the Iron Curtain. And, equally understandably, one must deduce that it must therefore have been some Americans, who were sponsoring and protecting these two and supporting their treacherous anti-Ukrainian activities. In the eyes of the mass of the Ukrainians, the invitation of these two to Düsseldorf is entirely on the same lines as those tendencies which, six months ago, brought three young Ukrainians before an American court, on account of a fight with Gulay, and sentenced them to 7 years severe imprisonment. This severe sentence caused a wave of horror among thousands of Ukrainians. Incomparably greater horror has been aroused when the Ukrainians saw themselves "represented" at an American-sponsored Congress in Düsseldorf by such types as Gulay and Zolotarenko. That the Congress ended with catastrophic failure does not alter the fact, that, at this Congress, tendencies were displayed which were directed against the liberty of Ukraine.

### Who Fishes Here in Troubled Waters?

Consequently, the question arises: whose fault is it that, through the representative turning-out of such figures as Gulay and Zolotarenko, literally hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians have been provoked against America and the Americans? Whose is the responsibility for alienating the Ukrainians from the Americans, for creating resentment, indeed, for sowing real hate against the Americans? He who instigated the B.V.N. to invite Gulay and Zolotarenko knew quite well that this step would arouse abhorrence, bitterness, and a new wave of the deepest resentment among the mass of the Ukrainians. Who was it? The Russian N.T.S. people? Not entirely. In all probability the matter lies much deeper. It is pure political madness that such a thing as this Congress, in such a form, with such "Ukrainian" names and with such a programme, should not only be permitted, but should even be promoted. And how long will such activities continue? No power in the world can convince us that the tone of this Congress was a pure coincidence, an oversight, a blunder of organization; behind it lay quite evidently a deeply calculated motive.



## New Leaders

# to the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia"

*Vice-Admiral Leslie C. Stevens is New Chairman of the New York Chief Office of the A.C.L.P.R.*

*Mr. Otis Peabody Swift Had Been named Deputy Chairman and A.C.L.P.R. Director for Europe*

The Public Relations Office of the A.C.L.P.R. was kind enough to send us the following press release, dated August 14th, 1952:

NEW YORK, August 14. — "Vice-Admiral Leslie C. Stevens, USN (Ret.), has been elected Chairman of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, Inc., it was announced today at the offices of the Committee in New York. He will succeed Admiral Alan G. Kirk, who has been appointed Director of the Psychological Strategy Board in Washington, D.C.

Admiral Stevens will take over his duties with the American Committee as soon as Admiral Kirk's recall to government service becomes effective, probably in late September. The Committee also announced that Otis Peabody Swift, former correspondent and relief agencies administrator, has been named Deputy Chairman and European representative.

Admiral Stevens, who was Naval Attache in Moscow from 1947—49, has long been a student of Soviet affairs as well as of Russian literature and language. He will continue the work undertaken by Admiral Kirk of unifying the emigration from Soviet territories in a political center and establishing a radio broadcasting station in Europe which will give refugees from Soviet tyrann

ny their first major opportunity to talk to their oppressed compatriots over the air waves. This station, known as "Radio Liberation", is scheduled to go into operation in the near future. During his chairmanship, Admiral Kirk succeeded in getting a number of Russian and non-Russian emigre organizations to create provisional preparatory political and radio commissions to sponsor the radio broadcasts."

### Our Comment:

It is, of course, too soon to comment in detail on this event. The news of the personal changes in the leadership of the A.C.L.P.R. has been received in European circles of exiles from behind the Iron Curtain with much interest — and a new wave of hope and expectation. Yet only the deeds and actions of the new men will be their final judges. On receiving this news, we can only repeat what we wrote on a similar occasion, when *Admiral Alan G. Kirk* took over the leadership of the A.C.L.P.R. in mid-February, 1952. We welcomed him sincerely. In the March issue of this paper, we wrote: "In theory, we have every reason to wish Admiral Kirk success and to give him all possible support. It is of little use to put obstacle's in his way at the start, above all, as we have no reason to doubt his sincerity. On the contrary, every attempt should be made to help him and to suppress all fears a suspicions. In practice, however, our support must depend on how he tackles his job".

We would like to apply to the full the same principles to the new men in the A.C.L.P.R. The Ukrainians are absolutely willing, a even eager, to help Americans decisively in their fight against bolshevism and Russian imperialism. But the Ukrainians insist upon the principle that the so-called "Russian problem" is a twofold problem, both social and national; that the liberation for which we are striving must be a twofold liberation, a social and a national one; there can be no freedom for the Soviet peoples without their complete national liberty, and especially without their right to separation from Russia. There

are two dozen nations in the U.S.S.R., who are not Russians, neither racially nor culturally nor linguistically, nor in any other respect, and who refuse to be labelled "Russian". To all of them the denomination of the "Committee" as an organization for the liberation of the "peoples of Russia" makes no sense, and is also deeply offensive. We have repeatedly suggested and requested that the name of the organization be changed to "Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Soviet Union", as the term "peoples of Russia" savours of clear political anticipation and predetermination. The changing of the name would open the door to the co-operation of many really representative non-Russian national committees, and would allow many able non-Russian people, — writers, politicians, journalists, artists, commentators, etc. to join forces.

Especially would we like to remind the new men in the A.C.L.P.R. that the overwhelming majority of exiled Ukrainians have refused, until now, to co-operate with the "American Committee", and that, without the co-operation of the Ukrainians, no serious success of the work of the A.C.L.P.R. is possible. All Ukrainians are fully aware of this fact, — and are determined to make full use of their organizational and moral power. Likewise, we would like to remind the new directing gentlemen in the A.C.L.P.R. that all Ukrainian political groups and parties, enjoying the support of at least 95% of the Ukrainian exiled population, are firmly united in a common determination to repel the renewal and reconstruction of a new Russian empire, all forms of Russian imperialism, be it red, pink, green, black or white. Whoever, in our times, plans to act politically and by means of psychological warfare in Eastern Europe, cannot afford to ignore this united Ukrainian political front.

The new leaders of the "American Committee" would do wisely to take all these facts into consideration and to draw from this knowledge the inevitable conclusions.

Z. P.

### This Must Change

One must indeed wonder that those Americans, who shine so much in technical matters, could simply let the reins slip in such important political matters, as ensuring the sympathies of dozens of Eastern peoples, and permit deplorable conditions to gain ground everywhere, such as, say, in Düsseldorf, which are quite unnecessary and could be avoided.

We do not know if, perhaps, an Alger Hiss does not sit somewhere and carry on his devilish work from the darkness. We know only and reveal things which have happened, which are continuing to happen, but which should not happen. We think to ourselves that there exists a Political Department in the Office of the High Commissioner of the U.S.A. in Germany, and that in this Department must be competent people who *should* see whether developments are leading, what views and opinions exist regarding America and Americans intentions — and *must* intervene! Before one starts, or allows to be started, such undertakings as this "Great Congress" in Düsseldorf, one must look more closely at *what* is being done and *who* is doing it. It is only reasonable to demand that one should bestow upon such undertakings as much attention, planning and consideration as upon the sketching of a new war vehicle, or the building up of a business concern. The developments on the plane of relations between the Americans and the mass of the non-Russian exiled peoples are leading to conditions which, and not only today, cry for redress; for things cannot go on in this way.

## Pope Pius XII. "To the Peoples of Russia"

### The Failure of a Message

The Holy See recently addressed an apostolic message "to the Peoples of Russia", which message seems, on account of this turn of phrase, to have failed in its well-meant purpose, and to be calculated to alienate the oppressed peoples of the Soviet Union.

The message begins with the statement that the believers of the Catholic Church in all parts of the world had laid it upon the Holy Father to "place the whole Russian people, in their present oppressed state under the protection of the Blessed Virgin". Even at this introduction, many people in the

U.S.S.R., and especially the Catholic believers, such as Ukrainians and Byelorussians, will ask why only the Russian nation is to partake of this grace, while their nations are not once mentioned by name. This all the more when all the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R., do not even feel themselves in any way addressed by such terms as "Peoples of Russia" or "Russian Peoples", and fight against it tooth and nail, all the more today, when they are addressed by the name of their oppressors.

Further on in the message, the term



# Trial of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (S.V.U.)

## 1930—1932

(Concluded from No. 5 of "Ukrainian Observer")

### III

#### Fourth Russian Occupation of Ukraine

On March 18, 1921, Poland concluded a peace treaty with Soviet Russia and received a considerable part of Ukraine (Galicia, Volhynia). By this treaty frontiers in Eastern Europe were "stabilized" for almost two decades until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. Thus the *fourth Russian occupation of Ukraine* began and lasted for almost 20 years; it was interrupted from 1941 till 1944 by the Nazi occupation.

Already during the third Russian occupation Moscow saw that it would never retain supremacy over Ukraine by means of physical force alone. The ideas contained in Lenin's historical "Letter to Ukraine" of December 1919 gained ground, and Moscow attempted repeatedly to introduce a certain degree of liberalism into its Ukrainian policy. The *fourth occupation of Ukraine* was to avoid the mistakes of its three predecessors. Thus, in the field of economics the well-known N.E.P. — "Novaya Ekonomicheskaya Politika" (New Economic Policy) was introduced, while a policy of "Ukrainization" appeared in cultural affairs. This brings us back to the S.V.U. trial.

"Russian peoples" is employed several times, and now indeed, not only in the sense of state, but even in the sense of national-political and racial unity! Thus the Ukrainian Prince, Vladimir the Great and Yaroslav the Wise, as well as Yaropolk (9th, 10th, and 11th centuries) are spoken of as Russian rulers. The great cultural reform of Vladimir which he performed by means of the introduction of Christianity into Ukraine in 980, is simply ascribed to the Russians. The whole of Ukrainian history in general, the Ukrainian ecclesiastical life, and all the Ukrainian cultural reforms of centuries are ascribed, without further ado, to the Russians.

Finally this Papal message addresses itself in particular to the "Catholics among the Russian peoples", although, as is generally known, the Russians acknowledge the Orthodox Church, while, in the territories of the U.S.S.R., only Ukrainians and Byelorussians belong to the Catholic faith and stand under the spiritual protection of the Holy See in Rome.

All these blunders in the quoted Vatican message are all the more regrettable, when our peoples and their resistance movements, independent of differences of belief, have always had a supporter in the Catholic church, and, in the form of the Holy See in Rome, wish to see a powerful ally in the fight against the despotism of Moscow and the godless communists.

(A.B.N. Correspondence, No. 8, 1952)

#### E. N. P. and „Ukrainization.“

The most prominent feature of "militant communism" was its open, brutal and ruthless terrorism. The "new policy" consisted, not in doing away with terrorism, but in masking it. According to the Agrarian Code of Soviet Ukraine of November 22, 1922, the land belonged to the State alone; now the State restored certain private rights to land whereby the big estates, formerly the property mostly of Russian and Polish landlords, now passed into the hands of Ukrainian peasants. The Ukrainian peasant with a medium holding now became a real power in the state. After fulfilling his deliveries to the state, he was free to dispose of his remaining produce as he pleased. This filled his pockets, and his wealth increased when Soviet currency was stabilized on a gold basis in 1923. This rise of the peasant class meant too that the towns which had hitherto been largely Russian became rapidly Ukrainian in population. Ukrainian cooperatives flourished to such an extent that they controlled practically the entire domestic trade in Ukraine in three years. Skilled Ukrainian technicians increased enormously in numbers; for instance in 1926 in Ukrainian industry 14.38 % of the engineers were Ukrainian, while in 1936 there were more than 40 %. By dividing up landed property, the number of independent Ukrainian peasant families increased from 3,500,000 to 5,200,000. This forced the regime to adapt its policy to the needs of those masses, which meant that they were taken into consideration in the field of culture. The Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church experienced a great revival and counted 2,800 parishes with 10,657 priests and 35 bishops at the end of 1926. Education flourished; universities were crowded, mostly with young people from the country, and the All-Ukrainian Academy of Science (V.U.A.N.) in Kyiv was an active centre of learning. A Language Law of August 1, 1923 proclaimed the priority of Ukrainian over Russian. The communist party of Ukraine took in more and more Ukrainians and leading positions in the party passed gradually into the hands of Ukrainians of pronounced nationalist tendencies. Among these men were *Alexander Shumsky* and *Mykola Skrypnyk* (the last being one of Lenin's personal friends), both of whom had a good record as Commissars for Education; also *Ulas Chubar*, the first Ukrainian President of the government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. The idea behind "Ukrainization" was that, though Ukraine was in time to become communist, its communism was to be purely Ukrainian both in form and content. *Mykola Khvylovy*, a gifted Ukrainian poet, represented the struggle between the two cultures in the U.S.S.R. by recognizing that Ukrainian culture belonged to that of Western Europe, and he recommended his fellow-countrymen to draw the necessary conclusions. In his

comedy, "Narodnyy Malakhyy", *Mykola Kulish*, an outstanding Ukrainian dramatist, compared Russian soviet bureaucracy with a kept house and a lunatic asylum. *Volo-buyev*, a leading economist, brought scientific proof of Ukraine's economic independence and self-sufficiency and of Russia's age-long exploitation of its "partner's" resources. *Mykola Skrypnyk*, the People's Commissar of Education, demanded that the communist party in Ukraine should be a direct member of the Cominform and not indirectly affiliated with it through the communist party of the Soviet Union. This "Ukrainization" movement in Ukraine, whereby public life grew more and more genuinely Ukrainian, seemed so assured that, in the years between 1922 and 1929, many Ukrainian political emigrés decided to go home and help this process of Ukrainization.

#### Moscow's Rights-About Turn.

In 1929/30 Moscow suddenly turned right about. Stalin put an end to N.E.P. without notice and ordered the establishment of collective farms and the first Five-Year Plan. At the same time, the movement to "Ukrainize" the Ukraine was strangled abruptly and was replaced by Stalin's policy of severe centralization. It was not an accident that the chief victims of the S.V.U. trial were intellectuals, professors, members of cooperatives and priests. It was in their fields that the renaissance of Ukrainian independence had been most apparent. Before liquidating the people, the ideas and tendencies they represented were to be publicly compromised and destroyed. Stalin's policy of destruction, ushered in by the S.V.U. trial in 1929/30 continued with undiminished violence for a whole decade and brought ruin to countless millions of human beings. Everything was destroyed that did not fit in with plan for his totalitarian Russian state — the idea of democracy, of independence and cooperation. Of the 45 accused in the S.V.U. trial, "only" the following 13 were condemned to death: *Yefremov*, *Chekhivsky*, *Durdukiy*, *Hermayze*, *Nikovsky*, *Starytsky-Cherniakhivsky*, *Hryhynetzky*, *Chernakhivsky*, *Hantsev*, *Pavlushkiv*, *Barbar*, *Udovenko* and *Pidhayetsky*. Yet not one of the 45 accused ever came out of prison or back from exile, although the others received sentences of from 2 to 10 years imprisonment, with or without hard labour. This trial gave the signal for a succession of horrors which was to cost Ukraine about 8 000 000 human lives in the next decade. The famine of 1933 alone, which was artificially produced, cost Ukraine more than 4 million lives; it broke the power and the pride of Ukrainian peasants whose sons were its first victims. Not a single Ukrainian communist from the era of N.E.P., and Ukrainization escaped with his life.

This trial was a terrible lesson to Ukraine, teaching it that no form of government in



# The "Union of Ukrainian Women" (O.U.Z.)

## Five Years Work

As long ago as June, 1945, the Ukrainian woman refugees in Germany formed an "initiative organizational committee", which in time became the foundation-stone of the worldwide "Union of Ukrainian Women".

The first conference of Ukrainian women in Germany took place on the 15th and 16th of December, 1945, in Augsburg. To the conference came 48 delegates, fully authorised to represent the opinions of 26 local groups. At this conference the ideas on promoting initiative were given form, a statute was drawn up, the name of the organization determined, and a managing committee elected. After long years of territorial separation in different states, the Ukrainian women of every Ukrainian province were able, for the first time, to enter upon a common task. There were elected to the central managing committee, from the districts of the Eastern Ukraine, L. Ivchenko, O. Chekhivsky, V. Shpakivsky and O. Bureviy, and from the Western provinces of Ukraine Irene Pavlykovsky, E. Zhuk, S. Hodovanets, and others.

For seven years has the Union of Ukrainian Women been carrying on its work, and is still doing so today. Included in its tasks are:

a) The recruiting of all Ukrainian women to work together in all spheres of public life, where common, national-political questions are concerned, as well as defense against the conquerors; internal and foreign information; development of proper methods of organization, etc.;

b) Carrying out the work of sustaining the Ukrainian spirit in foreign countries; propaganda of the Ukrainian fight for liberation in future areas of settlement; the preservation of Ukrainian culture;

c) The support, counselling and protection of the Ukrainian women and children;

d) The training of Ukrainian women in professional work.

The organ of the O.U.Z. was at first the monthly journal "Hromadyanka" (The Woman-Citizen), under the editorship of Mrs. L. Ivchenko, and after her emigration in the year 1945, under the direction of Mrs. M. Bachynsky-Donzov. Among the co-workers in the magazine and delegates of various local groups are numbered well-known women, outstanding members of the Ukrainian community abroad.

The O.U.Z. very rapidly developed into a vast and flourishing organization; which in 1947 numbered 72 local groups and some 10,000 members. The financial basis of the O.U.Z. is formed by membership subscrip-

tions, the income from various functions and publications, as for example, "A Little Book of Feminine Hygiene", "A Dressmaking and Tailoring Course", "Woman in the Works of Shevchenko", "Famous Women" and children's magazine "Sonechko" ("The Sun"). The budget of the O.U.Z. was not large, as



Mrs. Olena Kysilevsky  
President of the "World Federation of  
Ukrainian Women's Organizations"

most of the women worked for the organization voluntarily.

For the purpose of self-help, donations were collected into the "Fund for Mothers and Children". Out of this needy mothers were granted assistance and two courses of instruction for kindergarten teachers were carried through. With regard to the professional training of women, hundreds of different special courses were accomplished: dressmaking and tailoring courses, household management, courses of hat- and glove-making, horticulture, embroidery, trymaking, to name only a few. Unfortunately the workshops, which the women made for the courses in the camps, were mostly taken over by the I.R.O. camp managements.

The Central Committee made contact with leading women's organizations in various lands, and tried to enlighten them concerning the difficult position of Ukrainian women and youth, how the Ukrainians had been forced to leave their homeland and how the women in particular continue to suffer under the bolshevik terror.

Already at the first conference of O.U.Z. in December 1945 a basic memorandum and a challenge was written and sent to the organized women of the democratic world. A memorandum on the plight of the women and children in Ukraine was sent to His Holiness, Pius XII., to the Catholic League, the Red Cross, and the headquarters of the I.R.O. Often the O.U.Z. applied to international officials in matters that touched the life of the women and their families, and nearly always received an answer; some of the resolutions of the O.U.Z. were on the subject of various international congresses and conferences. These same problems were mentioned also in messages to the Inter-

national League of Women, to Mrs. Eder, Mrs. E. Roosevelt, the Association of Women with High School Education, the Mothers' World Movement, Catholic women's organizations in France, Belgium, Italy and other lands. At the Congress of Mothers in Paris 1947, a lecture was given on the subject of the position of the Ukrainian women, and in 1950 Mrs. Sulyma from Germany gave a lecture on "The economic position of women in the Soviet Union".

The O.U.Z. sees at its highest aim the furthering of its work in supporting the homeland in its fight for liberation, in active cooperation in public life, in the preservation of national culture, in the protection of child and family, in medical assistance and all those fundamentals which were present at the start of the work of the O.U.Z. in Germany.

The president of O.U.Z. was up till her resettlement to Canada in 1950, Mrs. Irene Pavlykovsky. As her successor was elected Mrs. Olena Pavlorsky. Her deputies are: Mrs. E. Zhuk, Mrs. S. Hodovanets; the further members of the Executive are Mrs. Daria Rebet, Mrs. Lukia Bobelak, Mrs. Stefania Nahirny, and others.

The O.U.Z. is the member of the worldwide "World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations" (S.F.U.Z.O.) with the seat in Philadelphia, Pa./U.S.A. The members of S.F.U.Z.O. are the country-wide Ukrainian central women's organizations of U.S.A., Canada, Argentina, France, Belgium, Great Britain, Australia. The president of S.F.U.Z.O. is Mrs. Olena Kysilevsky, former senator of the Polish Diet. Her deputy is Mrs. Olena Lototsky, the president of the "Organization of Ukrainian Women in U.S.A." Most helpful in the activities of S.F.U.Z.O. are such outstanding Ukrainian women, former members of O.U.Z., who emigrated to U.S.A., as for instance — Mrs. Maria Bilak, Mrs. Cecily Gardetsky, Mrs. Daria Rak, Mrs. Ulana Tselevych, a. o.

The "Union of Ukrainian Women in Germany" (O.U.Z.) took the initiative in 1947 at the foundation of the international "League of the Women in Exile" whose members had been the Byelorussian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Caucasian, Cossackian, Serb and Croatian national women's organizations. The "League" did in the years 1947—1950 much useful work, especially in the realm of aid and protection for the lone women and children during the main years of the mass resettlement of DP's and refugees from Europe.

## "The Most Honourable of the Tasks of Ukrainian Railway-Men" —

consists, according to the opinion of "Radyanska Ukraina" of 17. July, 1952, of "securing this year's crop by transporting it in the most speedy manner to its planned destinations". These "destinations" are either in the north, i. e. Moscow, or the harbours of the Baltic or Black Sea, but almost never in — Ukraine. Another "honourable task" of the kolkhos-farmers and the railway-men consists of finishing the deliveries "before the appointed time". The local and district party offices arrange widely-published contests between single and whole groups of kolkhos, as to who will be faster and cleverer to get rid of the yields of his own toil and sweat — for the glory of Stalin. *Delivery* — this is the proper meaning of the Russian brand of socialism.

the Russian imperium can guarantee it freedom and peace, least of all communism. The S.V.U. proved once and for all that there is no use trying to build up a peaceful existence within imperial Russia, no matter what its government is. The end was and will always be destruction. This was the experience even of the communist party and of the entire intellectual class which had desired to cooperate. Since then, practically no other attempt of such scope and nature has been made in Ukraine to effect a reconciliation with Russia. The murdered victims of the S.V.U. trial are a great and tragic reminder for the Ukrainian people.



# The Festering Wound

## The Case of the Three Sentenced Ukrainians in Munich Still Pending

The "Ukrainian Observer" has repeatedly reported on the case of the three young Ukrainians — Mykola Lytwyn, Roman Gnypp and Hryhory Tsypera — who, on March 7th, 1952, were sentenced by an American court to 7 years' hard labour each for the "attempted murder of Diomed Gulay". The latter, allegedly a Ukrainian, is generally regarded by the Ukrainian community abroad, as a traitor and a political tool of Russian imperialism. All the accused rigorously denied that it was an attempt at murder, and presented the case before the court as a political brawl; at the time in question, the assailants had been inebriated. They all appealed; and now the Ukrainian community abroad is wondering why the proceedings following on the appeal are so long protracted.

We were right in predicting, when we commented upon the case, that this verdict would create a festering wound of discontent and resentment among innumerable exiled Ukrainians. All over the world, protests have been voiced by many Ukrainian organizations and societies. Some of these we have published in these pages. We now reproduce a "Petition" of the "League for the Liberation of Ukraine" of May 27th, 1952, addressed to the Department of Justice, U.S.A. It follows below:

### Petition

Department of Justice, of the United States of America

Mr. James P. McGranery, Attorney-General, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

The American Military Court accused Mykola Lytwyn, Roman Gnypp and Hryhory Tsypera of the attempted murder of one D. Gulay in his home at Schleissheim on November 15th, 1951. Each accused was sentenced to a seven year's prison term. This court procedure took place in Munich Germany.

From communications and other information gathered by us in connection with this matter, it appears that the three accused were not given a fair trial and the sentence passed was too excessive on account of the following grounds:

1. Mens Rea (intent to kill) was not proved by the Prosecution beyond reasonable doubt.
2. The punishment meted out was oppressive and does not correspond to the actual guilt of the three accused.
3. The Prosecution did not prove beyond reasonable doubt that Hryhory Tsypera took part in the alleged crime and there is reason to believe that he was not involved in the above mentioned assault.

The charge against the three accused is based on the fact that they have attempted to kill the said D. Gulay in conspiracy, the motive being a desire to destroy a political opponent. The evidence brought out in Court is not consistent with an attempt to murder as well as with assault occasioning bodily harm, and the motivating circumstances in this case point towards an assault rather than an attempt to kill. The penalty of seven years imprisonment for the three accused appears to be very highly excessive having regard to the actual bodily harm occasioned to the complainant.

The accused, Hryhory Tsypera, denied being present at the scene of the crime and produced an alibi which the Court did not heed. It appears that more credence should be given to the said accused and his witnesses, and the Court should not have believed the complainant, D. Gulay, in this matter. The said accused, Hryhory Tsypera, escaped from the Soviet Ukraine just prior to this incident and it appears that after various hardships that he had to suffer, it is highly improbable that he would be involved in any crime.

A very important factor entering into this trial is the fact that the assault was motivated by political and not criminal motives. The Court has taken a view that the sentence should be heavier rather than lighter because of the above mentioned motive.

The Court should have taken into consideration that the complainant, D. Gulay, represented a Russian faction which organized an alleged Ukrainian Movement which favoured remaining under Russian influence after the liberation of all of the enslaved nations. The movement propagating the said union of Ukraine and Russia was sponsored by Kerensky and caused universal protests to be launched against him and his movement throughout the world. The protests were spearheaded by all organized Ukrainians, among them on the American continent from the Ukrainian Congress Committee, Ukrainian Canadian Committee and Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation. All Democratic and liberty loving Ukrainians were revolted by this movement which was not sincere or did not represent the voice of the majority behind the Iron Curtain. The three accused were among these and it appears that they have taken a wrong way to protest against the complainant, D. Gulay, being the head of this movement in Europe. However, it is difficult to arrive at the intent to commit murder but only an intent to commit an assault from the facts stated above. The Courts of Justice should have taken into consideration these extenuating political circumstances motivating the assault, and the sentences should not have been excessive.

Having regard to all the above mentioned facts, we humbly petition you to reconsider this case and to revise the sentence in accordance with the principle of justice and humanity to American Courts.

Your Petitioners —  
League for Ukraine's Liberation

140 Bathurst Street,  
Toronto, Ontario.

May 27, 1952.

### Only Defence ...

Continued from Page 1

two elected candidates committed themselves up till now to nothing which could exorcise this demon, this fear on the part of the peoples concerned. Neither of the two parties has taken upon itself to enter upon an open, world-wide, relentless crusade against bolshevism and Russian imperialism; neither party has come forward with a binding Declaration of Liberty addressed to all peoples enslaved by bolshevism; neither has unmistakably taken upon itself substantially to aid the victims of bolshevism and Russian imperialism who are scattered throughout the world, to be more exact, all those political refugees who have been persecuted and driven out on account of their national or religious convictions. It is well that the West should arm itself against bolshevism with all its might, as the Western peoples feel that meanwhile they are already directly threatened by it. But they do not attack it totally; there is still lacking clear evidence that both electoral American Conventions have decided, and are willing, to finish with bolshevism in its entirety.

Both Conventions furnished not the expected clear proof that they are willing to act accordingly to the principle that the freedom of the world and the liberty of mankind are indivisible; one feels that they would accept a world "house-divided policy" — if that would mean peace and liberty for the West. Having observed both Conventions with very close attention, the Eastern nations have enough cogent reasons to remain uneasy, watchful and sceptical.

### Ukrainian Language and the "Voice of Canada"

The Ukrainian weekly, "Homin Ukrainy" (Ukrainian Echo), in Toronto, Ont., Canada is making continual reports on the repeated efforts of the Canadians of Ukrainian origin to introduce Ukrainian into the foreign language broadcasts of the "Voice of Canada". There are some 500,000 Ukrainians at present living in Canada, and they are collecting signatures for a mass petition to the Dominion Parliament on this matter. In addition, leading Ukrainian organizations in Canada are taking adequate steps at the appropriate offices in Ottawa.

Mr. Ivan Dikur, the only Canadian Member of Parliament of Ukrainian origin, lately put a question, at a parliamentary debate, to the Dominion Secretary for the Interior, Mr. Pearson, as to what other languages, besides Russian and Czech, were being at present employed in the Canadian broadcasts to the countries behind the Iron Curtain? Mr. Pearson explained that "within the limits of financial possibilities", endeavours were being made to include languages, other than only Russian and Czech, in the external radio services. He expressed the hope that Canadian broadcasts would soon be introduced for Ukraine and Poland also.



# Ukraine Behind the Iron Curtain

## They Want More and More

*How the Russians are exploiting Ukraine*

At the end of July, 1952, the Soviet press published detailed reports on the non-fulfilment of the state economic plans for the 2nd quarter of the current calendar year, 1952, not only for the U.S.S.R., as a whole, but also for the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The "Radyanska Ukraina" of 24. 7. 52 (No. 174) and of 31. 7. 52. (No. 180) reproduced the "Report of the Statistical Office of Ukrainian U.S.S.R.", and commented in detail on the results of the shorcomings in the Ukrainian republic, as well as in the whole U.S.S.R.

The second quarter's target for industry was, in the total production of this year, overstepped with 102%. That signifies, in comparison with the second quarter of 1951, an increase in the entire production of 11%. From the report of the "Statistical Office of Ukrainian S.S.R.", it is apparent that, in the same quarter, the target for the combined industrial production has been surpassed with 102.5%, and in the total industrial production of the republic and its local dependencies, with as much as 103.6%. That works out at an increase in the entire production of the Ukrainian republic of quite 16% on the same period in the previous year.

When one studies the figures of the debits of the undertakings of the single ministries, one comes to a quite astounding conclusion, and that is, the concerns and factories of those very ministries, which are needed for the development of local industries have not fulfilled their schedules.

They are the concerns and factories of the following ministries:

The production of the Ministry of Power Stations —	99,0%
The production of the Transport —	91,0%
The production of the Transport Machines —	92,0%
The production of the Building Materials —	99,4%
The production of the Meat and Milk Industry —	95,0%

On the other hand, the industries whose products are earmarked as the country's export articles, have to attain an overproduction, which is not to be met with in any others of Soviet republics, and certainly not in the Russian S.S.R. Here are a few examples to show this proportion:

The production of the Ministry of Coloured Metals —	105%
The production of the Ministry of Petroleum —	105%
The production of the Ministry of Timber —	114%
The production of the Ministry of Automobiles, Tractors —	106%

From comparison of these figures, it is plainly apparent that the Ukrainian S.S.R. is the most exploited, and is under continuous economic pressure. Whatever the country needs for itself is under-produced. The Russians want to squeeze out of Ukraine as many products as possible, without offering anything of equal worth, and are making no considerable investments in the country to meet its own wants.

Now for one reference to the "fifth lowering of the official retail-prices of articles in popular demand", which was done on April 1st, 1952, by the decision of the Soviet government and the Central Committee of the C.P. of Ukraine. In the quoted report, it was stated that the "purchasing power" of the population has risen, and that, in the financial year, more goods were sold in the state- and cooperative-shops. When, therefore, no salary-increases have simultaneously ensued, the state continues to receive the same revenue, and thus can

one scarcely speak of any "improvement" in the condition of the Soviet citizens.

The "Radyanska Ukraina" directs sharp criticism at these industrial plants in Ukraine which have not reached their targets and declares: "One cannot possibly be pleased at the fact that, in the republic, beside those ministerial undertakings that have successfully fulfilled their official schedule, should exist such concerns as systematically hinder the performance of the production programmes." Consequently, despite daily exploitation, over-fulfilment of the combined schedules, and very great profits for the Soviet state, the Moscow despots are still not satisfied with Ukraine. *They want more!*

## The Recalcitrant West-Ukraine

*Radical Russo-bolshevist Criticism of the Newest Events in Western Ukraine*

Bolshevist criticism devotes itself especially often to severe and disparaging reports on Western Ukraine because, as the Soviet press again and again emphasises, it is here that the ideology of the "bourgeoisie Ukrainian nationalism" makes itself most clearly noticeable. In particular, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, "Radyanska Ukraina", deals relatively often in its articles, especially in the section devoted to "Party Life", with this problem which is, apparently, becoming more and more of a thorn in the side of the bolshevistic rulers.

"Radyanska Ukraina" of July 30th, 1952, (No. 179) accordingly contained a detailed report on the latest session of the District Committee of the C. P. of Drohobych, in the leading article: "Important task for the Party organisations in western provinces of Ukraine". In the report as well as in the leader it was stated, as introduction, that due to the incessant watchfulness and the powerful assistance of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., the Soviet government, and to the "personal support" of Comrade Stalin, — "great social and cultural changes have taken place in the districts of Western Ukraine". One can only too well imagine in which direction these changes are leading: collectivization, economic exploitation and national oppression. These are the chief "benefits" which the Russians have bestowed upon Western Ukrainians. We learn that the Ukrainians in their western provinces show not the slightest desire to perform drudger work for the communistic party officials, and this fact is stated in plain terms by the "Radyanska Ukraina".

We read: "The level of the training and education of local party membership lags far behind the great achievements of economic and cultural organization, which has been done for the working people of the western provinces of the Republic by the Party and the Soviet Government. For example, in the whole area of Drohobych, one can find among the leading secretaries of the town itself only six men, and among the provincial councillors, only nine men who are natives of the district, and who were ready to accept the local vice-presi-

dential posts. Matters are not very different in the districts of Chernivtsi (North Bukovina) and Volhynia. Here one can find still fewer people who are interested in working for the Party.

"Now when the leading local party functionaries pursue their personal duties so imperfectly and negligently, things cannot be much different with actual party work. As it was established at the plenary meeting, the possibilities of qualitative party work are only very badly utilized, because the District Committee is permitting gross mistakes and incompetences in the direction of the organizational and political work of the party. The lesser party organisations, workers, kolkhos workers, as well as the intelligentsia are being mobilized only very unsatisfactorily for the fulfilment of the task of further development of agriculture, industry and the raising of the cultural level and the material welfare of the working people of the province."

How then shall all these mistakes, abuses and divergences from the party line be combatted, removed and eliminated? Here is the party's official answer: "The level of the ideological and political work in the teaching units must continuously be raised. They must be trained in the spirit of the burning Soviet patriotism and socialistic internationalism, in love towards the great Russian nation and all other peoples of the U.S.S.R. The party organizations must inculcate the teaching units with a sense of burning hatred towards the common foes of the Ukrainian people — the bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists, these agents of the American and English imperialists."

It is however, quite obvious through all this bombast, that neither brutal oppression, nor all possible methods of "education", nor the elevation of the "great Russian nation" to divine heights, will be able to break the resistance of the Ukrainian population towards the bolshevistic regime. This population is, and will remain, nationally minded; it declines to co-operate with the party; it keeps its distance from all the party machinery, and refuses to occupy the party posts. The people obey, but remain uninterested; this is the kind of resistance that is most difficult to break.



## "When the Party Bureau Evades Principal Questions..."

In the column "Party Life" of the *"Radyanska Ukraina"* of July 8th, 1952, was a detailed report of the latest meeting of the "Party Section" of the District Directorate of Agricultural Affairs in the district of Voroshylovgrad. This report is one of a series of "critical observations" on the part of the ruling Russians on the "inadequate sense of obligation" in agricultural collectives in Ukraine. At the same time it is connected with a bitter criticism of the Party Section itself of Voroshylovgrad district. The correspondent of *"Radyanska Ukraina"* maintains that in the departments of various district authorities "there reigns a stale atmosphere of self-satisfaction, and selfpraise, and an almost total suppression of criticism and self-criticism on the part of the leaders." The top communists admit that in the lower party organizations the conditions are altogether other than satisfactory, and that the atmosphere conforms in no way to their wishes.

"The present leaders of the departments, e. g. Comrades Tibabushev, Tsventsyt'sky and Hrechyn, should be energetically proceeded against on account of their incompetent performance of their duties, their inadequate self-criticism and similar omissions, and in this, even the party organization as a whole would not be exempt. They have been guilty of tacitly acquiescing in the low-level work of party-organizations, and especially in the scandalously inadequate ideological education of the lower party organizations. The District Party Bureau has not trained the communists in the feeling of responsibility for the task undertaken; it directs only imperfectly the Marxist-Leninistic studies and the performance of the general principles."

It is not an accident that Party's District

Bureau and local party organizations of agricultural administration in Ukraine will be attacked in such a way; the Kremlin desires that above all the passive resistance and hostility of the Ukrainians mass population towards the party incitements must be expunged, and, furthermore, the level of production of the agricultural collectives must at any cost be increased. Moscow apparently does not feel satisfied with the present slave and forced labour of the Ukrainian peasantry and wishes to extort from it much more. Now that the time of harvest is come, an attempt is made to gather the greatest crop — as to place it at the disposal of modern Russian imperialism. Thus, the party organizations are driven relentlessly to exert their full pressure upon the population.

All this, quite evidently, can be realised only if the party-organizations make suitable preparations; it happens, as the report of *"Radyanska Ukraina"* unmistakably confesses, that in this area things are not proceeding as desired. "The work of the party-net concerning the professional training is imperfectly organized. The 'Department for the Study of the History of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks' and the 'Seminary for the Study of Historical and Dialectical Materialism' have functioned only with many interruptions and have been only sparsely attended."

More plainly the communistic press could not have disclosed the dissatisfaction, the indifference and the passivity, even of the Ukrainian communists, than has been done in this article. Certainly, it is not easy for the Ukrainian party-officials to hold their ground against the Russian pressure; for whatever they do, it is *always* wrong and to be abused. They are no Russians.

## The Youth Also Will Not Cooperate

*The findings of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Ukraine*

On the 29th and 30th of July, 1952, the customary plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the "Leninistic-Communist Youth Organisation (Komsomol) of Ukraine", was convened in Kyiv.

As *"Radyanska Ukraina"* of July 31st reports, following questions were dealt with at this plenary meeting:

1. Improvement of the work of Komsomol of Ukraine with special regard to the young agricultural engineers in Ukraine;
2. The work of Komsomol in the Stalino district (i. e. in Donbas, the central industrial area of Ukraine), with reference to the strengthening of work-discipline among the young people who, in industry, are mostly employed in building and transport enterprises.

H. H. Shevel, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Ukraine, spoke on the first theme; and on the second, W. M. Tsybulko, secretary of the Stalino-district section of Komsomol, expressed his views. In addition, the secretary of the Central Committee of the C. P. of

Ukraine, H. E. Hryshko, addressed the plenary meeting. After the debate on these questions, the plenary meeting agreed to the decisions that were submitted. Nothing definite, however, transpired concerning the individual points.

It is common knowledge that the youth of Ukraine shows no response. But the orders of the day of the meeting in itself and the problems that were posed, speak clearly enough of the internal insecurity and weakness of the Russian-holshchevistic rule in Ukraine. From this it is very apparent that the youth of Ukraine, especially in the country, work badly, and that incentive is lacking on the part of the Komsomol; and that in industry, as well, there is a lack of "work-discipline". That this short-coming is gaining ground among the youth, is especially dangerous for the Russian-holshchevistic regime in Ukraine. In glaring contrast to the Russian youth which enjoys all possible official support and patronage, the young Ukrainians are continuously abused and reprimanded. They are just not reliable enough.

## Stars and Medals for "Ukrainian" M.G.B.-Men

Once or twice monthly, the Plenary Hall of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in Kyiv is the scene of a spectacular display — the official distribution of medals, stars and rewards to the most meritorious leaders, foremen, shock workers and stakhanovites of the Republic. Flags, festoons and flowers abound, brass-bands play melodies and brisk marches; families and friends are present; there are many speeches; some very high party big-wig pins the medals to the breasts of the heroes; sometimes even the president of the Supreme Council himself takes the chair. The omnipresent "Great Brother", the smiling Stalin, looks down upon the proceedings from out of the frame of his gigantic portrait.

But it is very interesting to see *who* gets the most rewards. The leading, most numerous group are always the best men, the "stakhanovites", of the Ministry of the Interior (M.V.D.), of the militia, and of the Ministry of State Security (M.G.B.).

For instance, in Kyiv, on July 12th, 1952, public awards were made to 109 M.V.D. men, and, of these, 83 were for "combat merit". Now arises the question: whom in Ukraine did the M.V.D.-men fight so devotedly that they got their stars and medals? The *"Radyanska Ukraina"* of July 15th, 1952, reporting on these distributions, gives no detailed explanation. But everybody in Ukraine who reads the names of the decorated knows — for what.

Moreover, the listed names are very interesting, especially nine of the most prominent. Here they are, the "Ukrainians": — M. P. Demidov; S. V. Prygunok; M. Y. Bychkov B. O. Donovan; Y. M. Zimna; D. Y. Machin; J. J. Sizevich; S. P. Silkin and S. M. Shmorhun. Out of the nine, only the last one (in italics) sounds genuinely Ukrainians; all the others are undoubtedly pure Russians. This is a very enlightening illustration of the thesis of the exiled Russians, who maintain that *all* peoples of the U.S.S.R. are suffering equally — including the Russians. The above list of names reveals most clearly the true state of affairs: using M.G.B. guns, the Russians are firing into the necks of Ukrainians. And get their rewards.

(From the weekly "Ukrainian Thought", London)

## Full Silos — a "Hinderance" to the 1952 Harvest

The Soviet "planned economy" very often produces strange results. It took the Soviet "economists" to prove that "the store *could* be a sore". In mid July the Soviet press in Ukraine began, quite unexpectedly, a howling campaign of abuse and threats against some unnamed "evildoers" and "saboteurs" who endangered the storing up and the safety of the 1952 harvest. There then developed something like the "tragedy of opulence" in Ukraine. The wheat crop in especial proved exceptionally abundant, but the kolkhos officers did not know where to put the threshed masses of grain. More than 100 silos in the southern districts of Ukraine, especially in the Black Sea regions, turned out to be full to capacity, with no space left for more. In their predicament, they started to fill club-houses, schools, barns, churches, inns, and what not. The responsible officials had to excuse themselves in many ways, but the



main cause was the terribly muddled "planning". As it turned out, the "planners" in Moscow had, in dozens of cases, simply "forgotten" to empty the silos at the proper time. To put it more accurately, they often simply did not even know where and what quantity of supplies they had in store. This recalls the so-called "Mykolaiv and Odessa scandals" of the summer of 1941, when the Soviet High Command tried to organize the orderly retreat of their armies before the advancing Germans; all at once they made the startling discovery that there were in both harbours numerous silos and stores bursting with crops, particularly with wheat and sugar, the existence of which was known to nobody in higher quarters. At the last minute the Reds tried to shoot the crops into the sea, but the Germans still got hundreds of thousands of tons of this kind of much desired booty.

And all this is taking place among the half-starving Ukrainian farmer population.

### The Red Dean of Canterbury

The Rev. *Hewlett Johnson* is surely becoming in these days, in the opinion of the vast mass of Ukrainian population, one of the spiritual giants of modern times. Or, at least, the Moscow-directed party-leaders in Ukraine believe it is so. For there are only three main themes in the present Soviet "Ukrainian" press and radio programmes, with which the population of Ukraine is fed and satiated to the verge of vomiting. They are: 1. Volga-Don Canal, 2. Securing of this year's crop, 3. *Hewlett Johnson*. Since Moscow's *"Literaturnaya Gazeta"* of 22. Juli, 1952, gave the clue with its article: "Why are English reactionaries persecuting *Hewlett Johnson*?" — the "Ukrainian" Soviet press dutifully continues to chew, by day and night, on this mental food. Not one day passes without articles, notices and commentaries dealing with the terrible spiritual and social martyrdom of poor *Hewlett Johnson*. The people may be wondering if Moscow's Patriarch will not soon proclaim *Hewlett Johnson* as a new Orthodox saint. The divine inspirations of the almighty Stalin have produced even much greater wonders.

### The „Equality" of the Ukrainian Language

The Russian bolshevik boast that they have introduced the liberty and the equality of all the languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. Allegedly, there exist no linguistic discriminations, but matters look different in actual practice. Thus, Ukrainian is not equal to Russian in Ukraine. This is revealed quite clearly, and not only in the larger cities of Ukraine, where nobody dares to use the Ukrainian language in public, lest he be suspected of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism". For instance, at the beginning of the new school year in September, new students entering colleges, institutes and schools, etc. have had to submit applications and sit for entrance examinations. Advertising their curricula in the newspapers many colleges, etc. are enumerating the qualifications needed for admission. Now it is the rule, to which there is no exception, that the institutions demand a general knowledge of "Russian language and literature and Ukrainian language", but — no Ukrainian language.

# UKRAINIANS ABROAD

## Argentina

### First Congress of Ukrainian Catholics

The "St. Volodymyr's Society", an organization of Ukrainian Catholics in Argentina, is convoking in cooperation with "St. Mary's Union of Ukrainian Women", the *First Congress of Ukrainian Catholics in Argentina, in Buenos Aires* on 19—21 Sept., 1952. The presence of the Most Rev. *Nil Savaryn*, the bishop for Catholic Ukrainians of Western Canada, is expected. The Congress will busy itself with the problems of the religious, spiritual and social life of thousands of Ukrainian Catholics in Argentina. The agenda of the day contains also the consecration of young Ukrainian Catholic priests, graduates of the Theological Faculty of Buenos Aires. — A short time later, there will take place in Buenos Aires the *Panamerican Congress for Christian History and Art*, to which a delegation from Ukrainian "St. Volodymyr's Society" is invited, with rights equal to those of state delegations from Spain, Portugal, the Vatican etc. The Society is preparing a book in Spanish about the martyrdom of the Ukrainian Catholic Church under the Soviet-Russian domination. Also an exposition of Ukrainian exile books and press is planned.

## Australia

### Third Congress of the "Union of Ukrainians in Australia"

On the 14th and 15th of June, 1952, there took place in Sydney, N.S.W., Australia, the 3rd Congress of the "Union of Ukrainians in Australia" (U.U.A.). There were present about 50 participants, who bore credentials, authorising them to represent the "Ukrainian Communities" of the states of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. "Ukrainian Communities" are the local organizational cells on which the U.U.A. is erected; it endeavours to include all Ukrainians who live in a large city or in one district. The delegates from Queensland and Western Australia, although they had been elected and commissioned by their communities at the proper time, had to beg to be excused shortly before the conference, as they could not pay their fares. This throws a revealing light on the present situation of the Ukrainians in Australia. Although, individually, the Ukrainian immigrants in Australia are apparently not doing too badly, their organizations are still in the preliminary stage of development. It follows that they are poor and cannot yet afford to have the large gatherings for which continent-wide journeys would be necessary. In spite of this, the delegates who were present had full authority to represent an estimated 18,000 Ukrainians, i. e. more than 60% of the Ukrainian post-war immigrants to Australia.

The congress was opened by *Mr. W. Soloviy*, the president of the U.U.A. who warmly welcomed the representatives of the Church, the organizations, the press and the guests who were present. As managing committee of the congress were elected

the following members: — *Mr. Vassyl Bolukh*, *Dr. K. Bilynsky* and *Mgr. Yaroslav Kuzhil*.

In his report on the year's activities, the president of the U.U.A., *Mr. V. Soloviy*, dwelt upon the very grave difficulties which oppose a successful development of the organizations. All agents of the organization worked voluntarily; they could spend upon the business of the U.U.A. only so much time and energy as was left over by their daily work and family duties — and that was not much. The organization is still much too poor to be able to afford paid employees and agents for itself.

Another difficulty lies in the small interest for U.U.A. of the great mass of Ukrainian inhabitants in Australia, who must primarily struggle with intensity and work hard in order to obtain a tolerable living. In other words the Ukrainian immigrants are not yet well-off enough to afford the "luxury" of a pan-Australian organization of Ukrainians.

The third, and purely technical, difficulty consists of the very loose personal contacts of the Ukrainians, who are scattered over very wide-spread Australian districts. They do not see each other for months, even for years, they come together extremely seldom; the people live apart from each other.

The fourth difficulty lies in the cool attitude of the Australian authorities and general public, who do not understand the necessity of national organizations of new immigrants. It is expected from all new immigrants that they ought rather to forget the old things and become full Australians. The people may certainly do what they please, organize themselves as they wish, publish newspapers, found schools, etc. In Australia complete freedom and democracy reigns; nevertheless the foundation of national federations of immigrants is looked upon as a sign of extravagant European nationalism, which can only with difficulty be brought into harmony with the Australian conceptions of democracy and freedom. The result is that many new immigrants prefer not to stress their former nationality by supporting their national associations.

The fifth difficulty is that many people have taken with them to Australia their old political views and party loyalties, and will not relinquish old quarrels and schisms. Thus there are everywhere various local majorities and oppositions, small internal fights and frictions, which act as a very great check upon the development of the general organization of Ukrainians in Australia.

Notwithstanding, the managing body of the U.U.A. has done everything possible, to hold the organization together and so to develop it, as desired. The secretary of the U.U.A., *Mr. Bohdan Podolanko*, reported on the internal affairs of the organization, the procedure and results of the sessions, as well as of the managing and presidential committees. *Mr. Yasykevych* reported on the attempts which have been made to secure closer contacts between the U.U.A. and various Australian organizations and social circles. This work met with little success; Australian society has shown itself very cool and aloof. *Mrs. Irene Pelensky*, the leader of the Welfare



Section of the U.U.A., reported on the charity-meetings and benevolent activities which had taken place in the previous year. In this respect the relations with Australian women's welfare organizations had turned out to be satisfactory. Mr. F. Melnyk reported on the creation of an Economic Council, which had as its aim the assistance of the Ukrainian immigrants to know their ways in legal and economic matters. Mr. Dubrovsky as the press — and information — official, gave an account of the efforts of the organization to make the problem of the Ukrainian liberation and state-building known and acceptable among the Australians. A good number of Australian personalities, and institutions who carry weight in Australia, have been provided with English literature on Ukraine; the initially very aloof Australian journalists have finally begun to show a certain growing interest. According to the statements of the director of the Schools and Culture Section, Mr. Y. Hevko, there is a great deal of perplexity over the education of Ukrainian youth in Australia; schools, libraries, publishing offices, institutions of art, etc. are all lacking.

The lively discussion, which arose out of the reports, attempted to find the necessary ways and means of stimulating the Ukrainian national community-life, and of raising it to a higher level of organization. Professor Shegedyn, as director of the Commission of Controls reported that the controls which had been accomplished of the management of the organization bore proof of blameless conduct and thus did credit to the old management.

Prof. Fedir Melnykiv was elected as new president of the U.U.A. As his co-members of the managing body were chosen: Mr. F. Yaskevych; Mrs. Irene Pelensky; Dr. St. Vanchytsky; Mrs. L. Zarytska; Mr. J. Dubrovsky; Prof. R. Drahau; Mr. Y. Hevko; Mr. M. Borovsky; Mr. S. Koziy; Mr. Hrabky; Mr. Kutsyk; Mr. Podolanko.

The headquarters of the organization remains Sydney, N.S.W. The Congress of 1952 broke up with the resolution and hope that the newly-elected management will, in a year's time, be able to report better results than before of the work of the organization.

## Paraguay

### 3 Years Work of S.U.M. — Ukrainian Youth Association

Where there's a will, there's a way. Never this proverb more validity than in the case of the organizational work of the national branch of S.U.M. in Paraguay. Even before World War II. there lived some small Ukrainian emigration in Paraguay, in Asunción, and for the most part, in the province of Fram. They were united in "PROSVITA", a traditional Ukrainian popular organization for mutual social aid and cultural enlightenment. The young people were organized at first in "Youth Branches of Prosvita"; they constituted the nuclei of later 6 local organizations of S.U.M. — The Ukrainian emigration in Paraguay increased considerably after 1947, in consequence of the I.R.O.—sponsored resettlement of DP's. The majority of them were widely scattered throughout the country, mostly as lumbermen, woodcutters etc. The only way to keep mutual contacts was by mail and referenda. 5 such referenda had been arranged in 1951, and one plenary session

of the Paraguayan Central Committee of S.U.M. The widely scattered members received 576 letters and 22 circulars. They exchanged among themselves 4,411 books, subscribed to 84 Ukrainian and foreign journals and newspapers. An album was founded with the aim of keeping a picture-history of Ukrainian emigré life in Paraguay; up till now 363 pictures have been selected out of a vast mass of local, mostly amateur photographs. More than fifty articles on the life of the Ukrainian colony in Paraguay have been sent and printed in the Ukrainian press in Europe and North America. The members of S.U.M. spread very diligently the Ukrainian journal in Spanish, "Ukrainia Libre", among the population of Paraguay in the passionate endeavour to inform this hospitable country about the struggle of Ukraine for liberation from Bolshevik-Russian domination. — As living conditions in Paraguay proved to be not so favourable as in Argentina, a tendency to further migration was recently observed, mostly among the young people. Thus, the S.U.M.-organization in Paraguay lost, in the course of the last year — 77 members. — Still, during the last year — 12 festive and commemorative sessions had been organized, 7 amateur theatre performances, 267 cultural and social meetings. All activities of the S.U.M. members in Paraguay have always been organized and directed with the basic idea of helping and strengthening the fighting home-country, — the unconquerable and indomitable Ukraine.

(From an article of Mr. A. Kushchynsky, in the weekly "Ukrainian Thought", London.)

## U.S.A.

### The Premature Death of Mr. Serhiy Vyshnivsky

53, in Rochester, N.J., on June 18th, 1952, deeply shocked the Ukrainian community in the U.S.A. Mr. Vyshnivsky was one of the most outstanding Ukrainian journalists this side of the Iron Curtain. He was born in 1898 in the small village of Volhynia, West-Ukraine. His parents were farmers of old stock, and he, too, retained throughout his life the views and convictions of a born farmer. This is why he hated bolshevism openly and unreservedly, and above all — the communist collectivization of agriculture. He was an adherent of agricultural co-operatism; in 1923, having finished his economic studies, he started his public life as a worker with the "Union of Ukrainian Co-operatives" in Volhynia; simultaneously he was the secretary of the "Union of Ukrainian Farmers". But soon he discovered his proper inner vocation — journalism. In 1925 he became the editor of the weekly "Volynska Nedila" ("Volhynian

Sunday"). The leading Ukrainian political party of West-Ukraine — the "Ukrainian National-Democratic Union (U.N.D.O.) — made him, at the Polish parliamentary elections of 1928; its candidate for the district of Volhynia. The ruling Poles disliked very much his ardent Ukrainian activities, and put him in 1931 into the ill-famed Polish concentration camp in Bereza Kartuzka. He left the camp 2½ years later with unbreakably hardened morale, but with thoroughly broken health. Afterwards he never recovered properly. He was a deeply-believing Christian; his honesty, unselfishness and warm-heartedness were proverbial. Still he admitted that he knew how to hate, and to hate deeply: all injustice, aggression, tyranny, exploitation of men by men, totalitarianism, and above all — bolshevism. A democrat at heart and in mental outlook, he fought dictators and oppression so long as he lived. In innumerable articles he exposed pitilessly all tricks and practices of the tyrannical rule of bolsheviks and Russian imperialists over his beloved Ukraine. He regretted deeply that he had not mastered the English language sufficiently to be able to write in English to fight bolshevism in the English-speaking press. In January, 1951, he emigrated through I.R.O. to the U.S.A. Wherever he went, quite unconsciously he won friends; no wonder that at his burial there were present not only recent Ukrainian emigrés in U.S.A. but also many old-stock Americans. The death of Mr. Serhiy Vyshnivsky is a severe blow for all Ukrainians in the free world.

\*

### The "International Women's Institute"

In the U.S.A., as the organiser of the "International Exhibition of Industries and Crafts", invited the Ukrainian Women's Organizations in U.S.A. to participate in the above mentioned Exhibition, which will be arranged in New York, N.Y., in November 1952. The Ukrainian Women's Organizations in the U.S.A. accepted the invitation gladly and created a special "Inter-Organizational Exhibition Committee" for this purpose. The Ukrainian women in the U.S.A. have already participated once in such an exposition in U.S.A., in 1944. It was acknowledged that, by their contribution of Ukrainian arts and crafts, and especially their folklore displays (choirs, songs, dances, ballet performances), the Ukrainian women substantially enriched the variety and colouring of the Exhibition. Mrs. Maria Demydchuk was elected as the chairman of the Ukrainian Exhibition Committee."

\*

### Exhibition of Ukrainian Art in New York

On the occasion of the V. Convention of the "Ukrainian Congress Committee of America", 4—6 July, 1952, an exhibition of Ukrainian art was arranged in the premises of the Hotel Statler. 23 painters and 7 sculptors participated. Carefully selected, there 40 pictures and 14 sculptures were shown. The majority of the exhibits were from Ukrainian artists living in the U.S.A. (J. Andrusiv, B. Bozhemsky, M. Butovydy, Y. Hnizdovsky, M. Moroz, L. Papara etc.); some had been sent from abroad (S. Borachok, M. Hotsiy-Germany; M. Kmit-Australia; V. Krychevsky, Halyna Mazepa-Venezuela; M. Nedilko-Argentina). — There were also two sculptures by Mr. Alexander Arkhynenko. The exhibition met with considerable success.

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## STEPAN BANDERA RESIGNS

HANDS OVER POWERS TO THE LEADER OF O.U.N. IN THE HOMELAND — ASSUMES A SUBORDINATE FUNCTION WITHIN THE EXTERNAL UNITS OF O.U.N. — EXPECTS CONVOCA-  
TION OF A FOURTH GREAT ASSEMBLY OF ORGANIZATION — MOVE STRESSES UKRA-  
INIAN NATIONALISTS DISSATISFACTION WITH WEST AND EMPHASISES RELIANCE PRIMA-  
RELY UPON OWN REVOLUTIONARY POWER

The Ukrainian community abroad, i.e. more than a million adult Ukrainians, living  
presnt in dozens of free countries this side of the Iron Curtain, rec ived on Sept.  
12.1952, stunning news: the famed leader of their revolutionary Organization of Ukra-  
inian Nationalists (O.U.N.), STEPAN BANDERA, announced his resignation.

We print below two pertinent releases divulged recently by the official quarters of  
O.U.N.



Stepan Bandera

## THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY ABROAD

I

### ANNOUNCEMENT

*The Secretary of the Directorate of  
the External Units of Organization of  
Ukrainian Nationalists (E.U. of O.U.N.)  
is authorized to announce the following:*

*On August 22, 1952, STEPAN BAN-  
DERA resigned his post as the Leader of*

II

### A LETTER FROM UKRAINE

*From the Directorate of O.U.N. in the  
Ukrainian Homeland*

*"To the Leader of the entire O.U.N.  
—STEPAN BANDERA*

*"We send to the Directorate of the  
External Units of O.U.N., to all friends*



## ANNOUNCEMENT

the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) and handed over his powers to the Head of the Directorate of O.U.N. in the Ukrainian Homeland, till the time of the election of the new Leader of O.U.N.

After the resignation of STEPAN BANDERA, the Head of the Directorate of the External Units of O.U.N., YAROSLAV STETZKO, elected in this capacity at the last Conference of E.U. of O.U.N., put his post at the disposal of, and offered to elect to this post, Stepan Bandera.

Stepan Bandera declined this offer, but took a function within the Directorate of the E.U. O.U.N., led by the previous chairman.

Headquarters, Sept. 12. 1952

Secretary of the Directorate  
of the External Units of O.U.N.

## A LETTER FROM UKRAINE

and Ukrainians in foreign countries, our revolutionary greetings.

*"We decimated by that rabid enemy of all humanity, the Russian bolshevism, still proudly uphold the banner of Ukrainian Revolution. We are glad to know that our friends are with us.*

*"We firmly believe that the banner handed over to us by the greatest of our heroes, General Taras Chuprynka,—will soon flutter above the golden spires of Kyiv.*

*"Friend Leader! We believe firmly that, at the decisive moment and under your guidance, we will lead the Ukrainian people to the final victory.*

*Glory to Ukraine!"*

Spring, 1952.

By order of the Directorate:  
(Signature)

policy in Ukraine. There never was discussed and never existed some treaty or a verbal understanding between the Germans and the O.U.N. led by Stepan Bandera on behalf of the German-Ukrainian collaboration. Still the O.U.N. tried to use the German-Russian conflict in 1941 as a way to establish the independent Ukraine, and found it proper to take side with the advancing Germans. But Stepan Bandera always preferred to put the Germans before the accomplished facts. Thus the Military Units of O.U.N. as some unwelcome guests, marched simultaneously with the progressing German front to the East, but before the German occupation authorities could undertake anything serious, O.U.N. established everywhere Ukrainian civil state administration. On June 30th, 1941, endorsed by Stepan Bandera, Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko convoked in Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine, the Ukrainian National Assembly, proclaimed the renewal of the Independent Ukrainian State and established the free Ukrainian Government.

NAZI SUPPRESS UKRAINIAN ATTEMPT AT  
LIBERATION

At this point the Gestapo moved in. The whole Directorate of O.U.N. guided by Stepan Bandera, was arrested, and the national Ukrainian liberation movement brutally suppressed. His audacious moves and decisions earned for Stepan Bandera and his friends long years in German concentration camps. But his main aim was achieved: *Ukraine proclaimed once again to the whole world her will to liberty and independence.*

From now on, the Ukrainians, led by O.U.N., had to fight their liberation struggle on two fronts and against two enemies: German nazis and Russian bolsheviks. The arrest of Stepan Bandera could not stop the Ukrainian liberation movement. The Military Units of O.U.N. could not have been suppressed thoroughly; step by step they developed into fear-some U.P.A. — *Ukrainian Insurgent Army*. Soon, there emerged in the course of the war and post-war years another leader of historical dimensions in the alternately occupied but unconquered Ukraine: *General Taras Chuprynka*. Though imprisoned by Germans, Stepan Bandera continued to be acknowledged by O.U.N. and the freedom-loving Ukrainians as the rightful leader of the Organization and the symbol of the Ukrainian liberation movement.

## BANDERA'S SCEPTICISM

As once the collapse of Poland, now the collapse of nazi Germany freed Stepan Bandera at the end of World War II. from the imprisonment and continuous danger to his life. Exactly as in the case of the Russo - German "non-aggression pact" and their "alliance" of 1939—1941,

## WHY STEPAN BANDERA RESIGNED?

Some Remarks Concerning the Unexpected move of Famed  
Ukrainian Political Leader

## O.U.N. IN HISTORY OF UKRAINE

In order to understand better the unexpected resignation of Stepan BANDERA, since 1941 the Leader of O.U.N., the following basic information, is first needed:

The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) was created at the Inauguratory Congress in Vienna in 1929; O.U.N. was the avowed successor and the continuer of the revolutionary *Ukrainian Military Organization* (U.V.O.). Both fought ardently for decades for the establishment of a free, independent, Ukrainian national state — against communism, bolshevism and stalinism; against all sorts of imperialism; and against the Russian, Polish, Czech, Hungarian and Rumanian occupation of the parts of Ukrainian national territory.

With the passage of decades, the O.U.N. became the symbol and the epitome of the indomitable resistance of Ukraine, especially against Russian bolshevism and German nazism. During and after World War II hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians admitted openly being members of O.U.N., and millions confessed to be supporters and sympathizers of the movement. Innumerable Ukrainians suffered persecutions, trials, severe sentences, concentration camps and mass executions for their adherence to O.U.N.

## ASCENSION TO LEADERSHIP

Stepan BANDERA, now 43, became the leader of O.U.N. in 1941. His ascension to leadership took place in dramatic circumstances. The U.V.O., later the O.U.N., was led initially by Colonel Eugene KONOVALETS, a hero of the Ukrainian wars of liberation 1917-1921.

Col. Konovalets was blown to smithereens by a bolshevist bomb smuggled cunningly into his pocket by a Muscovite agent — provocateur, in Rotterdam, Holland, in May 1938.

After the death of Col. Konovalets there ensued two years of some internal unrest and a period of turbulent discussions within the O.U.N. In 1940 the organization split up; the overwhelming majority of the membership, especially the youth, followed the young, hard, uncompromising revolutionary — Stepan Bandera.

He started his revolutionary career as 17 year-old college student; at first he fought bitterly against the Polish domination over the Western Ukraine. In a mass trial against a group of O.U.N.-members in 1936 he was sentenced by the Polish Courts to death; his sentence being reduced to life imprisonment, he suffered 4 subsequent years in one of the most severe Polish dungeons; the outbreak of the World War II. in 1939, and the total collapse of Poland, quite unexpectedly freed him.

## RUSSO-GERMAN WAR AS A CHANCE

Elected as the Leader of O.U.N., Stepan Bandera anticipated the possibility of the outbreak of the German-Russian war. Out of this conflict he viewed some slight chances for the revival of the independent Ukrainian national state. As to be prepared for each eventuality, he initiated and pressed hard for the creation of the Military Units of O.U.N., i.e., militarily trained squads of young Ukrainian revolutionaries. Though very cautious and reserved in his judgment of the honesty of anybody's political motives, even he could not foresee the total craziness of the Nazi racial and extermination



in the stability of which Stepan Bandera believed not even for a single moment, at the outcome of the World War II. neither did he believe in the soundness and the stability of similar Russo - Western "friendship" and "alliance". He knows the Russians and bolshevist too well for that.

The Russo-bolshevist victory of 1944-1945 over Germany, over Ukraine and over the Western Powers at Yalta, Potsdam and at the Armistice, created also for the O.U.N. a technically difficult situation. The Iron Curtain was soon felt, not only as a nuisance, but with the passing years, as a real, even formidable obstacle. The intercourse between the Ukrainian population under the Soviet rule and the free world became more and more difficult. In consequence of the lost war, tens of thousands of Ukrainians fled to the West, among them innumerable adherents and sympathizers of the O.U.N.

So it happened that in purely technical way, the O.U.N. was split after the war in two parts: first, the proper mass of the O.U.N., members and supporters, living and fighting behind the Iron Curtain; second, External Units of O.U.N., i.e. members and adherents now living in the free world. So they are also popularly denominated: a/ the Homeland O.U.N., b/ the External O.U.N.

#### PRESENT STRUCTURE OF O.U.N.

Consequently, the hierarchical structure of the O.U.N. after the War is built up on such general lines:

1/ *Homeland O.U.N.* The technical exigencies demand that this main part of O.U.N. possess its own leadership, its own legislative body and its own executive. Its leader, and simultaneously the C.I.C. of the U.P.A., was, till his heroic death in action, *General Taras Chuprynyk* (proper civilian name: *Roman Shukhevych*); he was immediately followed in all his duties and functions by another leader of the Homeland O.U.N.; from obvious reasons his name is kept in dark.

At this point one more trait of the development is to be mentioned. As the end of the World War II. approached, the influence of O.U.N. and U.P.A. grew more and more in Ukraine and the organization of the Ukrainian liberation movement had to be elevated to a higher political, i.e. a *state level*. The O.U.N. started to create behind the Iron Curtain a proper Ukrainian underground parliament and government which were to assume the political and military responsibility for the continuance of the whole fight of Ukrainian liberation. Thus the U.H.V.R. — the *Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council* was born. This politically supreme body formed in 1944 the underground government of Ukraine known as the "*General Secretariate*"; it took control over the U.P.A., approved a budget and determined the Foreign Representa-

tion of U.H.V.R. Consequently, in addition to O.U.N., the U.H.V.R. is one more element in Ukrainian Homeland concerned vitally with the development of the Ukrainian liberation politics. O.U.N. and U.H.V.R. work interdependently.

2/ *External Units of O.U.N.* — Here again the technical separation from the Homeland required the functioning of a local independent directorate, i.e. of its own legislative and executive bodies. Both exist. The elected leader of the E.U. of O.U.N. is at present the former Prime Minister of Ukraine — *Yaroslav Stetsko*.

3/ *Position of Stepan Bandera.* Both branches of O.U.N., in the Homeland and abroad, are, or at least till 22.8.1952 were, united by the leading personality of Stepan Bandera, the summit of the whole structure. After the war Stepan Bandera lived, deeply hidden, in various countries of Western Europe. Both main sub-leaders of the O.U.N., in the Homeland and abroad, enjoyed a very vast functional autonomy. Stepan Bandera, as was among Ukrainians well known, was reluctant to interfere too much with their activities. He looked at his position rather as that of an inspirer, a programme welder, and a referee. His main job was understood to be: the evaluation of the general situation, the analyses of world politics, the analysis of the trends and developments in U.S.S.R. with special regard to Ukraine, the drawing of the conclusions and the establishment of the general lines and tactics of the Ukrainian liberation movement. In his personal life extremely modest, even puritanic (he lives with his family in austere seclusion) — Stepan Bandera prefers to be brain and the spiritual motive power of the Ukrainian Revolution.

Now, Stepan Bandera, quite unexpectedly even for his nearest friends and fellow-workers, has resigned his powers.

Why? What do the two press releases, up till now published, in reality, explain? From that, at first, four main facts can be established.

#### UKRAINIAN HOMELAND ACKNOWLEDGES BANDERA'S LEADERSHIP

1/ The "Letter from Ukraine" reveals that until the Spring of 1952, Stepan Bandera enjoyed full acknowledgement and support from his Ukrainian Homeland as the Leader of the whole O.U.N. To our best knowledge, this was one of the last messages from Ukraine to the External Units O.U.N. which, in consequence of the communication difficulties arising from the existence of the Iron Curtain, could have been sent. In the meantime nothing happened in, or became known from, Ukraine, which could have altered the previous excellent relations of the O.U.N. in the Homeland to Stepan Bandera. Thus the inference is allowed that *it was not the Homeland* which could have incited Stepan Bandera

to take such a drastic step. The real motive must be sought in something else.

In accordance to the statutes of O.U.N. from the day of Bandera's signed resignation, the Homeland leader of O.U.N. became the chief man in the whole structure. The statutes of O.U.N., not being in principle and in practice "monocratic", or "dictatorial", or "totalitarian" in the sense of fascism or bolshevism, still vest the chief Leader with tremendous executive powers, rather comparable in many aspects to those of the President of U.S.A.

#### THE SHIFT OF EMPHASIS

2/ In the circles close to Stepan Bandera it is well known that he regards the present international situation, as well as that in U.S.S.R. and also in Ukraine, as *extremely critical*, and with the passage of time, *growing more and more dangerous*. He expects no relaxation in the international tensions born from the Cold War. On the contrary. As the main burden of the resistance of Ukraine against bolshevism and Russian imperialism rests with the Ukrainian people behind the Iron Curtain, i.e. with O.U.N., U.P.A., and U.H.V.R., it is right that the main responsibility lies also with the local management of the Ukrainian Revolution. This resignation portends a deep shift of emphasis. The analysis of the policy of Western powers led Stepan Bandera to the conclusion that, obviously, Ukraine cannot expect much help and assistance from the West, if any at all, in her struggle for the liberation and her separation from the Russian empire. The cession of power and the shift of emphasis to the O.U.N., U.P.A., and U.H.V.R. in Ukraine means, that just the leaders there will have to decide what to do and how to behave in the case of an open world-wide conflict. This means, too, that in the future the West will have to deal with these problems directly through the management of the O.U.N. in Ukraine. The main decisions will have to come from behind the Iron Curtain.

#### UKRAINIAN REVOLUTIONARY POWER FIRST

This shift of emphasis means, too, that Stepan Bandera would like to stress before the Ukrainian people, and, before the outside world as well, that, in his political thinking and in his political practice, *he always puts the Ukrainian homeland and its powers and possibilities first*. This principle is for the formulation of the Ukrainian liberation policy of first rate importance. It means that, in his view, the liberation has to come and will have to come by the effort of the Ukrainian people, themselves in the first place, and should not and cannot be built up primarily upon the speculations about some favourable international conjuncture or some foreign intervention. Consequently, it is in the second place of a move against the thinking and the practices of some



Ukrainian individuals, and even political groups, who are trying "to attach" the Ukrainian liberation to the train of some such international "liberation conjuncture", and who therefore are trying desperately to get "contacts" so as to 'convince' the foreign powers of the justice of the Ukrainian liberation cause. Stepan Bandera recognizes and appreciates the necessity of adequate foreign information about the liberation struggle of Ukraine, but refuses to sail in the wake of any foreign powers or international conjuncture. In a longer perspective, this move of Stepan Bandera's would develop into a hard blow for all sorts of Ukrainian political "fixers", who are pestering the ante-rooms of all possible political agencies and foreign offices, offering the "co-operation of free Ukrainians". This shift of emphasis means that the foreign offices and governments interested in Ukrainian problem will have to go, not to "fix", but really to settle, matters with the proper leaders of the Ukrainian people — behind the Iron Curtain.

#### ACCENTUATING DEMOCRACY

3/ As can be seen from the "Announcement" of the Secretariate of the External Units of O.U.N., Stepan Bandera declined the offer to take over the leadership of the E.U. of O.U.N., but consented to fill a post within the management of the External Units under their former leader, which means, in practice under Yaroslav Stetko.

It is not known at present precisely what specific functions Stepan Bandera will carry out in the management of the External Units. But whatever this function be, his decision reveals that he found it possible to descent from his previous position and to take hierarchically some lower position within the ranks of the organization; to put it more plainly, to submit himself voluntarily to the guidance and directives of another man.

In the circles near to Stepan Bandera this move meets with the following explanation: Stepan Bandera is simply weary of the continuous insinuation, spread everywhere by his political enemies, that he pretends to be some Ukrainian "dictator", a sort of a "fuhrer" or "duce" a "livelong leader" and soch other nonsense. Stepan Bandera would like to be seen and evaluated by the public as what he really is: a disciplined member of the organization, obliged to behave like every other member, i.e. to fill, to the measure of his personal capacity, each post

and to tackle each assignment which arises from the Ukrainian fight for liberation and the organizational necessities of O.U.N. Stepan Bandera supports firmly the principle of democracy within as well as outside the organization; he maintains that there should be no everlasting, nor hereditary, nor family-bound pre-

## A STUNNING BLOW

THE MESSAGE OF POPE PIUS XII "TO THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA" IS TAKEN TO BE A NEGATION, ON THE PART OF THE VATICAN, OF THE UKRAINIAN MOVEMENT TOWARDS NATIONAL-POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, AND HAS SHAKEN TO ITS FOUNDATIONS THE ENTIRE UKRAINIAN PUBLIC OPINION

By Z. Poray

#### THE PAPAL MESSAGE

In the September number of the "Ukrainian Observer", we have already briefly reported on the recently published message of Pope Pius XII, in which it was stated that the Roman Catholic Holy Father, "prompted by repeated and urgent pleas from all parts of the world, had resolved to place all the peoples of Russia under the protection of the All-pure Heart of the Holy Mother of God, the Virgin Mary". ("Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Divina Providentia Papale XII Epistola Apostolica AD UNIVERSOS RUSSIAE POPULOS"), dated in the Vatican, July 7th, 1952, was published on July 24th, 1952, the day of the evangelists

siderencies and personal leaderships, no perpetual ministers, party bosses etc., and that the chief posts and functions within a community are bound to be submitted to continuous public control and criticism and to the necessary personal changes. He refuses to be an exception to this general democratic rule.

#### THE NEXT GREAT ASSEMBLY WILL DECIDE

4/ This interpretation of the resignation of Stepan Bandera is compatible with another point of the "Announcement" which stresses that his resignation is valid "till the time of the election of the new Leader of O.U.N."

This means that Stepan Bandera expects in a foreseeable future the convocation of the fourth Great Assembly of the O.U.N. It is said in the circles near to Stepan Bandera that, in a letter sent recently to the Leader of O.U.N. in the Homeland, he suggested the convocation of the next Great Assembly at the nearest feasible date. Stepan Bandera would like the vast range of the basic Ukrainian national problems to be debated thoroughly, the whole international, as well as the internal, Ukrainian situation, the strategy and the tactics of the Ukrainian fight for liberation be reviewed, the necessary conclusion be drawn and all ideological, programmatical, organizational and personal decision be taken.

The "Announcement" of the Secretariate of the E.U. of O.U.N. does not mean that Stepan Bandera ceded his powers once and for ever and that he retires entirely from politics. It can be taken for sure that if the fourth Great Assembly of O.U.N. would elect him once more to his previous position, he would accept the wish of the organization.

Cyril and Methodius in "L'Osservatore Romano", the official organ of the Vatican.

The first report on this message was given to the world by the "Associated Press", and that first of all in an abbreviated, partly distorted form. Once it is referred to as a message to the "Peoples of the Soviet Union", another time as directed to the "Peoples of Russia". Although this distinction may seem immaterial to the western reader, it is nevertheless extraordinarily important and literally decisive for millions of Ukrainians.

The Ukrainians, in the first place, did not want to believe for one moment that the Holy Father, above all, could have addressed a message to the *Peoples of Russia*, and attributed the appearance of this very phrase in the report to some kind of verbal misrepresentation on the part of "Associated Press". Unfortunately, the printing of the message in "L'Osservatore Romano" in Latin as well as in Italian fully confirms the fact that Pope Pius XII was indeed addressing himself to the "entire peoples of Russia".

#### A SERIOUS POLITICAL FACT

Thereby not only a religious fact, but also a political one of the first importance has been established by the Vatican. This fact signifies that Pope Pius XII, and through him the Roman Catholic Church as such, recognises the existence of Russia in the sense of a *state* and a *nation*; the "peoples of Russia" are accordingly only parts, provinces, members of *one* comprehensive whole. The message teems with such expression as — "*universam Russorum gentem*"; "*pro universo Russorum regno*"; "*Russicis regionibus*"; "*Russorum populus*"; "*cunctos Russiarum populos*", etc.

Quite evidently the papal message combats communism and bolshevism. That also is done by the overwhelming majority-numbering 43 million - of the Ukrainian people of which about 7 million in West-Ukraine and among the world-wide emigration, are Roman Catholics. The message, however, acknowledges and, by implication, justifies the existence of *Russian imperialism*, - and thereby comes into sharp and insoluble contradiction to the ideals and aspiration of Ukraine.

The core of the problem lies in the fact that the Ukrainians do not feel themselves, in the slightest degree, to be one of the "peoples of Russia", do not at all regard themselves as belonging to Russia, emphatically deny the existence of a Ru-



sian super nation, which would embrace various provincial nations, refuse most strongly to recognize the justification for existence of a Russian imperialism, and, with all the means at their disposal, have been struggling for centuries to do away with the Russian domination over Ukraine. The Ukrainians are not Russians, and never were, and never will be; their relationship to Russia is that of a subjugated but never vanquished nation towards a conqueror. Well may the Holy Father place the Ukrainians under the protection of the Holy Mother of God, but in doing so he lets them remain within the framework and political unity of "the Russian peoples"; this is a political imputation to which the Ukrainians will never reconcile themselves, and will never comprehend.

#### THE BIG AIM: UNION OF CHURCHES

The papal message to the "peoples of Russia" has, besides its supplicatory and religious character, above all a deeper political meaning. Nowhere in the message is anything explicitly said of the aim of re-uniting the eastern Orthodox with the western Catholic Church; the first impression gained is that the letter is nothing more than an expression of Christian love and encouragement for the enslaved and persecuted, who, by the way, are in the mass, not Catholic at all. The thought, however, of the union of the Churches or to be more exact, the "restoring of the erring Eastern Orthodox Church to the fold of the only true Church and that Roman Catholic", under the leadership of the Pope, still continues; this thought furnishes the background to every tendency, every deed, every word of the Vatican regarding Orthodox Eastern Europe. Certainly, in the course of centuries, there has not been a single Pope who accomplished the restoration of Eastern Orthodoxy to the jurisdiction of Peter's Chair.

Now Pope Pius XII has also embraced this sentiment and this task. Although the message does not *directly* summon the Orthodox "peoples of Russia" to re-union, it strives, from the first to the last word, to give voice to the love, the devotion, and the concern which the Holy Father and the Roman Church feels regarding the weal and woe of these "Russian" peoples. Its purpose is primarily, so to say, the first step in the campaign, to create a favourable psychological atmosphere, friendly feeling among the "peoples of Russia", for Peter's Chair and the Pope, in order to build up on this prepared mental foundation, the thoughts of and activities, a re-union.

#### UNUSUAL ADDRESS

It is surely not without a definite design that this letter has appeared just at this agitated and tense time, addressed directly to the entire people. This form of address, *directly* to a nation, is something very unusual, and almost without precedent in

the history of the Popes. Usually the Popes address themselves to the bishops or, more seldom, to the entire Catholic clergy of a country or an area. To our knowledge, there have been only two such papal messages directly to the non-Catholic nations, and those were: in 1885 an address from Pope Leo XIII to England, and in 1897 to the Coptic Church; both of these messages called for re-union with the Roman Catholic Church.

Certainly no person in the present-day world, even the most highly-placed and influential leaders of the present times, not excluding the Pope, know exactly, nor can predict, what will be the result of the present world-tension. We live in the time of the cold-war, which consistently increases in hardness and resolution. This state of affairs may last perhaps for decades, and perhaps it will break out, within measurable time, in the bloody drama of a third atom-bomb World-War. One thing can be taken as certain: that these two opposed worlds are not able to exist, one beside the other, peacefully and for ever. Either bolshevism will conquer the entire world, or it will fall; there can and there will be no compromise.

This is the world-situation which the papal message obviously anticipates—for both eventualities. If bolshevism wins, and the red banners with hammer and sickle wave one day over Rome, it will have been wisely done, in any case to have professed, long before, love and devotion towards the "peoples of Russia". Yet, in the terrible possibility of the world being conquered by bolshevism no-one in the West can seriously believe, neither Vatican, nor Paris, nor London, nor above all, Washington. And may the Almighty protect us all from that.

This message from the Vatican is much rather intended for the situation in which, not the West, but bolshevism in the East will collapse or be beaten down. One can well imagine what political chaos and simultaneously what spiritual and religious confusion will result in the wide areas of the present Soviet Union. This would be exactly the situation in which the Roman Catholic Church could embark upon a quite large harvesting of souls in the East.

#### THREE BASIC IDEAS

One should, in the West, place oneself under no illusions as to what the spiritual landscape behind the Iron Curtain looks like at the present time. Many bolshevistic ideas, primarily in social respect, are planted there much more deeply in the soil, especially among the younger generation than one would think to be true. For whole decades to come, any kind of return to the private capitalist conditions of pre-revolutionary times is not to be thought of for a moment. In agriculture, as in industry and trade, the private enterpriser, the proprietor, will scarcely win any more ground or influence than he personally,

or with his family, can build up, manage and carry on. Although the soul-destroying state-capitalism of Stalin's coining will surely be destroyed, there will arise in its stead rather a system of co-operativism, which will have the public estate to manage.

In the spiritual respect, on the other hand, there are indeed *only three ideas* which would supplant the bolshevistic heritage of mastery. *Firstly* there would be the Russian Orthodox Church, *secondly* the Russian imperialistic idea dressed in democratic colours, *thirdly* the idea of the breaking up the Russian empire and of the full independence of the nations until now enslaved by Russia; i.e. the idea of anti-imperialistic nationalism.

#### RUSSIAN PATRIARCHAL CHURCH

The Russian Orthodox or, to put it better, the Russian Patriarchal Church, i.e. the Patriarch of Moscow, would, after the fall of bolshevism, be in a very precarious position. In the last two decades, it has allied itself too closely with the imperialism of the Russian bolshevism, has performed too clumsily and brazenly, the office of spiritual hack to this imperialism everywhere in the world, has identified itself too much with the accepted aims and methods of Stalinism for there to be many people, after the collapse of bolshevism, who would identify themselves with *this* church. In other words, the Moscow Patriarchal Orthodox Church has, in the meantime, become and remained too red to be able to remain, among the believers, some faith in its spiritual integrity. This church blossomed too much under the protection of the Soviet-Russian state security police (M.G.B.), was called back to official life, personally staffed, directed, controlled and coddled, that it would be too difficult for the worshippers to know where the M.G.B. ends and the church begins; the people, in general, are not inclined to receive their spiritual nourishment according to the measures and instructions of the security authorities. Here, in these circumstances, the Roman Catholic Church would have indeed a wide and profitable field of activity, if it attacks its task properly and, above all, in the right place.

#### THE MUSCOVITE "DEMOCRACY"

Not much more reputation and good fortune than the Patriarchal Church would the second subsequent idea have, as an inheritance to bolshevism, that being the idea of a *democratic Russian empire*. The basic assumption here is that the existence and continuance of the Russian empire would, in itself, be not so bad that one could not gain, from this great state, many positive characteristics and tasks, provided that, in this empire, there could be brought to power a genuine democracy and, with it, a humane-liberal spiritual attitude. One wants to believe that, if once a genuine democracy were



set up in Russia, this would solve not only one or two, but even a whole hundred of the most difficult problems and, above all, the basic freedoms would be guaranteed: freedom of conscience, of thought, of religion, of political activity, of the individual, etc., the freedom of the "Russian peoples" included. That is one ideal, by which, in especial, the American policy swears, and that because the Americans absolutely do not understand or take cognizance of the fact that the plant, democracy, has never flourished in the hard soil of the Russian empire, nor will ever do so. This is one of those empires which has risen as a result of centurieslong practice of brutal force, of lies, of annexations and of deceptions, and, in all eternity, can be held together only by brutal force.

The idea of the continuation of the Russian empire has a special attraction for the West, in so far that one believes thereby to win and retain the sympathies of about 100 million Russians proper, or, to put it more exactly, the Muscovites. In the West, people have become used to regarding the Russians proper, the Muscovite multitudes, as the central people, the chief power, the deciding factor in East-European events. From that the deduction is made that, in politics, as well as in spiritual dispute, nothing must happen that might annoy or alienate the Russian people proper. Bolshevism is indeed being combatted, but it is carefully separated from the Russians as a nation. Now since the continuation of the Russian empire is the heart's desire, the greatest ambition, the actual life purpose of all pure Russians, they are allowed by the West to have their empire, even though so much else—and at such terrible—is set aside.

#### THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

The third possible idea that may follow in the train of a dissolution of bolshevism, consists of something completely contrasting: in the idea of the dismemberment of the Russian empire, and of the full realization of the nations right to self-determination. There are, in the U.S.S.R., 100 million pure Russians, to be sure, but there are also 100 million non-Russians. If they were to be freed from the Muscovite overlordship and tyranny and released from the Russian empire, that empire would at once cease to exist. And, by this action, the power, and danger to the world of Russian imperialism would be once and for all broken. All the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. are in the midst of a process of growth and formation of an independent nationalism, which is growing ever stronger. This process is, of course only a part of that world-wide movement, which, in our time, has affected, with irresistible power, dozens of nations in South and East Asia, in the Near East, and in North Africa, and is steadily increasing. It is a grave politi-

cal sin on the part of the West that it has let this movement fall into the clutches of bolshevism, which has diverted it into its own political canals and exploited it for its own political purposes. A democracy within the Russian empire is not possible. On the contrary, it can be realized and developed only in those lands which have been set free from Russia and been made nationally and politically independent. The nation's right to self-determination is at the foundation of democratic thought. Yet, in the case of its application to Russia itself, this right has been betrayed by the Western peoples. Faced by the choice between the Muscovites and their empire and the liberation, on the basis of democracy and the nation's right to self-determination, of the non-Russian people, the West has chosen to give preference to the empire of Moscow.

#### VATICAN TAKES SIDE WITH RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

The message of Pope Pius XII to the "Russiae populos" furnishes evidence that the Vatican, too, has decided for the imperial Russian solution. The message implies that these "Russiae populi" are but a kind of possession of Russia, i.e. practically the property of Moscow. The message is so composed, as if this "universum Russorum regnum" were a self-evident, natural and thoroughly acceptable fact, as if nationality question had never existed in the Soviet Union, as if innumerable non-Russian peoples did not, year by year and day by day, fight with the exertion of all their strength, among countless sacrifices in blood and possessions, against the Russian tyranny. One would like to have the Roman Catholic believers think that the Roman Holy See is always exerting itself on behalf of the weak, the persecuted, the subjugated and dispossessed; in this case Pope Pius XII is working, however, quite obviously for the might and right of the strong, the powerful, and the men of violence. The papal confirmation of the existence, and right to existence of the "universum Russorum regnum", runs remarkably parallel to the course of such time-serving institutions, as, for example, the "American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia".

#### VATICAN AND UKRAINE

The Ukrainians regard themselves as the strongest nation within U.S.S.R., which stands in the front line of the resistance and the struggle against bolshevism and the Russian imperialism. Countless are the sacrifices in life and property which Ukraine has made in this fight, which has lasted for the 35 years of the bolshevist tyranny. The message of Pope Pius XII was therefore felt, by the Ukrainians in particular, to be a hard blow, because, in direct contrast to the Russians proper, it has always been the Ukrainians who have consistently worked for the idea of the re-union of the Church, have

suffered much for Catholicism, and, as a nation occupied by the Russians and most severely persecuted, were entitled to expect from the Vatican the support and understanding for the cause of their liberation.

It would naturally be too much to narrate here the story of the relations of Ukraine with the Vatican. Nothing is known to Ukrainians of Moscow and its Orthodox rulers having shown, during the course of centuries, the slightest interest in ecclesiastical re-union with Rome. On the contrary, what is very well known is the implacable fanaticism, the blind intolerance, and open hatred with which the Moscow Orthodox clergy have always rejected the idea of this union as a clear work of the devil, and have also publicly denounced every Russian tendency of sympathy towards Catholicism as a betrayal of Russia.

#### IN THE COURSE OF CENTURIES

There were times when the occupants of Peter's Chair had a very fine and clearly marked understanding for the difference between Russians and Ukrainians, in that they designated the Russians "Russi" or "Muscoviti", but the Ukrainians "Rutheni". The expression "Rutheni" in this sense is to be seen in the official documents of the Apostolic Chair, dating from the 10th to the 15th century. In the message of Pope Pius XII to the "Russiae populos", the expression "Rutheni" is no more to be found; there remains only "Russi" - and all, simply all what the Ukrainians, that is the former Ruthenian princes of Kyiv, Halych and Volodymyr, concerned themselves with in connection with Peter's Chair is today set, without more ado, to the account of the Russians, and ascribed to them. Why was that rendered necessary?

The papal message wanted to give the impression among the Russians, or more exactly the Orthodox Muscovites, that relations with the Russians had been thoroughly correct and friendly throughout the centuries right until 1448, when there resulted the break with the Moscow Orthodox Church in decisive form. Thus the Ukrainian, that is, Ruthenian princes of mediaeval history, such as Volodymyr the Great, his brother Yaropolk, Iziaslav, Roman Mstyslavych, Mikhaylo of Chernihov, Danylo of Galicia, Andrey and Leo Youryevych, Boleslav II Troydenovych, the priests: Metropolitan Ivin Prodom, Bishop Theodor, Metropolitan Akerovych, Metropolitan Hryhory Tsamblak, and many others are simply set down as "Russi". One period of pure Ukrainian national history, lasting almost 600 years, which has the least to do with the special development of the principality of Moscow and Russia, is simply represented as a piece of "Russian" history. Here the papal message places itself on the same level as the imperialistic Russian historical writings, which claim this alien historical development for the elevation of their own greatness.



The Russians, the Muscovites have never sought for fraternisation with, or made any approach to Rome, and even condemn such approach as the sin against the Holy Ghost.

In contrast to that, the Ruthenian prince who introduced Christianity into Ukraine, Volodymyr the Great, received in 988 the legate of Pope John XV, who brought with him the relics of the Saints. His brother, Prince Yaropolk, received the legates of Pope Benedict VII in the years 977, 978 and 979. In the year 1001, Pope Sylvester II sent his legate to Kyiv.

In the year 1075, the Ruthenian *Archduke Izyaslav* sent his son, Yaropolk, to Rome to Pope Gregory VII; Yaropolk took an oath of allegiance to the Apostolic Pope and received from the hands of the Pope the state of Kyiv as a gift of St. Peter.

In 1418, during the council at Constance, the Metropolitan of Kyiv, *Hryhory Tsamblak*, expressed the desire to unite the Ruthenian-Ukrainian and the Lithuanian Orthodox Churches with the Roman Catholic Church.

In 1439, at the World Council in Florence, the Metropolitan of Kyiv, *Izydor*, had signed, in the name of the whole Ruthenian Orthodox Church, a decree authorising the union of the Eastern and Western Christian Churches under the jurisdiction of the Pope of Rome; he personally remained true to this avowal until the end of his life.

#### RUSSIAN PERSECUTION OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

A lasting union of the western parts of Ukraine, that is, of the provinces Kholm and Pidlashe, and part of Volhynia, Galicia, Carpathian Ukraine and part of Bukovina was accomplished by an act of union at Brest Litovsk in the year 1596. By this, millions of Western Ukrainians came under the ecclesiastical authority of the Pope of Rome. How deeply Rome once valued this union is proved by the words of Pope Urban VII, who, in the year 1644, declared: "Through you, my Ruthenians, I hope to convert the East". Today, in the message of Pope Pius XII, these Ruthenians have changed into "Russi".

For their membership of the Catholic Church, the Ukrainians, particularly in recent times, have suffered very heavy oppression and persecution from Russian bolshevism.

The Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan of Lviv (Lemberg), Dr. Yosyf Slipyj, 11 bishops, and many more than 3,000 Ukrainian Catholic priests were, after the occupation of West-Ukraine in 1944, arrested, abducted, murdered, exiled, or otherwise disappeared in the depths of the Russian wastes.

And not that the Moscow Orthodox Church has given, in recent times, any signs of wishing to ally itself with Rome. On the contrary, under the leadership of

the Patriarch of Moscow and his bishops, a so-called "decatholization" of the West-Ukraine has been carried out under the terrible pressure of the M.G.B. This was a "re-uniting of the erring flock with the whole body of Orthodox believers", a "reconversion" to eastern Christianity, in which the pistols of the M.G.B. have lent a competent support. It is not only that the Holy See in Rome has not been able to win any souls among the Russians; on the contrary, the aggressive Patriarchal Moscow Church has encroached very deeply into the province of the Catholic Church.

#### THEY ARE UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS

And now the most remarkable thing has come to pass: the papal message concerns itself very much with the Russians, who, since time immemorial, through their Patriarchal Moscow Orthodoxy, have opposed Rome so bitterly; and at the same time it disregards the Ukrainians, mentions not once their national existence, although they have, through the centuries, constantly shown proofs of their wish for alliance and ecclesiastical union with Rome, and have therefore suffered severely. Pope Pius XII's treatment of the subjects does not let itself once make use of the gospel words, that 'one penitent sinner is much dearer to the church than a hundred just men', for here there is not one penitent Russian sinner, whom this papal demonstration has redeemed.

For this is an established fact in eastern Europe, which no power in the world can alter; the Ukrainians are not only Christians and, to a great extent, Catholics also, *they are at the same time conscious patriots, conscious nationalists*. They cannot, and do not desire to separate their religious feelings from the national feelings, and will never do so. If they are Catholics, they feel themselves to be *Ukrainian Catholics* and claim from Rome the same right to national acknowledgment, which the Holy See accords to French, Spanish, Hungarian, Polish and other Catholics. Yet it is exactly this national acknowledgment, this understanding for the national liberation struggle, that Pope Pius XII denies the Ukrainians, by throwing them together with the Russians into a pot, and labelling them as "Russians" before the world.

#### ROME WILL NEVER WIN THE MUSCOVITES

The Ukrainians regard it as a fearful mistake if anyone believes that, by acknowledging the Russian empire and delivering up the non-Russian nations to the mastery of Moscow, it is possible to win the sympathy of the millions of Russians proper. This mistake is now being made at the moment consequently by the Americans; this mistake is now being repeated by the Holy See. Naturally, the Russians at once rightly understood the political meaning of the papal message, when they broke out into a re-

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gular howl of joy in their exile press and wrote: 'The Pope acknowledges the unity of Russia; he rejects all national separatism'.

The growing and ever strengthening nationalism of the non-Russian peoples Observer. Gal.37.

in the U.S.S.R. is, however, an accomplished historical fact. We take the liberty of asserting that *no-one can win the battle against bolshevism who allies himself with the Russians proper or, more exactly, the Muscovites*. Such an alliance can be formed only at the cost of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. In contrast to this, we permit ourselves to maintain that *only he can win the imminent fight with bolshevism who allies himself with the strengthening nationalism of the Eastern nations*. That also applies to the East-European policy of the Holy See.

#### A DAY OF UKRAINIAN MOURNING

Pope Pius XII has certainly not won over the Russians by his message to the "Russian peoples"; there is no price for which the Holy Father could gain the conversion of Moscow, not even by delivering up the non-Russian nations. In certain circumstances it might be possible to win Ukraine for Rome: one of the chief preliminary conditions to that would be the full recognition of the national-political independence movement of the Ukrainians.

It is difficult to describe how deeply and painfully this papal message has affected the hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians behind the Iron Curtain, as it comes by and by to their knowledge. They will find in it a confirmation that the Holy See knows only Russia, and has no understanding for their struggle for the liberty and independence of their nation.

As has been stated, Pope Pius XII has not won over the Russians by this message; and never will. For this he has shattered the love, the devotion, the affection of countless Ukrainian Catholics, and the deep fellow-feeling of the Ukrainian Orthodox believers as well.

The day on which this message was published was the day of common woe and deepest national mourning for all Ukrainians.



# WHAT IS HAPPENING BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN?

By ZENON PELENSKY

*The speech held by the Author in June, 1952, in London, Caxton Hall, on the occasion of a Conference of "Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations" (A.B.N.), Delegation in Great Britain.*

Mr. President,  
Ladies and Gentlemen.

I was glad to accept the invitation of the London branch of "Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations", Delegation in Great Britain, to speak about what is happening behind the Iron Curtain. Permit me, by the way of introduction, to tell you a little about the Organisation on whose behalf I speak, and about myself as well.

WHAT IS "ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS" — A.B.N.?

The Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations is an active political organization whose aim is to break the power of bolshevism and Russian imperialism, a danger for the entire world, and to help all the peoples subjugated by Moscow to regain their freedom and sovereignty as nations and states. The A.B.N. includes the satellite nations which were not enslaved by Moscow until after World War II, and also all enslaved nations within the Soviet Union who have long been striving for freedom and independence. The following peoples belong to the A.B.N.: Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Rumanians, Cossackians, Georgians, North Caucasians, Turketians, Idel-Uralians and others.

I personally am a Ukrainian, but I think that what I am going to say here would be thoroughly endorsed by all organizations represented in the A.B.N. The A.B.N. is a kind of central organization but it is not built on individual personal membership. It unites revolutionary organizations for freedom in the peoples listed above who are oppressed by bolshevism and Russian imperialism. Its president is Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, formerly Prime Minister of Ukraine.

THE TRUTH CANNOT BE CONCEALED

In spite of all the Iron Curtains in the world, the bolsheviks cannot conceal the main facts and events of their lives: the most severe censorship, the strictest isolation, their hysterical fear of espionage are all of no avail. The truth about the Soviet Union is to be found ultimately not so much in discovering what is hidden from us, as rather in evaluating and interpreting correctly what we actually do know and what lies clear before all of us.

And much lies before us, but it must be properly understood. Every Soviet

Newspaper, every provincial rag, however dull for western readers, reveals volumes if it is read with intelligence and understanding. Moreover, men are constantly coming from behind the Curtain and they have much to say about conditions there.

What, then, is happening behind the Iron Curtain? Let us avoid details and concentrate on important facts and trends that we consider to be decisive for the future fate of the whole world.

WHAT ARE THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES?

Is war ahead? Does Russia want war? Will there soon be a third Armageddon? Is Moscow arming because she feels a messianic urge to conquer the world, to create a kind of Russian paradise on earth? Or, is she arming from fear, because she is really afraid of being strangled by Western "capitalists" encirclement?

Is it truth that a new world is being born behind the Iron Curtain? That a new man is appearing, welded by events like glowing steel? That a new, better and more just social order is overcoming the throes of birth and establishing itself?

Or is all that is happening in the East nothing but a mad bout of nationalism, the intoxication of a nation that is now a raving megalomaniac?

And what are we to do about it? Should we arm quickly and fetter the raving lunatic before more damage is done? Or should we perhaps recognize that we are witnessing a profound change in humanity, similar to the English Revolution in the 17th, and the French Revolution in the 18th century? Are we confronted with one of those great revolutions that re-cast the social and cultural structure of humanity and that mark a turning-point in the history of the human race?

So many questions, so many answers. Do not expect me, or rather the A.B.N. peoples, to presume to give a final answer to all these questions. It took more than a hundred years to reveal the balance of the Great Revolution in England or of the French Revolution, and to show their effects, good and bad. We are still too near to one of the greatest revolutions in the history of the world to be able to pronounce a final verdict. And we ourselves play a part in the powerful drama which will not be ended when bolshevism collapses; for it will then be necessary to build up in the wide spaces of the East a world of liberty, dignity and friendship, and to strengthen the foundations of the future.

But there are, nevertheless, a number of problems we feel able to answer even

today. For to some of them we really *do* know the answer!

DOUBLE FACE OF THE EASTERN REVOLUTION

This revolution had a double meaning from the very start — a double face, as it were — a *social and national* aspect. When this revolution broke out, it aimed at *two* kinds of freedom: social and national. And its place in human history depends on to what degree it attained those aims? What has actually happened?

It is one of the most astounding things in Western journalism and political consciousness that they have never been properly aware of this double aspect of the Eastern Revolution. The West saw only its social side, the constitutional aspect of the problem. It thought that the Eastern Revolution was merely the collapse of an antiquated form of the Russian government the removal of the absolute, mediaeval conditions in order to make way for a liberal and democratic constitution and the reform of a neglected and criminally backward economy. That would be right if it was a matter of carrying out these changes within a *uniform* people. But something more was at stake.

When the Revolution broke out on March 12, 1917, there was one detail in the confused scene which, as far as I know, has not been mentioned by any Western report of those days. The Revolution really became serious only when the first military unit, the First Volhynian Guards, then on duty at the Tsar's palace, showed that it was in favour of the movement. Volhynians are Ukrainians. At 7 o'clock in the morning of March 12, 1917, they hoisted the blue and yellow Ukrainian national flag alongside of the red flag above their barracks. No one mentions the Ukrainian flag — and yet it was just as important a symbol for the future as the red flag of socialism.

THE RISING OF NATIONS

The Western press reported all that happened in Petersburg and Moscow in these days. But just as important happenings were taking place in all the capitals of the states held captive by Russia where national flags, like the Ukrainian, were hoisted; in Helsinki-Finland, Estonian Reval, Latvian Riga, Lithuanian Vilnius, Byelorussian Myensk, Polish Warsaw, Ukrainian Kyiv and Lviv, in Azerbaijan Baku, Armenian Erivan, Georgian Tbilisi, Turkistanian Ashabad, etc., etc.

In those days no fewer than 19 nations of the former Tsarist empire declared their independence and their secession from the Russian imperium — and fought desperately for that. It is not to their discredit that they, except the Finns, Latvians and Lithuanians, and the Poles, were all beaten by 1921 by a resurrected Russian imperialism. Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians were also allowed to



enjoy their freedom for the short space of 20 years, for it was their turn in 1940. And 5 years later the turn was of Poland, Slovakia, Czechia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and 18 million Germans.

When we ask now what is happening behind the Iron Curtain, one of the clearest answers is: 3 dozen nations, enslaved for longer or shorter periods by Moscow's imperialism are fighting stubbornly not only for their freedom as individuals, but just as desperately for *their national-liberty*.

There is no sense in granting only those states that were independent before 1945 or 1939 the right of sovereignty secession from Russia. It is not to the discredit of the so-called "Russian peoples" that the idea of national freedom and independence should only have arisen among them in 1917, that they should have experienced the same volcanic eruption of national ideas 100—150 years later than Western Europe; the fiery power of these ideas is no weaker among Eastern peoples than it was previously among those in Western Europe. And these movements for independence are no less genuine because they appear when big unions of nations seem to be the order of the day and when whole continents seem to be groving into one; *Eastern peoples are not averse to union but they demand that it should be on the basis of complete independence, and as a result of their own, free decisions; they cannot see why it should be only on a Great Russian basis, why they cannot join a United Europe directly, not through Russia.*

#### BETRAYED REVOLUTION

No great historical revolution has ever been more shamefully betrayed as regards its fundamental principles of *social and national freedom*, has produced more consistently the very opposite of what it aimed at, than that in the East. It is true that no great revolution ever accomplished 100 percent of its programme — this is true both of the English and the French Revolutions. But these movements created much that was good, as did also the German liberal revolution of 1848. But the revolution in the East was completely betrayed, as regards its social, cultural and humanitarian principles. What happened, and continues to happen behind the Iron Curtain is that a revolution which was primarily caused by pure humanitarian ideals has been in theory and in practice turned by the hand of Russian imperialism into the opposite: into a thorough contempt for humanity and the individual. Nowhere in the world has man been so deliberately degraded as in the Soviet Union.

The aim of this revolution was to destroy the absolute authority of the Tsar and to put power in the hands of the people; but it created a red despot, a new "Tsar-Batyushka", whose unlimited po-

wers make the authority of the White Tsars look like childish caprices. Compared with a Stalin, figures like Ivan the Terrible, Peter the First, Nicholas I, the "slave-driver", as the Russian themselves called him, are more children.

This revolution aimed at breaking the executive power of a police-state and its despotic bureaucracy that practically ignored all law and constitutional rights; but the methods employed by the Tsar's officials pale in comparison with those of N.K.V.D., M.V.D., and M.G.B.

It is a social law that every people creates its own leading class, a natural aristocracy which has to accomplish productive and responsible work for the good of the people. This revolution aimed at destroying the drone-like existence of an entire old aristocracy and replaced it by a new aristocracy, but which soon proved to be more conceited, greedier, more brutal and egoistic, more isolated and evil, because it was and remains less educated and less cultured than its predecessor.

This revolution aimed to create an industrious community of free workers, joining of their own free will; today we have an army of slaves, 185 million strong, including about 15 million slaves in labour camps; they have indeed attained the equality that was promised them, but it is equality of beasts under the same yoke.

#### MARXISM OR MUSCOVITISM

But those are all well-known facts that do not call for further comment today. It is much more important to reveal the real motive powers, the actual causes that have produced them. Is all this the inevitable product of communism as a doctrine and a way of life? Or is it just an inevitable a result of Russian psychology, more precisely, of Muscovitism?

From the beginning, the entire Soviet system was built up on the anti-democratic idea of authoritative leadership, and of the right of a small, well organised and disciplined group to leadership; it was Lenin's Russian brain that gave birth to the modern form of the notorious "community of conspirators". At first, the communist party in the Soviet Union was an international party and the entire development of communism was thoroughly international and marxistic in character. But the first ten years showed how utopian were the attempts to realize communism.

The principles of the communist party disappeared, but the concrete political organisation, the party apparatus, remained. Thus one of the most remarkable metamorphoses in the world politics took place viz. the existing political organization was provided with a new programme. The party created a new foundation of ideas in support of its practice. This foundation was purely Muscovite,

for nobody believed in communism any more, now that it had proved incapable of inspiring the masses. They sought another torch, and found nationalism: they came to the conclusion that the 100 million Russians proper in the empire would provide a basis strong enough to support the power of the organisation throughout the country. It is *nazism*, pure and simple, but in a Russian form — the foundation of leadership of so-called "master-people"; today the Russian press and Russian literature are full of self-praise; the Russians are better, cleverer, more energetic, more talented, nobler, in short, a leading people, the "elder brother" whom Orwell has portrayed in all its horrors in his novel "1984"

#### THE RUSSIAN "MASTER-NATION"

This does not mean that we blame the *mass of the average Russian people*.

Like all others, this desires peace, work, a good life. Not all Ivans, Pyotrs and Semjons are bolsheviks; most of them are not. But the fatal danger for the world, and for the Russians themselves, is that they are all too willing to be used, or rather abused, in the interests of Stalin's Muscovite imperialism. This nationalism is a very potent wine that goes, today more than ever, to the head of these people. The regime allows the Russian proper, the Muscovites, to enjoy the fruits of its imperialism more than others. Stalin, it is true, is a Georgian, but 80 percent of his all-powerful Politbureau are Russian, the mass of his despotic bureaucracy are Russians, and almost all the leaders of the communist party in the Soviet Union are Russian; the officers corps in the armed forces consists of carefully chosen Russians, as does also the diplomatic corps, etc. It is the leading class of Russians proper that is most interested in preserving bolshevism today, as the basis of their material existence.

And yet we should like to see even the Russian people freed from bolshevism, free of the curse of an imperialism which, in the end, ruins every people that falls victim to its intoxication. We, the peoples of the A.B.N. wish every people in the world, and the Russians too, to have a free, flourishing, national state, living on term of friendship with its neighbours. The only thing we do *not* wish for Russia is the role of a leader, or supreme commander, of a *master nation*, for there is neither reason nor necessity. Great Russia, Muscovy, is big enough and reach enough in natural resources to be able to exist without an imperium, without a surrounding wreath of colonies, dependencies and the so-called 'satelite-states'.

#### THE CURSE OF TOTALITARIAN POWER

It is, however, the curse of every class bound by a party, of every group that exercises totalitarian power, of every "community of conspiracy", that exists outside of the mass of the people, not as



an organic part of it, that must continually prove its right to exist. It must wage eternal war, either at home, against alleged conspiracies or subversive activities, or abroad. Such a class can never be at peace, pursue normal professions, settle down and, as it were, grow to be part of the people. Its profession is *power*, the exercise and the maintenance of power — and *the curse of power* must constantly drive such people to new adventures.

To the question, what is happening behind the Iron Curtain, we have one more clear answer, namely: *people are being driven to war there*. This must be so, it cannot be otherwise. War lies in the nature of this regime, is the justification of its existence, its profession and its calling. We are convinced that there is no way of getting round this fact. It won't help the West to believe that it must still speak, negotiate and debate with the Russians. It is impossible to compromise with this regime, or to make peace with it. It is quite wrong to assume that, once certain Russian national interests are satisfied, we shall have peace.

No, there is no peace on this basis, because this regime simply *must* and *will* march. There is nothing more suicidal than a policy of appeasement, of fulfilling and satisfying bolshevist wishes. The Western world will one day be compelled to confront this threat to peace; bolshevism will leave it no alternative. And in our opinion, the sooner this fact is realized in the West, the better. There is no possibility of a compromise, an appeasement peace between the West and present regime of the Soviet Union. There is eventually only the possibility of a blind, unconditional subordination of a Western class of communist rulers and profiteers to a Russian class of communist rulers and profiteers, and only the possibility of degrading all political leadership in Western national states to the states of, say, the East German S.E.D. — United Socialist Party.

And can anything be done about it? Are there in the Soviet Union itself no internal powers with which the freedom-loving world might form an alliance in order to subdue bolshevism and Russian imperialism?

#### IDEAS NOT CUDGELS

There are indeed such powers. In the first place, the West must realize that bolshevism and Soviet power cannot be overcome only by means of physical power, atomic bombs, military apparatus, however terrible. The German's Russian campaign in 1941–45 proved clearly enough. We, A.B.N. peoples, reproach above all American policy for pursuing merely technical defence measures and for neglecting, if not scorning, adequate psychological weapons. *Ideas*, not cudgels, must be launched of a kind to win over the

peoples in the Soviet Union. And such ideas are not hard to find. They are the same as at the outbreak of the Great Revolution in the East, ideas that were later betrayed.

These ideas lie in two directions; in the direction of individual and social freedom, by which, in short, I mean, the general humanitarian ideas; and secondly, in the direction of national liberty, i. e. of the complete liberation and separation from the Soviet imperium of some two dozens of oppressed and bitterly exploited nations.

*There are no other ideas capable of overthrowing bolshevism and Russian imperialism.* The bolshevist know this and that is why they wage continually an embittered battle against what they call "bourgeois nationalism", i. e. the movements for the liberation of all these subjugated peoples. The neglect of such movements cost the Germans their chance of victory in the East in World War II. And if there should be war again, it would cost the West victory in its fight against bolshevism to neglect these ideas. The liberation movements in the various nationalities are today *the front* behind the Iron Curtain, where conflicts are being waged; but at present the West seems to be incapable of interpreting correctly the bulletins from that front. For when, for instance, we read that men in the Kremlin consider it necessary to launch huge campaigns of so called "fraternization" between the Russian people on one side, and the Ukrainian, or the Polish, or the Georgian, or the Turkistanian peoples on the other, it is a sure sign that the Russians consider their cause in jeopardy there.

It seems to us childish to imagine that bolshevism might be removed by some conspiracy, or coup, such, for instance as Stalin's death. A sort of German "July 20" cannot be successful today in the Soviet Union, as it was not successful in Germany. In order to bring about a collapse that would entail changes in the Soviet state and alter the constitution, more is essential than a bold group of conspirators, a fearless and revolutionary organization of some 'elite'. Such a liberation movement must be supported by the broad mass of the people, for whom the change *means* something. The former classes, such as peasants, or middle classes no longer exist. In their place there are whole nations, above all just *nations*, who could represent, who could be the torchbearers of successful *revolution of liberation*.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, and the Russian people, too, will scarcely be able to free themselves from bolshevism without foreign help. And vice-versa, the West will never master the eternal danger of bolshevism without the help and cooperation both of the peoples in the Sov-

#### 40th WORK ANNIVERSARY OF A UKRAINIAN PUBLISHER

Mr. Yuriy Tyshchenko, 63, one of the most prominent Ukrainian publishers, now in the U.S.A., celebrates this year the 40th anniversary of his indefatigable work as a publisher. Mr. Tyshchenko was born in Eastern Ukraine. From his youth he worked for the cause of Ukrainian national liberation. In 1905, he took part in democratic revolutionary activities; evading the sentence of a Russian military court, he went to Lviv, Galicia, at that time the Austrian part of Ukraine. Here he became the administrator and the publisher of "Literaturno - Naukovyj Vistnyk" ("The Scientific-Literary Messenger"), the most outstanding monthly of the Ukrainian liberation movement in the years 1906 to 1917, under the editorial direction of the famous Ukrainian historian, Prof. Dr. M. Hrushevskyj. At the outbreak of the Great Eastern Revolution, Mr. Tyshchenko returned in 1917 to Kiev, where he started great publishing activities. The bolshevist counter-revolution again forced him into exile, this time to Vienna. Later he lived in Prague, C.S.R. He specialized in Ukrainian children's literature; in this he did very meritorious work for the Ukrainian community abroad, as he preserved among innumerable young people the knowledge of the Ukrainian language and an ineradicable conception of Ukrainian national culture. Among others, he published the works of such prominent Ukrainian writers and scientist as Prof. I. Doroshenko, Prof. V. Shcherbakiivsky, Prof. I. Ohienko, Prof. D. Chyzhevsky, Dr. M. Hnatyshak, and others. After World War II., he lived for 4 years in D.P. Camps of the British Zone, then resettled to the U.S.A. With indomitable spirit he once again started his publishing work, now in close cooperation with the American branch of the "Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences". His special heart's desire is the publication of a children's encyclopaedia about Ukraine, entitled: "The Country of My Fathers". He wishes the children of Ukrainian descent to be good Americans, but never to forget their ancestors. The first volume of this Encyclopaedia is due to appear shortly. Mr. Yuri Tyshchenko is one of those who are genuinely revered by the Ukrainian community abroad.

iet Union and in the satellite states. We think that the internal structure of bolshevism makes a clash between the two worlds inevitable. And if these nations do not help, bolshevism can never be overthrown, or the freedom and security of the West assured. I do not think I am exaggerating when I say in conclusion: Friends, we stand and fall together. Our liberty is your liberty, and yours, ours. All the diabolical power of bolshevism will not prevent us from recovering that liberty.



# Ukraine Behind the Iron Curtain

## 17th CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF UKRAINE

Between September 23rd and 26th the 17th Congress of the Communist party of Ukraine was held in Kyiv. Quoting "Radianska Ukraina" of the 23rd, 24th, and 25th September, 1952, we give a short review of the present situation and conditions in Ukraine based mainly on the key-speech of the Communist Congress delivered by L.H.Melnikov, the Secretary General of the Communist party of Ukraine.

## MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF UKRAINE

On 1st September, 1952, the membership of the Communist party of Ukraine amounted to 777,832, including 101,642 party's candidates; 17.4 p.c. of that number were women. 35.5 p.c. were members with the university or high-school education. In the whole country there were 48,352 local party cells. 286,848 communists were employed in industry, 138,054 i.e. 17.7 p.c., in agriculture, and 71,208 in scientific, cultural and social institutions.

There was a remarkable growth of the party in the Western regions of Ukraine where the party's apparatus in villages and towns has increased during the last three years from 1,128 local cells with 9,037 members to 2,581 and 20,145 respectively.

It is interesting to note that no statistics have been given as to the percentage of Ukrainians in the party. On the other hand the delegates to the Congress have been accurately specified. The total number of the delegates was 887, including 117 with advisory votes. 459 of them were with university or corresponding higher education which makes 59.5 p.c. of the total number of the delegates with voting rights. 336 delegates with voting rights were functionaries of party apparatus; 101 - of Soviet administration and trade unions; 106 - of army and security police (MVD, MGB); 50 - of agriculture, 45 - scientists and cultural workers. Among the delegates there were 66.2 p.c. Ukrainians, 30.9 Russians, and 2.9 (22 delegates) of other nationalities. 850 of the delegates had been previously awarded with orders and medals, 200 were deputies to the Supreme Council of U.S.S.R. and Ukrainian S.S.R.

It becomes clear from these scanty data that the party is an organization of the Communist intellectual bureaucracy (35.5 p.c. of party members have higher education); party members, Ukrainian by origin are in minority. This can be inferred from the fact that no data as to the national composition of the party have been disclosed, and that only 17.7 p.c. of the membership happen to be agricultural workers, although 70 p.c. of the population are peasants, of which about 60 p.c. are Ukrainians.

Composition of delegates to the Congress, according to their nationality, has been artificially made up by the Russian occupation apparatus in order to show its supposedly "Ukrainian" character (66.2 p.c. of Ukrainian delegates). 30.9 p.c. of Russians in the Congress, however, i.e. more than twice the percentage of the Russian population in Ukraine, proves who are the real masters there.

## REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Melnikov characterises the international situation in a few introductory theses: "Imperialistic beasts of prey, originators of the 'cold war', have passed from the atom blackmailing to the acts of aggression. They seek a solution in waging a new world war against the Soviet Union and people's democracies.... The whole world is looking with the greatest admiration at the heroic fight of the Korean people who for the third successive year with arms in their hands defend their liberty and independence. The struggle of colonial and dependent countries for their national liberation is constantly gaining on strength."

## ECONOMIC SITUATION

Melnikov was keen to show (by quoting percentages) that in 1951 the level of 1940 in all branches of industrial output had been reached, and even surpassed. If the level of production in 1940 is taken as 100 p.c. then in 1951 following figures (in percentages) were reached:

coal - 112, pig iron - 118, steel - 118, iron ore - 126, electricity - 140, tractors - 224, steam turbines - 557, tractor ploughs - 233, cement - 194, bricks - 159, cotton textiles - 205, sugar - 138, meat - 112, butter - 218, vegetable oil 125. The whole speech referring to the industry in Ukraine could be summed up in one requirement: more coal, steel, electricity and building materials. About the consumer's goods production he spoke only at random, e.g.:

"The struggle for improving the quality of the consumers goods has been carried out in a most unsatisfactory manner."

In the footwear industry a great deal of products are of a very poor quality and, as a result, do not find demand among the population."

In his long speech, of course, Melnikov did not even mention the problem of the Ukrainian economy, as a separate unit. Everything was narrowed to the enumeration of the "fulfilment and over-fulfilment" of targets set up by Moscow for the supply of industrial raw materials and semi-fabrics.

The agricultural situation was described thus:

The arable lands of the collective farms and state farms have been fully exploited. The sowing area has been increased. The productiveness of the main crops has surpassed the pre-war level, the quantity of communally owned livestock has increased considerably, the collective farms have been strengthened more than ever before, the living standard and the cultural level of the collective farm villagers has risen... The harvest in Ukraine this summer was good... "Further various figures and percentages are mentioned, but the fundamental problems are avoided, e.g. whether the pre-war level of the sowing area has been reached, or not, and no mention is made about the privately-owned livestock. In its place we find several times the expression about the Surpassing of the pre-war level of the communally-owned livestock etc.

Some conclusions as to the standard of living in Ukraine under Soviet Russian occupation can be drawn from the examples featured in Melnikov's report. Criticising some of his party subordinates in oblasts, districts and collective farms for their inability in exercising the utmost from the collective farm workers, he made comparison between two collective farms in the same oblast of Kamjanec Podilsky, one of which he described as a millionaire farm. He went on to say that at the millionaire farm each farm worker received 2 kilograms of corn and 3 rub. 10 kop. per working day in 1951 while at the same time workers in another collective farm received only 1 kilogram of corn and 1 ruble and 60 kop. per one working day.

Melnikov said that "in 1950 i.e. before the amalgamation of collective farms there were 33,653 collective farms in Ukraine. Now there are 16,015". Melnikov stressed that "amalgamation of collective farms made it possible to improve their management, to strengthen them with qualified cadres, to create favourable conditions for more productive use of tractors, combines and other agricultural machinery."

Melnikov arguments are correct as far as they relate to the fact that the amalgamation of collective farms is a step forward in the process of overpovertying the Ukrainian village and in the intensified exploitation of its resources. The accent is given on extending fields under corn, especially those under wheat while cattle raising, fruit-growing and gardening are neglected. As Melnikov said "almost 5000 collective farms (one third of the total number) have no fruit orchards, no vineyards, 2,130 farms have no bees, more than half of the collective farms have no fish ponds".

Reporting about the material wellbeing of the working classes in the Soviet Union Melnikov went on to say that new hospitals, sanatoriums, "houses of culture" for the workers were built, and to emphasize the intensified growth of this "material wellbeing" he adduced the following as his most convincing argument: He said that "in first half of the current year following essential commodities were sold in greater quantities than in the first half of 1948:

meat and products	by 43p.c. more
macaroni groats mm	by 62p.c. more
fish products	by 45 pc. more
fats	by 25 pc. more
sweets and pastry (confectionery)	by 127 pc. more
sugar	by 180 pc. more
cotton textiles	by 158 pc. more
wool textiles	by 175 pc. more
silk textiles	by 364 pc. more
tailoring products	by 127p.c. more
tricot (jersey)	by 288 pc. more
shoes and boots	by 300 pc. more
soap	by 143 pc. more

You find it difficult to understand? Well, we want to believe that indeed Soviet citizens bought in 1952 by 180 p.c. more sugar than in 1948, and by 300 pc. more shoes and boots than in 1948. But now try this. There are ration books in Great Britain. Suppose they were withdrawn one day and instead of 6 pounds or 8 pounds, sometimes more we get per week we would start to get 20 or 30 pounds in wages per week, would we start to buy 7 lb instead of two and a half of sugar which we get per month per ration book?

It is customary we buy two or three pairs of shoes yearly; sometimes it is less, rarely more. Would one buy 8-12 prs. of shoes yearly should one have one's pay raised twice or three times? Is it possible? Melnikov and Central Communist party in Ukraine tell us that it is not only possible, but that this "success in growth of the material wellbeing of working class unheard of so far in history of mankind" is being accomplished in the whole Ukraine.

Looking through this revealing report it is difficult not to put a question as to how big stomachs have grown those "working masses" who are able to consume twice as much fish, three times as much sugar, two and half times as much sweets and pastry and so on. It is, indeed, a bit tight with butter. Figure for consumption of it rose by one fourth only but here the fault lies with beasts - they would not milk without food.

And what about foot-wear of the Soviet citizen? It seems as if every Soviet citizen in Ukraine had a shoe shop in his home. Or have not they by chance grown an additional pair of legs? It may well be possible in that Soviet "paradise".

## THE XVIth OLYMPIAD AND UKRAINE

### THE RUSSIANS BOAST OF FOREIGN ACHIEVEMENTS

As in all the spheres of human life, so also in the world of sports does the communist regime endeavour to impress its stamp upon it, and moreover to emphasise the role of the "great Russian brother". At the last Olympiad in Helsinki there appeared in the teams of the U.S.S.R. many non-Russians, primarily Ukrainians, who, however, did not enter the athletic contests for their own land in particular, but on behalf of the entire U.S.S.R.: that is, in practice, for Russia. In the Western press they were then mostly designated as "Russians", and, in this way, the Russians themselves were induced to name the successes of the Ukrainian athletes as their own, and then to make out of that the desirable political capital.

The following instances merit quoting in illustration:

Among the most prominent Ukrainian athletes is included, without a doubt, W. Chakaryn, a gymnast, native from the East-Ukraine, but at present resident in Lviv. After the war he came under the care of the trainer, Petro T. Sabenko, in this town, and it is to him that he owes his great success at the XVIth Olympiad. First of all, in 1947, he became student-champion, and later all-Ukrainian champion in gymnastics. In 1948 he became the all-Soviet champion. At the XVIth Olympiad he received 1 golden and 2 silver medals.

Another, Jurko Litujiv, comes from Stanyslaviv, West-Ukraine. He began his career in 1949 and achieved great success in relay races. At the Olympiad in Helsinki, he won the silver medal for the 400 metre hurdles, in the time of 51.3 secs.

P. Denysenko is accounted one of the best light athletes of Ukraine and the whole U.S.S.R.; at the Olympiad he attained third place in the pole-jump

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# UKRAINIANS ABROAD

## CONTACTS WITH INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNIONS

### UKRAINIANS AT THE CONGRESS OF THE "CONFEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATES CHRETIENS" IN THE HAGUE

From July 2nd to 5th, 1952, the 9th Congress of the International Association of Christian Trades-Union (C.I.S.C.) was held in Hague, Netherlands. This association has considerable international significance. It is one of the oldest, ideologically the most highly developed, and has the highest reputation among the world's leading politicians. It was founded during the congresses of June 15th to 19th, 1920, in Hague, and in the course of 32 years has spread its operations in very many lands of all five continents. Allied to the organization are the Christian Trades-Union of the following countries: Austria, Argentina, North-Africa, the Basque country, Belgium, Brazil, Vietnam, Holland, Luxemburg, Poland (in exile), Saarland, Surinam, France, Switzerland, Ukraine (in exile), Uruguay and Chile and number together more than 4 million members.

The activities of the Confederation are grounded on Christian social doctrines and Christian morals. It endeavours to bring about that all dealings between classes and peoples should be founded on Christian justice and mercy. At the centre of their thinking, the organization places the humanbeing, his dignity, and his spiritual value, and defends the right of every man to private ownership and declines the unlimited individualism, of economical liberalism, private or state capitalism, and the theories of socialism, and communism.

The influence and reputation of the Christian trades-union in the international official social and labour organizations are caused, in the main, by the spiritual value of the entire activities of the C.I.S.C.

On this account the Confederation takes part, either as fully authorised member, or as adviser in the social-economic councils of the U.N., the International Work Bureau, the World Health Organization, Council of Europe, Organization of the North Atlantic Pact, the International Committee for Emigration, etc.

250 delegates from different nations participated in the Congress, among them being Members of Parliament, Senators and Ministers; there were also present the highest diplomatic representatives of many states, and official delegates of various international organizations. The delegates to the congress were greeted in the name of the Dutch Government by the Mayor of the Hague at a special reception in the town hall.

Also taking part in the congress was the Association of Ukrainian Free Trade Unions, which was

## THE XVIIth OLYMPIAD AND UKRAINE

(4.40 metres) and the bronze medal. He is that Russian sportsman" who so enthusiastically embraced the American victor Richards; what irony...

Novak (Ukrainian champion) was second in the weightlifting (410 kg) and won the silver medal. Tsybulenko was fourth in spear-throwing (71.72 metres).

Balanchuk reached fourth place in the 110 metre hurdles (14.5 secs.)

In the hammer-throwing, Redkin was fifth (56.56 metres) and Dubenko eighth (55.03 metres).

As for the women gymnasts also achieved great successes. M. Horokhevska champion of the U.S.S.R., Nina Becharova (Kyiv) and E. Kalynchuk were able to gain gold medals in gymnastics. In addition, Halyna Shamraj (now in Kazakhstan) and H. Urbanovych have also won gold medals.

The successes of Ukrainian athletes, who altogether won 3 gold, 4 silver and 17 bronze medals, shows that the Ukrainian athletes are among the best in Europe - and also were the most sociable in their personal relations, out of the whole Soviet Union. Unfortunately they were not in the position to compete under their true national colours, blue and yellow, and were obliged to witness how the Russians garnered these triumphs for themselves and now exploit them for purposes of propaganda.

represented by Messrs. Ivan Popovych, Dr. W. Nes-terchuk and Y. Pryshlak. Among the flags of the other nations, that of Ukraine was also set up, and, on the table at which the Ukrainians sat, was the inscription "Ukraine". The Ukrainian delegation took part in the debates of various commissions. In the plenary meeting, at the time of the discussion of the report of the General Secretary, Ivan Popovych made valuable contributions to the report and to the remarks which followed.

The attitude of the participant in the congress toward the Ukrainian delegation was very friendly. No objections or restriction were made respecting the speeches of the Ukrainians, and everywhere one was conscious of a proper understanding and regard. The Ukrainian delegation was able to form acquaintanceships and friendly relations with the representatives of other peoples.

(From the weekly "The Ukrainian", Paris.)

## GREAT DEMONSTRATION OF THE "UKRAINIAN YOUTH ASSOCIATION" (S.U.M.) IN U.S.A.

On the 6th of September, 1952, there took place in Foks Chais, near Philadelphia, a great demonstration of the American "Ukrainian Youth Association" (S.U.M.). This demonstration was a gathering of members of the "Ukrainian Youth Association" of America, who poured in from all parts of the country, in order to give witness to their close relationship to their homeland, Ukraine. To this pan-American rally of the "Ukrainian Youth Association" of America (S.U.M.) came more than 4,000 members and guests.

Included in the programme were artistic presentations of various kinds, which were performed by the members of the same youth organization, there were also displays of the underground publications from the Ukraine. Ukrainian national art, and philately. The festival oration was delivered by Mr. Valentyn Koval. In addition spoke Mr. M. Pizna (Ukrainian Congress Committee of America), Mr. D. Halychyn (Ukrainian National Association), Mr. W. Bakad (League of the Ukrainian Youth of North America), Dr. Harusym (Ukrainian Medical Association), who, as well as being representative of these organizations, were also guests of honour at the great rally.

The republican presidential candidate, Dwight D. Eisenhower, sent a telegram of greeting to the directing body of the rally, which, together with the whole demonstration, was commented on in details in the American press. More than 20 youth organizations of America, and the "American Committee for World Assembly of Youth" conveyed complimentary messages to the "Ukrainian Youth Association" (S.U.M.) on the occasion.

The participants in this rally of the "Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.)" addressed a summons to the young people of oppressed Ukraine and an appeal to the youth of America. Moreover, they protested unanimously against the bolshevik terror and the ever-spreading Russian imperialism.

In conclusion, it may be asserted that this action on the part of the Ukrainian youth in the American continent takes on a special significance today, because, through it is manifested their absolute solidarity with oppressed Ukraine and, at the same time, it is a warning to the western world, which continues to undervalue and to pass over in silence the liberation-struggle of Ukraine.

## UKRAINIANS AT THE 4th CONFERENCE OF THE WORLD ASSEMBLY OF YOUTH (W.A.Y.) IN DAKAR (AFRICA)

From the 3rd - 13th of August, 1952, there was held in Dakar (West Africa) the 4th Conference of the Council of the "World Assembly of Youth". At this conference, to which came delegations from 26 countries and round about 120 delegates, Canada was represented by Mr. S. Harylyshyn, who, at the same time, is a leading member of the "Ukrainian Youth

Organization" (S.U.M.) in Canada. Mr. Harylyshyn took part in the pan-Canadian Youth Conference in Ottawa on 31st of May and 1st of June, 1952, as representative of the Ukrainian Youth Organization (S.U.M.), and was elected as a member of the Canadian executive for W.A.Y. Then he was dispatched, as the only Canadian representative, to the 4th Conference of W.A.Y. in Dakar.

As well as representing Canada, Mr. Harylyshyn was also able to devote himself to airing Ukrainian problems, and was even in the position to propose various resolutions, which were later adopted. These resolutions deal with practical help for young emigrants, the arrangement of courses of instruction, relief for immigrating students, and the combating of biased immigration laws. One resolution maintained that W.A.Y. intended to support the oppressed, and insisted upon the full exercise of human rights.

Participants at this conference had the opportunity of hearing from a Ukrainian the whole truth concerning conditions and relationships in the Soviet Union, and, in this, this candidate gave special information to many foreign participants.

## ARCHIVE - MUSEUM OF UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION

### THE MEMENTOES AND ORIGINAL WRITINGS OF THE GREAT MIGRATION ARE TO BE PRESERVED

In order to preserve all documents, mementoes, and everything which merits attention and throws a light upon the time of the Ukrainian emigrants after World War II, from the time of their departure from their native land until their settlement in new lands and, finally, their stay in these lands, the Executive Committee of the "United Ukrainian American Relief Committee" has resolved to open, in their house in Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A. an Archive-Museum of the Ukrainian emigration. In this museum all documents and mementoes will be preserved which have connection with the life of the Ukrainian emigrants, in the camps as well as in the U.S.A.

The Executiv Committee of the U.U.A.R.C. address' an appeal to the whole Ukrainian community to submit the following materials to this Archive-Museum: various documents, photographs, descriptive writings, journals, articles, books, cuttings from journals and newspapers on the life of the Ukrainian refugees until the end of the war, and also such things which deal with the period of repatriation. Among these are: documents on the stay in the camps; descriptions of camp-life, photographs of various arrangement, books and newspapers which were published in these camps, documents from the life or organizations and schools, accounts and pictures of various events, also those of a sporting nature, documents on the organization of life in the camps and relations with the eastern population; above all, everything which merits attention and throws a light on this period of emigre life. Documents are requested also on the welfare services for settlers here in the U.S.A., reports on meetings and functions, photographs of settlements and descriptions of their work, cuttings from American newspapers which relate to the immigration and any kind of material on Ukrainian question. Very valuable, also, would be descriptions and pictures of the settlement and the life of new immigrants, reports on the activities of their welfare services, the number of new immigrants, their distribution, the size of the collections of clothing and medicaments, and documents and information which is worthy of preservation for historical purposes.

The U.U.A.R.C. wishes to build up a collection which will furnish a complete survey of the life of Ukrainians outside of the borders of their fatherland at this historically important time, and invite the cooperation of the Ukrainian community throughout the world in the creation of this Archive-Museum. Information should be sent to the following address: United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, P.O. 1661, Philadelphia 5, Pa. U.S.A.

(From 'Christian Voice', Ukrainian Weekly, Munich)





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D. DONTZOW

## WE WISH TO REMIND YOU...

On 7th November Moscow proudly celebrated the 35th anniversary of the event when a new, bolshevik tyranny saved the Empire of Tzars from disintegration. . .

This was the jubilee of the triumph of one of the greatest lies of our century, of a lie which has infected since with its foul breath all international political, cultural and religious life of the world.

Since its very beginning everything in the bolshevist October revolution was a monstrous lie.

It claimed to aim at the destruction of an age of imperialism, but in reality it has given birth to one of the most cynical and greedy imperialisms, the imperialism of Moscow.

It claimed to aim at the destruction of absolutism, but in fact it has reimposed it over one fifth of the world's surface in a more brutal and base form than it was in Russia of the tzars.

It claimed to bring the economic liberation of proletariat and peasantry, but in reality it introduced an unheard-of slavery of millions of previously free men.

It has preached the equality for all, but has created a society where a multitude of slave-like people, deprived of personal liberties, are fully in the power of a handful of privileged caste of exploiters and henchmen.

It has preached the emancipation of woman, but it has turned her into working cattle, forced to do a strained slave labour, which is hard even for a man.

It has proclaimed freedom of thought, but has brought an obligatory creed and punishments for "heretics" instead.

It has proclaimed liberation to nationalities, but brought the theory of a "superior Russian people", to which all other "inferior" nations have to stand in relations as of servants to masters.

It claimed to bring "peace to huts, war to palaces", but it has destroyed mil-

lions of huts of poor people, and herded them together in the barracks of kolkhozes.

It proclaimed peace and has brought a permanent war among nations and within each nation.

Who else could be the inspiring source of that unheard-of monstrous lie, as if not he whom the Gospel names "the father of lie"?

But, interesting enough, the most surprising fact is that a great number of their agents the servants of Evil find among the members of Christian communities! Among eminent public personalities, (like Alger Hiss or Henry Wallace) Church leaders, (like Dr. Hewlett Johnson) members of parliaments, (like Rose or Thorez), among artists and writers, among the elite and millions of simpletons bred by the civilisation of large cities, all of whom care to vote for the agents of Moscow. The serfs of the Devil — to the shame of our age — are being invited to the meetings of the United Nations. Talks are sought with them! Free nations, one after another, are being surrendered as bloody sacrifice to the new Moloch!

Moreover, dozens of millions of human beings, dozens of formerly free peoples the West has decided to sacrifice for permanent subjection to the bloodthirsty imperialist power, whose domination over enormous territories, at least within 1939 borders, seems to be guaranteed by the Western attitude. It is because various mafias seem to think that even after the fall of bolshevism it will be easier to deal with its subject nations, if one gives them a new overall master, in the form of a resurrected one and indivisible Russia.

The West is afraid of bolshevik Russia created by the revolution of 1917. Nonetheless it will be forced, though against

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STEPAN BANDERA

# OUR POSITIONS

The pro-Russian tendency of the present-day American policy in the cold war against the Soviet Union is publicly argued mainly by the desire to unite in one front all the anti-bolshevist forces. If this reason was really predominant, then suitable endeavours ought to be concentrated on the reinforcement and co-ordination of such active anti-bolshevist forces and movements which distinguish themselves by the greatest potential and dynamic qualities and which can create a common front because of the similarity of their aims in the struggle against their common enemy. Such natural allies of the West are the peoples which fight against the Muscovite bolshevist subjugation for their own national and political independence and which have no hostile intentions one against the other.

Meanwhile the American action in this sector clearly differentiates between the liberation movements of the so-called satellite countries which came under Moscow domination as result of the last

## WE WISH TO REMIND YOU...

*its wishes, to fight Russia, just as Hitler was forced to do it. The most tragic in all this is, however, the fact that the West wants to carry out this imminent war by the same methods as Hitler did. He went against Stalin's Russia, enamoured in the bolshevik tyranny and having no desire at all — in the event of his victory — to give freedom to nations enslaved by Moscow. This sealed his fate. This very thing the democratic West seems to contemplate, for it seems to prefer everywhere Tito's tyranny than real freedom of nations. If the West embarks on the war with the idea of preserving intact the monstrous Russian Empire, just as did Hitler, it will be, just as was Hitler, defeated. It will fall victim of its own cowardness or stupidity and find itself right in the arms of Muscovite tyranny.*

*Let the West realize that! We wish only to remind these things to its peoples on the occasion of the anniversary of that ignominious bolshevik revolution, so that no one in the West may say one day that he was not warned. For we do not and shall not consider ourselves bound by any pacts concluded by anybody with the Devil, just as in the past we did not consider ourselves bound by the pacts of Hitler or the West with Stalin, our henchman. We will continue our struggle until the complete demolition of the Russian Empire and until the complete liberation of our nation and achievement of national independence.*

*Let the West know that!*

*And curse be on Moscow!*

World War, and the similar movements of the peoples subjugated by Moscow prior to the World War II. Both these categories of peoples remain in the analogical struggle against the bolshevism and against any form of subjugation by the Moscow imperialism, against the communist system, imposed by Moscow, for their own complete national sovereignty and independence. The real situation of both categories of peoples is very much alike, and the way to liberation as well as possibilities of struggle are the same. But the American circles not only do not help to consolidate the common front of these peoples but on the contrary hinder the same through their different treatment of the one and the other categories. This shows evidently that the postulate of a single front of the anti-bolshevist forces and its consolidation is not decisive. Quite a different attitude of the American policy to the liberating aims of the one and the other categories of peoples follows from the basic program in respect to the Moscow imperialism. This imperialism within the limits prior to World War II is approved by the present American policy. Therefore this policy does not support the striving for sovereignty of our peoples but treats their struggle as opposition to the regime only. This policy, however, does not want to consent to further expansion of Russia and supports, at least declares to support, the strivings for the political independence of those peoples which Moscow has dominated since the last war.

Not caring for the creation and consolidation of a real common anti-bolshevist front where such is possible and natural, i.e. the front of the subjugated peoples against the Moscow imperialism and its tool — communism the American politicians do their best to unite what cannot be united. But this is only appearances, for even these politicians must well understand that blending together the Moscow imperialist, although anti-communist, tendencies and the strivings of the subjugated peoples for liberation would neither create a force nor a dynamic planned action, but would lead only to the mutual paralization. Apparently they do not want a force, an action or a real common front. The chief aim of such policy is to gain the sympathies of the Muscovite circles which defend the imperialist positions but are opposed to the bolshevist regime and system. The aim is not so much their active revolutionary struggle but rather their withdrawing support and defence of bolshevism by means of satisfaction of their imperialist hopes and causing in their midst a passive indifference or even

sympathies to the opponents of the Soviet Union, provided these opponents do not infringe the safety of the Moscow Empire. The second aim of this policy is to bind internally and to keep under check such uncertain allies as the Moscow anti-bolshevist imperialists by tying them with the liberation forces of the peoples subjugated by Moscow. In such a plan or striving for liberation is treated only as an object of the policy in respect of the Moscow imperialism—in the first instance as the price of its taming, in the second as a neutralizer and safety valve.

We consider such a policy entirely erroneous and without any hopes of success. By these means the Americans will not get into good graces of the Moscow imperialism but will only strengthen its self-confidence and aggressiveness. Whatever they do their real enemy as well as that of the whole West, is and will remain Moscow imperialism as such, and not only one variety of the same, i.e. bolshevism. By competing with the bolshevism in order to gain the sympathies of the imperialist trends within the Muscovite nation the U.S.A. put themselves into such position where they are doomed to lose, for they cannot excel Stalin in this direction. Instead of alerting the whole freedom-loving world against both varieties of the same enemy, i.e. the Moscow imperialism and communism, instead of attacking it and bringing it to its knees the U.S.A. politicians help to strengthen the feeling of invincibility of the Moscow imperialism through the fact that even such a power as U.S.A. dare not oppose it.

But the greatest evil of the pro-Russian conception of the American policy we consider here is that it intends to drive a knife into the back of strivings for the national liberation of Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Moscow and closes the road to an understanding and common action with the anti-bolshevist endeavours of the U.S.A.

This conception assumes a negative attitude towards the essence of the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine and other nations, i.e. to their striving for a complete political sovereignty and complete abolition of any dependence from Moscow. This conception demands from us to give up our basic goal, to reduce our struggle to mere opposition to the regime, to submit practically to the demands of the Muscovite emigree imperialists who want to retain Ukraine and other subjugated nations within the Russian Empire. These are the same demands which every Moscow imperialist system, from that of tsars to that of the bolshevism tried to impose on us by means of a most horrible terror. Owing to our insubmission to the enemy's attempts and our persistent striving for freedom Ukraine suffered and still suf-



fers greatest sacrifices. And now there come American circles, holding the stirrups for the Moscow imperialists, with the same demands. Disguised as friends they promise the help in the anti-bolshevist action of liberation but demand from us to give up our essential aims of the struggle for liberation. It is as if one promised riches to a person stricken with poverty on condition that he takes his life. We cannot estimate it otherwise. For the collaboration with the Moscow imperialists on the basis of the anti-regime struggle only would mean the digression from the main objects and essence of the struggle for liberation. The revolutionary Ukrainian movement will never and in no circumstances acquiesce to it. This movement will not betray the standards and the objects of the centuries-old struggle of Ukraine which costs her so many sacrifices. It will not agree to this because the object and the way of the struggle for liberation of Ukraine are determined only by the will and vital needs of the Ukrainian nation and not by the actual international situation, the wishes or influences of some external forces. If the Ukrainian nation yielded to pressure and various baits, or intended to capitulate before the Moscow imperialism, then first of all it would cease to struggle against the bolshevist variety of the same in order to avoid or at least to diminish the terrible sacrifices and persecution. And all the interested quarters ought to know that in Ukraine, the Caucasus, Turkestan and other countries with the aspirations of independence the bolshevist terror and destruction was and is worse beyond comparison than in Muscovy on account of the hostility between the Moscow imperialism and the unsubmitting nations. Therefore coming to terms with this imperialism in the bolshevist reality would be more understandable than because of the American baits.

If, however, the Ukrainian national liberation movement did not and does not think of capitulating before the Moscow imperialism, whatever its disguise might be, then this fact follows from its inner inflexibility and consistency in its strivings. But the tendencies of the American policy which try to push it on the road of defeatism, although unable to achieve anything, yet inflict great blows of the moral and political nature to this movement. The bolsheviks will make a good use of this in order to break the morale of the anti-bolshevist liberation forces. They would say: "Look, even the Americans are against your independence, and even in case of the downfall of the bolshevism, you will still remain under the Moscow rule, such as it was under the tzars, for the white Moscow imperialists will have the support of the U.S.A."

There is no excuse, either, in saying that the common action with the Moscow

imperialists and abandoning of the cause of the national sovereignty of Ukraine and other subjugated nations is a progress in the aspect of the common front. For essentially such demands have no positive bearing either on the Ukrainian-American relations or on our struggle against the bolshevism but only hinder both. The issue in question is our submission to Moscow imperialism and the abandonment of our liberation aims. Therefore the American mediation, the price of the American aid and the anti-bolshevist attitude do not justify anything. Analogically, the servile henchmen of the bolshevist Moscow in the so-called government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. are not exculpated by arguing that they use the soviet forms in order to preserve as much as possible of and to evolve at least some national forms of government, the Ukrainian culture, economy etc., or that in case of the U.S.A. victory over the Soviets the white Moscow imperialists, supported by America, would come to power and abolish even those form of the Ukrainian separate existence which do exist under the bolshevist rule.

Every aid in the anti-bolshevist action, if connected with the anti-sovereignty, pro-Russian policy, does more harm than good to the cause of the Ukrainian liberation. No action and achievements, gained through such aid, even if they were serious and beneficial as such, can balance the greatest basic harm which would be the breach in the united front of the liberation and sovereignty policy. Even a single action with foreign help on the basis of the anti-regime, non-sovereignty conception only, contains the same element which voids it of any value or makes it simply harmful. An example of such an action is the anti-bolshevist propaganda by means of radio and other means which intends to foment and foster the anti-bolshevik atmosphere and actions within the Ukrainian or any other subjugated nation, but does not mention at all the hostility to the Moscow imperialism, the strivings for national independence, or even shows the negative attitude to these motors of the liberation struggle. Such propaganda is harmful to the liberation struggle and to the whole anti-bolshevist front, for it has a slackening effect on the mainsprings of the anti-bolshevist struggle. It causes bitterness and unfriendly feeling in the ranks of the liberation movements fighting against the bolshevism towards those who inspire such propaganda and has an effect entirely opposed to that they desire. For the liberation strivings of Ukraine and other nations a real political support of their objectives, on acknowledgment of their proper weight in the international development in the corresponding arenas of the world politics is of the greatest value. Every practical help in the preparation and conduct

of the liberation struggle, in the anti-bolshevik activities with a view of supporting the idea of national sovereignty and in the fostering of the Ukrainian national values and forces, provided such help is based on the very essence of the Ukraine's struggle for sovereignty, has a great importance. For the aid from any foreign country to be acceptable and useful to the liberation movement is that such country should not have aims or policy contradictory to the essential aims of the Ukrainian liberation struggle and should not make its aid conditional on the acceptance of the demands which contradict positions of the Ukrainian sovereignty policy.

The distinct and unwavering attitude of all forces of the Ukrainian emigration towards the pro-Russian conception of the American policy and its attempts to force them to work along these lines has a great importance not only for the Ukrainian cause but also for adopting of the right policy by the USA and for the relations between the front of struggle for liberation of the nations subjugated by Moscow and the anti-bolshevist action of the States of the West. We ought to do everything possible in order to rectify the wrong ideas, to clear misunderstandings and to dispel false illusions, to overcome harmful conceptions and to prevent a development of relations which is undesirable by both sides. Objective facts speak in favour of an understanding between our liberation struggle and the anti-bolshevist policy of the U.S.A. and the other countries of the West in the fight against our common enemy. For the former and the latter have the same enemy both in the Moscow imperialism of every kind and in the communism as a system.

It would be wrong to expect that the opponents of the Soviet Union would succeed in exploiting the anti-bolshevist struggle of the Ukrainian people for their own ends, independently from their own attitude towards the liberation strivings of that people. It is true that we shall not give up or weaken our anti-bolshevist struggle under the influence of the unfavourable attitude of the U.S.A. or other countries of the West. But a common plan of the struggle, a strategy of the liberation revolution could take into account a wider plan of the unified struggle in order to gain at an earliest date a victory over the common enemy with common forces and through a coordinated action, provided we have alliance and guarantees that the common victory would bring us the realization of our liberation aims. In the opposite case, if we are not treated as allies and our aims are not respected, we must carry on the struggle entirely on our own as we have been doing so far, but taking care that our struggle should not be exploited by



# AN IMPERIALIST RUSSIA OR FREE NATIONAL STATES?

IS A COMPROMISE OF THE ENSLAVED PEOPLES OF U.S.S.R. WITH THE  
CONCEPT OF ONE AND INDIVISIBLE RUSSIA POSSIBLE?

BY JAROSLAV STETZKO

## FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND OWN NATIONAL ARMY.

The Russian emigree press reported recently that under the protectorate of certain American circles a "Political Co-ordinating Centre of the Russian people and the nationalities of the USSR" had been allegedly created. But this name did not last for long. At a Congress in Munich (Germany), which ended on 17th October, this name has been changed to "The Co-ordinating Centre for Anti-bolshevik Struggle". It becomes apparent that those American circles which support the concept of the Russian emigrees aiming at the preservation of an undivided Russian empire, are "developing" towards the existing Stalinist formula, the USSR, under which Stalin has maliciously concealed the name of the indivisible imperialist Russia.

If we compare those compromise formulae on which the "Co-ordinating Centre for Anti-bolshevik struggle" is based with similar paper formula of the Stalin Constitution, then a persistent question arises:

For what purpose should the enslaved peoples of the USSR wage war against Bolshevism, if its place has to be taken by a new, but equally hated form of occupation by Russian imperialism?

There is only one formula for every enslaved people of the USSR, which

will mobilize everybody for the struggle against Bolshevism:

*The obtainment of a sovereign national state, independent of anyone, and of its own national army.* Such a formula is actually being defended by the whole of the Ukrainian nation led by its Liberation Movement which is active on the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. But the platform of "The Co-ordinating Centre for Anti-bolshevik struggle", which has been created by Russian emigrees with the help of some American circles is diametrically opposed to this. There one is not allowed to speak of the partition of the prison of peoples, which was the former Tsarist Russia, and is now the Communist Russia, into national states of the enslaved peoples of the USSR.

The representation at this "Co-ordinating Centre for Anti-bolshevik struggle" is as follows: one third consists of representatives of Russian parties, one third of non-Russians and one third of private persons, i. e. nominated by Americans in accordance with Russian wishes.

To guard his malicious constitutional formula about "independence" and "self-determination" of peoples of the USSR, Stalin has set up his M.V.D. To guard the equally malicious and false formula of Russian imperialists in "The

Co-ordinating Centre for Anti-bolshevik struggle", certain American circles put dollars to work. And what do they intend to propagandize through this 'Centre'? "Freedom", but an abstract freedom, such as has also been preached to us by Hitler when he went to "liberate" the peoples of the USSR from the Communist slavery. Today a similar 'freedom' is being preached by Stalin on all cross-roads and in all languages of the world. He makes a lot of noise above the "Independent Soviet Ukraine" or "Independent Soviet Byelorussia" but Soviet propaganda is not allowed to preach one, *most important* idea which is *the separation of Ukraine from Moscow*, for only then would Ukraine assume the attributes of statehood, i.e. sovereignty of the Ukrainian people on the Ukrainian soil. The same, that is, the most important idea the one that matters most, *must* not be propagandized in that new society of Russian emigree imperialists, the so-called "Co-ordinating Centre for Anti-bolshevik struggle", composed of the gatherers of an indivisible Russian Empire under the protection of certain American circles. How far do they lag behind those real ideas for which millions of people enslaved by the Muscovite-Bolshevik imperialists in the present day prison of peoples—the USSR—pay with their blood and lives!

## THE NATIONAL IDEA — BANNER OF THE EPOCH

The most essential problem of our contemporary history is usually avoided, as if did not exist at all. It is the problem of organisation of the world on the national principle, and this happens precisely when throughout the globe the national liberation movements are bursting their iron or golden chains with irresistible force. Around us empires are falling. The Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, German Empires have gone; Britain is transforming her Empire in a quick tempo into the Commonwealth; the Italian Empire has also gone. The struggle for national liberation has enveloped the whole world.

In the USSR, this mighty national liberation process breaks up from within the prison of peoples. Millions of people have been and are fighting and suffering for the national idea. These processes permeate the whole life. We read every day in the Soviet press about nationalist "deviations". Insurgent formations of the type of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) or Turkestan "basmachi" are known throughout the world as national liberation formations.

Political underground organisations organise and direct the struggle in all sectors of life and orientate the whole liberation process just upon the national idea as the initial and final tenet of the struggle. *A sovereign, unified State, independent of anyone, reached through*

## OUR POSITIONS

the forces with the hostile intentions with regard to our sovereignty.

If the bolsheviks were succeeded in Ukraine by the Moscow imperialist usurpers of another colouring, the Ukrainian people would wage against them the same war as it wages against the bolshevism, independently from the fact whether they would have the foreign support or from which quarters this support would be coming. During the World War II the Ukrainian Revolutionary Liberation Movement fought on two fronts: against the bolshevism and against the Hitlerite invaders. Hitler wanted to turn Ukraine into his colony just like Moscow did, and the situation was clear. But what reasons would prompt the U.S.A. or other Western Countries to become enemies of the Ukrainian nation in order to help the Muscovites to preserve their Empire which in the future would again threaten the West?

The pro-Russian conception of the American policy with its backing of the

(Continued from Page 3)

Moscow imperialists and its endeavours to leave at their mercy the liberation strivings of the subjugated nations we consider in their last consequence to be harmful and foolish, both from our point of view and from that of the American and world struggle against the bolshevism alike. We see therein an advantage only for the Moscow imperialists of all kinds. But for the time being this conception not only does exist, but also determines the American policy on our sector. Our determined attitude against that conception does defend not only the cause of the liberation of Ukraine and other nations, subjugated by Moscow. Its object is also the good of the World front of defence of life and freedom of nations from the destructive attack by the Muscovite imperialism and its tool — the communism.

(The above article which appears in a shortened form is based on the one published in full in "The Ukrainian Independent", No. 46 (147), 1952, under the title "Open Cards").



*partition of the prison of peoples—this is the aim of the present struggle.*

This is what the competent American people do not want to see. They follow the phantom of preservation of the Empire during an epoch of the unavoidable disintegration of empires. Why is it that just the Russian Empire, most barbarous and tyrannical, must form an exception for the Americans?

There is no return to the past. The Russian Empire cannot be preserved. The national idea, as opposed to the imperial idea, is victorious everywhere. The Bolsheviks *hypocritically* stand up in defense of national idea on this side of the Curtain, being in fact the greatest exterminators of bearers of the national idea and enemies of it in principle. At the same time the Western world either keeps silent or 'unofficially' supports the opposite to that, which is today *the only thing* needed. As one of the reasons for opposing the concept of liberation and of partition of the prison of peoples, is quoted that at the moment of disintegration of the Empire there will arise a political chaos in the East. If this chaos will not be created by the Great Powers of the West, there will never be any chaos. The Balkans were "Balkanized not by the Balkan peoples, who are neither better nor worse than any other people of the world, but by the empires themselves, and mainly by the Russian Empire, contesting for and playing their interests and inciting one nation against another. On the ruins of the Russian Empire there will not arise an enormous number of states, but only the status quo ante will be restored, which the Western powers have recognised more than once. There will also be a return to the balance of power in Europe and Asia, when the monstrous Russian Empire has been eliminated from the interplay of the world powers once and for all.

What is, then, at stake? All the satellite and Baltic countries must become, even in the eyes of the greatest Western reactionaries and enemies of the national idea, independent states, for, after all, it was for them, *inter alia*, that World War II was fought against Germany.

The Ukraine and Byelorussia have been formally admitted into U.N.O. Thus it is to be assumed that the necessity of independence for these States has been taken into consideration. For one must assume that after the defeat of Bolshevism the Americans will not throw them out of U.N.O. when they had recognized their right of membership in U.N.O. even during the Bolshevik occupation. And after all apart from the Soviet satellites there is nowhere in the world such an extraordinary phenomenon as a country which is a member of the UNO without the power to make its own decision.

Thus the Western world would have to draw practical conclusions also from

today's paper documents, but in a different sense, i. e. Ukraine will be represented in the future U.N.O. by a sovereign *Ukrainian* Government, and not by the colonial Government of Moscow. And this ought to be self-evident for everybody.

The Bolsheviks are juggling with phrases about "sovereignty", State, "Foreign ministers" and the Americans do not allow the "Anti-Bolshevik Co-ordinating Centre" to propagandize real sovereignty.

The Bolsheviks preach that there is no "one and indivisible" state, but a Union of Republics, which can secede from the "Union". and "the Voice of America" is not yet sure whether there exists at all a separate Ukrainian nation as a historically sovereign nation...

America is in retreat in her psychological warfare against the USSR. Her propaganda does not mention with a single word any national states, but the Bolsheviks represent themselves in all publications and on the air as heralds of this very national liberation of all the peoples of the world.

The Western world is afraid even to acknowledge what it recognised yesterday, e. g. the independence of Georgia, or Azerbaidjan, or the Northern Caucasus. And Siberian independence was supported by American circles already in 1918, but it has not become reality, *inter alia*, because of the resistance on the part of Japan. All this already was... Well, where is here the "creation of chaos"?! Where are those hundreds, or dozens of states? In fact, it is only a question of the additional recognition by the Western world of: the complex of the Caucasus, Turkestan, Idel-Ural, Siberia and the Cossack. And the concept of disintegration of the Empire would have had its crowning in the formal recognition of it by the West. We do not mention Ukraine and Byelorussia, for probably there is not a single serious statesman who would sincerely deny this right to Ukraine, when it is granted to Indonesia, or Tunis, and when she is regarded as having rights equal with those of other countries in U.N.O.

#### **BUT WHY ARE THEY AGAINST OUR SOVEREIGNTY AFTER ALL?**

It is simply astonishing that the U.S.A. who are defending the struggle for independence of Morocco or Tunis at present, do not want to support the independence of one of the oldest nations of Europe and one of the most developed culturally, the Ukrainian people. It is not true that certain American circles do not want to provoke displeasure of the Russian nation for, all the same, it was, is, and will be a *hostile* nation towards the USA. It is difficult to understand why the USA are not afraid to provoke the displeasure of the French or British people, who are on friendly relations

with them, by assisting in the disintegration of the French or the British Empire, but for some reason do not want to provoke the displeasure of their enemy, the Russian nation? Or is it possible that it is a question of a possibility of the division of the world into hemispheres? America supports the idea of a unified Irish State, works along the lines of creating sovereign states in the Moslem world, independent of Britain, she supported the independence of Indonesia or India, but does not to "provoke the displeasure" of her greatest enemy, Russia? It seems to us that in contemporary America there are forces in power to whom the great historic spirit of a Christian and national Ukraine as a bearer of national liberation and new ideas and values is alien, for these ideas render it impossible for those forces dominating certain circles in the West to dominate healthy and viable national organisms. We are convinced that an *other* America, the one which will gain her voice to-morrow, America faithful to traditions of Washington and Lincoln, the great messengers of liberty and justice,—thinks differently. But that is, for the time being, the unofficial America. She lives on different ideas.

#### **CURIOSITIES OF AMERICAN POLITICS**

Why and on what basis should our talks with any American partners be conducted in connection with the Russians? When the Americans or the British had talks during World War II with de Gaulle, or Sikorsky, or the Serbian King Peter, or Mikhailovich, they never asked whether the Germans were present, or how to reconcile this with the German anti-Hitlerite emigres. The Russians and the Americans are quite different and separate entities. Any talks and negotiations, if they are to be conducted with the Allies some day, any probable agreement can now be only separate and direct, and never in conjunction with the Russians.

Today there are *three* factors: the enslaved peoples, the allies, and the Russians. The Russians are our enemies and of the West, too. Their emigres are without importance and influence on their people, just as the German ones were. The enslaved peoples and the allied Powers are natural allies, but the West must recognize and support our ideas. Russian emigres are emigres of a *hostile* people, just as the German one were. Our emigres are emigres of friendly, allied peoples, just as were the French ones of de Gaulle, Serbian of Mikhailowich, Polish of Bor-Komorowsky etc. How is it possible to place together two opposing partners? How can one treat them equally? Did the allies place the same trust in de Gaulle as, for instance, in Ollenhauer, or Knoeringen? Was it possible to treat equally the "Free French", Belgians, Po-



les of Gen. Anders, the Queen of the Netherlands, on the one hand and Hess & Co. on the other? What, if at all, helped the allied propaganda directed to the German people during the last War, and how was it conducted? And how, on the other hand, was conducted the propaganda to the French with their Army among the Allied armies, or the propaganda of the Polish exile Government, or the Serbian one? Was it only deGaulle, or Sikorsky, who were present when decisions were taken by Churchill and Roosevelt or also one of the German generals or politicians from the opposition? Is it not true that even the smallest decisions were kept secret from the Germans of the opposition, to say nothing of the idea of jointly passing them! Can there be the same trust in the leaders of tried probity of the enslaved peoples and in the Muscovite enslaver? . . .

Is it possible to value equally Polish parachutists, or Serbian, French, Dutch or Norwegian ones, which used to bale out within the framework of a common liberation action over their native territories — on the one hand, and, on the other hand — (though actually they never baled out) German ones among the German population, which sometimes in its patriotism, incited by the Hitlerites did harm to shot-down allied airmen? Would not a similar action of the German emigres, just as in future of the Russian ones, be considered by the Russian people, just as it was recently by the German people, to be national treason?..

At the same time such an action among the enslaved French or Poles was the highest national heroism! Two justly different standards: Here it is patriotism, and there — treason! from this we must draw far-reaching conclusions of a political nature. What we are doing, is in the eyes of our peoples our national duty. But the same in the eyes of the Russians is treason, just as it was treason when Lord Haw-Haw spoke on Radio Berlin. It was collaboration with the enemy of Britain. What Russians do, when they talk or perhaps collaborate with the allies, is in the eyes of the Russian people a similar collaboration with the enemy. But for our peoples, it is *co-operation* with an ally, if this ally is going to recognize our ideas and support them.

Can one compare the U.P.A. which waged war on *two* fronts, with German troops which fought against it? Allied propaganda had for its task the demobilisation of the Germans, but the mobilisation of the French. Now, thanks to the cunning of the Russians and their helpers, the distinction is obliterated in the West: the enemies have been mixed up with the natural allies. The Russians pretend to be adherents of the West, in order to save the Empire with the help of the USA. Being now unable to save it by forces within the USSR, they want to make the Americans wage war for

them and, in addition, with the hands of the enslaved peoples through opportunists from the midst of these peoples. The historic role of the Russian emigres is to preserve the Empire through creating confusion in the West. . . Is it possible that anyone could be found from among the national patriots, non-Russians, who would help them in it?

It is really astonishing: they want to place us round the same table with an enemy whom no-one believes. And now one intends to give the main role in conducting the psychological warfare against Russia as an Empire to the Russians within the complex of the enslaved peoples, and the tone set by the Russians has to be taken into consideration also by American propaganda. This means that in fact the action against the enemy has to be conducted by members of the same hostile nation. Why then did the Allies not propose Hess to conduct the action against Hitler? . . .

What is then the difference between the Nazism and the Bolshevism? Why was it not possible to entrust any confidential posts in the psychological and any other warfare to Germans who were in opposition to Hitler, whereas these posts can be now entrusted to Russians during a war against Stalin's Russia? Or has the dictum of a Russian emigre statesman, Milukow, been forgotten in the West, that the Russian patriots would support Stalin in case of war, or the songs of praise of the recent Russian emigres in honour of Stalin, the "non-divider"? Whichever of the Allies want to risk their chance of victory, let them sit down round the same table with the Russian imperialists, but it is no place for us there.

#### ADDITIONAL DANGERS

The Russians are trying at any cost to obliterate the division between the enslaved peoples and the enslaver. They strive to create, through an illusion of a common front with the enslaved peoples, an impression in the Western world that all are *equally* responsible before the world for Bolshevism and its horrors. But this is a great lie. If de Gaulle did not sit together with Ollenhauer or Hess, then on what grounds are we to be compelled to sit with Nikolayevskys and Dallins? It is not the same thing: The responsibility of the Russian people, the enslavers, is not the same thing as that of our peoples, the enslaved.

The fact that the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Republics are members of U.N.O. can also be gravely disadvantageous to us, if Stalin through his puppet government in Kiev were to declare war against the West in the name of Ukraine. Men with a lack of good will in the West may regard it as an act of Ukraine, and treat Ukraine as a State waging war against the West, and not as an occupied, conquered country,

whose real will is shown through the *underground* government, U.H.V.R. It is not for nothing that Moscow sometimes dictates her puppet delegation from Kiev at U.N.O. to table those motions which are most injurious to the West in order, with a malicious intent, to put them formally to someone else's account, though in fact the Kremlin and its agency in Kiev are one and the same thing. Therefore we disassociate ourselves from the idea of this kind of "Ukrainian sovereignty" — the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. It is one thing to recognize how Stalin *has to manoeuvre* in order to talk deceptively about "sovereignty" *under pressure from the struggle of Ukraine*, but quite a different thing to recognize that the Ukrainian State already exists. There exists only the *underground* Ukrainian State, with her underground government — Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.), and her army — U.P.A. And it is *this* Ukrainian State that the West has to recognize. The actions of these Ukrainian revolutionary factors are binding for the Ukrainian people, which is friendly in its attitude towards the West, just as for example Poland or France was during the last war. An act of declaration of war against the West by Manuisky will not be, either legally or in fact, an act of the Ukrainian people but of the Russian occupying power, just as a similar act by the Norwegian Quisling or Belgian deGrell or Laval, was not an expression of the will of their respective peoples but an order of their enemy, Hitlerite Germany. To confuse the enslaved peoples with the Russians may have still another drawback, that is, that Russia, just as Germany is now, may be expelled from U.N.O. and international co-operation altogether after she has been defeated. This fate might also be in store for Ukraine and Byelorussia, which countries are allegedly considered to be members of U.N.O. with full rights. To disassociate ourselves from the Russians as a nation, who are going to lose this (coming) war, is especially important also from this point of view. Why should we tie ourselves in any way to those who are condemned to fall and save them by our good name, as if it were true that everyone suffered equally from Bolshevism: both the conquerors, enslavers and the conquered, enslaved! . . .

Germany has a non-Nazi government, but the Allies treat the situation from the point of view that it was the German *people* who lost the war, and not only the Nazis. The same applies to Russia. The Russian people are going to lose, and not only the Bolsheviks. Hrechukha and Manuisky, or Kisilyow, will end their lives of treason like Quisling or Laval. . . Why should we be among those who by their participation in the talk round a common table take the share of responsibility for Russia's crimes against the world?



We are not a party to those crimes. Let us remember that neither Sikorsky, nor Mikhailowich nor de Gualle ever used to sit round the same table with the German opposition, even during the war against Nazi Germany. We have always considered ourselves to be in position like that for instance of occupied France, and therefore demand the same attitude towards ourselves from the USA and Britain. We also are adjusting our attitude to the point of view inevitably be among the *defeated* in this coming war. The policy of the West towards the Russians can only be one of subversion in order to weaken the front of the Russians. We must not follow a policy of subversion towards our peoples, for these peoples, as opposed to the Russian people which strives to conquer the whole world, are on this side of the barricade, whereas the mass of the Russians are on the opposite side. . .

### UNCHANGABLE TRUTH

There is only one basis for possible talks with the Allies: the recognition of the Sovereign United Ukrainian State through the disintegration of the Russian prison of peoples into national States, together with the recognition of the underground governments as the only guaranties of national independence, and not creating fictitious sovereignty or other kinds of protectorate. The enslaved peoples can settle their attitude to the Western powers only directly and not in conjunction with the Russians. The Russians have nothing to do with it. It is a matter of settling relations directly between the Allies and the enslaved peoples.

Let us ask again: did the USA and Great Britain ask de Gaulle or Mikhailowich how they had settled things with the Germans? The USA may have talks with the Russians in order to organize subversive action on the Russian front. In our case there are much greater things at stake: assistance in the war of national liberation of our peoples against the Russian aggressor who attacked, occupied and now oppresses us. The people enslaved by Moscow are in the same position as France, Poland, Serbia, Belgium, Norway, Holland, Czechia etc., were in recently. The Russians are in the position of the Germans during the last war.

### WE ARE SEPARATED BY AN OCEAN OF BLOOD

There already exists a basis for co-operation among the enslaved peoples, i.e. the A.B.N., and they have been co-operating for a long time. They can draw up common plans and common strategy for their struggle. But we have no trust in the Russians, and it is hard to imagine them at the same table with us. But if the Allies consider that the Russian factor does not merely possess subversive value, they may have separate talks and agreements with them, but one thing

must never form a basis even for *separate* talks with the Russian, that is the principle of "One and Indivisible" Russia. For, after all, it is impossible to help Russians to their aim of "One and Indivisible" Russia, and at the same time to help the enslaved peoples to their independence. This would be a farce, and not a basis for the struggle against the enemy of the whole of humanity. Co-operation of enslaved peoples with the Allies is only possible when the Allies enter into talks with the Russians *only* on the basis of a Russian State within its ethnographical limits, with restoration of sovereignty to all peoples now enslaved by Russia, with the withdrawal of the Russians back into their Muscovy and the return of our nationals from forced labour camps to their native countries. The Russians must accept the idea of the partition of the prison of peoples into national states. Otherwise there will be no co-operation between the Allies and the enslaved peoples within the USSR. There is no necessity at all for a Common Centre with the Russians, even in the case of their agreeing to partition of their prison (which is improbable). First of all, there is nothing to be co-ordinated with them, for there is so far no organised struggle against Russian imperialism on Russian ethnographical territory. Secondly, we would consider joining a Common Centre only if the principle of national independence were recognised by Russians, they would confine themselves to their own territory and begin some action. Thirdly, the Russians must show by *acts* that they stand for partition of the prison of peoples in *all sincerity* i. e. they must first of all start *fighting for it*. When our peoples have seen these acts, they will be able to change their attitude. Until then there is no sense in trying to confuse people by saying that the Russians have changed. Where can one find even one small organised group of Russians which would be non-imperialist? Where is there to be found even one statement made on their part, condemning the seizure of Ukraine, the Caucasus, Byelorussia, Turkestan etc.? Where has there taken place even one anti-imperialist public meeting of Russians condemning the oppressors? There is nothing to be co-ordinated and nobody to it with. But the enslaved peoples have to agree on many matters among themselves, for their struggle is an organised, many-sided, planned struggle. For, after all, there do exist political organisations, insurgent formations, and raids do take place.

### WE HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT OUR CHAINS; BUT THE WEST HAS ITS FREEDOM TO LOSE

The forces within the enslaved peoples of the USSR which strive towards independence will carry on their banner of freedom and complete independence un-

tarnished, for the peoples behind the Iron Curtain do not struggle for federation with Russia, but for their statehood.

The power of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations is based mainly upon a dogmatic and uncompromising attitude towards any attempts to limit in any way the sovereignty of peoples, and upon an indestructible belief in their own powers, in national revolutions as the only way of liberation. The Bloc expresses the strivings and struggle of the peoples, and it is *its* ideas, and not those of the corrupt emigre quislings, which the peoples are following and will follow. . .

As long as the Western world will not come to meet its ideas, i. e. the complete independence and equality of rights of the peoples of USSR and will not recognize, as co-operating partners, those who have oppressed peoples behind them, whom those peoples trust, — so long there will be no co-operation between the revolutionary liberation forces within the USSR and the West.

We have time, we can wait. We have nothing to lose but our chains, but the Western world, — if it takes up a wrong policy towards us, — has everything to lose, for it is its freedom that is at stake!

## BERIA ON THE IMPORTANCE OF UKRAINE

At the recently held Congress of the Communist Party in Moscow spoke, among other orators, the well-known specialist in torture and bloody affairs, Beria. While indiscriminately criticising the sinister policies and economy of the free countries of the West he drew a parallel between their life and that of some Soviet republics. In the course of his speech Beria started to compare the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic with France and Italy taken together. "Our Soviet Republics have by far surpassed in their development even the old industrial countries of the Western Europe," said Beria. "Let us compare, for example Ukraine, with two great bourgeois countries, France and Italy. It is obvious that in this case not everything can be compared. It is well known that in the Ukrainian S.S.R. the exploiting classes had been destroyed long ago (except the Russians—Ed.). Works, factories, land and all the products of labour belong to the people (What people?—Ed.) and the unemployment has been banished once and for all; all the authority is invested in the people (again Beria does not specify what people he means—Ed.). In this respect the Soviet Ukraine more than 30 years ago, has left far behind France and Italy where the capitalists are still in power. (These words do not deserve of any comment as Moscow boasts so cynically and so openly of its conquest). Therefore



# THE 19th CONGRESS OF THE ALL-UNION COMMUNIST PARTY

(AS WE SEE IT)

"Pravda" of 6th October published a report of the opening session of the 19th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on 5th October, a photograph of the presidium of the Congress and the general report by the secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, G. M. Malenkov.

Malenkov's general report consists of three main sections: "The International situation", "The Internal situation", and "The Party"; they in turn, are divided into subsections.

The headings of the subsections of the report on the international situation read as follows: "Further weakening of the world capitalist system and the economic position in capitalist countries"; "Deterioration of the international situation. Threat of a new war from the Anglo-American aggressive bloc. People's struggle for peace", and "The Soviet Union in the struggle for preservation and strengthening of peace"; they give a general idea of Moscow's estimate of the international situation and her estimate of the direction which the development of international relations and situation is going to take. The main theses of the report on the international situation are: The U.S.S.R. is no longer now, as it was before World War II, only a single "Socialist" state surrounded by the "Capitalist world", but is the centre and the leading force of the "world of Socialism and Democracy", which encompasses one third of the whole of humanity. In this "democratic world" there have arisen two world economic systems and two world markets. "The disintegration of the single world market is the most important economic result of World War II". Further on, on this basis, the idea is being developed that the "liberation" of one third of the world from the sphere of action of the capitalist world economic system and its markets has very much weakened the capitalist system, has made its internal contradictions and the mutual rivalry of the "capitalist" states among themselves more acute, and that all of them together are feeling the effects of "domination by American imperialism". Malenkov, giving an estimate of the international situation and drawing a picture of it before the Congress, does not present so much what exists as what they should like to see existing.

Here are some examples: "Once independent Capitalist states: Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, Norway have at present in fact renounced their national policies and are pursuing policies dictated by the American imperialists, giving their territories for American bases and war theatres, and thus exposing their own

countries to the first blow in case of military operations. They conclude, in order to please the U.S.A. alliances and blocs, directed against the interests of their own countries. A striking example of this is given by the actions of the ruling circles of France, who with their own hands are helping to restore the fiercest, centuries-old enemy of France—German militarism. British statesmen of conservative and labour tendencies have enrolled themselves for a long time among junior partners of the U.S.A., assuming thus an obligation to pursue not their own national policy, but an American policy. This policy already causes great suffering to the British people, and the British Empire is cracking along all its seams. And at the same time, British propaganda reiterates that, as they allege, it is the communists who are destroying the British Empire. . . But is it communists, and not the American milliardaires, who have captured Canada, are capturing Australia, New Zealand, are forcing Britain out of the Suez Canal Zone and out of the markets of Latin America, are getting hold of the oil fields which have been in British possession. . ."

Condolesces, similar to this one for the fate of the "national sovereignty" and the "loss" of the Commonwealth by Great Britain in favour of the "American milliardaires" expressed with different variation, are addressed to all the major European countries. While Malenkov is frightening France with her "fiercest", centuries-old enemy—German militarism", at the same time he says with regard to Germany that "one may hope that the German people, which has a choice. . . either to create a unified, independent, peace-loving, democratic Germany, or to be turned into hirelings of the American and British imperialists, — will choose the correct road — the road of peace." Then Malenkov continues that "one must say the same thing also with regard to Italy a brother people, for whom the Soviet Union wishes a full restoration of national independence. Juggling thus with "fraternal love" for the Italian people, frightening the French with the German militarism, and the Germans with the idea that they cannot count upon being anything more than hirelings of the "American and British Imperialists", and pointing out, in an address directed towards Great Britain that she had already ceased to pursue a national policy, as she was a "younger brother" and a satellite of the American policy, — Moscow tries to intensify the 'antagonism within the capitalist world'. But knowing, that the West believes these tales no more than Malenkov himself,

he, as it was mentioned above, frightened the "American satellites" that they were through their alliances with the U.S.A. "exposing their own countries to the impact of military operations." Malenkov assures us, offering "peace and co-operation" that: "The Soviet policy of peace and security proceeds from the knowledge that the peaceful co-existence of capitalism and communism and their mutual co-operation are quite possible in the case of the presence of the mutual desire to co-operate, and of the readiness to honour one's obligations, in the case of the preservation of the principle of equality of rights and non-interference in internal affairs of other countries". In view of the fact that the value of these "peaceful proposals" is well known, and that Great Britain can hardly be tempted by Moscow's aid to preserve her Commonwealth from being swallowed up by America and to keep the Suez Canal with the help of a couple of Russian divisions or a corps or two, Malenkov therefore thus concludes this part of his report: "Let us untiringly strengthen the defensive power of the Soviet state and augment our readiness for an annihilating repulse to every aggressor". This remark is covered by "tumultuous, prolonged applause." (By the way — for the period of time from the opening of the Congress including Malenkov's report, "Pravda" of 6th October quotes 72 times "tumultuous, prolonged", long tumultuous prolonged and going over into an ovation", "a tumultuous and prolonged ovation, shouts — long live great Stalin" etc., which we do not insert because of shortage of space, though this component part of the Congress would also deserve our "proper" attention).

The report on the internal situation has the following subsections: "Further rise of the national economy", "Further rise in the material welfare, health protection and the cultural standard of life of the people", "Further strengthening of the Soviet social and public order". Summarising this aspect of Malenkov's report in one sentence, our readers may be advised to recall one of the Soviet marches: "Higher and higher do we direct the soaring of our birds" — song of "Stalin's falcons", who suddenly became "chicken-hearted" when confronted with German "Messerschmidts", and the most heroic "flights" of the Soviet air force became flying over maize fields and hiding in them. Do you remember the type of "Stalin's bird" which was known throughout the army under the name of the "maize bird?" Therefore we will leave that part of Malenkov's report where he sings: "higher and. . . 'or rather—' further and further" for the 'enthusiasts' and shall limit ourselves to noting a few of the central points. Malenkov says that "an important result in the development of industry is that during the period under report there has been a speedy de-



velopment of industry in the Eastern districts of the U.S.S.R., the result of which was a change in the location of our industry. In the Eastern districts — the Volga districts, the Urals, Siberia, the Far East the Kazakh Republic, and the Central Asiatic Republics — there has been created a mighty industrial basis of the country. The gross volume of the industrial production of those districts has increased in 1952 as compared with 1940. In 1951, about one third of all the industrial production of the U.S.S.R. has been turned out in the eastern districts, as well as more than one half of the total production of steel and rolled iron, almost one half of the coal and oil and over 40 p. c. of electric current". Malenkov, after noting that in the field of agriculture "the total area under crops in 1952 exceeded the pre-war level by 5.3 millions of hectares. . . the pre-war level of cattle had been reached in 1948, of sheep in 1950, of pigs during the current year (from the materials published about the Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine it transpires that in Ukraine the agriculture has not yet reached the level of 1940, particularly in animal breeding-Ed.), throws light on the main question of agricultural policy and of deviations in this policy which have been rectified by the Party. He says that in the matter of the enlarging of collective farms, several "deviations" took place, i. e.: "Some of our leading functionaries have committed, especially in connection with the execution of enlarging of collective farms, a wrong, self-centred approach to the question of the collective farm construction. They proposed an accelerated mass transfer of villages into large collective farm settlements, the demolition of all farm buildings and farm workers' cottages and the creation on the new sites of large "collective farm settlements", "collective farm towns" or "agricultural towns" considering this to be the most important task in the organisational and economic strengthening of the collective farms. The error of these comrades consists in the fact that they forgot about the main production tasks of the collective farms and promoted to the foremost position the task of providing living accommodation on collective farms, which are secondary to the production of foodstuffs."

According to Malenkov's definition, this deviation was threatening "the main production tasks", i. e. the extraction from the country of agricultural produce, for the energy of the collective farm workers, he means, would be transferred towards the individual settling-down, and therefore adopted timely decisions to combat these erroneous tendencies in collective farm construction".

On the same level of a thorough combatting of "consuming tendencies" in collective farms: "it is necessary to note that in many collective farms a practice became wide-spread of creating ancillary

undertakings for the production of bricks, roof tiles and other industrial products. Experience has shown that this raises the prices of the building materials and industrial products, and — *most important of all — distracts the collective farms and State farms from fulfilling their task of the production of agricultural produce* and is a brake in the development of agriculture. This state of affairs must be corrected, and all the efforts of the collective farms and State farms must be concentrated exclusively upon further development of many-sided agricultural production".

As is well-known, the essence of the matter lies in fact that in proportion as the village buildings and the peasants' cottages, in particular those built some 50-100 years ago, were falling into complete disrepair, the living conditions of the collective farm workers became so terrible that even the lowest ranking overseers of the collective system found it necessary, for purely commercial reasons, to do something to repair them, at least in the form of creating collective farm settlements and organising their own brick-fields and other ancillary industries, in order to find some way out of the existing situation, when with every coming year more and more collective farm workers lived in holes dug out in the ground ("zemlyanka") and were reaching the ultimate limits of poverty and such a degree of indifference that no repressions influenced them any longer. In reply to this state of affairs, as we see, the instructions are given categorically — not to provide living conditions, no brick-fields, no ancillary undertakings, all attention to be concentrated only upon the production of agricultural produce. This, together with the "theory deduced by Stalin's genius" about the transition from socialism to communism in agriculture, gives shape to the direction of policy in collective farm economics: *a further attack on the elementary fundamentals of farmer's physical existence and a squeezing out of him of "agricultural produce"*.

Considering the Soviet system of the organization of distribution and exchange, Malenkov speaks about and quotes a general corruption and pilfering, without mentioning, of course, the real cause of this, — terrible impoverishment of the people. He lays the blame for everything on the lack of control by the Ministries, which creates a ground for all kinds of abuses, allows supplying organisations to add all their losses and deficiencies to the working expenses, and to conceal in this way their mismanagement. Lack of order and economy in the organisation of supplies, storage and sales accounts for loss to the State of several milliards of roubles".

Disputing with some anonymous enemies of Stalinism, — with "internal enemies" as it is obvious for the quotation

below, for the whole section of the report is devoted to the "Internal situation", — Malenkov says: "The enemies of Socialism and all their yes-men present Socialism as a system of suppression of individuality. There is nothing more primitive and vulgar than such ideas. It has been proved that the Socialist system has provided opportunities for the liberation of individuality, for the renaissance of individual and collective creative powers, created opportunities for a manifold blossoming of talents. . ." but in the next column Malenkov complains: "The manifold and exuberant life of the Soviet society is represented in the work of some writers in a dull and tedious fashion", i. e. literature and art cannot find where that "liberty of the individual" is.

Having thus "punished" the "enemies and slanderers" who deny the existence of *individual liberty* in the U.S.S.R., Malenkov pays special attention to the "proofs" of the freedom of peoples. He says: "The Great Patriotic War and the following years of peace-time construction have proved once again that the Soviet Social order, created under the leadership of the Party, is the best form of organisation of society, that the Soviet state order represents a model of a multinational state. Many of our enemies and foes from the bourgeois camp have been unceasingly repeating that the Soviet multinational state is precarious; they hoped for dissidence among the peoples of the U.S.S.R., prophesied the disintegration of the Soviet Union. They were judging our State in accordance with the standards of their own bourgeois countries, which are subject to contradictions and discord. The enemies of socialism are unable to understand that as a consequence of the great October revolution and the subsequent socialist transformations, all peoples of our country are linked by a strong bond of friendship on a basis of complete equality".

The section of his report on "The Internal Situation of the U.S.S.R." Malenkov concluded with the words: "Let us attentively follow the machinations of the war mongers. Let us strengthen in all respects the Soviet army, navy and intelligence service".

In the section of his report dealing with the Party Malenkov announced that at the time of the preceding Congress (1939), the Party had 2,477,660 members, including 888,814 candidates, and on 1. 10. 1952 it had 6,882,145 members, including 868,886 candidates (in the Ukraine the Communist organisation numbered on 1st September 1952—777,832, or about 11 p.c. of the whole A.U.C.P.(b), and the population of Ukraine within the present boundaries of the Ukrainian Republic equals approximately 22-23 p. c. of the whole population of the USSR. Thus, the number of Communists in relation to her population is less than one half of the proportion for the whole of the U.S.S.R.,



and if one takes into consideration the fact that less than one half of the total numbers of the Communist organisation in Ukraine are Ukrainians — then the significance of this result will be the more striking). The greatest difficulties of the Party, according to Malenkov's report, are due to her disproportionately large numerical growth during the war. As it is known, during the war the policy was to enrol into the Party as many people as possible, mainly within the Army, from a simple calculation — in order to bar "the road of retreat" for an enormous mass of people through their enrolment into the Party, to tie them with it, one could say, by a common crime, and to have thus a high saturation of the army with men for whom 'the roads of retreat' were barred, and for whom if defeat were to come it would have been a personal disaster as well. Malenkov speaks about it thus: "during the years of the Great Patriotic War, despite the great losses of the Party on the fronts, the numerical strength of the Party did not decrease, but even increased by more than 1,600,000 people. "Then he continues: ". . . the point is that in connection with the victorious conclusion of the war and considerable successes in economy (looting in the "liberated" countries Ed.) during the post-war period, there developed in the ranks of the Party an uncritical attitude towards shortcomings and errors in the work of the Party organizations and undertakings and in other organizations. The facts prove that successes have created within the ranks of the party mood of complacency, contentment and Philistine repose, a desire "to rest on laurels" and live on the merits of the past. . . This attitude, harmful in its effects, engulfed a part of the cadre which was insufficiently trained and unstable in the Party sense. . ." etc. In other words, the Party found itself after the war in a position similar to that of 1921-1926, when enormous masses of raffle and dregs had helped the Communist party to seize power. They were then the so-called "Red Guards", 'Red partisans', Committees for the poor etc., who were liquidated over a period of some years by the Party and Soviet purges, and especially those of them who were restive and used to shout too persistently: "What did we shed our blood for?" have found themselves "in places not far removed" and "very far removed" together with the Kulaks and the "counter-revolutionaries", whom these "reds" used to dispossess and to liquidate. An analogous picture presents itself now, too — the Party, having used the Moors — millions of "cannon fodder", mobilised into the Party during the war wants now to get rid of it by reasons of superfluity, and several millions of new "Red Guards" and "Red partisans" must be expelled from the Party.

The following measures have been ta-

ken: admission of new members has been virtually suspended, and through a method of the so-called criticism from below there has been created a system of mass terror conducted from the top and executed through the hands of the rank and file—a communist on the collective farm is being encouraged to criticise the secretary of his lowest party cell; the secretary of the lowest party cell in the collective farm is encouraged to criticise his superior—the secretary of the district committee, and he in turn — the provincial committee etc.

Practically to every critic the prospect is suggested of taking the place of and being promoted to the position of the one to be criticised, and thus an organised system is created by which "the meritorious ones and those who rest on their laurels" are being eliminated from the Party in masses, i. e. the numerical strength of the Party is being diminished, the "meritorious ones" are being replaced by "those with merit" yet, and therefore showing a dog-like devotion and claiming a more modest slice of the party cake (which is for every party member the economic resources of the U.S.S.R.). Politically, this party vivisection of former loyal servants, is used for the purpose of stupefying the masses and discharging their energy of protest and moral resistance on a lightning-conductor, which would direct this energy into a direction useful for the Party: "A great evil in our midst consists in fact that there are many functionaries who consider that Party decisions and Soviet laws are not obligatory for them, who imagine that we have two kinds of discipline: one for ordinary people, another for the leaders. Such "leaders" think that they may do anything, that they may disregard the order of the Party and the State, transgress the Soviet laws, take the law into their own hands". The sense of this proclamation is the traditional Muscovite method of despotism—periodically to draw the boyars' blood, releasing the mob from its chains and setting it on them, raving from hunger, cold and continual beatings with stick and knout. A classical example of this policy was the long reign of Ivan the Terrible. Now, as it is clear from Malenkov's speech, this well-tried method is going to be employed in order to diminish the numbers of Party members and to strengthen the Party discipline which has become loose.

The diminishing of the Party numbers by elimination from it of those who are "meritorious" and resting on their "laurels", their substitution by promotions from the rank and file (from the "mob") and an uplift in "socialist ideology" — these tasks for the ordering of internal Party relationship are prescribed in Malenkov's report. This is one of the most important sectors of the Soviet preparations for war.

## FROM THE A.B.N. PRESS COMMUNIQUE

The Press Bureau of the Antiholshevist Bloc of Nations published a Communiqué in which the A.B.N.'s uncompromising, sharply critical attitude towards the newly-created so-called "Coordinating Centre of the Antiholshevist Struggle" (C.C.A.B.) is stated. The basic statements of that Communiqué are as follows:

*"We appeal to our countrymen to treat the C.C.A.B. as a dangerous endeavour of certain American circles to question our right to renewal of our sovereign national states, the right, acquired by means of a hard struggle and given to us by God, and an attempt to force our nation to abandon this right to the advantage of the Russian prison of nations as it was in its limits of 1939."*

*We assert that already long ago our nations have determined themselves by means of a most eloquent plebiscite, the plebiscite of blood, by the long-lasting, unceasing, open struggle against the Russian and any other subjugation, from whatever quarters it might be coming."*

*This self-determination was most distinctly manifested again by the renewal of sovereign states by our nations in the years 1917—1918."*

*We remind the Western world that the non-Russian peoples can only then be allies of the West when their right to national states and a definite separation from Russia, once and for all will be acknowledged without any reservations."*

*We appeal to the recently elected leading statesmen of the U.S.A. that they revise radically the so far erroneous policy of the U.S.A. in respect of the peoples, subjugated by Moscow and in respect of the national problems of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain. . ."*

*We combat and will combat in the future every attempt to preserve the monstrous Russian prison of nations without regard to whatever form it may take and whoever in the West may be supporting this nightmare of an Empire."*

*Our unchanging goal is to break up the prison of nations and then to renew the sovereign national democratic states of the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Turkistanians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, North Caucasians, Idel Uralians, Cossacks and others. . ."*

### IN A COMMON FRONT

On 6th November of this year the Central Committee of the Anti-holshevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) called a special Press Conference at Munich at which a message of the nations of the A.B.N. to the free world—"On the Anniversary of Tyranny" which Moscow celebrated as the "anniversary of the October Revolution, has been read. At the same conference a special communiqué of the ABN's

A.O.



## UKRAINIAN YOUTH IN AMERICA PROTESTS BEFORE UNITED NATIONS

Press Bureau concerning the creation of the "Co-ordinating Centre of the Anti-Bolshevist Struggle" by means of which the White Moscow politicians want to preserve Russian Empire after the break-up of bolshevism has also been read. The journalists present at the Conference were also supplied with various materials in forming them about the struggle and problems of particular nations, members of the A.B.N.

The Conference has been attended by over 40 representatives of foreign Press who listened with attention to the message of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. "On the Anniversary of tyranny" and put various questions concerning the problems of the struggle against Bolshevism and Russian imperialism. Besides the journalists representing the German and amongst others the Italian and Turkish press, there were also the representatives of the broadcasting stations and press agencies, such as the "U.P." and "A.P." and of the newspapers "Daily Express" and "Kemsley Press".

Observers of some German political organizations were also present at the Conference.

German Press and Radio reported favourably the attitude of the A.B.N. towards Russian imperialism.

The replies to the questions put by the journalists were given by the Head of the A.B.N.'s Central Committee, Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, by the General Secretary of the same Committee, Dr. Ctibor Pokorny (a Slovak) and members of the Central Committee: Dr. Wierer (a Czech), Mr. Glazkow (a Cossack) and other representatives of the A.B.N.—nations abroad.

### A.B.N. MEETING

A MEETING OF THE A.B.N. BRANCH IN WOLVERHAMPTON on Sunday 5th October marked the 3rd anniversary of its existence in that town. Mr. V. Glazkov, a representative of the Central Committee of A.B.N. who arrived from Munich, and Prince de Tokary, the Head of the A.B.N. Delegation in Great Britain addressed the meeting on the invitation of the local A.B.N. (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations) Committee which consists of Hungarians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Byelorussians, Cossacs and Ukrainians.

The meeting was opened by Mr. M. Tytko, member of the local A.B.N. Committee. Prince de Tokary spoke about the problems of organization of the struggle of nations enslaved by Moscow. Mr. Glazkov's speech dealt with the two opposing conceptions of the solution of the so-called "nationalities problem" in the Soviet Union orbit — the conception of A.B.N. (complete independence of subject nations) and of SONR (American sponsored Russian Empire restoration programme), and with the international situation. There was a lively discussion after the speeches and at the end of the meeting resolutions were voted upon and unanimously passed, in which the community of interests between subjugated nations united in the A.B.N. and an unbroken determination to fight against the common enemy — Moscow's imperialism was stressed. The local British paper "Express and Star" of 6th October noted the meeting and remarked that A.B.N. fights not only against Communism, but against any Russian imperialism.

Members of the Ukrainian Youth Association in America carried out a successful protest action against Soviet Russian imperialism in the United Nations building in New York during the session of its committees on 8th November of this year, on occasion of the 35th anniversary of the October revolution in Russia and the countries occupied by her.

This action came as a complete surprise to the United Nations authorities and it disrupted for a couple of hours the work of all four committees that were sitting on that particular day. At 9 a.m. more than 100 members of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), carrying banners bearing slogans gathered before the building of UNO and began to picket it. The delegates and visitors who were hastening to attend the sessions were handed pamphlets bearing the inscription: "Ukrainian Youth address U.N. on the occasion of the October revolution".

Numerous guests and delegates, as well as passers-by stopped in front of the placards and attentively read them. Newspaper reporters and photographers were at work, writing down the slogans which they had never seen before: "Russians, Stop Russifying Ukraine!" "Stop Physical Destruction Of The Ukrainian People!", "Russian Communism Is Only A New Form Of Russian Imperialism!", "20 Million People Have Been Annihilated By Moscow!", "U.N. Come To Grips With Moscow Tyrants!" Such and similar slogans revealed the true nature of Communist imperialism.

In Room No.4 of the building, where a meeting for discussion of dealing with international crimes was in progress, ac-

tion was begun by Mr. M. Karnaha, who managed to get inside and began to distribute the leaflets among the delegates who looked at them cursorily and put them in their briefcases. The Yugoslav delegate even advised the man who distributed them to hand them to the steering committee too. Having handed leaflets to the American delegate and correspondents, Mr. Karnaha scattered the rest in the air among the visitors. Other members of the S.U.M. who found themselves among the audience did the same.

Simultaneously identical things were happening in other rooms where U.N. committees were in session. In Room No.1 where a discussion was in progress about the restoration of the Committee for Colonies Mr. I. Jushkevych inaugurated the action. Other members of the S.U.M. were handing out leaflets to more than 400 visitors who had gathered in the corridors and the library. Altogether 5,000 leaflets got into the hands of delegates and visitors.

An American delegate rang up the "Voice of America" broadcasting station and asked them to transmit the text of the leaflet to the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Over and above this action within the building of U.N.O. the S.U.M. members spent the evening distributing leaflets in the casinos and cinemas of New York, especially in those where Russians films were being shown.

The S.U.M. also sent to all U.N. delegates a booklet entitled "Moscow's Crime in Vynnytsya", leaflets and proclamations to the youth of Ukraine and America.

### APPEAL OF UKRAINIAN YOUTH TO U.N.O.

Today completes 35 years of Russian Communist tyranny in the U.S.S.R. From Berlin to the 38th parallel in Korea the Communist tyrants glorify the October Revolution which occurred in Russia in 1917. On this day the Kremlin murderers in Moscow's Red Square and in the capitals of occupied nations before the terrorized masses collected by police, demonstrate their military strength and forecast Kremlin's victory over the universe.

Moscow's despotism also forces the 45 million Ukrainian nation to glorify the triumphal day of their counter-revolution, the day of the Great Lie! But we, the Ukrainian American youth in the U.S.A., who but 12 years ago were also forced by the Moscow N.K.V.D. to take part in spreading this greatest lie in human history, are proving that the Ukrainian nation in the depths of its soul

labels this shameful day as a day in which Russian monarchistic imperialism was changed by the new Russian Communist imperialism.

In 1917, in place of czarism, a clique of tyrants came into power. October began a new enslavement of tens of non-Russian nations who liberated themselves at that time from the Moscow enslavement.

The Ukrainian nation in 1917 had nothing in common with the Russian Communists, to the contrary, it proclaimed a Sovereign Ukrainian State, independent of Russia.

Only after three years of war between the young Ukrainian People's Republic and the Communist Russia, the Russian Communists with the support of the czarist generals and the great western countries were able in 1920 to occupy Uk-



rairie once again and return her into the Russian empire collection.

This occupation is still in existence. So far it has cost the Ukrainian people 20 million victims. Red Moscow as well as the czarist Petersburg want to wipe off the great Ukrainian nation off the face of the earth. The nation which disregards sacrifices and the mass terror of the Russian occupants, the nation which is fighting for her national and social liberation.

On the 35th anniversary of the Russian-Communist counter-revolution in Russia and the 33rd anniversary of complete occupation of Ukraine by the Russian imperialists the Ukrainian American youth whose majority consists of displaced persons who recently arrived in the U.S.A. are protesting before the U.N. against the U.N. membership of the Soviet Union, the enormous prison of nations, the country of slavery and national subjugation of non-Russian nations, unheard of exploitation of workers, peasants and intellectuals. *Ukrainian American youth protests* against the presence of Russian Communist imperialist preachers, A. Vishinski, A. Gromyko, and others as well as the marionette representatives of the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic at the U.N. None of them have anything in common with the interests of the U.S.S.R. nations, especially the Ukrainian nation.

*Ukrainian American youth in the U.S.A. presents the following account of the Russian Red Imperialists crimes* which were fulfilled at the expense of the Ukrainian nation during 33 years of occupation of Ukraine. For example, the organization of three artificially induced famines in 1921, 1933 and 1946, the mass terror directed at all strata of society in the Ukrainian Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches in Ukraine and the Ukrainian life, mass deportations of the Ukrainians to the depths of the Russian empire, economic exploitation of the Ukrainian land and settling Ukraine with Russians.

*Ukrainian American youth is appealing to the United Nations* to speed up the condemnation of genocide in the USSR as an international crime against humanity and to put Kremlin henchmen to an international trial for this crime.

*Ukrainian youth declares* that Russian Communist imperialism endangers today the existing free world and that the Communist Parties in the democratic countries are the nests for spies and saboteurs working for Red Moscow. They are also responsible for all the Moscow crimes against humanity.

On the 33rd anniversary of the re-occupation of Ukraine by Russia the *Ukrainian American youth calls upon the United Nations* to support the Ukrainian nation in its liberation fight for an Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State.

## UKRAINIANS APPEAL TO POPE PIUS XII

"Carta Apostolica" of the Pope, Pius XII (of July 7th, 1952) addressed to "All peoples of Russia" has, as we reported in the last issue of "Observer" ("A Stunning Blow") unjustly identified the Ukrainian and other non-Russian nations with the Russian nation, Ukrainian territory with Russian territory, Ukrainian history with Russian history, the Ukrainian Church which Moscow has been oppressing and destroying for centuries, with Russian Church. Therefore Ukrainians from all parts of the World appealed to the Vatican demanding the reparation of this injury, inflicted on the Ukrainians and other non-Russian nations by means of a new Message to non-Russian Nations, in the first instance to the Ukrainian nation which, today represents a stronghold of the Christian faith in the struggle against the bolsheviks.

According to our informations, the Ukrainians from the following countries have appealed to the Pope, Pius XII:—

**ARGENTINA:** *The Congress of the Ukrainian Catholics in the Argentine* which took place on 10-12th October this year, including present guests His Grace the Rev. Nil Savarin, the Bishop-Exarch for the Ukrainians of the Western Canada, addressed an appeal to His Holiness the Pope, Pius XII, requesting him to revise his attitude, expressed in the Message to the "Peoples of Russia" and to adopt a different attitude to the Ukrainian nation and to the Ukrainian Church. The Congress considers the Presence of a representative of the Ukrainian nationality at the Apostolic See necessary in the interest of a continuous and right information about Ukrainian affairs and begs the Holy Father to take this into consideration.

**BELGIUM:** *The Ukrainians in Belgium*, assembled on the 12th October this year at Halle near Brussels on the occasion of a pilgrimage to the miraculous shrine of the Blessed Virgin, appealed together with the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Clergy, headed by the Vicar-General, Rev. Maurice van de Malle, to the Holy Father, asking him to come to the aid of the Ukrainian and other subjugated na-

tions in the USSR. In their present struggle for divine and human justice "God's truth and justice" they write in their address to the Holy Father, "*demand the downfall of the Moscow Empire, based on evil, violence and perfidy, and the erection in its place of free national States.*" Closing their address they write: "*We also beg Your Holiness, in the interests of this moral support for our and other subjugated nations in the USSR, to inform them that Your Holiness, is in favour of our national freedom, of our right to have a national State, as other nations of the world do.*"

*The Ukrainian Relief Committee in Belgium, the Association of Ukrainian Youth and other Ukrainian institutions* declared their solidarity with this appeal.

**GREAT BRITAIN:**—*The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain*, which represents all Ukrainians in this country, addressed a memorandum to the Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, asking him to put right the wrong done to the Ukrainian nation by his message to the "peoples of Russia". The *Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Clergy in Great Britain* assembled at a Conference on 29-31st October this year, at which the Vicar-General Rev. Mitro. A. Malynowskyj sent to the Holy Father a joint letter of appeal in connection with his message to the "peoples of Russia". *The Association of Ukrainian Youth in Great Britain* and the *Ukrainian Student's Union* also appealed to the Holy Father. In addition to this the Branches of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, of the Association of Ukrainian Youth and of the Federation of Ukrainian ex-Servicemen, with participation of the Ukrainian community in all great centres where Ukrainians have settled, are sending to the Holy Father letters of protest signed by hundreds of Ukrainians.

So, e. g. the Ukrainians in Leicester write in their letter to the Holy Father: "*We cannot accept the designation "peoples of Russia" for, in our opinion, there is no such designation. There is the Russian nation and the nations subjugated by Moscow. We also cannot accept (your) representation of the relations within the Russian Prison of nations, the USSR. The whole world knows about the struggle of the freedom-loving nations against the Moscow Bolshevism for their independence, especially about the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian nation.*" They end their letter by saying: "*We believe that the Apostolic See will give moral support to the striving for freedom of the nations, subjugated by Moscow. We believe that our relatives and friends who are now shedding their blood in our native land, will not be abandoned without moral support and protection in this struggle*

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*Freedom loving nations of the world unite in your fight against the Russian Communist Imperialism and for the freedom of nations and the individual!*

*Freedom is indivisible!*

*Justice for everyone!*

*Down with Russian imperialism of all colors!*

*Long live a Sovereign Ukrainian State!*

New York

Nov. 7th, 1952

Headquarters of Ukrainian American Youth Association, Inc.



## 10th ANNIVERSARY OF EXISTENCE OF UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY

The Ukrainian emigration throughout the world celebrated in October of this year the 10th anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (the "U.P.A."). This Army was organized in October 1942 during the struggle against the German-Hitlerite occupants.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) fights against all occupants of the Ukraine, therefore since the very beginning of its existence it fought on two fronts: against the Nazi-Germany and against the Russian-bolshevist invaders and occupants. Since the end of the World War II till the present day the Ukrainian Insurgent Army has been fighting against the greatest enemy of the whole mankind

—the Moscow bolshevist tyrants. In March 1950 fell in this struggle the celebrated Commander-in-Chief of the UPA and the Head of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement in the Ukraine, General T. Chuprynka. But the struggle goes on without break. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army which is in close collaboration with the Underground revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), headed by the Underground revolutionary Liberation Government of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.V.R.), with the support of the whole Ukrainian nation completed 10 years of its existence. During that time it proved to be an invincible fighting force of the Ukrainian nation.

In 1947, by special decree of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council the day of 14th October, i.e. the feast of Blessed Virgin the Protectress ('Pokrova'), was proclaimed a national holiday in commemoration of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. From the earliest times in the history of Ukraine under the rule of Princes and Cossack Hetmans, the Ukrainian Army considered Blessed Virgin to be its Patroness. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army has renewed this tradition and under protection of Blessed Virgin continues its struggle against Russian bolshevist occupants.

This year the Ukrainian emigrants combined the celebration of the U.P.A.-Day with that of the 10th anniversary of its activities. In all countries where Ukrainian emigrants live, above of all, in Great Britain, Germany, France, Austria, Spain, the USA, Canada, Argentina, Brasil and other countries impressive celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the Ukrainian Army took place.

In the USA the day of the U.P.A. was magnificently celebrated on the 27th October, 1952 in New York. 4,000 participants were present. Amongst speakers were also some American statesmen, as Senator Irving Ivis of New York and Senator T. Francis Green of Road Island. In his speech Senator Irving Ivis declared: "Why does not the Soviet Union attack us now, before we had time to organize our defences, to turn dollars into aeroplanes, ships, cannons and tanks? I can quote you one of the reasons, which is to-day perhaps the greatest obstacle for the Soviets. The Kremlin is afraid of the underground movements on its own territory. The Kremlin is scared by the thought that, if it directed its military forces to the war abroad, the underground would rise on the Soviet territory behind the front lines and annihilate its authority. In other words the underground movements in the Ukraine and

in other Countries behind the Iron Curtain constitute to-day the first defence line for our own country the USA. These Underground movements are our allies. They are our Strength. They are powerful obstacle preventing the general war. That is one of the main reasons why I am pressing my demands that our Government should extend a greater support, encouragement and inspiration to the underground Armies, to which this meeting pays such well deserved and eloquent tribute.

Senator T. F. Green said in his speech: "I avail myself of this opportunity to express my sincerest hope that your unceasing endeavours for the liberation of the Ukraine will be successful and that those who had offered their lives for the freedom of Ukraine have not done it in vain."

"Just as the courageous men of the American Revolution had risen to fight against imperialism for their freedom, so the Ukrainian Insurgent Army has risen to fight for the freedom of Ukraine. No imperialism can retain its hold there where the people wants to be free."

At a similar celebration of the U.P.A.-Day in Newark, USA, Congressman Keeney and Senator Hendrickson addressed the meeting. Both speakers having mentioned the heroic struggle of the U.P.A. expressed their profound faith that the day of the liberation of Ukraine were drawing near.

### U.P.A. CONTINUES THE STRUGGLE

The Red Army deserters bring reports about the struggle. The representatives of the Ukrainian daily in the U.S.A., the "Svoboda", took part in a 2-hour Press conference, given by two refugees from the U.S.S.R., now soldiers in the American Army, Arkady Rudovsky from Odessa and Aleksander Lobov from the Gorky district. This conference was arranged on the 14th October, 1952, by the American Army Command, giving the reporters and film producers the opportunity to speak with both refugees. Arkady Rudovsky who deserted in April last year from the Soviet Air Force Corps in Vienna, revealed that in the Western Ukraine the struggle of the Underground Army goes on and that before his escape to Austria the insurgents blew up a railway train on the Lviv-Priashiv line. The informations about the insurgent movement Rudovsky has given in reply to the question of English-speaking reporters who expressed their interest in this respect. To the question from what sources did he get these informations Rudovsky replied that the survivors of the soldiers travelling in the train which the insurgents had blown up, told the story to the others on their arrival in Austria.

against the Moscow bolshevist imperialism."

Similar letters were addressed to the Holy Father by the Ukrainians in Leyton Buzzard, Blackburn, Middleton, Ashton, Cambridge, Barby Camp, (Nr.Rugby) Wolverhampton, Aylesbury Hostel, Elveden Hall (Suffolk), Morrison Hostel, Stockport, Oldham, Rochdale, Bury, Bedford, Huntington, Coventry, Derby, Sheffield, Birtley (Nr.Stratford), Stoke-on Trent, Bolton, Bordon, Manchester, and other localities.

**SPAIN :** — *The Federation of Ukrainian Catholic Students "Obnova"* a member of the international Catholic Students' movement "Pax Romana" sent a letter to the Cardinal Tisserand, in which it defines its critical attitude to the message to the "Peoples of Russia". The letter stresses that the aforesaid message can be exploited both by the Moscow imperialists and the bolsheviks in their agitation against Rome and against Church union.

**GERMANY :** — At the meeting of the *Ukrainian Catholics* in the Settlement Munich-Mosach a letter to Pope Pius XII has been drawn up. In this letter those Ukrainians protest against the wrong done to the Ukrainian nation by the "Message to the Peoples of Russia" and give expression of their hopes that the Apostolic See will find means to repair this moral injury, inflicted on the Ukrainian nation and on the Ukrainian Catholics in particular, by the Message.

Practically the whole Ukrainian press throughout the world, including the USA and Canada appealed to the Pope Pius XII, asking him to revise his attitude expressed in his Message to the "peoples of Russia" and not treat the Ukrainian and other non-Russian nations as Russian.

At the same time these appeals ask blessing and moral aid for the Ukrainian nation in its struggle for a sovereign and united State. The appeals continue.



# Ukraine Behind the Iron Curtain

## MOSCOW CANNOT BREAK THE SPIRIT OF UKRAINE

In the Russian Empire before the "October Revolution" there were in progress the inevitable processes of the organic break-up of the Empire. The Russian "intelligentsia" in its bulk employed in the various sectors of the imperial bureaucratic machine — an apparatus created by tyranny — began to lose the reason for its existence and purpose. This Russian "intelligentsia" became then the milieu which originated the idea of, concentrated on and undertook the restoration of the Russian Empire on the basis of traditional Muscovite, historically conditioned and fixed elements of the existence of the Russian nation in its most primitive forms, i.e. aggressive imperialism, collectivism (socialism, communism), and negation of all the elements opposed to these, within the subjugated nations, such as the individualism of man, the principle of personal initiative in social and economic activities, regionalism in the development of particular nations which before 1917 had grown strong to such an extent that during the 1914-1920 war the Russian Empire broke up under pressure of these forces, i.e. separatist and centrifugal strivings of the subjugated nations.

The Russian "progressive" intelligentsia organised in the Communist Party on the basis of the historically fixed elements of the Muscovite system of political and social organization, backed by the social and psychological communism of the Muscovite nation (e.g. "obshchina mir"), took over power which, according to Lenin's expression, "lay about in the street" and started on its task of the restoration of the Russian Empire, having previously destroyed by means of a revolution all, without exception, establishments, institutions and principles on which the former developed which brought about the downfall of the Russian Empire. They dubbed them summarily "capitalism" in the economics, politics, social relations and consciousness of the people.

Therein are hidden the contents and significance of the "October Revolution" for the Russian Empire. But... "the remains of the bourgeois ideology, the relics of the private ownership psychology and morals are still preserved in our society. We occasionally meet in our republic with the manifestations of the bourgeois Ukrainian national ideology — the fiercest enemy of the Ukrainian people... The Party teaches that the relics of the capitalism in the consciousness of the people do not die out of their own, that they are very much alive, can grow

and that we wage a determined war against them", (Quoted from "The Soviet Ukraine" of 26. 10. 1952).

To such results arrives Moscow on the 35th anniversary of the "October Revolution". It has taken away the land from the Ukrainian farmer, but has been unable to make away the "bourgeois ideology" from the collective farm worker. It has taken away the political freedom from the Ukrainian nation, but has been unable to take away the national ideology and therefore on the 35th anniversary, it must feed the Ukrainian nation on such national "tripe" as "creation and development of the Ukrainian Soviet State, routing of all the foreign aggressors who threatened its existence, the re-integration of all Ukrainian lands in the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic". ("The Soviet Ukraine" 26. 10. 1952).

On the 35th anniversary of the "October Revolution" Moscow feels the ground slipping from under her feet because of the "bourgeois ideology" and nationalism in the outlook and consciousness of the people, although the material incarnation of this consciousness has been plundered and destroyed. "The flesh is nothing, the spirit inspires the life" says the Ukrainian Observer. Gal. 38.

philosopher Skovoroda. And Moscow did not succeed in breaking this spirit after 35 years of its rule.

## KREMLIN'S SERF ATTACKS PETLURA AND BANDERA

The "Pravda" of 10. 11. 1952, reported Korneychuk's speech at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party. In the name of all the workers of the arts of Ukraine he promised to carry on an irreconcilable war against the smallest manifestations of the bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism. "The Ukrainian people", declared Korneychuk, "cannot calmly overlook the criminal actions of the American Government which gave 100,000,000 dollars for organising of espionage and diversion, and hired for this purpose bandits and mongrels, amongst whom there are cursed enemies of the Ukrainian people, the wretches of Petlura and Bandera.

The Ukrainian people has not forgotten,—assures the Moscow stoodge—the year 1918 when a conference of the representatives of America, England and France with participation of Petlura's minister took place at Yassy, where the U. S. A. had given Petlura bandits 11,000,000 dollars for which they (the U.S.A.) supplied them with weapons and ammunition.

—We do not know — complained Korneychuk — how much of these hundred millions dollars allotted for subversive

activities, Mr. President of the U.S.A. has given to the bandits of Petlura and Bandera... — But... there is no doubt, — the serf from Ukraine assured his tsar, — that the Ukrainian people will destroy those Truman's servants, petluro-banderovite bandits and mongrels, like rabid dogs."

Even by abuse, yet the enemy is obliged to confirm the fact of the struggle of the Ukrainian nation and its continuity: Petlura and Bandera.

## A "HAPPY LIFE"

At the 17th Congress of the Communist (bolshivist) Party of the Ukraine the Party secretary, Melnikov, spoke in his report about the "great achievements" in raising the living standard of the collective farm workers. On the basis of his statement we drew up a small comparison which wholly explains the existing state of affairs:

Melnikov declared that in a "good collective farm" the wages for day's work amounted to two kilograms of grain and three roubles 10 kopecks in cash. Therefore supposing a farm-worker worked 26 days a month, he would receive 52 kgs. of grain (the worst kind, of course) and 80 roubles and 60 kopecks in cash. But this is a wholly theoretical calculation, for in order to get these wages a man must fulfill his "norm", otherwise a "working day" is lost. In the average collective farm, according to Melnikov, a farm-worker receives for a "working day" 1 kg of grain and 1 rouble and 60 kopecks in cash, i.e. 26 kgs of grain and 41 roubles 60 kopecks a month.

What can one buy for this money?

1 metre of inferior quality shirting costs from 25 roubles to 75 roubles

1 metre of inferior suiting costs 150 roubles, that of a better quality...over 500 roubles.

A ladies' coat— from 450 roubles upwards.

Stockings...28-40 roubles a pair.

A ready-made men's suit...from 1600 roubles up.

A pair of overalls...from 160 roubles.

Ladies shoes—from 80 roubles.

Men's jackboots with leather leggings—from 500 rbls.

What can this collective farm-worker buy on his monthly wages of 80 roubles (at the most) or of 41 roubles (which is the average)? The industrial worker's life is not much better. A in so-called 3rd category industry, who constitutes the great majority of all workers, gets 270-350 roubles a month, which is hardly enough to buy his food. This is a true picture of the "happy life" in the U.S.S.R.

## THE MOSCOW "BAKER"

In the magazine "Bolshevik" J. Stalin has published the latest of his "works of genius": "The economic problems of the Socialism in the U.S.S.R." which is to serve (so it has been represented at the Communist Party Congress) as a substratum of the theory of the Socialist political economy. In this work there is such passage: "...It has been decided recently in the interests of the cotton industry to regulate the price relation of cotton and grain, to define more precisely the price of grain being sold to the cotton workers (the Editor's note: the cotton industry in question is that of the Central Asia) and to raise the price for cotton, delivered to the State. In connection with this our economist and planning specialists submitted proposals which amazed the members of the Central Committee, for there the price of a ton of grain was made equal to the price of a ton of bread. On the observation of the members of the Central Committee that the price for a ton of bread be higher than the price of a ton of grain, for the expenses of grinding and baking must be included, the authors of the proposal could not answer anything to the point". (The "Pravda" of 3rd October, 1952.). What could those "economists and planning specialists" reply to the "genius" who out of modesty hides his identity behind the members of the Central Committee when, according



to Lenin, "every cook who knows how to rule a State" can tell that from a kilogram of flour, 1.2, 1.3 or sometimes 1.4 kg of bread is baked by adding water to flour. This increase in weight of bread in proportion to the weight of grain is so great (25 p.c.-40 p.c.) that it covers the expense of grinding and baking. Therefore at one time in Moscow when there was not a complete socialism yet realized, 1 pood (36lbs) of rye flour cost 1 rubel while 1 pood of bread was sold in retail at 80 or 90 kopceks, and in the worst case the price of flour equalled that of bread.

As we can see from the above quoted "wise theoretical reflection" on the correlation of the price of 1 ton of grain and 1 ton of bread, the present practice of the Moscow baking art went so far that even the nearest collaborators of the economist, planning specialists, nor the editors of the "Pravda" dare squeak in front of the "baker": "Daddy, you start talking nonsense in your old age, for a ton of bread is made from some 750 800 Kgs. of flour, the rest being just plain water. Therefore, if we give the Uzbek cotton workers a ton of bread instead of a ton of grain, not only we shall not lose but even the Socialist profits will go on growing, because in bread we shall be selling about 25 p.c.-30 p.c. of plain water (and even some 5 p.c. more if our shock workers do their bit) and here you say 'we shall be losing'." "But they keep quiet and only mumble something 'not to the point' under their noses, if it is J. Stalin speaking. 1,300 applauding puppets at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party hold their tongues too and bray the glory to the 'wise genius': "... the theory of the socialist economy as expounded in the 'Economic Problems of Socialism' is the result of an 'unsurpassed genius' whereas the whole thing does not stand on its feet for in the calculation of grain and bread prices the 'genius' has forgotten all about water".

In the whole new theory of the political economy of socialism, expounded in the quoted work of J. Stalin, there is a whole lot of similar discoveries but we have drawn here your attention only to the most obvious instance of economic helplessness which can only provoke a compassionate smile or some hilarious joke among the students of economics. The whole tragedy lies in the fact that in the hands of this 'economist' remains and from his will depends the fate of hundred millions of people and his economic theories crush their bones.

("Ukrainian Thought")

### INCREASED EXPLOITATION OF SOVIET WORKERS

A still greater exploitation of the workers has been put into practice in industry and building enterprises in honour of the 35th anniversary of the Bolshevik October Revolution. The workers who suffered particularly from the burden of 'October' are those of Dshankoy, Snihiri, Melitopol and Kamiansko-Dniprovsk Building and Assembly Boards of the Southern-Ukrainian and Northern-Crimean canals. "Pravda" writes that "more than one thousand workers have produced a two year's norm in ten months." One can well imagine the 'joy' of the Ukrainian workers driven to such hard labour! The same fate was not spared the workers of the Donets mines, either. Because of the 35th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution new obligations of coal-output greater than hitherto, have been forced from these miners.

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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# UKRAINIANS ABROAD

## AUSTRALIA

2nd ANNUAL MEETING OF THE "UKRAINIAN YOUTH ASSOCIATION" in Australia was held on 6-7th September in Melbourne. Branches of this Association exist in Sydney, Adelaide and Melbourne, and membership totals 250. New Executive Committee was elected with Mr. J. Venhlovskyj as Chairman and Mr. P. Soroka, Secretary.

"UKRAINIANS WOMEN'S UNION" in Australia is a member of the Australian National Council of Women. Delegates of the UWU take part in the meetings of that Council.

## BRAZIL

"UKRAINIAN FARMERS' CULTURAL UNION IN KURITIBA" held its annual meeting on 25. 7. 52 at which delegates of the Ukrainian women's sections decided to form a women's branch within the UFCU and elect an Executive Committee to co-ordinate and direct their work.

Mrs. Zynaida Yashynska has been elected the Chairman, and Mrs. O. Kushnir the Educational Officer in the Executive Committee, which is planning to organize children's libraries in the immediate future.

## CANADA

A MEMORANDUM OF THE "COMMITTEE OF UKRAINIANS OF CANADA" (CUC) to the Canadian Prime Minister L. St. Laurent was submitted by the President of CUC Mgr. Dr. V. Kushnir on 10.9.1952 on the occasion of Mr. St. Laurent's visit to Winnipeg on his return from the Western provinces to Ottawa. The memorandum gives a short survey of the work and tasks of CUC and especially of the relations between the Canadian Government and CUC, since its creation in 1940. It stresses the charitable character of the Committee, as an organisation based only on the financial support of the Ukrainian community in Canada. Two main purposes for which the Committee exists are mentioned: first, strengthening the life of Ukrainians of Canada in all its constructive forms for the universal development of Canada, and secondly — moral and material assistance to the Ukrainian people in their native country for the restoration of an independence and united Ukrainian State. Great hopes for the co-operation in the near future of a free Canada with a free Ukraine are expressed, and the need stressed for suitable psychological and political preparatory work among the entire Canadian community in the meantime.

The memorandum asks the Canadian government to stress at every suitable occasion, when speaking in defense of freedom for the subject nations, the name of Ukraine, and in due course to make a special declaration in this matter. The Prime Minister concluded his talk with Mgr. Dr. V. Kushnir with expression of goodwill for the Ukrainian cause and with promise of support.

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA courses in Ukrainian language and literature were introduced, which will last from 13th October till April, 1953. There will be 3 courses altogether: one for beginners, another for advanced students, and the third one for literature students.

20th ANNIVERSARY OF B.U.K. ("Brotherhood of Ukrainians in Canada") an organisation of men, working on the lines of Catholic Action, has been celebrated at regional congresses of B.U.K. in various parts of Canada this autumn. In the second half of October regional congresses in the province Alberta were taking place. In the first days of October the diocesan congress of Saskatchewan branches took place in Saskatoon, and in the middle of October — the diocesan congress of Manitoba at Winnipeg.

THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF "THE UKRAINIAN YOUTH ASSOCIATION" IN CANADA was held at Toronto on 31st of August, 1952. 39 delegates with 58 mandates, representing 15 branches took part in the meeting. The annual report of the Executive Committee indicates the growth of the Association in respect of the number of its branches and membership which now totals 1,605. The first two 'teen-agers' branches were formed,

and great pains were put into the publishing of a monthly journal "Na Varti".

The budgetary subcommittee's proposal for increasing the annual budget of the Association to 14,000 dollars was accepted. In the increased budget a prominent place is allotted to the educational and publishing work. It was decided to start the publication of teen-agers' monthly for Ukrainian youth in all countries of the free world.

In the newly-elected Executive Committee of 11 persons V. Kushmelyn is the Chairman and director of the publishing department, V. Makar — Secretary, L. Senyshyn — Educational Officer, I. Kuziw — Public Relation Officer, P. Bubela — Sports Officer.

Considering the enormous difficulties facing the Ukrainian emigration in all parts of the world, it can be acknowledged that the work of the "Ukrainian Youth Association" in Canada has been successful and the organisation has great prospects of development. One of the outstanding successes of the Association was the participation of its representative at the World Association of Youth (W.A.Y.) Conference in Dakar, Africa, as the representative of Canadian youth.

## FRANCE

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE "CENTRAL UNION OF UKRAINIAN STUDENTS" (CESUS), an organization embracing all Ukrainian students in many countries of the world, took part at the International Conference on Economic and Social Problems of Students, between 29.9.-7.10. 1952 in which, at the invitation of National Union of Students of France following countries were represented: Britain, Western Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, Finland, France, Italy, Greece, Luxembourg, Norway, Switzerland, U.S.A., Yugoslavia, Holland, Saar, South Africa, Indonesia, as well as exile student organizations of Ukrainians and Czechs.

The Ukrainian delegation consisted of Mr. W. Mardak, International relations officer of CESUS, and Mr. I. Sileckyj. A report on the economic and social situation of Ukrainian students was distributed by the Ukrainian delegates among foreign students representatives. Ukrainian delegation took part in the committee meetings and the plenary sessions of the conference as observers with all rights save the right of voting, as did the delegation of Czech, South Africa and Indonesian students.

The subcommittee on scholarships accepted a Ukrainian resolution proposal that the exile students ought to be enabled to use all economic and social facilities in the same way as do the students of western countries. Another subcommittee accepted a Ukrainian resolution that the exile students be allowed to participate in all indirect support which a given state assigns for its students. A third subcommittee accepted the principle of admitting the exile students to the students' social insurance and the principle of equal validity of diplomas which would enable the exile students after they have finished their studies to obtain a job in their professions.

The participation of Ukrainian students' delegates at the above conference was a success not only for the Ukrainian students, but also for the exiled students of all nationalities.

## GREAT BRITAIN

THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE "ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIANS IN GREAT BRITAIN" (S.U.B.) in October 1952 has reached the total of 25,000. This fact is a milestone in the record of unceasing growth of an interesting phenomenon which is SUB in the life of the organized Ukrainian emigration.

On this occasion it may be useful to make a general survey of the achievements of S.U.B. during its six years of busy existence.

From 40,000 Ukrainian men and women who found refuge in this country after the end of the war the Association united in its ranks over 62 p.c. of refugees and became accordingly the representative



body of all Ukrainians in Great Britain. The activities of SUB are founded on a sound basis. In 1947 it acquired by purchase from the funds collected among its members a building in London, which now houses the offices of the Association and has become the centre of Ukrainian life in England. In following years the Association acquired six further house properties in various towns in U.K., which enabled several of the branches of S.U.B. to develop into local centres. Together with the eighth house which, it is hoped, will be purchased before the end of this year the immovable property of the Association will exceed the value of £20,000. This, of course, is not a very great sum, but, taking into account the economic situation of Ukrainian refugees when arrived in Britain between 1946-48 with practically nothing by themselves except their shabby clothing, and their modest earnings in comparatively low-paid industries, such as agriculture or textiles, it is a considerable achievement.

Among the properties of the Association is one which deserves special mention. It is the Ukrainian Invalids' Home at Chiddingfold, Surrey, where about 25 war invalids are supported entirely by the Ukrainian community in Britain. It is also used as a convalescent home for people leaving hospital after illness and its situation in a beautiful countryside allows it to be used as a holiday place for Ukrainian workers. Every summer in the spacious grounds of the Home of children's camp is established and Ukrainian children from many parts of England come to play and learn together.

The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain publishes its own weekly paper "Ukrainian Thought". Beside giving information about Ukrainian and international affairs, "The Ukrainian Thought" is a means of expressing the general Ukrainian point of view on current problems. A book-selling department of the Association has a considerable number of Ukrainian books in stock.

Over 200 branches of the Association all over the country actively maintain contact with the Executive and in this way assist in keeping up-to-date the system of organisation, thus permitting the Executive to be always informed about the needs of membership and of all Ukrainian communities in this country. Every year, thanks to the satisfactory functioning of its branches, the Association is able to render moral and also some material help to over 300 sick people in hospitals, sanatoria and private homes. A great number of other personal needs of members are dealt with by the Association.

Information about the activities of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain appears sometimes in the British Press, thus recognizing the successful work of this largest Ukrainian organization in Great Britain.

## PARAGUAY

**APPEAL AGAINST GENOCIDE IN USSR** was sent by the Ukrainians in Paraguay, united in the "Ukrainian Youth Association" (SUM), to the State Department of U.S.A. The appeal was signed by the Ukrainians from following places: Fram Calle, Sandoba, Encarnacion, Urusapukay, Bohdaniwka, and Alberta.

## SWEDEN

**UKRAINIANS IN SWEDEN**, although not numerous, are united in the "Ukrainian Community" in Stockholm with the aim to extend assistance to all their needy countrymen in that northern country. At present the Chairman of the Community is Mr. Kyrylo Hrahar. One of the activities of the Community is the commemoration of national festive occasions at which the representatives of other nationalities, also take part: Estonians, Byelorussians, Slovaks, as well as Swedes. The Community sent a memorandum to the Swedish authorities explaining the problem of Ukrainian nationality, it assist Ukrainians in emigration matters, carries out collections for some of Ukrainian emigre funds such as the European Assistance Fund, S. Petlura (Ukrainian leader during the struggle for independence period, 1918-21) Memorial Fund, etc. Performances of the local Ukrainian choir, as well as other events, were

reported in the Swedish press. Last July the community welcomed at a jubilee reception the General Vicary for the Ukrainian Catholics in Northern Europe, Fr. van de Male. Statutes of the Ukrainian Community in Sweden and their recognition by the Swedish authorities empower the Community to represent the interests of Ukrainians in Sweden.

## UNITED STATES

**THE "UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE"**, the highest representative Ukrainian body in the U.S.A. has at present 86 branches in 25 states. Branches are formed as co-ordinating committees of local Ukrainian organizations. In its recently issued leaflet the UCC appeals to Ukrainian communities to form such branches in places where they have not yet been formed, saying that at least 50 new branches could be formed in the centres of Ukrainian settlement in the States.

**THE THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF "UKRAINIAN YOUTH ASSOCIATION" OF AMERICA (SUMA)** was held in Philadelphia (Pa) on 4th October, 1952. There was a participation of 65 delegates and many guests.

The Executive's report mentions that the present membership of the Association totals 2,113, including 182 in the "teen-agers" group. There are 32 branches of the Association in various towns of U.S.A. Total annual income amounted to 22,382.27 dollars and expenditure 22,178.77 dollars.

Among the newly-elected members of the Executive are: Prof. S. Vozhakyj — Chairman, V. Powzaniuk — Secretary, V. Koval — Press and information Officer, J. Shmigel — Sports Officer. Chairman of the Educational Council is Professor J. Bobrowskyj.

The meeting accepted resolutions and sent out greetings to the Ukrainian nation under the Communist terror, to the hierarchy of both Ukrainian Churches, to the Government of U.S.A. and the President Mr. H. Truman.

**CHESS CHAMPION OF CHICAGO IS A UKRAINIAN.** In a chess tournament sponsored this year by the Illinois Chess Association for the championship of Chicago, in which 12 of the best chess players of Chicago took part, the first place was won by Mr. Myroslav Turyanskyj, by getting 8 and a half points and displacing last year's champion, Mr. Toutvaizas, to the second place. Mr. Turyanskyj is well known to Ukrainians as Chess Association organiser in Western Ukraine. Between 1941-44 he was chairman of Chess Association in Lviv, Ukraine. At present he is the secretary of the Ukrainian Academic Sports Club "Levy" (Lions) in Chicago.

**JUNIOR "LIONS" — CO-CHAMPION OF USA.** Juniors of the Ukrainian football club "Lions" in Chicago won the championship of the Western States in junior class football this summer, after victory over St. Louis, Detroit, California and Texas. As the American National Committee for Football Affairs decided that, because of the late season and long distance which the champions of the Eastern States would have to travel for a final contest for the championship of the United States, both remaining teams will receive the titles of co-champions of U.S. in junior class football. Mr. J. Wood chairman of the National Committee, congratulated "Lions" not only for their co-championship, but also for their first victory as Chicago representatives over the St. Louis team.

## VOICE OF AMERICA RE-ORGANIZED

Since October 23, 1952, the Ukrainian Department of the Voice of America, which until then had been a part of the Section of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R., has been included in the East European Section.

The "Voice of America" contains now the following sections:

- 1) The former section of the Peoples of the USSR has been divided into two parts:
  - a) the Russian department under O. Barmin,
  - b) the Turko-Tartar, Caucasian and other depart-

# UKRAINIAN OBSERVER

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## BERIA ON THE IMPORTANCE OF UKRAINE

(Continued from Page 7)

let us compare only more important data on the economy of these countries. . . . Further Beria said: "The Soviet Ukraine which had twice during the time of its existence to rise from the ruins and ashes after the attacks of foreign invaders, produces now much more cast iron than France and Italy taken together, more steel than France and twice as much as Italy; its coal output is one time and a half as much as that of France and Italy taken together; its tractor production is three times that of France and Italy taken together, and it produces considerably more grain, sugar beet, potatoes and refined sugar than both these countries together. . . ."

Of course, such 'data' without any exact statistics, could hardly convince anyone. However, there is a grain of truth in them. Ukraine now produces indeed much grain and machinery, although no more than "France and Italy together". The important difference consists in the fact that France and Italy produce for themselves while the produce of Ukraine is appropriated by Moscow. It is difficult to comprehend the shortsightedness of the governments of free European countries; even from Beria's speech it can be seen that Moscow would lose half of its influence and power if such powerful economic productive unit in Europe as Ukraine would separate from the Red Moscow Empire. We say nothing in this connection about the Ukrainian culture which, for the time being, does not seem to interest the West in the least. And yet so often practised confusion of Ukraine with Muscovy (or officially: Russia) constitutes first of all a menace to the West itself.

ments of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., except the Ukrainian.

- 2) Baltic Section, — Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania.
- 3) West European Section.
- 4) East European Section, — Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia and Ukraine.