



# UKRAINIAN INFORMATION SERVICE



No. 3.

FEBRUARY, 1950.

Vol. I.

## ONCE CHIEF OF GESTAPO —NOW HEAD OF THE I.R.O. POLICE

The weekly *Ukrainian Independent*, which appears in Munich, in its issue of 14th January, 1950, brings an interesting news item, based on undisputable facts, that the murderer of Ukrainian political prisoners during the German occupation of the Ukraine, Wilhelm Wirzing, one of the former chiefs of the Gestapo, and, as it could be seen now an agent of the N.K.V.D. —is the chief of the I.R.O. police in the whole of the III area in the U.S. Zone of Western Germany, and, no doubt, a man trusted by the U.S. authorities.

The newspaper prints a long list of the names of Ukrainians murdered by Wirzing and his henchmen in the Gestapo prisons, among them well known and cherished among Ukrainians, names such as Ivan Klymiw Legenda, one the leading

figures in Ukrainian anti-German and anti-Soviet resistance movement during the last war, or Olzych, the well-known Ukrainian poet.

It appears that Wirzing, a Baltic-German or Russian, or, as he calls himself now, a Latvian, was sent by the N.K.V.D. to the Gestapo, and on behalf of both suppressed the Ukrainian liberation movement. Now he managed to acquire so much confidence in the U.S. authorities that he even holds that high office.

It has since been reported that on the demand of several delegations of Ukrainians and Polish nationals in Western Germany, Wirzing was placed under U.S. police supervision pending formal accusation as a war criminal.

## TWO UKRAINIANS SENT TO POLAND

*U.I.S., London.*—On the 20th January, 1950, U.S. authorities in Western Germany at the request of the Polish Government repatriated forcibly to Poland two Ukrainians, brothers Svitenko, to be tried in Poland for alleged war crimes. The accused men lived in an I.R.O. camp in Bavaria. Some time before, U.S. authorities, under the strong protest of the inhabitants of the camp, gave assurance that the men in question would not be repatriated. Displaced persons are under occupation authorities' jurisdiction,

and if they are guilty of any crime they should be tried by them. Sending them to Poland equals the death sentence.

## MENTALLY ILL ARE SENT TO U.S.S.R.

*U.I.S., London.*—French occupation authorities in Western Germany sent recently eighteen mentally ill Displaced Persons to the U.S.S.R. Ten of them were Ukrainians and eight Baltic nationals. On the intervention of Ukrainian social and charitable organisations, the French said that the mentally ill "agreed" to be repatriated.

## MEMBERS OF THE U.P.A. GO WESTWARDS

*U.I.S., London.*—We received the following information from a reliable source concerning a group of members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) who reached the U.S. Zone of Austria recently.

On 4th December, 1949, four fully-armed members of the U.P.A. crossed the Austrian border. They surrendered their arms to the first Austrian police station they came to and they were transferred to the U.S. authorities in the town of Linz.

The Ukrainians in Austria were not allowed to contact them or to give them any assistance. It has been reported in the Austrian press that in a statement to the Austrian police and U.S. authorities, the members of the U.P.A. declared that they, as soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army fought against bolshevism—the greatest enemy of the Ukrainian people. The territory of their activity in recent times was the neighbourhood of the town Turka in Western Ukraine.

One of these soldiers by the name of Pavlo Yushchenko died soon after in a hospital from wounds received during an encounter with the Austrian police in the Soviet Zone of Austria.

Three weeks later new groups of the soldiers of the U.P.A. reached Western Germany. They were interned by U.S. authorities and kept in complete isolation.

## THE REAL FORCE

### THE ATOM-BOMB

The discovery of atomic energy and its use in modern warfare the horror of which the world witnessed in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, filled the peace-loving peoples of the world with new fear. As matters stand now, if the third world comes, it is highly probable that the atom bomb will be used.

And when talking of another war one has in mind only two possible parties; the expansive and aggressive imperialistic tyranny of Soviet Russia and the peace-desiring and loving world of the Western Democracies. Up to several months ago it was generally believed that only the Western World, namely, the United States of America, possessed the secret of the atom bomb and in anticipation of a clash between East and West, the average man of the West felt the safer. But now, that it has become known that Russia mastered this new devastating tool of war, in fact she may even have, as it could be expected, more powerful arms, the fear of a Russian attack is growing. The fear, no doubt, is justified, but it is worth while to consider another factor which greatly diminishes the strength of Soviet Russia.

### "THE UNCONQUERABLE HEROES"

When Russia was winning the last war and eventually became one of the winning partners, it was mostly due to the tremendous help rendered to her by the Western Allies. If it was not for American and British guns and bread, there might not have been heroes of Stalingrad or Leningrad. Yet Soviet propaganda and constantly repeated, often by highly placed Western personalities and the press, praises of the Red Army, made the Western World believe that it was only the spirit of the Russian people and heroism and greatness of the Soviet Army that saved the world from catastrophe. The

world soon forgot that that very Army at the beginning of the war surrendered to the enemy by thousands, usually without a single shot, and left most of the European part of the U.S.S.R. within the first few months of the war. Instead the myth of the "great, unconquerable and most powerful army"—the Red Army was born, and the world got accustomed to look upon them in this light even now. This and the fact that Russia has the atom bomb diverts the public attention of the Western world from important destructive force within the U.S.S.R. which is of great value in summing up of the real strength of the Soviet Union.

### THE REAL FORCE

This force is the *revolutionary liberation movement of all the nations enslaved by Soviet Russia* who united in one body—the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations, regardless of the price they have to pay *continue and endure unequal struggle* against tyranny unparalleled in history.

It is interesting how little attention is paid by the Western Nations to this important factor inside Soviet Russia. At the same time Russia has thousands and millions of fifth-columnists in every country of the world. To every communist in any country Stalin is the only master, and all their deeds are in the interest not of their respective countries but of Russia. Yet the revolutionaries of the nations enslaved by Communist Russia stand alone; there is no help for them, not even moral support from anywhere, although they are real allies of all freedom-loving peoples.

### FREEDOM FOR ALL

It is fair to say that revolutionaries in the Soviet Union would never become fifth-columnists of any nation in the same sense as the world's communists are the

fifth-columnists of Soviet Russia. They may be only partners on equal terms and allies in the fight for the same principles and ideas. *They fight and will continue their struggle in peace* through constant resistance, through underground armies, such as the Army of the Ukrainian nation—the U.P.A., and *in the war*, should it come, through synchronization of the war activities from outside with the struggle inside through the creation of National Armies and turning their arms against the enemy within *for their own interests*. The policy of the liberation movement of all under-Soviet nations united in the A.B.N. is clear: *they fight for complete liberation; for partition of the Soviet Russian Empire and setting up on its ruins free and full independent States based upon ethnographic possession of territory*.

They do not fight and will not fight only for exchange of regime. To the nations enslaved by Russia it makes no difference who rules the Empire, should it be Stalin, Romanow, Kerensky or Wlasow, Russia will be always the same tyrant, as she was throughout the ages and all the non-Russian peoples will have to bear the same yoke.

Again the ages old propaganda of Russian imperialists created belief in the mind of the average Western man that from the Barents to Vladivostock and from the White to Caspian Seas there is all one "Mother Russia" inhabited by "all-Russian people." It is not so. Russians are only a minority in the "All-Russian Prison of Nations" who became masters over others through the ages went by, through tribulation, brutal force and violence. This is high time all the enslaved nations were liberated and lived their own independent lives. This is high time too, for the Western World to realise this and look seriously upon this problem. The time approaches when the world will have to choose either all nations will be free, or enslaved by one.

# The Ukraine Fights for Her Freedom

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Our Correspondent in Germany had an interview with a member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) who came from the Ukraine to Western Germany in December, 1949. This is what he told our representative:

## Methods of the U.P. Army's Warfare

The means and methods of the struggle of the U.P.A. against the Soviet regime vary; they depend on the condition existing in a particular territory as well as on geographical position of the territory itself.

Apart from a few battles on a bigger scale, one of them in August, 1949, near the town of Sambir (Western Ukraine) where a battle between a group of the U.P.A. and Soviet police lasted a whole day and two villages were burned down, during 1948 and 1949 U.P.A. limited its activity to smaller encounters, raids and propagandive work among the population. In Western Ukraine special attention is given to the collectivisation forced upon the population by the Communist regime.

## Economic Situation and Mass Deportation

Economically, life is better in Western Ukraine than in Eastern and Central Ukrainian territory. During 1949 there was great famine in Central and Eastern Ukraine, great numbers of Ukrainians turned westwards in search for bread. Bolsheviks do their utmost to col-

lectivise farms still left in farmers' private ownership in Western Ukraine. Farmers who defy the Bolsheviks orders to join the collective farms are being arrested or deported with their families to Siberia. Most of the arrests and deportations took place during the Spring and Summer of 1949 in the districts of Lviv and Ternopil.

## Territory of U.P. Army's Activity

The activity of the U.P.A. spread all over the Ukraine, but the main centres are located in the Carpathian Mountains, in Voynia, in Polisia and in the forests near Chernihiv. One group of the U.P.A., under the command of Commander Lys, operates in the Caucasus sponsoring the fighting for freedom of the Caucasian peoples in accordance with the conception of the Antibolshevik Block of Nations (A.B.N.).

## Red Army and the U.P.A.

The soldiers of the Red Army who are recruited from among the enslaved Moscow peoples, are not keen on fighting the U.R.A. and they avoid any encounters with them as much as possible, or in

many cases they join the fighting detachments of the U.P.A. For that reason the Red Army is rarely used in the encounters with the U.P.A. in the Ukraine as also in the Caucasus. The bolsheviks use against U.P.A. specially trained detachments of the N.K.V.D.

## Bolsheviks' Methods

Bolsheviks apply various methods in their attempt to suppress liberation movements of the enslaved nations. There are in practice man-hunts, blockades of villages and whole districts, as well as constant demands to the members of the underground movement and whole population to cease their resistance.

The N.K.V.D. attempts to recruit large numbers of their agents among the population and to send to the villages various provocateurs whose task would be to penetrate into the revolutionary underground movement and carry out there their corruptive work. Therefore every Ukrainian learned to be very careful, they cannot afford to trust anybody.

Even the slightest suspicion that a village is co-operating with the U.P.A. is enough for the villagers to be terrorised, arrested or deported to Siberia. To replace deported population, Russians are being sent to Ukrainian villages. Some villages (in Ternopil district) are completely inhabited by such Russian ex-settlers.

## Does the Population Listen to Western Broadcasts ?

Listening to the Western broadcasts is strongly forbidden behind the Iron Curtain and for listening there are severe punishments. There is a special branch of the N.K.V.D. to deal with this problem. Anybody caught while listening to foreign broadcasts is arrested and tried as a capitalist collaborator and traitor. Underground movement, however, listens to the Western broadcasts and relays news through underground publications. The "Voice of America" does not always

(Cont. overleaf)

## THE REAL FORCE

And it is no use saying that Russian people are not responsible for the bolshevism, that Russians are a peace-loving, non-aggressive nation. Russian history from Ivan the Terrible to Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin shows just the opposite. *Russia, such as she is now, no matter who sits on her throne, and whether she is red or white, will always be a menace to the world's peace. Only free and independent States on the ruins of an "All-Russian Empire" will be the real assurance of peace and stability in the world.*

## THE UKRAINE FIGHTS FOR HER FREEDOM

satisfy the peoples enslaved by Moscow, as its broadcasts, although anti-communist are mainly pro-Russian.

### The Attitude of the Population

Yet this terror of the N.K.V.D. cannot crush the spirit of the Ukrainian people. In the U.P.A. they see their protectors and they strongly believe in final victory in this whole-nation struggle. It is hoped that the third world war may bring the liberation from the Communist yoke and the Ukrainians understand that meantime the revolutionary underground movement should be kept alive and strong by all means no matter what price they will have to pay for it, as such underground movement will become an inner corruptive force in time of war. Bolsheviks understand this very well too, and that is why they do everything in order to bring about the end of any liberation movement of enslaved peoples.

### Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations (A.B.N.) in Action

Other nations under Soviet occupation, such as Whiteruthenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Slovakia, peoples of the Caucasus and Turgestan and many others are fighting for their liberation as well. All these nations are the members of the Antibolshevik Block of

Nations and they fully collaborate with each other in the common cause, which is liberation from Communist slavery. This made it possible for the detachments of the U.P.A. to carry out their fight in the mountains of Caucasus.

### Life of Ukrainian Population in Poland

The border between Ukrainian S.S.R. and Poland is strongly guarded, especially in the southern region. Ukrainians living in Poland are scattered through the country, most of them were resettled to newly acquired (by Poland) German territory. Ukrainian families are under constant supervision of the Polish police. For instance they are not allowed to leave their place of habitation without the permission of the U.B. (Urząd Bezpieki—Polish N.K.V.D.). They are forbidden even to speak in their own language and in public they must speak only in Polish. Ukrainians in Poland are constantly being arrested and there is almost no Ukrainian family without one member at least now in a Polish prison or concentration camp.

### Polish Resistance and the A.B.N.

In Poland, as in every part of the U.S.S.R. where there only live Ukrainians, is active U.P.A. and the

Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.). Methods of their activity are somewhat different to those in the Ukraine. U.P.A. in Poland is in close collaboration with the Polish underground movement in accordance with the conception of the A.B.N., of which the Polish liberation movement is also a member.

### ANOTHER TRICK OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISTS

*U.I.S. London.*—Often and often Russian white immigrants, especially followers of Kerensky in the U.S.A., spread the false propaganda that U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and its gallant struggle is due to the heroism of the "great Russian people."

U.P.A. is the result of almost superhuman efforts of the Ukrainian nation and its unbreakable will to renew its own independent fate. U.P.A. fights not only against tyrants of the Ukraine of today, but also against those pseudo-democratic imperialistic circles who are not able to imagine a Russian Hate without the Ukrainians.

This propaganda of Russian immigrants is a result of not ceasing imperialistic madness that the Ukrainian people are the part of the "great Russian nation." It is regrettable that these lies still find some success in the Western World.

### REPATRIATION ONCE AGAIN ?

*U.I.S., London.*—Soviet repatriation officers, headed by a General, have full access to the Displaced Persons' camps in the French Zone of Western Germany, receiving full support and assistance from the French authorities. The Soviet Repatriation Commission exhibits Communist propaganda films, distributes Communist literature, and French authorities assist the Soviets in checking up the lists of camp inhabitants. Soviet officers warn Ukrainians that the Soviets will take them forcibly to the U.S.S.R. Fearing the worst, D.Ps. escape from the camps in large numbers.

### U.P.A. IN THE WORLD'S ENCYCLOPEDIA

*U.I.S., London.*—In the new edition of the Swiss Encyclopedia called *Swiss Lexicon*, recently published in Zurich (Switzerland), in seven volumes, there appears a long article about the Ukraine, her history, language, literature, especially about the greatest Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko. Further there is the following item:

U.P.A.—Ukrainian Insurgent Army was created in 1942 to resist the German occupation. Commander-in-Chief, General

Taras Chuprynka. The Army consists of four groups. The strength of the Army is approximately 200,000. It has its own broadcasting station, "The Free Ukraine." Fight for democratic Ukrainian State under the parole: "Freedom for the nations, freedom for the man." In May, 1947, three States: U.S.S.R., Poland, and Czechoslovakia signed an agreement aiming at united efforts in action against U.P.A.

# Life in the Soviet-occupied Ukraine

## A WITNESS'S STORY

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Several weeks ago, a young Ukrainian came to the American sector of Berlin. His name is Petro Doroshenko, he is under 20 years of age, and a few months ago he was living in the town of Ostroh, in Volynia, in the Western Ukraine. He managed to escape from the U.S.S.R., went through Poland and Western Germany and finally reached Berlin. I met him soon afterwards and this is what he told me about the life under the Soviet regime in Western Ukraine.

### Collective Farms or Siberia

His native village of Melnychi, near Dobromyl (Western Ukraine) lost all its appearance of a happy, peaceful and wealthy agricultural settlement; it used to be in pre-Soviet times. Ukrainian peasants nowadays have lost every right to manage their own farms. Those who joined the collective farm receive for their labour miserable pay, hardly sufficient to keep them and their families alive. On farmers who are not willing to accept collectivisation the State puts extremely hard taxes; they have to give to State almost all their yearly yield not only of corn, vegetables, etc., but also in meat, eggs, milk and every other farm product. With what he has left he and his family are to live the whole year in sure misery and starvation. The State pays them for their corn 5 rubles per cwt., and at the same time a loaf (2 lbs.) of bread in State-owned food stores costs also 5 rubles. Food and farm products bought in State-owned shops are extremely dear and far beyond the reach of a farmer, whose only income are the miserable wages paid to him by the State for his labour in a collective farm, or next-to-nothing payment for his products, should he be still a free farmer. For instance, 10 eggs cost 25 rubles and 1 kg. of butter 60 rubles; and farmers' income: 2-5 rubles a day on collective farm or 5 rubles for 1 cwt. of wheat.

Workers in factories are even worse off. For instance, one railway worker I knew—said my informer—although he earned 700 rubles a month he had to starve with his family of four, as 1 cwt. of potatoes costs between 900 and 1,200 rubles.

The Bolsheviks' policy is to force farmer to join collective farms. One of the means of enforcing collectivisation is resettlement of "resistant" farmers and their families to Siberia.

### Russians replace Ukrainians

In this way, thousands of the Ukrainian population every once again are forced by the N.K.V.D. to leave their homes, their properties and go to Siberia or Central Asia to become their absolute slaves.

Homes of these people are taken over by Russians sent there from the other parts of the U.S.S.R. New-settlers, who are usually agents of the N.K.V.D., became all powerful masters over the remaining population; they are men of confidence of the State, they are even allowed to carry arms for alleged protection against Ukrainian Insurgents.

### Great Famine in the Ukraine in 1946

Doroshenko confirms that the Ukraine, in 1946, had a year of famine equal to that in 1933. The famine was especially acute in Eastern and Central Ukraine, from where thousands of people went to

Western Ukraine and other newly-acquired parts of the U.S.S.R., begging for food. Hundreds of them died of hunger on streets and roads, as the State just did not care about them.

### War—the only Salvation

Continuous terror of the N.K.V.D. arrests and imprisonments of the innocent population, resettlements by force to Siberia, keep the whole population of the Ukraine in constant fear, and make their lives still more miserable.

Strange as it may seem that this peace-loving population, who suffered extremely during the last war—sees their only salvation in a new war. They hope that war may bring a so much desired change in regime.

### The Struggle of the U.P.A. in the Ukraine

The unceasing struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) gives hopes to the Ukrainian population and keeps their morale on a high level. News about any success of the Army is received with joy. The resistance of the U.P.A. is not falling and recently grew stronger. Some time ago a train was undermined by the U.P.A. near Lviv and all its occupants, some high personalities from Moscow were killed. Another train carrying troops and members of the N.K.V.D. was undermined near the town of Yaroriv despite the strong railway force put there to guard the line. Anti-Bolshevik pamphlets are often distributed among the population and anti-regime posters appear frequently on the walls of Ukrainian towns. During the famine in 1946 the U.P.A. used to break up State food stores and distribute the food among the starving population.

In 1948, Doroshenko was in Caucasus. There, too, goes on the struggle against Bolshevism. All the enslaved nations of the U.S.S.R. fight against the Soviet regime, and their fight is led by the U.P.A.—the army of the Ukrainian people.

WHAT GOES ON IN SOVIET RUSSIA ?**TROUBLES OF  
COMMUNIST LEADERS IN WESTERN UKRAINE**

*U.I.S., London.*—The collectivisation in Western Ukraine makes very poor progress, party propaganda is weakening, nationalist tendencies are growing among Ukrainian youth, especially among students of High Schools and the University of Lviv.

In order to deal with these problems, Moscow sent to Lviv the key-men of the Communist Party of the Ukraine (K.Pb.U.) from Kiev. Arrived Manuilsky, Melnikow, Sanin, and Nazarenko. On various meetings they held with students and city's intelligensia—"elements mostly endangered by nationalism" state of affairs in Western Ukraine—Kiev Commissars criticized them and in Lviv particularly, suggested ways and means how to "increase party political discipline and get the country rid of nationalist menace", etc.

The Commissars left for Kiev, but their visit did not "solve the

problem." Recent reports in the Soviet and European press about the growth of anti-Soviet feelings among Ukrainians in Western Ukraine, numerous sabotages and armed resistance show that the bolsheviks have not managed yet to put their feet on the soil of Western Ukraine strongly enough.

**"Away with Nationalists of  
Lviv University"**

"The Free Ukraine" — communist newspaper which appears in Lviv (Western Ukraine) launched recently a new attack on "Ukrainian Nationalist elements" among the students of the University of Lviv. As usually the paper criticises the attitude of local Communists to this problem and calls on them to prepare themselves for the "final destruction of class enemies—the Ukrainian Nationalists."

**IN MEMORY OF THE BATTLE OF POLTAVA**

Soviet newspaper *Pravda* reports that the Russians are building a museum dedicated to the "splendid Russian victories" on the battlefield of Poltava (Central Ukraine) where in 1709 the armies of Ukrainian Hetman, Ivan Mazepa and Swedish king, Charles XII, were defeated by the Russian czar, Peter I. The museum will be a reconstruction of the actual historic battle and the original exponents, brought from Moscow and Leningrad, will be used.

The Russian museum in Poltava and the reconstruction of the battle in which the Ukraine finally lost her independence, apart from the humiliation shown to the Ukrainian people by the very existence of such a museum on Ukrainian soil, is one more proof that the bolshevik Russian imperialists attempt to make the Ukraine an integral part of Russia for ever.

**NEW "CLEARANCE" IN  
THE U.S.S.R.****"Clearance"—as Thanksgiving to Stalin**

*U.I.S., London.*—Leaders of the Czech Communists, Slavsky, made a promise to Stalin, that on the occasion of Stalin's 70th birthday he will rid Czechoslovakia of all "counter-revolutionary elements." Stalin, apparently, too, as a token of his gratitude for such magnificent birthday presents, decided to carry out a new "clearance" in the U.S.S.R., so he could make life for his slaves still happier.

Special "Stalin's birthday edition" of *Pravda* printed an article by Malenkow, in which he accuses Party leaders of "lack of discipline, self-praising and waste." It may be recollected that a Soviet general "clearance" usually starts from such articles.

**Kaganovich Arrested ?**

Recently, Swiss newspaper *Die Weltwoche* printed a news item saying that "Iron Commissar" Lazar Kaganovich, one time Stalin's right hand in the Ukraine, was arrested on 115th November, 1949, and sent to an isolation camp in the Ural mountains.

This paper also states that another strong man of the Kremlin, Voznesensky, was arrested at the beginning of last year and also sent to an isolation camp.

It is probable that recent changes in the high post of the so-called Ukrainian S.S.R. are in connection with the general "clearance" in the U.S.S.R. The first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and the well-known satrap of the Ukraine, Nikita Chruschchow, has been appointed secretary of the "All-Union Communist Party." To replace Chruschchow, Mošcow sent to Kiev the new "Reichcommissar" of the Ukraine—Melnikov.



# UKRAINIAN INFORMATION SERVICE



NO. 4

MARCH, 1950

VOL. I

## FORMER GESTAPO CHIEF STILL A FREE MAN

U.I.S.—Wilhelm Wirzig, former gestapo chief responsible for the death of many Ukrainians and poles, among them the Ukrainian writer, Olzhych, and leader of Ukrainian anti-Nazi uprising, Legenda, as well as the Polish Bishop Goral in Hitler's prisons and who until recently occupied a high position in the American-controlled I.R.O. police—is still at liberty.

Following the accusations brought against him by the Ukrainians and Poles in Germany, the chief American prosecutor in Nuremberg, Mr. W. Mackcoli, advised the League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners to apply to the Bavarian Minister of Justice for the prosecution of Wilhelm Wirzig. It was stated, at the same time, that the court of the Allied High Commission has no jurisdiction to try Wirzig for the crimes committed before the occupation of Germany.

Previously, as the result of a Ukrainian intervention in the I.R.O. Headquarters the status of D.P. was taken away from Wirzig, although he remained at his post for a few days more.

In reply to the application of the League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners they were notified that on the advice of the Bavarian Minister of Justice, the German Public Prosecutor in Ausback started criminal investigations against Wirzig and the witnesses are being interrogated.

The unsavoury affair of Wirzig, especially the difficulties with which Ukrainians in Germany have to meet in bringing this war criminal to justice is indeed a regrettable matter. The attitude of American police and judicial factors seems to be very strange.

Sometimes even a fictitious denunciation that a Ukrainian or other D.P. was a collaborator is sufficient to prosecute often quite innocent people. When Poland demanded repatriation of Ukrainian S. Stenbo to be tried in Poland for alleged war crimes, they were forcibly sent to Poland despite numerous protests and evidence of scores of witnesses proving their innocence. Yet it is so difficult to bring to justice the man whose cruel and brutal war crimes are already proved beyond any doubt.

## UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY

U.I.S.—We learn that in the Harvard University in Massachusetts will be soon taught Ukrainian language. The well-known Ukrainian Grammar Lucky and Rudnycky is recognised as the official handbook. The subject will be lectured by Prof. D. Chyzhevsky, the well-known Ukrainian lecturer and former professor of Slavonic philology in the Marbourg University in Germany, from where he was invited by the Harvard University to take the new post there.

## Ukrainians in the World

### UKRAINE SHOULD BE INDEPENDENT

U.I.S.—Former Senator, Mr. J. F. Dules, in a speech delivered at a meeting in New York's Town Hall referred to the necessity of the changing of American policy towards Russia in the "cold war." The meeting was organised by the Committee for the Liberation of Europe. During the discussion a question was asked whether the plans for liberation of Europe from the Communist yoke included also the liberation of Ukraine. Mr. Stephen Osuski, former Czech Minister to France and now a member of the Committee for the Liberation of Europe, answered that according to the Lincoln principles there could not exist half of the world free and half enslaved. Ukraine should be free.

### UKRAINIANS ACCUSE SOVIET RUSSIA

U.I.S.—Two Ukrainians were called as witnesses before the U.S.A. Senate Sub-Commission for the detection of the crime of mass killing of men. They were Prof. Lew Dobriansky, President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee and the witness of mass killing of Ukrainians by the Bolsheviks in Vinnitza, Mr. A. Dragan.

Prof. L. Dobriansky proved by numerous documents that Russian action of mass killing of men is chiefly directed against Ukrainians. He also in evidence gave numerous examples of mass extermination of many other nations of the U.S.S.R., by the Bolsheviks, showing further, that this extermination is not of a sociological character, as it is widely believed in the U.S.A., but of a national and political one. Bolshevik's aim is to achieve full assimilation of non-Russian elements in order to strengthen Russian Empire.

### UKRAINE IN THE INTERNATIONAL WORLD

U.I.S.—Moscow is apparently afraid that a State, independent from Russia's economical or military pressure, may one day put before the United Nations the question of the enslavement of nations by the U.S.S.R. and demand ceasing of Soviet Russian intervention in Ukraine, Baltic States, etc. To have the answer ready, Moscow is busy "independening" formally the Soviet Republic of Ukraine. Ukrainian S.S.R. was given a separate flag (what State could be independent without a flag?) Soon there will be "on paper" only separate "Ukrainian Military Units" and even separate "Ukrainian Consulates" abroad.

All this proves that Ukrainian people are active in their resistance. If they returned to their former passiveness, their there would be no concessions, not even "on the paper," but the name of Ukraine would be prohibited.

## QUO VADIS OCCIDENT?

The valuation of Titoism expressed by the majority of Western opinion fills us—representatives of enslaved nations—with fear. It is possible to understand that the West takes advantage of the Tito-Kremlin conflict as one takes an advantage of a dirty rag, but to see in this fact parallelism of similar conflict with Maotse is really a political naïveté. What is more, we were deeply surprised and dismayed by the attitude of such a great politician as Mr. Churchill, who light-heartedly agrees with enslavement of China by communists, saying that China has such an old culture that it would not be possible for communism to master China completely. Still more we were astonished and dismayed at the fact that of all the politicians, Mr. Churchill, who is regarded as an uncompromising enemy of bolshevism, proposes another talk with Stalin. Where does the world go to? Does Mr. Churchill want to compromise with Satan? Can anybody in the world rely upon Stalin's word, his promises and even "solemn" assurances? There was not so long ago, similar "final talks" between Chamberlain and Hitler in Munich, where Hitler promised "peace to the world." Are people's, especially politician's memories so short?

Other anti-bolshevik circles in the West believe in national-communism, in opposition inside the communist parties, especially in the satellite States, hoping that in time "Titoites" will get power into their hands in their countries, that they will separate themselves from Russia and in this way a "safety belt" of national-communist countries will be created. Even more, they anticipate that elements, supporting Tito's line in communist parties of the West will in time turn these parties into Left-wing Socialist national-patriotic anti-Russian groups. Basing their opinion on such beliefs those Western circles assume that separation of Yugoslavia is Russia's greatest defeat after the war.

Titoism is pure totalitarianism. It is Yugoslav Hitlerism. It is materialism, Marxism of the first degree. It is fighting atheism. It is imperialism that enslaves peoples. It is "pure" communism, and the "right-to-the-letter"—as Tito himself assures—Leninism. It is dictatorship of one party, an absolute anti-democracy. It is contradiction of national ideas and every national and personal freedom. Tito's Yugoslavia is another U.S.S.R. in miniature. Are there no concentration camps in Yugoslavia? In Tito's prisons and concentration camps are imprisoned and persecuted for the Christian faith Archbishop Stepinac, Greek-Orthodox Bishop Varnava and many others. Tito persecutes anti-communist christians, democrats and nationalists much more severely than Stalinites. Kremlin's broadcasts in Serbian and Croatian languages are not so much anti-Tito as in other languages. It is not in Moscow's interests that Tito's regime was replaced by any other. It is better for Russia to have Tito in Yugoslavia than to have there followers of General Michaylovich, who are against Stalin as well as against Tito. Did not Stalin know what was growing in Yugoslavia when he created there the centre of the Cominform six months before the conflict? What does it mean that only several months ago Stalin sent arms to Tito? Why in Belgrade there is still the centre of connection of Cominform with Ethiopia? Is here no reason to believe that armed with American money Yugoslavia will one day stand against the West? Does not Titoism attempt even now to set apart Left-wing Socialist elements of the Western Socialist parties and transfer them on communist positions? Tito is a communist. Is it possible for communism to be other than international? To whom is Tito closer: to Russia or to Great Britain? Do the British think that Tito will eventually go with

## Comment

them? For the West Tito becomes to-day a symbol of anti-bolshevik struggle. This is a great ideological danger.

### Christian and National Ideas or National-Communism?

Is the West so weak spiritually that it capitulates before national-communist ideas and before communism altogether? Is there no ideology in the West that could be opposed to communism? How is it possible to imagine that communism could be fought with communist ideas? Once the West hoped for Trotzism, Bucharism, etc., and what happened? Trotzky, Bucharin, Zinoviev and such like are liquidated and Stalin has reached Berlin and the Indian border.

Communism could be conquered only by diametrically opposite ideas: christian and national. Historical materialism should be opposed by Christian idealism; internationalism by national idea, violence by freedom of the man, exploitation of a subject by the State by social justice and right for private ownership, imperialism by free independent States of every nation, which is entitled to one not through election ballots but through its blood shed for freedom.

Let the West not lose itself in false ideologies, let the West stand for the national liberation of all the nations enslaved by Russia, let it be uncompromising with any form of communism, let it write on its banners paroles on the fight for Christian faith and national ideas. Only the new Crusade will save the world from the dark night of Russian slavery. The idea of ca'acombs and underground liberation movement of enslaved peoples should not be ignored. There lies the solution to the problem of bolshevism. Its grave!

### Petlura or Skrypnyk

The West has no experience in the fight with bolshevism. It needs more modesty and it may learn a great deal from the enormous experience of the struggle of the enslaved nations, united in the Anti-bolshevik Block of Nations. (A.B.N.).

Ukraine had also her Tito—the old friend of Lenin—Mykola Skrypnyk. He was a determined bolshevik with national deviation. His conflict with Stalin ended with Skrypnyk committing suicide. No serious resistance of any "national-bolsheviks" inside the satellite could be expected. There was not and there will never be such a thing as "national communism."

Communism could not be built in one country only. Either the whole world will be free or all enslaved. Western politicians and leaders are greatly mistaken if they think that half the world of freedom and the other half of slavery (communism) can exist alongside each other. Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson are forgetting the elementary truth: the key to the victory over Russian communism lies not in atom or hydrogen bomb, but it is held by the nations enslaved by Russia, who hate communism in its every form, not only Russian communism, but also "their own," and feeling that the West wants them to have "their own" communism, will turn away from the West. The Ukrainian nation for one, has enough of Russian, it does not want "its own Tito-Ukrainian communism." The Ukrainian nation does not fight for the communist "independent" Ukraine, which will always be nothing else but the colony of Moscow. Ukrainians fight for fully independent, national, christian and democratic Ukraine. There will never be an independent Ukraine with communist regime, as such regime, being strange to Ukrainian spirituality will be always forced upon Ukrainians by the enemy.

Skrypnyk is long forgotten and even cursed by the people, bu

(Cont. on page 3.)



## THE MISSION OF UKRAINE

Ukraine with her Insurgent Army takes the lead in the revolutionary fight in all the nations enslaved by Bolshevism. The world must admit that Ukraine fully accomplishes her mission to fight for the freedom of nations and man. Following facts confirm this truth:

Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) was initiated by the Ukrainian nation. The President of the A.B.N. is a Ukrainian, Yaroslav Stetzko.

Revolutionary leadership of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) managed in a comparatively short time to unite in the struggle for freedom underground and partisan armies of other enslaved nations of other nations, such as Poles, Slovaks, Czechs, Croats, Serbians and others who do not agree with the forced occupation of the red satrap. The world knows already of the determined struggle that goes on for the realisation of the ideals of independence and freedom. The time will come when the dungeon of nations—the Soviet Russian Empire will fall to pieces and on its ruins the free, independent, truly democratic life of all hitherto enslaved nations will flourish. And Ukraine will be recognised as one that honourably fulfilled her historic mission.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) initiated eight years ago by the Ukrainian underground revolutionary body—the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) managed in a short time to uprise masses of workers and peasants to fight against the occupants of Ukraine. On their banners they put the parole: "For God and Ukraine, Freedom for the nations, Freedom for the individual."

The Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army is General Taras Chuprynka.

In June, 1944, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.W.R.), i.e., Interim Ukrainian Government was created, which till permanent Ukrainian Government is established in free Ukraine, directs the struggle for freedom and is the centre of underground political life in Ukraine. Thus Ukraine possesses revolutionary Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, all-Ukrainian Army the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Governing Body, the Ukrainian Liberation Council. In other words, Ukrainians managed by their own efforts to create and maintain their own Underground State, which fights and unites in the fight with other enslaved nations of the U.S.S.R. for the liberation from the Russian Communist yoke.

## QUO VADIS OCCIDENT ?

Petlura, the Head of Ukrainian Independent State and Commander-in-Chief of Ukrainian Army during the war against Russian invaders, murdered by the bolshevik's agent in Paris, lives in the soul of Ukrainian people and remains there as the symbol of the fight for independence.

### UPA or UZNA ?

We cannot agree with Mr. Acheson who says that Moscow suffered the greatest blow through Tito's apostasy. We would like to recollect that the Kremlin-Tito conflict occurred at the time when Russia turned away the world's attention from the affairs of China by the Berlin occupation of China. Only when these preparations were completed Blockade and keeping the West in tension made final preparations for the occupation of China. Only when these preparations were completed, Russia "called off" the blockade, which the West naively regarded as their victory, while in reality it was only a shrewd Russian game. Then

came another game: Kremlin-Tito conflict and illusive hopes of the the West for the success of the national-communist opposition followed.

The greatest blow and the most dangerous mane-tekel-fares for Russia, the fact remains that five years after the end of the second world war the struggle does not cease or, to put it better, the national-liberation war of enslaved peoples against Moscow. The fact that Stalin was unable to liquidate national liberation movement of the enslaved nations; that he was unable to uproot from the people's souls religion and desire for freedom; the fact that in Russia now exists, in catacombs, real Christian Church unwilling to surrender to Stalinite Orthodoxy; the fact that millions of men, women and even children fight as heroes against tyranny—these are the facts that are the real defeat of Stalin.

Not the American atom or hydrogen bomb, but unceasing fighting, inspired by national, christian and religious ideas, frightens Stalin. These great, noble and just ideas are the best assurance of victory and not *only* the stake on bombs.

The world commits a grave mistake continuing to ignore ideas of underground Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Serbia, Croatia, Caucasus, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithouenia, Slovakia, and other of the whole Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. Not Tito's bloody rags, but national banners of freedom with symbols of God, will lead the world upon the path of peace. Naive hopes for the Titoism of Moatse-Tung are in vain. Moatse will never follow the West.

Although it happened not so long ago, the Western world forgot the great metropolitan of Ukrainian Church Vasyl Lypkivsky, Metropolitan Count Andreas Sheptycky, murdered by the Bolsheviks for the Christian faith and free Ukraine; the West forgot about Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, imprisoned by Bolsheviks for the same reason; forgot Croatian Archbishop Stepanac, Serbian Varnava, White Ruthenian Melchisedek and scores of Turkestan Islam clergymen.

The world forgot about Ukrainian Simon Petlura, who did not receive any help from the Entente in the war against the Bolsheviks, as Western democracies now help Tito instead of followers of General Michaylovich, or Moatse instead of Chiang-Kai-Shek. What is more, in the war against Ukraine, British, French and others helped Russian white Generals Denikin, Wrangel and Polish General Haller (who was sent from France to fight against Ukrainian armies), instead of fighting against the Bolsheviks. And if Ukraine in her war against Bolsheviks, against Russian white generals, in spite of French decant in Odessa, in spite of British help to Russian invaders, and in war against Polish aggressors helped by the Entente; if Ukraine has managed to keep her independence for at least a few years, it was thanks to her own inner resources. Will the West take a proper conclusion from this? If not, it digs a grave for itself.

Ceterum censeo: the key to the victory over Russia lies in national liberation movement of enslaved by her nations.

General Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and other leaders of underground revolutionary forces of enslaved nations stand on positions absolutely opposite to all "oppositions" inside the communist parties. No real difference exists between the "opposition" and "general line" of the party. The people will not follow any collaborators with Communism, even if they turned away from Stalin and repented as Tito, Gomolka or Skrypnyk.

It is strange that the West was so sensitive about the collaborators with Nazism and, quite rightly, hung all these Quislings and Laval, and punished severely even former heroes as Petan. Yet now it is so deeply penetrated by Communism that even recently active collaborators with Communism or even fresh National-Bolsheviks are regarded as leaders of the anti-Bolshevik struggle and orientates itself upon their ideas. Quo vadis Occident?

We shall never stop to raise the alarm and remind the world that the symbol of Stalin's defeat is not the Tito's GPU-OZNA, but UPA, the Army that fights for the freedom of nations and man—the basic ideas of the ABN.

DOCUMENTS OF TERROR AND BARBARITY**MASS KILLING OF UKRAINIAN POPULATION**

In June 1941 Bolshevik police, the NKVD, fleeing from Western Ukraine before the advancing German troops savagely murdered thousands of political prisoners by shooting them in the prison yards. These photographs were taken soon after the Bolsheviks left.

*Above:* Ukrainians murdered in the yard of Lontzky-Street prison in Lviv.

*Opposite:* The mass killing of Ukrainians in Vinnitza. Wives recognised their husbands among the bodies. (See the item "Ukrainians Accuse Soviet Russia" on the front page).



## BOLSHEVIK'S "PARADISE" AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IT

### A WITNESS' STORY

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

*We print another instalment from the story told to our representative by a Ukrainian who recently left Ukraine and came to Western Germany.*

#### Wages and Taxes

Average worker earns from 5 to 15 roubles a day, it depends on the kind of work he does and his qualifications. From that amount he pays about 40% in different taxes, such as income tax, cultural tax, trade union tax, and, above all, State loan and bachelor tax. The latter is the newest and the most troublesome tax by which the State robs, especially younger workers whose wages are low enough. Its amount is 10% of the nett wages. Men and women alike have to pay this tax, starting from the age of 17. After being married, they continue to pay the tax until the first child is born, but if in three years time another child is not born, they are taxed anew.

#### Half-Starved

In order to imagine what is the real value of worker's earnings, let

us compare prices of food and other necessities. Bread baked with the mixture of rye, maize and soya flour, with 50% water in it, and so quite wet and heavy, cost 3 roubles per kg. Usually there is not enough bread in the shops and people have to queue from the early hours of the morning or buy the bread on the "black market" at very high costs. White bread, at 5½ roubles per kg. is almost unobtainable. There is always plenty of rolls in the shops, but at the price of 1½ roubles per 100-gramm roll, few people can afford them.

Potatoes cost 2-3 roubles per kg. in the Autumn. Later the price goes up and then they become unobtainable. Other vegetables are cheaper. Sun-flower butter costs 40 roubles per 1 litre; herrings, 40 roubles a kg. Now, how can a man live? Those who earn 5 roubles a day, after paying taxes are left with 3 roubles. They cannot afford such a daily ration of food as ½ kg. of bread, ½ kg. of potatoes, 300 gramms of other vegetables, and 10 gramms of vegetable fat, as it would cost 3.65 roubles, and need still something to wear and somewhere to live. Therefore everybody is in rages, as even if one saved some money through half-starving, there is an acute shortage of clothing and, apart from that, they are fabulously expensive. The most popular in Russian wear, "vatianka" (tunic made of cheap cloth and underlined with cotton wool), is even worn by directors, and costs 300 roubles.

#### Work above "Norms" (Standarts)

It was difficult even for me to understand how the people could live in such conditions. You can see straight away that they are starving. A few days before pay-day (twice a month) the majority of workers

(Cont. on page 5.)

**THE FIGHT GOES ON...**



Detachment of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in a forest of Western Ukraine. Short briefing before an action.

**Bolshevik's Paradise**

... ..  
 have not a piece of bread for their breakfast. Talks of eight-hour working days are pure fiction. Everybody work much more, but the workers do not get additional reward for longer working hours; instead they are given formal right for additional time for rest during each month. Resting time that is not used with the corresponding month is lost. Actually workers cannot afford rest, because of the lack of money and if he could, the administration has the right to refuse the rest to the worker.

If the worker becomes ill, he receives sick benefit, which is only a small part of his usual wages, only if he worked at the same factory for at least six months. During the war and the two years after the war, no sick benefit was paid at all.

There are no holidays apart from Sundays and a few "Revolution Festivals." Everybody works during Christmas and Easter. From the Spring until Autumn there is no holiday, not even on Sundays, as all must work on collective farms. There are severe punishments for not attending the work on collective farms.

The worst situation is in the villages. I myself witnessed in 1946 in our town the Government lorries, in the early morning, picking up bodies of people who have died of famine. Some say that the famine in 1946 was worse than that in 1933. The famine was organised on

purpose by the Bolshevics. They admitted themselves that it was a punishment for Ukrainians for the lack of willingness to defend the USSR against the Germans.

**Hatred and Hopes**

You can judge for yourself what the situation looks like. It is not enough to say that everybody hates the regime, but this hatred has reached such tension that is impossible to hide it. People, forgetting about the danger, loudly criticize the state of affairs and curse Stalin.

Everybody waits for a new war. Now it is the heartiest desire of all people. Even among party men could be felt this desire hidden under the question: "What do you think, will the Americans shoot communists?"

In 1947, a story was spread that Stalin will give Ukraine to America in lieu of war debts. In spite of the ridiculousness of such a story, it was quickly spread all over the country and widely discussed, so that the Bolshevics had to correct it at specially held meeting, telling the people that it was the "work of American Imperialists."

Of all the people opposed to Bolshevism, the former members of the Russian army most frankly and openly speak their mind. You can often hear them saying: "Stalin has fooled us again, but it is the last time. He will see against whom we shall fight when the Americans come. And what are they waiting for? Don't they see that Stalin hurriedly trains youth who were not in the last war and whom it is easy to fool."

**The Revolutionary Struggle**

We did not hear of Insurgent activities near our town, but there are widely spread talk of their activities in the Carpathian Mountains, in Galicia, in districts of Zhitomir, Kaminetz Podilsk, Vinnitziya, Kiev, Poltava, and especially in Volynia.

There is strong resistance of the population of Western Ukraine against collectivisation forced upon them. The Government send there their agitators in order to promote the collective farms, but the agitators soon escape from Ukrainian villages. One of them told me: "There the very words 'collective farm' is received with extreme hostility. They may kill you. I do not want to die for these cursed collective farms."

Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) is active throughout the whole Ukraine. Quite recently one of my acquaintances gave me an address of the Organisation printed on cigarette paper.

As a safeguard against Insurgents' activities, Bolshevics attach carriages filled with scrap metal at the front of trains, as I myself witnessed when travelling in the western parts of Ukraine.

---

**UKRAINIANS AND LITHUANIANS ACCUSE**

U.I.S.—Representatives of the Ukrainian Congress Committee and the Lithuanian-American Council delivered to the American Senate Committee a memorandum in which they accuse Bolshevik Russia of mass murder of Ukrainian and Lithuanian peoples. The accusations are supported by trustworthy documents. Ukrainians illustrate their accusations with statistics and Lithuanians prove that up to the end of 1940 Bolshevics murdered 520 thousands of Lithuanians.

## TWO CONCEPTIONS OF WAR AGAINST RUSSIA

The territories of enslaved nations such as Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Turkestan, and others must be excluded from the theatre of a future war with Russia. Only the Russian territory, territory of the nation responsible for Bolshevism and its aggression should suffer the consequences of modern warfare. The chief object of air attacks must be Russian industrial centres near Moscow, in the Urals and Siberia. Russia should be attacked from several strategic points, such as Scandinavia, White Sea, Kamchatka, Far East, Persia and Caspian Sea, Black Sea, and the Balkans. At the same time the front of liberation movement of the enslaved nations within the USSR should be supported. The attitude and activity of enslaved nations is of great importance and the victory would be hard to achieve without the full co-operation with the liberation movement.

What tell us historic facts?

In the years 1600-1610, Poland was defeated in Moscow; in 1709, Swedish armies were conquered also within Russian borders; in 1812, great Napoleon was defeated near Moscow; in 1914-1918, Kaiser Wilhelm II was defeated after being extenuated by the space of the Russian Empire; and in the last war, the same happened to Hitler.

Thanks to Clausewitz, the Napoleonic wars remained till to-day as classics of warfare. The space, the mass, manoeuvres in the space, encircling and destruction—this the essence of Clausewitz's doctrine. From that a myth was deducted that Russia, because of the space and mass, is unconquerable.

So, it is believed, Russia is unconquerable! Vladislaus IV, Charles XII, Napoleon I, Wilhelm II and Hitler! And in reality, *the space and the mass in the Prison of Nations is its weakest spot*, if proper use is made of them.

Facts: Crimean War in 1855-56, Anglo-Russian war, led by English in alliance with Turks, Italians, and French. That war was won contrary to all the doctrines of Sharnhorst and Clausewitz and practices of Charles XII and Napoleon. In that war, the space and mass was turned against Russia, and although a much smaller army than Napoleon's was used, a prominent victory, in its political consequence, was achieved. Great Britain, instead of attempting to conquer Russia on her vast territory, used other quite different tactics. The atmosphere of uncertainty was created in Poland; British warships in the Baltic Sea kept Russia in tension there; small bombardments of Archangelsk from the White Sea; and Turkish front in Caucasus paralyzed the Russian army; and in Crimea, in Sebastopol, not so big a British army, under the protection of warships, fought and conquered the enemy on comparatively limited space. Russia could not resist this well-calculated action and within a few months broke down and capitulated and since then, starting with the suicide (or assassination) of the Czar Nicholas I, corruption of the whole Russian Empire began.

Was it not similar in the Russian-Japanese war in 1905? Again revolutionary uprisings inside Russia at that time caused a Russian defeat. The fear of an analogical situation played a similar role in the Russian-Finnish war in 1940, the war that lasted longer than it was expected and in which Russia was not a winner in the final effect.

And how was in the years 1917-1918? Victorious in the first world war, Russia loses the war against Ukraine, Turkestan, peoples of Caucasus, Baltic States, and others. But unwise policy of Western Powers rescues her, because instead of supporting the newly-created

States, the Allies rendered help to the Russian white Generals Wrangel, Denikin, and others. The West at that time followed the slogan of Lloyd George, that "you can bargain even with cannibals" and willingly helped the Bolsheviks to restore new a All-Russian Empire. But at the same, Russia lost Poland, Baltic States and Finland.

Belief that space and mass of Russia are unconquerable is a false belief. Mentioned above are fact of historical reality. Russia could be conquered. It is only necessary to lead the war wisely, taking in account the chief deciding factor—the enslaved-by-Russia nations, i.e. scores of "inner fronts" of this Prison of Nations. The world should know its lesson by now. The victory is possible only under the parole: freedom and justice for all nations and men—the parole of the anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

### Behind the Iron Curtain

#### POLAND

##### UPA and the Trial of French Diplomats

Polish Communist newspaper "Rzeczpospolita" (issue No. 348) describing the trial of French diplomats in Wroclaw, quotes the statement of an accused named Kubisiak. The accused confessed that he was giving valuable information to the French Embassy through a Mme. Bazale. He said that apart from the information of a military character, he informed the French about activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) in which subject the French Embassy was greatly interested.

This shows that the activity of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army is widely spread in Poland and even during this international trial in Wroclaw its activity had to be brought up.

#### ROUMANIA

##### Roumanian Lawyers to be Nationalized

From the 1st April, 1950, all Roumanian lawyers will be "nationalised." Clients will not be free to choose their own lawyers, but will have to apply for one to a Government sponsored Central Organisation of Lawyers. This is what they call the People's Democracy.

#### HUNGARY

##### Severe Punishment in Hungary

In Hungary a new law has been passed enabling the State to apply capital punishment—the death sentence—to anybody found sabotaging the "five years' economic plan." At the same time anybody found doing his job inadequately or producing faulty goods could be punished with 5-10 years of imprisonment.

#### YUGOSLAVIA

##### Tito Arrests Clergymen

Tito's police arrested Rev. Yenaz Yenik, the assistant of the Archbishop of Belgrade for alleged anti-State activity. Church circles believe that at present there are more than 350 clergymen imprisoned by Tito's Communist regime in Yugoslavia. This is Titoism.

## THE "VOICE OF AMERICA" OR THE VOICE OF RUSSIA?

Anybody who listens systematically to the broadcasts of the "Voice of America," will soon see, that its task is not limited to the progress of "telling the peoples under Soviet Russia the truth about America and international news." Russian interpreters of the American broadcasts are not satisfied with the role of translators of news to be told in the Russian language. They misuse advantages thrust upon them by Americans while opposing the Soviet regime in Russia, they propagate further plans of Russian imperialism. In this two-sided policy they also use the broadcast of the "Voice of America" in the Ukrainian language.

Formally these broadcasts are Ukrainian, as they are intended for Ukrainian listeners, but in reality they are reactionary and decisively pro-Russian. The following facts clearly indicate the real meaning of these broadcasts.

On the last Christmas Eve the "Voice of America" transmitted an address of Russian Bishop of Brooklyn in Ukrainian language, and intended for the Ukrainian population in the U.S.S.R. Of course, the address was pro-Russian and Ukrainians were not even mentioned in it. The purpose of the "Voice of America" is clear: Ukrainians—they think—are the part of the Russian Empire, which temporarily is called the U.S.S.R. and it is necessary to speak to them temporarily in the Ukrainian language. They are also part of the Russian Orthodox Church because if the people responsible for the "Voice of America" did not think so, then why did they not ask the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church Polikarp or other Ukrainian Orthodox bishops in the U.S.A. or Canada to say a few words to Ukrainians? Besides, there are over four millions of Ukrainian Greek-Catholics, who are persecuted by the Bolsheviks and their Stalinite "Orthodoxy."

On the 26th January, 1950, the "Voice of America" told Ukrainians the story of the kidnapping of General Kutieпов, the same Kutieпов who was a deadly enemy of the Ukrainian nation, who did not want even to recognise its existence. Perhaps the "Voice of America" regards General Kutieпов as one more pleasant to Ukrainians than for instance General Bulganin. From the Ukrainian point of view there is no difference between them. Why does not the "Voice of America" say anything about the murder of Simon Petlura or Colonel Eugen Konowalecz? This would be a real Ukrainian subject for broadcasting.

On the 27th January the "Voice of America" in the Ukrainian broadcast praised the Russian writer Saltikow, as one that "taught his contemporaries to understand the old Russia." But Saltikow kept silence about the enslavement of Ukraine and other nations by Russia. Ukrainians do not wish to hear about this "teacher," they have enough of the "teachings" of Mayakowsky and Alexey Tolstoy who "help" Ukrainians to understand the "new" Russia.

At the beginning of February the "Voice of America" told Ukrainians in their own language about the Russian Academy of Science organised by the czar Peter II. Ukrainians know that that very Academy did greatest harm to the Ukrainian culture, through that Academy Russians robbed Ukrainians of all their cultural achievements, so to cover their own Russian barbarism. Why does the "Voice of America" praise the "old" Russia of Peter I, Saltikow and Tolstoy? Ukrainians have enough of the "new" Russia. The "Voice of America" again praised in

Ukrainian language the Russian singer, F. T. Chaliapin, who, they said, "made the Russian song famous throughout the world . . . who was a great friend of Gorkiy . . . who did not recognise the Soviet regime . . . who said, that they (the Bolsheviks), gave me the passport, but did they change me by that? No, my blood remains Russian. . . ." What has all this to do with Ukrainians and their life? Is it not possible for the "Voice of America" to inform about Ukrainian musicians and singers, who to a great extent were destroyed or oppressed by Russia?

The people responsible for the "Voice of America" apparently want to convince Ukrainians that the enemy and the source of all wrongs done to them is the "Bolshevik's regime" only, and the Russia of Peter the Great, of Pushkins and Chaliapin was a friend of the Ukrainian nation. Ukrainians will not be caught by this trick, they may be sure of that.

And now arises the question: Do we, Ukrainians, really have Ukrainians broadcasts in the "Voice of America" or are they Russian broadcasts spoken in Ukrainian language? For the last one Ukrainians—American or European—did not ask the State Department. Neither did the Ukrainian Congress Committee strive for it for nearly two years.

## IN THE DEFENCE OF DISPLACED PERSONS

U.I.S.—Estonian, Latvian, Lituianian, Ukrainian, Yugoslavian and other National Committees in Landshut (W. Germany), prepared collectively a memorandum in which they protested against the following facts, as contrary to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and Western democracy:

1. Repatriation of 18 mentally ill D.P.'s to the Soviet Russia from the sanatorium in Shusserid in the French Zone of Germany;
2. Forced repatriation of the father and son Switenko to the Communist Poland.
3. Interning on Russia's demand in a concentration camp in Italy of 200 D.P.'s who were on their way to the Argentine.

The memorandum was sent to Mr. J. G. Stewart, chairman of the Council of the Scottish League of European Freedom, Admiral Richard Byrd, Minister Hector McNeil; to the H.Q. of the American 5th Army, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, M. Robert Schuman, the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Earnest Bevin and to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

The authors of the memorandum asked for protection of D.P.'s and for prevention of similar happenings in the future.

Similar protests were also organised in D.P. camps in Elwangen and Reine and many other D.P. settlements.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir,

A great deal of endeavour was made in order to bring about the Ukrainian broadcast in the "Voice of America."

I listened to the broadcast daily, at first with enthusiasm and gratitude to the "Voice of America" but soon I came to the conclusion that they are not true Ukrainians who speak to us, only masked Russians. To-day I lost all my patience, instead of hearing a real Ukrainian broadcast, I heard praises of the Russian culture in Ukrainian language.

Why cannot we have talks about Ukrainian writers, artists or statesmen? Why do we have to hear about "great Russian artist Chaliapin?"

In my opinion if all these Ukrainian broadcasts are to be as they are now, it would be better if they did not exist at all. It is better to close down this "voice" that profanes the Ukrainian language and the whole context of Ukrainian life. K.T. (Name and address supplied).

## What goes on in Soviet Russia ?

### IDEOLOGICAL CRISIS

U.I.S.—Quite often recently, Soviet press and radio criticise the unsatisfactory state of affairs among the younger generation of Ukraine, as far as the standard of its ideological communist conviction is concerned. The Comsomol (Communist Youth Organisation) is put under acute criticism for the lack of true Communist education of its members. Ukrainian youth is accused of indifference and passiveness in the public political life and the tendency towards "bourgeois conviction and nationalism," which tendencies are especially vivid in the Universities and High Schools in Kiev and Lviv.

Once again Communist leaders of Ukraine met at a conference in Kiev, in order to find a proper solution to that problem. At the conference, presided over by Manuilsky himself, it was stated that "the socialistic structure in the Ukrainian S.S.R. is affronted with a severe class struggle and hostile activity of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists.

A resolution was accepted that in order to strengthen the "proper political education" of Ukrainian youth "more and better Comsomol newspapers and literature should be published.

### WHO LEADS THE SOVIET UNION ?

U.I.S.—The Kremlin Politbureau consists of the following members: Stalin, Malenkow, Bulhanin, Molotov, Mikoyan, Woroshilow, Beriya, Kaganowich, Chrushchew, Schwernik, Andreyew and Kosygina. Lately, P. Ponomarenko, the Premier of White Ruthenian S.S.R.; H. Popow, Secretary of the Central Committee of Moscow Communist Party; P. Pospelow, the Chief Editor of *Pravda*; M. Suslow, the Chief of Communist Propaganda, M. Shkiratow have joined them. Woznesensky, whose fate is unknown, was expelled. There are 17 of them, of whom there are:—

Russians	...	...	12—70%
Georgians	...	...	2—12%
Armenians	...	...	1—6%
Jew	...	...	1—6%
White Ruthenian	...	...	1—6%

Ukrainians, of whom there are more than 40 millions in the U.S.S.R. and represent 20% of the whole population of the U.S.S.R., are not represented in the Politbureau. Also there are no representatives of Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians and peoples of Turkestan and others.

### COLLECTIVISATION IS FALLING THROUGH

U.I.S.—In the Moscow newspaper *Pravda* of the 12th, February, 1950, appeared an article strongly criticising the policy of the member of the Politbureau, A. A. Andreyew, who is the Chief of All-Union Party Committee for the Affairs of Collectivisation and Mechanisation.

*Pravda* defends the method of work on collective farms executed by larger groups of workers, so called "brigades," while Andreyew supports the small individual groups of only a few workers to a particular job. *Pravda* names Andreyew's method as "harmful" to the Communist conception, reactionary and as one that may revive the spirit of individualism and "kulaks" in the collective farming. The Communist Party will never allow such a policy.

Attacks of *Pravda* is directed not only against Andreyew, but also against the rapidly growing tendencies for more individual farming against the rapidly growing tendencies for more individual farming throughout the Soviet Union. After twenty years of its existence, the collectivisation proves to be an unfit experiment. Farmers want their own land and they want to work according to their own understanding and on their own free will. They do not want to be led and directed by the State officials. This tendency is so strong that even prominent

Communists, such as Andreyew, consider it necessary and advantageous to compromise with the farmers.

### MOSCOW PATRIARCH IN THE SERVICE OF THE ATHEIST

U.I.S.—In the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchy*, Moscow Stalinite Patriarch Alexy writes as follows: "Is Moscow nowadays not the heart of the powerful Soviet State? Is she not the light of peace and progress that enlightens our whole planet with the holy light for the whole of progressive mankind? By God's grace, the Soviet fraternity, in these dangerous times, is led by the greatest of the living, Stalin, who rose all of us, young and old, against the enemy and who leads us wisely day by day. Let his name be blessed for ever and ever."

What the Christians sing of God, Moscow Patriarch says of Stalin, who fights God with words and deeds.

### ALSO A CULTURAL SOUVENIR

U.I.S.—In the U.S.S.R. recently, according to the Soviet press, the registration of twelve thousand cultural souvenirs was completed. Among "historic cultural souvenirs" there are also chains in which Don Cossak Stephen Rasin was put before he was brought to Moscow for trial.

Unfortunately the papers do not say whether the rest of the 12,000 souvenirs are of the same kind. If so, there should also be somewhere the chain in which the last leader of the Ukrainian Cossaks, Petro Kalnyshewsky, was put.

## C R U S A D E

### THE FRIEND OF UKRAINIANS

The Scottish League for European Freedom became in recent times very popular among Ukrainians, especially in its Chairman of Council, Mr. John F. Stewart, they found a true and devoted friend.

Among other creditable activities, Mr. J. F. Stewart uses every endeavour in order to introduce Ukrainian broadcast to foreign broadcast of the B.B.C., strives for the Ukrainian Representation in the European Council and by numerous articles in the British press supports the Ukrainian liberation movement.

In February, 1950, Mr. J. F. Stewart organised in Edinburgh an Exhibition of National Art of the peoples enslaved by Soviet Russia. The Exhibition was received with great interest and enthusiasm by the Scottish population.

### THE NEW CRUSADE—A NEW ANTI-COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

Recently a new political anti-communist organisation was created in London under the name of "The New Crusade," whose aim is to oppose Communism.

The launching of new anti-communist body in England is warmly received among Ukrainians. It is, however, felt that the Organisation should state its purpose more definitely. What, for instance, is to be done when Communism is finally defeated? Communism is an ideology or religion; it must be destroyed and another ideology put in its place. Only the partition of the Soviet Communist Empire into independent States of all the nations, hitherto enslaved by Bolshevism gives the solution not only to the problem of the East of Europe and under-Soviet Asia, but also will bring the complete destruction of Communism.

We sincerely hope that this will be taken into consideration by this new, so greatly needed, Organisation.

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE



**UKRAINIAN  
INFORMATION SERVICE**



No. 5.

APRIL  
1950

Vol. 1.

**PRESS CONFERENCE OF STEPHEN BANDERA**

Stephen Bandera, the widely known leader of the Ukrainian Nationalist Revolutionary Movement, received in a secret place near Munich (Germany) five correspondents of Western newspapers and Press Agencies on a Press Conference. The place of his whereabouts is kept in strict secrecy. The Press correspondents had to change their transport twice before they reached their destination. They also admitted that Stephen Bandera was guarded by armed members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Through the correspondents Stephen Bandera appealed to the Western world:

1. To cease friendly relations with the Soviet Union, instead to support the anti-Communist movement existing inside the U.S.S.R. and its satellite countries;
2. Promised support of Ukrainians to the Western powers in case of war against Soviet Russia, if Ukrainians are assured as to full independence of Ukraine;
3. Foretold the uprising inside the U.S.S.R. against the Communist dictatorship.

Further Stephen Bandera stated that methods now used by the Western world in the "cold war" with Soviet Russia are inadequate and do not give

any assurances of Western victory over Communism. Bolsheviks will turn to "hot war" when they will not be able to gain anything more in the "cold" one. The U.S.S.R. makes rapid preparations for a new war and to this task is subjected the whole life of the Soviet Union and satellite countries. Revolutionary movements in the U.S.S.R. and its satellites are united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, and if the West does not proclaim that its aim is the liberation of the nations enslaved by Russia, it is quite improbable that the West will ever win the war with the U.S.S.R.

Stephen Bandera informed the correspondents about Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (U.H.W.R.) and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), as well as about members of the U.P.A. who recently managed to get through to Germany.

Answering the question whether it would be possible for a Western Press correspondent to go to Ukraine and witness the fight of the U.P.A., Stephen Bandera said:

"It is possible, but much courage is needed. Half the number of our couriers between Germany and Ukraine are killed on their way."

**AN APPEAL OF THE A.B.N.**

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) issued an appeal to the political emigration of the enslaved by Russia nations in which, among other things, we read as follows:

"We want to see our countries free, sovereign and national, based on deep religiousness, on social justice and individual freedom.

There will be no victory for the West without recognition of our ideas. The West will have to be convinced that our struggle is close to theirs, that our insurgent movements are fraternal to them, that our ideas are related to theirs."

Political emigrants, sent abroad by their fighting nations are the envoys of the liberation cause; everyone of them is obliged to fulfil his task to the free world.

The task of the A.B.N. is to concentrate attention of our nations not only against the enemy inside, but also strengthen our activity outside for the against the agents outside, and to benefit of the liberation cause. It is our duty to gain the public opinion of the nation, among whom we happen to live, for this cause; to gain their understanding and help for those who are fighting for the liberation of our peoples and to set up a universal front against Bolshevism.

In order to enable such activity to take place to strengthen it and to spread it widely in the western world, the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations proclaims the establishment of the "Liberation Fond of the Enslaved Nations" and asks political emigrants of all nations to support this action.

protests of the Germany population, as the verdict is believed to be unfair and unjust.

**UPRISING IN SOVIET  
TURKMENISTAN**

Soviet authorities proclaimed a state of emergency in the regions of the Soviet-Persian border, south of the Caspian Sea. 50 Turkmens and Persians were arrested, accused of "espionage for a foreign power." Turkmenian refugees, who managed to escape to Persia state, that in the Soviet Republic of Turkmenistan, widely spread uprisings took place recently.

**GESTAPO CHIEF ACCUSED  
OF MASS MURDER—AND  
FREED**

During the trial of former chief of Gestapo in Munich, Oswald Shefer, and his assistant, Dr. Lebkichner, accused of crimes against humanity, particularly of the hanging of 20 innocent foreign workers, the jury acquitted both men.

The jury's verdict was met with strong disapproval of the members of the Bavarian Parliament and with

## THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT OF THE NATIONAL POLITICAL IDEALS OF THE LIBERATING REVOLUTION OF NATIONS

The unity of the world and dismissal of wars can be achieved only when the nations become free in their own countries and with them *only the endeavours* and aspirations of the mass of the people will decide freely the forms of co-operation with other nations. Until then, as long as the enemy of all those nations will be *in occupation of our countries*, there is no sign of a possibility and a hope of any understanding. One conception of the unity of the world would stand for co-operation, help to each other: economically, culturally, and a long lasting co-operation of all the nations which will have to acquire and be granted the status of national independent states.

A general application of this principle excludes imperialism, aggression, *grabbing*, wars and subjugation to slavery of different nations.

We stand for the U.N.O., but we also well realise that U.N.O., as it stands to-day, including the participation in that same U.N.O. of Bolshevik Russia, turns the whole thing into an arena of Russian Bolshevik imperialistic activities and seditious Bolshevik propaganda. The right *to veto* is unjust and is in direct contradiction to the Atlantic Charter principles. Why do not all other nations have the right to veto, but only the U.S.S.R.?—a U.S.S.R. which strangles dozens of nations! We refuse to believe that for the proved vandalism of the Russian Bolshevik imperialism, for their concentration camps, for their mass murders, for taking the liberty from all our nations, the U.S.S.R. was given the right to veto! Where is justice and truth and equality? Where are the high principles proclaimed by the Atlantic Charter? Why does the greatest criminal in history sit next to the freedom-loving Christian nations? The U.S.S.R. must not have a place in the U.N.O., if the U.N.O. is a real and genuine place for struggling for the freedom of humanity, for liberty and justice of people and nations. The West European union will commit a mistake if it looks upon Central and Eastern Europe as one monolith unit, in contradiction to the whole structure and

conception of the West and that of the whole world outside the U.S.S.R. and its satellites! In the existing state of affairs there is on the one hand the Russian Bolshevik imperialism, and on the other hand the whole of the Western, Christian, democratic and civilised world, and it seems that there is no place for such a conception to be enjoyed by the nations of Central Eastern Europe and for those other nations of Asia subjugated by Moscow imperialism. If one wishes and desires to build up a European "unity," this may only be done if our nations are liberated and can live as self-determined sovereign nations and so have an equal chance and part in the reconstruction of Europe, in accord and hand in hand with their West European brother nations. So let us be logical and realistic! We must organise between our nations, freed from the Soviets, regional understanding and agreements on the basis of their actual economic political, and the necessities of all nations concerned. The basis of such an understanding and agreement will be the positive aims, such as: economic ones of helping each other, of the exchange of cultural values and, chiefly, common action aggressors, and from here derives that these agreements must also be followed by agreements of statelegal, economic and political character, and that is only possible if our nations are free. For instance, the Ukraine, which has no timber of its own, can well have a regional agreement with White-Russia, which is covered with timber. The main point of such agreements would also be the protection against possible aggressors, such as Russian or German imperialism!

On basis of such regional agreements, effective protection against aggressive enemies will be possible. These regional agreements may go a step further and become still more limited, dealing in regional interests. For instance, the Northern Caucasian nations may arrange between themselves a free and voluntary federation with their neighbouring nations. If Russia may be restrained and limited to her own ethnographical territories and make

herself from her imperialistic endeavours, nothing will stand in the way of concluding with her friendly neighbours regional agreements, but that may only take place when Russia, whether a Red or White Empire, shall be divided and split up in national self-determined independent nations. That is the basis, practice and aim of the whole of our struggle.

If, in the past history of the world, some empires have been formed, one can readily see two different approaches and two different conceptions of those empires; one is the Continental Empire such as Germany, Austro-Hungary, Russia; and the other is the Colonial Empire of Great Britain. But the ways and developments of both were diametrically opposed, as soon as these Empires were formed. Whereas the Continental Empire was strong enough by sheer force to conquer and annex neighbouring nations and built them up on the same pattern as their own imperialist nation—a police regime, military regime and unifying regime! The Colonial Empire soon realised the benefits for all parties concerned to give on the spot, national recognition, national independence with the paramount protection of local interests. Then came into existence the British Commonwealth of Nations; and those many overseas nations who fought for their independence against being conquered by the British Empire at first, very soon realised that they had acquired so much in becoming part of the British Commonwealth, that, without even being forced by constitution or otherwise to come to the help of the motherland against the common aggressor, Germany, they all, to a man, stood up and became in this respect more British than the British themselves, in fighting the common enemy in those last two World Wars.

With the other conception, the Continental one (for instance that of the Russian Empire), the latter applied denationalisation, even if different by name to the Tsarist one it was similar in essence and policy, i.e. to build them up into the so-called Soviet Union. This latter put before everything else the imperialistic aims of Communist domination of the world. The genuine national issues are removed to the background by a sustained drastic and totalitarian way, until it entirely becomes a mere fiction. The truth of this statement may be time and again



## PARTITION OF RUSSIA OR ONLY CHANGE OF REGIMES?

Growing antagonism between the West and totalitarian Soviet Russia gives a particular significance to the question of what is going to happen in the East of Europe and Asia should the existing regime there be destroyed. It is a matter of great importance that on the territory of the present U.S.S.R. and satellite States a system was instituted which would for always eliminate the danger to the world's peace, now threatened by the aggressive Communist ideology and closely linked it, Russian nationalism.

With the growing conflict, quite naturally concerned are all the nations who found themselves under the rules or within the influence of the Russian Empire. It is clear that in this combat of the two worlds, the interests of the enslaved by Russia nations are vitally involved. These nations cannot play the role of merely onlookers. It concerns not only the present stage of combat, when the enslaved nations remain the subject of the events, but it concerns especially the period of the formation of a new reality after the liquidation of the Eastern imperialist's tyranny. In such aspects, these nations are confronted with the task to put forward clearly their positions and to name plainly the principles of the creation of a new system in place of the existing one. Upon the ability of these nations to hold the independence of their positions and their independence from outside forces, the struggle for liberation will depend upon their free existence in the future.

noticed even by the unversed West European people by action taken by Soviet Russia in the very same U.N.O. where the so-called "independent" White Russian Soviet Republic and the so-called "independent" Ukrainian Soviet Republic have no say in matters and are only there as satellites and slaves of the master who decides what they have to say, and how they have to act and side with their Russian masters at the U.N.O. conferences and elsewhere.

This problem acquires special importance when we analyse the political tendencies in the world and when we ascertain to what extent they are either favourable to us or are in opposition to our aims. Here we are primarily concerned with the last assumption. Its importance, and all connected with it, make the dangers become clear when we confront our political aims with the aims of that part of the world which decisively occupies the anti-Communist position.

What then is the aim of the nations of Eastern Europe and Asia?

It is in the first place the liquidation of the existing regime there, as well as the liquidation of the Russian Empire by way of partitioning it into a number of independent national States. The Russian Empire, regardless of its regime and he colours of its banner, is the Number One enemy of all enslaved nations.

The first condition of the existence of independent national States in Eastern and Central Europe and in Asia is to move Russia's border to her ethnographic territories and free completely of direct or indirect Russian influence all the nations of the present Soviet Empire

Such a conception is not only the proper and just, one but it will also serve as a guarantee that Russia will cease to be a menace to the world's peace for ever.

What are the aims and plans of the Western World?

Judging from assertions expressed in various publications, in talks, etc., it seems that the Western States put the stress only on the liquidation of the totalitarian Communist regime. Seeing the danger approaching from the East, the West looks on it only from one angle, namely, in this danger the West recognizes only the aggressive Communist system, imposed by Russia, as it was similarly in the case of Hitlerism in Germany or Fascism in Italy.

The Western World looks on Russia, or rather the present Soviet Russian Empire, as on one indivisible unit and does not want to plunge into

complicated Eastern European problems. The West would regard its aims accomplished if, on the territories of the present U.S.S.R., the Communist totalitarian regime was liquidated and a democratic Russian Government was restituted. The partition of Russia is regarded as useless, even troublesome, as it may complicate there and then the political situation still more.

As we can conclude from this, the aims of the enslaved nations and the aims of the West represent two quite different conceptions for solving the problems of Eastern Europe. Attempts for the realisation of the conception put forward by the Western States may be dangerous in their consequences, as instead of the positive solution of the Eastern European question, an even more troublesome state of affairs may take their place, because the enslaved nations would be forced to continue their struggle and the so-called democratic Russian Empire would follow the path of the traditional Russian imperialism; and this, in turn, would give the start to new uneasiness and new wars.

The Western World must definitely and decisively bring itself to understanding the fact that averting the constant danger of Russian aggression is possible only when the Russian Empire ceases to exist, and that any attempt to win the war against Russia without taking into consideration the interests of the enslaved by Russia nations, will always be fruitless. There are no colonies or territories of exploitation for anybody in the East of Europe and there will never be any. Neither the idea of one indivisible Russia find any followers there. Any Power that associates itself with this idea will find in the East of Europe its opponents and hatred not lesser that to the present Russian Empire and in the end will be defeated.

The success of the anti-Communist campaign will be assured only when there exists real collaboration between the West and the nations of Eastern and Central Europe and Asia, resisting the Communist slavery, because this is the weakest spot of the Russian Empire and to strike in it will be always sure and fatal.

# TACTICS OF UKRAINIAN REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

(From an address by the C-in-C. of the U.P.A., General Taras Chuprynka)

1. Ukrainian Revolutionary Movement in various stages of the struggle applies different tactics, depending on their usefulness in a particular time or circumstances. Tactics are dictated by the political situation. Under this political situation we understand an anglomeration of favourable and unfavourable factors, which are:

- (a) The strength of the enemy, his state system, quality of Police apparatus, actual pressure on the revolutionary movement, moral value of governing State institutions;
- (b) own strength and possibility of action, moral value and political maturity of our forces, their technical forces: whether it gives the enemy full freedom of movement against the revolutionary forces, or prevents its use against them.

2. According to political situation the tactics are:

- (a) defensive; or
- (b) offensive.

With the change of the political situation are changed also forms of revolutionary struggle.

3. Existing political situation in the condition of Bolshevik terror in peace time, necessitates the following tactics to be used:

- (a) to assure, through persistent fight, continuity of the liberating struggle of Ukrainian nation, to prevent the enemy from blunting moral and national qualities of the people, as well as their faith in eventual liberation;
- (b) to save from destruction main revolutionary forces, as the basis of liberating struggle at the time of strongest oppression and as the centre of the struggle for liberation.

4. The struggle, especially in the condition existing in the U.S.S.R. enabled the revolutionary movement to put into practice new methods of

underground tactics possible even in the worst circumstances.

5. The passing from insurgent tactics to underground ones is being carried out step by step, depending on the strength of the enemy's opposition. The change of tactics from openly military to those of underground movement in the detachments of the U.P.A. and in the ranks of O.U.N. we regard as a basic problem of our liberating policy, having in mind continuity of our struggle for a long lasting period.

6. The main items in these tactics are political and propagandive activities which are directed on:

- (a) Spreading revolutionary ideas and paroles among Ukrainians and other enslaved nations;
- (b) defence of ideological and political foundations of Ukrainian Revolution against reproaches of the enemy;
- (c) strongest possible resistance against social and economic basis of the enemy's regime as reactionary and harmful;
- (d) gaining the most valuable individuals for the purpose of revolutionary movement. Military activities attached to underground tactics have clear political and propagandive character and are depending on political and propagandive requirements and necessities.

\* \* \*

Nobody will give us a real liberation, it must be won and built up with our own resources. Continuous liberating struggle against Bolshevism is quite natural and will grow stronger and at a suitable moment will result in an all-nation uprising.

Under an all-nation uprising we understand is:

- (a) total mobilisation of the nation;
- (b) direction of mobilised nation against occupants to bring about their absolute destruction;
- (c) engaging of the whole nation into creative processes of building life in its own State, in accordance with

the principles of Ukrainian Revolution, in order to strengthen achieved freedom and to enable its full development.

Our attitude to the outside forces is the same as the attitude of those forces to the question of a Ukrainian Independent State, to the revolutionary insurgent struggle of the Ukrainian nation and to its political and military organisations. We do not give any reason whatsoever to anybody for hostility against us.

We recognise ethnological principles for the creation of States, therefore we strongly oppose anybody's pretensions to Ukrainian ethnographic territories.

We recognise only one Government of Ukraine, set up by the will of the Ukrainian nation to defend its sovereign rights. Every attempt to enforce upon the Ukrainian nation a foreign will, foreign State interests or puppet Governments—we shall accept as a new occupation of our Homeland and we shall fight it in forms and by means, which we will regard as most suitable and advantageous at the time.

(Condensed from the "Secret Instructions of the U.P.A.-O.U.N. in Ukraine.")

## HOW MANY PEOPLE WERE KILLED BY THE G.P.U.-N.K.V.D. ?

According to documents found during the last war it is ascertained that between the years 1917-1941 the G.P.U. and later N.K.V.D. shot: 28 bishops, 42,800 priests, 75,5000 merchants and industrialist, 390,000 former members of armed forces, 9,000 doctors, 7,000 teachers, 815,000 engineers and members of similar professions, 129,500 people without occupation. During the same time, 18,634,000 people were arrested and sent to concentration camps in Siberia and Central Asia. 4,977,000 of them died of starvation, cold, hard work, diseases and bullets of the guards. 7,496,000 people died of famine in Ukraine in 1933.

It could be clearly pictured from the above the full horridness of the Stalin-Bolshevik terror. Stalin's police within the 24 years killed mercilessly 14,941,828 people—men and women. How many more were killed, that statistics do not show, remains the "secret" of the N.K.V.D. itself.



The Underground Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), in collaboration with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) leads strong anti-ABOVE: Some of Ukrainian Underground publications, printed and published in Ukraine.

### WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE ILL D.P.'s?

In view of the nearby liquidation of the I.R.O., arises the question, what will happen to the displaced persons, at present ill in hospitals or otherwise disabled?

It is expected that after I.R.O. ceases its activity they will be handed over to the German authorities, and their position may be very critical, as they will not be able to earn their living or to pay for hospital treatment.

Worried about their future, ill D.P.'s in several German hospitals sent an open letter to various charitable and humanitarian institutions in Germany as well as to I.R.O. in which they suggest: (a) to subsidise a certain sum of money for keeping hospitals

for the ill D.P.'s, and (b) to put hospitals and sanatoria with the ill D.P.'s in the hands of the International Corporation of Refugees (INCORP), under the care of U.N.O. or the International Red Cross Society.

### BRITISH COMMUNISTS ATTACK UKRAINIAN STUDENTS

Some time ago Central Association of Ukrainian students (C.E.S.U.S.) sent Information Leaflets to various Students' Centre in the world in which, among other things, it was marked decisively the anti-bolshevik character of this organisation of Ukrainian Students. The leaflet also suggested to the Students' Association of the

Western World to break all their relations with the Communist dominated International Centre of Students' Organisation in Prague.

The British Communist paper the *Daily Worker*, commenting on this leaflet violently attacked Ukrainian Students and their organisation, referring to them as Fascists and attempting to mobilise British students' opinion against the suggestion of the C.E.S.U.S.

In answer to this attack, the Central Association of Ukrainian Students prepared materials and documents to be sent to students' centres throughout the world, which will prove that C.E.S.U.S. and Ukrainian students were severely persecuted \*by fascist regimes of different kinds and in countries for more than 28 years.

A lawsuit against these libelous articles of the *Daily Worker* is being considered.



In order to strengthen the anti-bolshevik struggle of Ukrainian people on the territories of Central and Eastern Ukraine, the organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) sends here its members from the other parts of Ukraine. ABOVE: A group of members of the O.U.N. in Lemkiwshchyna (Central Carpathian Mountains) before they leave for Eastern Ukraine. ....

Britain Ltd., with 20,000 Ukrainians as its members, and representing the interests of over 40,000 Ukrainians residing in this country beg respectfully the Management of the British Broadcasting Corporation to take into consideration many applications, memorandums and appeals of literally all Ukrainians in these territories relating to the introduction of a broadcast in the Ukrainian language and so to give us an opportunity to render a good service to the Western Democracies. To enable us, together with the spreading of the truth about the West, to tell our brothers behind the Iron Curtain the true facts about what we have seen here, how we are living here and how lives the Western world."

It was decided to send a similar memorandum to the "Voice of America" requesting them to bring about the changes of the contents of its broadcast in the Ukrainian language. "The present broadcast in the Ukrainian language"—says the memorandum—"are not even translations of American auditions, they are word-to-word translations of broadcasts in the Russian language. Such broadcasts do not fulfil the task for which they were intended, and therefore we request of the 'Voice of America' Ukrainian broadcasts by their form and content."

### GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIANS IN GT. BRITAIN LTD.

On the 24th and 25th March, 1950, the Fourth Annual General Meeting of the Association of Ukrainians in Gt. Britain Ltd., took place in London.

The meeting was attended by 250 delegates from different branches of the Association as well as by about the same number of individual members.

At the meeting, after acceptance of an account of the activity of the Association for the last year, the delegates and members discussed the plans for the activity of the Association for this year, the budget of the Association was balanced and a new management was elected.

The delegates stressed their desire that great care should be taken, that the Association continued such a splendid development in which it is at present.

In the resolutions passed at the General Meeting the Association of Ukrainians as a body representing all Ukrainians in the country expressed their constant loyalty, will of co-operation in common interests and gratitude to His Majesty King George VI, the Royal Family and His

Majesty's Government and through them to the whole British nation.

It was also decided to send a memorandum to the B.B.C. requesting the introduction of broadcasts in the Ukrainian language. The memorandum was worded as follows:

"The General Meeting of the Association of Ukrainians in Gt.



A Field Divine Service, conducted by a Chaplain of a group of Ukrainian In surgent Army.

## MARTYRDOM OF UKRAINIAN CHURCHES DESTRUCTION OF UKRAINIAN GREEK-CATHOLIC CHURCH BY BOLSHEVIKS

The Ukrainian Catholic Church was, is and will be an obstacle for Bolshevics in the spreading of their lies, therefore they did all in their power to destroy it.

Today our Homeland and our Church are in ruins; the Red occupants turned our Churches, built by our pious forefathers, into blasphemous places of Stalin worshipping.

The Metropolitans, the Bishops and the clergy of our Church are either murdered by the Red atheists or kept by them in prisons and concentration camps.

On the 1st November, 1944, in circumstances unknown to us died our Spiritual Leader, the METROPOLITAN COUNT ANDREAS SHEPTYCKY,

On his way to the Kiev prison died of ill-treatment the Bishop of STANISLAVIV HRYHORY CHOMYSHYN.

In a Bolshevick prison in Tarniw the Bishop of Peremyshl JOSAFAT KOCYOVSKY, was tortured to death.

The Bishop of Carpathian Ukraine, THEODOR ROMZHA was run over by an army tank.

Recently we learned of the martyr's death of the brother of our Great Metropolitan, Prior of the Order of Studetes CLEMENT SHEPTYCKY.

In a prison of Drohobych, Bolshevics murdered the former President of the Carpathian Ukraine, REV. DR. AUGUSTYN WOLOSHYN.

In a forced labour camp in Kolyma suffers METROPOLITAN DR. JOSEPH SLIPY; with him there are also Bishops MYKOLA CZERNECKY, IVAN LATYSHEVSKY and HRIHORY LAKOTA.

In another concentration camp in Kazakstan Ukrainian Bishop NYKYTA BUDKA suffers insanity caused by Bolshevick's tortures.

As soon as Bolshevics have occupied Berlin, they deported the Apostolic Inspector of the Ukrainians-Catholic in Germany the REV. DR. PETER WERHUN, of whom there was no news since.

Bolshevics shot and otherwise murdered several hundreds of Ukrainian Catholic Clergymen, among them two prominent lecturers of Lviv Theology

FATHERS ANDREAS ISHCHAK and STEPHEN KONDRAT.

There are thousands of Ukrainian priests in Soviet prisons and concentration camps, and not only priests are persecuted for the Holy Catholic Church. Everyone who does not want to follow blasphemous Stalin's Orthodoxy soon finds his or her place in Bolshevick prisons.

In every country under Bolshevick domination Catholics suffer similarly, and the leaders of the Catholic Church are met with the same fate.

Communists in Prague sentenced and killed great Slovak statesman, former President of the Independent Slovak Republic, REV. DR. TISO.

In Poland dies suddenly and mysteriously CARDINAL HLOND.

In Serbia is sentenced to long imprisonment ARCHBISHOP STEPINAC.

Quite recently Hungarian Communists pass outrageous sentence on the great son of the Catholic Church, CARDINAL MINDZENTY.

Ukrainian Autocefalic Orthodox Church was and is still persecuted in no less degree. Within the 10 years, from 1929 to 1939 four Ukrainian Orthodox Metropolitans were killed. During the same time Bolshevics murdered or tortured to death in prisons, concentration and forced labour camps, 13 Archbishops and 10 Bishops and many thousands of Ukrainian Orthodox Clergy.

### THE QUALITIES OF SOVIET TEACHERS

*Soviet Ukraine*—official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolshevics of Ukraine (C.K.K.P.B.U.) printed recently an article entitled: "The Honourable Task of Soviet Teachers."

There we read: "The superiority of Soviet schools over old bourgeois schools lies in the fact that the Soviet school educates its pupils in the spirit of the true and prime in the world Marxist-Leninist ideology; it cultivates among the pupils the filing of international-

### THE VICTIMS OF BOLSHEVIK'S CLEARANCE IN 1949

The full register of the victims of Bolshevick's "clearance" in 1949 will remain the secret of the M.V.D., which will become known to the world later. Meantime it is possible to name but a few outstanding personalities:

NICOLAI VOZNESENSKY, the member of the Politburo and head of the Economic Planning.

IVAN GOLIKOW, the President of the Soviet Highest Court.

ALEXEY KUZNETZOW, secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party.

COL. LIEUT.-GENERAL YOSIP ZHYKIN, chief of the Central Political Committee of the Red Army.

GEN. VAFIADES MARKOS, leader of Greek Communist partisans, shot by order of Moscow.

KOCI KSOKSE, Albanian Minister of Home Affairs, shot in June, 1949.

PETER GABOR, bloodthirsty leader of Budapest police, hanged himself in a prison cell in August, 1949, after being arrested, accused of "Titoism."

LASLO REJK, Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, hanged in September, 1949.

WLADISLAW GOMOLKA, Polish Communist leader, arrested.

TRCJCHO KOSTOW, General Secretary of Bulgarian Communist Party, hanged in December, 1949.

Here should be also included Bulgarian Premier GEORG DIMITROV, who died suddenly in very suspicious circumstances in Moscow.

The next candidates for the "clearance" in the near future appear to be Anna Paukner in Rumania, who was not invited to the last meeting of the Cominform, and in Czechoslovakia President Klement Gotwald and the former Minister of Foreign Affairs—Volodymyr Klementis.

ism, fraternity towards the nations, love for their Soviet homeland, and in the first place love for the great Russian nation; protects its pupils against hostile ideologies of beastly nationalism and against the superstition of religion."

This one sentence pictorialises plainly what the Soviet teachers should be like. No comments are necessary.

## THE ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIANS IN GT. BRITAIN LTD.

### SOME FACTS ABOUT THE CENTRE OF UKRAINIAN LIFE IN GREAT BRITAIN

Nearly 70 per cent. of Ukrainians enjoying the hospitality of the British people are all united in Central Ukrainian Institution in this country—The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain Ltd.

This Association—popularly known among Ukrainians as S.U.B. (initials of the name in the Ukrainian language) with its Headquarters in London was formed in 1945, and later registered as a limited company as well as under the War Charities Act. According to its rules the Association is fully communal and social institution formed for the benefit of Ukrainians residing here.

The Centre of the Association consists of the following separate Departments: Organising Department, Cultural and Educational Department, Welfare, Emigration, Publishing and Bookselling Departments and the Head Office. There is also a canteen and hostel for the use of members of the Association whilst on a visit to London. As quite a separate administrative unit exists the Association's Ukrainian Invalids' Home.

Administration personnel, including the managers of different departments and the administration of the Invalids' Home consists of 32 people.

The Association owns a house situated at 49 Linden Gardens, W.2, and a property in Chiddingfold, Surrey, where the Invalids' Home is situated.

The Association has now 23,608 members. During the 1949 year 2,346 new members joined the Association. During the same year membership fees amounted to £11,180. In the last three years 66 per cent. of Ukrainians residing in this country were members of the Association.

The Association has 358 subdivisions and branches throughout the country. There are also two District Councils of the Association in Manchester and Edinburgh.

Ukrainian Volunteer Workers arriving in this country find themselves in absolutely new circumstances. Not knowing the English way of life or the English language they encounter

many difficulties, particularly when looking for jobs, living accommodation, etc. In all their troubles they turn to the Association, the task of which is to help them and to solve their problems.

The Welfare Department of the Association settles the matters of social character concerning not only the members of the Association, but the whole of the Ukrainian community in this country. During the last year the help of the Association was rendered, among others, in the following cases:

474 families and single persons were brought over to join their relatives in this country; 431 people were helped in joining families, finding jobs and homes; 112 mothers and children received assistance; 570 people were furnished with legal advice and help; 74 people were helped in cases of lawsuits, divorces, marriages, etc.; care was being taken over 372 ill persons, among them many mentally ill; 85 were financially assisted, etc., etc. Apart from this the Welfare Department of the Association helps former political prisoners in German concentration camps and founded a special fund for the assistance of widows and orphans.

All people in need of assistance received during the last year financial help, amounting to £571 as well as food parcels, clothes, etc., weighing over 1,000 lb. £80 and parcels weighing over 200 lb. were sent to the sick and needy Ukrainians on the continent.

The Emigration Department during the last year gave assistance to 237 cases of emigration of Ukrainians from this country to North and South America, Australia and the continent.

Ukrainian invalids and disabled persons are under the care of the Association. During the last year, 217 the most, and 67 the least, Ukrainian invalids and disabled persons monthly were cared for by the Association. During the same time over £16,000 was spent for their benefit, of which sum £11,451 was spent on the purchase and establishing of the Invalids' Home in Chiddingfold.

The Ukrainian Invalids' Home in

Chiddingfold (Surrey) is a separate administrative unit. It consists of a large house, a cottage, other farm buildings and facilities and 30 acres of field and woods. At present 17 invalids are permanently residing in the Home. The Home is administered by an agriculturalist, Mr. Z. Tymkiw, assisted by a Ukrainian doctor, a gardener and a cook. Invalids also receive medical assistance from a local English practitioner in Chiddingfold.

The Ukrainian House in London houses all the offices of the Association, library, editorial offices of the weekly *Ukrainian Thought*, published by the Association, bookshop, canteen and hostel. 1,965 people used the hostel of the Association during the last year.

In the Ukrainian House other Ukrainian Institutions in this country such as Ukrainian Youth Association, Federation of Ukrainian Ex-Servicemen and other also have offices with which bodies the Association fully co-operates.

Within the Association there exists also an Autonomous Committee for assistance to Ukrainian Students and also an Autonomous Committee for the Association of Ukrainians, organising Ukrainian women in this country.

During the last year the Association received 31,361 letters and sent 63,695 letters and parcels.

The Association leads wide action to bring about Ukrainian broadcast in the B.B.C.; copies of a special memorandum concerning this matter were sent to prominent British personalities asking them for support in the Association's cause.

The Association assisted Ukrainians in this country in registration with the I.R.O. and successfully intervened in the question of limitation of the number of emigrants to the U.S.A. and Canada.

During the last year the Association sent a number of memorandums, concerning Ukrainian life to various governing bodies and institutions in Great Britain and abroad; among them a memorandum asking for the rights of D.P.'s to be given to the former members of the Ukrainian Division, a memorandum asking for Ukrainian broadcasts in the B.B.C. as well as a memorandum concerning the question of the quality of the broadcast of the "Voice of America" in the Ukrainian language, a memorandum to the U.N.O. in the matter of the assistance

## FOR UKRAINIAN BROADCAST OF THE B.B.C.

*U.I.S., London.*—Ukrainian inhabitants of a D.P.'s settlement in Shwainfurt (Germany) sent the following letter to the B.B.C. and the Foreign Office in London:

"Already 32 years goes on the Ukrainian territories uneven yet ceaseless struggle against Russian Imperialism, which under the cover of Communism, and largely thanks to Western indifference managed even during the after-war years to seize large territories of Europe and Asia, and through its fifth column spread discord and uneasiness throughout the world and prevent establishment of the world's peace.

During the last world war this struggle was led and directed by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which still fights to-day. This struggle is being carried out not only in the defence of the Ukrainian nation; but also in the interests of the whole cultured and civilised world, because Russian Imperialism as it could be proved even by recent activities, is hostile to the rest of the world.

The B.B.C. from time to time broadcasts news of this struggle in different languages, save the language of the actual fighters, who defend the Western culture against destruction—the Ukrainian language.

We therefore respectfully request that arrangements be made for including broadcasts in the Ukrainian language among other broadcasts in foreign languages.

---

to the D.P.'s after the I.R.O. ceases its activity, and many others.

The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain Ltd. is on a business relationship with the British Ministries: Home Office, Foreign Office, War Office, Board of Trade, Ministries of Labour, Agriculture, Fuel and Power, Education, Health and others, as well as with the Embassies and Consulates of foreign countries.

There also exists close relationships between the Association of Ukrainians and British charitable and benevolent institutions such as Y.M.C.A., W.V.S., the British Red Cross and many others.

By introducing such broadcasts you will enable hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians to make use of your foreign broadcast, of which up to now, through the lack of knowledge of other languages, they are deprived. It will also keep up the morale of fighting Ukrainians who in an unequal struggle are always prepared to give their lives for the cause of Democracy, Justice and Peace."

The application was signed by 150 people.

\* \* \*

We receive many letters from Ukrainians all over the world, urging us to take appropriate steps before the personalities responsible for the foreign broadcasts of the B.B.C. in order that Ukrainian broadcasts were introduced. Below we print a letter received from a Ukrainian Volunteer Worker in England:

"... The B.B.C. up to now did not

introduce broadcasts in the Ukrainian language, instead they allowed Russian Chauvenists to broadcast in Russian, who take advantage of this for their own purpose.

The policy of the B.B.C. is quite incomprehensible. They entrusted to the White Russian emigrants the defence of hundreds of thousands of D.P.'s against the attacks of Moscow Radio. The B.B.C. authorities pretend not to know that Moscow Radio hardly ever mentions D.P.'s of Russian nationality, but Kiev Radio speaks daily to Ukrainian emigrants . . . in Ukrainian language.

They pretend not to know that the largest groups of D.P.'s are Ukrainians, as well as they pretend not to know that Ukrainians are the nation numbering more than 40 millions of people, with whom if not today, then tomorrow, one will have to meet and talk.

Ignorance of the language, the struggle and the culture of a 40 million-strong nation does not give credit to the people concerned."

---

## THE VOICE OF WARNING

Communist infiltration into public life in Great Britain was the subject of a speech delivered recently by the well known opponent of Communism, Lord Vansittart in the House of Lords. In his speech Lord Vansittart pointed out the fact that Communists in Great Britain, their agents and fellow-travellers attempt to penetrate every branch of public life, even such important one as the Church and schools, in order to carry out there their subversive work.

Lord Vansittart contributed the leading article, entitled "War on England" for the March edition of the Bulletin of the anti-Communist organisation the New Crusade, in which he gives an account of Communist activity in this country particularly and criticises existing conditions here, permitting such activity, especially the incomprehensible policy of the B.B.C. in this matter.

Here are some extracts from the article of this distinguished statesman:

The expansionist programme of Communist Imperialism is considerably more insatiable than was

that of Kaiserlich Imperialism. The Kremlin has virtually Communised half Europe in peace time, and is on the road to Communising all China too, and then helping China to over-run South-Eastern Asia. Communist Imperialism keeps five millions of men in the armed forces in peace time. Kaiserlich Imperialism never kept more than one million men under arms in peace time, though the cadres were of course capable of huge and immediate development.

In the time of the Kaiser, and even of Hitler, we knew all the German agents in this country and "picked them up" when war broke out.

It is a very different matter now. For every German agent in this country then there are at least a hundred—indeed more probably a thousand—Communist workers both underground and above ground. They are not only surreptitious, as the Germans were; they are also open and brazen. The Nazis never had newspapers in this country;

## WHY DID THEY LET GUBICHEW GO?

Why did the U.S.A. set Gubichew free? Answering this question we shall also find our explanation why the U.S.A. slowly but surely loses the "cold war" with the U.S.S.R. As the main reason for letting Gubichew go free it was stated that the State Department desired "to serve the interests of U.S. citizens behind the Iron Curtain." In other words the State Department, headed by Dean Acheson was afraid of Soviet reprisals for the sentence on Gubichew. So that far reaches the Bolshevik's terror! They, apparently do not understand yet in Washington, that mildness is about the worst way to bring the Soviet Union to its senses and good behaviour. Moscow did not think on the same lines, when in recent months and weeks she ordered her satellites to try and sentence one after another foreigner.

On 14th February a Polish court in Stettin sentenced two Frenchmen to 12 years imprisonment each, for alleged

espionage.

On 21st February, Hungarians in Budapest sentenced the American, Fogeller, to 15 years and the Briton, Saunders, to 13 years imprisonment respectively, for alleged espionage.

On 14th March, Czechs in Prague sentenced the Dutchman, Johannes Louvers to 15 years imprisonment for alleged espionage.

There is no news that any of them was reprieved, and there will not be such news.

The world's reaction on the setting free of Gubichew could be only one: America is afraid of Stalin and the U.S.S.R.

What international respect can a state have, which, fearing reprisals, is not capable of enough courage to pass the just and deserved sentence on a criminal, whose guilt was proved beyond any doubt? What respect could an American citizen have towards the law of his own country, when he sees that for the same crime the victim of

tolerance. A real spring-cleaning is needed. For example, the composition of the Russian department seems to be quite unsatisfactory. The B.B.C. has shown itself lamentably unable to grasp the simple fact that Communism is not a party but a conspiracy. Thus it has been guilty of the dangerous imbecility of giving time to the Communist Party for broadcasting election speeches. Folly could go no further. We must have a drastic change not only in the lower but the higher levels of the B.B.C.

No one could fight a Cold War with instruments such as these, and the Cold War is going to be greatly intensified during the next five years. If we do not fight it with all our strength we shall of course lose it.

Over and over again in Parliament I have tried to galvanize the Government into some sort of virility and have been met by invincible apathy. There is no coherence in the press, and the B.B.C. is a handicap. All this must be changed if we mean to pull through.

Guibchew is sentenced to 15-20 years imprisonment, and Guibchew, though more guilty, is allowed to go free? Does this measure of Gubichew's guilt depend on the fact that behind him there stands 250 armoured divisions and some quantity of atom bombs? There is no slightest doubt about it, that the mildness of the State Department will not save even single American or any other foreign life, if Stalin's regime will want to destroy it for some or another reason.

This useless and thoughtless step did not bring anybody any help, what is more it is liable to bring much harm.

The Soviet regime is capable of comprehending only the speech of force! Just hard, brutal force! If in reply to Budapest's sentence on Fogeller the U.S.A. sentenced in the same way 10 or 100 Gubichew's, the Kremlin will not be so eager to repeat similar trials. If Gubichew was punished, as he deserved, and was hanged on the Times Square of New York, hundreds of their own and foreign Guibchew's, who are engaged in espionage in the U.S.A., would stop and consider whether it is worth while to continue their dirty work.

Instead of punishing the criminal, Gubichew was allowed: (i) to put himself into the position of a wronged victim; (ii) to ridicule the American law; (iii) to praise the humanness of Soviet justice; (iv) to leave the United States and slam the door behind him.

Letting Gubichew go free, Americans suffered one of the greatest defeats in the "cold war" all through their own fault.

### BEFORE THE "CLEARANCE" IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS IN LVIV

According to the Soviet Press there are 13 High Schools and 30 Technical Schools in Lviv (Western Ukraine), which are attended by 25,000 students.

Recently a meeting of students, members of the Communist Party, took place in Lviv, in the course of which it was pointed out that among students there still exists, "bourgeois and nationalist tendencies and there is lack of proper and convincing party propaganda."

No doubt, after such statement, new clearance in the Lviv high schools will begin, victims of which will be many students and teachers.

### LORD VANSITTART

the Communists have plenty.

The Nazis never had representatives in the House of Commons; the Communists have had thirty to forty between 1945 and 1950. Nobody of course can be deceived by the dodge of only letting two of them call themselves Communists. The actions of the others are almost indistinguishable.

Moreover the Western Democracies have never had the dimmest notion how to fight a Cold War. The Protestant Church has given very indifferent leadership in the struggle for the soul of man. It is zigzag and spasmodic, and some of its priests are themselves Communists. Furthermore the Democratic Press is chaotic. Even newspapers with the best intentions print the sorriest stuff and, bemused by the foolish notion of giving a platform to everyone, publish plenty of fellow-travelling material.

The Democracies have all allowed Communists to be schoolteachers—a fatal error.

I shall also take up our other grave weakness, which is the B.B.C. it has refused to purge itself of Communists in the name of pseudo-



MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE



UKRAINIAN  
INFORMATION SERVICE



No. 6.

MAY  
1950

Vol. II.

PRESS INTERVIEW OF THE  
LEADER OF THE O.U.N.  
MR. STEPHEN BANDERA

On the 30th April, 1950, the Leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) held a press conference with the five representatives of Western press and news agencies. This conference was widely echoed in the World press and was broadcast in U.S.A. and Canada on the following day. We were not able to publish a full account of this interview in our last edition, and only now are we in a position to do so, as related by our Correspondent in Germany.

Mr. Stephen Bandera stated that in answer to many wishes expressed by the Western journalists he was willing to furnish them with some information and explanations about revolutionary liberating efforts of the Ukrainian nation at present, so they could relay this information to the Western world accordingly.

Here are the questions put to him and his answers:

**What is your position in the O.U.N. ?**

I am the President of the Executive of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists.

**What are the aims of the O.U.N. ?**

Liberation of Ukraine, liquidation of the state of enslavement of Ukraine by the Bolshevik Russia, restoration of a Ukrainian Independent State on ethnographic territory, destruction of Russian imperialism, partition of the U.S.S.R. into independent States of all nations hitherto enslaved by Moscow.

**To what form of a Government tends the O.U.N. ?**

To democracy and social justice. O. U. N. fights against Bolshevik dictatorship, totalitarianism, against

Communist social enslavement and exploitation. In the Ukrainian State, Ukrainian people, by their own free will, will decide on the form of government. Ukrainian Independent State will ensure free development of all aspects of life, of religion, culture, economy; will assure full personal freedom and justice to all citizens, freedom of individual and collective activity of its citizens in social, political, cultural, and every other way of life.

**By what means do you want to achieve your aims ?**

By a revolutionary, military and political struggle of the whole or the Ukrainian nation in common anti-

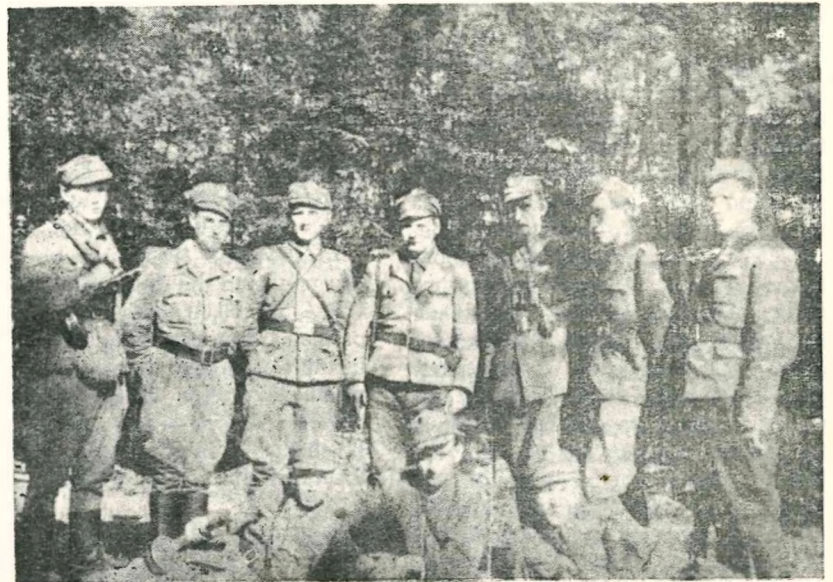
Bolshevik front of all the nations enslaved by the U.S.S.R.

**Is the O.U.N. political or military organisation ?**

O.U.N. is a revolutionary liberating organisation, which combines elements of political and military structure, in accordance with the fact that the Ukrainian liberating struggle is at the same time social and political process and military combat. Activity of the O.U.N. is based upon organising and directing of anti-Bolshevik and anti-Russian processes and actions with Ukrainian national and independent contents in all aspects of life. The members of the O.U.N. are equally trained for political and military activity.

**What are the forces of Ukraine Underground Movement ?**

The Ukrainian liberating struggle is headed by the Ukrainian Supreme



Officers of the U.P.A. and workers of the O.U.N. on briefing before an action in the town of Dyniw.

Council (U.H.W.R.) created in Ukraine in 1944 and is acting as the supreme organ of the Ukrainian nation in contradiction to the set-up by Moscow's so-called government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. U.H.W.R., which is a revolutionary Parliament, are all the time in Ukraine.

Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) which is strictly military revolutionary formation.

### **What are the relations between U.P.A. and the O.U.N. ?**

The closest possibly co-operation. The U.P.A. was created from the military units of the O.U.N. during the second World War, when the struggle had to be carried out on two fronts: against Germans and against Bolsheviks. The basis of the U.P.A. are the military units of the O.U.N., but the U.P.A. consists also of non-members of the O.U.N. Anybody who wishes to take part in actual fighting for the freedom of Ukraine joins the U.P.A. U.P.A. is a strictly military formation adjusted to the underground warfare, which in practice is planned and organised by the O.U.N.

### **Are you the Commander - in - Chief of the U.P.A. ?**

No the C-in-C. of the U.P.A. is General Taras Chuprynka.

### **What is his relation to the O.U.N. ?**

He is Deputy President of the Executive of the O.U.N.

### **What are the activities of the U.P.A. ?**

Operations of the U.P.A. and their forms are always in accordance with the situation existing at a certain time. During and soon after the war, U.P.A. fought with greater units, its territory of action was wider, and sometimes whole districts were in its possession.

Now, in a more stabilised situation, forms of U.P. Army's activity are different to that of the war years. During the year 1945-48, detachments of the U.P.A. were active in many parts of Ukraine and U.S.S.R. Bolsheviks many a time engaged large military formations in order to liquidate the U.P.A. When the division of the Soviet Army proved to be incapable of doing real harm to the U.P.A., the Bolsheviks, since 1946, used only the forces of the N.K.W.D. against the U.P.A. Despite the Bolshevik's efforts, neither the U.P.A. nor the O.U.N. are liquidated in Ukraine.

The U.P.A. at present fights with much smaller units. The main tasks of military action of the U.P.A. at present are as follows: to strengthen general political revolutionary process, to defend the population against the terror of the N.K.W.D., revolutionary-propagandive raids to other under-Soviet countries in order to strengthen local revolutionary movement; development and precision of new methods of military underground struggle, proving other nations of the U.S.S.R. that military, revolutionary struggle is possible and successful despite all efforts of the Bolshevik terror; revolutionary influence on the Soviet Army; keeping in constant readiness the basic units of the revolutionary army, which in a suitable time will be able to organise and lead masses of revolutionary forces.

### **Did the Bolsheviks try to stop this warfare by some other means, for instance, by proclamation, etc.**

Yes. From 1944-47, the Bolshevik regime several times called upon the insurgents to cease their activity, promising full amnesty and mentioned even an "independent Ukraine." But the Ukrainians know only too well what was hidden behind these calls and just ignored them.

In other countries, for instance in Poland, some of the revolutionaries obeyed these proclamations and left the underground and soon found themselves in the Bolshevik's prisons, while the underground movement, at the same time, was weakened.

### **How strong is U.P.A. numerically ?**

This is a secret.

### **How big was the U. P. A. in previous years and what were its largest operations ?**

In 1944 and 1945 our enemies, the Germans and the Bolsheviks, regarded U.P.A. as 200,000 men strong. In one of the largest battles with the U.P.A. in the Carpathian Mountains in 1945, which lasted for several days, three Soviet divisions were engaged. The Bolsheviks suffered heavy losses and forces of the U.P.A. managed to get away.

### **What sort of weapons does the U.P.A. use ?**

All weapons used by the U.P.A. are captured from the enemy. The largest quantities of arms are from the war years. The main weapons of the U.P.A.

are machine-guns, rifles and pistols, various grenades, light cannons, etc.

### **Does U.P.A. use tanks, aircraft and does Bolsheviks use them against the U.P.A. ?**

The Bolsheviks and the Germans used aircraft and tanks as well as heavy artillery against the U.P.A. The U.P.A. has no aircraft. Tanks were used by the U.P.A. only occasionally, when they captured them from the enemy.

### **How strong is O.U.N. numerically ?**

The strength of the O.U.N. is not measured by the number of its members. Its strength lies in the fact that we mobilise, organise and direct the planned struggle, tendencies to independence and anti-Bolshevik attitude of the whole Ukrainian nation.

In the struggle of the O.U.N. is engaged a large part of the Ukrainian nation and is supported by the whole of the nation with the exception of a relatively small group of Communists and fellow-travellers.

### **How strong is the anti-Bolshevik potential in Ukraine ?**

Half of about 45 million Ukrainians will take direct active part in the anti-Bolshevik liberating revolution. The rest are not fit for direct warfare.

### **When and why were you arrested by the Germans ?**

In 1941, after the proclamation of the restoration of the Ukrainian Independent State, which act was contrary to Hitler's plans. I was imprisoned in a prison of the Gestapo in Berlin until 1943, and then in the concentration camps of Essenhausen and Oranienburg until September, 1944.

### **When and why were you freed ?**

In the Autumn of 1944, at the time of the German retreat from Ukraine, the Germans freed me with a group of Ukrainian Nationalists, thus trying to win the sympathy of the Ukrainian people. There proposition of collaboration I rejected and I was placed under police supervision. I managed to escape at the beginning of 1945.

### **Did the Germans ask Ukrainians for collaboration in return for an Independent Ukrainian State ?**

During the war, the Germans never expressed any positive attitude as to Ukrainian independence. They only attempted to gain Ukrainian support by very doubtful promises in a very far away perspective.

### **Do the Ukrainians hope for their liberation through war between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. ?**

We count only on our liberation through our own efforts and struggle, through anti-Bolshevik revolution. The war may create suitable conditions and so it might be helpful, but Ukraine does not count on liberation by outside forces.

### **When the Revolution in Ukraine will take place ?**

The general revolutionary uprising in Ukraine and other under-Soviet countries will come at the most suitable moment. The revolutionary maturity of the wide masses of the populations, especially among other nations of the U.S.S.R. as well as the growth of the revolutionary feelings in the Soviet Army will be of deciding importance. And then its rôle will also be played at a suitable moment.

### **Is your movement also active in the Soviet Army ?**

Yes. Quite successful propagandive and preparatory activity is being carried out among the members of the Soviet Army, of Ukrainian and other nationalities, that they, at an appropriate time, instead of defending the Soviet regime, come on our side.

### **How do you imagine a suitable moment for the outbreak of the Revolution ?**

It may have an inner character—absolutely critical situation of the whole Bolshevik system and regime, especially economic downfall. Inner development in the U.S.S.R. goes on these lines progressively. Or—another possible crisis of outer character—war or other form of extreme pressure on the U.S.S.R. from outside.

### **How do you know and what are the signs of Soviet preparations for a new war ?**

We have information of what is going on in Ukraine and in the whole of Soviet territory. The Bolshevik preparation for a new war goes on in various aspects : (a) psychological mobilisation—under the cover of a parole “for peace,” Bolsheviks spread propaganda that the U. S. A. is preparing an aggression and that the U.S.S.R. will have to defend itself and destroy Anglo-American imperialism; (b) the U.S.S.R. keeps under arms huge forces, carries out intensive military training of the youth not only in the Army but also in the Comso-mol and

the various semi-military organisation; (c) the whole economy of the U.S.S.R. and the satellite States is exclusively directed on war preparations, restoration and building of industries of a military character while neglecting production of peacetime necessities; (d) intensive building up of a large air-force, fleet—especially submarines—building of new roads, airfields, large underground stores and placing them on the borders of the U.S.S.R. and in the satellite States—all this shows very plainly that the U.S.S.R. is preparing itself for war outside its own boundaries—to aggression.

### **When do you think the U.S.S.R. will provoke the war with the U.S.A. ?**

When Russia will not be able to gain anything more through the “cold war”, when she will no longer be successful in the West in her Communist corruptive work and when she meets an unapproachable obstacle in her advance to the East in Asia—as it happened in the Near East. So far, the U.S.S.R. does not need open war while, thanks to the passiveness of the Western States she gains more and easily without taking great risks.

### **If the war between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. took place, will the Revolution in Ukraine break out then ?**

If the States at war with the U.S.S.R. declared plainly and entered an obligation to support Ukrainian tendencies to independence, if they recognized the creation of the Ukrainian Independent State as one of the aims of the war and regarded Ukrainians as their allies on equal rights, then our revolutionary struggle will be conducted in accordance with such plans, so as to bring about the quick sure and complete liquidation of the common enemy and to establish peace.

In the case of another attitude of the States at war with the U.S.S.R., we would also regard this war as a foreign affair and we would conduct our own struggle according to our own plans most suitable to our purpose, having no regard for co-ordination of our activity with the war activity of the States concerned.

### **Did the Bolsheviks attempt to assassinate you ?**

Yes. The Security Service of the O.U.N. discovered three agents of the N.K.V.D. who had planned to do so.

### **Could a Western Press representative go to Ukraine and witness your struggle ?**

It would be possible. The only condition would be both-sided trust and, of course, the great risk taken by such a journalist. Nearly half the number of the people who act as carriers between Ukraine and abroad, are killed.

### **How many soldiers of the U.P.A. came to Germany and are they still arriving ?**

Two years ago, nearly 300 soldiers of the U.P.A. and members of the O.U.N. came to Germany and Austria from Ukrainian territory under Polish occupation. They received an order to go westwards, after all Ukrainian population had been repatriated from these territories. Only occasionally and very small groups of the U.P.A. came here straight from Ukraine, and then on special duties.

Finally, Mr. Stephen Bandera pointed out to the Press representatives the following questions :

The up-to-now policy and tactics of the Western world towards the U.S.S.R. is full of mistakes which bring great harm to the defence of the whole world against Bolshevik aggression.

Separation of Bolshevism from Russian imperialism, regarding them as two separate things, is absolutely wrong. It is impossible to destroy one and leaving the other, and quite unrealistic is the idea of using one in the war against the other.

A similarly quite wrong conception is to stake on Russian imperialistic forces, which although they are against the Bolshevik regime, stand for a Russian Empire enslaving other nations.

To stake on so-called Titoism, national Communism, etc., in the hope that it may be secured as an ally against Bolshevism is also wrong and unrealistic. It is the second horse of Troy. Communists of all forms will always find a common tongue in the fight against “capitalism”. Through the pacts with Tito, the Western States loose face in the world-wide struggle against Bolshevism.

Much harm was done to the anti-Bolshevik front by the conception of opposition to the Bolshevik system by the method of legal parliamentary elections, encouraged by the Western world in the States occupied by Russia after the war. Against Bolshevism,

*Cont. on page 7.*

## THE STRUGGLE OF ENSLAVED NATIONS

Ever since the beginning of Russian imperialism in all forms of its existence, the Ukrainian nation fought against it ceaselessly for the free Ukrainian State. The struggle was and is being carried out not by "merely a group of traitors of Homeland," as the Bolsheviks say, not by a certain class of the population, not by "fascists," but in this struggle is engaged the whole Ukrainian nation.

There were active and passive forms of the struggle. Quiet opposition, open resistance, armed uprisings, refusals to join collective farms, or to give the farm products to the State, individual terror against particular representatives of the Bolshevik regime—these were and are various forms of the struggle in various periods of the Bolshevik domination.

One of the convincing proofs of the hostility to the Bolshevik regime is also the mass emigration of the Ukrainian population and their refusal to return to their Homeland. And not only the Ukrainian population. It often happened that Soviet sailors, finding an opportunity to remain abroad, refused to return to their ships; Soviet scientists preferred to remain in the West, where many had gone on scientific missions; similar was the behaviour of Soviet diplomats and highly ranked officers of the Soviet Army. Finally, millions of refugees from the U.S.S.R., who after the Second World War have chosen life in exile rather than return to the Homeland under the hateful regime. These are the facts which prove that freedom-loving peoples of the Soviet dungeon of nations do not wish to bear any longer the chains in which they were put by the Bolshevik despots.

Soon after the "Great Bolshevik Revolution" in 1917 all the nations of the former Russian Empire resisted the new rulers and by that manifested their ages-old desire to live free lives in their independent sovereign States. While the Bolsheviks still fought in Moscow and Petersburg, in the South of Ukraine, in Kuban and in the Caucasus, national armies were organised against the Bolshevik's fifth columnists, that even at that time already existed in every corner of the

former Russian Empire.

Ukraine expressed her will to be free by proclamation of her independence in Kiev. Then began the Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine, robbing Ukrainian peasants of bread. Other Russian military formations, opposed to the Bolsheviks fought them for the domination over Ukraine. At that time in Moscow was planned an assassination of Lenin, the first Bolshevik dictator. And behind the Bolshevik front lines, in Kazan flamed up an anti-Bolshevik uprising. A similar uprising started in the Volga districts. On 15th June, 1918, Siberia rose up against the new slavery and on 17th June the famous Tambovsk uprising began. At the same time, on 20th June, a worker, Sergeyev, assassinated in Petersburg leading Bolshevik Commissar Volodarski.

Ukrainian Armies fought against Russian Red and White invaders while in every part of the former Russian State, in Moscow, in Rostov, in the Crimea and the Caucasus uprisings and armed resistance took place.

On 20th August a woman member of the Russian Socialist Party by the name of Kaplan wounded Lenin in an attempt to kill him. In Petersburg another Bolshevik leader, Urycki, was killed.

Ukrainian Armies had to drive away Bolshevik invaders from the Ukrainian capital—Kiev. In an unequal battle near Kruty in the neighbourhood of Kiev 300 Ukrainian youths were killed, while defending the entrance to the Capital. Eastern and Western Ukrainian Armies joined their forces for the struggle against Bolshevik hordes.

On 2nd March, 1921, began the famous uprising of the Baltic Fleet in Kronstadt. Peasants of Volohda districts rose up too at the same time. Liberating forces were active in the Caucasus, and Turkestan insurgents, so-called "basmachi" rid the country of the Red invaders and proclaimed an independent Turkmenistan Republic.

In 1924 there were anti-Bolshevik uprisings in Georgia and constant uprisings of the peoples of Soviet Central Asia were not crushed by the

Bolsheviks until 1937. In 1935 all the population of Abchasia rose up against the Bolsheviks and within two months an insurgent army numbering over 40,000 men was organised from Abchasian people.

When the Bolsheviks started forced collectivisation the peasants answered with strong resistance. State food stores were broken into and the food taken away and distributed amongst the starving population. Many Bolshevik officials were killed, sabotage was carried out. There was also armed resistance in Siberia, Kuban, Caucasus, Central Asia and, in the first place, in Ukraine. In order to suppress the uprisings in Ukraine and Caucasus, Bolsheviks had to use not only the forces of the N.K.W.D., but also specially trained detachments of the Red Army and in many instances the artillery and air force had to be brought into action.

Here should be noted also uprisings in Soviet concentration camps. During the years 1936-38 preparations were made for a large uprising in the concentration camps of Uchta-Pechora and Archangelsk. The planned uprising, however, was discovered and the leaders were shot together with their suspected collaborators. 40-50 prisoners were being shot daily.

During the thirteenth year of this century, terrorist activity against the Kremlin's despots continued. In June, 1933 highly placed Kremlin official, Rosenblum, was killed in Caucasus; in 1937 the chief of Irkutsk G.P.U., Cudowsky, was assassinated in Chabrowsk. According to the disclosures of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, during September, 1937, 102 active members of the Communist Party were killed by the "people's enemies." On 16th January, 1938, two Bolshevik Commissars were killed by sailors in Sebastopol. During February, 1938, 7 highly ranked officers of the Red Army and 164 members of the Communist Party were liquidated in Ukraine. In 1937 an attempt to kill the chief of the N.K.V.D., Yezhov, and the Secretary of the All-Union Communist Party, Andreyew, was discovered. In September of the same year the N.K.V.D. frustrated an attempt on Stalin's life. 10 persons were shot after a trial. Another attempt on Stalin's life was frustrated in January, 1938.

At the beginning of the Soviet-

## THE BASIS OF OUR STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

One cannot conceal the truth, that the world today is going through a crisis morally, politically, culturally, economically and, to a certain extent, in religion, too.

The danger of bolshevism seems to threaten the whole world. Bolshevism totalitarianism is the greatest enemy of humanity, of culture, of civilisation and of all those values of a human being, which may be summed up as freedom and justice! We must try to unite the maximum work in common action of all nations in order to defeat that world danger. The liberating revolution of nations has pure and honourable ideals of honest people and these in their millions perish fighting for freedom and justice.

Our people in their motherlands: Lithuania, Latvia, Byelorussia, Slovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Ukraine, Cossacklands, etc., have deeply engraved in their hearts and souls the idea of God, freedom and justice for each of their nations and for each individual as well. The basis of our creed are values that cannot be thrown away, bargained away or destroyed! They are: the nation, the family and the individual. This is the sequence of order of our ideas and ideals. The organic union of all these three values are backed and supported not by force

alone, but by deep belief of common interest above the *egotistical, and national over individual*, and this is the meaning of existence of a Human Being! The national idea is a universal one, because every nation has the right of self-determination on the whole of its own territory, freedom of the individual and *independence of race*. Freedom of practising religion is organically linked up with personal liberty. Liberty and justice for all nations and for all people! Liberty is the eternal and undismissible ideal of the aim of this struggle!

The bolshevik ideal and work is based on the dismissal of all these principles and on sheer diabolical force directed to kill in the subjugated nations not only human dignity, turning the individual into a slave, but in the systematic appliance of force in order to destroy within those nations all the belief in Good, in Truth and in Justice; also trying to prevail at present evil, poverty, murder, looting and destruction. Freedom and justice are eternal and undying ideals of humanity and they will prevail not only because they have in themselves the elements of victory, but also primarily because evil is always conquered by the active, the fearless, the great, the brave, and the honest,

especially if they are inflamed with those high ideals of freedom and the value of the individual as such. That is why the struggle of nations in the end conquer the enemy and from here derives their nation's physical and moral strength. Our salvation, the salvation of all humanity, lies in an anti-bolshevik national revolution, which will defeat and put an end to the dark forces of bolshevik slavery! Our revolution is a revolution for the rule and power of nations. Our allies in this struggle must be the Western democratic nations and, as we are practical in our thoughts and actions, we must make all necessary efforts in order to acquire the Western countries on our side and turn them into our allies. The only way out is the splitting up of the Russian Empire into national units of all our nations and giving back to them their sovereignty, as well as to the so-called satellite people and nations! The anti-bolshevik revolution of nations excludes any principle and any practise of imperialism, and accepts God's truth that every people have the right to live and to work inside the frames of general freedom and justice on their own territories. The Ukrainian revolutionaries, Rumanian, Byelorussians, Czechs, and all other nations have no aspirations to other peoples' territories and they strongly believe that the peaceful relations between neighbouring and independent nations may be achieved on the ethnographical basis and not one of those nations aspiring to annex territories which are not their own.

German war, millions of the soldiers of the Red Army surrendered wilfully to Germans. It was widely believed that Hitler would bring a better regime than the existing one. But when the population discovered that there was no difference between Stalin and Hitler, they turned against both of them.

After the war, anti-Bolshevik resistance began anew. Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations took the leadership in the struggle of all the enslaved nations against the Bolshevism tyranny. Ukraine, as before, remained in the first lines of this struggle. Ukrainian underground forces—the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was created and its fight continues till today. Anti-Bolshevik revolutionary movement is widely spread throughout the whole of the Soviet Empire from the Far East to its Western borders.

Naturally, the world knew little about this struggle inside the U.S.S.R. Bolsheviks did their utmost to keep them in secrecy not only from the outside world, but also from their own citizens.

Revolutionary movement represents deadly danger to the Bolshevism regime inside the U.S.S.R. And this movement is vivid and active everywhere: in the Army, in schools, in collective farms, in prisons and concentration camps, in Siberia and in Central Asia, in Kolyma and in Pechora, in Kiev and in Moscow. This movement exists inside the U.S.S.R. and abroad among the emigration of nations enslaved by the Red tyrants.

An All-Nation Uprising in the U.S.S.R., the Great Liberating Revolution of the A.B.N. will end Bolshevism—the menace to the world's peace, security and prosperity.

The idea of the Atlantic Charter completely covers our aspirations and our ideas of reconstruction of the East of Europe. In the Atlantic Charter the question of self-determination is to be a basis and therefore even the smallest nations have the right to self-determination. That is why the Atlantic Charter is in direct opposition to the interpretation and application of bolshevik imperialism. The *contention of Russian imperialism is: that small independent nations are a threat to peace and they falsely state that the millions of victims of past wars were the direct result of the absence of strong, large units, which it is said are the guarantees against war. This is a false assertion and history teaches us the exact opposite!*

To mention just one case in point: when Sweden gave up her imperialistic

## ACTIVITY OF MOSCOW AGENTS

### ACTIVITY OF MOSCOW AGENTS

Among many documents collected in the archives of the Intelligence Service of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) there is an Instruction for the Soviet agents abroad, issued by the M.G.B. (Soviet Ministry of State Security, former N.K.V.D.). This instruction is intended for the Soviet agents among refugees and emigrants refusing to return to the U.S.S.R. The full translation of the Instruction we print below.

### INSTRUCTION No. 6

#### To the Commandant of Special Detachments in the Occupation Zones of Austria and Germany

"Reactionary circles of the hostile to us Western States and military commandants, who are under their influence, interfere with the repatriation of our citizens to their Homeland.

America, England and other Western States want to use them as a cheap labour and a weapon of propaganda against the U.S.S.R. Strengthened propaganda of pro-fascist elements among Soviet citizens abroad completely demoralises them. Taking all this into account, it seems, that the question of repatriation will never be solved in a way favourable to us.

Therefore it is necessary to strengthen our activity behind the front lines of the Western States and to mobilise all forces in order to bring about full corruption among the old and new emigration and to neutralise it as a centre and medium of anti-Bolshevik propaganda.

In this connection it is necessary to be in close contact with our military commandants and their political

policy from then onwards she was not engaged in a single war and the Swedish people live much better than any people under the German and Russian imperialisms.

To sum up: the anti-bolshevik liberating revolution of nations distinctly declares that the unity of the whole world is possible only on the basis of self-determination of all nations and must therefore be opposed to a world federation of Soviet ruled countries!

assistants, with the Commandatura, Commandants of Special Detachments and all Soviet representatives residing in territories under American, British or French occupation.

For that purpose, advantage should be taken also of:

- (a) people's enemies, with whom we are the service connections;
- (b) local communists, who collaborate with us;
- (c) Germans of Russian descent;
- (d) Polish and Baltic Germans;
- (e) Black-marketeers, who often cross the border and who permanently reside in the Western zones;
- (f) in some cases former Nazis who know the Russian language and are of any advantage to us;
- (g) Prisoners-of-war returning from the U.S.S.R. (they should be used only in special instances and after thorough examination). Once more we underline that all people used for our plans should have their families on our geographical territory;
- (h) Again in some cases, deserters from the Red Army and people who escape from occupation zones.

The main proposals of our work, as previously are as follows:

1. To keep on and to strengthen class and religious differences among the refugees of various former citizenship. What we have so far achieved is not satisfactory.
2. To provoke hostility between refugees from eastern and western part of the U.S.S.R. between the old and the new emigration. So far we have not succeeded in this matter to the extent that it would cause any interest of Soviet authorities.
3. Overcoming any difficulty it is necessary to paralyse cultural activity of emigrants. Unskilled and untalented persons should be encouraged to take positions in every aspect of cultural life of emigrants.
4. To use local press and if possible radio for exposing emigrants in the eyes of local population. To persuade them that the cultural value of emigrants is negligible. For that reason it is necessary to encourage drunkenness, theft, black-marketeering and any other kind of crime among the refugees.
5. To provoke antagonism between Catholics and non-Catholics, taking advantage of great religiousness of former Polish citizens.
6. To expose emigrants as a labour



Soviet or Polish soldiers are very often captured as prisoners of war during the battles of the U.P.A. with the enemy. The prisoners (except those, whose criminal activity towards the peaceful population was proved and who are punished for their crimes) are set free after being explained to about the aims of the U.P.A. in its struggle against the occupants. Wounded enemy soldiers receive full medical help.

Above: A wounded Polish soldier, after a battle in the Durchansky forest near Peremyshl receives first aid by the medical staff of the U.P.A.

force in the eyes of Canadian, Argentine, Brazilian and other employers and vice versa. To do the utmost, so that these countries should immigrate demoralised and ill persons. At the same time to spread information among emigrants that the employers want a cheap labour in conditions unsuitable for Europeans.

7. Every kind of crime among emigrants should be encouraged. In every settlement of refugees our net for that purpose should be organised. People who deal with American goods, such as foodstuffs, clothes, etc., should be influenced in such a way, that it would be easy to lead them astray, compel them to waste products and bribery.
8. To spread mistrust between management and the residents of emigrants' camps. To bribe where possible and to set up on posts worthless people, through whose ignorance or negligence our work could be easily carried out.
9. To create a state of general dissatisfaction, disillusion hopelessness and despair among the refugees.
10. The main attention should be paid to the provocation of antagonism between the refugees

and the western occupation authorities. In that aspect the greatest inventiveness is needed to:

- (a) convince the Western police, that most of the crimes are committed by the refugees;
  - (b) create an attitude of hostility towards the refugees among British and American police;
  - (b) provoke fights between the police and emigrants;
  - (d) use every effort, that so far friendly relations between emigrants and occupation authorities were turned into open hostility. The refugees should regard the representations of occupation authorities as their enemies.
11. To compromise all emigrants, press and publications, especially Ukrainian, as the most pro-fascist press.
  12. To spread corruption and bribery. To get into contact with unscrupulous people under whose care are the refugees and to use them for our purposes.

Executing this work you should remember that refugees, forced to return to the U.S.S.R. represent to us assets of a great value, not only for punishing them and so using their labour in our reconstruction, but also because some of them will be of great service to us in our coming combat

with the Western Imperialism."

*Specially Authorised for the Ministry of State Security in the Military Occupation of Austria and Germany.*

### "WILL UKRAINE SAVE EUROPE?"

Creation of an Independent Ukraine is the first condition of the peace in Europe. Until then there will be no political stability in Eastern Europe.

The dramatic history of Ukraine repeated itself in other European countries, but it must be said that among many great and powerful competitors, Ukraine is the only country of real freedom, the home of cossacks, the country of the real revolutionary Ukrainian Insurgents Army.

What tempted Europe to let the young Ukrainian Republic die? Was it in accordance with some future plans that the Ukrainian national revolution was extinguished in its very beginning? The mentality of Ukraine is more of Western orientation than the mentality of Russia, and Ukraine could serve much better as a medium of understanding among the nations.

This is a paradoxical situation: over 40 million strong nation till now has no political independence.

("L'Ergot")

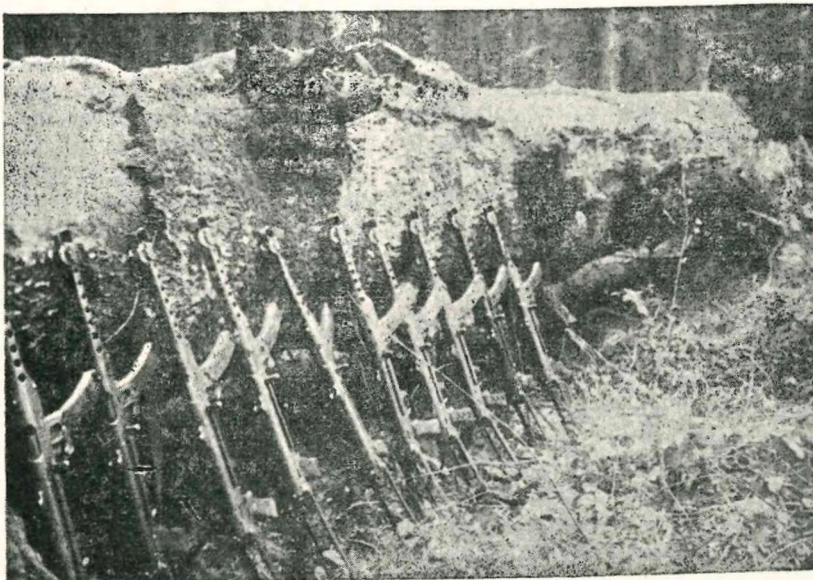
### PRESS INTERVIEW,

the system of unscrupulous terror, lawlessness and totalitarianism, the only method of resistance possible for the enslaved nations is uncompromising revolution.

The Western world overlooks and pays no attention to the surest and strongest forces in the world's struggle against Bolshevism—revolutionary liberating movements of the enslaved by Russia nations.

Many other nations, similar to Ukraine, lead their struggle against Bolshevism and aggressive Russian imperialism. National idea struggle for the independence and free development gives strength to these nations to endure the hardest struggle at the time when the powerful world signs pacts with the U.S.S.R.

The struggle of all these nations is co-ordinated in the anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations—the body that unites all the revolutionary liberating forces of the under-Soviet nations into one front of anti-Bolshevik struggle.



Automatic weapon of one of the units of the U.P.A., captured from the Bolsheviks.

## EXPLOITATION OF UKRAINE BY MOSCOW

Who has even the slightest knowledge of organisation of economical life in the Soviet Union, he knows that nowhere else in the world exploitation of the individual by the State is so strong and acute as in this homeland of Communist imperialism.

In order to mask before the world the brutal facts of this exploitation, and at the same time to keep the enslaved masses in strict obedience, the Kremlin has not only the police, but also the whole army of agitators, propagandists, officials, the press, radio, etc., and the whole governing body of the State, that by various means slow down indignation of the Soviet citizens and force them to accept all Government orders, contrary to the people's interests with "enthusiasm."

The greatest ruination, robbing, exploitation and political terror is suffered by Ukraine. At present this exploitation is even greater and it is gradually growing. Colonial policy of Moscow in the exploitation of national resources of Ukraine and the physical destruction of the Ukrainian nation continues and increases in the form of a new "five year plan." Rapid restoration and building of heavy industry, especially industries of a military character, forced collection of taxes even for the years to come, mass deportation of the Ukrainian population to Siberia and Central Asia, military expeditions against Ukrainian villages, etc., once more show plainly the aims of imperialistic Communist Moscow towards Ukraine.

Before and during the Second World War, Ukraine was the main source and reservoir of material goods for Moscow and at the same time she was also an obstacle in realisation of Moscow's policy of robbery, through her resistance.

Ukraine, by her geographical position, is one of the Eastern European countries. For Moscow, situated in the North, Ukraine was always the South. Ukrainian territories remain for always as the gates to Europe and are crossroads between the Mediterranean countries and Asia. As the only and the best passage from Asia to Europe, Ukraine was at the same time also the main bulwark of Europe before Asiatic tribes, which in the first place flooded

Ukrainian territories and ruined them. Characteristic of the geographical position of Ukraine is the fact that through Ukraine leads the shortest way from western Ukraine to India. The role of Ukraine as a joint between Europe and Asia was especially underlined during the Second World War (1941-45) which from its beginning till the end was conducted on Ukrainian soil.

That Ukraine is intended for independent, separate existence could be seen not only from her geographical position which is quite different to other parts of Eastern Europe, but from the fact that Ukraine possesses one of the best soils in the world in addition to her many natural resources.

### Ukraine in the Economy of the U.S.S.R.

During the years when Ukraine has been under the Soviet occupation up to the present time, her economy has played a secondary function as an addition to the economy of Russia and has been an object of colonial exploitation by the metropoly, although the forms of this exploitation have changed constantly.

The military struggle of Muscovy with Ukraine in 1917—1921 was not only a war for political conquest but for economic enslavement as well. In the first place, it was the struggle for the Ukrainian land. Lenin underlined that when he said: "Without the grain from Ukraine we cannot maintain our power," and "the struggle for grain is the struggle for socialism." The Ukrainian peasant was inhumanly and mercilessly robbed. He was forced to give, according to the law of food requisition, all his so-called grain "surpluses." Special plenipotentiaries from Muscovy were sent for this task. Special military detachments were formed which took by force the grain from the peasants free of charge.

The Ukrainian peasants put up a very strong resistance to this robbery by the "brotherly" Muscovites. In one secret Soviet publication issued in 1921, this period is described in the following manner: "During 1919—1920 more than a million Ukrainian insurgents were fighting against us. During this period they killed one hun-

dred and forty thousand red army soldiers, chekists, communists and workers of the grain requisitioning detachments. During the same time organs of the cheka and special military group, according to the official reports only, shot more than four hundred thousand of the insurgents and their helpers—and in spite of that, in the spring of 1921 we have a new wave of rebellions."

It is obvious that in the years of the so-called militant communism in the U.S.S.R., Ukraine was the reservoir from which the Soviet rulers forcibly took the necessary grain and other food products.

The terrific famine of 1921 was the result of such a policy. Ten million people suffered from famine in Ukraine and two million of them perished from hunger.

Soviet Russia quietly but consistently from the first days of its existence had chosen to develop the economy of Ukraine as a supplement to its own economy.

As is well known, the aim of the collectivization, which was forcibly introduced in 1930—1933, was through (the requisition of food products from peasants) to develop a strong industry and in such a way to increase the military potential of the Soviet Union.

The peasants of Ukraine had no desire to go to the Kolhoz. They resisted, because they did not want the Soviet state to rob them in the name of an incomprehensible and alien goal—the building of Communism throughout the world.

Finally, in order to put an end to this resistance, the Soviet government artificially created in the years of 1932—33 a state of famine in Ukraine.

How and according to what plans is the economic development of Ukraine proceeding after the second World War? What is the role of Ukraine in the economy of the U.S.S.R.? The new five-year plan for the years 1946—1951 gives the answer to these questions.

As it is well known, even before the war, the economic policy of the Soviet Union was directed toward the intensive development of heavy industry in the eastern region of the U.S.S.R., i.e., in the region less exposed to the new methods of warfare, mainly in the Ural-Kuznetsk area, this second coal and metallurgical base of the Soviet Union.

At the beginning of the war (1941)



more than a thousand large factories were evacuated from Ukraine to Sioeria and remained there after the end of the war. On the other hand, during the war many new factories were built with the help of the allies in this region.

The new five-year plan emphasizes the orientation on this eastern region. However, Ukraine, with its production of coal, pig iron, and steel, still occupies the second place. Nevertheless, according to the new plan, only 49.5 billion roubles of 19% of the total capital investment of the U.S.S.R. is assigned for the reconstruction of Ukraine while for that of the Ural Siberia which, as is known, were not devastated by the war, 36 billion roubles are apportioned.

During the new five-year plan the output of heavy industry in Ukraine on the whole does not increase, however, much in comparison with the pre-war level, but the Ukraine as before will constitute a very important part in the production of basic materials for U.S.S.R. and will play a considerable role in the economy of the latter.

Scrutinizing the new five-year plan of the U.S.S.R., we notice that the character and the methods of development of the economy of Ukraine is entirely subordinated to that of Muscovy. The new five-year plan is a logical continuation of the policy of the Tsarist Russia for the exploitation of Ukraine on the part of Muscovy. The role of Ukraine is narrowed to that of producing and supplying cheap raw materials (coal, ores, pig iron, manganese) and agricultural products for Muscovy.

Thus the problem of the improvement of the living standard of the population of Ukraine is not solved by the new five-year plan. The living standard of the masses will not be better than in the pre-war years. The new five-year plan is based on the excessive exploitation of the population, and on its systematic undernourishment.

The budget of Ukraine in 1937 formed 4.1% and 10 years later—in 1947—it is only 3.8% of the budget of the U.S.S.R., while the population of Ukraine comprises about 17% of the total population of the Union.

It is apparent that the Ukrainian people, as up to the present, will be kept on a very low level not only politically and nationally, but culturally

and economically as well.

Such are the estimates of the new five-year plan and such are the real perspectives where it projects for the national economy of Ukraine and its people. Undoubtedly such a situation will continue as long as Ukraine is occupied and oppressed, as long as it forms a part of the Soviet Union.

### Physical Destruction of Ukrainians as a Nation

Up to 1939, Ukrainian territories were under the occupation and exploited by several imperialistic States, namely, Poland, Rumania, Hungary and, in the first place, Soviet Russia.

At the end of 1939 Bolsheviks, together with Germans divided Poland and "united" Western Ukrainian territories with their already existing colony the Ukrainian S.S.R. The war between 1941-45 interrupted this fictitious "union" but at the end of the war the new "unification" began, this time all Ukrainian territories were "united" into one Ukrainian S.S.R., under the rules of Red Moscow imperialism.

Every newly acquired part of Ukrainian territory by Bolsheviks is subjected to the well known Soviet policy of being national by its form and socialist by its contents. Under this policy is hidden the fullest exploitation of Ukraine and unscrupulous enslavement of Ukrainian population, its physical destruction and turning into one "Soviet nation."

The whole population of Ukrainian territories in 1941 numbered:

	Millions
In the Ukrainian S.S.R.	.. 41.62
In Crimea .. .. .	1,14
In districts of Rostov, Stalino, Ordzonikidze and Krasnodarsk .. .. .	9.93
In Moldavia .. .. .	4.09
In Ukrainian territories under Poland .. .. .	1.34
	—
Total	57.52

The French scientists in 1920 in a statistic of the World's population stated that there were 48 millions of Ukrainians. Assuming 2 per cent. as normal yearly increase of population there should have been 51.8 millions of Ukrainians in 1939. According to the statistics taken from Soviet sources, Bolshevik's terror between the years 1920-1939 destroyed 12 millions of Ukrainians. This number is more or

less real, if we take into consideration famines in Ukraine in 1921/22 and in 1932/33, purposely organised by the Bolsheviks.

The biological power of Ukrainians is greatly weakened through planned destruction of Ukrainians by the Bolsheviks, through exploitation (the like of which is unknown anywhere else in the world), through starvation and hard labour for the benefit of Moscow. Yet the attitude of the Ukrainian population at the time of the Second World War and increasing revolutionary liberating struggle during and after the war indicate unmistakably that much as they tried, Bolsheviks were not able to destroy the national spirit of Ukrainians and their idea of an independent State.

Statistics of the frequency of Ukrainians in the Communist Party serves as a proof that Ukrainians absolutely and categorically oppose every communist ideology.

Membership of the Communist Party in the U.S.S.R. in 1939 consisted of:

	%	%
Russians ..	73.2	from 58 of pop.
Ukrainians ..	5.7	„ 16.8 „
Byelorussians	2.4	„ 3.1 „
Jews .. .. .	8.8	„ 1.6 „
Others .. .. .	9.9	„ 20.5 „
	100%	100%

Such a small attendance of Ukrainians in the Communist Party characterises not only the attitude of Ukraine to Communism, but also confirms the fact that Communism in Ukraine is continuously being met with the resistance of the Ukrainian people.

Still another aspect that combines exploitation and destruction of the Ukrainian population in the U.S.S.R. are concentration and forced labour camps for political prisoners.

The first concentration camp was set up by the Bolsheviks in 1923. At that time one section of the Communist leaders wanted to destroy political prisoners, sentencing them to death, and the other wanted to keep them in concentration camps. Then the third thought of combining the two ideas won. Since then concentration camps grew rapidly. In 1938/39 there were 18 millions of political prisoners in hundreds of concentration camps of the U.S.S.R., and 13.5 millions of them were Ukrainians.

This huge forced labour army provided the State with 3,645 millions of

working days yearly without pay or reward, or in other words it saved for the State 18,225 millions roubles in pay while producing 91,125 millions roubles' worth of goods yearly.

The Second World War once more confirmed the Bolsheviks intention towards the Ukrainian people. Under the first blows of the German army were sent Ukrainians. The whole war was conducted mainly on Ukrainian territories. The value of Ukraine to the U.S.S.R. was expressed in a speech by Marshal Voroshylov on 22nd June, 1941. "We know," he said, "what the Germans want! They want Ukraine. But we shall show them what Ukraine means to the U.S.S.R."

Throwing Ukraine under the blows of the German army the Bolsheviks obtained a few aims at the same time. Leaving the strongest and best armed forces on the north-western front, the Kremlin leaders caused the German armies to march into Ukraine. By this, ruination and devastation of Moscow and Russian territories was delayed. Thus through the ruin of Ukraine, Moscow was saved. Another of Moscow's aims was to destroy the Ukrainian nation biologically under the cover of war activities. To destroy ruthlessly a nation, with no reason at all and to do it openly was a crime that owing to the world's opinion even the Kremlin could not afford. Therefore under the parole of "defending the Homeland against fascists aggression," the Bolsheviks, on 10 July, 1941, mobilised in Ukraine all men between the ages of 16 to 55 and so obtained, badly armed and untrained an army which they threw against the Germans. No wonder that this army was soon defeated and Ukrainians were killed by Germans by thousands and many thousands more died in German prisoners-of-war camps. Thus Soviet leaders purposely sent masses of badly armed and untrained Ukrainians against the Germans to be killed in order to obtain their political aim of destruction of the Ukrainian people.

Ukrainians having no purpose or desire to defend the hateful Soviet regime and finding the new German occupation just as bad, began to organise their own army, fighting both occupants. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army was created, which, in close co-operation with the Ukrainian underground movement, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, fights till today against the Bolshevik tyranny.

### Exploitation of Ukrainian Culture

Since the very beginning of Russian enslavement of Ukraine, the latter was subjected to the strictest exploitation of her cultural achievements. Literature, art, science, technique, schools, museums, religion—of all this Ukraine had been robbed through the ages for the benefit of the "one indivisible Russia." Ukrainian artists, writers, and scientists were brought from Ukraine to Moscow by the czars as soon as Ukraine became subjugated to Muscovy and Russians could see and recognise the superiority of Ukrainian culture.

Bolsheviks, following their predecessors, grasped in their hands not only the whole political and economic life of Ukraine, but also made all Ukrainian cultural and spiritual achievements to serve their purpose.

One of the chief means and purposes of the destruction of Ukrainian culture is the fact of russification of Ukraine. The Bolsheviks went so far in their russification policy in the Ukraine that it became dangerous to the Bolsheviks themselves.

Partly as an antidote to this policy of russification, which was supported by the terror of the G.P.U.-N.K.V.D., mass arrests and persecution, was the growth of Ukrainian nationalism in its various legal and illegal forms in the

Soviet reality, aiming a heavy blow at the Bolsheviks russification policy. Therefore, all of a sudden, they had to adopt other measures: they began "Ukrainisation" of Ukraine. Now, at the first glance, "Ukrainisation" of Ukraine seems to be a ridiculous and stupid phenomenon, as it equals "russification" of Russia or "chinasation" of China. Yet this new form of cultural exploitation of Ukraine did help Bolsheviks to gain what they intended.

Much suffering, exploited and oppressed Ukraine, however, is unquarable. Ukraine fights back.

We firmly believe as did the traveller who visited Ukraine in the second half of the XIX century, that such a status must change: "There is not the slightest doubt that sometime the great body of the Russian Empire (now the U.S.S.R.—author) will fall apart and Ukraine will become a free and independent country. This time is approaching, slowly but inevitably.

The Ukrainians are a nation with their own language, culture and historical tradition. Temporarily, Ukraine was divided between her neighbours (in 1945 it was unified under the U.S.S.R.—author). But the material for the building of the Ukrainian State is ready: if not now, then tomorrow a builder will arise who will build from these materials a great and independent Ukrainian State."

## THE SPRING OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE CHURCH

Often and often we receive information of a very critical position of the Catholic Church in the States under the Soviet occupation and domination. Moscow Bolshevik imperialism on its march to conquer the world, regards the front of anti-Church, especially anti-Catholic Church activity as one of great importance, as the Church in the anti-Bolshevik struggle is one of the strongest bases of spiritual resistance.

After the terror of anti-Catholic Church activity in Western Ukraine and its formal liquidation in 1946-48, Moscow began anti-Church activity in the satellite States. There are two reasons why this activity last longer and so far does not give the Bolsheviks the desired results: firstly, in the satellite States, anti-Church activity is conducted while being witnessed by the

whole world and the Communists dare not apply such measures as they were able to apply in more isolated Ukraine; secondly, the Catholic Church in Central Europe is numerically stronger and of State importance. Another fact is that against the Ukrainian Catholic Church the Bolsheviks put Moscow orthodoxy into which they intended to convert Catholics and which instance is not so far applicable in the satellite States.

It is felt that the anti-Church activity of the Bolsheviks became stronger in recent months. The year 1950 is regarded as a really critical year for the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Rumania. The Eastern part of Germany will follow, and in Yugoslavia, Tito willingly follows the Kremlin's example and

helps them in their task. Such are the perspectives of the Catholic Church in Central Europe, under Russian domination, that it could be justly regarded as a total offensive against the Catholic Church.

One of the prime tasks of the "ORGINFORM" (the section of the Cominform for the fighting of religion) is to isolate fully the Catholic Churches in the satellite States from the influence of the Vatican. This almost negligible contact which existed up to recent times between the Churches of these countries and the Pope, the Bolsheviks now attempt to discontinue for always. For some time now there has been no Vatican representatives either in Warsaw, Budapest or Belgrad.

They were still until late in Prague and Bukarest. The Czech Government, especially the chief of religious affairs, the Minister of Culture and Justice Cepicka decided to get rid of any unnecessary witnesses long before the time of the general offensive against the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia and expelled the Vatican's auditor, Mousignore Ottavo de Liva from Prague.

In Czechoslovakia especially are in progress attempts to separate lower clergy from bishops, to force them to political collaboration with the State, and if the attempts are unsuccessful, the Communists try to discriminate the church in the eyes of the people.

The second country, where the Government have taken drastic measures against the Catholic Church is Poland. The Polish Catholic Church is no doubt numerically and spiritually the strongest in Central Europe, and it will not be so easy for Warsaw puppets of the Kremlin to deal with it. All the same in a short time the Church there received two heavy blows: firstly the State took over the charitable catholic society "Caritas" and secondly land hitherto in the possession of the church has been nationalised. Polish clergymen are arrested under various pretexts. The Bishop Chechon Kowalski was arrested for alleged opposition to the pro-Communist clergy, and Cracow Jesuits for alleged anti-State activity.

As well in Czechoslovakia, Polish Communists began re-education of catholic priests. Often the militia drag them straight from the altars to the so called "priests gatherings" at which

they are "re-educated" by the political instructors.

In Hungary too, a new wave of the offensive against the Catholic Church and its institutions is noted. The action is the progress to eliminate church influence on the youth education. Moscow recently criticised Rackochy that Hungarian youth does not follow Soviet examples and that, for instance the "Komsomol" (Communist Youth Organisation) in Hungary is not yet organised. The Minister of Education, Darwash, started a campaign for half a million "Komsomols" to be organised during this year. Communists in Hungary attempt also to diminish influence of the church on the family life. At an International Women's Conference held recently in Budapest Rakochy stated that once and for all Church interference with family life must be stopped and this task was entrusted to the Hungarian "progressive women."

Moscow Patriarch, Alexsy, took over, under his jurisdiction 35,000 Orthodox Serbians residing in Hungary, which step is an advance towards "conversion" of two Greek-Catholic dioceses remaining in Hungary.

The fate of the only Vatican representative behind the Iron Curtain, the American Bishop O'Hara in Rumania is going to be similar to that of the Monsiignor de Liva in Czecho-

slovakia. Already against him arise well-known accusations of espionage for the U.S.A. The number of arrested clergymen in Rumania amounts to 2,000, two-thirds of them Greek-Orthodox priests who refused to recognise the Moscow Patriarch Alexey as a head of the Orthodox Church.

To make the picture of the martyrdom of the Catholic Church behind the Iron Curtain complete the fate of the last and only Ukrainian Catholic diocese in Priashiw (Slovakia) ought to be mentioned.

There still remains about 150,000 of Ukrainians, Greek-Catholics who still have their own bishop, V. Rev. Hordych, O.S.M.B. Although the clergymen of his diocese were not free from arrests, especially at the time of the raids of the U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), his church has not yet been officially liquidated. But the situation is changing now. Moscow Patriarch Alexey installed there his representative in the person of a former Russian White emigrant, Alexey Dechtiarow, whom the Patriarch made a bishop and the forced "conversion" into Stalin's Orthodoxy began.

The dark days for the last oasis of Ukrainian Catholic Church are approaching.

## HOW LONG ?

The Senate of the U.S.A., handling the affair of the murder of Polish officers in Katyn, made the first steps towards getting out of the "magic circle" of "non-interference with inner affairs of a foreign State." Americans collected enough material to expose this inhuman crime of Soviet murderers.

But what about Vinnitza? In Katyn, Polish officers were brutally murdered, in Vinnitza they murdered Ukrainian peasants and workers. Why does not the Senate take this and other facts into consideration? Why do they not say something about 28,000 Ukrainian children shot by Bolsheviks near Poltava in 1941? or 5,000 young women who were deported in 1946 to Central Asia, where all of them died of venereal deceases?

These are also the facts that call to heaven for revenge, that speak to the conscience of the free civilised world, that demand justice as well as punish-

ment of blood-thirsty Bolshevik vandals.

## COMMUNIST IN CHARGE OF "THE VOICE OF AMERICA"

Senator MacCarthy delivered a speech in the U.S. Senate, in which he stated that 81 Communists are in the State service in the U.S.A., of whom 57, active Communists held high positions in State Departments, "In the State Department" said Mr. MacCarthy, "is active real fifth column. It is the duty of Republicans as well as Democrats to liquidate this column."

Further Senator MacCarthy stated that three Communists are entrusted with responsible posts. One of them is a Member of Parliament, the other responsible for the international information to whom the broadcasts of the "Voice of America" are subjected, and the third is a secretary to one of the Ministries.

## SOVIET AGENTS OF CORRUPTION

The Bolsheviks in their pursuit to conquer the world, use various methods which they apply in various circumstances and conditions. In every country they have scores of agents, partly sent from Russia and partly recruited from the local population, who, blindly obedient to the Kremlin, become tools of the Bolshevik's policy. Activity of the Bolsheviks' diversion outside the U.S.S.R. is directed by the Cominform, by its various branches, divisions and agencies.

One of the newest agencies of the Cominform is a creation which the Bolsheviks call "Disinform." Its task is to spread lies about the U.S.S.R. to the advantage of the Bolsheviks, to misinform the Western World about life in the Soviet States, to lead astray influential personalities and the press of the West and to provoke corruption in the "Capitalist States" in general.

The task of the agents of "Disinform" is not an easy one. It is difficult to tell lies to people in such a way that, on one hand, to hide the real intentions and, on the other, to make these lies to look as truth most appropriate and useful for them at a certain time. The art of telling such lies must be taught.

In the U.S.S.R.—as it could be at present ascertained—there are six schools of a high type, as to say universities, where the agents of the "Disinform" are trained. There they receive education in methods, tactics and contents of lies. "Professors," students and the "universities" themselves and the whole activity of the "Disinform" are subjected to the Propaganda Bureau of the Cominform.

Agents of the "Disinform" spread all over the world, are acting quite individually. In order to avoid any suspicion they have no connections with the Soviet spies or local Communists. They have in their possession only addresses of helpful points in the different countries in case of need of such. They work quite separately, "individually" and they follow the propaganda tactics of the Cominform to which they add and actively spread about misleading information and entanglements in every question concerning Soviet Russia and satellite States.

Their first task is to misinform those who are on their way to learn the truth about the life behind the Iron Curtain, entangle them in contradiction in such a way as to awake

among them mistrust to their previous sources of information. Therefore they often pretend to be political emigrants, deserters from the Red Army, etc., and they spread information that partly confirm revelations of genuine emigrants. At the same time they contradict them in some aspects, and so create a picture of doubt in the trustworthiness of the other witnesses, who are unskilled in telling lies.

They never contradict wholly the statements of genuine people, but attempt to blacken out the real picture. According to a particular purpose some agents criticise, for instance, economic conditions in the U.S.S.R., but "objectively they are bound to say" that there is in the U.S.S.R., at present, full religious freedom. The others take quite an opposite line. They speak of religious persecution but again "objectively admit" that ship-building and reconstruction of military factories in the U.S.S.R. is at a standstill, and that peasants in the collective farms are enjoying the best of life. Specially prepared is information of a military character.

Their other task is to weaken and soften the attitude of dissatisfaction caused by the news of the continuous terror of the Soviet regime, put this news under doubt and avert the attention of those interested in other subjects. Further, their task is to lead astray various "free thinkers"; to be of assistance to various "progressive" press organs of "independent thought"

trade unions, writers, artists—by supplying them with specially prepared mixture of truth and lies, and so to misinform, disorientate public opinion, to poison it with doubt and uncertainty.

The tasks are not easy. Apart from natural intelligence and shrewdness of the agents, they must also possess a thorough knowledge of the psychology and peculiarities of particular nations. Therefore there are different schools and offices of the "Disinform" intended for different purposes and for work in different countries.

In LATVIA, in the Siguld Castle, under the cover of a Rest House for Soviet artists, the agents of the "Disinform" intended for Germany, England, Scandinavia, and Holland, are being trained.

In THEODOSIA, in the CRIMEA,

in a hotel of the N.K.V.D. dominated Sporting Club "Dynamo" there is a school of "Disinform" for France Spain and South America.

In WENIGROD, near MOSCOW, the "Disinform" agents for the U.S.A. and Canada are being trained.

In CHI'IA, in the Baykal District, there is a school of "Disinform" for China, Siam, and Indonesia.

In BARNAUL, nr. Kirow, there is a school of "Disinform" agents for India, Burma, and Persia.

In the neighbourhood of CONSTANZA, in Rumania, not far from a Jewish camp of repatriates to Palestine, is situated a school of "Disinform" agents intended for the countries of the Near East. Apart from the usual training, the students there also receive a military training under the supervision of the "Stern" gang officers.

No more information about other schools of "Disinform" is available, but it is known that "Disinform" has its training centres in every country outside the U.S.S.R., for the purpose of training local agents, for instance, Spaniards for Spain, Norwegians for Norway, etc., as the local agents work with much greater satisfaction than Soviet citizens.

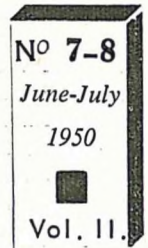
All "Disinform" schools are organized strictly in a military way. The strongest discipline of the students is essential. Agents are forbidden to get into contact with local Communist groups. Before leaving for a particular country they are additionally instructed as to their particular tasks.

So far, over 3,000 agents of the "Disinform" have been trained and many of them are already at work in the countries outside the U.S.S.R.

### ROUBLE BLOC IN THE COMINFORM COUNTRIES

In the near future, according to information from reliable sources, the Rouble will become a basis in the monetary system of the States under Soviet influence. The plan is in existence which will mean that the currency of all the satellite States will be based on Rouble value, in other words, all economic life in these countries will be directed and managed from Moscow. This is another step towards total Russian domination over the Cominform countries.

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE  
**UKRAINIAN  
INFORMATION SERVICE**



*The Message from the Earl of Mansfield*

Logie House,  
Methven, Perthshire.

1st June, 1950.

This Congress, to whose Delegates I send the most hearty greetings, is of supreme importance.

All racial, national, religious, cultural and personal animosities must be laid aside, until the Soviet monster is finally destroyed, that threatens the freedom of all mankind. The Resistance and Partisan Movements in all

oppressed countries, including Russia herself, must be given all possible control, established and developed between them and their compatriots who have the good fortune to be outside the Iron Curtain.

Already there are signs that all is not well with the Soviet system in its very heart, and this Congress can, and will, do much to bring about the eventual overthrow of the cruellest tyranny the world has ever known.

EARL OF MANSFIELD, M.P.

*Greeting of the Scottish League for European Freedom to the Underground Organisations of the Nations Enslaved by Russia*

The Convention of the Scottish League for European Freedom and representatives of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations send their greetings to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc in the native countries, to the Insurgent Armies and detachments and to all Underground Organisations of the enslaved by the Bolshevism nations of Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belorussia, Bulgaria, Cossackia, Croatia, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Latvia, Lithuania, Northern Caucasia, Poland, Rumania, Serbia, Siberia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkestan, and to

Ukrainian Insurgent Army and its great Commander-in-Chief General Taras Chuprynka, as well as to all the nations fighting against Bolshevism behind the Iron Curtain, wishing them endurance and every success as vanguard of the universal anti-Bolshevik struggle: for God and Fatherland, for the Freedom of nations and individuals, for the freedom and salvation of the whole world.

The Convention hopes that all sound anti-Bolshevik powers of the West will favour the struggle of the underground movements.

in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.).

The object of the Convention was to inform the British public opinion about the aims and ways of the liberation of the enslaved by Russia nations, and to express to the Western World their point of view of how to establish lasting peace in the world.

In the Convention took part 35 authorised Delegates from the Underground Movements of the following 17 nations: Latvians, Lithuanians, Belorussians, Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Serbians, Croatians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Ukrainians, Cossacks, North-Caucasians, Georgians, Azerthe Delegates of the Resistance Movements of the nations united in the Idel-Ural. 15 authorised Delegates, members of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. came from outside the British territory. There was also present in corpore the Delegation of the A.B.N. to Great Britain and the Committee of the A.B.N. in the British Zone of Germany was represented by a special envoy.

All the time during the Convention there were present numerous members of the Scottish League for European Freedom and other prominent British guests. Among the foreign guests there was a representative of the Brazilian Government.

ii. On 12th June there was held a Press Conference arranged by the Scottish League for European Freedom at which there were represented the following press organs:

1. Writers Associated Press.
2. Reuter.
3. Press Association.
4. The Scotsman.
5. Daily Express.

**COMMUNIQUE**

The Press Bureau of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (Division West) issued the following communique:

i. On 12th, 13th and 14th June, 1950, under the auspices of the Scottish League for European Freedom there was held the Convention of

6. Daily Mail.
7. News Chronicle.
8. Evening News (Edinburgh).
9. Evening Dispatch (Edinburgh).
10. Glasgow Herald.
11. Daily Record.
12. Near and Far East News Agency.
13. Press correspondents of the national press in exile of the nations subjugated by Bolshevism.

iii. At 7 p.m. on 12th June, Mr. John F. Stewart, the Chairman of the Council of the Scottish League for European Freedom opened the Convention and read the letter of compliments to the Convention from the President of the League, Earl of Mansfield. Mr. John F. Stewart in his opening address stressed the importance of the Convention and especially underlined the role of the liberation movement of the enslaved nations in the defence of the free world against the Bolsheviks' tyranny. The assembly honoured the memory of heroes and martyrs who died in the struggle against Bolshevism by standing still for two minutes.

On the first day of the Convention (12th June) the following addresses were delivered:

1. *The Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations and the Fight of the World against Bolshevism* by Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, former Ukrainian Prime Minister and the President of the Central Committee of the A.B.N.
2. *The Economic Position of the Nations subjugated by Bolshevism*
  - (a) *West* by Mr. Alfred Berzins, former Latvian Minister and President of the Council of Nations of the A.B.N.
  - (b) *East* by Count Veli Kajum Khan, President of National Turkestanian Unity Committee and Vice-President of the Council of Nations of the A.B.N.
3. *The War against Bolshevism and the Military factors represented by the subjugated Nations*
  - (a) *West* by Col. Gen. Ferenc de Kisbarnak, President of the Hungarian Antibolshevik Libera-

tion Movement and the Head of the Military Commission of the A.B.N.

- (b) *East* by Capt. of General Staff, V. Nannuashvili, Chairman of the Georgian National Committee in Great Britain.

On 13th June followed addresses:

1. *The Struggle of the Cossacks against Bolshevism* by Mr. I. Bilyj, the Head of the Cossack Liberation Movement and Mr. W. Glaskow, Chairman of the Executive of Cossack Liberation Movement.
2. *Background of the Bulgarian Resistance Fight for Liberation* by Mr. Stefan Savoff, Member of Presidency of Bulgarian National Front.
3. *Lithuania in Fight against Soviet Russia* by Mr. S. Poviliavicius, authorised by the Lithuanian Underground Liberation Movement.
4. *Liberation struggle of Georgia against Russia* by Mr. M. de Alchbaja, Member of Georgian National Committee.
5. *The Fight of Azerbaijan for Freedom* by Mr. A. Ismail, Member of the Azerbaijanian Liberation Committee.
6. *The Serbian Nation in Struggle against Communist tyranny* by Col. Zivorad Bogdanovic, authorised by the Serbian Liberation Movement.
7. *Croatia Fights against Communism* by Gen. Maj. H. Alabanda, Member of Presidency of Croatian Liberation Committee.
8. *The Struggle of Hungary for Independence and Christianity* by Dr. Luis de Liptay, former Hungarian Minister and Member of Hungarian Liberation Movement.
9. *Idel-Ural Fights for Independence* by Mr. Galip Sultan, Chairman of the New Union of the Struggle for Independence of Idel-Ural.
10. *Northern Caucasus in Fight against the U.S.S.R.* by Mr. N. Bahadur, Head of the Northern Caucasus National Committee.
11. *The Struggle of Belorussian Nation for Independent State* by Dr. S. Stankiewich, Head of

Belorussian National Centre.

12. *Slovak Fight for Independence against Bolshevism* by Mr. Igor Bazovsky, Vice-President of Slovak Liberation Committee.
  13. *The Anti-Bolshevik Struggle of Turkestan* by Mr. V. Rachman, Member of National Turkestanian Unity Committee.
  14. *Liberation Fight of Latvia against Russia* by Mr. Edgardis Betmanis, authorised by Latvian National Committee.
  15. *Ukraine and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army—Role and Contribution to the Common Struggle of the A.B.N. for World Peace and Freedom* by Mr. Zenon Pelenskyj, Member of Presidency of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council.
  16. *Rumania under the Cudgel of Bolshevism* by Lt. Gen. Ion Georgehe, authorised by the Rumanian National Committee.
- iv. After the Chairman of the Council of the Scottish League for European Freedom, Mr. J. F. Stewart read the Resolutions, which were accepted with loud applause, the greetings from the Scottish League for European Freedom and the Convention of the Delegates of the A.B.N. were sent to the *Insurgent Armies, Underground Movements and the whole Nations fighting against Bolshevism*. The Convention of the Delegates of the A.B.N. expressed thanks to the Scottish League for European Freedom, and especially to the Chairman of its Council, Mr. John F. Stewart, for the efforts that made it possible for the Convention to take place.
- By 14th June, 235 letters of compliments and greetings to the Convention were received from political, communal, cultural, youth and other organisations and institutions, as well as from prominent personalities from different parts of the world.
- v. At the end of the Convention, on 14th June, an International Concert was held in which participated British, Latvian, Lithuanian, Ukrainian and Croatian artists and amateurs. The Convention, which had a public character, enjoyed every success.
- Edinburgh, 15th June, 1950.
- PRESS BUREAU of the A.B.N.

## To All Nations of the World, who are still Free

An Appeal of the Convention of the Delegates of the Resistance Movements—Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) held in Edinburgh on the 12th, 13th, and 14th June, 1950, convoked under the auspices of the Scottish League for European Freedom.

*We of the A.B.N.* who are fighting against the bolshevik tyranny, the most dreadful tyranny the world has seen, want the nations of the world who are still free to realize that there is something greater on earth than peace and prosperity, namely, Divine Justice and Freedom.

*We of the A.B.N.* wish the world to realize that it is the duty of every free people to fight for its freedom and that of the whole world which will either be free in its entirety or fall as a whole under the yoke of the powers of evil, under the leadership of insatiable bolshevik Russia.

*We of the A.B.N.* want the world to realize that no single nation can remain neutral, no country avoid taking part in this struggle for the freedom of the individual and on tradition.

*We of the A.B.N.* appeal to the nations of the world who are still free to join us in our battle against the Kremlin and their agents, who, in exploiting the weakness, lack of foresight and indifference of many present-day Western leaders, are undermining the Western world from within, in destroying its moral power, its faith in itself and its spirit of resistance.

*Remember* that our cause, for which we are fighting to-day, will be yours to-morrow, for which you will have to fight whether you want to or not.

*Remember* that the fight into which Moscow has drawn the whole world is not only a fight for this or that economic or political system, but a life-and-death struggle between Divine Truth and the kingdom of Satan.

*Remember* that Communists and totalitarians of all kinds are leading us into chaos, slavery and ruin.

*Remember* that by being neutral, or even merely on the defensive, you are inevitably pronouncing your own death sentence as free nations.

*We* urge that Crusaders in every country should fight against Godless communism. That communist agents and spreading of communist doctrines should be out-lawed.

It should be realized that diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and her Satellites are morally degrading for the Western world.

*We* warn you that masked communists are disintegrating your public life and preparing your country as booty for the foreign invader. In opposing their dangerous and nefarious work you are not only protecting yourself—you are helping us, as we are helping you. Remember that we are fighting for a common Cause.

Remember that you will never be safe from the ever-threatening nightmare of destruction—

until the oppressed peoples in the tremendous Russian Imperium are

once more free, living within their ethnic frontiers, until this imperium of crude force, founded on the blood and sweat and the death of many millions and whose underlying principle is genocide, is broken up into independent national states.

Our aim—freedom for nations and individuals!

Our path—fight without compromise!

Our motto—join forces in a common Cause! Help us and we shall help you!

Freedom-loving nations and people of all the world unite in the fight against Bolshevism for the freedom of nations and individuals.

God and Homeland is our cry.

---

### TO THE CONVENTION OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (A.B.N.) IN EDINBURGH

*John F. Stewart, Esq.,  
Chairman of The Council  
of the Scottish League  
for European Freedom.*

On behalf of the Ukrainian revolutionary fight for freedom, the leadership of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) send hearty greetings to the Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and best wishes for its work. The A.B.N. is now one of the main factors in the political and ideological organisation of the common front in the struggle for liberation that is being fought by many nations against Bolshevism. This struggle is not diminishing. It continues to spread in spite of all Moscow's cruel measures to suppress it, in spite of famine and genocide. The terrorism practised by Bolshevism has reached a peak of ruthlessness hitherto unknown in history. Meantime the revolutionary fight of nations against Bolshevism continues to grow and spread, inspired as it is by concentrated ideals and conducted as it is according to suitable and tried methods of organisation. The anti-Bolshevik struggle of all nations and of each of them in their common front, gains in system, efficiency and success. Moscow, on the other hand, is losing the opportunity it used to have of dealing with one nation after the other. The foundation of this

common anti-Bolshevik front is a common idea, uniting all its members. Its common aim is not only that of destroying imperialist Russia, a prison-house of nations, and the entire system of Bolshevism; it also pursues the constructive idea of attaining complete independence and political sovereignty for each nation. Its aim is no kind of new federation in place of the U.S.S.R., a reconstruction of that organisation, or any other political structure involving the supremacy, either open or disguised, of one nation over others. The ideal of national and individual freedom, of social justice and the development of the free powers of creation of every nation can only be realised by establishing the sovereignty of national states in place of the U.S.S.R. The nations in the A.B.N. are bound together by a strong common desire for liberty for themselves and other nations, by respect for the values of the dignity and sovereignty of every nation, no matter whether it be great or small.

Every nation will contribute its share to the common struggle in accordance with its power, with the strength and intensity of its ideas, and according to its clear attitude to the liberation of other nations.

The Convention of the A.B.N. will surely consolidate the Anti-Bolshevik front of liberation and further the power of ideas in the world by pro-

## THE IMPORTANCE OF THE A.B.N. CONVENTION IN EDINBURGH

The object of the Convention in Edinburgh of delegates of the anti-Bolshevik resistance movements behind the Iron Curtain was to bring to the notice of the English-speaking world the existence of resistance movements in their own countries and of a co-ordinating centre called The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, whose task it is to co-ordinate the planning and timing of the resistance activity in all countries within the Russian sphere. Such co-ordination has been made possible due to the similarity of conditions in which the subjugated peoples are living under Communist domination. All these nations have common ideals. They are their belief in God and striving for Freedom. It has found expression in the call: "Freedom for nations, freedom for individuals." It means national independence for all peoples and full respect for human rights.

The common ideals of Freedom make the subjugated nations, too, allies of the free Western world, to whom the A.B.N. appealed from Edinburgh for collaboration. The traditionally Christian and democratic West understands well the struggle for Freedom of the

nations of East Europe and Asia. Every sincere democrat would gladly see all these peoples free in their own independent States, and he realises that their struggle for the great common Cause of Freedom.

The great importance of the A.B.N. Convention lies, first of all, in the fact that it took place and that this freedom loving country, Great Britain, granted hospitality to the delegates. A communion of freedom-loving people has been established and will develop further. The Western world has learned that the many millions of oppressed people behind the Iron Curtain still keep faith and are struggling for their own and the Western world's freedom, and a section of the British press gave appreciation to this important reality. On the other part, the anti-Bolshevik masses in the U.S.S.R. and in the satellite States will also be told about this Convention and will learn that they are not abandoned, that the true friends of Freedom all over the world go with them and sympathize with their fight for independence, which is a fight for the Freedom of the World. The Fighters for Freedom certainly deserve such encouragement.

### THE APPRECIATION

We—representatives of the Organisations of resistance of the enslaved by Bolshevism nations, united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, wish to express our sincere gratitude to the Scottish League for European Freedom, and in the first place to its Chairman, Mr. John F. Stewart, as well as to all its members, with the deep appreciation of all their great efforts in order to make this Convention possible and successful.

claiming the lofty aims uniting many nations in a common front and by bearing witness to their struggle before the world. The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and the entire revolutionary movement of liberation in the Ukrainian people wish the Convention every success.

Freedom for nations and individuals in sovereign, national states!

STEFAN BANDERA.

Chairman of the O.U.N.

Our call: For God and Fatherland, Freedom for nations and individuals will always lead us in our struggle.

Now, as we will leave your old, eminent and full of glory City of Edinburgh, we believe that our ideas will remain and find an understanding among those who listened to us so friendly.

The Scottish League for European Freedom, and particularly its Chairman, Mr. John F. Stewart, will symbolise to the movements of resistance the freedom-loving Europe which will never submit itself to the tyranny, and we sincerely hope that our underground struggle will find its support from the sound European Powers.

The name of Mr. John F. Stewart, a great friend of the underground movements, who understands their ideas better than anyone else, will find a great appreciation among the fighters for freedom behind the Iron Curtain.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) is hoping that the appeal from Edinburgh to the still free World

### "U.P.A. FIGHTS NOT ONLY FOR THE INDEPENDENT UKRAINE, BUT ALSO FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE WEST"

Dutch newspaper, *De Nasbode*, in one of its recent editions printed an article about the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and about the Ukrainian struggle for independence in general. The whole article was written in a very friendly and sympathetic attitude towards the Ukraine and her struggle.

The article criticises the West that they are not interested enough in the struggle for "Christianity, civilisation and freedom, which even now goes on in the countries under communist domination."

The West seems not to be aware of the fact that behind the Iron Curtain now exists "a quite normal army, the U.P.A., which has its own officers and chaplains and that those soldiers have their own uniforms and armour."

About the relationship of the Ukrainian underground movement towards such movements of other enslaved nations, the article says: "The political leadership of the U.P.A. understood that the liberation of Ukraine was possible only when Russian imperialism in every form was destroyed. Therefore the underground movements of other nations were contacted and in 1943 the antibolshevik front of all nations, enslaved by Russia—the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations was instituted."

And further we read:

"The Western States had already many opportunities to meet the soldiers of the U.P.A. As from 1947 those soldiers often managed to get through to the West. The insurgents state that these raids to the West they completed on orders of General Taras Chuprynka. Envoys of the U.P.A. want in this way to prove to the Western world that the Soviet colossus is not unconquerable, and that behind the Iron Curtain the allies of the Western hemisphere continue the struggle not only for their own freedom, but also for the freedom of the West."

for new champions against the powers of darkness will not remain without a response.



## THE POSITIONS OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK FRONT OF NATIONS AND THE FIGHT OF THE WORLD AGAINST BOLSHEVISM

By Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, former Ukrainian Prime Minister, representing the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The purpose of this Conference is to inform the British public of the aims and ideals of our struggle, our point of view on the problem of establishing a lasting peace among the nations of the world. In my speech I shall stress ideological and political side of the problem. My speech may appear perhaps too theoretical in character. The reason of this may lie in the fact that we, the representatives of enslaved nations, have rarely an opportunity of addressing the Western World and we can express our view only along general lines without emphasizing particular situations and aspects.

At the same time I would like, now at the opening of our Conference, to express my cordial thanks to the Scottish League for European Freedom and especially to its President, to the Chairman of the Council, Mr. John F. Stewart, for the great opportunity they have given us in making our views known to your great public.

### THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT AND ITS AIMS

*Ideological crisis in the West.  
New faith and national idea will  
save the world from Bolshevism.  
Advance of materialism against  
spirituality of the West.*

### The Menace of Bolshevism

The menace of Bolshevism wanders not only through Europe but also through the whole world. We are approaching not only the most horrible inter-state war, but, what is even more dangerous, civil wars which Communism attempts to provoke. Relatively large circles of the West are greatly influenced by Communism. Communism is not only a social, political and economic movement, but it is especially an ideological one. Some part of the intellectual and

economic elite of the West, the elite of "the Fifth Columnists," although being in sound material positions support Communism which for them becomes a new religion. And to Russian imperialism this religion does a very good service. The well known Russian philosopher, Nicolay Bordiayev characterises Bolshevism as follows: "Bolshevism is the third form of Russian imperialism, Russian 'Great Reich.' Bolshevism is purely a Russian phenomenon. Who wants to get into the depths of it, he must uncover national roots of Bolshevism and explain its genesis on the basis of Russian history."

Whenever a particular purpose demands, Bolshevism would stand equally for panslavism and for Stalinite orthodoxy, for Islam and for "liberation" of the so-called colonial peoples, etc. And finally for the so-called liberation of the working people of the whole world with only one aim: to subject the globe to the power of Moscow. Communism is only an instrument for pressing misled sections of the Western world into its service. The treason of our own nation in the interests of an alien national centre is nowadays a common phenomenon. How did it happen that Western circles, in themselves normal and healthy, should have fallen victims to this foreign and hostile idea? Bolshevism strengthened its advance to conquer the world. It is impossible now to localise this danger.

All the nations of the world must take up this fight of defence against disintegration, undermining, against the formation of fronts within themselves as these are of great assistance to the Russian aggressor in a war between nations.

The whole world must be prepared to overthrow the Russian aggressor in the war between states which it tries to provoke. No lasting peace is possible until this victory is won and

the ideas of freedom and justice realised. And this victory must be shared by all healthy powers in the world which is why any discussion of the first cause of this strife must be universal in character.

### The Necessity of Great Ideas

In comparison with the position in the U.S.S.R., the life of all the workers, as well as all social conditions is decisively more favourable in the West; yet Communism is able to continue its campaign of unrest and destruction. And this is not all done as a result of money spent by the Kremlin. Indeed, the main responsibility must be attributed to the collapse of a section of the public of the West, to the absence of great ideas which alone provide a meaning for life.

Fanatics, who are inspired by their faith in Communism and supported by all the means at Moscow's disposal exist in the West alongside with a complete ignorance of the national champions of freedom, of the revolutionary underground movements and Churches among the nations enslaved nations. Certain Western Church leaders even profess sympathy with Bolshevism, at the time when Christian, Mahomedan and other true religions are being cruelly persecuted behind the Iron Curtain.

Titoism, a variation of Bolshevism, is wrongly regarded in the West as antagonistic to Bolshevism and subsequently supported, while underground movements are regarded as not worthy of their support, although Bolsheviks have not succeeded in quelling them five years after the cessation of the war, which in itself is Stalin's greatest defeat.

The world will be saved not by the Atom bomb, which is or may be also in the Russian possession, but by a new faith, a renaissance of the religion and national idea as well as the solution of the vital problems in the spirit of national solidarity and social harmony and justice. The attack of the materialism could be stopped only by the counter-attack, by the religious, national and social idealism. Only nations who are inspired by the great can conquer Bolshevism. People have fallen at the barricades for the sake of a grand vision of justice, even if imperfectly understood, but not in protest against a temporary condition of misery, although, wherever this exists in the West, must be liquidated

to make room for the new order, if the fight against Bolshevism is to be successful.

Now is not the time for tactical considerations. We are in the midst of conflict between ideas and creeds, a conflict that makes the fight behind the Iron Curtain continue uninterrupted. Millions of men are falling for the sake of a higher meaning in life.

### The Enemy's Camp

If we look at this conflict of ideas from a universal point of view, we see that there are two completely hostile camps. The Communists, supported by Russia, and the camp of the national idea which unites all healthy powers in the world. The Communist campaigns at spreading hegemony over slaves, with no regard for the rights of the individual, the nation or religion. That is the camp of barbarism and slavery. Its victory would mean the end of our civilisation. The other camp opposes Bolshevism without compromise, not only by actions, but also by ideas; it regards religion and the national idea as the fundamental social powers behind history, which represent man as the image of God, and the freedom of man and its limitation, social justice, excluding the exploitation of man not only by fellow-men, but also by the state. The resurrection of a religious ideal will liberate life from barbarism, re-establish the independence of the nations oppressed by Bolshevism, promote the interests of the individual as a member of the nation and develop national culture and tradition; in this way organic order will be restored to the world. The security of all the rights of a man as a member of a nation (and there is no other man) means complete independence for the nation, without which there could be no real human liberty. Such is the banner under which the fight behind the Iron Curtain is fought.

The ideas of certain circles in the West which deny the individuality and sovereignty of nations are not calculated to oppose Bolshevism with success, because they are akin to it in their neglect of national and patriotic obligations. Nor do they promote the growth of man as an individual, or family as an institution; they nourish religious indifference, thus creating conditions favourable to disintegration by Communism. The U.S.S.R. cannot be conquered by a similar, even if

superior, form of a universal super-state, but only by an idea diametrically opposed to it, namely the division of the U.S.S.R. into national states in accordance with their sociological development, thus parcelling the world out and giving every nation its independence; only thus can the unity of the equal and the free be assured, with harmony and mutual help among the nations of the world.

There is no bridge to the social ideal of Communism, still less to its political and intellectual world. That is why federalism which disparages the ideal of national independence, the most inspiring ideal for the nations fighting behind the Iron Curtain, is not favourable to the struggle against Bolshevism, because it regards the sovereignty of their nation for its members, i.e., the central thought of the struggle, as a relative value and sets up as its aim a construction which does not contradict Bolshevism.

There is only one effective instrument for fighting an anti-patriotic, anti-national, anti-religious, regimented system, and that is an organic, patriotic and religious power. Whoever seeks to compromise in any way with the ideas proclaimed by the Bolshevik digs his own grave.

### THE POLITICAL FRONT AND ITS AIMS

*The reconstruction of national states. The partition of the Soviet Union, as the prison of nations. Chaos has been brought into the world by Russia and not by the national states. National principle of the organisation of life on the ruins of the Russian prison of nations—guarantee of the peace.*

### The Fundamental Political Aims

In order to conquer Bolshevism it is necessary to recognise the principle of the independence of nations and for that reason it is necessary to liquidate the Russian dungeon of nations as a symbol of tyranny and barbarism which destroys the faith in God, kills all human feelings and is the cause of all evil of the present age.

Our common front is justified by accepting the division of the prison of nations into individual states on their ethnic territories, in which these nations have for centuries and longer determined their right to an independent existence, having confirmed that

right through their blood and their labour; it is therefore not a matter of declaring that right, but of realising it; i.e., of reconstructing sovereign states.

The oppressed nations repudiate every form of the Russian prison of nations, whether totalitarian, "democratic," republican or monarchist, and therefore every form of federalism in the East of Europe and in Asia, because this idea always conceals aggressive motives on the part of its representatives. Such an uncompromising attitude strengthens the anti-bolshevik front, because it inspires it with something that is more just. Nor can it be repudiated by the Russian people, if they are not aggressors, but their imperialistic section. For there is no power in the world with the moral right to keep nations from fulfilling their longing for freedom. The powers in the people of Moscow which are opposed to this divine human right, identify themselves with Bolshevism and stand for the greatest crime in the world and the danger it threatens. It is therefore wrong to say that the A.B.N. (Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations) repudiates the people of Moscow and sets the West against them. It is the aim of the A.B.N. to unite all nations on the basis of the recognition of the highest ideas of freedom for nations and freedom for individuals. Whoever does not accept this excludes himself from our front. It is not that the West has to choose between us and the Russians, but between the ideals of the future order of the world. If it chooses Christianity as the basis of the future order and the principle of nationality on which the life will be built up after Bolshevism is destroyed, it favours our struggle for freedom, i.e., for national states, and, in the fight against Bolshevism, it would have the support of healthy sections of the Russian people and of all the oppressed peoples. But if it decides for any new form of a united and indivisible prison of nations in Russia, it will be opposed by the front of the enslaved nations; the imperialistic powers of Russia, however, which it wished to gain on their side, will be as much against the West as they always were, are and will be, because such is their character and their attitude. Russian pseudo-democrats weaken the anti-bolshevik front, because by protecting the dungeon of nations, they lead the West astray and prevent it from pursuing a logical straight policy of destruction of the

prison of nations. And without this destruction there will be no victory over Bolshevism. Bolshevism, not without the help from the West re-erected the dungeon of nations of the Czars, after national revolutions had pulled it down. Now the pseudo-democrats are once more asking for the help of the West to save this prison of nations after Bolshevism has been destroyed. Should they succeed thanks to the help of the West, they would hand over the government to some other tyrant, just as Kyrnsky, the pseudo-democrat handed it over to the despots in 1917. For as Witto, the Russian Minister declared, the Russian Empire can only be maintained by despotism. Whoever is in favour of an indivisible Russia, no matter what its colour, is preparing the way for new tyrants. To put an end to tyranny over nations, once for all, the prison of nations must be destroyed.

### **Destructive Role of Russia**

It is well known that Russia, in the 800 years of her existence, has conducted many wars of aggression for the subjugation of the world—and Russia has not changed, whether under the Czars or Bolshevism. In the course of her conquests, she never discovered new countries, never raised the culture and civilisation of the conquered nations; she always conquered the older nations on a higher standard of culture than her own, sucked their life-blood, profited from their cultural and economic achievements, and degraded their spirit. The economy of the oppressed nations was not supplemented by Moscow for the good of all; it was always exploited for armaments so as to subjugate the whole world.

So it always has been. Moscow as the conqueror, never helped the oppressed, but only exploited them. The oppressed nations do not live at Russia's expense, but Russia at their's. There is therefore no justification for saying that national states, established on the ruins of the prison of nations would not be economically able to exist.

### **The Guarantee of Lasting Peace in the Future**

The lasting world peace will only be established when a state exists among nations in which the independence, the sovereignty, the dignity, the natural

rights and needs of every nation is respected. There is no doubt that artificial structures will be always a danger to the world, as they make the collection of immense economic and human reserves possible and thus pave the way for more and more weapons of destruction. The Soviet Union with the fifth columnists is spreading chaos throughout the world to-day. Any small conflicts that may arise between nations cannot be regarded as a serious danger to the world's peace.

### **The Construction of the Political Independence of the enslaved Nations**

The following states will be established on the ruins of the U.S.S.R.: Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Karelia will be returned to Finland, Belorussia, Ukraine, Cossakia, North Caucasia, Georgia, Armenia, Azarbejan, Turkestan, Idel-Ural (between the Volga and the Ural) and the Russian state within its ethnic frontiers. States in the west and the far east of Siberia which have developed in the history of that country, in accordance with the national and political character of its inhabitants and in consequence of its position, also waits for a solution of their problems. (Siberia declared its independence after the collapse of the Czarist regime).

Sovereignty will be restored to the satellite states which will have to be reconstructed according to national and ethnic principles. Russia is not a homogeneous formation; nor would her division mean splitting up into atoms and chaos, but a reconstruction of the natural and organic order of things.

When an artificial structure collapses, natural, geo-political complexes will arise. Turkestan, once it is liberated and united will gravitate towards the complex of south-west Asia, Caucasia to the Black Sea and the Asia Minor. Ukraine as the country bordering on the Black Sea to the complex of the Mediterranean; Cossakia, along with the Ukraine will block Moscow's predatory expansion towards the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. The Russian state itself will have sufficient room and resources within its ethnic frontiers to satisfy its natural needs.

It is only when we realise that the oppressed nations which belong to different geo-political complexes were forcibly held together in an artificial structure, that we understand how

these nations, when liberated will free connections with all the nations of the world. It is difficult to over-estimate the importance to world politics of the fact that no single great power would exist between the Oder and the Pacific Ocean. Such an order would be bound to have a favourable influence on Western Europe.

### **Security Against the Aggressor**

The nations organised in the A.B.N. will settle international disputes on the basis of ethnography, and will also repair wrongs done, by Bolshevism especially (the return of deported populations, etc.). Interstate alliances for defence, with mutual military and economic aid and corresponding organisations of interstate co-operation, guarantee organised and systematic security against the aggressor, all the more as new alliances will be formed with other partners, who had hitherto opposed Russia as a great power but who could form an alliance, say with Turkestan or Ukraine to protect common interests of an economic or political nature. We can get a true picture of the whole situation only if we see a number of independent nations instead of the despotic great power of Russia to-day, nations which can form free connections in economics and culture with independent states throughout the world.

The connections between all these reconstructed sovereign states will be regulated in accordance with connections between all the nations of the world within world institutions, which will have to be built on the basis of equal rights of all the nations; but it is impractical and impossible to fit A.B.N. nations into uniform regional structures, stretching from Tirana to Port Arthur. The nations enslaved by Moscow have gone through hell together and they have learned to respect each other's rights; they will strengthen the moral principles of international alliances.

Any threat of danger in the future, for instance, the threat of China, which actually exists only in the imagination of Russian propagandists, could be successfully neutralised by the block of free nations who would protect their own independence, as the Russian prison of nations never could or would do, now that it has pressed the entire human reserve of China into its service in order to subjugate the world, as the coping stone of Russian

Zenon Pelenskyj,  
Member of the Presidency of  
Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council

## UKRAINE

### HER ROLE AND CONTRIBUTION IN THE COMMON STRUGGLE OF A.B.N. FOR WORLD PEACE AND FREEDOM

This report on the Ukrainian question within the broader frame of the Antibolshevik Block of Nations, should not and would not linger upon explanations—what Ukraine is, and what the Ukrainians do want? So don't expect to hear a survey of the history of Ukraine, the description of her geography, the review of her economy or a treatise about her national psychology. There is neither time, nor a necessity for that in this assembly. Who happens not to be sufficiently instructed about the basic fate of Ukraine, a nation of 45 millions of people, politically submerged almost for centuries, he be advised to refer to the pertinent expert literature.

Regarding Ukraine, however, there are some basic truths which should be stressed shortly just now so as to enable us to come to the vital points of this report later. As such self-evident truths the Ukrainians regard:

1.—That Ukraine and Russia are two thoroughly separate nations, Ukrainians and Russians are two profoundly heterogeneous peoples, with divergently different languages, culture, religious notions, philosophy of life, economic concepts and moral standards;

2.—That Ukrainians, though repeatedly conquered and subjugated, though hammered forcibly into the artificially unified pattern of the Russian Empire, nevertheless they never surrendered morally, never discarded the consciousness of their innate human rights; on the contrary, for centuries they fought persistently,

despotic imperialism. It is, historically speaking, a great mistake to consider that the Russian prison of nations balances other possible dangers (Japan, China) as it is cunning enough to play off the second partner in the balance against its creator. How, then, should the oppressed nations ever gain their freedom?

though with different means and methods, for their liberty and freedom;

3.—That the Ukrainians never had, and never will endanger, conquer or subjugate other nations, especially their neighbours, and that the Ukrainian people always was, is at present, and always will be yearning to live with other nations in peace and brotherly friendship;

4.—That the Ukrainians, being by custom and instinct a traditionally democratic nation, they regard the people as the source of all political and economic power; they insist that the principal aim of all governments should be pursuit of happiness, the freedom, the peace and the welfare of all the people;

5.—That the Ukrainians, in contrast to the aforesaid, always hated and disdained all forms and sorts of physical, mental or moral constraint and tyranny, and that this is one of the principal reasons why Ukrainians always opposed, and always will oppose innately and traditionally tyrannical forms of all Russian governments. The Ukrainians know by bitter experiences, accumulated during long centuries, that in Muscovy, the proper Russia, there never was and never can be established a true democracy. The Muscovite master nation, invariably bound for conquest and exploitations, is always ready rather to discard their personal rights and liberties, than to renounce their imperialism. The repudiation of democracy is the price Moscow is always gladly paying for external growth and domination;

6.—That the Ukrainians always saw, and continue to see the fulfilment of their basic human rights only in and by the creation of their own fully independent national state, established throughout all their ethnographic territories, where they historically live in clear majority;

7.—That the Ukrainians never will unite with other nations and build up forms and patterns of international

collectivism whatsoever, except through the consent and by the means of their own sovereign national state.

Now, let us come to the actualities of to-day. I claim for the Ukrainians a special position within the broader pattern of the Antibolshevik Block of Nations. This special position does not mean, of course, that the Ukrainians regard themselves as being something "better," somebody more "elevated" than the others; for sure they claim no "priority," or "leadership," and possess not a vestige of the typically Russian arrogance as to pose as the so-called "elderly brother," or the "most progressed community," or the "leading nation" within their Commonwealth of jailkeepers and slaves.

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

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

Moscow would rather release the Baltic nations from her domination, or Poles, or Czechs, or Slovaks, or the nations of the Danube Valley, or even the peoples of the Caucasus, but Moscow would never consent to give up the Ukraine—unless she is forced to. Of course, the liberty and security of all nations "released" and "freed" in such a manner, would be more than problematical. Once in possession of Ukraine, the bridge between the Baltic

Sea and the Caucasus, Russia automatically again becomes an Empire, and with that, all other adjacent nations are *ipso facto* inexorably doomed. And this is the moral: nobody of our nations can expect for herself some extra favours, some sort of individual escape, a better treatment by Russia. All of us stand or fall together.

There is no possibility of escaping the conclusions: as long as there exists a Russian Empire, there never would be, and there never can be, peace and freedom in the world. The road to the peace and freedom in the world leads not through the chimerical expectations with regard to the so-called "democratization of Russia," this road goes outright and solely through the rubble and ruin of the Russian Empire. The Ukrainians plead unflinchingly for the dismemberment of the Russian Empire. For the peace of the world it is incontestably better to have the Russian Empire dismembered and divided into twenty nations, even if they should keep warring locally, which is quite improbable, than to have one Russian colossus warring and endangering the whole world, which is not only probable, but as experience shows, with growing states and modern empires, the technical Leviathans of to-day, there grows potentially the danger of war; and on the contrary, the smaller and more numerous the states, the less frequent, the less bloody, the more local and human are the wars.

There is no possibility of destroying the Russian Empire without severing Ukraine from Russia. With Ukraine free—all will be free. With Ukraine enslaved—all will be, all have got to be, enslaved. Apart from mutual sympathy and friendship born among the nations of A.B.N. under the duress of the commonly experienced Russian prosecution, there inevitably develops

and grows also the sense of common hard interest; the guarantee of the liberty of one of our nations, is the guarantee of the liberty of all other nations. This principle applies first to the situation of Ukraine.

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

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

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

ZENON PELENSKYJ.

## THESES OF THE A.B.N.

1. For centuries Russian imperialism has been directed towards the destruction and extermination of neighbouring peoples. For the last three decades, Bolshevism, the most dreadful form of Russian imperialism, has been trying to establish world hegemony and to extirpate the religion, culture and all spiritual values, the dearest possession, of freedom-loving

nations.

2. After the Second World War Bolshevism has added many nations in Central and Eastern Europe and in Asia to the long list of nations who have been oppressed; some of them for centuries. These are the peoples so-called satellite states, who are thus hurried into the bolshevist prison-house of nations.

3. The Communist party, the so-called "Fifth Columns", are working everywhere in the world as pioneers of Russian imperialism under the direct command of Moscow. They will not rest until the Communist world revolution has become a fact, i.e., until all nations are under the control of Moscow.

4. The front of battle against Russian imperialism is therefore not confined to the frontiers of the Soviet Union; it exists, rather, within every nation where the Communist party, and the so-called "Fifth Columns" are active.

5. There is a strong battle-front against Bolshevism behind the Iron Curtain. There, all the nations oppressed by Russia are fighting for freedom. There is no peace for these nations, the war goes on, nor will it cease until the Russian prison-house is burst open. In order to conduct this fight more effectively, these nations have formed a common front, which is expressed in the anti-bolshevist bloc of nations, the A.B.N.

The following nations are represented in the A.B.N.: Albania, Armenia, Aserbaidjan, Belorussia, Bulgaria, Esthonia, Georgia, Idel-Ural, Kosakia, Croatia, Latvia, Lithuania, North Caucasia, Rumania, Serbia, Siberia, Slovakia, Slovenia, the Czechs, Turkestan, Ukraine and Hungary.

6. The A.B.N.-nations have been bearing the burden of the struggle against Bolshevism, some of them for more than 30 years, some for 5 years. In so doing, they are aware that they are fulfilling a great mission in history towards the civilised world. Thanks to the resistance of these nations, in part at least, Europe was saved from Bolshevism after the First World War and the Russian expansion has not swallowed the rest of Europe after the Second World War.

7. The nations outside of the Iron Curtain are not fully aware of the danger of Russian Bolshevism. This danger cannot be removed by the adoption of half-measures. The illusory policy of the so-called preservation of peace at any price with Bolshevism (the world's enemy), in order to live undisturbed for the moment, is not far-sighted and is based on false premises, for such a peace can be purchased only for a short time. Moreover, it is most immoral for it prolongs, without any purpose, the terrible suffering of hundreds of millions of human beings

on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

8. In spite of the attitude of the rest of the world, the A.B.N. nations will continue their fight for freedom until Bolshevism as a system and an idea has ceased to exist, which the A.B.N. nations are firmly convinced will happen sooner or later.

This fight will cost millions of lives but the sacrifice could be reduced if the rest of the world were to take up a more decided attitude towards Bolshevism.

9. In view of the danger of Bolshevism for the world, the A.B.N. appeals for the foundation of an anti-bolshevist front by all freedom-loving peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

10. The A.B.N. puts its faith in a way of life that is founded on idealism and religion and repudiates materialist and Marxist principles and all manner of political doctrines that have proved themselves to be pioneers for Russian Bolshevism.

That is why the A.B.N. appeals to the rest of the world to declare itself likewise in favour of a way of life that is based on idealism and religion and to act accordingly, for it alone can successfully resist the ideas of Bolshevism.

11. It is not the intention of the A.B.N. nations to play the part of agitators for a new war, as they have had sufficient personal experience of the suffering brought by the First and Second World Wars. But it is not a matter of avoiding a new war at any price. That will come, sooner or later, in consequence of unceasing Bolshevist machinations. It is a question of winning the war for the highest human ideals, for there is only one alternative: to conquer or be conquered by Bolshevism.

12. The A.B.N. will try to win all the freedom-loving peoples who have been forced into the Bolshevist system and who have not yet joined the A.B.N. for the common fight against the common enemy.

13. The A.B.N. claims full support from Western peoples for the national liberation movements of the nations oppressed by Moscow. This is not to be regarded as one-sided help, but as the defence of the freedom of all civilized nations and their culture.

14. In the interests of political stability, the A.B.N. is opposed to every attempt to preserve a Russian imperium, no matter of what political

system. The renewal of Russian imperium would be a continual danger for the peace of the world, no matter which form it took. It would at the same time be a negation of the right of self-determination of the peoples.

15. The A.B.N. is opposed to National Communism (Titoism) for it has smoothed the way for expansion of Russian Bolshevism. All forms of Communism prevent nations from developing their life freely.

16. The A.B.N. is against the re-establishment of the situation as it was before 1939, for it was unjust for many nations. Too little consideration was given to the ethnic principle and no account was taken of nations oppressed by Bolshevism. This caused discontent in different nations and this in turn was exploited either by National Socialism or by Bolshevism.

17. The A.B.N. fights for the exter-

mination of Bolshevism and every kind of Russian imperialism, for the breaking down of the U.S.S.R. and for the reconstruction of independent states for all the nations oppressed by Moscow.

The A.B.N. demands that these states be organised on ethnic foundation and in accordance with every nation's right to self-determination.

The A.B.N. demands further from its member nations that they continue in close and friendly co-operation after they have regained their freedom and independence. Such co-operation will be essential not only in the interests of the cultural and economic development of the A.B.N. nations, but also as adequate protection in the future against attack from Moscow or elsewhere.

PRESS BUREAU OF A.B.N.  
June, 1950.

## SLOVAK FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE

The Slovak fight against Communism started in 1917-1918, when the Bolsheviks were getting power in Russia in one of the most bloody revolutions of history. Slovak soldiers who were as prisoners of the First World War in Russia did not hesitate to fight against the Leninists when they saw their murderous terror there. Under the command of the Slovak General Stefanik, our soldiers fought many battles with the Bolshevik hordes on the rivers Don and Volga, in Buzuluk and Kazan, and also in Siberia. Thousands of them lost their lives there. They had to stop, however, their fight, when Thomas Masaryk—who was then in Moscow—concluded with Lenin in February 1918 an agreement, and ordered—as head of a so-called Czecho-Slovak National Council—all Slovak troops to stop the war against the Bolsheviks. General Stefanik opposed Masaryk's order because he saw in Communism the most devilish thing produced by insane brains, he saw in it the work of Anti-Christ. He said that any collaboration with Communism means loss of honour, and of prestige. He had to pay with his life for his views. He was murdered as the first great hero of the Slovak nation's fight against Communism on the 5th May, 1919.

The following years saw Slovakia

incorporated into Czecho-Slovakia by Thomas Masaryk without a vote or consent of the Slovak people. In the Czecho-Slovak State, which never existed before, the Slovaks were not a free people. They had to struggle for their most elementary political rights. Two great leaders of that time, Andrej Hlinka and Martin Razuš, encouraged the Slovak people to stand for the principles of Freedom, for the Christian way of life and to oppose infiltrating Communism by all possible means. Hlinka was a Catholic priest, Razuš a Lutheran pastor, and they worked in harmony together.

When Czecho-Slovakia concluded her treaty of alliance with the Soviet Union in 1936, waves of protest went through entire Slovakia and culminated finally in the burning of a copy of that alliance-treaty and of a Soviet flag at a big public meeting in Bratislava.

When in 1938-1939 Czecho-Slovakia collapsed, in consequence of her oppressive policy against non-Czech nationalities, the Slovaks proclaimed their Independence. One of the first acts of the Slovak Government was the dissolution and prohibition of the Communist party in Slovakia. This decree was initiated and signed by Minister Dr. F. Durčanský, the present President of the Slovak Liber-

ation Committee. Mainly for this decree he was sentenced to death by a Communist people's court in 1947.

The independent Slovak Republic under its President-Martyr Dr. Joseph Tiso was in war with the Soviet Union from 1941. As in 1917-1918, now again, the Slovak Army fought on the river Don, took Rostov and fought in the Caucasus. The Ukrainians, the Cossacks and the Caucasian peoples welcomed our Slovak soldiers as their best and old friends.

But to the end of the war, when Nazi Germany was collapsing the armies of Soviet General Malinovsky occupied the Slovak Republic, deprived our people of Independence and re-established a people's democratic Czecho-Slovakia against the will of the Slovak people. For his anti-Communist attitude and because he faithfully stood for he wishes of his people to remain independent, President Tiso was executed by the Czechoslovak Bolsheviks on the 18th April, 1947.

The Slovak Resistance Movement began its work immediately after the occupation of Slovakia by the Red Army. It was the Slovak Action Committee founded by Minister Durcansky which took the initiative. Anti-Communist underground cells were formed in Slovakia with the aim of preparing the liberating fight. In 1946 and 1947 strong activity of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army started in Slovakia. Over 20,000 V.D.A. freedom-fighters came to Slovakia and the Slovaks joined forces with their Ukrainian friends. Short-wave transmitters were used for keeping in touch with the leaders of the Slovak Action Committee abroad. Gottwald's Communist Government made all possible efforts to counteract the insurgent activity in Slovakia. Troops were ordered to fight the guerillas and in order to mislead the Slovak population the Communists started to set up their own Action Committees, using this very popular name of the underground movement. This was followed by the Communist putsch of November, 1947, in Bratislava and of February, 1948, in Prague, and Communist Action Committees were established throughout the country. It caused a set back, but the Slovak anti-Communist Action Committee changed its name to Slovak Liberation Committee and the resistance has continued in spite of all efforts of the Czech Government to liquidate it.

A recently arrived underground

man from Slovakia has reported that in the Slovak mountains revolutionary groups are active, revolutionary songs are sounding in our deep forests and where the U.P.A. arrives, the Czech Communist occupants flee from the country to the towns. In one of these new Slovak revolutionary songs our fighters sing: "Afraid are the Bolshevik leaders, Bandera stands on the borders". This man also witnessed, in September last year, a raid of Czech security troops and militia against the Church in the small Slovak town of Borsky Svaty Mikulas. Communists tried to stop a Church festival there. First appeared 60 Gendarmes, but they were beaten and fled. Afterwards a detachment of 1,200 Czech Communist militia men arrived, murdered in the streets several people, among them a little boy and an old man of 70 years of age. Many others were wounded and arrested. Some people fled to the mountains.

The aims of the Slovak Liberation Committee are the aims of the Slovak people. They are: Independence of

Slovakia, Freedom of man, Christian way of life, and victory of democracy over the imposed red regime. These aims are in full harmony with the principles proclaimed by the A.B.N. and the principles contained in the Atlantic Charter and the General Declaration of Human Rights. Our way is the way of historical evolution of Freedom for a better to-morrow. We believe in an independent Slovak Republic because we believe in Democracy and in the final victory of honesty in international politics.

For these aims the Slovak nation is struggling and fighting together with all freedom loving nations. We are prepared to strike the deadly blow to Communist tyranny together and at one time with the other A.B.N. nations who suffer as we do, who struggle for Freedom as we do, and who believe in their final liberation as we do.

IGOR BAZOWSKYJ.  
(Vice-President of Slovak  
Liberation Committee.)

## THE WAR POTENTIAL OF UKRAINE

### I. Human Resources

The total number of the population of the present Ukraine in the borders of the Ukrainian S.S.R. is equal to 42 millions; on the Ukrainian territories neighbouring with the Ukrainian S.S.R., namely districts of Voronizh, Crimea and Bessarabia (present Moldavian S.S.R.) there are at least 5 million Ukrainians—totally in the territorial complex of Ukraine there are 47 million Ukrainians.

In the plan of revolutionary strategy and its active forces there should be included there also the population of the Cossack territories, i.e., Kuban, Don and Terek with the total population of 8 million, of which number, 4 million are Ukrainians.

Of the 47 million Ukrainian population there are 22 million men, 6 to 7 millions of them are between 16 to 45 years of age, of whom approximately 5 million are militarily fit and about 1 million of them in peace time are in military and similar formations, mostly outside Ukraine.

In the case of war 4.5 to 5 million men aged between 18 to 45 will be called up, of which number about 3.5

to 4 million will be mobilised for the army and the rest for the auxiliary duties. (In this number there are also included those who at the time of war are already in the military service).

Apart from that about 600 to 700 thousands of youngsters aged between 16 to 17 years will be called up and included into para-military formations (military schools, factories, etc.).

Altogether at the beginning of a possible war there will be mobilised from Ukraine approximately a 5.7 million strong army, of which 1.5 to 2 million will be *outside* Ukraine and in *Ukraine and her neighbouring territories in the European zone approximately 3.5 to 4 million* Ukrainians. residing outside the Ukrainian S.S.R. represent first line cadres which will be found at the time of the outbreak of war in the Caucasus, in Central Asia, near the White Sea or in the Far East; if we are to include Ukrainians outside Ukraine who were uprooted from their homeland, deported, evacuated, repressed, etc., approximately 2 million of whom will be called up, then the total number of Ukrainians outside Ukraine mobilised at the beginning of war will be 3.5 to 4 million men.

Geographical location of militarily fit population of Ukraine, which at the beginning of the war will be in the army or mobilised early, together with

the Ukrainians residing permanently outside Ukraine will look as follows: (estimates in millions).

the resources demands possession of the coast of the Black Sea and Crimea as well as concentration of the resources in the regions of Polisia, Volynnia and Galicia.

#### CATEGORIES OF MILITARILY FIT

Location	Regular Army	Called up	Factories	Deported Schools	Total
1. Ukraine and her zone, i.e., territory west of the line Archangelsk—Samara—Baku	0.5	3.0	0.7	0.2	4.4
2. The Far East .. ..	0.3	0.5	—	1.0	1.8
3. Transcaucasus .. ..	0.1	0.2	—	—	0.3
4. Central Asia .. ..	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.9
5. Siberia .. ..	0.1	0.5	0.2	2.0	2.8
TOTAL	1.2	4.5	1.0	3.5	10.2

With the same geographical location there ought to be also joined about 2 million of militarily fit population of Belorussia and about 1.5 million men of Cossack territories.

In the case of war, 10.2 million militarily fit Ukrainians from Ukraine and outside territories—in the sphere of direct influence of the Home country will be approximately 4.4 million men, i.e., almost half of the whole military potential of Ukraine.

The moving of the war front from the west to the east, in the direction of Ukraine, without the destruction of the Russian Empire, i.e., without victorious uprising in Ukraine and Belorussia will lead to the devastation of Ukraine from militarily fit population, retreat of the army and evacuation of the population. Then will arise the danger that in Ukraine at that time may be left only 1.5 to 2 million men, and of these, only about 1 million more or less militarily fit.

In the case of mass surrender to the enemies of Russia, about three quarters of the prisoners will be morally unfit for further military services, particularly in revolutionary warfare.

## 2. Military Resources

### (a) THE VALUE OF YEARLY CROP OF UKRAINE

The total crop of every kind of corn in Ukraine amounted to 250 million cwts. in 1939 and 300 million cwts. in 1945, of which there was 125 million cwts. of wheat. There was also on the average 150 million cwts. of beetroot (yearly production of sugar was 18-19 million cwts.) as well as many other industrial plants, for instance 7 million cwts. of sunflower which gives over 1 million cwts. of vegetable fat.

Of the total average yearly crop there should be discounted about 50 million cwts. of corn for sowing, 20 million cwts. for the feeding of horses and cattle and about 50 million cwts. for human consumption at the rate of 400 grammes of corn per day per person. There will be left about 80 million cwts. of corn in reserve. The corn reserves in Ukraine at present are about 100 million cwts. Yearly reserve of sugar after discounting the home consumption will be about 13-14 million cwts.

There is rather a small output of horticultural products and cattle breeding and so there will be a general shortage of meat and animal fats which will have to be recompensed by the corn consumption. Quite satisfactory foodstuffs for the army will have to remain mainly bread, sugar and vegetable fats; but the meat, butter and animal fats will be scarce.

In order to obtain food a contingent, which could be half as small as it is at present, will be put on the population which should result in obtaining about 50 million cwts. of grain. About 10 million cwts. will be needed to feed the 3 million strong army and about the same amount to feed the town population, industrial workers, etc. The remaining resources could be used for outside sale or exchange for other foodstuffs and materials needed. Analogical is the sugar position. In the matter of exchange of grain and sugar such countries as Belorussia, Baltic States, Finland and Scandinavian countries should be especially taken into consideration. From these Ukraine could obtain meat, fats, building materials and, in the case of Norway and Sweden, metallurgical products, machinery and armaments.

The strategy of the management of

### (b) THE CLOTHING OF THE ARMY AND POPULATION

Ukraine is not able to clothe fully her army from her own resources, neither is she able to supply her population with the minimum of clothing. The clothing for the army must be obtained from the reserves captured from the enemy, which should last for at least two years. The population could not be supplied with the textile products at all. But the footwear (boots) for the soldiers and the saddles and harness for the horses must be obtained from our own resources.

### (c) ARMAMENT AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT

The system and the way of arming our forces we accept as it now exists in the Soviet Army. The armament to be used will have to be to the great extent captured from the enemy. Only in the latter stages of the war could there be organised *our own* production of armaments as well as their import from abroad. But even then we shall be compelled to make or order the type of armaments used by the Russians, as they could always be replenished by the armaments captured. Various kinds of weapons weaken the strength of the army and the change from one type of armament to another in war conditions is impossible.

### (d) INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTIVITY

At the time of national liberating, revolution and the war against Russia we shall not have even one working factory of armament and war materials in Ukraine. It could be possible during the war to organise some small factories, workshops and maintenance units to make smaller grades of ammunition and repairs of transport, etc., but it would be hardly possible to make any larger kinds of armament or to undertake larger repairs for instance of aircraft and such like. We shall not be able to manufacture precise instruments and other sorts of modern armaments which items will have to be captured from the enemy or imported. There is full possibility to put into function rail and water transport.

If even 50 per cent. of the existing mining industry in Ukraine was mobi-



lised, after satisfying our own needs, it would be possible to export at least half a million tons of manganese about 50 to 60 million tons of coal and 2 to 3 million tons of crude iron yearly. The output of oil in Drohobych at its present stage could not satisfy our needs and we shall be lacking at least about 2 million tons of oil and its products yearly.

There are nearly 1,800 maintenance units and small factories for the repair and maintenance of agricultural machinery in Ukraine, which apart from the completion of their own original tasks, could be used for military purposes. Of great importance also, will be a shipbuilding industry in Mykolayiv, as well as metallurgical

factories in the main towns of Ukraine. Many factories now existing in Ukraine could be re-built and re-arranged to suit the purposes of increasing the war potential of Ukraine. The problem of great importance will also be the supply of medicaments and medical instruments, the production of which, in Ukraine at present, is negligible.

In the process of war there will have to be instituted a special organ for the organisation and reconstruction of industry in Ukraine which will have to plan and re-arrange Ukrainian industry not only for the purposes of war but also for the future industrial development in the independent Ukrainian State.

work and this will all be proclaimed straight away from the beginning and will be radically introduced in the laws and practice of our then free nations. Our revolution goes to meet the endeavours of our workmen, peasants and all the labouring masses, and this is the essence of the belief with our masses. "Down with the Kolkos" means the liquidation of the Kolkos as a first necessity and an integral part of our revolution straight from the beginning, because it is the exact opposite of the conception of the U.S.S.R. Our conception includes also the complete independence of our nations and that is the exact opposite of the worst form of colonial domination carried out and practised by the U.S.S.R. to-day; in the latter the whole work is aimed and carried out to denationalise the nations and turn the individual into full slaves and robots of that Soviet system.

There is no question of compromise with Communism. It is not a plot, a local or a palace revolution. It is an open struggle of all the nations with a clear and sustained programme of such a struggle which lies as a basis and foundation of our liberation movement.

Without national armies, the national revolution is impossible to be carried out. Only national armies will contribute to the formation of national independent states, so therefore our mottoes and practise are: soldiers of the Soviet armies formed under national flag sewing national ideals; the national armies of their own nations shall disintegrate and turn the Soviet armies into national armies, for the benefit of nationally liberated people of ours. The national revolutionary resistance armies which exist and will exist on an increasing scale not only on territories of our own nations, but also outside of those national territories, on all territories where the Soviet armies and soldiers prevail. This will destroy from within the Soviet army. Our main problem is to control and to permeate with our ideas the soldiers of the Soviet armies, and the armies of their satellites. The aim of this National revolution cannot be destroyed by the strength of the atom bomb, or any other weapon for which the Bolshevik rulers spend mountains of gold, because you cannot by dead techniques conquer the living soul and defeat its bearer. We and not the Bolsheviks have written on our

---

## THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND THE STRATEGIC QUESTIONS OF THE LIBERATING REVOLUTION OF NATIONS OF THE A.B.N.

The liberating revolution of nations united in the A.B.N. continue and deepen their struggle for freedom of their nations, which struggle started in 1917-18. The essence of that revolution is universal. It is not only a revolution against a regime but also a revolution against Russian and German imperialisms. The aim of this struggle is complete national and social liberation of the nations of East Europe and the complete destruction of the Russian Bolshevik Empire. It would be a vital mistake to suppose and presume that complete national and social liberation of nations must be limited to a social-political movement, because if we approach it that way it would give the possibility to Russian imperialistic elements to convert it into a struggle against the Russian Empire Prison-of-nations, and would only mean a local revolution against the Bolshevik bosses of to-day. No! Our revolution, from the beginning to the end, will be simultaneously social and national. This means that our nations will destroy not only the Bolshevik political regime, but also the whole imperialistic nationalistic policy of Russia—the U.S.S.R. The social liberation programme of our revolution will be complete. It is simultaneously

an inter-connected link with national liberation, which means an immediate revolutionary build up of our own independent states in their own ethnographical territories.

The first and most vivid act of this revolution will concretely take the form of formation of national organs, which will emerge from the disintegration and dismemberment of the Military National Soviet Army. The National armies of ours will be a firm guarantee of an anti-imperialistic international character of our revolution. Completely accepting of National ideas these armies will not allow to build up again a Russian army of an imperialistic character even after the downfall of the Bolshevik power, because social and national elements are inseparable and integral parts of our revolution.

Our aim and work therefore is to organically amalgamate inside our liberating revolution conception: the process of liberation of all our subjugated nations. For instance, the "Kolkos" must be split up and the land must pass really into private ownership of the toilers and as far as the passing of factories into the hands of the workers is concerned, it must take the form of active participation of the workmen in the profits of the

national flags our national genuine aspirations, supported by the whole belief of our hearts!

When the moment comes, the fire will be started by us and will run through the whole of the U.S.S.R. In this respect, there is no possibility of isolation for any part of the U.S.S.R. and, therefore, for us it is not so important whether such a revolution will start on the territories of the U.S.S.R., as it will be a common action throughout those territories, and the masses enthusiastically imbued with that liberation revolution shall carry it to its final success! It is only necessary for all the masses to understand the essence and accept it, that of our revolution, and already we see definite signs that the masses do, on an increasing scale, accept that creed,

those endeavours, the hopes, and the fight for the final aim goes on.

The U.P.A., the revolutionary army of resistance, is first and foremost a genuine revolution in the souls and hearts of those nations now under the terrible Soviet yoke.

It is a definite step towards the complete liberation of the whole life of those people and will carry this liberation to complete success.

The Ukrainian U.P.A. conception of total struggle cannot be destroyed, whereas its forms may from time to time change and depend on the concrete conditions prevailing here or there. The symbols of it is: No compromise! Full and limitless struggle and such ideas in its application are immortal.

and Siberian Insurgents and Freedom-Fighters, and others are unceasingly active to this day in spite of extremely severe counter-measures by strong formations of M.V.D. and satellite troops (for instance so called "blockades").

In spite of all these measures the co-ordinated fight has continued everywhere. A formation of U.P.A. under the command of Captain Lys crossed in 1949 into the Caucasus in order to establish contact with the local resistance movements according to A.B.N. plans.

To the policy of extermination and deportation our reply is the conception of a united front of A.B.N., which on the basis of similar aims makes it possible to carry the struggle for national and individual freedom in every part of the Soviet Union, wherever there are living groups of people from the subjugated nations.

## PRESS STATEMENT OF MR. YAROSLAV STETZKO

*Next Russian provocation.* Just as the Berlin blockade was arranged for the purpose of withdrawing attention of the Western world from the final preparations to strike in China, so was the Communist Youth march on Berlin to curtail the preparation for invasion of South Korea. It is most regrettable that the Western world does not seem to know the essential policy of the Bolsheviks:—never satisfying Russian imperialism. Nothing will satisfy Bolshevism until it becomes ruler of the world. We appeal to the Western world to undertake the most extreme anti-bolshevist policy, to take uncompromised action against the fifth columns, and to aid the Resistance Movements on the basis of recognition of their Ideas:—partition of the Soviet Union into sovereign National States and securing for every nation its right to Independence.

*Unceasing Resistance Movements.* In 1943, on 21-23 November, in time of direct struggle against Bolshevism and Nazism, a co-ordinating centre of all the Resistance Movements was created at the Conference of representatives of Insurgent Forces of 13 nations held in the forests of Ukraine, known as The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations—A.B.N.

After the end of World War II the new-subjugated Nations joined the A.B.N.

So far the underground resistance movements of the following Nations have joined the A.B.N.:—Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians, White-Ruthenians, Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, Albanians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Cossacks, North-Caucasians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Turkestanians, Idel-Uralians and Siberians. In Poland, Polish underground movements co-operate with the A.B.N.

Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) under the Command of General Taras Chuprynka, Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists under President Stepan Bandera, White-Ruthenian Insurgents under the Command of General Vitushka, Turkestanian National Insurgents in co-operation with the Turkestanian National Unity Committee (insurgent activity is taking place in Pamirs, along the Southern borders and in East Turkestan), Slovak underground movements led by the Slovak Liberation Committee (insurgent activity is taking place in the Carpathian region of Slovakia in co-operation with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army), Bulgarian Legionaries in co-operation with the Bulgarian National Front, Hungarian Freedom Fighters called Kopjas, Croat Crusaders, Serbian Chetniks, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Cossack, North-Caucasian, Georgian, Azerbaijanian, Idel-Uralian

*Appeal to the West from behind the Iron Curtain.* During the last two years many groups of the U.P.A. and of underground movements in Turkestan, Caucasus, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia and Serbia, etc., have come to appeal for the necessity of a united front of the freedom loving and God fearing world against atheist Bolshevism. Today such an appeal is coming from Korea, yesterday it came from China and from the East Turkestanian Insurgents under the Command of Osman Bathuz.

The Western world must realise that the Freedom of all Nations is involved, and the Resistance Movements are fighting for the Freedom of all mankind. For there is only one thing to choose: Freedom or slavery for the whole world.

*The Second Front.* The Soviet Union is provoking a new World War. In that case a success is possible only if Russia is counter-attacked from all sides, in accordance with a co-ordinate plan with the existing resistance movements. The West must establish the closest possible co-operation with these movements which form the second front within the Soviet Union. The second front will bring about the break-up of the Soviet armies, the majority of which is composed of the members of subjugated nations who will form their own regular national armies around the nucleus of the insurgent armies.

If the West will show a complete

understanding of the national aspirations of the oppressed peoples and support them in the realisation of their ideas of Independence and Freedom, the disintegration of both the Soviet Union and the Soviet Armies will be a matter of a short time only. The idea of national independence of the oppressed peoples is the Atom Bomb which will blow up the Soviet Russian Empire.

Nations subjugated before the last war can produce an army of over 10 million men. But to turn these armies into an effective force fighting on the side of the West, the latter has to gain their confidence by accepting their ideals. Only by a wholehearted and sincere recognition of the idea of sovereign national states, for which the resistance movements are now fighting, can the West defeat bolshevik Russia. Even the Russia of 1917/18 in alliance with the Western Powers, and almost victorious, could not withstand the national liberating revolutions of the peoples enslaved by her. Only the ignorance of the Entente, at that time, about the existence of national liberation movements made it possible for the Russian imperialism to expand again.

We count on our own strength, we organise it in order to break up the U.S.S.R. from inside by national liberating revolutions and divide the Russian Empire into sovereign national States.

*The West under-estimates the Resistance Movement.* The use of para-troops and fifth columns will enable Russia to co-ordinate international war with civil wars. But the West does not realise the importance of resistance movements behind the Iron Curtain which are an independent Third Force. The last war showed the importance of insurgent movements as growing with the development of war technique.

*The fight goes on behind the Iron Curtain.* The fact that the Bolsheviks have no means to liquidate resistance movements can be confirmed by the secret instructions about changed tactics which is characteristic for all underground movements behind the Iron Curtain:

"According to the political situation the tactics are: (a) defensive (b) offensive. With the change of the political situation are changed also the forms of the revolutionary struggle. The struggle, especially in the conditions existing in the

"U.S.S.R., enabled the revolutionary movement to put into practice new methods of underground tactics possible even in the worst circumstances.

"The main items in these tactics are (a) spreading revolutionary ideas, (b) defence of ideological and political foundations of national revolutions, (c) strongest possible resistance against social and economic basis of the enemy's regime, (d) gaining the most valuable individuals for the purpose of revolutionary movement. Military activities attached to underground tactics have clear political and propagandive character and are depending on political and propagandive requirements

"and necessities. Continuous liberating struggle against Bolshevism is quite natural and will grow stronger and at a suitable moment will result in an all-nation uprising. Under an all-nation uprising we understand: (a) total mobilisation of the nation, (b) direction of mobilised nation against occupants to bring about their absolute destruction, (c) engaging of the whole nation into creative processes of building life in its own State, in accordance with the principles of the national revolution, in order to strengthen achieved freedom and to enable its full development.'

London, June 30th, 1950.

## RUSSIAN NATIONALISM OR NATIONAL CHAUVINISM ?

Russian emigrants are all united by the hope of eventually returning to their fatherland. Their struggle with Bolshevism abroad, however, points to the lack of any ideological force which could unite all Russian anti-Bolshevik elements that are now being spent on inter-party squabbles. Anyone who thinks seriously about possible changes in the Russian political system, must come to the conclusion that the obstacles in the way of reconstruction can only be overcome by some mighty force. The only such force is nationalism. Russian emigrés are not a threat to Bolshevism. They waste their energy fighting each other. But the Bolsheviks are in deadly fear of nationalism, which alone is in a position to wipe off the face of the earth the artificial communist system. The fact that only nationalism will play a deciding rôle in the future of Eastern Europe, raises a series of questions which must be considered and settled beforehand.

Russian Nationalism is a concept without reality. It exists only in the upper strata; the masses enslaved by the Muscovites have their own national feelings, contrary to the apparent Russian nationalism. In the past it had been a policy of the Russian government to attempt to unite the various nations of Russia into an artificial oneness by means of heartless

repression of all national feelings, substituting instead an all-Russian cannot be disregarded. Either these various nationalities will save central Muscovy from Bolshevism and realise their own independence, or the communist régime, which unites all these nationalities by force, will remain. We must choose either Muscovy within her ethnographic boundaries, the strengthening of the communist international and its spread outside the boundaries of the Russian Empire. There is no third choice. It is difficult to imagine how the non-Muscovite people, having endured the oppression of the Tsars and the terrors of Muscovite communism, would willingly choose to remain under Moscow; it is difficult to imagine also how it will be possible to mobilise forces in Muscovy willing to conduct both an internal and an external war for the subjugation of the non-Muscovite peoples of Russia.

Every Muscovite emigrant who wishes to return to Russia must face this question: does he wish to return to a Russia without communism, but also without the lands of non-Muscovite people, or does he want to preserve the "one and indivisible" with the aid of communism? We repeat that only a strong force can preserve Russia undivided. Memories of former strength are not a power. The emigrants live only on memories.

Only those do not understand this simple truth who are not willing or not able to understand it because they are so accustomed to old ways of thought which no longer had any meaning.

To this day they concern themselves with conditions which disappeared together with the Tsar. There are those who still maintain that the national chauvinism ascribed to the various peoples of Russia exists only in the minds of demagogues and not among the masses of each nationality. They overlook the fact that within one year of the downfall of Tsarism 144 nationalities of Russia ceased to consider themselves subjects of Moscow, and lost completely the all-Russian patriotism which was inculcated in them through several centuries. It becomes evident, therefore, that the roots of the Tsarist Empire decayed in the sphere of national, and not social politics, as is so generally believed.

Blindness to this fact was also the cause of the downfall of Denikin. Conceived under the old idea of "one and indivisible," it was the cause of inability to reckon with nationalism and to utilise it in an anti-Bolshevik struggle. Instead, Denikin's government waged war on this nationalism and died, dragging it into an abyss along with itself. Thus, disagreement between two anti-Bolshevik forces brought about the victory of Bolshevism.

At that time, a wise statesman could have brought forth the slogan of complete independence for all the nations of Russia and, with their help, could have defeated the Bolsheviks. The position of the Bolsheviks was such that if Denikin had been aided by Ukraine, Poland, the Baltic and the Caucasian peoples, he would certainly have defeated them finally. It was therefore necessary to choose between Bolsheviks, or a national Russia without them and without non-Muscovite territories. Denikin chose the first alternative, and thereby helped the Bolsheviks to subdue Ukraine, the Don, Caucasia and Kuban, and temporarily to preserve an undivided Russia.

The Muscovite communists who came into Ukraine deepened Ukrainian nationalism by their oppression, and to-day whole centuries would be required to dissipate the feeling of the Ukrainians that they are

a nationality distinct and apart from that of the Muscovites. As early as the tenth century, Ukraine possessed the name *Rus*, whereas the beginnings of the Muscovite, or what is to-day called the Russian nation, reach back only to the middle of the thirteenth century. The Muscovites seized that name from the Ukrainians by force. The Ukrainian State weakened and became dependent first upon Lithuania and later upon Poland. It was not till the seventeenth century that Ukraine fell under Moscow. It lost its independence completely only at the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. In the middle of the nineteenth century, there was in Ukraine the St. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, which sought freedom for Ukraine in a federation of Slavonic States. In Galicia the Ukrainian movement developed freely. In short, the Ukrainian State died, but that is not true of Ukrainian nationalism. It revived openly after the Revolution in Russia. The Ukrainians formed their own political organisations and their own military units at the front. Out of a total of ten million soldiers of the Russian army, two and a half millions immediately declared themselves Ukrainians and formed separate Ukrainian divisions. In 1918 the Ukrainian Central Council (*Centralna Rada*) proclaimed the independence of Ukraine.

The Ukrainians waged bloody wars for the independence of their State. They lost, primarily because the Central Council, instead of maintaining, actually demobilised, the existing military units at the front and formed no new ones. Due to this fatal step, the Central Council itself had to seek protection among the Germans.

The politics of the Central Council and the misunderstanding that grew between it and the Germans, left Ukraine without an army. Though it wanted to fight the Bolsheviks, it could not. It is an undisputed fact that the Ukrainians have not yielded to communism to this day. Had Ukraine been set up as an independent State, communism would have been liquidated in Muscovy long ago. Yet, everything that was done then, was for the benefit of the Communists. The situation is such to-day, that the downfall of communism in Russia could only be brought about by the creation of an independent Ukraine.

There is hardly a person among the

Muscovite emigrants who supports the Ukrainian claim to independence. Many would rather have the Bolsheviks and an undivided empire. But this is contrary to all the feelings of the nations which suffer under the communist régime, and which is for them a Muscovite régime. The emigrants continue to judge by what used to be; the people on the spot judge by what is now. They hate the Muscovite régime. Among them are 50 million Ukrainians. They wish to rid themselves of Moscow which they regard as the root of all evil. Their will is strong. Are there forces among the emigrants that can break it?

Muscovite emigration knows Ukrainian enmity to Moscow from the experiences of 1914-1921. To-day this enmity has grown enormously. The social movement in Ukraine has taken on national forms. Millions of Ukraine's inhabitants, feel one thing: they want no more of Muscovite rule. Formerly, these forces of separatism were paralysed by the Tsars. To-day they are paralysed by the *Red Kremlin*. When this falls, no power on earth can restrain these people in their decision to separate from the Empire.

Anyone who wishes to return home must reconcile himself with the independence of Ukraine. Only through Ukraine will it be possible to return to Russia. Facts are the only things which play a deciding rôle, regardless of whether they are pleasant or not. Moscow must concede independence to Ukraine in the future. national doctrine. In spite of this, the national longings of individual peoples remained, and with the downfall of the monarchy, several of the constituent nationalities proclaimed their independence.

We may be certain that in the future other nationalities in Russia will realise their independence. Present events clearly point in that direction. Non-Muscovite people have not succumbed to communism. The governmental machinery on their soil is not in their hands—it is in the hands of Moscow. To them the communist régime is a Muscovite régime. As a consequence, the national consciousness of the various peoples has developed to an unprecedented degree. Therefore, with the liquidation of the communist régime, one must be prepared for a further division of the Russian Empire.

# THE REVIEW OF FORCES

The establishment of the Atlantic Pact one year ago did not confirm hopes for which it was instituted: the cold war did not cease. In Washington, in London and in Paris it was hoped that when the U.S.S.R. saw they were affronted with the twelve united states, the Kremlin would "come to its senses" and start to "talk business".

The creation of the Atlantic Pact did not stop either the "cold" war or the preparations for a "hot" one. In the Kremlin there are seated much too cold and self-conscious realists that could be frightened by the mere signatures under the Pact of twelve States. To make Moscow "talk business" it is necessary that the signatures were supported by a strong and determined force. So far, such a force in the West does not exist. And the cold war continues.

Intellectual and material forces of both camps, Western and Eastern, are more or less equal. Let us make a short review of the situation as it was at the time of the May Conference of the Atlantic Council in London.

## The Armies of the Atlantic Pact Countries

U.S.A., 603,000; France, 475,000; Great Britain, 400,000; Italy, 172,000; Canada 20,000; others, 337,000. Total: 2,007,900. Against them the armies of the Soviet Union and the satellite countries number 3,718,000 men, *i.e.*, more than one and a half million soldiers than in the West. Of course, this is not a tragedy yet, as the Western soldier individually is much better than the Soviet.

## The War Fleet (in tons)

U.S.A., 3,800,000; France, 330,000; Great Britain, 1,500,000; Italy, 67,000; Canada 54,000; others, 100,500. Total: 5,852,000 tons. Against them there is only the 453,000 tons of U.S.S.R. and satellite countries. Numerical weakness of the land forces of the West is compensated by the colossal majority of the Western fleet. It is true that this fact would not stop the flood of Soviet armies to Western Europe, but in the later stages of the war the possession of this fleet would guarantee mass descents of Western armies, as it took place during the war with Hitler.

## Air Force (in Aircraft)

U.S.A., 29,000; France 750; Great Britain, 6,000; Italy 300; Canada 200; others, 1,130; Total: 37,380. Against them there are 25,715 aircraft of the U.S.S.R. and the satellite countries, but it is believed that the production aircraft in the U.S.S.R. is higher than in the West and that within one to one and a half years the U.S.S.R. will catch up with the West. In this connection a question arises: are these huge armies, war mechanisation, air forces, bombs, etc., really necessary for the West? Is it really necessary to turn into ruins also non-Russian towns and cities of the U.S.S.R., while with psychologically and propagandively sound policy of the West, a policy staked on the inner controversies and antagonisms in the U.S.S.R., the so much desired fall of the Soviet regime could be obtained by much cheaper and easier means.

Why strike these "Russian" millions with fire and sword, if through this wise policy they themselves will throw away the weapons and leave the front lines or will turn their weapons against

Moscow? Do the great Western politicians ever think what would have happened if Hitler had been wiser than he was and instead of sending five million Red Army soldiers who voluntarily surrendered, to prison camps, armed them and sent them back to fight for the independence of their peoples. Why does the West count western armed forces only; forgetting about the countless manpower which could be got in the East itself for the fight against Moscow.

To these great revolutionary ideas, with the help of which *only* it could be possible to destroy Bolshevism and demolish the prison of the nations, belongs also the idea of liberation and sovereignisation of all the nations enslaved by Moscow. As long as the Strategic Management of the Atlantic Pact countries operate only with the strength of armies, costly armaments, over productivity, etc., but does not touch ideas of the liberation of the nations of the U.S.S.R.—ideas of the A.B.N.—there will be only half of the task done in the West. After applying the policy of liberation of non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R. it will be seen that the Bolshevik "colossus" is far weaker than it could be expected by the West.

## "UNDERGROUND ARMY THREATENS RUSSIANS IN UKRAINE"

All without exception, soldiers of the resistance movement belong to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which was created at the time of the German invasion of the U.S.S.R. Its creator and leader, Stephen Bandera, one of the first conspirators and national fanatics was imprisoned even at the time of the Polish occupation before 1939. At first he was released by the German army, but later he was arrested again by the Germans and sent to a German concentration camp in East Prussia. His followers, so called "banderiwci," remained faithful to him. Disappointed in German methods they rose up against the Germans and against the Russians simultaneously. It is difficult to say how strong are the insurgents today, but it is believed that they are 50,000

men strong.

U.P.A. collaborates wherever it is possible with insurgents of other nations. Their headquarters are in large Ukrainian forests. Ukrainian insurgents apply a special tactic: during the summer they are active in forests, but in autumn and winter when the roads are covered with snow, they attack army barracks and military stores, police stations and even whole towns.

Recently acts of sabotage in the were in greater progress than before; many a time railway communications between Kiev and Eastern Germany were interrupted. The fear of the insurgents' activity is so great, that for instance, in many Carpathian districts the trains are not running during the night. In case of war with the U.S.S.R. insurgents will become a danger to Russia as partners of the opposite side.

("L'Ergot")

# BRITISH PRESS ABOUT THE CONVENTION OF THE A.B.N.

The proceedings of the Convention of Delegates of Resistance Movements of the Anti-Bolshevik Nations of Europe and Asia were widely reported and commented upon by leading Scottish press.

Here we reproduce some extracts:

The *Scotsman* of 13th June, 1950, wrote:

## "MILLIONS READY TO FIGHT BOLSHEVISM

"A DECLARATION that the millions subjugated by Soviet Russia were ready to fight against the horrors of Bolshevism, with the aid of Western Europe, was made last night in Edinburgh, by General-Colonel Francis Farkas, president of the military mission of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

The General, who is president of the Anti-Bolshevik Liberation Movement in Hungary, made this statement at the first public session of the convention of delegates of the resistance movements of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

General Farkas proposed that A.B.N. should get into touch with the Powers interested; that both parties concerned should create a committee of experts to elaborate as soon as possible the plans necessary for the synchronisation of the ways of co-operation; and that they should take all measures which could prevent the valuable warriors of the A.B.N. from being lost.

"We offer the Western countries," he said, "our knowledge and experience in fighting against Bolshevism. We place at their disposal our love of freedom, anti-Communist feelings, and underground movements."

Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, chairman of A.B.N. and a former Prime Minister of the Ukraine (who represents the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Ukrainian Revolutionary Parliament at the convention) said that, if war broke out between the Soviet Union and the West, and if the latter were wise in its treatment of the enslaved nations, the oldest of these were in a position to set up an army of more than ten million soldiers. That included four and a half million

Ukrainians, Caucasians, Turkestanians, Byelorussians, Idel-Ural soldiers, and Cossacks, and others.

The three-day convention, which is being attended by exiled leaders of resistance movements from about twenty Soviet-dominated countries in Europe and Asia, is intended to make known the aims of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

"Our basic aim is the dismemberment of the present Soviet Russian empire, and the setting up of independent States within these ethnographic boundaries," said Mr. Stetzko. "We reject any form of Russian imperialism, whether on Bolshevik or other lines, and strive to achieve a system of national States co-operating together and forming a sort of family as equals."

The main stress was being laid on the actual struggle within these territories, he explained, but they would welcome political help from outside. They felt uneasy at finding comparatively little understanding of their aims in the Western world, whereas it was obvious that fifth columns and Communism were working in all Western countries.

It was possible to fight against Bolshevism only by a stronger idea, based on principles of social justice and personal freedom for the individual. A.B.N. rejected all movements or tendencies which had certain variations of Bolshevism, such as Titoism, believing that to compromise with them would undermine the essence of the national struggle against Communism."

\* \* \*

The same newspaper of 14th June, wrote:

## CALL FOR FRONT AGAINST RUSSIA

"A CALL for the formation of a common anti-Bolshevik front of all freedom-loving nations on both sides of the Iron Curtain for the defence of freedom, religion and culture was made last night in the Central Hall, Edinburgh, at a public session of the Convention of delegates of the resistance movements of the anti-Bolshevik

nations of Europe and Asia.

The meeting which was addressed, mostly through interpreters, by representatives of many of the subjugated nations, passed a variety of resolutions which warned against the spread of Russian imperialism.

The resolutions declared that the direct aim of the imperialism of Moscow to-day was to destroy the national substance of the oppressed nations and to undermine the rest of the world. The U.S.S.R. was counting for the realisation of internal plans on the lack of unity, but above all on the tolerance, of the Western world. The nations enslaved and oppressed by the U.S.S.R. were grimly determined to continue their desperate fight for liberty against the tyranny of Bolshevism no matter what sacrifice it might bring or what attitude the Western world would take towards the Soviet Union.

The meeting also approved a declaration in which the delegates submitted requests 'to the public opinion of the free Western world.'

The first of these requests was for the formation of an anti-Bolshevik front. Others asked for close co-operation of the Western world with resistance movements among oppressed nations and energetic support for their struggle for freedom; the destruction of Russian imperialism and the guarantee of world peace by splitting the U.S.S.R. up and re-establishing on ethnic principles the independent national States of all nations under Bolshevist oppression; and an international tribunal for the trial of Bolshevist despots for their 'bestial crimes against humanity.'

They also asked for the breaking-off of diplomatic relations between the democracies of the world and the 'criminal regime in Moscow'; the outlawing in all countries of fifth columns; admission of legitimate representatives of the oppressed nations to the organisation of United Nations; and the recognition of insurgent armies as regular fighting forces in accordance with the provisions of The Hague Convention."

\* \* \*

*Evening Dispatch* of 12th June, 1950, under the heading "The Struggle for Freedom in Europe," wrote:

"We are worried to have found comparatively little understanding of our struggle for freedom in the Wes-

tern world, while it is obvious that Fifth Columns of Communism are working in all Western countries," said Mr. J. Stetzko, leader of the centre of the anti-Bolshevist nations of Europe and Asia, speaking through an interpreter at a Press interview in Edinburgh to-day.

Mr. Stetzko, who was the last Prime Minister of the Ukraine in 1941, and who spent four years in a German concentration camp during the war, was speaking on behalf of about 40 delegates from resistance movements in Europe and Asia.

These people, who include high representatives of foreign governments, arrived in Edinburgh yesterday by arrangement with the Scottish League for European Freedom, to attend two meetings in the Central Hall, Tollcross, to-night and to-morrow evening.

The object of the convention is to obtain the restoration of freedom and sovereign independence to their several countries, and to put an end to the domination of Moscow.

Their intention is to give an opportunity to the peoples enslaved in the U.S.S.R. to state their position publicly to the English-speaking peoples and, if possible, save the world from another war.

"The A.B.N. rejects any form of Russian imperialism on any lines," said Mr. Stetzko, "but, on the other hand, it tries to achieve a system of national States co-operating together to form a sort of family as equals."

It was not possible to fight successfully against Bolshevism purely on a military basis without co-operating with all those nations who are at present subjugated by Soviet Russia.

\* \* \*

In the article "Resistance Behind the Iron Curtain," the *Glasgow Herald* of 13th June, 1950, commented:

"Officials with up-to-date situation reports of the activities of underground armies and resistance movements are in Edinburgh for a three-day convention of the Resistance Movements of the Anti-Bolshevik Nations of Europe and Asia, which is being held at the invitation of the Scottish League for European Freedom.

Details of the Organisation were given at a Press conference in Edinburgh to-day, when Mr. J. Stetzko, the head of A.B.N. and the last Prime Minister of the Ukraine, explained

how the movement was organised in about 30 countries and States. He explained that delegates worked in European countries not under Russia control, but that they had regular contact with the groups behind the 'iron curtain.'

He said that members of the movement felt uneasy and were worried that until now they had received little understanding in the Western World when it was obvious that fifth columns of Communists were working in all Western countries.

Mr. Stetzko said that they wanted to improve the relationship between A.B.N. and the Western World, and said that at the convention they would try and present their aims and tactics in the struggle."

\* \* \*

In the *Scottish Daily Mail* of 16th June, 1950, among other things we read:

### MR. STETZKO IS HERE TO FIGHT THE RED REGIME

As president of the central committee (of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations) Mr. Stetzko came to Edinburgh to draw the attention of the Western world to the dangers of Bolshevism—"dangers far greater than

the people of the West can imagine."

"The whole Russian policy in the West," he said, 'is wrong. Bolshevism cannot be beaten by technique. It requires a common idea which we are attempting to supply.'

And the man who formed the first free Ukrainian Government went on to explain what resistance to Communism meant to him.

A.B.N.—the co-ordinating centre of the underground movements in Communist-enslaved nations in Europe and Asia—sprang to life in 1943 behind the Iron Curtain and struggled on two fronts against Russia and Germany.

I asked which was the worse of the two evils. "Nazism," came the answer, "was not an idea which could deceive peoples outside Germany, whereas Communism is a religion which has its sympathisers in every land."

Attending the A.B.N. convention in Edinburgh this week were 40 delegates, representing 15 nations, all of which had active underground movements.

Most of the delegates, said Mr. Stetzko, were in Russian or German concentration camps during the war. Some supported the Mihailovitch movement in Yugoslavia. Now they were co-ordinating anti-Bolshevik activities behind the Iron Curtain.

### UNBEATEN RECORD OF THE U.S.S.R.

The Soviet Union is the holder of at least one record in the whole world: in the number of prisons and concentration camps.

A prison commissioner of one of the Soviet prisons, who fled recently to the Western Zone gave several facts concerning this matter.

On the territory of the U.S.S.R. in 1941 there were 8,650 prisons. Now there are 11,760 of them. This number excludes the prisons of the satellites states namely 670 prisons in Poland, 115 in Rumania, 48 in Bulgaria, 53 in Czechoslovakia, 73 in Tito's Yugoslavia, 24 in Albania, 43 in Hungary.

Ten to twelve million people pass through the Soviet prisons every year. From this summary are also excluded Soviet concentration camps, which are (a) Siberian layers, (b) concentration

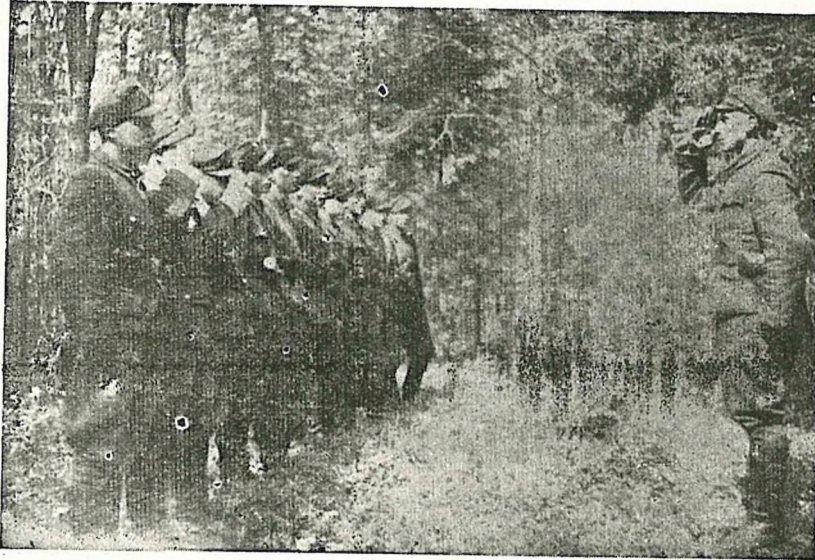
camps (c) political isolations, (d) forced labour camps.

Here are the approximate figures showing the real advance of the Soviet Union in this direction:—

Years	Number of Prisons
1918-20 .. .. .	3,450
1920-25 .. .. .	4,600
1925-30 .. .. .	6,630
1930-35 .. .. .	7,645
1935-40 .. .. .	8,650
1940-45 .. .. .	10,240
1945-50 .. .. .	11,760

In Ukraine in 1949 there were 115 prisons, 24 concentration camps, 5 political isolation camps and 145 forced labour camps. The latter centralised in the coal mining areas and places of heavy industry. If the necessity arises they change the place and name and are shifted from one district to another.

## Ukraine Fights for Freedom



— — — “Under the national aspect the U.P.A. tends to the creation of sovereign, independent Ukrainian State, under social and economic— to destroy the communist system of slavery and to introduce the system of social justice based on christian principles.”

LEFT:

Company Commander receives report from a platoon of one of the detachments of U. P. A.

BELOW:

Nurses of the Ukrainian Red Cross in one of the detachments of the U.P.A. and their escort.

### BOLSHEVIK TERROR IN UKRAINE

In deadly fear of the war that is bound to come, the Bolshevist regime makes every effort to liquidate active, freedom-loving elements in all the countries occupied by it and terrorizes whole populations. The tide of the Moscow terror also goes over Ukrainians.

*Collegamento*, official paper of the civil committee of the Catholic Action in the Vatican says that the Bolshevist military tribunals in Kyiv, Odessa and Moscow gave sentences of death to more than one thousand Soviet citizens in the time from January 12th, 1950, till the end of March, 1950, i.e., from the moment of the renewed official introduction of capital punishment. All the verdicts were for “betraying the country, espionage for the enemies of the U.S.S.R. and sabotage.” A large



number of the sentenced were youths and soldiers of the Red Army.

The Papal journal does not give the nationality of the victims of the Bolshevist terror, but the sole indication of the places where these military tribunals are acting—Kyiv, Odessa and Moscow (higher tribunal in Moscow)—tells clearly that it concerns the Moscow terror towards the Ukrainians. The Vatican journal gives this infor-

mation, based on the report given by a German Jesuit padre Schecali, who, disguised as a Russian railwayman, travelled throughout the Ukraine and has now returned to Rome.

He also informs about the growth of the “Underground Christian Resistance Movement” in which, as he has found out, millions of Greco-Catholics and Orthodox take part.

Emmanuel Even said in 1931:

“Ukraine has not only natural (geographic) boundaries, but this country of best black soil possesses geographic unity and economic independence.” William H. Chamberlain, in 1944, wrote: “Ukrainian language is quite different from Russian, and Ukraine has no economic basis with Russia and Poland; countries by nationality, language and culture quite different.”