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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 national 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 national 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 launders behind the scenes has helped communism greatly to obtain power.

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 reactiona, 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, Turkmeni 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 hig shots who tried it with Stalin but have been disappointed. They are all there, the brilliant red-stars: Arthur Koestler, Theodor Plivier, Ignatius Silone, Ruth Fischer, Eugen Lerdh, A. Weissberg, Albert Kador Plivier, Ignatius Silone, Ruth Fischer, Eugen Lerdh, A. Weissberg, Albert Kador.

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 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.

**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 crowed "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.

**Americans, a Broken Reed**

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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 he 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 fact that the “Cabinet”, like so many similar missions of appeasement, a man like George F. Kennan to be American ambassador in Moscow just now. There is 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 “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 more 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 antabalshhevist 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, say, hundreds of millions of dollars required by such a huge undertaking.

Four months later, the entire plan collapsed like a bubble in an atmo-
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 can 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 learned this lesson and that it will not repeat these mistakes in the future.

**Dollar Millions Haunt their Dreams**

(U.S.) There have recently been disquieting signs that certain groups of Russians are 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. Who’s trying 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 under-ground” with many connections inside Russia. This, of course, if 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.S.) According to the latest reports from Moscow, Ukraine delivered 90,850,000 pood (70,600 t) of 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 “Michurin” unloaded more than 6900 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, Paulo Tychyna, for instance, (he once was a real poet, Ukrainski versifier, Paul Tychyna, 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 Trulo Soyuz = National Unity) would form an organization with accentuated fascist leanings to 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 Kerenksy, 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 Kerenksy, 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 under-ground” with many connections inside Russia. This, of course, if 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.

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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 who set 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 feralce 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 consituted 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 guerrilla 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 the despotism of 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 Paul 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 exchanged throughout the world and a lively exchange of ideas ensued.

For a Crumb... Continued from Page 4

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 Czechoslovakia.)

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 Feb.-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, Uzbeks — 1, Gossacks — 1, Azerbaidjanians — 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 bolshevists 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 bolshevists, 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.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 form 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 kolkhoz, the M.T.S. and the sovkhoz 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, difficulties 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 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 L'viv

(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 Senyuk, the Ukrainian poet, was severely censured for "Ukrainian nationalist 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 "bolshewist vigilance" by permitting "this lapse into Ukrainian nationalism".

The most recent of these victims — but certainly not the last — was the Ukrainian University of L'viv, Western Ukraine. On 1. 12. 1951, an article appeared in Radyanska Ukraina, entitled "Serious Faults in History Lectures at L'viv University". The article was signed by Comrades L. Kisin, A. Korniychuk, and K. Stetsich. These names are significant as being those of the first comrades to get a rhirbing 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 L'viv University are far below the requisite level as regards political theory; they do not satisfy the demands of a university course. The lecturers (Aladkin, Herbytsky, Ossebenytsky, Tsyshko, Hladkyvsky, Horbatyi, 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 bolshhevist 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 development of soviet science, which are manifest in Western Ukraine ... In particular, Professor Aladkin, who lectures on the history of Ukraine, has omitted to lay bare the bourgeois, nationalist nature of the historical theory of M. Hrushevsky and his school ... Professor Ossebenytsky, who is the only one to present to his students the smallest details of the counter-revolutionary views of every nationalist, 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 nationalist 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 these 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 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-istics: "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 our great poet and have purged them (!) of the plots that the foul hands of Ukrainian nationalists made on them."

In the other notice, Iryna Kryychenko 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, 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 "rebelions 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.L.S.) Russian imperialists give themselves great trouble to convince their subjugated peoples of their everlasting friendship. A short time ago the Stuniinavskiy 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 Gazeta", 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 Shereto, 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 hook by J. G. Kohl, a German historian, "The Ukraine. Little Russia", Dresden 1941, 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.L.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. Mel turbulent, the Russian secretary of the organization, gave an address from which we quote:

"The bourgeoisie 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 Ukrainians 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 (Westervald) 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 Hungry, 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 place against the imperialist claims of various groups of exiles and less against so-called "nationalisms" and "separatists". The Ukrainian representative emphasized that, culturally and psychologically, Ukraine belonged to Europe and that it would be deviously 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 and spoke 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. Opposition 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 subjected 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 non-Russians. 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 hereby constituted an independent national republic", but still in 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 bolshevists 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, 1919, the "Fourth Message" of the Ukrainian Central 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 generations.

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 4th Message to strive and fight until Ukraine's freedom, sovereignty and political integrity are 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


K r u t y

a Ukrainian Thermopylae

In Memory of January 30, 1918

U.S. (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 empire and ruthlessly attacked Ukraine after its declaration of independence.

Trotzky 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 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 previous.

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, 150 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 bovine 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.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 T a r a s Ch u p r y n k a, Commandant of the U.P.A. and the other, Col. O le s k a H a s y n - L y t s a r, his Chief Staff Officer, who was born on July 8, 1907 in Konotopchink, in the district of Stry, Western Ukraine.  

Both met a similar end, fighting in the great struggle of the Ukrainian people for liberation. Col. O le s k a H a s y n - L y t s a r fell on 31. 1. 1949, and Gen. T a r a s Ch u p r y n k a on 3. 2. 1949. 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 1926. 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 underhand 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 Hrytiny and Wasyl Tsyhnykowsky. S t e p a n B a n d e r a, 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 E v e n K o n o w - K a t z 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 Shukhevych who, as Gen. T a r a s Ch u p r y n k a 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 organised a permanent officers' training college in the Carpathians. In 1946 he succeeded General Dmytro Hrytiny (fell in action and 2. 3. 1946) 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.U.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 derived fresh courage for their struggle from his great energy and self-sacrifice. 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.  

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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: D u l c e e t d e  c o r  u  m  e  s t  p r o  p r a t i a  m o r i.  

For God, and a free Home!  

For Freedom of the Subjugated!
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 informed about the suffering of 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 Itaaca, U.S.A., then the Youth Congress in West Berlin, and the meetings of the Association of European Youth on Lorely Rock and Marieberg (Westeirdal), 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 Kalyunkyl 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’ organization 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 emigres. 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. Wynnnytsky. 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 organizations.

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 all 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 Universities 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. Vasyl 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.
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 way the 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 and feared a return of 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 a natural win for the Ukrainian DP's who have emigrated to Canada during the last five 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 legal representative. The retiring committee had done its work to the satisfaction of all. It helped many needy students to hursaries and grants-in-aid for their studies. Conditions for young Ukrainian students are particularly difficult in Germany. The retiring committee under Dr. H. Vasel SA had done its best to establish 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 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 Ukrainian Students in 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 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. Levitsky 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 broadcasts 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 wavelength 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 Espanol Universitario," every Tuesday between 6:30 p.m. and 9, on wavelength 42.55. These broadcasts are concerned with general 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, Educaion 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 Rudawsky, 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 Shytihalo, 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 pursuant 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 15, 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 predecessors, the Grand Principality of Moscovy, have waged:

1478. Ivan III, Grand Prince of Moscovy 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 Moscovy 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 1505).

1507. Basil III provoked his first war with Lithuania and in 1508 concluded an "eternal peace" but —

50,000 members of this Church in the districts of Backa and in Croatia. 15,000 being Croats and 35,000 Ukrainians who had immigrated from Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine in the 18th and 19th centuries. The administration of the diocese was in the hands of the Apostolic Visitor, Msgr. Havrylo Bukatko: the last bishop, Msgr. Ivan Sinraik, was arrested by the communists in 1945 and died in prison on September 6, 1946.

1512. he provoked a second war with Lithuania (until 1529).

1510. Moscow finally conquered and annexed the Republic of Pskow 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.

1645. Alexis Mikhailovich began a war with Poland for Ukraine.

1589. Moscow began a war with Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky of Ukraine, because he wished to become free of Moscow.

1667. Moscow renewed war for Ukraine.

1668. Peter I began a war with Turkey and the Khanate of the Crimea until 1700.

1670. 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.

1779. Catherine II ruined the Zaporo- zhian Sich, the semi-independent Ukrainian Military Republic.

1787. Catherine II began the second war with Turkey.

1795. Catherine II made the second division of Poland.

1799. Catherine II attacked Poland which was struggling for its independence under Thaddeus Kosciusko, Brigadier General of the American Continental Army.

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.

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.

1929. 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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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 should regard the "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 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...
**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 (“Союз Хетманськів”); 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 rejoice when they get the better of their opponents. They get frustrated 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 country and to the imperialist claim, would quell 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 forming 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, selfrespecting 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!” 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.

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 to act 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 foremost, 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 the same 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.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, domination 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 villages, 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 flight 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 seems as if Moscow subconsciously 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-

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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?
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. Everyone 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. 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 Zhmerynska 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 Zhmerynska. 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 Zhmerynska 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 misdeeds 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.S.) At the beginning of February, 1952, there was a conference in Kyiv of the heads of kolkhozes 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 kolkhozes 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 kolkhoe 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 kolkhoze 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 compulsory 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 kolkhoe labourer would earn. Such a statement would be necessary in order to complete the picture — namely, that the kolkhoe 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 kolkhoe worker with calloused hands and threadbare clothes is expected to take pride and satisfaction in the fact that his coldose has swallowed so much of his work that it has become a millionaire.

This explains why farm labourers on collective farms in Ukraine anxiously, and with scarcely disguised rage, watch the efforts of their bosses to make their kolkhozes 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 kolkhoe, the better off are its workers, and vice-versa the richer the kolkhoe, the worse off the workers. There is no greater curse for the worker than to have to be a Soviet collective millionaire.

Publishers

Pulp Books Still in Press

Intellectuals in Ukraine

The Russian bolshevik 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. Vlado 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 galley 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. Eugene 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, 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 condensation, 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 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 unconditional 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 rights 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 it 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 "Russian" 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", "Siberian" and other "ministers", "generals", "members of parliament" etc., scenting dollars, have appeared on the surface and been accepted. The number of "Ukrainian", "Caucasian", "Turkestanian" 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 cleansed 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 movements 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 toll, seeing that it will help not only America and the peoples in question, but above all the cause of world peace.

**Ukraine Past and Present**

(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. Rustikov, V. Pleshkov, E. Surkov, Y. Karabutenkov, O. Dementyev, Nowiski, etc. among 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. 1. 1952 contains the following comment on their visit to Lviv: "Our stay in Lviv 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 Korniytschuk, 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 help us achieve our historico-bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism and other expressions of hostile ideology."

As usual there were examples of exhibitionism. The Soviet Ukrainian writers and critics, Y. Kobletsky, M. Novikov and V. Burlay openly confessed their sins and shortcomings, castigating themselves, so to speak, quite of their own free will. In the leadership of the Union of Writers of Soviet Ukraine, the visitors received a most cordial welcome. He expressed thanks for the help 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 help us achieve our historico-bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism and other expressions of hostile ideology."

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**Prof. Mykhailo Vozniak**, an ancient Ukrainian historian from Lviv, got a ribbing on this occasion. In an article in Ivan Franko, the Ukrainian poet, Prof. Vozniak, had "been quite wrong, and had contradicted Stalin's theories to the height of his power. He said that Ukrainian was based on the dialect of Galicia. The "dialect of Galicia" cannot of course, he said, be such a basis. As Russian is the source of all the good in the world, Russian is the source of Ukrainians. The M.G.B. will see to it that Vozniak 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.
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 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 role 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 then have been criminal today. He had nothing at his disposal but his quill pen, but in the long run Shevchenko, by his courageous, 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; the rest were spent in slavery and were a torment to him. What a life it was!

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 defianting 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 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.

A Genius in the Peasants' 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 his 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 use is a young Ukrainian serf in one of the thatched huts in his village?" — 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."

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 grows more and more brightly; even the most reactionary estaters recognize that it is 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 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,
The Poet

Now Shevchenko begins to sing in this language, and with the help of this "primitiv 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 so 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 seven years revolution, pure and simple. Shevchenko rises, and grows with every word to gigantic stature, as the hard 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 now undertakes the titanic task of revealing epoch by epoch his country's great past, its dynamic power, its labors and achievements, its crimes and forgeries; in poems, ballads and epica 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 aliquet 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 "Soon" (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 "Kobzar" 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 teachings of the elements of Marxism and Nationalism, 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.

Ukrainian Nationalism

Enemy Number One

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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 Secretariate of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) behind the Iron Curtain, fell in a bunker, the head-quarters of the underground forces, in the forest near the village of Bilohorshdia, 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 possessed clues to the General's hiding-place. The whole district and the village of Bilohorshdia were suddenly combed by hundreds of M.G.B. spies and agents-provocateurs, General Chuprynka, in company with faithful comrades (high staff officers and men) fell fighting to the last. 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 many 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, to toil, to fight, to win, to fight again and again, at times 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 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 offset 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,
had 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. Stephan Bandera, who had come 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 official 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 that part of Volhynia, Polisya, 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 Chief of the U.P.A. and assumed as his official name the old underground nom de guerre — “Taras Chuprynka”. Mr. Bandera, Mr. Stet'zko and most of their friends were at that time in Nazi prisons; the World War 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, as tactical, level. Assemblies (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 usually well within the O.U.N. a proper Ukrainian underground state with a President, Parliament, Government, army, legislation, budget, etc.; Parliament and Government were to assume the total responsibility for the continuance of the fight and to have control over the army (U.P.A.).

Thus the U.H.V.R. (“Ukrainska Holovna 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 the public men. The intention was to found an underground state with a President, Parliament, Government, army, legislation, budget, etc.; Parliament and Government were to assume the total responsibility for the continuance of the fight and to have control over the army (U.P.A.).

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 representative of the people and waiting for its orders and instructions. Everyone knew that this ideal 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 endowed 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 an event 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.

Appointment for a Ukrainian Scientist

(U.S.) Dr. T. K. Pawliuchenko, 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. Pawliuchenko was in the State Department at that time in the capacity of adviser 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. Pawliuchenko began his scientific career as lectures on Ukrainian at the universities 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 is belongs irrevocably to an independent state for all Ukrainians

Ukraine was divided into four after the first World War. 442,000 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.

The country was at various times called “Carpatho-Russia”, “Carpatho-Ruthenia”, “Subcarpathian-Russia” 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 Beneš’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 upper 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, for instance, cattle 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

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 Beneš 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. At 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 Jozef Beck, the foreign minister, to prevent the establishment of Carpatho-Ukraine were positively hysterical; a regular Ukrainian-phobia 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 administration.
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 attained independence, the Ukrainian people did not cease fighting 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.

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

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...
The Supervision of Reading Matter
Another Way of Spreading Russian Culture

(U.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.

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 head 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 handicap 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 handbook on Ukraine, and the "Collected Scientific Papers". Other works of importance are reproduced 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 emigre will not last forever, and that settlements in overseas countries may be considered the only solution of their problem. In 1947, the number of students amounted to 40 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 30 minutes have 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 administrative inefficiencies and mistakes in the party organization of Ukraine with reference to supervising ideological activity."

This report is fresh proof of the fact that no Russian bolshevist 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 former correspondent in Lvov reports on meetings in the local communist party in Udmurt as follows:

"The Communist Party finds much to ensure in the ideological programme, too few lessons and lectures are organized for the population primarily in the villages. The communist party does not devote sufficient attention to translations of marxist-leninist literature into the Udmurt language. No efforts are being made to raise the political and artistic level of Udmurt culture."

Another correspondent of the "Pravda" in Krause, Turkestan, reports similar conditions there. In Russia proper there is as much fight against bolshevism, and therefore no "ideological distortions" and "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.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 a life of their own, 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 school age, and attend universities, technical colleges, and economic courses etc. Moscow is trying to regard these young people as its own generation and treat 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 Stanislavs'c, 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 is prosperous and Ukrainian. The function of the Training College is to supply the 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 another, in addition to their state duties. They have to meet the requirements of the resolution of the Central Committee on ideological work, which 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 initiator of the struggles of the Soviet people; "Social Movements in the West Ukraine;" "Monumental Buildings of Communism;" "Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalists — grim enemies of the Ukrainian nation;" "The role of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the fight against bolshevism;" 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, 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 a result of its offering determined resistance, Western Ukraine cannot carry on this struggle alone.

"Have You Yessentucky?"

(U.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 secret police which is always busy putting up an image of the "happy life" of the Soviet citizen, though there is no such thing.

"Borzhom", "Narsen", 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 people's legs are pulled. The "Ukrainska Dumka" of February 14, 1952 published interesting remarks by a Soviet Ukrainian folklore 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 kolkhoz workman recently inquired in a neighbouring chemists' shop in Borzhom for Yessentucky. "I am sorry," the chemist replied. And the kolkhoz worker remarks indignantly: "Why can we not get mineral water?"

To put it short, the working people are so well informed that they have already a 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 these efforts will be completely happy in Yessentucky.

Bandera, the Hated

Every trace of his Name to be Stamped out in Ukraine

(U.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 BORZHOVO- DEROSVKA, district Sonnytsia, area Chernyhiv, into POLISSIA; the Bendorovsky 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 independence of Ukraine against Russian bolshevist occupation, oppression and russification. Ukrainian fighters for independence are often simply called "Banderivtsi" in Ukraine, although Bandera himself objected 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.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, musicians 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 people 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 ABOUND

**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 “Ukrainian” parties, to reconstruct a uniform Russian imperialism. One of the strongest protests is that of the “Union of Ukrainians in Australia,” signed by the president, V. Solotey 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., 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 discussions of national subjugation 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 many 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. Starshchuk, 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 attract students of Ukrainian as a subject and also of other subjects and thus to refresh and improve 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.

**France**

A.B.N. Founded in Paris

The French branch of the A.B.N. (Antiholstein Bloc of Nations) was founded in Paris on February 2, 1952. Ukrainians took an active part in the foundation. Mr. Yuriy Sokolov, former Ukrainian prime minister, now president of the A.B.N., came to Paris for the occasion. — Prince Tokovsky 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 in French by President Y. Sokolov and Dr. Figol, 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 “Meszeri 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 Leskovich, 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 presided over a meeting to honor the memory of 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.) who fell fighting against the Soviet army on March 5, 1950. Prof. Dr. Ivan Mystyk, Rector of the Ukrainian Free University, was in the Chair. Dr. K. Hodorovycz sketched the character of the fallen hero and indicated in his address where lies 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. Grabich, president of the German-Ukrainian Herder Association, said that millions of Germans today felt that the interests of independence of 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. Plishch presided and R. Hlubsky, editor, devoted his address to the sacrifices and suffering of Ukraine for freedom from the regime of Moscow, and, in particular, the death 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, Wissenschaft, Kunst und Wissenschaftlichkeit”. (“Leaders in Politics, Science, 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 Orenduch, a well-known Ukrainian businessman who was Ukrainian consul in Munich 31 years ago. We quote: “Mr. W. Orenduch comes from an old Ukrainian family and was born in Stoyani, Ukraine on 13. 1. 1890. After finishing his law course, he took part in the first World War in the German army. On the end of the war he was appointed to a responsible post in the Ukrainian Forein Office. In 1918 he became Ukrainian Consul in Munich where he founded a German-Ukrainian Herder Association (Wissenschaftsklub”). 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 Orenzechuck 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 on the European Movement for Central and Eastern 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, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia. There were also delegates from Belgium, Germany, France, Great Britain, 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.

Ukrainian Committee 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 against Ukraine 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 documents 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 were being 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.S.) On March 21 and 22 the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain will hold their annual meeting in Kentish Town Bath 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 population. 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. The organization 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

Conclave of the Bishop Ivan Buchko (U.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 Tisserant, secretary of the Holy Congregation of the Church in the East; His Eminence Gregory XV, the Patriarch of Cilicia; His Eminence Cardinal Agajarian; 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 Anticommmunist Rally in Philadelphia, Pa

(U.S.) On February 10, 1952 there was a big anticommunist rally 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. Pieniak, and the Americans, Senator E. Martin, U.S.D.P.C. Commissioner Edward O'Connor, Congressman O. K. Arm-

Preparations for the Congress of Ukrainians

(U.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 Mysyhygh; another for "Foreign Relations", under Mr. S. Taresma 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. Dankeyych, 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
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 intellectuals has been lax. Party organisations in the Republic have hesitated to criticise 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 new 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, and 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 friendship 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 independance 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 Kal'muks, etc. small nations who were simply wiped out after World War II in punishment for their political unreliability and "hostile inroads" 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 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...
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 "Russians" yet to be 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. Never 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 imperial idea is not America nor is it 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 chief concern 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 renascence 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, 1932, 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 1918. 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 1946 he helped organise 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 years had the courage to make a complete 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 truth.

What is at Stake than “Ethnic Restrictions”

More is at Stake than “Ethnic Restrictions.” The non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. 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 which 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.

And one must 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.

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 Americans. 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 which 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.

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. At least the non-Russian 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 Polensky

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", "shattered 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" have done nothing to enrich 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 bolshevists, 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 Father 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 immmutable aim of the non-Russian peoples.

No "Balkanisation"

One of the biggest lies of exiled Russian parties, who aspire 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 quarellsomeness, 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 unhittable 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 have their own local unions, which could then be extended? Why can such local unions not belong to the United Nations directly, not through the intermediary 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 Ukrainians, 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-
No Need for Russian Empire

Further, must ethnic Russian, Muscovy, have an imperial? 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, Caucasus, 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—and 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. This is a new opinion. The sooner the Bolsheviks 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 shoul 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 Belinsky, 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 terror, 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 propagated 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 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. Why is that 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 excesses or by the moderate 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
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 bolshevists. 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-bolshevist "justice". This big soviet show-trial may justly be called a kind of dress rehearsal in Ukraine for it provided 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 Trotskyists, Bukharinists, Zinovievists, adherents of the military clique round Marshal Tukhachevsky, confessed their deepest sins with tears, imploiting 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 ("Stoyn Vyzvolennya Ukrainy" — S.V.U.) took place exactly twenty-two years ago. It engraved the letters "justice". This big soviet show-trial may have 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 Deba, philologist, member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, formerly a member of the U.P.S.D.;

Mykola Kryveniuk, 50; an eminent writer, recognized by the state as counsel for defense; affiliated to the Academy of Science, formerly a member of the U.P.S.D.;

Volodymyr Strushkevych, 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.;

Hryhoriy Kholodny, 44; member of the 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.R.;

Mykola Pavlushkiv, 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.;

Professor 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-
The illustration shows about 100 Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals, most of which appear on this side of the Iron Curtain, accessible to the "Ukrainian Observer". The Ukrainian press abroad is characterized by its total, dependent only on its readers for financial support: it receives no subsidies and presents its opinion frankly.

In the extreme left column and toward the bottom contain scientific and propaganda periodicals. The second column (from left) is the Ukrainian press in Germany; the third column, in France, England, Australia; the fourth and fifth columns, Canada and the U.S.A.; the sixth column, Argentina; the seventh column, periodicals in foreign languages; the eighth, journals for youth, scouts and students.

The white margin shows papers and periodicals that appear illegally in the underground in Ukraine. The Ukrainian press abroad includes 65 semi-weeklies and 47 weeklies with a total weekly circulation of more than 250,000. Except for the Church, the press is the strongest spiritual bond between Ukrainians abroad.
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 Lytvyn, Roman Gryp, and Hryhoriy Cypera — before the American military court, in Munich. The court, without any fact to support it, acquitted the American public prosecutor, Wolfgang Baur, and the judge, E. Ambrose Fuller. All 3 accused were sentenced to 7 years hard labour; the judge, E. Ambrose Fuller, 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 inted 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 unhappy thing about this whole trial was that the court simply did not allow the political motives of the defendants of these young people to be discussed at all. Whether rightly or not, Ukrainians concluded that Americans are determined to suppress 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. The Munich sentence was regarded as a punishment not only for an individual, but for the idea he represents.

The sentence aroused profound compassion and manifestations of open sympathy with the accused in all Ukrainian circles. It also distracted greatly from the friendly feeling Ukrainians have for Americans in general and from their respect for American justice in particular. Judge 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. American and British organizers of both Committees gave the decisive influence in S.O.N.R. to well-known Russian imperialists, such as Kerensky, Baydakov, and other reactionary Russian parties. S.O.N.R. was hounded for its denial 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 Russian 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 Lytvyn and Roman Gryp attacked Gulaj in his room in a DP camp in Schlesheim, near Munich, as they maintained, in order to give him "something to remember". The court decided that it was attempted murder and that no Ukrainian believed seriously for a moment. Nevertheless this attack on Gulaj was a serious misdemeanour and deserved to be punished accordingly. But the American public opinion can 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 Fuller, it is simply an American sentence; they lay the blame on American administration, on American policy.

It is a justifiable 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 Harvey, K.C.M.G., Major Guy Lloyd, D.S.O., M.P., Captain J. H. F. McEwen, 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 Schlesheim, 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 assualted by two other exasperated Ukrainians, Mykola Lytvyn and Roman Gryp. Gulaj was definitely working in the interests of Russia and Ukrainian nationalism. 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 Baur 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 of all on the ground that it was not a matter for American intervention but was within the jurisdiction of the 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 these 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 Mos­
cow, no matter whether they have bigger and better atomic and other horrible bombs than the Russian one.

There is no 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 evidence for his defence; he was also sentenced to seven years imprisonment. This U.P.A. soldier, H r y h o r y C y p e r a, 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,
Charmain.
28 March 1952
Your Excellency:
The West German Chancellor
Bonn, Germany.

Your Excellency!

Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, president of the Antiolehevist Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), arrived in Canada from Great Britain on March 26, 1952 for a lecture tour and to gain broader knowledge of the world. 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 empire. 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. As we quote from the Toronto Daily Star of April 14, 1952:

"Outlawing of the Communist party of Canada, the Labor-Progressive Party and the Catholic 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.

Mr. Stetzko is a soldier 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 Ukrainian Nationalists in Great Britain, and Oleksa Kalywuny, president of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Youth Association. New office-bearers were elected as follows: President, Y. Deremender, office-bearers - V. Horlatovych, president; V. Krushelnytsky, executive; Fedchinak, Koval, Hosak, Ing. Olekiv, 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.

"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 political liberation for 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 section in the world."

Much interest has been shown in Canada in Mr. Stetzko's arrival. Leading newspapers have published 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 and knows Russian language. 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 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.S.) A meeting of the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.) was held in Buenos Aires on February 9, 1952, the first general assembly since the formation 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 therein.

This resolution was passed on December 15, 1951, the tenth anniversary of the Youth Section in the "Prosvita" society in Argentine. At the last general meeting, new office­bearers were appointed, 12 in all. Among them were V. Horlatovych, president; B. Prikuk, 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 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 — Ukrajinska 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. Sarychenko-Bišlyk, Colonel of the Admiralty; Captain N. Nekiesiy, Commander Mykhailo Bilinsky, Commander (later rear-admiral) Svetoslov Shrenchenko, Commander (later rear-admiral) V. Stepaniv, Colonel of the Admiralty, 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 Zolotosty”, “St. Evstafy”, “Rostyslav”, and on the cruisers. “Pamyat Merkuria”, “Kahul”, “Pruth”, on the mine-layer “Zavyduy”, 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 Marine Ministry. The first Ukrainian National Naval Minister was Mr. Dmytro Antonoych. 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 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 Azov;
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 Azov 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. Bolshevist 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 bolshevist 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 bolshevists, occupied the station of Djankoy on 22. 4. and Sympherol 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 too cover the following units:

2 destroyers (“Katarina the Great”, “Vola”);

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 positions.

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.
A Language On the Rack

Ukraine is "Brought Nearer Russia"

(U.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 I. 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 trade, commerce, politics, and officialiaese, 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 Ukrainianisms was defined as 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 and shops, and pulped. On February 16.

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, of course, is Russian. Other languages are not prohibited; but they are to —

"To Little Help" For Composers

The Fight Against Ukrainian Nationalism

(U.S.) The seventh annual meeting of 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, Prof. H. Viryovka, 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 that was thanks to the great H.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 call 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.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. Artemanov, both members of the Academy. In a review published in the "Radyanska Ukraina" of 19. 4. 52, Prof. K. Huislytsy indicated the tenendy 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 underlines the distortions in the history of the state and culture in ancient Russia 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 clear picture of the unity and common Russian characteristic 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: All the historical fallacies 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 not Russian; 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 slogans, a comparison of the average American, British or West German must be a scene of misery, humiliation, of primitive poverty.

But accidents may happen even to the Soviet citizen. The thickly-crowded lines 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 conditions of life in Ukraine. These letters deal with the autobus service between Kyiv and its suburbs. One writer reads: "A short time ago I had to go from Kyiv to Hurivshchyna, Makariv, with bruised ribs and nearly suffocated with the air in the bus. That's what happy, socialist life looks like.

(Y.Z.P.) In order to understand the problems with which young Ukrainian were faced in the years 1926—1930, and the reasons for the dissolution of the two organisations (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 republican societies not-contracted 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 recognising 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 extremely leftist views, it also displayed decided 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 persecution of its members.

There were also illegal, but often most active, groups of young Ukrainians who were not, however, organized in any regular manner. Citizens of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. They offered resistance to the official communist Komsomol, partly in open, partly in masked hostility. This led ultimately to the dissolution of the Society and persecution of its members.

One meeting of the Ukrainian Youth Association took place in April 1926. In 1928 Soviets began to arrest individuals accused of "activity of the Association from 1922 when a system of Ukrainian high schools under the leadership of V. Durduckivsky, 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 school children in order to prevail 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, many students 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 reason for two organizations was the "Liberation of the Ukraine from the German Yoke".

The hill 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 Vynohradsky, one of its most prominent members. On April 13, 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.

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 bolshevists. Its spirit continues to live in all young Ukrainians.

Conference of Elementary School Teachers
(Y.Z.P.) A conference of elementary school teachers 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 to the conference. 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 start of their training.

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 years, the question of the 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".

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In addition to the Komsomol, the official association of young communists, and reco-
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 a 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 Ukrainianized. 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 having 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 compatriots, 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 Pidhontsky, 41; scientific collaborator at Ukrainian Academy of Science, former member of U.P.S.R.;
Professor Mykola Kudrystsky, 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, 30; 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 Udarcenko, 42; scientific member of the Ukrainian Academy of Science; professor at the Institute of Medicine in Kyiv, non-party;
Maksym Batyevsky, 50; in a cooperative, director of Soviet Milk Pool in Ukraine; former member of the U.P.S.R.;
Mykola Chekhivych, 53; priest in Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church;
Professor Petro Yefremov, 46; brother of the chief accused; professor at the Institute of Adult Education in Dniepropetrovsk, former member of the U.P.S.F.;
Mikola Bilyi, 32; teacher, non-party;
Lyubov Bidnova, 43; teacher, non-party;
Konstantyn Torkach, 47; lawyer, former member of the U.P.S.F.;
Professor Volodymyr Chepeter, 60; teacher at the Institute of Adult Education in Poltava; former member of the U.P.S.F.;
Mikola Lahuta, 44; in a cooperative, non-party;
Mykola Kabluk, 44; teacher at the Institute of Adult Education in Mykolaiiv, Blark Sea; non-party;
Yosyf Karpovych, 43; teacher at the Institute of Adult Education in Chernivichy, former member of the U.P.S.F.;
Valentyn Atamovsky, 37; head of the local All-Ukrainian Public Library in Vinnytsya, Podolia; non-party;
Professor Mykhailo Hubchenko, 47; member of Ukrainian Academy of Science, professor at the Institute of Adult Education in Odesa;
Taras Slabchenko, 47; secondary school teacher in Odesa, non-party;
Kyrpya Panchenko-Kalenko, 42; educationalist in Odesa, non-party.

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edited by I. Mirchuk
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A Serious Error On The Part Of The West

Bolsheviks 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 include Finland, Estonia, 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.

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 the free exercise of the rights of minorities in language, schools, associations, culture, customs, economies, etc.

Carlos Valenzuela, 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 followed by the government in question.

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. 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 tide, 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 Asians 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.
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 antibolshevist 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.

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 Powerful 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 emigrees 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.:

“An 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 favor 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 Russophiles have put together that the Russians will nevertheless consider themselves as 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 A.C.L.P.R. represents the pretentiousness 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, Piotr 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 the Russian imperium — Lenin's, Stalin's, 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 bolshevists. But it is Russians, Muscovites who provide the majority of the M.V.D. and M.G.B. It is Russians who are the civil servants and the police and 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 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, Melnikov, or Bylander. The A.C.L.P.R. degrades itself merely to a kind of legalized, big Russia Lobby; a regrettable development we had not expected.

The "Ukrainian" Theatre in Kyiv

(U.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", opera, Russian; "Rusalka", opera, Russian; "Martin Boruta", comedy, Ukrainian.

One Ukrainian entertainment to nine Russian ones is an eloquent testament the A.C.L.P.R. degrades itself merely to a kind of legalized, big Russia Lobby; a regrettable development we had not expected.
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 Gnyra, and Hrykoriy 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, until 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 cells in Lviv, Rivne, Kyiv, Berlin and Prague for having taken part in the movement for Ukrainian independence; though sentenced, Wirsing has evaded justice.

The Mühlheim case, with the weight of a prize bull, killed with the weight of a prize bull, killed with thousands of kolhose workers toiled in — thousands of the South Ukrainian Canal — was finally closed.

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 to take a long breath of fresh air and friendship between peoples to have this sentence revised and the punishment mitigated so that the case might be forgotten as soon as possible.

P. Z.

The Back-Breaking Technique

(U.S.) In the number of the "Ukrainian Information Service" for November 1951 we published a factual report of the building of the South Ukrainian Canal and the Kakhkha Electro-Combine. We referred to the primitive technical means and methods employed on these structures for the Russian Pharaohs. We wrote:

"What Americans, for instance, accomplish quickly and quietly, without boasting or fuss, by means of technical equipment — bulldozers, excavators, explosion technique, cranes, etc. — must be done in Russia by hundreds of thousands of hands, at the cost of breaking backs and with the help of tens of thousands of starved slaves. The "magificent", "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 men 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 150,000 cubic meters and piled up 110,000 cubic meters of earth. One episode was unforgettable. At the end of June the Bilozerska (i.e. the river in question) rose and threatened to flood the hotbeds 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."

The newspaper does not say how many lives this particular instance of old Egyptian methods cost.
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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 Nuremberg, 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.

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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. Later, when Stalin introduced his Ministry for Security, and with the approval of the Ministry of the Interior in Moscow and the Ministry for Security, and with the approval of the Patriarch of Moscow, Metropolitan Sergey was promoted to the supreme position of the Patriarch of Moscow. 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), 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 (Vokrissensky), with his seat in Moscow, a man who, also enjoyed the confidence of the Security Police in Moscow.

Before the momentous events set agoing in 1939 by the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement and Germany’s attack on Poland, almost all the other higher dignitaries in the Eastern Orthodox Church — metropolitan, 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 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.

The church in the Baltic states was also “re-united” with that of Moscow. In the middle of 1940, Archbishop Sergey (Vokrissensky) 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 bolshevists 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 Archimandrit of the Convent of Pashativ; Venedikt (Vasil Bukovsky), Bishop of Lviv; the Bishop of Brest-Litovsk, etc.

Archbishop Sergey (Vokrissensky), 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.

Russia in their provinces of Volhynia, Kholmland, Podlasie and Western Byelorussia, and all those we 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 (Inozemcov), Archbishop of Pinsk and Polissya, and

2. Polypkar (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 stubbornly refused and were, nevertheless, able to escape with their lives. Oleksiy (Hromadsky), up till then Autocephalic Archbishop of Volynia, 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 Exarchate of the Eastern Orthodox Churches in the Baltic States

The Exarchate for Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia was created on the basis of the Union of Bishops, which was signed on the 17th of April 1941 in Moscow.

From that time on, the bishops of the Exarchate had to report to the Exarch and to the spiritual authority of the Moscow Patriarch, while the administrative authority of the Exarch remained with the Exarchate. The Exarchate included the bishops of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and was headed by Archbishop Sergey (Vokrissensky).

The Exarchate’s 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, Kholmland, Podlasie and Western Byelorussia, and all those we 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:

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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 his death.

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 “Tarasistris”, 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 turning point 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, Bohdan Kaminsky, Yuriy Kollard, Alexander Kovalenko. But the most important figure was Mykola Mikhnovsky, who published the proclamations of this political party in his book—‘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 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 “de-cay” of every state; they alleged that history has proved the state to be an antiquated concept. As Marx had said that “the proletarian 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 launched 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 proletarians of a ruling and of an 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 peoples 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.
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 Czechoslovakia 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 émigrés 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.

Until 1945, the Academy had published about 236 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, Vronsky, 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 bolshevists 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 censured 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
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 continue 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.: a. working out a new hypothesis for the evolution of chemical elements and, in connection therewith, b. 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. 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 Buleten" (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 Podebrady, Czechia.

In the last days of April 1945, the main body of the Academy had left Podebrady, 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 Podebrady 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 bolshevists 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, Dobrylovsky) 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 Dobrylovsky and Sasdovsk were not on the board, 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 Podebrady, 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 Podebrady.

Hopes for the Future

After re-organization in Bavaria as the Ukrainian Technical University, this school endeavoured 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 are the figures: agricultural engineers — 91; forestry engineers — 26; building engineers — 12; technical chemists — 6; economists — 10; masters of political science — 2; vete-
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 its 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. The 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. Hauryle 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 colonel of the technical corps, president of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party in Ukraine. Before the revolution he was an 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 Munch, a workman; 7. L. Korshenkov, a peasant woman.

Nor did the accused counsel fare any better. Here are their names: 1. Paolo 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. Byustrukov, 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 Andrei Volgin, 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 Silaenko 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, from 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 medievial 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 counties 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 Bolshevist 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 Bolshevist "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...
The Second Russian Occupation of Ukraine

When the German empire collapsed in November 1918 and German troops were withdrawn from Ukraine, the Bolshevists immediately launched, the second war on the Ukrainian National Republic. In December 1918 Lenin and Trotsky ordered a red army under Dvorkovsky (later shot as a Trotskyist) 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 Kharkov for Odessa (later Poltava and Volhynia). On March 14, 1919, the Bolshevists convened in Kyiv the III All-Ukrainian Congress of the Soviets, who were 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 Bolshevist 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 Bolshevists 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 Denikin’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 Trotsky 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 Bolshevists who had meantime grown stronger. It is typical of Russians that they prefer to sacrifice freedom, their own and other peoples’, to the unity of the Russian imperium. Russian imperialism is more important to them than anything else. Late in the summer of 1919, the Bolshevist 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 too matured 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 the president of Ukraine, Farkas de Kisbarnak, 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 Affairs, 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 Ukrainian visum. It was refused. Some newspapers tried to present Mr. Setzko as a dangerous „revolutionary“, „fascist“ and “warmonger”. Behind this stood, of course, certain Russian and russophile 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.

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 Seiranka, a well-known publicist, with delegates of the following states: Aserbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, National China, Cossackia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, 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. Guinn 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 presidency, Senator Lodge from Connecticut and others were read out to the meeting. They 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. Setzko as a dangerous „revolutionary“, „fascist“ and “warmonger”. Behind this stood, of course, certain Russian and russophile 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.

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To be concluded in the next issue
of the best institutions of its kind in the Republic; many 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 example:

“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 conducted almost exclusively to celebrating historical and political anniversaries. . . . The Party Bureau in the Faculty does not take sufficient pains to utilize propaganda for 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. These lecturers have little connection with those of other departments and there are few conferences for the exchange of ideas and experiences. The Moscow University and the City University of Leningrad are sharply criticized. This university is one of the largest educational centres and it is remarkable that their political training of students is quite different from that of the Moscow University.”

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 enthusiastic 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 College 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. Attention was focused 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. Zhobztsky, 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 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 this solemnity 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 a union project at this stage. Significant details had not already made Ukrainians regard Moscow's activities with mistrust. The Committee in charge of the preparations received the official task of organizing 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, and the beginning of a "new" one, in which 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 "incorporation" were to disappear and if "Little Russia" were once more to be adopted officially. Considering Moscow's exaggerated chauvinism, anything may happen.

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**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 delegations 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, "leadership".

We have selected the names of the following Russian "elder brothers" from three numbers of the "Radyanska Ukraina" that appeared in the middle of April, 1952; they belong to the "leaders" or "elder brothers".

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 comintempt district of the town of Kharkiv.

Chesnokov — head of the town council of the Dzerzhynsk area in the town of Kharkiv.

Drizyn — head of the department of organization in the town council of Kharkiv.

This type of import to Ukraine flows without a break.

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**Who is Boss in Ukraine?**

(U.I.S.) According to a report in the "Pravda" of April 9, 1952, from Lwiv, the capital of Western Ukraine, 16 students who were accepted by the Lwiv 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 as in all the other countries of the world, where the people of Western Ukraine. Today they are in key positions everywhere, directing everything in that part of the country. It is the same as in all the other countries of the world, where the people of Western Ukraine. Today they are in key positions everywhere, directing everything in that part of the country. It is the same as in all the other countries of the world.

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**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, there is to be built a "Palace of Culture" for the University, which is to be the largest in the Union; 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.

In 1952, the Russian Academy of Sciences, 97,000 square meters of living space are to be ready for occupation.

In 1953, 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 not kept up, 4—5 persons will have to continue to live on the same amount of land as before the war, because the new buildings are to be built in the middle of Kyiv. Nor can the new buildings make up for the normal decay of old ones, the mass damage. If we assume the official Soviet statistician's figure of the population of Kyiv, there will be only 97,000 new square meters of living space are to be ready for occupation.

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**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, and a happy opportunity to compare the work done by both organizations.

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 meeting of the office-bearers of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Paraguay: V. Shumyo, 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 900,000 Ukrainians in Australia, and 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.S.) On April 29, 1952, political prisoners who survived the horror 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 the refugees and with social, cultural and political affairs.

The Rev. J. Leskoysch 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 the 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, crematoria, gas-chambers, shooting-stands, gallows, instruments of torture, mass graves, etc. These objects aroused once more a deeply felt 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 naziism, would be swept away. There are thousands of Dachau behind the Iron Curtain.

**Great Britain**

**The Seventh Annual Meeting of the S.U.B.**

(U.S.) The 7th Annual Meeting of the "Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain" — "Soszuz 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 24,866 full members, i.e. 70% of all Ukrainians living in exile in Great Britain, with the idea of raising 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 (KO-DUS), and a branch of the Organization of Ukrainian Students (HUS).

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, 1,660 circulars, 22 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 packages.

The S.U.B. has 714 local branches, representatives of which were present at the General Meeting by 130 delegates.\* 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 meeting's aims.

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 meeting was addressed 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 rapped.

Leading representatives of the nation oppressed by Moscow also took part, e.g. Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorusians, Cossackians, Slovences, etc. All are in favour of dissolving the present Russian Empire and forming their own independent states, and work to this end in close operation with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

The meeting was opened by Walter Dufty, editor ("The Ukrainian Bulletin") of the Organizational Department of the S.U.B.
said that the liberation of Ukraine was naturally in the first place a concern of the Ukrainian people itself, but that free­
developments in the 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 his his­
tory 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 West 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 courageous efforts 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 birth of new, the future United and free Herbert E. Lehman, United States Senator: "Europe."

"I am more than pleased to take cogniz­ance of the success of the Ukrainian Manifestation Rally and the construction 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 hope and hope of Ukrainian victims of Russian imperialism... They are even now 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 selfless sacri­fice would do justice to great contribution you have made to high principles of liberty and justice for all."

Third Congress of the Federation of Free Journalists

An Antibolshevist Rally in Berlin

Only Half the Truth Revealed

(U.S.) The Third Congress of the In­ternational Federation of Free Journalists in this organization—united nations—was taking place in Berlin from April 24—27, 1952, unions of journalists in exile from 11 coun­tries beyond the Iron Curtain. 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.

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 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 C. Ech­ehart, Margaret Chase Smith, Henry Ca­bot Lodge, Jr., and from Cliford 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 of the admission 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.
Truth Aroused Rage

Bolshevist Opinion on Prof. Clarence A. Manning’s “XX Century Ukraine”

For bolshevists nothing is more hateful than the truth about conditions behind the Iron Curtain. The despoits 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 February 22, 1952 a two-page article on the book by a certain Anin Khynchishin, which is full of vitriolic abuse, appeared in the official and the only press in countries under bolshevism. The article is entitled “A Word On The Great Friendship”, i.e. the friendship between the Russian and the Ukrainian peoples. His “XX Century Ukraine”, which is full of vitriolic abuse, 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, praises nothing, objects to nothing. He only foams at the mouth. What he offers as “criticism” is a tirade in terms that are more than offensive, and it is a duty to 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. Wierzbianński, the Polish chairman of the Federation. He pointed out that the official and the only press in countries under bolshevism, the press of Russian bolshevism 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. Among them were Mr. E. Miller, chairman of the Federation; Mr. E. D. Glatzer, General Lucius D. Clay; Mr. E. Madden, chairman of the U.S.-Congress Committee for the investigation of the mass murders of Polish officers at Katyn; Mr. E. Nowak, vice-president of the “American Newspapers Guild”; M. R. Aaron, editor of “Figaro”; Mr. Maggoride, 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, and their attention was naturally focused on those 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 deeply 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.

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 congresses, if Ukrainians are not to be allowed to state their point of view clearly. At any rate it would not be astonishing if an international meeting of the Ukrainian delegation is convened in the near future.

The laurels of a Ukrainian expert have not allowed this forgery 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 rehash, a 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 enemies 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 Russia is Bolshevism. Russia is the撵cing pole, — a combination of both.

This attack of fury of the bolshevists was launched by Mr. Kyryl Wierzbianski, who is merely carrying out the 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 the most important, 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 jackal”, “bloated strategist”, “yelping cur”, “fascist”, “intellectual jackal”, “fascist”, “intellectual jackal”, “fascist”. This is not the case here, where 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 jackal”, “bloated strategist”, “yelping cur”, “fascist”, “intellectual jackal”, “fascist”, “intellectual jackal”, “fascist”.

From the tone of Antin Khynchishin’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 it is necessary to combat them. 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 prevalent 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 afraid of it than anything else. So it becomes a Congress conducted on such lines. The agenda of such Congresses should be more carefully and more objectively drawn up in the future.
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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-
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 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 fellowship 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 continuation 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 horn 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...
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 techniques 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 emigre 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" reiterating 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 intemical 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 Messianship that more than once made our peoples the objects of sanguinary wars of conquest and tyrannical genocidal systems of government, just as today. 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 combated 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 role 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 ruseification. 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 world 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
economies 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 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 régime.

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 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 wellbeing 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 slavish 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-Bolshevist 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 rate of 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 notary public 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 body, to make 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 convention welcome in the name of the Town Mayor, Mr. Vincent Impellitteri, representing the chairman of the Democratic Party. There were also present: the assistant of President Truman, Dr. Dmytro Holyhyshyn; Mr. Theodore Mynych; Mr. B. Krausis; Mr. Mykhaylo Datkevschy; Mrs. Olena Lototska. — The Secretaries: Mr. A. Batyuk and Dr. Hryhor Luzhnytsky. — The Treasurer: Mr. Joseph Lyssohir. The Executive Director: Mr. Stephen Yarema. — The Counsellor: Mr. M. Pizniakov.

In conclusion it may with justice be said that the Fifth Convention 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 all who value freedom just as highly, as they are 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, an Hotel Statler, 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 blemish 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 the totalitarianism, among which nations is Ukraine, the country of our fathers' origin. In a memorial addressed to Cordell Hull, then our Secretary of State, the U.C.C.A. stated:...

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 twenty 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 Russian and representing one million and a half of Americans of Ukrainian descent and East European background, in
the light of contemporary international de-
vlopments has of necessity come to assume
an important and unique role in discrim-
ating truth concerning Russian imperial-
istic 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
to be measured by its wide and vital relations
with the American political leadership as
well as with many national groups and or-
ganizations which have come to recognize
and acknowledge its crucial importance in
forming and evaluating political realities as
they pertain to Eastern Europe. The most fitting expres-
sion 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 the organization fully supported
the peace effort of the United States Go-
vernment, so do we now fully and unequi-
 vocally 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 commu-
nist conspiracy to enslave the world and to
subordinate it to the dictatorial power of
Moscow, the focal point of the 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 inter-
national designs;

WHEREAS, the American people have
long accepted the basic principles set forth
in the American Declaration of Indepen-
dence, which stresses the tenets that "all men are created equal", that they are enti-
ted to the enjoyment of certain natural fre-
doms and independence, and that they be-
lieve 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 Sta-
tes in its policy of maintaining peace in the
world, and at the same time in the growing determination to
oppose and challenge the aggressive and im-
perialistic policies of the Soviets, whose
ultimate goal is imposition of slavery upon
this country and the destruction of its free-
dom and independence, by recognizing and
supporting the liberation movements already
in progress in Ukraine and in many other non-Rus-
sian countries of Central and Eastern Eu-
rope 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 indispu-
table prolongation of a 500-year-old Russian
imperialism, clothed in communist garb and
fitted out with international slogans of Mar-
xism-Leninism-Stalinism.

3. To call the attention of the United Sta-
tes 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-Russians peoples, com-
prising 110,000,000 were conquered by
the Russian Government, and are being
subjected to 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 combat-
ting Soviet Russian imperialistic commu-
nism.

4. To urge the speedy adoption by the
Congress of the United States of the fol-
lowing measures, which would greatly en-
hance our chances of success in combat-
ing totalitarian 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
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tes Government to the fact that the Soviet
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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

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 millstone 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 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 "chaunistic 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) for 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 McCluney, 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, with that sect of snake oil salesmen. 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 concerto 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" 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 and 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 Mssrs 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 among the political 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, achieved of course, and can 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, a permanent pecuniary basis at that, they can 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

"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 this sympathy 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 is started; all that matters is not so much Air Wings and F-Bombs but right conceptions. At present the West is shying 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 Stalinist totalitarianism, 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 for one and 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 paralyze the efforts of the U.S.S.R. to persuade them to immeasurably 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. 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 a consistent supporter 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, Yosyp Hladyk, 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 Thibilisi, the capital of Georgia. His father, Volodymyr, was a General of Artillery, his mother was a Georgian princess — Russieva-Kerchevsk (now Dnipropetrovsk), and then became commander of the entire U.N.R. army, and shortly afterwards of the special unit of Saporog.

General Pavlenko's first appearance as a separate 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. Hreikiv.

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 bolshevik 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 bolshevik 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 Czechoslovakia, 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.
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 cruelest 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 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.I.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.I.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. Soon 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 one side and 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.I.P.R., at present under the leadership of Admiral Alan G. Kirk, quite un-mistakenly 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.I.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 Muscovite 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.I.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 Muscovite 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 Kerenkys, Melgunovs, Baydalakova, Chernovs, Nikolayevskys, Kulchitskys, 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 Russias, 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 Ukraine 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 guarantor 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 possession of the 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 cruel 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.I.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.I.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 Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.). One of the leading activists, 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 Ukrainians, 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 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 aluring positions. Then one thinks in the first place of the bitter want that reigns among the refugees, which in the circumstances would make all 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 once more. When you gaze upon or enter the sanctuaries of Kyiv, you feel some unknown ancestors, who speak in the name of their enslaved brothers behind the Iron Curtain. The Ukrainian political organizations which have subscribed to the Declaration hope that this voice will immediately continue his revolutionary activities.

Kiev 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; especially, in his young days, 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: "Kiev... is a symbol of Dmytro Myron-Orlyk's and 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 its invincible faith in a...
The truth about Ukraine finds at last its way to the Western world, and especially to Anglo-Saxon countries, but only overcome 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.

Unlimited,” on the burning problems of the post-war world.

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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.

Myron-Orlyk to lay down his young life, 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 peoples 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 S. 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, because 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 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 forces, 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.)

Mrs. Edith Hyder

A Good Friend of Ukraine and its Fight for Freedom

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 accuratelty 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 Ukrainian Youth Association, an organization that is spread over 4 continents and 19 states.

In a 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 liberation 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.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. The National Conference, which overcame tremendous obstacles, had been a great success.

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 Shalta, 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 increased its influence 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 efforts of Ivan Kholavka, the retiring secretary.

Volodymyr Sharshanovskyj was elected as the president of the managing committee and Ivan Marchenko as vice-president. Other members of the newly-elected managing committee are Kholavka Ivan, Kudryk Volodymyr, Chornij Ivan, Petrukh Yoroslav, Trach Mykhaylo, Pavlichenko Petro, Nazo Volodymyr and Bidjak 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 enrollment of new members; the campaign against assimilation, which threatens 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.
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 less than 1/10 of the entire production of the U.S.S.R. For instance, one of its main agricultural products reaches 20% 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 5.3 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. If 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. The efforts of 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 Drohobyh. 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 kolhoz 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 Biliy, a teacher in the Huhiv school. Biliy 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 kolhoz peasants. But their living conditions are horrible, they live in a 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 regret for Ukraine. And Moscow is not very much interested in the progress of this "eternally rebellious country".

Again and Again: This Sinful Ukrainian Nationalism

(U.S.S.R.) 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 publication, as the foreword to it, 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 which has been functioning badly for several years. 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 have repeatedly attempted to sever the unbreakable bond between the cultures of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples."

"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 in 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
Ukrainian Observer

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'. This historical play is often described as the life of the old railway-worker, Allan Merdanov, and his family. The play portrays the life after the 2nd World War in the Turkmenian Soviet Republic of the family of the old Soviet 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 place in the district. The dramatic critic N. G. Kulykova, asserts that the family of the old railway-worker, Allan Merdanov, is most 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 what does this Soviet "high morality" consist?

One day Bayram had guests, whom he entertained with several rams, which he illegaly 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 bookkeeper 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 all collective-farm workers and the workers of the state.

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 remaining members of the family. 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, children and grown-ups, are continually swollen with sorrow, of fear or of offence. All of them, fond of tears, almost their only means for expression, are described as grey-haired, for Ukrainians. The critic remarks: "Lina is, her, and she, too, is without friendly feelings for many people are described as grey-haired, and that so many heroes often — whisper."

"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 state authorities, and this permission they never receive. One can easily imagine how these people feel, who for centuries had the never contested right to slaughter a sheep when it was needed, especially for 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 landowner anywhere outside the sphere of the 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 was performed in the capital as well as in other places in Ukraine, in order to bring before the Ukrainians this prime example of Moscow's "morality" — and in this way to warn the Ukrainians.

(U.S.) When a system wishes to quash 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 the national conscience. As is now customary in Ukraine, references were made to the "inadequacy of the organization of the guest-performances, both as regards repertory and production."

As the question of the affirmed inadequacy had to be answered, the "Radyanka Ukraina" of July 11th, 1952, took place a session of the Commission of Cultural Affairs, the object of which was the consideration of the difficulties of the theatre in Kyiv. As is now customary in Ukraine, references were made to the "inadequacy of the organization of the guest-performances, both as regards repertory and production."

Ukraine Ignores the Soviet Scenic Art

The Repertoire of the Ukrainian Theatre Will Repeatedly Subdue the Sharpest Criticisms

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(V.A.Z.)
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 Socialist 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 institute. The conference was convened for the purpose of voting and of submitting a report to the Congress of Cultural Workers, and the principal theme of this conference was, however, a detailed treatment of the problem of the "Criticalism 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 "Criticalism 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 wide range of the ideological and philosophical errors and at the same time to silencing him in the intellectual sphere, or driving him into a corner and finally, either silencing him in the intellectual sphere, or 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 "Criticalism 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 submitted to a really annihilating criticism. The Institut was reproached, among other sins also of the "irresponsible negligence in creating an adequate organization and lec­ turing body for the production of scientific works on bolshevik lines." Furthermore it was objected that "in the five years of its existence, the In­ stitute has neither performed nor planned, at any time, any fundamental project for the propagation of the practices of com­ munist "criticism", or "self-criticism", of the social-philosophical thought in the Ukraine."

"To great dissatisfaction of the party", it was further declared that "the Institute had been 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 perform­ ances 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 N. K. Petrovskyi, the foremost Ukrainian 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 dra­ matists, on the stage, then they suddenly failed.

The plays of the modern Soviet school, in which all the laws of the system of social­ istic realism may be observed, as, for example, the "Revolutionary Pathos of the Past", "The Unforgettable Year 1919", and others, were represented under "wrong conditions", and in the first not the "revolutionary pathos of the sailor", 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 Russian "colleagues" in the glorification of the bolshevist revolution and its heroes.

In the same way, the Russian plays do not enjoy any too great popularity, and, especially in the Western Ukraine, are performed just as radically and per­ ceived in the same offhish way, although the communist propaganda does its best to bring them there. The Ukrainian theatre, "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 bolshev­ ising of art does not stop at the Ukrainian theatres. But, as may be heard from the opinions of the communist press, it does not make very much progress. Ukraine is very tough.

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A New Picture of Eastern Europe

Lecture Tour of Mr. Yaroslav Stetjko, 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 Stetjko, visited Canada from April till July 1952 on an extended lecture tour. He was accompanied by his wife, Mrs. Anna Stečko. Although his visit was mainly of A.B.N. still he had always an occasion to speak about Ukrainian fight for liberation and independ­ ence as well.

Mr. Y. Stečko got in the main cities and smaller towns of Canada into close personal touch with thousands of Canadians of Uk­ rainian origin. His lecture 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 Stetjko's visit to Canada aroused much interest among Canadian Uk­ rainians and the members of other A.B.N. nations but also among the general public of Canada, but first of all among the news workers. Lectures as well as the emigré press published interviews, photo­ graphs and outlines of his life.

April 13, there was a great rally in Massey Hall, Toronto, Ont., with more than 2,500 listeners. Mr. Stečko spoke about the stubborn, unbroken resistance of 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. Stečko 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. Stečko the "A.B.N. Correspondence", No. 5-1952, stresses the political importance of his Canadian tour as follows:

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 independence of our subjugated countries to fight on, giving them confidence in the overthrow of Moscow's tyranny, this campaign of enlighten­ ment 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 Stečko can be summed up on follow­ ing 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 blocks within this world is possible is a misconception 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 disband 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 bring the whole despotic structure of the Russian-bolshevik empire to a crash. And just this is the main cornerstone of the Ukrainian national movement for freedom, their national movement for freedom, the Ukrainian liberation movement covering the period from Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky till Ukrainian Liberation Movement insurgearmy U.P.A. (1600—1950.) This is a short story of the Ukrainian national liberation movement.

Ukrainian Liberation Movement In Modern Times
By Oleh Martovych
176 pages / 11 pictures
Published by „Scottish League for European Freedom”, Edinburgh.

This is a short story of the Ukrainian national liberation movement covering the period from Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky till Ukrainian Insurgent Army U.P.A. (1600—1900.)

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Only Defence, And No Attack
W erein 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 candidates 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

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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.-Conference, 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 applaud-ed 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 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 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 way over the peoples of the East: how many millions were slain in internecine wars, how many were exterminated on purpose by the bolsheviks. How many were starved, how the human and national dignity has been violated, how the individuals and peoples have been exploited. We accuse herewith the Bolshevist 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 notoriety "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 Bolshevists. We accuse the barbarians of using the germ warfare against theUGINists armies 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 we produce witnesses who will testify that 1944—1948 the Bolshevists have been using chemical and germ warfare in their exterminatory action against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the insurgents of the Caucasus, Poland, Slovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, Turkey, Cossakia, Island, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece and others. Typhus, dysentery, even venereal diseases are being spread in areas where the insurgents are operating. In the drug stores of these areas 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."

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 honourable 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 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 imperialistic 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 list 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 combating 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
A Friendly American Voice


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.

Continued from Page 2

our independence (1917—1920) to be seated at this Conference on behalf of the Ukrainian nation.

1) 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

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 Caugh 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 imperialisms, 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. 

Mr. Oscar L. Chapman
Secretary of the Interior, U.S.A.
Now that is a fact of deep meaning. It emphasizes the point which is too often overlooked in this country that the Ukrainian people are 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 have been held in bondage by the Russians for many years, and the bondage has become progressively worse with the years. This bondage had become particularly oppressive during the years just before the German invasion. "Ukraine rose against the invaders and helped to throw them out."

As a result, Stalin was able to make the revolutionary change to Ukraine not 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 taken to fighting 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 deeper story than that. And in that story, the cause of freedom is a fact to which we need to give a good deal of attention.

As we face the international communist challenge to freedom, we must avoid 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 unceasingly 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 men dedicated to the cause of freedom. 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 side 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 embodied in the hearts and minds of men everywhere.

The revolution which took place in Tsarist Russia in 1917 resulted form the same ideal. But, unfortunately, 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 Callenge 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 noted. First, Russian 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, the one big element in the 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 he 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 interal attack— which is the new weapon added to the Russian armamentarium."

"This also means that we have to develop collective strength and the political relationship which support collective strength so as to keep Soviet drives against nations, such as if they were standing alone, might fall easy."

I am sure that this particular audience can well understand those words of Secretary Acheson, because the Ukrainian Nationalists, leaders of those who 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 he German invaders in the 1940's, the tragedy of America 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 recognize 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 independence and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon."

Wilson warned us, in unforgetable 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— he 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 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 wise that 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 explosive 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 as a single 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 have 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 wherever the dependence 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 independ-

ent of the Orthodox Patriarch in Moscow. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church had, on the contrary, close connections with the Orthodox Patriarch in Constantinople. The 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

Orthodox Church as one of the most effective instruments for the purposes of the spiritual and linguistic Russianising of the country. According to the ancient democratic principles of Orthodoxy, the Ukrainian bishop, Metropolitan Vassyl Lypkivsky, at present in U.S.A.

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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 autocratic authority of the Patriarch of Moscow. The two churches opposed each other bitterly, whereby the bolshevist government poured its red atheistic oil into the fire with all its cunning, in the belief that, in the name 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 outside, was concocted in the headquarters of the N.K.V.D. officials. This “Church” declared its unconditional recognition of, and devotion to, the bolshevistic regime. The “Living Church” was a special instrument to break up the Russian Orthodox, the so-called Patriarchal Church. In order to fight the U.A.P.C. the bolshevist state-police thought of something different and created the so-called “Living Orthodox 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 bolshevists began, at the beginning of 1929, a direct attack against the ever-stronger U.A.P.C.

The pregnant command from Moscow was briefly but sharply 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 two bishoprics of the Soviet Union itself. 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. became 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 policy of the non-Russian 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 metropolitan bishops and several bishops in Moscow once more. Their sphere of activity and their authority became greater and greater and more comprehensive. One thing, however, was certain: neither the Kremlin nor any 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 strengthening and expansion of Russian Orthodoxy was not nationalistic; on the other hand, the Ukrainian Orthodoxy autocephaly was damnable nationalism and as such had to be suppressed and, if possible, completely annihilated.

The U.A.P.C. Recovered During the German Occupation

This background must be taken into consideration for one 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 their 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 Orthodoxy 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 Ukraine autocephalic suffragan of Lutsk (West Ukraine). — Polikarp (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 autocephaly 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 course of the global 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 Polikarp was appointed 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 Mtsylav (Skrynyk), Mykhail (Khoroshy), Mikluh (Abromovych), Vyncheslav (Lisyskly), Panteleimon (Oleskij), Photii (Tymoshchuk), Ihor (Huba), Platon, Volodymyr (Malets), Syrbeny (Hayesky), Serhij.

In addition come two more bishops of the U.A.P.C., who were consecrated somewhat earlier (in the so-called German Governments which Governor General of Galicia and Volhynia), their names were: Bishop Ilarion (Ohienko), Bishop Paladij (Vedybida-Rudenko). Bishop Ilarion, who, before his consecration, was 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, to use all possible means and every 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 already mentioned in the previous series 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 (Hromady) was one of them. For that, the Patriarch of Moscow elevated him to the position of Metropolitan. After the Germans had occupied Ukraine, Oleksij remained by his profession of submission to the Patriarch of Moscow.

Now there had 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 in 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, who 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 “spying-bishop”. This “Autonomous Orthodox Church” worked, at the same time, as a sort of a M.G.B. “Department for Ukrainian affairs”, a “Department for underground. Today, in Ukraine, the Russian Orthodox Church, under the Patriarch of Moscow, which was once the undisputed sway. The metropolitan bishops and those 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 will 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 recognise these same Americans. We shall not here dwell upon such brilliant acts of "political genius" as the America-managed thesis of the "unconditional surrender", nor upon the same as the "giant stone" of bolshevism which has led to the downfall of Europe completely into the hands of Russia; upon such true political tragedies, affecting the entire world, like Telsa, Yalta and Potusdum; upon the belief of America in the bolshevism of the bolshevistic regime, which has led to the drawn system of the policy of the now so ill-famed appeasement. In the realm of politics it is difficult for one to believe that there are so few people with the same feelings 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 understanding 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 (Boltsevism) has been brought to birth by certain American "private cereles". 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 whole-hearted support of the Americans. Naturally, we were 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 program — the following aims:

1. "The Congress shall endeavour, in the "common fight against totalitarianism", to "unite prominent personalities", the elite, 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, anti bolshevistic crusade, which "would force the Moscow Politbureau to the defence of its ideology, and would lead to bolshevistic 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 clearly and resolutely state that, "in the moment of very great danger and menace, all disputes and quarrels, all resentment 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 (Nationalno-Truda Soviets, both as regards the organisation, 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. Boldsreyff, Washington; Gregory Klimow, Munich; Dr. Aleksznej Trushnovich, Berlin; Dr. Vladimir Poremsky, Frankfurt; Prof. Yakov Budanov, Munich; Dr. Leonid Rahevskij, 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, Intended 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 the furtherment goal, commence the postulates of the Congress to be understandable. The Russians shall as a nation be absorbed from every guilt and responsibility for bolshevism and Russian imperialism; for the beneficence of this spectacle, 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 context 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, the Bloc of Nations, will be automatically dissolved from every guilt and responsibility. 

It is also no coincidence that, according to this aim, of the 18 peoples behind the Iron Curtain, only the Russians were invited. It is self-evident that the existence of only one Russia, and to prove the unity of the Russian problem to the world.

They Shone by Their Absence

There were invited about 180 prominent German personalities and representatives of other countries, from the Bundestag: William Hentz, labor union leader, USA; Dr. Peter Liitsches, the president of the S.P.D.; D. K. Armstrong, Springfield, U.S.A.; V. Kossarenko-Kossarevych, was certainly not at all power to the Soviets. Them the realization of liberty.” What was the result of this sequence, the whole world can see.

Another Sort of “Ukrainians”

As well as overlooking the legal representatives of the Ukrainian resistance movement. Not one of the 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, exacted from him: Gulyay or 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 Liutsches, the president of the B.V.N., to invite these two “Ukrainians”, for the purpose of allowing them to approach the USSR in a representative capacity? As Dr. Liutsches, 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 already too late, if the Düsseldorf Congress was held in connection with the American efforts concerning the organisation of the peoples from behind the Iron Curtain. And, equally understandably, the Ukrainians will 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 Gulyay, 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 “Americanized”.

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 order to move 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 are met. 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 parties, parties and 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 vowel that the representatives of the interests and the other non-Russian peoples.

Who Fishes Here in Troubled Waters?

Consequently, the question arises: whose fault is it that, through the representative turning-out of such figures as Gulyay and Zolotarenko, 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.
New Leaders to the “American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia”

Vice-Admiral Leslie C. Stevens is New Chairman of the NewYork 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 agency 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 tyranny 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 judgment. 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 there 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 “Russians”. 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.

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, all forms of bolshevism, and all forms of anti-socialism and anti-nationalism.

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.

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
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 liberalization 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., or "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! Thenceforward Prince Vladimir, Yaroslav the Wise, Stepan Neman, the Great and Yaroslav the Wise, as well as Yaropol, 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 to the Ukrainian Prince, to "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.

Mykola Kulish, an outstanding Ukrainian dramatist, compared Russian Soviet bureaucracy with a kept house and a lunatic asylum. Volodymyr, 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. The "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 émigrés 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 condemned and destroyed. Stalin's policy of destruction, ushered in by the S.V.U. trial in 1929/30 continued 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, Chukhivivsky, Durdikivsky, Hermayze, Nikovsky, Starytsky-Cherniakhivsky, Hrybeytik, Chernivivsky, Hantevk, Pavlushkiv, Barbar, Udenko 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 cost the lives of as many as 6 to 7 million Ukrainians, cost the Ukraine about 4 to 5 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
The “Union of Ukrainian Women” (O.U.Z.)

Five Years Work

As long ago as June, 1945, the Ukrainian women 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. Burovsky, 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 to wage an open conflict 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 “Hramadyanka” (The Woman-Citizen), under the editorship of Mrs. L. Ivchenko, and after her emigration in 1945, under the direction of Mrs. M. Badynsky-Donzov. Among the co-workers in the magazine and delegates of various local groups are numerous 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 subscriptions, 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 “Sonchko” (“The Sun”).

The budget of the O.U.Z. was not large, as 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, try-makking, 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 management.

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 organizations, the income from various international congresses and conferences. These same problems were mentioned also in messages to the International League of Women, to Mrs. Eder, Mrs. E. Roosevelt, the Association of Women with High School Education, the Mother’s 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. Olha Pastursky. Her deputies are: Mrs. F. Zhuk, Mrs. S. Hodovanets; the further members of the Executive are Mrs. Darja Rebet, Mrs. Lukia Bobelak, Mrs. Ste­lstyna, and Mrs. Nadzura, and the international League of Ukrainian Women in U.S.A."

The O.U.Z. is the member of the worldwide “World Federation of Ukrainian Women’s Organisations” (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 organisations of U.S.A., Canada, Argentina, France, Belgium, Great Britain, Australia. The president of S.F.U.Z.O. is Mrs. Olena Kysilevskya, former senator of the Polish Diet. Leading women’s organisations are those of Mrs. Irene Pavlykovsky, 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. Cecil Gardetseks, Mrs. Darja Rak, Mrs. Ulana Teslelyech, a.o. Mrs. Olena Kysilevskaya

President of the “World Federation of Ukrainian Women’s Organizations”

The “Union of Ukrainian Women in Germany” (O.U.Z.) took the initiative in 1947 in the foundation of the International “League of the Women in Exile” whose members had been the Byelorussian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Caucasus, Cossakian, Serb and Croatian national women’s organisations. 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 “Radyanka 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. in Livland, the harbours of the Baltic or Black Sea, but almost never in — Ukraine. Another “hon­ourable task” of the kolkhoz-farmers and the railway-men consists of finishing the deliveries “before the appointed time”. The long railway districts, which have widely-published contests between single and whole groups of kolkhoz, as to who will be faster and cleverer to get rid of the yields of his own till and sweat — for the glory of Stalin. Delivery — this is the proper meaning of the Russian brand of socialism.
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 Gnyp and Hryhoriy 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 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 trial; in the meantime, the assailants had been inebriated. They all appealed; and now the Ukrainian community abroad is wondering why the process 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 Gnyp 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 high, 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 exterminating 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

The Ukrainian weekly, "Hromka Ukrainy" (Ukrainian Echo), in Toronto, Ont., Canada is making continual reports on the repeated efforts of the Canadians of Ukrainians 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 have taken 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 findable "endavours 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.

Ukrainian Language and the "Voice of Canada"

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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 nonfulfilment of the state economic plans for the 2nd quarter of the current calendar year. These reports covered the whole, but also 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 the U.S.S.R." and commented in detail on the results of the shortcomings 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 102.5%. That signifies, in comparison with the second quarter of 1951, an increase in the entire production of 11.6%. From the report of the "Statistical Office of Ukraine", 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 industries, 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 considers 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 — 100%
- 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.

Bolshevist criticism devotes itself especially often to severe and disparaging reports on Western Ukraine because, as the Soviet press again and again emphasizes, it is here that the ideology of the "bourgeoisie Ukraine" rumbles, and it 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 with the problem of "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 Drobobych, in the leading article: "Important task for the Party organisations in western provinces of Ukraine". In the report, which 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 shaw 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 Drobobych, 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-presidential 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, they 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 organizations, workers, kolkhos workers, as well as the intelligentsia are being mobilized only very unsatisfactorily for the fulfillment 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 combated, removed and eliminated? Here is the party's official answer: "The level of the ideological and political work in the teaching units must continuously by 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 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 Directorate of Agricultural Affairs in the district of Voroshilovgrad. This report is one of a series of "critical observations" on the part of the ruling Russians on the "inadequate form of obligation" in agricultural collectives in Ukraine. At the same time it is connected with a bitter criticism of the Party Section itself of Voroshilovgrad district. The correspondent of "Radyanska Ukraina" complained of the "vague and unfounded" reports, following questions were dealt with in this plenary meeting:

- The young agricultural engineers in Ukraine;
- The Ukrainian Youth Organisation (Komsomol) of Ukraine with special regard to the strengthening of work-discipline and priority of ideology over production. The correspondent of "Radyanska Ukraina" complained that above all the passive resistance and hostility of the Ukrainians mass population towards the party incitement must be expunged, and, furthermore, the level of production of the agricultural collective as a whole 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 party organizations are driven relentlessly to extert their full potential, upon the population.

All this can evidently 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 'Seminaria for the Study of Historical and Dialectical Materialism' have functioned only with many interruptions and have been only sparsely attended."

More plainly the communist 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 "Leninist-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 Stalin 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. Fundulak, secretary of the Stalin-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 defensive, 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-holoshchevist 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 enthusiasm in the work crews that is gaining ground among the youth, is especially dangerous for the Russian-holoshchevist regime in Ukraine. In glaring contrast to the Russian youth which enjoys all 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 Plevnian 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 officials, communists and "heroes," stakhanovites of the Republic. Flags, festoons and flowers abound, brass-hands play melodies and brisk mardches; families and friends are present; there are many speeches, some very high party officials and publicists and stakhanovites of the Republic.

But it is very interesting to see who gets the most rewards. The leading, most numerous group are always the best men, the heroes. There are many heroes 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 against some unnamed 'evildoers'"; of 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. Donov; Y. M. Zimna; D. Y. Markh; J. J. Sizyvich; S. P. Silkin and S. M. Shmarthun. Out of the nine, only the last one (in italics) sounds genuinely Ukrainian; 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 their clairvoyant intuition: all the "heroes" 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 "enemies of the people" as a result of the harvest set-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 kolkhoz officers did not realize this and carried away the reserves 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 panic, they started to fill silos from houses, schools, barns, churches, inns, and what not. The responsible officials had to excuse themselves in many ways, but the

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UKRAINIAN OBSERVER

No. 9

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main cause was the terribly muddled "planning". As it turned out, the "planners" in Moscow had, in dozens of cases, simply "forgotten" to emit the silos at the proper time. To put it more accurately, they often simply did not even know what and what quantity of supplies they had in store. This recalls the so-called "Mykolaiv and Odesa scanda" 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 barhours numerous silos and stores bursting with crops, particularly with wheat and sugar, the existence of which we knew only in higher quarters. At the last minute the Reds tried to shoot the crops into the sea, but the German 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 spokesmen of his country. Or, at least, the Moscow-directed newspaper leaders in Ukraine believe it is so. For there are only three main themes in the present Soviet "Ukrainian" press and radio programm, with which the population of Ukraine is fed and satisfied to the verge of vomiting. They are: 1. Volga-Dan Canal, 2. Securing of this year's crop, 3. Hewlett Johnson. Since Moscow's "Literaturnoye Gorevo" of 22. July, 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 martyrdom of poor Hewlett Johnson. The divine inspirations of the almighty Stalin and not only in the larger cities of Ukraine, but in the small town of Kamianets-Podilsky. At the last minute the Reds tried to shoot the crops into the sea, but the German still got hundreds of thousands of tons of this kind of much desired booty.

The "Equality" of the Ukrainian Language

The Russian bolshevist 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 large 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 Kiev, the students of the Universities, 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 their 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 Ukrainian Woman's Union" the First Congress of Ukrainian Catholics in Argentina, in Buenos Aires on 19-21 Sept., 1952. The presence of the Most Rev. Nil Savoryn, 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 to publish a book 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, in individual cases, Ukrainians 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 a secretariat or word to 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, more than any other post-war immigrants to Australia.

The congress was opened by Mr. W. Solovyv, 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. Vasyly Bolachuk, Dr. K. Bilinsky and Mgr. Yaroslav Kazhyl.

In his report on the year's activities, the president of the U.U.A., Mr. W. Solovyv, 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 this the loss of their earnings, their 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.

The difficulty in the small interest for U.U.A. of the great mass of Ukrainian habitants in Australia, who must primarily struggle with intensity and work hard in order to obtain a tolerable living. In other words, the 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 low personal earnings 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.
Section of the U.A.A., reported on the charity-meetings and benevolent activities with which the organization was filled in previous years. In this respect the relations with Australian women's welfare organizations had turned out to be satisfactory. Mr. F. Melnykiv 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. Dubrowsky as the press and information—official gave an account of the efforts of the organization to make the Ukrainians of Australia better known to the Australians. A good number of Australian personalities, and institutions who carry weight in Australia, have been provided with English as 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.

In Paraguay, which arranged most 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. President Kutsyk 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.A.A. As his co-members of the managing body were chosen: Mr. F. Yashkynych; Mrs. Irene Felensky; Dr. St. Vorobchsky; Mrs. L. Zaryshka; Mr. I. Dubrowsky; Prof. R. Drahun; Mr. Y. Hevko; Mr. M. Bororsky; Mr. S. Koziy; Mr. Hrobaty; Mr. Kutsyk; Mr. Podolanko.

The headquarters of the organization remained in New York, N.Y. The Congress of 1951 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 the World War II. there lived some small Ukrainian emigration in Paraguay, in Asuncion, and for the most part, in the province of Fram. This was the "PROSVITA"—additional Ukrainian popular organization for mutual social aid and cultural enlightenment. The young people were organized at first in "Youth Branches of Prosvita"; this continued to the number of later 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 574 letters and 22 communications. 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 emigre life in Paraguay; up till now 363 pictures have been selected out 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 Bolshevist-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 festivals and cultural 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 Vyslyshniv

53, in Rochester, N.J., on June 18th, 1952, deeply shocked the Ukrainian community. Mr. Serhiy Vyslyshniv was one of the most outstanding Ukrainian journalists this side of the Iron Curtain. He was born in 1898 in the small village of Volynia, 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 cooperatism; in 1923, having finished his economic studies, he started his public life as a worker with the "Union of Ukrainian Co-operators". Co-coerently 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 Nedivia" ("Volynian Sunday"). The leading Ukrainian political party of West-Ukraine—the "Ukrainian National-Democratic Party of UN(D.") made him, the Polish parliamentary elections of 1928; its candidate for the district of Volynia. 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 died, a deeply-belonging 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 heen the 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 expressed pithily 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 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 the report of his death was mentioned not only by recent Ukrainian emigres in U.S.A. but also many old-stock Americans. The death of Mr. Serhiy Vyslyshniv 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 Arts", inviting 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 exhibition as the "Inter-American" 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 Demydychuk 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" in 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. Among the exhibitors was a group of 6 artists from Ukrainian artists living in the U.S.A. (J. Andrusiv, V. Bishke, B. Bozhemsky, M. Butovych, Venczuela; M. Nedilko-Argentina). — Some had been sent from abroad (S. Bora-

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Sunday").
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 CONVOCATION OF A FOURTH GREAT ASSEMBLY OF ORGANIZATION — MOVES STRESSES UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS DISSATISFACTION WITH WEST AND EMPHASISES RELIANCE PRIMARILY UPON OWN REVOLUTIONARY POWER

The Ukrainian community abroad, i.e. more than a million adult Ukrainians, living present in dozens of free countries this side of the Iron Curtain, received on Sept. 12, 1952, stunning news: the famed leader of their revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), STEPHAN BANDERA, announced his resignation.

We print below two pertinent releases divulged recently by the official quarters of O.U.N.

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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

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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, STEPHAN BANDERA 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
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 STEPHAN 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.

WHY STEPHAN 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 Military Organization (U.V.O.). Both fought ardently for decades for the establishment of a free, independent, Ukrainian national state — ... 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 Ukrainians since 1941 the Leader of O.U.N., the...
in the stability of which Stepan Bandera believed nor 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 bolshevists 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 Chuprynka (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 Representation 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 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 Stetsyk.

**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 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, just that 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
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 RUSIAE POPULOS”), dated in the Vatican, July 7th, 1952, was published on July 24th, 1952, the day of the evangelists Cyril and Methodius in “L’Osservatore Romano”, the official organ of the Vatican.

1/ Thereby not only a religious fact, but also a political one of the first importance has been established by the Vatican. Quite evidently the papal message combats communism and bolshevism. That is done by the overwhelming majority-numbering 43 million - of the Ukrainian people of which about one million in West-Ukraine and among the world-wide emigration, are Roman Catholics. The message, however, acknowledges and, by implication, accredits 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 populis”, “cunctos Russiarii populos”, etc.

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 Stetsko.

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 convening 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 convening 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 this fourth Great Assembly of O.U.N. would elect him once more to his previous position, he would accept the wish of the organization.
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 Russian 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 Catholic Church have, 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 imagine what political chaos and spiritual 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 co-operativism 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. Besides, it has allied itself too closely with the imperialism of the Russian bolshevism, has performed too clumsily and brazenly, that office of spiritual back 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, other 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, if with the purpose of Stalinism for there to be many people, after the collapse of bolshevism, who would identify themselves with this Church. The Christian idea is to put it better, the Russian Patriarchal Church, i.e. the Patriarch of Moscow, after the fall of bolshevism, be in a very precarious position. Besides, it has allied itself too closely with the imperialism of the Russian bolshevism, has performed too clumsily and brazenly, that office of spiritual back 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, other 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.

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 Pope addresses 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 1886 an address from Pope Leo XIII to England, and in 1897 to the Copric 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 atomic World-War. One thing can be taken as certain: that these two opposed worlds are not to exist, one among the other, peacefully and for ever. Either bolshevism will conquer the entire world, or it will fail; 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, 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 spiritual 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.
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 into account 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 centuries-long 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, by its own force, that it is a kind of possession of Russia, i.e. 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, thejugulated 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 TAKES SIDE WITH RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

The message of Pope Pius XII to the "Russiae populii" furnishes evidence that the Vatican, too, has decided for the imperial Russian solution. The message implies that these "Russiae populii" 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, thejugulated 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".

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 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.

VATICAN AND UKRAINE

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In the course of centuries, there were times when the occupants of Peter's Chair had a very time and clearly marked understanding for the difference between Russians and Ukrainians, in that they designated the Russians "Russia" 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 populii", 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 Orthodox Muscovites and their empire. 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. Then the Ukrainian, that is, Ruthenian princes of medieval history, such as Volodymyr the Great, his brother Yaropol, Izyaslav, Roman Mykolayych, Mikhailo of Chernihov, Danylo of Galicia, Andrey and Leo Youryevych, Boleslav II Troydnevych, the priests: Metropolitan Ivan Prodom, Bishop Theodor, Metropolitan Akerovych, Metropolitan Hryhory Tymablik, and many other 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 legate 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 Izydor sent his son, Yaropolk, to Rome to Pope Gregory VII; Yaropolk took an oath of allegiance to the Apostie 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 Tsamba, 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 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 Khholm 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 1075, declared: “Through you, my Ruthenians, I hope to convert the East”. Today, in the message of Pope Pius XII, these Ruthenians have changed into “Russi­ans”.

For their membership of the Catholic Church, the Ukrainians, particularly in recent times, have suffered very heavy oppression and persecution from Russian bolshevism.

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 in Rome. 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.

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 re­gular 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 and of the Ukrainians, by throwing them together with the Russians into a pot, and labelling them as "Russians" before the world.

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 contrast to this, we permit ourselves to maintain that only he can win the imminent fight with 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 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.

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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, 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 "ANTIBOLOSHVIEK 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, Turkestanians, Idel-Uralians and others.

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 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?

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?

Or 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?

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?

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.

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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
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 1979 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 growing 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 decision; 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 turned into a thorough contempt for humanity and the individual. Nowhere in the world has that happened so deliberately 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 power makes 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 conciliated, 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 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 Marxist 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 organisation 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 190 million Russians proper in the empire would provide a basis strong enough to support the power of the organisation throughout the country. It is nationalism, 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 Ivan, Pyotr and Semyons are bolshevist; 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 Russians, 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 terms 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 "satellite-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 conti-
nually prove its right to exist. It must
wage eternal war, either at home, against
alleged conspiracies or subversive ac-

tivities, 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 con-
stantly drive such people to new adven-
tures.

To the question, what is happening be-
hind the Iron Curtain, we have only 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 fulfil-
lings and satisfying bolshevist wishes.
The Western world will one day be compelled to
confront this threat to peace; bolshev-
ism will leave it no alternative. And in
our opinion, the sooner this fact is re-
alized in the West, the better. There is no
possibility of a compromise, an appease-
ment 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 in-
ternal 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 bol-
shевism and Soviet power cannot be over-
come only by means of physical power,
atomic bombs, military apparatus, how-
ever terrible. The German’s Russian cam-
paign in 1941—45 proved clearly enough.
We, A.B.N. peoples, reproach above all
American policy for pursuing merely technical defence measures and for ne-
lecting, if not scorning, adequate psycho-
logical weapons. Ideas, not cudgels, must
be launched of a kind to win over the
people: 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 free-
dom, by which, in short, I mean, the ge-

eral 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 explo-
ted nations.

There are no other ideas capable of over-
throwing bolshevism and Russian impe-
rialism. The bolshevist know this and that
is why they wage continually an embitter-
ted battle against what they call “bour-
geois nationalism”, i.e. the movements
for the liberation of all these subjugated
peoples. The neglect of such movements
must 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 bolshe-
vism to neglect these ideas. The liberation
movements in the various nationalities
are today the front behind the Iron Cur-
tain, where conflicts are being waged;
but at present the West seems to be inca-

capable of interpreting correctly the bul-
etins from that front. For when, for in-
stance, we read that men in the Krem-
lin consider it necessary to launch huge
campaigns of so called “fraternaliza-
tion” 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 Rus-
sians 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 col-
lapse that would entail changes in the So-
viet state and alter the constitution, . . . 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 co-
operation both of the peoples in the Sov-
iet Union and in the satellite states. We
think that the internal structure of bol-
shevism makes a clash between the two
worlds inevitable. And if these nations do
not help, bolshevism can never be over-
thrown, or the freedom and security of
the West assured. I do not think I am exag-
erating 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 main points of the report submitted by P. 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 107,832 party's candidates; 17.4 p.c. of that number were women. 35.5 p.c. were members of the party, including 101,642 party's candidates; 17.4 p.c. of them were members of the party, including 101,642 party's candidates; 17.4 p.c. of them were members of the party, including 101,642 party's candidates; 17.4 p.c. of them were members of the party.

The following instances merit quoting in illustration of the party's growth:

- In 1948, 286,848 communists were employed in industry, 17.4 p.c. of which were members of the party.
- In 1952, 336 delegates with voting rights were functional. 459 of them were with university or college education.
- The delegates had been previously awarded with or without the title of worker.
- The Western regions of Ukraine where the party's influence was not so strong, 204,224 communists were employed in industry, 101 p.c. of which were members of the party.
- The arable lands of the collective farms and state farms have been fully exploited. The sowing area has increased considerably, the collective farms have been strengthened, the living standard and the cultural level of the collective farm villagers have risen. The harvest in Ukraine this summer was "good." Further various figures and phenomena of the material wellbeing of the collective farm workers 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 etc.

Some conclusions as to the standpoint of living in Ukraine under Soviet Russian occupation can be drawn from the examples featured in Melnikov's report. Criticalising 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 Kamiany Podilsky, one of which he described as a millionaire farm. He went on to say that at the millionaire farm one could find 1 kilogram of corn and 3 rub. 10 kope. per worker during working day, while at the same time workers in another collective farm received only 0.5 kilograms of corn and 1 rub. 10 kope. per worker. Is there a reason to expound on the Surpassing of the pre-war level of the commually-owned livestock etc.

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ECONOMIC SITUATION

Melnikov states 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 favorable conditions for more productive use of tractors, combines and other agricultural machinery." Melnikov argues correct as far as they relate to the fact that amalgamation of collective farms is a step forward in the process of overcoming exploitation and the exploitation of its resources. The accent is given to extending fields under corn, especially those offener wheat while cattle raising, fruit-growing and gardening are more developed. As Melnikov points out the collective farms (one third of the total number) have no fruit orchards, no vineyards, 2,130 farms have no hens, 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 workers were built. As Melnikov stresses in Ukraine the intensified growth of this "material wellbeing" he added the following as his most convincing argument: He said that "in first half of the current year following extensive capital goods were sold in greater quantities than in the first half of 1948:

- meat and products by 431 p.c., more than 100 p.c.
- fish products by 177 p.c.
- fats by 35 p.c.
- sweets and pastry by 247 p.c.
- sugar by 180 p.c.
- cotton textiles by 218 p.c.
- wool textiles by 175 p.c.
- silk textiles by 154 p.c.
- tallow products by 177 p.c.
- synthetic rubber by 150 p.c.
- shoes and boots by 510 p.c.

You find it difficult to understand? Well, we want to believe that indeed Soviet citizens bought in 1952 by 180 p.c. more shoes and boots than in 1952. But how can you try this. There are ration books in Great Britain. Suppose they were withdrawn one day and instead of pounds or ounces we get per week we would start to buy 20 to 30 pounds in wages per week, would we start to buy 7 lb instead of 5 lb, and 1 pound 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 pairs 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 the 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, and half as much pasta, paper, etc. and on so. It is, indeed, a bit tight with butter. Fugitive for consumption of it rose by one fourth only but here the fault lies with beasts - they would not produce without the assistance of man. And what about foot-weights of the Soviet citizen? It seems as if every Soviet citizen in Ukraine had a shoe shop in his home. Or have they not by chance dress themselves in additional "shoes"? It may well be possible in that Soviet "paradise".

THE XVI1TH 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 worse, Ukrainians, with a whole list of "Russian brother". At the last Olympic 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 that this desirable political capital.

The following instances merit quoting in illustration of the prominent Ukrainian athletes included, without a doubt, W. Chadzhy, a gymnast from the East-Ukrainan city of Chernivtsi. In gymnastics he came student-champion, and later all-Ukrainian champion in gymnastics. In 1949 he was elected to the Central Committee of the Communist party, he received 1 gold and 3 silver medals.

Another, Jurko Litus, comes from Stanyaslav, West-Ukraine. He began his career in 1949 and was proclaimed the "all-Ukrainian champion" in 1953. He won the silver medal for the 400 metre hurdles, in the time of 51.7 sec.

P. Denisenko is accounted one of the best light weight athletes of Ukraine and the whole U.S.S.R.; in the Olympic he attained third place in the pole-jump.
UKRAINIAN OBSERVER
No. 10

UKRAINIANS ABROAD

CONTACTS WITH INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNIONS

UKRAINIANS AT THE CONGRESS OF THE "CONFEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS CHERTOIS" IN THE HAGUE

From July 2nd to 5th, 1952, the 5th Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (C.I.S.C.) was held in Hague, Netherlands. Thus, the stage was set for an important international conference. It is the oldest, ideologically the most highly developed, and has the highest reputation among the world’s leading politicians. It was founded during the first International Socialist Congress in Leipzig in 1869, and in the course of 32 years has spread its operations in very many lands of all five continents. It Allied to the organization are the Christian Traders Union (C.I.S.C.) was held in Hague, Netherlands. The activities of the Confederation are grounded on Christian social doctrine and Christian morals. It endorses and promotes the teachings of the great Christian philosophers, notably St. Thomas Aquinas. The organization places the human being, his dignity, justice, and mercy at the centre of their thinking. At the Congress, among them being Members of the Parliament, Senators and Ministers; there were also representatives from the Ukraine. The Ukrainian delegation was able to form acquaintances and friendly relations with the representatives of other peoples.

THE XVTH OLYMPIAD AND UKRAINE

(4.40 metres) and the bronze medal. He is that Russian sportsman so enthusiastically embraced by the American Victor Richards, what irony.

Novák (Ukrainian champion) was second in the weightlifting (410 kg) and won the silver medal. Tysabulenko was fourth in the shot-put, (17.22 metres).

Balanchuk reached fourth place in the 110 metres hurdles (14.54 s.).

In the hammer-throwing, Reščuk was fifth (56.56 metres) and Dušenko eighth (55.93 metres).

For the women gymnasts also achieved great results. Tatiana Duben (Ukrainian champion for the U.S.S.R.) conducted 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 an admonition to the young people of oppressed Ukraine and an appeal to the youth of America. Moreover, they protested unani mously against the bolshevist 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 the bolshevist terror, which has already exacted a heavy toll in the American press. More than 20 youth organizations of America and the "American Committee for the Ukrainian You th" have already conveyed messages to the "Ukrainian Youth Association" (S.U.M.) and have received similar support.

The Ukrainian delegates made valuable contributions to the report and to the regulations which followed. The attitude of the participants in the congress toward the Ukrainian delegation was very friendly. No objections or restrictions were made respecting the speeches of the Ukrainians, and everywhere there was applause and gratitude. The Ukrainian delegation was able to form acquaintances and friendly relations with the representatives of other peoples.

GREAT DEMONSTRATION OF THE "UKRAINIAN YOUTH ASSOCIATION" (S.U.M.) IN U.S.A.

On the 6th of September, 1952, there took place in Peking, China, a great demonstration of the American "Ukrainian Youth Association" (S.U.M.). This demonstration was a gathering of the whole "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 end the Constitution 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 many kinds, which were performed by many prominent institutions. The programme was a success and was well-received. An additional point of pride was the fact that Mr. B. S. Redford (Kiev) and Mr. N. V. Yershov (Ukrainian National Association) were also guests of honour at the demonstration.

The programme included: Theatre, Radio, and Television, the exhibition "Ukraine", the demonstration of the "Ukrainian Youth Association" (S.U.M.) and the wide variety of activities which were staged by the Ukrainian community.

ARCHIVES - MUSEUM OF UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION

THE MEMOIRS AND ORIGINAL WRITINGS OF THE GREAT MIGRATION TO BE PRESERVED

In order to preserve all documents, memos, and everything which merits attention and throws 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, in 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 memos will be preserved which relate to the life of the Ukrainian emigrants, in the camps as well as in the U.S.A.

The Executive Committee of the U.U.A.R.C. addresses an appeal to the whole Ukrainian community to submit the following materials to this Archive-Museum: various documents, photographs, descriptive writings, journals, articles, books, cutting distributions, and simply anything that relates to the life of the Ukrainian refugees until the end of the war, and also things which deal with the period of repatriation. Among these are: documents on the stay in the camps, descriptions of camps-life, photographs of various arrangement, books, newspapers and magazines which were published in these camps, documents from the life or organizations and schools, accounts, and information by all persons, and 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 light upon 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 events, documents on the settlement and descriptions of their work, cuttings from American newspapers which relate to the immigration and any kind of material on Ukrainian questions, the lists of documents, the original documents, 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 medicines, 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)
D. DONTZOW

WE WISH TO REMIND YOU...

On 7th November Moscow proudly celebrated the 35th anniversary of the event when a new bolshevist 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 re-imposed 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 proclaimed freedom of thought, 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 creed, 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 millions 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 Thorpe), among artists and writers, among the multi 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 - tv 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 maffias 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 overmaster, in the form of a resurrected one and indivisible Russia.

The West is afraid of bolshevist Russia created by the revolution of 1917. Nonetheless it will be forced, though against

Continued on Page 2
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 bolshevist 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 events where 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 cowardice 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 bolshevist 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!
thers 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 tendency 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 bolshevists 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 tsars, 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 SSR 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 greath 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 devours 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-bolshevism 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 aid is not only 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-bolshevist 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 Ukrainian'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 for both sides. Objective facts are 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 guaranties 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 would have to fight against the struggle entirely on our own as we have been doing so far, but taking care that our struggle should not be exploited by

Continued on page 4
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 attainment 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 down 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 crossroads 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 enigree imperialists, the so-called "Co-ordinating Centre for Anti-bolshevik struggle", composed of the gathering 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 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 the struggle for national liberation movements. 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 the struggle for national liberation movements.
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 injuring 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 recognized 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 satellite 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 the weight 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 U.N.O 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 propagate 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 national liberation of all the peoples of the world.

The Western world is afraid even to acknowledge what it recognized yesterday, e.g., the independence of Georgia, or Azerbaijan, 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 Caspian, Turkistan, 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 Marocoo 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 one 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 emigrees. 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 emigrees 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 emigrees are emigrees of a hostile people, just as the German ones were. Our emigrees are emigrees of friendly, allied peoples, just as were the French ones of de Gaulle, Serbian of Mikhailovich, 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 Ollenauer, or Knoerigen? Was it possible to treat them equally? “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 de Gaulle, or Sikorsky, who were present when decisions were taken by Churchill and Roosevelt on the German issue, 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. For our peoples, it is co-operation with an all!, 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 emigree 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? Is it 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 take 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 Manuilsky 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 de Grell 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 dissociate 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 then, 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 Manuilsky, or Kisliyow, 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 Gaulle 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 evidently 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...

UNCHANGEABLE 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 guarantees of national independence, and not creating a Russian state, 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 agressor 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 cooperation 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 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 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 by them, 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 to take place.

WE HAVE NOTHING TO loose 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-
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". Furthermore, 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, and has made its internal contradictions and the mutual rivalry of the "capitalist" states among themselves more acute, and that all of them togetherness are feeling the effects of "domination by American imperialism". Malenkov, giving an estimate of the international situation and drawing a picture of what is there 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..."

Condoences, similar to this one for the sake of the "national sovereignty" and the "loss" of the Commonwealth by Great Britain in favour of the "American milliardaires" expressed with different variations, are addressed to all the major European countries. While Malenkov is frightened 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 untringly 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 "Messerschmids", 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-
development 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 Asian 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 million 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 by 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, t. 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 meaning "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 combattling of "-consuming tendencies" in collective farms: "it is necessary to note that in many collective farms a practice became widespread 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 representations 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 auxiliary 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 the number of Communists in relation to the population of the Soviet Union. They were 868,886 candidates (in the Ukraine 2,477,660 members, including 888,814 candidates, and on 1. 10. 1952 it had 6,882,145 members, including 686,886 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 drags 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 that we shed our blood for? have found themselves “in places not far removed” and “very far removed” together with the Kulaks and the “counterrevolutionaries”, whom these “reds” used to dispose of and to liquidate. An analogous picture presents itself now, too — the Party, having used the Moors — millions of “cannon fodder”, mobilized 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 taken: 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 despoticism—periodically to draw the boys’ 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.

A.O.

FROM THE A.B.N.
PRESS COMMUNIQUÉ

The Press Bureau of the Antibolshevik 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 Antibolshevik 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 1917.

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 prison of 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 useful to 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 must radically change the 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 sovereign national democratic states of the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Turkistanians, Georgians, Azerbaizanians, Armenians, North Caucasians, Idel-Uralians, Cossacks and others.”

* * *

IN A COMMON FRONT

On 6th November of this year the Central Committee of the Anti-bolshevik 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
UKRAINIAN YOUTH IN AMERICA
PROTESTS BEFORE UNITED NATIONS

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 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, action was begun by Mr. M. Karnaha, who managed to get inside and began to distribute the leaflets among the delegates who looked at them curiously 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 Russian films were being shown.

The S.U.M. also sent to all U.N. delegates a booklet entitled “Moscow’s Crime in Vynnytsa”, 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

UKRAINIAN YOUTH ASSOCIATION in America sent to Mr. A. Glazkov a booklet entitled “Moscow’s Crimes in Vynnytsa”, leaflets and proclamations to the youth of Ukraine and America.

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UKRAINIANS APPEAL TO POPE PIUS XII

"Carta Apostolica" of the Pope, Pius XII (of July 9th, 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 guest 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 beg the Holy Father to take this into consideration.

BELGIUM: The Ukrainians in Belgium, assembled on the 12th October this year, at which the Vicar-General Rev. Maurice van de Malle, assembled at 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 nations 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 29-31th October this year, at which the Vicar-General Rev. Mitr. A. Malynovskyj 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.

UKRAINIAN OBSERVER
No. 11—12

“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 "UPA"). This Army was organized in October 1942 during the struggle against the German-Hitlerite occupiers.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) fights against all occupiers 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 occupiers. 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 imperialism.

Similar letters were addressed to the Holy Father by the Ukrainians in Leyton Buzzard, Blackburn, Middleton, Ashton, Cambridge, Barby Camp, (N.R.Rugby) Wolverhampton, Aylesbury Hostel, Elveden Hall (Suffolk), Mooriston Hostel, Stockport, Oldham, Rochdale, Bury, Bedford, Huntington, Coventry, Derby, Sheffield, Birley (N.R.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 bolshevists in their agitation against Rome and against Church union.

GERMANY:—At the meeting of the Ukrainian Catholics in the Settlement Munich-Mosah 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.

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 Patron. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army has renewed this tradition and under protection of Blessed Virgin continues its struggle against Russian bolshevist occupiers.

This year the Ukrainian emigrants combined the celebration of the U.P.A.-Day with that of the 10th anniversary of the U.P.A. In all countries where Ukrainian emigrants live, above 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 Ivies of New York and Senator T. Francis Green of Road Island. In his speech Senator Irving Ivies declared: "Why does not the Soviet Union attack us now, before we had time to organise our defences, to turn dollars into aeroplanes, ships, cannons and tanks? I ask 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 movements 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 today 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 sincere 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 anywhere where the people wants to be free."

At a similar celebration of the U.P.A.-Day in Newark, USA, Congressmen 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 Alexander 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.
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 or¬
ganic 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 relics 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 reintegration 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 PETLUURA AND BANDERA

The “Pravda” of 10. 11. 1952, reported Korneeychuk’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 cosmopolitism. “The Ukrainian people”, declared Korneeychuk, “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 stand —the year 1919 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 Kor neeychuk —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 scrt 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 Communists (bolshevik) 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 killo­grams of grain and three roubles 60 kopeeks 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 kopeeks 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 60 kopeeks in cash, i.e. 36 kgs. of grain and 41 roubles 60 kopeeks a month.

What can one buy for this money: 1 metre of inferior quality shirtings costs from 25 roubles to 75 roubles 1 metre of inferior suits costs 130 roubles, that of a better quality over 200 roubles.

A ladies’ coat — from 350 roubles upwards.

A pair of overalls — from 200 roubles.

A ready-made men’s suit — from 1600 roubles up.

Men’s jackboots with leather leggings — from 500 roubles.

A pair of overalls — from 200 roubles.

Ladies shoes — from 800 roubles.

Men’s jackboots with leather leggings — from 500 roubles.

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 is in the same 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 “Bolshievik” 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, in order 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 for a ton of grain was made equal to the price of a ton of bread, 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 “econo­mist and planning specialists” reply to the “genius” who out of modesty hides his identity behind the members of the Central Committee when, according
AUSTRALIA

2nd ANNUAL MEETING OF THE "UKRAINIAN YOUTH ASSOCIATION" in Australia was held on 6-7 September in Melbourne. Branches of this Association exist in Sydney, Adelaide and Melbourne, and membership totals 390. New Executive Committee was elected with Mr. J. Venhousky as Chairman and Mr. M. Kucher as Secretary.

"UKRAINIAN 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 provided information about their women's branch within the UFECU and elected an Executive Committee to coordinate and direct their work.

Mrs. Zinaida Yakhutskaya has been elected the Chairman, and Mrs. O. Kucher 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, the Right Honourable J. C. Diefenbaker, was submitted by the President of CUC Mgr. Dr. V. Kukhrih on 10.9.1953 on the occasion of Mr. St. Laurent's visit to Winnipeg on his return from the Western provinces to Ottawa.

The memorandum, prepared by the Committee, as an organisation based only on the financial support of the Canadian community in Canada, stresses the economic problems of the Ukrainian community in Canada. Two main purposes for which the Committee exists are mentioned: first, strengthening the ties of Ukrainians of Canada in all its various forms for the universal development of the Ukrainian people in Canada, and secondly — moral and material assistance to the Ukrainian people in their native country for the restoration of an independent and united Ukraine in the near future of a free Canada with a free Ukrainian language and literature. They express their needs for suitable psychological and political preparatory work among the Ukrainian community in the meantime.

Canadian legislation asks to stress at every suitable occasion, when speaking of Canadian Ukrainians, the need stressed for suitable psychological and political preparatory work among the Ukrainian community. The memorandum asks the Canadian government to stress at every suitable occasion, when speaking of Canadian Ukrainians, the need stressed for suitable psychological and political preparatory work among the Ukrainian community. The memorandum asks the Canadian government to stress at every suitable occasion, when speaking of Canadian Ukrainians, the need stressed for suitable psychological and political preparatory work among the Ukrainian community. The memorandum asks the Canadian government to stress at every suitable occasion, when speaking of Canadian Ukrainians, the need stressed for suitable psychological and political preparatory work among the Ukrainian community.

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body of all Ukrainians in Great Britain. The activities of SUB are founded on a sound basis. In 1947 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 realisable property of the Association will exceed the value of £60,000. 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 and in the surrounding countryside the 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". Besides 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-reading department of the Association has a considerable number of Ukrainian books in its possession.

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 1,000 people in hospitals, homes 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 foreign press, thus recognizing the successful work of this largest Ukrainian organization in Great Britain.

PARAGUAY

APEAL 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 Ukrainian from following places: Fram Calle, Sandeita, Encarnacion, Uruasupaiky, Bohdanivka, and Alberta.

SWEDEN

UKRAINIANS IN SWEDEN, although not numerous, are united in the "Swedish 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. Krylo Borys. 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, etc. The Committee has sent a memorandum to the Swedish authorities explaining the problem of Ukrainian nationality, it assist Ukrainians in emigration matters, carries out collections for some 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 Vicar for the Ukrainian Catholics in Northern Europe, Fr. van de Male. Statutes of the Ukrainian Immigration Committee in Sweden and their recognition by the Swedish authorities empowers the Community to represent the interests of Ukrainians in Sweden.

UNITED STATES

The "UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE", the largest representation of the 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 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 "UKRINN N OCK 1of 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 numbers 2,113, including 215 members at the "tenagers" 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 22,378.77 dollars.

Among the newly elected members of the Executive are: Prof. S. Vychukiewicz — chairman, V. Powniak — secretary, V. Koval — press and information officer, V. Shmigel — sports officer. Chairman of the Educational Council is Professor I. Bulowsky.

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, 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. Toutzias, 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 Clubs in Chicago. He is the Junior - "Lions" — co-Champion of U.S.A. 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 championships 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.

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VOICE OF AMERICA REORGANIZED

Since October 23, 1952, the Ukrainian Department of the Voice of America, which until then had been a part as well 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 Turk-Tatar, Caucasian and other departments 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, Checoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia and Ukraine.

BERIA ON THE IMPORTANCE OF UKRAINE

(Continued from Page 7)

let us compile 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 that 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 practiced confusion of Ukraine with Muscovy (or officially: Russia) constitutes first of all a menace to the West itself.