

The Story
of the
Ukrainian Congress Committee
of America
(1940-1951)

NEW YORK
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UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

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HARRY S. TRUMAN

President of the United States of America

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 2, 1949

Dear Friends:

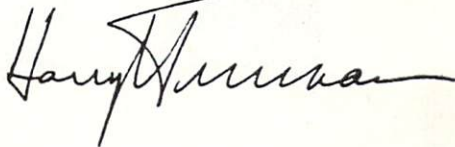
The fourth national gathering of leaders of various groups from all parts of America of citizens of Ukrainian origin offers a suitable occasion to congratulate you and the men and women you represent upon your fine contributions to American life.

You are to be commended for your interest and participation in our democracy and also for your interest in and efforts to aid your kinsmen overseas who are not able to enjoy the benefits of a free society which we in the United States are fortunate to enjoy.

I hope that more and more the story of our American democracy will reach your kinsmen and others overseas who are not able to listen to a free radio or read an uncensored press and that as the true story of democracy is heard more widely the desire of all peoples for freedom and peace and justice will increase correspondingly.

My best wishes to your meeting.

Very sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Harry Truman". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

Fourth Congress of Americans,
Ukrainian Descent,
Hotel Statler,
Washington, D. C.

F O R E W O R D

By May of 1940 World War II was nearing the end of its initial phase. A seemingly invincible Nazi Germany had invaded Czechoslovakia, destroyed Poland and had overrun most of Central Europe. In a few weeks France was to fall, to leave virtually the whole continent divided between the two totalitarian giants, Germany and the Soviet Union.

Under its weak pretension of seeking "security," the Soviet slave empire had long concluded its infamous pact with Hitler, invaded little Finland and snapped up as its share of the deal with Germany a portion of Rumania. As a result of later acquisitions fully 95 per cent of the Ukrainian ethnographic territory was to fall into the Soviet imperialistic maw.

Worse, Western Ukraine was included in the Soviet land grab. The loss of this cultural and ideological center of Ukraine was a heavy blow to the aspiration of the Ukrainian people for their independence. In Eastern Ukraine the Soviets had long forced underground the Ukrainian nationalist leadership by such inhuman measures as their genocidal outrage of the man-made famine of 1933, which took the stupefying toll of some four million Ukrainian lives; by endless purges, executions and assassinations. With the acquisition of Western Ukraine, the Soviet process of silencing the demand of the Ukrainian nation for its right to self-determination and sovereignty seemed completed. The death knell all but sounded for the centuries-long Ukrainian struggle for freedom.

The first nation of Europe to have had a democratic form of government, one of the earliest to have introduced Christianity, and one which had served as an impregnable bulwark of civilized Europe against the invading hordes of the East—this nation of glorious traditions and a rich culture was in dire danger in the twentieth century of losing its national identity forever. The Soviet Union had rewritten it out of history, had ridiculed and castrated the Ukrain-

ion language, had ruthlessly stamped out its elite time and again. In the rest of the world Soviet propaganda had succeeded to an astonishing extent in violating Ukrainian integrity by destroying the existence of its unique character on the one hand and by accusing Ukrainian patriots of being mere Fascist tools or reactionaries on the other. Ukraine had been a submerged nation; in the late spring of 1940 it was threatened with watery death, unwept and unknown, in the subterranean tides of Soviet imperialism.

In this unparalleled crisis in Ukrainian history, the Ukrainian immigration and its progeny in America acted. In a spectacular manifestation of concerted action on May 24, 1940, more than one thousand Ukrainian-Americans, representing 1,425 organizations, met in Washington, D. C. This was the First Ukrainian-American Congress in America, representing over a million Ukrainians and Americans of Ukrainian descent, and as such constituting the sole strong Ukrainian voice in the world at the time. It promptly appealed for world support of the cause of Ukrainian independence; the spirit of a free Ukraine was again proved deathless.

In order to perpetuate and to strengthen this unity and articulation which had been some fifty years in the making, the Congress appointed a permanent committee, called the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, or UCCA. This is the first and only body ever empowered to speak for over a million Americans of Ukrainian descent, and has proven to be the most important single political instrumentality in America of the Ukrainian cause.

The future of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and perhaps of the Ukrainian nation, lies in the hands of the sons and daughters of those Ukrainians who left oppression behind and braved a new world in order to provide their children with the opportunities they themselves were never fortunate enough to possess.

This brief account of the history and significance of the Ukrainian Congress Committee was written especially for these Americans of Ukrainian descent in order to remind them of the dual nature of their obligation. As Americans, they must continually enlighten their fellow Americans as to the true nature and the menace of Soviet totalitarian communism; as the sons and daughters of Ukraine they must not allow the spirit of a free Ukraine to wither away and perish. The fates of both America and Ukraine are ultimately indivisible: by protecting the freedom of the one the Ukrainian-American can assure its restoration in the other. Toward this vital and noble end the Ukrainian Congress Committee was created.

It is theirs to take or to forsake.

PART ONE

I. THE UKRAINIAN IMMIGRATION IN AMERICA

The Ukrainians are comparative late-comers on the American scene. Although there is evidence of the presence of Ukrainians in America during the Colonial Period and that some fought in the Revolutionary War, the bulk of the immigration arrived between the years 1899 and 1914, the period of the last great influx of European immigration.

Together with the other Slav nationalities, the Ukrainians had good reason to emigrate in large numbers. Oppressed by Czarist Russia and exploited in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, they had been forced to live in poverty and with little hope of improving their lot. As Ukrainians they had continually fought to regain their independence; moreover, their freedom of movement and individual rights had been sharply curtailed. America, the land of freedom and of plenty, beckoned irresistibly.

It is estimated that about 80 per cent of the 1,000,000 Ukrainian immigrants came from Western Ukraine, that is, Galicia, Carpatho-Ukraine and Bukovina, Ukrainian provinces which prior to 1914 had belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Here in America they swelled the industrial force by settling in the coal mining areas of Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia and Illinois; in the iron ore regions of Minnesota and Michigan; in the gold and silver districts of Montana and Colorado, and in the farm states of Nebraska and the Dakotas. A great many made their homes in the metropolitan areas of New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago. Some went as far as the West Coast: California, Oregon and Washington, while a few hundred found their way to Texas, Oklahoma and Louisiana.

Unlike the other nationalities, who had recourse to the large established centres of their kinsmen, the Ukrainians were compelled to start a new life alone and unaided. Handicapped further by a lack of knowledge of English, the Ukrainians had hard sledding during their first few years. Yet the same qualities which had enabled them to survive through centuries of the severest oppression in Europe stood them in good stead. A Ukrainian-American community quick-

ly sprang up wherever a group of them collected. A flourishing church and cultural life developed, for like the other nationality groups which compose America, the Ukrainians brought with them a rich cultural heritage, featuring music, the dance, literature, dress and domestic arts.

"In our search for immigrant gifts," — wrote Allen H. Eaton in his book, *Immigrant Gifts to American Life* (Russell Sage Foundation: 1932), — "sometimes the most interesting and colorful are among the late arrivals. To me, one of the most picturesque of our rather recent immigrant groups is from the Ukraine. Their entertainments are full of vivid beauty and action... their power and beauty will ultimately find their way into the stream of our culture."

Because of their initially insecure position, the Ukrainians founded several fraternal organizations in order to provide protection in the event of sickness or death. In 1894 appeared the first and largest of these, the Ukrainian National Association. The others which followed are the Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics, the Ukrainian National Aid Association and the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association.

Each of these organizations publishes a Ukrainian-language newspaper, the earliest being the daily, *Svoboda*, established in 1893 and published by the Ukrainian National Association or UNA. The daily *America* is put out by the Providence Association, while the Workingsmen's and the National Aid Association publish weeklies, *Narodna Vola* and *Narodne Slovo*, respectively. For the American-born generation, there is *The Ukrainian Weekly*, published in English by the UNA.

Today the Ukrainian-American community has assumed a more normal distribution with respect to means of livelihood and pursuits. The earlier distinguishing characteristic of a laboring class has given way to that of a diversity of callings, including business and the professions. The recent influx of Ukrainian immigrants, under the category of Displaced Persons, has heavily swollen the professional lists.

Doctors, teachers, engineers, artists, journalists, priests, musicians and students—these Ukrainians who for years were buffeted by both Nazis and Bolsheviks and who languished in the DP camps of Europe have lent Ukrainian life in America a great impetus with their arrival. They have brought with them not only fresh talents but heart-stirring accounts of the deathless Ukrainian struggle for freedom and independence which have helped raise Ukrainian-American activity to an unprecedented pitch.

In this political respect the Ukrainians in the United States have been active in varying degree since the first days of their coming. The work of the Irish and the Jewish nationalities toward the establishment of their free and independent states stands as a constant reminder that the Ukrainian dream of a free and independent country can be a reality in our time. Thus by all the means at their disposal the Ukrainians have continually publicized the plight of their native land and have generously contributed what they could spare of their earnings and savings.

In 1919, for example, when the Ukrainian forces were engaged in a gallant defense of the short-lived re-established free Ukrainian state, here in America Ukrainians did what they could to impress upon President Wilson the truth that the freedom and independence of Ukraine is a prerequisite of a stable peace in Eastern Europe. Although intense, this Ukrainian effort was to no avail. The stresses and confusions of the time led Wilson, despite his idealism and advocacy of the principle of the self-determination of all peoples, into support of such Russian Czarist generals as Wrangel and Denikin, and of the re-creation of a Poland which, although supposedly democratic, promptly embarked upon a conquest of Western Ukraine and a part of Lithuania.

By the outbreak of World War II the Ukrainian press and the many Ukrainian organizations and societies had broken the hard ground of acquainting America with the problem of Ukraine. Competent observers and serious students had verified the nationwide scope of the Ukrainian resistance against oppressors, more and more the American press had taken cognizance of the valid claims of the Ukrainians for their freedom and independence. Meanwhile the rank and file of the Ukrainian immigration, by the day-to-day display of their capacity for hard work, their temperate habits and their spiritual qualities, had not only made millions of Americans aware of the existence of the Ukrainian nation, but had favorably disposed them to all things Ukrainian.

While it was yeomen work which the Ukrainians in America had performed, unfortunately it was not enough. It is the task of future historians to assess the factors which made for the phenomenal growth of Soviet Russia into a worldwide menace; but doubtless the role of Soviet propaganda will be assigned great importance. By the sheer massiveness of their propaganda the Soviets succeeded in gaining thousands of adherents the world over. Through the technique of the outright and big lie, tirelessly repeated, the Soviets depicted the Ukrainians for those who knew none as reactionary *kulaks*, devia-

tionists, chauvinists and traitors. At the outset of World War II the Ukrainians were smeared as "Fascist." It was a happy label on the part of the Soviets, for it effectively negated at this time the desperate efforts of the Ukrainians to convey the truth about the Soviet regime to the world at large.

The absorption by Soviet Russia of Western Ukraine atop the vile propaganda attack had the beneficial repercussion, however, of consolidating the Ukrainian immigration and its progeny. With a spontaneity which defies analysis, the Ukrainian immigration in America clamored for an assemblage which would speak out for ominously-threatened Ukraine.

The direct outcome was the First Ukrainian American Congress.

II. THE FIRST UKRAINIAN AMERICAN CONGRESS

The First Ukrainian American Congress was sponsored by the four leading fraternal organizations of the Ukrainian immigration in America, namely, the Ukrainian National Association of Jersey City, N. J., the Ukrainian National Aid Association of Pittsburgh, Pa., the Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics of Philadelphia, Pa., and the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association of Scranton, Pa. Putting aside for the nonce their differences one with another, the Big Four had created prior to the Congress a provisional Ukrainian Congress Committee to represent all Americans of Ukrainian descent in the interim. This committee headed an advisory board composed of representatives of the following Ukrainian organizations:

The Women's League, the League of the Ukrainian Catholic Youth, The Ukrainian Youth League of North America, Young Ukrainian Nationalists, United Ukrainian Organizations, Organization for the Defense of Lemkivschyna, Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Hetman Organization, the Ukrainian Women's League of America, Association of Former Soldiers *Striletska Hromada*, the Ukrainian Gold Cross, the *Sich* Organization (*Chornomorska Sich*) and the Organization of Ukrainian Professionals.

After surprisingly little deliberation, the date and place of the Congress was set. On May 24, 1940, 805 delegates hailing from 168 different communities met in Washington, D. C.

Reaching a high point in Ukrainian unanimity and single-mindedness, this First Ukrainian American Congress passed resolutions upholding the foreign policy of President Roosevelt, denouncing totalitarian aggression in Europe, and appealing for American support of the Ukrainian cause. The provisional committee appointed by the

fraternal organizations was accepted *in toto* by the delegates and made permanent. It was headed by Nicholas Murashko, President, with Anthony Curkowsky as Secretary, Stepan Korpan as Treasurer and Wasyl Shabatura as Controller. Its other members were: — Gregory Herman, Maria Malevich, Dmytro Halychyn, Roman Slobodian and Luke Myshuha from the Ukrainian National Association; Rev. Volodymyr Lotovych, Theodore Chemerys, Ivan Borysevych and Volodymyr Lototsky from the Providence Association; Myroslav Sichynsky, Volodymyr Levytsky, Theodore Mynyk, Peter Duchak and Yaroslav Chyz from the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association and Michael Markiv, Ivan Soroka and Matthew Chandoha from the Ukrainian National Aid Association.

Besides adoption of the resolutions, the Congress issued a memorandum which proclaimed to the world that, although the Ukrainian nation had suffered harsh oppression, exploitation and terror at the hands of its conquerors, it had never given up its centuries-old struggle for national independence. The memorandum pointed out that the restoration of a free Ukraine would establish a towering obstacle to the growth of the aggressive policies of either Russia, Poland or Germany. In her own interests Ukraine would be a peaceful intermediary between the industrial West and the agricultural East, and in all respects a stabilizing influence in Eastern Europe. The rich fruits of her natural resources, agriculture and industry would become available to all nations through free trade agreements, rather than be confined to the nature of a prize for one or another of her preying neighbors.

The concluding paragraph of the memorandum spoke vigorously for Ukrainians the world over when it declared, "It is possible today to speak freely and truthfully about... Ukraine only in these United States and in the other democratic countries... We hope that America in her efforts to promote a more stable peace will support the aspirations of the Ukrainian people in their land to establish an independent and democratic nation in the territories where the Ukrainians are in the preponderant majority."

The declaration and resolutions of the Congress stressed that Ukraine desires her independence, as evident by her people's bloody wars of defense, rebellions, revolutionary activities, and organized mass resistance to alien rule; that she could be independent, by reason of her natural richness and industrious people, and that she should be independent in the interests of a more stable peace. These resolutions, finally, not only beseeched the recognition and support of all

the liberty-loving countries of the historic right of the Ukrainian people to their own state; they expressly urged all Americans of Ukrainian descent to assist as well.

Thus did the Ukrainian community in America take up the torch of freedom and independence for Ukraine.

One of the first important acts of the Ukrainian Congress Committee—Ukraine's voice in America—was to send memoranda in the presidential election year of 1940 to the policy-making committees of both the major parties. The memoranda stressed the importance in all peace negotiations to come of respecting the right of self-determination of all nations, and specifically the Ukrainian.

On February 7, 1941, a special delegation of the UCCA appeared before the U. S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee and submitted a memorandum regarding the plight of the Ukrainian people. The delegation also declared its full and unequivocal support of American war aid to Great Britain.

The UCCA continued its spirited activity by dispatching a telegram on April 7, 1941 to President Roosevelt. Alluding to the arrival in the United States of General Wladyslaw Sikorski of Poland, the telegram read in part:

“The Ukrainian people resolutely resisted the incorporation of Western Ukraine into the Polish Republic at the end of World War I. They will, by all means at their disposal, again fight against all attempts to incorporate these territories into a future independent state of Poland in the same manner as they now fight against the Soviet domination.”

By concluding its message with the observation “The Ukrainians in their native land have no possibility of expressing their free will,” the UCCA formally assumed its temporary role as the Voice of Ukraine itself. Unfortunately this new-found voice was to be stilled almost at its inception.

With the invasion in June, 1941 of Soviet Russia by Germany, American sentiment began its amazing gravitation toward totalitarian Russia, the cemetery of nations. Backing into the ranks of the Allies, the Kremlin overseers themselves must have been astonished at the way the American climate developed into one sublimely favorable to anything and everything Russian. For some twenty years they had succeeded in concealing the truth about Russia. Now the powerful Soviet propaganda artillery pounded away at the line that Soviet Russia was a true democracy. And they succeeded even in this.

The low rumbling about the Ukrainian "Fascists" now swelled into a roar. How could these Ukrainians who were against our ally and that stalwart democracy, Soviet Russia, *not* be Fascists?

Immediately upon our entry into the war, the UCCA hastened to assure President Roosevelt of the wholehearted support of the Ukrainian communities of America. It expressed the unshakeable belief of the Americans of Ukrainian descent in the ultimate victory of the United States over the Berlin-Tokyo-Rome axis. But the UCCA pointedly added that this must be a victory for democracy producing a new order wherein all states, including the Ukrainian, would share in the blessings of freedom and democracy.

Simultaneously the UCCA sought to rally all its strength by an appeal to Americans of Ukrainian descent:

"We ought note that as we now become intrepid and ardent defenders of the great and noble principles for which America fights; as we now give hereto more than is expected of us as citizens—so do we ease the task of defending in time to come, before our government and before the democracies of the world, the sacred right to an independent life of the now-enslaved Ukrainian people, the people from whom we take our origin and whose fate lies heavily on our hearts."

The valiant response from the Ukrainian-American community, however, proved no match for the crushing barrage laid down by the now heavily-swollen Sovietophile and communist forces in the United States. As Ukrainian Americans proceeded to lay down their lives in our fight for the freedom of all men, everything bearing a Ukrainian mark was mercilessly attacked in print and on the air. Special denunciations were made before the Federal Bureau of Investigation, before the security authorities of the Army and of the Navy. A slanderous book called *Sabotage* appeared, labelling as Fascist many Ukrainians and their organizations, as well as Irish, Italian and German organizations. The writers were forced to withdraw their baseless charges through legal measures instituted by the Ukrainian National Association; but the damage was done.

The virulence of the communist-inspired onslaughts and witch-hunting mounted in proportion to the war hysteria. When finally the anti-Ukrainian campaign seemed to have the unqualified approval in certain quarters in Washington, D. C., three of the fraternal organizations decided upon retirement. They recalled their representatives from the UCCA, leaving only those of the Ukrainian National Aid Association.

For almost two years, the voice which had spoken so promisingly remained mute. Meanwhile the armies of Germany and Russia swept back and forth across the length and breadth of Ukraine.

III. THE WAR YEARS AND AFTERMATH

If the withdrawal of support by the three fraternal organizations had a crippling effect on the Ukrainian Congress Committee, it did not affect the surging vitality and determination of the great body of Ukrainian Americans. A great cause possesses the property of being able to produce leadership indefinitely. This ability has characterized the Ukrainian struggle for centuries. Now, in America, the unquenchable desire for a free Ukraine produced a new activating group.

Calling themselves the "Committee of the Council of Ukrainian Americans," this group met on July 4, 1943 in Detroit. Prof. Nicholas Chubaty of New York; John Panchuk, Wasyl Dovhan and John Evanchuk, all of Detroit; Marcel Wagner of Jersey City, Wasyl Onyskiw and Nicholas Dutkevych, both of Pittsburgh, and Roman Smook of Chicago were its members.

They spoke for all Americans of Ukrainian descent when they publicly declared:

"Ukrainian Americans consider themselves an integral part of the Western democratic world which is fighting against the tyranny and enslavement of peoples in the world; therefore, they will exert all their strength to help their American fatherland emerge victorious from this war.

"Ukrainian Americans recognize that, in accordance with the spirit of Americanism, international justice and the spirit of the declarations of statesmen made during the present war—the Ukrainian people in Europe have a full right based on history, geographic and economic conditions in Eastern Europe, to create after this war an independent Ukrainian state on the Ukrainian territories; therefore, Ukrainian Americans, as free men and as citizens of the free land of Washington, have the right and the duty to help achieve such a righteous solution of the Ukrainian problem, because this solution alone is capable of assuring a permanent peace in Eastern Europe, a solution which will not cause America and freedom-loving humanity to go to war again in order to establish peace and security in the world."

Accepting as the ideological basis of its activities the resolutions and decisions voted by the First Ukrainian American Congress, the Committee proposed a council whose structure would be not based

upon fraternal organizations, but upon Ukrainian-American elements whose work had continued unabated even amid general chaos and apathy.

These outspoken sentiments roused the Ukrainian National Aid Association, which alone had remained in the original Congress Committee. On September 18, 1943 the Association met with the Detroit so called "Steering Committee"; the two bodies agreed on a new Ukrainian-American Congress which would be based upon the representation of Ukrainian communities and not upon the fraternal organizations as before.

A new and provisional Ukrainian Congress Committee was created. It was composed of the following:

Stephen Shumeyko, Chairman; John Panchuk, Wasyl Shabatura and Dr. Walter Gallan, Vice-Presidents; Marcel Wagner and Bohdan Katamay, Secretaries; Dmytro Halychyn, Treasurer; Julian Baranets, B. Volchansky, I. Harmatiuk, J. Gursky, M. Darmoprav, W. Dovhan, T. Kaskiv, L. Myshuha, C. Olesnicki, M. Petryshyn, Roman Smook, Anna Sereda, M. Usyk, M. Chandoha, A. Curkovsky, N. Chubaty, H. Shabatura and D. Shmagala—Members of the Advisory Board; Dmytro Kapitula, Michael Dutkevych and Olena Stogryn — Controlling Board.

This Committee, speaking for Ukraine once more, composed a particularly fine memorandum which was dispatched to Secretary of State Cordell Hull on the eve of his trip to Moscow to attend a tri-power conference. It read in part:

"At this time when the arms and cause of our country and allies are proving victorious on the field of battle over the brutal might of Nazi Germany and her satellites, when our country is beginning to think of the shape of the post-war world to come, we believe it necessary for Americans of Old World background to give their government officials and fellow Americans the benefit of their special knowledge concerning the land of their origin or descent, so that the American approach to the problems of post-war Europe, particularly in reference to the countries of such Americans' origin, shall be based on a keen awareness of all the factors and latent forces that shall enter into it.

"This is especially applicable to us, the Americans of Ukrainian birth or descent. For Ukraine is today either under Nazi occupation or Soviet rule... She has no government-in-exile or any other true form of representation of its own abroad to speak for her. What, if anything, is said officially in her name is by her pre-war occupiers, chiefly Soviet Russia and Poland.

In her own right she has no voice, although her people are among the most valiant and sacrificing of those who are fighting the Nazi tyranny...

"We Americans of Ukrainian descent are primarily concerned with the establishment after this war of security, lasting peace, freedom and democracy throughout the civilized world. For that is one of the principal reasons why our country is engaged in this war. That is why thousands upon thousands of our brothers, sons, relatives and friends are serving in the armed forces of our country. Unless, therefore, such peace, freedom and democracy are established after the war in Europe, then all the valiant efforts and sacrifices of our country shall have been in vain...

"In establishing their republic, the Ukrainians invoked Woodrow Wilson's principle of national self-determination. Likewise, they invoked their freedom-loving highly democratic traditions, which included periods of national freedom and independence. Thus about one thousand years ago, they already had their own independent national state, the so-called Kingdom of Kiev (Rus) which for several centuries defended itself against the unceasing invasions of Asiatic hordes. It was firmly founded on principles of political freedom, and the authority of its kings and princes was limited by laws promulgated by its democratic people's councils. Furthermore, about the middle of the 17th century, when the Ukrainians drove out those who with the fall of their first national state had encroached upon their native land, they established their second national state, the so-called Kozak State, strongly democratic in every respect, with its head, the Hetman, elected by the people. Finally, at the close of the last World War, following another long period of national thralldom, the Ukrainian people rose against their autocratic oppressors and established two independent Ukrainian republics, one in the east and one in the west, founded on democratic principles and guaranteeing the rights of all national, religious and political minorities within their borders. In January, 1919, these two republics united into one and indivisible Ukrainian National Republic. Attacked by overwhelming forces from all sides, sabotaged within by fifth columnists, and given the *coup de grace* by adverse Paris peace conference decisions, the Ukrainian republic finally collapsed, and Ukraine was overrun by its enemies.

" 'The misfortunes of the Ukrainians,' wrote Herbert Adams Gibbons then ("Ukraine and the Balance of Power," *Century*

Magazine, July 1921), 'have come from the fact that the independent existence of their nation was an obstacle to the political aims of all the rival forces contending for supremacy, and at the same time proved to be an irresistible magnet to the occult powers behind armies, which lust for oil and coal and monopolies of food-stuffs and raw materials.'

"'Anti-Soviet sentiment has been intensely stubborn since the first days of the revolution,' wrote Harold Denny, Moscow correspondent of *The New York Times* (June, 1938), and — 'Ukraine has been the field of a strong nationalist movement from the beginning of the Bolshevik revolution.'

"At first the Ukrainians under the Soviets were allowed certain cultural concessions as a partial offset to the political repression and economic exploitation of them. In time, however, even these cultural concessions began to be withdrawn. Those Ukrainians who rebelled against this policy were declared traitors, summarily tried, imprisoned, or executed. Concerning one such trial, the *Saturday Review* (London, January 18, 1930), correctly pointed out that the 'real reason for bringing a charge against Yefremov, Czechivsky, and the others is the desire to destroy the Ukrainian intelligentsia by getting rid of its chief representatives... Realizing its failure, Bolshevism has taken to its alternative weapons—terrorism and provocation. By this means it seeks to kill the creative efforts of Ukrainian culture and that is the real significance of the present trial,'—and it might be added, of other similar trials.

"Despite severest repression, Ukrainian resistance continued. Such opposition was usually followed by mass reprisals on the part of the authorities, which included the forcible shifting of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians from native places to artificially populated barren areas in outlying stretches of the Soviet territories.

"In 1932 and 1933, the Soviet authorities by their economic policies, and especially by their enforcement of rural collectivization, brought about an acute state of famine in Ukraine, which took a toll, conservatively estimated by William Henry Chamberlin of *The Christian Science Monitor* (Boston, May 29, 1934), to be well over four million lives. And although the Soviet authorities were fully aware of the famine in Ukraine and although they had full and complete control of the entire food supplies, they nevertheless failed to take relief measures designed to check the famine or to alleviate the terrible conditions arising from it, but

on the contrary used the famine as a means of reducing the Ukrainian population and destroying the Ukrainian political, cultural and national rights...

“And yet, when war broke out and Hitler unleashed his hordes upon defenseless peoples, the Ukrainians immediately ranged themselves alongside their former oppressors, first the Poles and then the Russians, against their common enemy — the Nazis. Their fight against the invaders of Ukraine has aroused world admiration. The very fact, as reported by Prime-Minister Churchill a year ago, that when the Nazis entered Kiev, they shot 54,000 persons in that spiritual center of Ukrainian national feeling, testifies of itself how strong Ukrainian hostility against the Nazis must be to evoke such terrible repressive measures.

“All Nazi measures of force or blandishment to win over the Ukrainians have been a complete failure. As noted by Rene Kraus in his *Europe in Revolt* (MacMillan, 1942), ‘The remarkable feature is the absence among the Ukrainians of a Quisling. In many thousands of villages five mayors all told, showed themselves ready to collaborate with the invaders. All five, according to Soviet official reports, were killed by their own citizens... But the double game the Nazis have played with them has entirely alienated even those Ukrainians who considered making common cause with Hitler against the Soviets. Today the whole nation is ferociously anti-German.

“In order that lasting peace and the reign of justice shall prevail in Eastern Europe, Ukraine must be allowed to control her own destinies. That is the supreme desire of all freedom-loving Ukrainian people. They have been especially encouraged in this desire by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, as well as yourself, Honorable Sir, who have time and again stressed that this war is being fought not in the interests of a privileged few but for the freedom of all peoples.”

Two hundred and thirty delegates, representing Ukrainian American communities throughout the nation, convened January 22, 1944 in Philadelphia. This second American Ukrainian Congress was scored by the Sovietophile elements with a virulence that had not abated; but Mr. Stephen Shumeyko, the energetic President of the UCCA, squarely confronted the critics.

“Simply because we want our kinsmen in their native land,” — he said in an address to the Congress, — “to enjoy after this war the freedom and democracy that we are so fortunate in having here as

Americans, we have become the object of this ruthless vilification by those who regard with hatred the idea of a free and democratic Ukraine.

“Chief among them, of course, are the Communists in this country, who during the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact impeded our country’s war preparations at every step, but who now have become 100 per cent Americans highly intolerant of the plain 100 per cent true Americans...

“But what has made matters worse are those certain radio commentators who... ignore the truth, and concentrate upon venom and cheap sensationalism...

“When this war is over and... when excited war feelings will have died down, then this un-American anti-Ukrainian calumny and vilification will be exposed in all its dirty colors.”

In the way of concrete action, the Congress approved an American-Ukrainian war bond drive, which was to have its goal of five million dollars well oversubscribed. The Congress also authorized the establishment of a war relief committee for Ukrainian war victims and refugees, the publication of a magazine in English, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, and re-affirmed in general the resolutions adopted at the First Ukrainian American Congress, principal of which was the demand of the restoration of Ukraine as a free and democratic state.

The new executive board of the UCCA was composed of the following:

Stephen Shumeyko, President; John Panchuk, Walter Gallan, Wasyl Shabatura and Olena Stogryn, — Vice-Presidents; Stephen Kurlak, Recording Secretary; Bohdan Katamay, Financial Secretary; Dmytro Halychyn, Treasurer; Rev. V. Bilinsky, V. Fedash, W. Dovichan, Rev. V. Bilon, Rev. H. Pytiuk, N. Chubaty, Dr. L. Cehelsky, C. Olesnicky, O. Zaporozhets, A. Malanchuk, Rev. A. Kist, Dr. A. A. Granovsky, M. Chemny, — Members of the Advisory Board. Genevieve Zepko, Catherine Khomiak, Dr. L. Myshuha, J. Evanchuk, Maria Demydchuk and Michael Dutkevych, — Members of the Controlling Board.

Possibly the most outstanding act of this reborn Voice of Ukraine was the dispatch of a delegation, composed of Mr. Shumeyko, Dr. A. A. Granovsky and Mr. Bohdan Katamay, to the first conference of the United Nations, held in May, 1945 at San Francisco. The delegation, working jointly with Dr. Rev. Wasyl Kushnir and Ivan Solomon, both of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, submitted a lengthy memorandum to the United States representatives and informed various foreign representatives of Ukraine’s cause for independence. Above all they

stressed the fact that the representatives of the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic led by Dimitri Z. Manuilsky did not represent the Ukrainian people but were in truth mere agents of Soviet Russia, oppressor of Ukraine.

One year later, on the occasion of the Third Ukrainian-American Congress, some 322 delegates attended. The sizeable increase in attendance signified the steady recovery of the body from the days of communist onslaughts.

Meanwhile a development in Soviet Russia came to light which destroyed once and for all the baseless and nefarious anti-Ukrainian propaganda by the Soviets. This development was the astonishing phenomenon of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, a well-disciplined and organized force which engaged units of the Soviet forces in pitched battles.

Organized in 1942, this popular army composed of and led by Ukrainians fought against both the Nazis and the Bolsheviks. It is reported to be still active today, still fighting under the slogan: — “For an independent sovereign Ukrainian state! Freedom to the peoples! Freedom to the individual!”

The validity of these ideas and the breath-taking determination of the Ukrainian nation is evident from the fact that in May, 1947, five years after the formation of this purely voluntary army, the Soviet, the Polish and the Czech governments found it necessary to enter upon a mutual agreement to combat the Ukrainian armed resistance.

In 1946, the end of the war was but a year old and the promise of the United Nations still bright, but the Third Congress resolutely proceeded with the grim duty of warning the world of the menace of Soviet totalitarianism. It branded Soviet Russia a threat to world peace by reason of her destruction of the Ukrainian National Republic established after the revolution in 1917, her attack upon Finland, her occupation of Western Ukraine and of Carpatho-Ukraine and of the Baltic states, the transformation of Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the Balkan states into satellites, and her designs upon Iran, Korea and China.

“Especially does the Third Congress call attention to the enslavement of the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which was proclaimed independent simply to hoodwink the world. This ‘Republic’ not only does not enjoy any autonomous rights, but its people are being persecuted by the ill-famed NKVD through all pos-

sible means of repression, against which the people have erected a stubborn and brave resistance, as expressed in the struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.”

The Congress thereupon called for the universal application of the Four Freedoms and the principles of the Atlantic Charter, holding that without them peace and security in the world would remain unattainable.

IV. THE POSTWAR UCCA

(1946—1949)

By 1946 the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America had grown into a mature and fully responsible body. The experiences of its formative years had taught those lessons which every nation-wide organization must absorb. The result was a Ukrainian-American leadership which had become closely knit and conscious of its strength.

Moreover, the American scene, heretofore seized with an unnatural and totally unfounded gravitation toward totalitarian Soviet Russia, now had finally begun its inevitable reaction. With the end of the war Soviet Russia had abruptly dropped its mask of a friendly and peaceful power; as a consequence, the American climate no longer was ideally favorable to everything and anything Russian. Slowly a sense of revulsion grew upon the people of the United States and of the world itself at the naked revelation of Russia's cruel, cynical and grasping nature. Bitterly the world fought its disillusionment as the power it had saved from defeat at the hands of Nazi Germany callously proceeded to augment its wartime military strength, bring a quarter of the globe under its communist control and make a mockery of the United Nations.

But the tragic feature of this awakening was that it was not complete; the average man did not believe, perhaps could not yet believe, the reports of the inhuman way of life in the Soviet Union. So nightmarish were the facts, such as the dreadful poverty, the ghoulish slave labor system and the heinous practice of genocide—the murder of a nation—that the average man not only rejected these, but in his incredulity discounted even those features which the Soviet regime had not troubled to conceal. So that while its ruthless expansionist policies revealed Russia as a predatory power, the full extent of its menace to civilization still went unappreciated.

The task confronting the UCCA in 1946, then, was doubled in value. By making America and all mankind fully aware of the true nature of the Soviet Union, the UCCA would bring the eventual

liberation of Ukraine that much closer. And by the same token the realization of the enormity of Russia's transgressions would stimulate the bastion of freedom of the world into erection of its defenses.

Favored for the first time by the international situation, the UCCA plunged into this task with an energy and determination which at times attained inspired heights.

In July 1946, one month after the occasion of the Third Congress, the UCCA met with the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in Winnipeg. Like the UCCA, the Canadian body, organized in 1940, was designed to represent the entire immigration of Canada. At the joint meeting the problem of combining the work of both committees to publicize the case of the enslaved Ukrainians was studied. Also discussed were the oncoming Peace Conference in Paris, the creation of Ukrainian information centers and the resettlement of the Ukrainian displaced persons of Europe. With this meeting the unification of the immigration of the entire hemisphere was brought an important step closer.

Subsequently, the UCCA submitted a strong memorandum to the State Department in Washington, protesting against the Soviet Russian terror in Ukraine. The State Department was requested: 1) to intercede with the Soviet Government in order that the terror against the Ukrainian people cease and to hold the Soviet Government criminally responsible for the atrocities and genocide perpetrated in Ukraine; 2) to prevail upon the Soviet Government as one of the Charter signatories to respect it and to give Ukraine, as well as the other countries under Russia, an opportunity to choose its own government through democratic processes; and 3) to present the cause of Ukraine's enslavement by Soviet Russia before the Security Council as a threat to world peace.

In the summer of 1946, Stephen Shumeyko, President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee, traveled all the way to Paris, where the Peace Conference was held. There he delivered a special memorandum of the UCCA to the heads of numerous governmental delegations and conducted long interviews and conversations with several foreign representatives regarding the position of the Ukrainian people under Soviet Russia. As a result, *The New York Times*, and *The New York Herald Tribune*, as well as several French dailies in Paris, carried extremely favorable comments on the public declarations and statements of the Ukrainian delegate. The New York Polish daily, *Nowy Swiat*, stated editorially that the one-man Ukrainian "delegation" ac-

accomplished far more for the cause of Ukraine than the five-man delegation of the Polish government-in-exile from London did for that of Poland.

The lasting worth of Mr. Shumeyko's labors was evident some time later in a heated debate at Lake Success between the Greek and the Soviet delegates. The Greek representative openly declared that the Soviets, who intervened in the internal affairs of other countries in the name of peace, in actuality were conducting a brutal persecution of the Ukrainian people. As his authority, he cited the UCCA memorandum submitted by Mr. Shumeyko.

The UCCA next raised its ever-growing voice on the occasion of the so-called "Third American Slav Congress," which gathered in Manhattan Center, New York, as a pro-Soviet rally of pro-communist and fellow-travelling elements. The UCCA issued releases to the American press disclosing the fact that the "American Slav Congress" did not possess the right either to speak or to act in behalf of Americans of Slavic descent. The statement concluded:

"The delegation of Soviet Ukraine participating in the American Slav Congress does not represent the Ukrainian people, but does represent the Soviet Russian occupation government, against which the Ukrainian people are incessantly fighting."

Similar statements regarding the Soviet-sponsored and communist-infiltrated American Slav Congress were dispatched to the State Department by the UCCA. As a result much favorable comment on the attack of the UCCA upon the American Slav Congress appeared in the American press.

Shortly after, the UCCA and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee appointed a joint delegation, composed of Stephen Shumeyko, Dmytro Halychyn, Bohdan Katamay, Rev. Dr. Wasył Kushnir and Volodymyr Kossar, to discuss the desperate plight of the Ukrainian displaced persons with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, American delegate to the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations. The former First Lady of the Land was moved by the account of the predicament of the victims of Soviet oppression, many of whom committed suicide rather than allow themselves to be forcibly repatriated to the Soviet Union.

In the fall of 1946 a mass meeting was sponsored in New York City by the Ukrainian Congress Committee in conjunction with the United Ukrainian Organizations of Greater New York. The assemblage dispatched a demand to the General Assembly of the United Nations that a special commission be created to investigate

the situation in Ukraine under Soviet Russian domination, and that the Ukrainian people be guaranteed those rights as envisaged by the U. N. Charter. This action evoked approval in the American press.

The last outstanding act of the UCCA in 1946 was its discussion of the Ukrainian problem with the United States delegation to the United Nations, then composed of Arthur Vandenberg, George Warren, and L. Steinbauer.

By February of the following year the UCCA had acted again. At a meeting of its Philadelphia branch resolutions were adopted which cogently argued for the support of the Ukrainian liberation movement on the part of the United States. Favorable reports on the meeting were printed in *The New York Times* and in other American papers.

When word came from Europe that the Ukrainian displaced persons were being subjected to renewed screening with the participation of Soviet representatives, the postwar potency of the Ukrainian Congress Committee was strikingly revealed. It dispatched telegrams to President Truman, Herbert H. Lehman, General Director of UNRRA, General Clark (then U. S. Commander in Austria) and to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, protesting the presence of the Soviet officials as well as the forcible repatriation of Ukrainians to the Soviet Union. The United States Government made an official reply, stating that both screenings and forcible repatriation would be discontinued at once.

On the eve of the Moscow Conference of the Foreign Ministers the Ukrainian Congress Committee dispatched a lengthy telegram to General George C. Marshall, then U. S. Secretary of State, in which the position of the Ukrainian people under the totalitarian rule of Russia was accurately depicted. *The New York Herald Tribune* gave extensive coverage to the Ukrainian missive under the heading, "Ukrainian Group Sends Telegram to Marshall Demanding a Free Ukraine." Its account included the argument that a free Ukraine would be a much stronger bulwark against communism than either Greece or Turkey, "that Ukraine would become a stabilizing factor in international relations," and that a free Ukraine would render "Soviet Russia much weaker as a ruthless aggressor."

Thus, slowly but surely, the American press learned of the existence of the name, "Ukraine," a name which a few short years back had been little known. Due in great measure to the high crusading spirit of the UCCA, the press and, as a result, the people were coming to know of this potential ally within the Soviet Union.

It was at this time (May, 1947) that the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia concluded their mutual pact against the Ukrainian

Insurgent Army, or UPA, which resulted in a concerted "pacification" of Ukrainian areas in Western Ukraine, Carpatho-Ukraine and to the west of the Curzon Line in Poland. The Ukrainian Congress Committee submitted a memorandum to Warren R. Austin, U. S. delegate to the United Nations, reading in part:

"The action of these three states against the Ukrainian population whose only 'crime' is its desire of and aspiration to freedom and national independence under a democratic government, is contrary to the high principles of the United Nations. At the same time the occupation of Ukraine by Soviet Russia seriously endangers world peace; therefore, the Ukrainian Congress Committee requests the American representative to submit to the Security Council a resolution calling for an international investigation of the lands inhabited by the Ukrainians."

The New York Times devoted much space to the memorandum.

Shortly after, the UCCA sent a telegram to General Lucius D. Clay, U. S. Commander in Germany, urging the granting of political asylum to the three hundred armed Ukrainian soldiers of the UPA who had broken through the Iron Curtain and reached the U. S. Zone of Germany. A *demarche* resulted: General Clay replied through the State Department that the soldiers would be accorded all rights of prisoners of war under international treaty, and that they would not be returned to the Soviet Union.

As the tempo of UCCA activity mounted, representatives of Ukrainian organizations from the United States, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay met in order to effect the unification of all 2,000,000 Ukrainians in the Western Hemisphere. The result was the creation in November 1947 of the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference, the last step in the consolidation of the Ukrainians in the New World.

The overall aims of the Conference (of which the UCCA became a component part) are:

1. Ever-increasing contributions by Ukrainians to the political, cultural and economic life of the countries of their choice;
2. The making of the cause of Ukraine known to the citizens and governments of the countries of North and South America;
3. The cultivation of Ukrainian culture and customs and their integration into the cultures of the countries of this hemisphere;
4. The direction of all Ukrainian activities in the interest and development of the American countries, and the assistance of the Ukrainian people in their life-and-death struggle for liberation from the Russian yoke.

Towards these ends, the Conference maintains close contact with Ukrainian groups in both hemispheres, distributes literature on Ukraine, intercedes in behalf of Ukraine with the various governments, petitions the United Nations, and publishes the noted *Ukrainian Bulletin*, which serves as a monitor on all matters Ukrainian. Sustained in the main by the contributions of the UCCA and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the Conference by very reason of its existence furnishes still additional evidence of the validity and deathlessness of the Ukrainian entity.

In 1948 the enunciation of the far-seeing Truman Doctrine, designed to contain Soviet aggression and expansionism, was wholeheartedly endorsed by the Ukrainian Congress Committee, as spokesman of the Americans of Ukrainian descent. The President was informed by the UCCA that over 40,000,000 Ukrainian people have been victims of Soviet Russian imperialism since World War I, and that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army is still engaged in its unequal struggle with Soviet Russia. Simultaneously a protest was sent to the United States Government regarding the so-called representatives of Soviet Ukraine in the United Nations, who in no wise could be construed as being spokesmen for Ukraine.

Upon the creation of the state of Israel, the Ukrainian Congress Committee congratulated Chaim Weizmann, its President, and the Jewish people on the realization of their long struggle for a free and independent republic. The UCCA also sent a letter to the Polish-American Congress meeting in Philadelphia, stating that any further designs of the Poles on the Ukrainian ethnographic territories would be energetically combatted by the Americans of Ukrainian descent. *The New York Times*, in its coverage of the Polish meeting in Philadelphia, printed part of the letter sent by the Ukrainian Congress Committee, thus making the opposition of the Americans of Ukrainian descent to any claim of Poland to Ukrainian territory a matter of public record.

The UCCA sent representatives to the national conventions of the Democratic and the Republican Parties in Philadelphia, in order to make clear the stand of the Americans of Ukrainian descent in regard to the relationship between the United States and the USSR.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee interceded with the U. S. Department of State, as well as with the Washington embassies of Great Britain, France and Italy, in regard to the arrest by the Italian police of 26 Ukrainian displaced persons and their incarceration at the concentration camp on Lipari Island upon the instigation of the Soviet Embassy in Rome.

Possibly surpassing even this move in importance were the overtures made by the UCCA in the spring of 1948 in the State Department with respect to the installation of a Ukrainian-language section in the "Voice of America," the radio instrumentality of America's propaganda apparatus. In June of the same year the UCCA was notified by the State Department that the U. S. Government would establish a Ukrainian-language broadcast of the "Voice of America," to be broadcast to Soviet-occupied Ukraine. The contribution of the UCCA here was of inestimable importance on two counts. The first was that the claims and the rights of the Ukrainian nation had been officially recognized by the leading democracy of the world. Second, by its decision to set up a Ukrainian section, the United States acknowledged the tremendous importance of propaganda in modern warfare. Quite unlike the wars of the past, modern warfare is total in every sense: military, political and psychological. Hence the beaming of the "Voice" to Ukraine promised the pursuance of a policy of the fullest possible exploitation of all the existing important resources.

With these political and psychological facets in mind, the UCCA submitted one of its major statements to the State Department. Entitled, "Memorandum on the Reorganization of Eastern Europe for the Purpose of Eliminating the Russian Aggression," it stressed that so long as Russia, either Czarist or Soviet in form, exists as a powerful and dynamic empire, so long will the world know neither peace nor security. For the fact is that Russian aggression merely intensified with the Soviets, and had originated with the Czars.

It is significant that as a result both the memorandum and the UCCA were instantly attacked by *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, a rabid anti-Ukrainian Russian paper in New York, on the ground that the Ukrainians were set to "dismember" beloved "Holy Mother Russia."

The UCCA next cabled a protest to the United Nations General Assembly meeting in Paris as well as to Klement Gottwald, president of Czechoslovakia, upon learning that the communist government of Czechoslovakia had condemned four UPA soldiers to death. The UCCA pointed out that these men had been fighting for the liberation of their country, and consequently were to be considered regular prisoners of war.

The Czechoslovak government cryptically replied that the case of the condemned was in the hands of the Ministry of Justice. The Czechoslovak Consulate in New York City was subsequently picketed by Ukrainian-American veterans.

The UCCA successfully intervened with the State Department in regard to the evacuation of Ukrainians in China, particularly those

in the cities of Tientsin and Shanghai, which were threatened by the advancing Chinese communist forces. Units of the U. S. Fleet under Admiral Badger evacuated these Ukrainians together with other European refugees and American nationals to the Philippine Islands, where the Ukrainians were placed in special DP camps under the auspices of the International Refugee Organization (IRO).

In 1949, upon the occasion of the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary, the UCCA dispatched a special letter to His Holiness Pope Pius XII expressing its condolences at the fate of the outstanding Catholic prelate. Therein the UCCA also underscored the losses suffered by the Ukrainian Catholic Church and by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church at the hands of the Bolsheviks in the past thirty years. A similar letter was forwarded to Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

Upon the occasion of the Conference of European Unity, held at The Hague, Holland, the UCCA wrote to Mr. Winston Churchill:

“We believe that you will not overlook the national and political position of forty million Ukrainian people in Ukraine; a people who now have a government of their own, but who are subjected to the despotic rule of an alien power, Soviet Russia.”

The UCCA also expressed its regret that the sponsors of the Conference had failed to invite “the leaders of the Ukrainian people who are in exile, or the leaders of the resistance struggle which has been going on for political and national liberation.” The letter concluded that “we want to believe that you and other leaders like you are fully aware of the ever-increasing consequences connected with the Ukrainian problem.”

Before the year was out, representatives of the UCCA testified before a U. S. Senate Committee on Immigration, stressing the necessity of establishing a separate Ukrainian immigration quota. According to present U. S. Immigration laws Ukrainians have entered the United States under the quotas of those countries of which they were citizens.

The UCCA intervened again in the case of the 26 Ukrainian DPs interned on Lipari Island, making all necessary preparations for their defense before the Italian court in Rome. In addition it approached the British Embassy in Washington in the case, and received assurances from Lord Jellico that the British Government would not allow the fate of innocent people to be decided in violation of the principles of justice. Similar presentations were also made by the UCCA before the U. S. Department of State.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee also interceded with the Belgian Embassy in regard to the Ukrainian DP workers who had been brought to Belgium under contract to work in its mines. When the Belgian Government refused to renew their contracts, they were deprived of their DP status by IRO, and thus were prevented from emigrating abroad for permanent resettlement. Through its Embassy in Washington, the Belgian Government replied to the UCCA that it would guarantee the Ukrainian workers a free choice of employment in mines, agriculture and domestic work.

This is but a partial list of the activities in 1946—1949 of the UCCA undertaken by Ukrainians and Americans of faith and courage and who were perpetually severely handicapped by a lack of funds.

Specifically, these men and women of the UCCA were:

Executive Committee: Stephen Shumeyko, President; Eugene Rohach, Philip Demian, Mrs. P. Bodnarchuk and Mrs. Anna Cherniavsky, Vice-Presidents; Miss Eve Piddubcheshen, Secretary, and Dmytro Halychyn, Treasurer.

Political Policy Board: Dr. Luke Myshuha, Bohdan Katamay, Prof. A. A. Granovsky, Prof. N. Chubaty, Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky and Dr. Longin Cehelsky.

Advisory Board: Mrs. Janet Bencal, Rev. O. Kowalsky, Mrs. Olena Stogryn, Mrs. Helen Lototsky, Rev. Anthony Ulianitsky, Anthony Malanchuk, Joseph Trush, Kalyna Lissiuk, Michael Dutkevych, Joseph Krupka, Michael Oleksyk and Alexander Yaremko.

V. THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF AMERICANS OF UKRAINIAN DESCENT

"...You are to be commended for your interest and participation in our democracy and also for your interest in and effort to aid your kinsmen overseas who are not able to enjoy the benefits of a free society which we in the United States are fortunate to enjoy..."

This message was sent by President Truman to the delegates assembling on November 5, 1949 in Washington, D. C. on the occasion of the Fourth Congress. It fittingly climaxed the long uphill fight of the Ukrainians in America, spearheaded by the Ukrainian Congress Committee, to achieve the recognition of the Ukrainian cause. Never before had any Chief Executive officially taken cognizance of the Ukrainian national group in the United States; never before had any made a direct reference to the enslaved Ukrainian nation. With the words of the President of the greatest democracy on earth, a new era for Ukraine may have dawned.

The Fourth Congress, composed of representatives of several hundred organizations and held under the auspices of the UCCA, was easily the greatest of the congresses in terms of the voice it mustered. More pronounced than ever was the participation of the Americans of Ukrainian descent, who perhaps were more keenly aware and appreciative of the American heritage of liberty and human dignity than the sons and daughters of any other nationality, if only because the suffering of their parents was most recent and still vivid. But a novel and impelling overtone marked the Congress, lent by the presence of displaced persons, fresh from the lands of privation, heartache and fear.

Prof. Lev. E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University, an American of Ukrainian descent and newly-elected President of the UCCA, delivered a stirring and definitive statement of the Ukrainian position. Imbued with the quality of timelessness, Professor Dobriansky's address, entitled, "*Our Opportunity—To Take or Forsake,*" is reproduced here in full:

"In this fourth impressive convention of our Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the privilege of sounding a proper and spirited keynote for our serious deliberations here has apparently also devolved upon me. Ladies and gentlemen, for this honor I am deeply grateful, chiefly because, never—and I say this in full awareness of all that has transpired in the past—never before in this century have Americans of Ukrainian descent been given as glorious an opportunity to express and make themselves felt as the unique coincidence of historical events presents to them now. So unmistakably clear, so well-defined is this political chance that the overruling theme dominating this convention, guiding our thoughts and inspiring our hearts, is simply: *Our Opportunity—To Take or To Forsake!*

"We might thoughtfully ask ourselves how has this unique coincidence of historical events developed to produce this opportunity of which we speak. For we all know, all too well, that there existed a line of historical developments disastrous in the short-run to the aspirations of the traditionally Christian and democratic Ukrainian people and perilous in the long-run to the democratic and Christian life of our American nation.

"At the close of World War I, while the only genuinely democratic force in Eastern Europe, in the form of the Ukrainian Army, was unsuccessfully fighting to uphold the principle of self-determination for the Ukrainian people against its communist and imperialist aggressors, some of President Wilson's aides at Paris, who were advocating this principle, were totally ignorant of the very existence of any people called Ukrainian. In 1933, while Ukrainian-Americans paraded along Fifth Avenue in New York City in loud protest against the most ghoulish Soviet manifestation of genocide in this century, a man-made famine that relegated millions of Ukrainians to their graves or to Siberia, our humanitarian President, then, gave formal diplomatic recognition to the blood-stained emissaries from the Kremlin butchery. During World War II, while many of us from

long experience with Soviet treachery uneasily warned of the ominous implications of a Soviet-American partnership, our government, mushroomed with intellectually bankrupt liberals and spiritually traitorous communists, blatantly propagandized, with almost complete loss of self-respect, the glories of the Soviet state and naively invested its earnest confidence in the unfounded integrity of the Soviet word. Certainly this reckless course, born in large measure of insular ignorance, spelled no opportunity for us, neither to take nor forsake.

“The materially enforced assumption by the United States of a leading role in recent world affairs has placed it more directly across the path of a sequence of events that fortunately has taught it the true nature, aims, and techniques of the Soviet menace to Western civilization. What Ukraine and her friends from bitter experience have attempted for thirty years to convey to the non-communist world at large, the onrush of events in these past three years has apparently succeeded in doing. The ghastly story being told now is the same substantial story that Ukrainians and a few others have been relating all along, time and time again—again and again. Although the characters change in the march of Soviet aggression, the act is the same. The startling fact is that the earliest threads in the pattern of Soviet aggression in Europe and in Asia, which the world beholds today with horror and novel arrest, were fabricated on the soil of Ukraine years ago.

“The world witnesses the political rape of independent non-Russian states in Eastern and Central Europe today, but forgets the first rape by Soviet communism of the independent, non-Russian state of Ukraine in 1920. It sees the technique of ‘intensive revolution’ being employed with communist Poles, Bulgarians, Czechs and others forming their respective puppet national governments, but forgets the Ukrainian communists constituting their puppet national government in the 20’s. It joyously observes the emergence of Titoism in resistance to the centralizing forces of the Kremlin, but forgets the many unsuccessful Ukrainian ‘Titos’ of the early 30’s. It senses moral disgust at the ruthless collectivization measures precipitating the banishment of countless innocents to slave labor camps, but forgets the exile of millions of Ukrainians in the collectivization program of 1932-33. The world views with righteous indignation the current religious persecution and the fates of Stepinac, Mindszenty, and Beran at the leprous hands of the communist atheists, but overlooks the long Soviet oppression of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, its earliest persecution in 1945 of the Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, and the fate of Metropolitan Slipy. These are the essential parallels, and there are many more. But it is, significantly, from these parallels that that ‘unique coincidence of historical events’ arises, a coincidence of the endeavors of the United States and the non-communist world and those of the Ukrainians and other tyrannized peoples to undermine and ultimately destroy communism. In this real coincidence lies our opportunity, either to take or forsake.

“The history of Western civilization has always been marked by a movement from East to West, West to East. This movement is in process today; and the stakes of triumph are the world. One of the most absurd, wishful reflections is the notion that this dynamic movement can stalemate itself at some undefined center, a notion both detested by calculating com-

munists and unjustified by the nature of the political forces at work. Nay, a Great Decision will have to be made, and that Great Decision will be made either in Moscow or here in Washington. The future of this century contains within itself the seed of world government, to be planted in the soil of either the Russian Communist Empire or the American Democratic Empire. There are only two politically formidable forces in the world today—there is in effect no third force.

“If these observations suggest to you the idea of an inevitable World War III, then may I add that no implication of fatalism in human events, as the Communists indeed believe in, is to be found in them. Most people are repelled by this idea because of its supposed fatalism, whereas in terms of the world picture today, that World War III is inevitable is the only scientific assertion one can make. It is not fatalistic but objectively realistic to recognize this as the product of conditions in which the dominant elements remain steadfast in opposition to each other. The Soviet elements of a fanatical belief in the necessary decadence of capitalism as they understand it, of a co-partnership with history in its quick realization, justifying in their blind eyes every conceivable trick and technique of infiltrating, subverting, undermining, weakening, and seizing, even provoking the United States to huge expenditures to produce an unhealable financial hemorrhage—these Soviet elements are unalterable. Otherwise a Stalinist Communist would not be what he is, and this is unthinkable. American discretion in containing this Soviet power has, unfortunately, not been thoroughly sound, relying more on passive financial and military expedients than on active propaganda, political appeal, and underground aid among the peoples behind the Iron Curtain. Nevertheless, concerning the inevitability of the Great Decision, the question thus is not what, but when and how, and in this rests also our opportunity to take or to forsake.

“As Americans we have unswerving faith in the power, the ability, and the formidable will of our nation to withstand and victoriously overcome this Red scourge of our century. We know that the non-communist world looks to us to preserve its life from this spiritual disease. But we know, too, that the enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe, particularly the long oppressed Ukrainian people, exist only by their last remaining faith in American salvation. The conflict in this period of history is not merely one between sovereign states; it is in essence a conflict between two rationally irreconcilable meanings of the value of human life. If the United States in this struggle for the world is to align to its side the best possible allies, those Ukrainian, Balt, Slovak and other underground partisans who today are harassing the Soviet octopus but tomorrow, with their ranks increased a millionfold, will be gnawing at the very nerve centers of this monster, it must very soon decide the objectives toward which its power is to be used. In preparation for the Great Decision it must achieve a momentous resolution. It must resolve the type of peace it wants. For necessary logic decrees that upon this depends its whole military strategy. Our State Department may for the moment depend on Titoism to split Eastern Europe, but it will soon find that Titoism is restricted to Tito's boundaries. America's true allies are not the dissident products of the

Kremlin, but the victims of Soviet oppression who are today fighting communism in the sole hope that tomorrow the United States will support their aims for freedom.

"In the definition of this resolution, the problem of Ukraine will inevitably arise, perhaps even among the first. My dear friends, let us not deceive ourselves that our top American officials today, in the State Department or the National Defense establishment, are, as their predecessors were, unfamiliar with this problem. Far, far from it. I dare say that one of our very prominent generals knows more about the Ukrainian underground movement than many of us here. Our task is not so much now one of information as formation, the wholesome formation of official thought toward the real significance of the Ukrainian problem and the incalculable value of the Ukrainian people as a tested and dependable ally of the United States in this Great Decision. Our task is to impress upon our officials that the Ukrainian people will not tolerate any objective short of self-determination.

"Their conception of self-determination is emphatically not one of an insular, chauvinist nationalism as the Poles displayed in their time. Instead, it clearly calls for the unqualified establishment of an independent Ukraine in which the people will decide who is to represent them within and without as equals to international contracts of whatever sort. Their conception of self-determination calls for the articulation of Ukraine in the whole European Society to which it has always culturally belonged. I definitely do not share the fears of some of my colleagues concerning Russian émigré and chauvinistic Polish propaganda here in the United States. These are misplaced fears. What is to be feared, however, is possible official American susceptibility to the significance of their urgings, and this in large measure depends on us. Not how we inform, but how well we form here, again, is our opportunity, to be successfully taken or blunderously forsaken.

"Our role, then, as Americans with sound Eastern European background, is quite evident. In every possible way we must intermediate a deeper and trusting understanding between our Ukrainian kin abroad and our American officials and friends here. From what has been said, there is no other more important direction for our efforts to achieve justice in the finest traditions of our American life than this.

"As a presidential candidate pointed out to some of us last year, we possess by virtue of our backgrounds and overseas contact—a knowledge and perspective of Eastern Europe, of the devious ways and means of communist mentality and brutality, that 99% of our fellow Americans are unaware of. Moreover, our views and aims cannot be any more solidly founded and justified than in the persistent unrest brewing in Ukraine and in the well organized leadership and inspiration provided by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army to the entire underground movement in Eastern Europe. We can safely assure our government and people that in America's political and military struggle for continued freedom against world communism, the Ukrainian nation will stand in the vanguard of that struggle for its regained freedom. This assurance we must effectively convey in the noblest interests of a free America and the forthcoming free Ukraine. This is our opportunity that I am convinced will be taken!"

The living voice of old Ukraine was heard through the lips of many distinguished Ukrainians. Representing Soviet Ukraine, Prof. Panteleimon Kovaliv, former professor of the University of Kiev, attested to the oneness of the Ukrainian people in their language, culture and national spirit. Representing Western Ukraine, Vasyly Mudry, who has occupied a number of high Ukrainian posts, spoke of the importance of Western Ukraine, the "Piedmont" of Ukrainian life, which produced the famed *Prosvita* (Enlightenment Society); the Ukrainian Scientific Shevchenko Society; *Dilo*, the oldest Ukrainian daily, and the astonishing Ukrainian Insurgent Army itself. Speaking for Carpatho-Ukraine, Prof. Augustine Shtefan, former president of the Parliament of Carpatho-Ukraine in Hust, traced its history and voiced its desire for one independent and democratic state of the Ukrainian people. Dr. Roman Smal-Stocky, former Ukrainian diplomat and now on the faculty of Marquette University, represented Bukovinian Ukraine, and expressed its hope that the principle of national self-determination be yet applied to Ukraine.

Penetrating addresses were also delivered by Dr. Michael Vetukhiv and Mme. Ludmilla Ivchenko, recent arrivals in the United States. Formerly of Kharkiv University, Dr. Vetukhiv described the appalling conditions under which Ukrainians live in totalitarian Russia, while Mme. Ivchenko, who fled Kiev, discoursed on the role played by the Ukrainian women in the history of Ukraine.

Rounding out the Ukrainian voice were the compelling addresses of Dr. Luke Myshuha, former Ukrainian envoy to the United States and now editor-in-chief of *Svoboda*, who spoke on the Ukrainian aspiration for freedom; of Prof. Nicholas Chubaty, noted Ukrainian scholar and editor of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, who analyzed the Soviet process of the destruction of the Ukrainian Church, both the Orthodox and the Catholic; and of Dmytro Halychyn, recently elected head of the Ukrainian National Association, who dwelled on ways and means of raising funds for the activities of the UCCA. Special mention must be made of Mykola Lebed, author of *UPA* and well-known nationalist leader, who, speaking for the Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation, criticized the "Voice of America" for addressing the peoples behind the Iron Curtain as "the Russian people," and reported that the insurgents in Ukraine look to America for guns and ammunition; of Lev Lahidny, leader of an underground unit of 150 fighters armed with rifles and light machine guns in Ukraine until 1947, who declared the desire for freedom burns brightly in Ukraine. Greetings were also delivered by Rev. Dr. W. Kushnir, Rev. W. Sawchuk and Mr. V. Kossar of the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference and the U-

kraianian Canadian Committee, Mme. Olena Kisilevsky, 77-year old pioneer of the Ukrainian Women's movement, Generals Paul Shandruk and Alexander Zahrodsky, well-known for their activities during the Ukrainian struggle for liberation in 1917-1920, Dr. Walter Galan of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, Eugene Woloshyn, President of the Ukrainian Youth League of North America, Dr. M. Kostiuk on behalf of the Ukrainian National Council in Europe, Roman Slobodian of the Ukrainian National Association and Mrs. Helen Lototsky, President of the Ukrainian Women's League of America.

Messages from all over the world poured in on the Congress. The Lithuanian National Council in the United States, the Slovak League of the United States, the General Representation of Ukrainian Emigration in Germany, the Ukrainian Scientific Shevchenko Society, the Free Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the Central Union of Ukrainian Student Organizations and the Central Organization of Ukrainian Scouts were a few of the signatories.

American speakers at the Congress were Under Secretary of State Herbert A. Fierst, who spoke on the displaced persons problem, U. S. Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey and Edward J. Shaughnessy, Director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service for the New York District.

In the course of his remarks, Sen. Smith said, "The yearnings of the Ukrainian people for independence and freedom over a period of many years of suffering have been the forerunner of a great wave of nationalism which in the postwar years has been affecting the entire world... The DP camps in Europe are evidences of the grim determination of courageous individuals to secure their freedom rather than yield to the tempting allurements of a deceptive security promised by Fascist-Nazism or Communist-Marxism. I have seen these people in Europe who preferred displaced persons camps with all their discomfort and suffering to returning to their old homes now controlled by ruthless totalitarian power... People were meant by the Great Design to be free and yet to live together. It was never meant that any portion of the people on this globe of ours should be subject to the domination and control of any other people. The yearning of the Ukrainian people for their freedom is an expression of their recognition of these eternal truths."

Mr. Shaughnessy said, "America is appreciative of your many accomplishments—in time of peace, your contribution to industrial, cultural and community enterprises—and in war, the many sacrifices

that left in the place of loved ones a gold star, a citation for heroic service, or the Congressional medal of honor. You and your children have become an integral part of this country."

The resolutions adopted by the Fourth Congress read in part:

"There goes on today a struggle between two worlds—the world of democracy and the world of communism, between the world of free men and the world of enslaved mankind... The road towards establishment of the new democratic and peaceful world leads through the removal of the present-day totalitarianism and dictatorships, through the dismemberment of the Soviet empire, built against the will of the peoples enslaved by it, and through the introduction of the freedom of man and individual. This can be accomplished only through the policy of a strong hand with regard to dictatorship, and not through compromises at the expense of the principles of freedom of peoples and of individuals. The latter inevitably would lead to a new world catastrophe.

"The Fourth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent states that despite the existence of the legal framework of the Ukrainian State, despite the fact that Ukraine is a member of the United Nations, the Ukrainian people are in fact in a state of slavery under Red Russia, which systematically and in a planned manner seeks to exterminate the Ukrainian people, by means of an ethnical change of the Ukrainian character of Ukraine through large-scale deportations of Ukrainians from Ukraine and through substitution therein of aliens. Soviet Russia systematically exploits the resources of Ukraine, undermining its industrial potentialities with one ultimate aim—the strengthening of a powerful empire of the Russian people with an inexhaustible potential in the hinterland of Asiatic Russia. The Ukrainian people are suffering brutal religious persecutions, their traditional way of life is disappearing. The Kremlin is conducting a policy of genocide with regard to the Ukrainian people, who are without influence in the elections of the government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic under the present Soviet dictatorship.

"Therefore the Fourth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent, cognizant of the fact that the present government of Ukraine is alien and hostile to Ukraine, denies the right to the Kremlin representatives in the United Nations to act in the name of the Ukrainian state and in the name of the Ukrainian people.

"The union of the major part of the Western Ukrainian territories, Carpatho-Ukraine and the territories which were under the Rumanian authority, with the main land mass of Ukraine, as a matter of principle relates to justice, because the occupiers, who held these lands up to recent times, were in the absolute minority, and had neither a moral nor a legal basis for their occupancy. But this union under Soviet Russian authority has been utilized only for an intensified persecution of the Ukrainian people.

"Against this alien occupation power the Ukrainian people are conducting a sustained struggle, and only the liberation of Ukraine can restore peace in that part of our globe.

"Therefore, the Fourth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent appeals to the American people, the U. S. Government and to the demo-

cratic world at large to help the Ukrainian people in establishing a true Ukrainian government in accordance with and for the interest of the people.

"The Fourth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent believes that the only way of restoring to Ukraine its rights as a free nation is to separate Ukraine from the Soviet Union and thus give the Ukrainian people the opportunity to freely join the European Federation, where they belong with their tradition, culture and their national characteristics.

"In the face of the present perilous situation for America, the world at large, and for the Ukrainian people in particular, it is imperative that Americans of Ukrainian descent act as one and consolidated group of American citizenry, for only such a group could have any influence upon the U. S. Government, which will have a decisive role in the building of a new world.

"Those party divisions among Americans of Ukrainian Descent based upon the political parties active in Europe the Congress considers as unnatural; any party struggle on this side of the Ocean is totally detrimental to the successful collective action of Americans of Ukrainian descent with respect to the United States Government and the American people inasmuch as the Ukrainian liberation movement is concerned.

"The Fourth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent salutes all Ukrainian forces fighting for the liberation of Ukraine; especially the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and its political leadership. Americans of Ukrainian Descent pay highest tribute to the victims of alien occupation.

"The Congress re-affirms that the forces in the Ukrainian liberation movement will be decisive. The Congress welcomes any constructive consolidation of Ukrainian forces outside Ukraine, that is, among the emigres. The Congress pays especial attention to the fact of the creation and activity of the Ukrainian National Council and its Executive Committee, which compose the most important manifestation of Ukrainian forces abroad as well as the representative organs of Ukrainians dispersed outside the borders of Ukraine. It is imperative, therefore, that all Ukrainian groups in Europe, in the name of the enslaved fatherland, go to the greatest lengths in order to effect a compromise so that the Ukrainian National Council be provided with the largest base among the political emigres outside the Soviet orbit.

"The Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent deems it vital that a World Representation of Ukrainians be created outside the Soviet sphere, composed of political emigres and of citizens of overseas countries. The purpose of such an organization would be the defense of the substance of the Ukrainian people, their culture and their rights to their own statehood. The initiative for the creation of such a World Organization of Ukrainians should come from the central organizations of Ukrainians in the various countries of the world.

"The Fourth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent appeals to the blood-brothers and sisters on American soil, especially those hailing from Carpatho-Ukraine and Lemkivshchyna, that they should join together in unity at a time extremely perilous for the common defense of their country of origin threatened by religious persecutions and social exploitation by foreigners."

On this far-seeing note the Fourth Congress drew to a close. In calling for that organized unity of all the Ukrainian forces which alone can insure a maximum effort, the Congress and the UCCA demonstrated that the UCCA still operates as the Voice of Ukraine.

IN MEMORIAM

On December 13, 1950, death claimed Dr. Longin Cehelsky, one of the oldest Ukrainian political leaders and parliamentarians, and veteran leaders of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, who died of a heart attack at the office at the age of 75.

Dr. L. Cehelsky was an outstanding leader in the Ukrainian national movement for freedom and independence and an indefatigable pioneer in the Ukrainian national life both in Ukraine and in the United States. He served as a deputy from the Ukrainian provinces of Galicia in the Austro-Hungarian Parliament of Vienna, where he made himself outstanding in advocating full freedom for the Ukrainians in the Habsburg Monarchy. In the years 1917-1920 Dr. Cehelsky took an active part in the building of the Ukrainian independent state, and in 1919 he acted officially in Kiev as the emissary of the Western Ukrainian National Republic during the act of union of all Ukrainian lands into one independent and sovereign republic of the Ukrainian people. In 1921 he arrived in the United States as an official representative of the Ukrainian government.

*For the past twenty-nine years he lived in this country as a naturalized citizen and actively participated in Ukrainian American affairs. He was a Vice-President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and of the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference. For several years he was an associate editor of *America*, Ukrainian Catholic daily in Philadelphia.*

His death is a great blow to the Ukrainian political leadership the world over and to the Ukrainian people as well.

PART TWO

VI. THE UCCA AT WORK

Only the highlights of the work and accomplishments of the UCCA have been touched upon in the preceding chapters. Space prohibits detailing all of the activities of the Committee; hence, merely their scope will be suggested here.

Briefly, towards the goal of the liberation of Ukraine, the UCCA has done everything within its means to spread the truth about Soviet Russia. Through the many contacts it has made in American public and private life, the Committee has kept flowing a stream of information on the Soviets originating with Ukrainian sources in Europe.

In addition to the political memoranda which it prepares periodically, the UCCA publishes *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, a scholarly magazine devoted to consideration of Ukrainian history, culture, economics, politics and, in general, topics related to the Ukrainian nation. The periodical serves as an authentic source of information on Ukraine throughout the world. Many American and foreign publications have drawn from its material, including the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

The Pan-American Ukrainian Conference, of which the UCCA is a constituent member, publishes *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, an up-to-the-minute semi-monthly publication which assesses current developments of the Ukrainian question. It goes to every United States Senator and Congressman, to various federal departments and agencies, to the U. N. delegations, to foreign embassies, to newspaper offices and to libraries not only in the United States but in foreign countries as well—including the U.S.S.R. A Brazilian paper has characterized *The Ukrainian Bulletin* as one of the first-class anti-communist publications of the world. The U. S. Department of State obtained the editor's permission to reprint in the Japanese press one of the *Bulletin's* articles on the Ukrainian situation under the Soviets. Thus the Ukrainian viewpoint has been made available to the world at large. It is hoped that more Ukrainian Americans will subscribe to the *Bulletin* in order to become intimately acquainted with the step-by-step progress of the Ukrainian cause.

Besides publishing *Ukrainian Resistance*, the UCCA, in conjunction with the Committee Against Mass Expulsion, an American organization, put out *Death and Devastation on the Curzon Line*, a pamphlet by Walter Dushnyck, dealing with the brutal persecution

in 1946 and 1947 of the Ukrainians west of the so-called Curzon Line by the pro-Soviet Polish Government. It was introduced as evidence in the Ukrainian testimony on genocide at hearings held in February, 1950 by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

A number of publications are scheduled for appearance in the near future.

Many hard-hitting memoranda have been prepared by the UCCA and submitted to the United States Government. In general, they deal with the plight of the Ukrainian people under Soviet Russia, the Ukrainian aspirations for freedom and national statehood, and with the genocide practised in Ukraine by the Russian Communists. Some specific subjects have been the Ukrainian-language broadcast of the "Voice of America," the Ukrainian division, "Galicia," and the forcible repatriation of the Ukrainian DPs.

Representatives of the UCCA have appeared before special committees in Congress. At the hearings of the Committee on Immigration the UCCA demanded the opening of a Ukrainian immigration quota. Before a sub-committee of the Foreign Relations Committee, voluminous documentation on Soviet genocidal policies was presented, which will be treated in full in another chapter.

The UCCA makes it a practice whenever possible of sending delegations to the national conventions of the two major political parties, as well as to outstanding world conclaves.

In the course of its work the UCCA has more or less assumed the responsibilities and properties of a world Ukrainian council. Under the auspices of the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference it maintains heavy correspondence with Ukrainian individuals and organization the world over. It is this global outlook upon the Ukrainian factions and forces which has led to its realization of the need of a supreme, world-wide Ukrainian body. It was characteristic of the UCCA to have welcomed the appearance of the Ukrainian National Council (*Rada*) in 1948. It was the UCCA which intervened in Washington in order to clear the way for visits by *Rada* delegates.

The UCCA also takes an active part in the activities of the Federation of Americans of Central and East European Descent, an American organization with a membership of Eastern and Central European origin. This group, properly led, is capable of great influence, inasmuch as its membership has a wide base and hails from the countries enslaved by Soviet Russia.

Within the UCCA exist several commissions engaged on various projects; these are the Jewish-Ukrainian commission, American-Ukrainian Friends Commission, and the like.

Supplementing these main functions are a host of lesser activities, which collectively considerably bolster the overall contributions of the UCCA. Unfortunately, one of these is that of raising funds for its work. The material support of its most important spokesman by the Ukrainian American community, it must be faced, compares poorly with that of the other nationalities of their respective organizations.

Another incontestable fact is that the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America is in the transitory stage of becoming an organized nation-wide institution of the American-born Ukrainian youth. For although it is still supported and aided by the "old folks," a great number of its officers, especially since the Fourth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent held in November 1949, are American-born young men and women of Ukrainian descent.

In its editorial *The Ukrainian Trend* (January 1950), official organ of the Ukrainian Youth League of North America, stressed with pride the fact that many former officers of the League had actively participated in the Fourth Congress in Washington. Mr. John Panchuk, former president of the League, was co-chairman of the Washington Congress, while Mr. Walter Bacad, now on the Advisory Board of the League, was one of its secretaries.

Other prominent and active members of the League or of the Ukrainian Catholic Youth League are now officers of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America: former New York State Assemblyman Stephen Jarema was made Chairman of the Political Policy Board; Michael Piznak, ex-Youth League President, is now a legal adviser to the UCCA; Joseph Lesawyer, ex-Youth League Treasurer, was elected Treasurer of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; Daniel Slobodian, long active in the Youth League, has been elected to the Advisory Board of the UCCA, while Miss Eve Pidubcheshen, former president of the Ukrainian Catholic Youth League of America, has been elected Secretary of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America for a second term. Finally, Stephen Shumeyko, editor of *The Ukrainian Weekly*, also an active member of the Ukrainian Youth League of North America, who was twice president of the UCCA, was succeeded by Professor Lev E. Dobriansky, of Georgetown University, a young American of Ukrainian descent.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America is thus becoming an efficiently-welded organization of Americans of Ukrainian descent in which the American-born Ukrainian youth exercises ever-increasing control and direction.

PROF. LEV E. DOBRIANSKY, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, PRESIDENT OF THE UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

Biographical Sketch

Age 32; born in New York City, of Ukrainian Catholic parents.

Was Charles Hayden Memorial Scholar for 4 years at New York University, where he majored in economics and minored in philosophy and history.

Winner of the John S. Morris public speaking award at N. Y. U. during undergraduate years.

Member of Beta Gamma Sigma — national scholastic honorary society.

Graduated magna cum laude from N. Y. U.

Pursued philosophy for seven years at Fordham University.

Offered graduate scholarship in philosophy at Fordham.

Teaching Fellowship in Economics at Washington Square College, N. Y. U.

Hirshland Political Science Fellowship at Graduate School, N. Y. U.

Participant for 4 years in the round table discussion on economic problems over WNYC.

Instructor of Economics at Washington Square College, N. Y. U.

Assistant Professor of Economics at Georgetown University.

Received Ph. D. at N. Y. U. in fall of 1950. — Wrote *The Social Philosophical System of Thorstein Veblen; An Episode in Modern Thought*.

Captain: U. S. Army Reserve.

Associate Editor of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*.

In November 1949 was elected President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

In February 1950 presented a testimony on Soviet Russia's genocidal policies in Ukraine before the U. S. Foreign Relations Committee.

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VII. THE UKRAINIAN SECTION OF THE "VOICE OF AMERICA"

One of the major and most rewarding efforts of the Ukrainian Congress Committee has been its long struggle for the establishment of the Ukrainian-language broadcasts over the "Voice of America."

Its first moves towards this goal were made as long ago as the spring of 1948, at which time the UCCA urged the State Department to establish a Ukrainian-language program under the auspices of the "Voice of America." Submitting a well-prepared documentation of the facts, the UCCA cogently argued that the Ukrainian people are enslaved by the ruthless and totalitarian power of Soviet Russia, and hence that they should not be denied the free voice of the United States. The U. S. officials were found to be quite receptive to this valid point of view, and eventually promised that the Ukrainian-language broadcasts over the "Voice of America" would be inaugurated in due course.

Subsequently, the UCCA approached U. S. Senators and members of the Foreign Relations Committee, endeavoring to persuade them of the necessity of beaming the "Voice" to the Ukrainians behind the Iron Curtain. The Senators, too, were sympathetic, and promised support and assistance in the establishment of the Ukrainian section.

Eventually, at the time of the Fourth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent, the State Department officially announced that the Ukrainian broadcasts would begin at once. (Actually, they began on December 12, 1949.)

The Ukrainian-language broadcasts were greeted with acclaim by Ukrainians the world over. The mere fact that the Ukrainians were given access to the American radio—those Ukrainians, who, according to the statement of the "Voice of America," "have lived for thirty years under Soviet domination" — was concrete demonstration that they had been recognized as free agents in the struggle between East and West, and that they had become integrated into the great crusade of the freedom-loving democratic nations against the force of totalitarian Soviet Russia.

But this initial jubilation and hope slowly but inevitably turned into dismay and resentment. At the outset both the tenor and the contents of the broadcasts raised some reservations among listeners, but it was supposed that these were transitory shortcomings. With the passage of time, however, it became evident that these broadcasts destined for the Ukrainian people were anything but Ukrainian. In point of fact, the Ukrainian-language broadcasts were little more than replicas of the Russian broadcasts.

It became equally evident that the Ukrainian broadcasts were being heavily influenced by Russian émigré (anti-communist) propaganda. The degree of this influence is apparent from one example: a Ukrainian program depicted the greatest Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko, considered by all Ukrainians as a national prophet, as a representative of the Russian (textually and in the first place) and Ukrainian peasantry. The Ukrainian broadcasts grudgingly made mention of the values of Ukrainian civilization, and glorified those of Russia, whose culture and civilization were alleged to be common to the Russian and the Ukrainian nations. Receiving idolatrous praise were such figures of Russian history as Alexander Nevsky, Ivan the Terrible, the first conscious Russian imperialist, and Peter the Great, the indefatigable architect of the great Russian empire and the victor over one of the greatest Ukrainian heroes, Mazepa. Such was the material beamed to the enslaved Ukrainians, craving recognition of their rights and heritage, and eager to learn of life in the leading democracy.

The UCCA now undertook the difficult task of convincing those U. S. officials responsible for the dissemination of American official propaganda that the continuation of the airing of this pro-Russian propaganda would in the long run assuredly hurt U. S. interest in the most vulnerable spot of the Soviet slave empire, Ukraine.

Among other efforts, the UCCA established the universal reaction of Ukrainians to the Ukrainian-language broadcasts. Numerous Ukrainian newspapers in the United States, Canada, Australia, France, Germany, Britain and Belgium were surveyed, several articles, editorials and pertinent items were selected, and the whole translated and compiled in dossier form. Together with a special memorandum the dossier was presented to the State Department and to the head of the International Broadcasting Division ("Voice of America") in New York. At the same time the representatives of the Ukrainian Congress Committee personally interceded with the U. S. Government regarding the deplorable state of the Ukrainian broadcasts, stating that if the U. S. policy is to meet with any success among the Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples of the USSR, the Ukrainian program of the "Voice of America" had to undergo drastic changes. Specifically, the proposals were: 1) to make the program an independent section of "The Voice of America," thus by-passing Russian imperialist propaganda; 2) to entrust its direction to an American citizen of Ukrainian descent, well-versed in both American and Ukrainian language and politics; 3) to use the standard Ukrainian language, and not a Russified Ukrainian language in slavish obedience to the so-called "Kaga-

novich *ukase*" of 1946; 4) to amend "the calendar of historical events" to the end that Ukrainian historical dates and names be broadcast to the Ukrainians instead of the Russian, and 5) to round out the editorial staff with persons who intimately know all parts of Ukraine, the Ukrainian people, their religious and cultural background, aspirations, and the like.

These efforts brought some improvement in the quality of the Ukrainian-language broadcasts, such as the discontinuation of the overt use of Russian imperialist propaganda and the glorification of the Russian people. More material pertaining to Ukrainian matters is now being broadcast over the "Voice of America."

But the Ukrainian-language section of the "Voice of America" still shies away from any reference to such dynamic words as "freedom" and "liberation." By way of explanation U. S. officials say that so long as the United States and the Soviet Union recognize each other diplomatically, it would be "undiplomatic" to talk to the Ukrainians about their freedom and statehood, since this would constitute interference with the "internal affairs" of the Soviet Union! "Yet nine out of ten members of Congress," writes David Lawrence, widely-known *Herald Tribune* columnist, "have believed all along that this is what they were appropriating money for."

The UCCA has not accepted and never will accept this explanation. The realities are that the Soviet Union is now engaged in an all-out war against the United States; and it is using powerful subversive fifth-columns in the United States in order to weaken our country psychologically, militarily and economically, thus rendering it easy prey for communist conquest. The Ukrainians, on the other hand, are the first and most fiercely oppressed victims of Soviet Russian communism, and are in fact our front-line allies, having fought during the last war not only the Germans, but the Russians as well. Today the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) is still fighting the aggressive Russian communists, still alone and still unaided.

If the UCCA has its way, the "Voice of America" will fully assume its vital function of combatting lies with the truth, and will become a powerful stimulant for the enslaved peoples. It is the true and bold voice of freedom which at the last will shatter the shored-up "monolith" of totalitarian Russia.

Following is the article by David Lawrence, nationally-known American columnist, assailing the curbs imposed upon the Ukrainian-language broadcast of the "Voice of America," and appearing in several newspapers of the country:

Curb on Appeal by "Voice" to Ukraine Assailed

"WASHINGTON, Oct. 4. — The Voice of America is as strong or as weak as the policies of the Secretary of State, Dean Acheson. At the moment the American people believe that the Voice of America tries to persuade the people of the Soviet Union to abandon Communism. But evidently that sort of broadcasting is taboo.

"*The Ukrainian Bulletin*, official publication of the Ukrainians in this country, just issued, prints an interesting exchange of letters recently with Foy D. Kohler, head of the State Department's broadcasting division. It appears that the Ukrainians here have been dissatisfied because the Voice of America isn't more pointed in its broadcasts to the people of the Ukraine, who total 45,000,000 and who are regarded by many observers as constituting the Achilles' heel of the Soviet Union.

The letter of criticism came from Professor L. E. Dobriansky, of Georgetown University, who is president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

Answer by Kohler

The answer by Mr. Kohler of the State Department follows:

"I appreciate your calling my attention to the misinterpretations which had been attached to the phrases in my letter of April 16 to Vladimir Sushko to the effect that, 'Our Ukrainian broadcasts have been criticized, sometimes severely, because they do not project a liberated Ukraine. We still are unable to do that for that would be contrary to United States foreign policy.'

"As you know from conversations we have had, it is the function of the Voice of America to express and to implement American foreign policy. It was certainly, therefore, not my intention in the letter to Mr. Sushko to make any statement which would in any sense constitute a pronouncement on American foreign policy. Similarly it is not my intent in this letter to do so, since pronouncement on this subject must rather come from the President or the Secretary of State or authorized responsible political officers of the Department of State in Washington. This should have been clear to the readers of my letter to Mr. Sushko and I find it difficult to appreciate how the interpretations you mention could have arisen. However, I am glad to re-emphasize and expand my remarks as follows: I meant simply to make clear that that policy does not authorize the Voice of America at the present time to engage in any programming directly designed to 'change the governmental or social structure of the Soviet Union,' to quote the Secretary of State in his address to the University of California on March 16 last.

"As the Secretary then pointed out, this does not in any way lessen our sympathy with the peoples who are obliged to live under the Soviet system. Neither, I would add, does it prevent the Voice of America from giving expression to that sympathy; nor does it affect our serious intention to bring to those peoples the true story of what is going on in the world and how the American government and people view it. I would certainly hope that such information, interpreted in the light of their own historical traditions, would comfort and encourage the Ukrainian people

in their endeavors to find the means of expressing their free will and of achieving the aspirations they may have to become again the masters of their own destiny.

"I trust that the foregoing will clarify for you the intention of my letter and the objectives of the Ukrainian-language program of the Voice of America."

Limitation on Broadcasts

The foregoing illustrates the limitations placed on the Voice of America. Apparently the broadcasts must not do anything to induce the people of the Soviet Union to change their governmental or social structure. Yet nine out of ten members of Congress have believed all along that this is what they were appropriating money for. Also most people outside of Congress have assumed that the main objective of the broadcasts was to create inside the Soviet Union a feeling of antipathy toward international Communism, which, of course, nowadays is indistinguishable from internal Communism.

Just why must the Department of State be so polite in its broadcasts? Why can't it tell the peoples who make up the Soviet Union that their governmental structure is a menace to world peace today and that, unless it is changed, the world will drift some day into large-scale war? Why can't the Department of State's broadcasts point out that the leaders of the Soviet Union have already demonstrated in North Korea that they believe in aggression by military force?

If the Department of State has some diplomatic inhibitions about blunt speech and a direct appeal to the Soviet peoples, then some other agency should undertake such broadcasts. There is no reason why an agency like the O. W. I., responsible to the President alone, shouldn't be set up to organize broadcasts of all kinds. These could be outspoken and would not mince words or be influenced by the fear of offending the sensibilities of the Kremlin.

The parents of the American boys shot down in Korea with their hands tied behind them wouldn't be offended.

VIII. UKRAINIAN TESTIMONY ON GENOCIDE

One of the most outstanding accomplishments of the UCCA in 1950 was its presentation of testimony urging ratification of the United Nations treaty to outlaw genocide. Easily one of the most incisive and comprehensive statements on the nature of the Soviet Union, the testimony was presented before the U. S. Senate Foreign Relations Sub-Committee by Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, Georgetown University, President of the UCCA.

Genocide denotes the murder of a people, race or ethnic group. As a result of Hitler's mass extermination of entire ethnic groups, such as the Jews, a movement arose within the United Nations to draft a treaty which would prevent the commission of genocide and punish its perpetrators. Many members of the U. N., including the United

States and the Soviet Union, signed such a treaty, drafted by Prof. Raphael Lemkin of Yale. At this writing, it still awaits ratification by the U. S. Senate.

The hearings on the Genocide Convention have appeared in book-form, published by the U. S. Government Printing Office. The Ukrainian testimony of Prof. Dobriansky occupies 94 pages of its total of 555.

At the conclusion of the hearing, Professor Dobriansky was warmly congratulated by Senator Brien MacMahon, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. On July 25, 1950, Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York, introduced the Ukrainian testimony into the *Congressional Record*. Its extreme importance not only as a dissection of the make-up of the Soviet Union, but as an objective review of the fate of Ukraine warrants its reproduction here in full as it appears in the *Congressional Record*.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN OF NEW YORK IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 25 (legislative day of Thursday, July 20), 1950.

Mr. LEHMAN. — Mr. President, I have received from Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, of Georgetown University, who is president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, a statement concerning the practice of genocide by the authorities of the Soviet Union. I ask unanimous consent of the Senate to print in the Appendix of the *Record* this comprehensive statement by Dr. Dobriansky.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the *Record*, as follows:

STATEMENT BY PROF. LEV E. DOBRIANSKY, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, PRESIDENT OF THE UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA, FOR RATIFICATION OF THE GENOCIDE CONVENTION, BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE.

“As president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, which represents over one and a half million Americans of Ukrainian descent, I should like to express our appreciation for this opportunity to demonstrate the necessity for the ratification of the Genocide Convention by the Senate of the United States. By virtue of our close kinship with over 40,000,000 Ukrainians in the Soviet Union, we strongly urge this necessary step in world leadership chiefly because we can truthfully declare that through their concrete experiences, we have felt the full impact of the brutal meaning of genocide. In truth, we have waited 20 years to be given this sort of opportunity to present the case of systematic Soviet genocide on the Ukrainian nation, which, I might add, bears a crucial and vital relationship to the moral and physical security of our country. Sharply contrary to the fallacious over-all contention of a few lawyers, this convention applies unquestionably to the peoples behind the iron curtain, and

most powerfully to the people constituting the Ukrainian nation. Every word in it is written in their blood and tears and sufferings that still surpass the comfortable comprehension of most Americans.

GENOCIDE ESSENTIAL TO SOVIET POLITICAL STRATEGY

"In dispelling the confusion that pervades the minds of these lawyers and others, I should like to emphasize first certain prominent points of consideration on Soviet genocide as practiced on the Ukrainian nation.

"Without diminishing the significance of other similar testimonies, the outstanding fact is that, in the systematic annihilation of a nation in select part and therefore as such, the case of the Ukrainian people is classic in the contemporary period. Of the enslaved European nations, it has had the earliest, longest, and broadest experience with Soviet genocide which in terms of magnitude and extent far exceeds what the Nazis diabolically produced. Referring to the institutionalized receptacles of mass deportation and national liquidation, Dr. Julius Margolin, a prominent Polish Zionist leader, offers the illuminating testimony in the authoritative work of David J. Dallin on *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia* that 'The Soviet camps have swallowed more people, have exacted more victims, than all other camps—Hitler's and others'... Since the Bolshevist rape and extinction of the independent Ukrainian Republic in 1919—20 years before the Baltic peoples were subjected to a similar fate—the Ukrainian people have painfully understood the macabre meaning of genocide under blood-stench-ed Soviet auspices.

"The systematic practice of national genocide is an integral part of Soviet political strategy as oriented toward the all-important objective of world domination. As everything else in dialectical communist thought, genocide has its ideological basis. It constitutes the very core of the philosophy of calculated terrorism as laid down by Lenin and followed religiously by his parrotic successor. Its thoroughgoing aspect may be best appreciated by reflecting over these axiomatic words of the master: 'Three-quarters of mankind may die, provided the remaining one-quarter become Communists.' I repeat, similar in substance to the ulterior motives of native Communists in their campaign even for a babies' milk fund, every act of the Kremlin is political in nature, and this of dialectical necessity conspicuously applies to its methodical destruction of nations in select part and as such.

"The integral character of Soviet genocide is further borne out by the fact that there is in existence no alternative basis of explanation in the form of anti-communist political parties or counterrevolutionary agencies in the Soviet Union. The problem is definitely not one of any counterrevolutionary opposition. Instead, it is conclusively one of a rapid consolidation of an empire consisting of nations, which, like Ukraine, culturally belong to western society and thus do not fit into the pattern of Communist Russian dominance. Since 1920-23, when they were thoroughly liquidated, there have been no anti-communist parties nor counterrevolutionary agencies in Ukraine. Instead, there have been, as now in the form of the efficient Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which the Kremlin classifies as a bandit force, outbursts of spirited resurgence against the planned attacks on the Ukrainian national entity as such. And there is a world of difference between the

two situations. As will be shown shortly, the patent fact is that the Ukrainian Nation itself is intrinsically anti-communist because it has never surrendered spiritually to the prime objective of the Kremlin to create the Soviet Nation (*Sovietsky Narod*) and its Soviet man, speaking only the Russian language, thinking only in terms of non-bourgeois Soviet concepts, and taught to forget his non-Russian cultural tradition, his language, his history, his church, his art and customs—all the sensitive fibers that sustain the life of a national group. The greatest myth exported abroad by the Soviet Government, for which, I am sorry to say, most American intellectuals have fallen hook, line, and sinker, is its supposed peaceable solution of the nationalities problem. Behind a facade of nominal representation, a technique analogously employed by our native Communists in their front organizations, the Soviet Government is in truth solving this problem—by exterminating the Ukrainian and other subjugated non-Russian nations in select part and therefore as such.

GENOCIDE — INSTRUMENT OF SOVIET IMPERIALISM

“The intrinsic nature of genocidal activity in terroristic Soviet world politics is further reinforced by the striking compatibility existing between traditional imperialistic Russianism and Russian Soviet communism on the effective recognition of conquered nations. The established policy of Russification under the Czars is well known to scholars of Russian history, and the forcible propagation of the great and Mother Russia idea by Russian bureaucracy, scholarship, and police reached its summit of expression in 1863 when, with reference to the Ukrainian Nation, the Minister of the Interior, Valuyev, banned the use of the Ukrainian language with his famous declaration that ‘there never was, is not, and never will be a Ukrainian language.’ This barbaric mentality has been carried over into the Soviet phase of Russian history, and, supported by the brute execution of genocidal techniques, it is wholly congruous with the Soviet program of decimating subsumed nations for the creation of the Soviet Nation. More and more Americans are coming to understand this nexus between Russification and world communism. Significantly, it is one of the major themes of Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith’s current work, *My Three Years in Moscow*. As he aptly put it, ‘considering Soviet objectives and intentions, communism today is great Russianism.’ It is this monstrous exigency that has precipitated in the main the phenomenon of Titoism today, as it prevailed unnoticed and powerless in Ukraine from 1928 to 1933. Russification and Soviet genocide are clearly founded on common ground—the liquidation of non-Russian nations in select part and therefore as such.

DESTROY ESSENTIAL PARTS TO DESTROY ENTIRE NATION

“The particular case of the Ukrainian Nation places in bold relief the essential significance of the meaning of destroying a nation in select part and therefore as such. In contrast to the relatively small populaces of the Baltic nations, which by virtue of this fact face the real possibility of being completely obliterated physically, the large population of Ukraine presents obvious difficulties for the extermination of all of it in short historical time. Yet despite this, the Ukrainian Nation is being destroyed as such through the thorough excision of its select and determining parts. Contrary

to the insular assumption of certain lawyers, genocide is not merely a physical manifestation of additive quantity, but, as concerns nations, a spiritual and cultural phenomenon striking at those elements of organic quality which alone provide cohesive unity to the national entity. Extinguish these spiritual, intellectual and cultural elements of a nation, its select parts, and the entire nation as such will automatically be rendered inert, formless, amorphous, without guidance and leadership, and thus, in effect, structurally and operationally destroyed. The destruction of a nation in select part is fundamentally more important than simply killing off any part of a nation, because the former is equivalent to the effacement of a nation as such.

"It is of particular significance that the Russian Communist Party, soon after the establishment of its dictatorship, ordered the popular glorification of such wanton genocidists as Ivan the Terrible and Peter I, and in this past war Stalin appropriately crowned this Genghis Khan tradition by decreeing the Suvorov decoration as the highest military award.

SOVIET GENOCIDE PRACTICED ON MANY NATIONS

Let us examine the record of the national victims of Soviet genocide, so that we may clearly understand that the Soviet Union is the burial ground of nations and not merely a slave confinement. Taking in order first those that have been totally or nearly so obliterated and those that are rapidly approaching this fate:

The Ingrian Nation, which consisted of 400,000 civilized people of Scandinavian culture and who inhabited Ingermanland, was wiped out in 1921-23, accommodating thereby the Russification of this hinterland of Leningrad;

"The Don and Kuban Cossack Nations, who considered themselves separate national groups, were annihilated between 1928 and 1930;

"The Greek population of the Kerch Peninsula, an ethnic group of some 8,000 people, was deported to a forced labor camp in the Arctic in order to allow the Russification of this strategically important region;

"The Volga German Republic was abolished in 1940 and a population of 800,000 was deported to the Arctic;

"The Crimean Tartar Republic was erased in 1944, with some 700,000 improperly clothed humans catted to the Asiatic Arctic, most of them having died along the route from exposure;

"The Chechen-Ingush Republic of the Caucasus met a similar fate in 1945 and a deportation of 600,000 to Asia ensued;

"The autonomous region of Karachev was liquidated in 1945 and its population ruthlessly scattered; and

"The Baltic Nations of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, for whom there are able and free spokesmen.

What the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union have been and are experiencing, what those in the Soviet political orbit are now beginning to experience, and what others, like China, have in immediate prospect, is best portrayed by the application of Soviet genocide to the Ukrainian Nation. Indeed, the methodical steps in this application demonstrate the cold logic that has been developed in the art of Soviet genocide, and blunt-

ly explain the recurring pattern of genocidal activity in all countries submerged by the Soviets. It is through this process that the Russians will emerge as the most powerful ethnic group in both Europe and Asia.

GENOCIDE TECHNIQUES OUTLINED

"Let us therefore observe these steps of Soviet genocide in its application to the Ukrainian Nation:

"The initial attack is directed against the cerebrum of the national organism, against its intelligentsia, its leaders, and brilliant personalities: in short, a deadening mass blow on the head of a nation so as to paralyze its entire body. In the years of 1920, 1926, 1930-33, this attack was undertaken by the Kremlin to destroy the mental fibers of the Ukrainian nation. Eastern Ukrainian intellectuals were liquidated or deported to certain death in Siberia en masse. In 1931 alone, 51,712 Ukrainian intellectuals were deported to Siberia. Even leading Ukrainian Communist, such as Panas Lubchenko, a Prime Minister of Soviet Ukraine, Mykola Skrypnyk, Minister of Education and an old friend of Lenin, Chubar, Shumsky, Khylyovy, and scores of others were murdered or committed suicide to protest Moscow's policy of national genocide. When the Soviets occupied Western Ukraine in 1939, then part of Poland, this initial step was repeated. It is most significant that the political and intellectual leadership in Ukraine today is conspicuously Russian.

"The second attack, usually in part concurrent with the first, is aimed at the soul of the nation, against the churches and priests. Between 1926 and 1932, the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church, with Metropolitan Lypkivsky and about 10,000 lay and monastic clergy, was thoroughly liquidated. In 1945, when the Soviets established themselves in Western Ukraine and in Carpatho-Ukraine, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was similarly annihilated, an event to which Pope Pius, in his famous encyclical, *Orientalis Omnes*, called the world's attention. Thus, even before the cases of Stepinac, Mindszenty, and Beran emerged, the extreme case of Metropolitan Joseph Slipy and the entire loyal Catholic hierarchy, who were deported for certain death or murdered outright, was a closed chapter. It is most significant, here too, from the viewpoint of Russification, that an attempt was made to force this clergy to pay allegiance to the Russian Patriarch in Moscow, who, of course, is presently the political tool of the Kremlin, as his predecessors were for the Czars.

"The third attack is canalized against the conserving organs of the nation's body, against the tillers of the soil, the large peasantry which conserves the traditions, the arts, and the distinct language of the nation. By exterminating this select part of the nation, the ethnographical territory of the nation is sufficiently disrupted to prepare the way for the fourth step. The unprecedented man-made famine of 1932-33 in Soviet Ukraine, which resulted in the forced starvation of up to 5,000,000 Ukrainians and in moral protest of which the humanitarian members of our Seventy-third Congress passed a resolution on May 28, 1934, decrying it, serves as the classic model of this type of attack. One of the most naive ideas circulating abroad is that this was merely an economic phenomenon of communist liquidation of a social class, the *kulaks*. The outstanding facts are that there were relatively few large-scale farmers in Ukraine,

that during the NEP policy the Ukrainian peasantry, the main social source from which most prominent Ukrainian intellectuals emerged, became the major force in the preservation of the Ukrainian national idea—the very thing that the Soviet writer, Kossior, was referring to when he declared in *Izvestia*, December 2, 1933; ‘Ukrainian nationalism is our chief danger.’ Economic collectivization is not only an effective means for rigid political control, but, in its genocidal form, as in Ukraine during 1932-33, it aids to annihilate a nation.

“The fourth and last step is the systematic settlement of Russians or Asiatic tribesmen in the disrupted area in order to mix up the nationality in question and thus create a mixed ethnic territory. This obviously follows the full performance of genocide on a nation in select part and therefore as such. It will be observed that whereas, according to the 1926 Soviet census, the total population of Soviet Ukraine was 29,000,000, of which Ukrainians made up 23,000,000, or 80 per cent, and others, 5,800,000, or 20 per cent, in the 1939 Soviet census, the total population of Soviet Ukraine is set at 31,000,000, consisting of 19,600,000 Ukrainians, or 63.2 per cent, and of others, 11,400,000, or 36.8 per cent of the total. It should be noted, too, that the total increase over these 13 years was barely over 1,000,000 in a country which prior to World War I occupied the foremost place, not only in Europe, but in the world, with respect to its natural increase of population, about 800,000 a year. On the basis of the latest normal period of 1924-27, when its yearly average was 2.36 per cent, a natural increase which would practically double the population within the span of one generation, the total population of Soviet Ukraine by 1939 should have been close to 40,000,000, as against the actual 31,000,000. The impact of Soviet genocide on the Ukrainian nation is unmistakably clear from these Soviet figures, and it is noteworthy that since 1939, the Soviets have for obvious reasons drawn down a statistical iron curtain.

VINNITSIA — UKRAINIAN LIDICE

“This presentation on Soviet genocide of the Ukrainian nation would certainly be incomplete if adequate mention were not made of the outstanding Soviet crime in the city of Vinnitsia, the true meaning of the slave labor camps in relation to the Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples, and the geopolitical significance of systematic Soviet genocide. Let us analyze each in order:

“The Czechs have their Lidice, the Poles their Katyn, and though it is tragically little known, the Ukrainians have their Vinnitsia. In the city of Vinnitsia, 91 mass graves, containing 9,432 bodies, most with three or four bullet holes in the back of the head, were discovered in the period of May 25—October 28, 1943. It was established by the French, Swiss, Swedish, and Italian doctors who were invited to witness this spectacle of Soviet genocide that the tragedy occurred sometime in 1937-38, under the murderous auspices of the NKVD, and all the available data relating to this mass murder have been filed with the International Red Cross in Geneva. Several witnesses of this crime are living on this continent today. Writing in the December 1948, issue of *the Socialist Herald*, a Russian-language paper in New York City, in an article entitled “I was at Vinnitsia,” Dr. George Alexandrov vividly describes his horror at the time

of the excavation of these mass graves in the "Park of Culture and Rest." 'I, for one,' writes he, 'can no longer keep silent; I will talk about what I saw and heard. I will talk and testify about that crime in the name of those who have been left unrevengeed.' In its issue of November 12, 1948, *American Echo*, an American-Polish publication, corroborates this with the eye-witness story of Dmytro Melnyk.

"As for the true meaning of the Soviet network of slave labor camps for the non-Russian peoples, there is an inseparable relation between these camps and Soviet national genocide. One of the gravest errors that we can fall into is to think that the millions who end their lives there, are mere 'political offenders.' I regret to say that I am compelled to disagree with Mr. Dean Rusk on his testimony before this committee that the Convention does not apply to the concentration camps. The glaring fact is that the mass of innocent Ukrainian nationals deported to these camps are doomed to perish from physical exhaustion, undernourishment, or murder after they have passed the limits of usefulness. These institutionalized depositories of mass deportations are the monumentless cemeteries of millions of Ukrainians from whom the M. V. D. squeezes every remaining ounce of physical resource before they are rubbed out of existence.

GENOCIDE IN THE SCHEME OF SOVIET WORLD DOMINATION

"Finally, we must not overlook the geopolitical significance of Soviet genocide. Implemented throughout by national genocidal activity, Soviet action is applying General Haushofer's geopolitical principles in the following clockwise directions: (a) On the basis of the Zange principle, the Soviet pincers of Leningrad and completely Russified Koenigsberg have already embraced the victim nations of the Baltic; (b) Siberia, which is being built into a huge reservoir of manpower and industry with deported and doomed non-Russian nationals, has become the Soviet base of Asiatic domination and a powerful springboard to Alaska and the western Canadian coast; (c) in the direction of Iran and the central Middle East, the Volga-Caucasus base has been solidified with the annihilation of the Volga-Germans, the Don and Kuban Cossacks, and the Chechen and Ingush peoples and with the current Russian colonization of the area; and lastly, (d) by liquidating the Crimean Tartars, the Soviets, through similar colonization of Crimea, which strategically dominates the mouth of the Dnieper, have established a 'Stuezpunkt' in relation to Ukraine, which is the vitally important springboard to the Dardanelles, Balkans, and central Europe; but, because of the millions involved, their genocidal and colonizing efforts have not yet succeeded in the total embracement of Ukraine, thereby necessitating a strategic dependence on Ukraine's western neighbors, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, as the western line of defense. Thus, national genocide has its military and geopolitical reasons, but, whatever the reason, murder and biological destruction are undertaken to destroy nations, and the implications of this for the security and well-being of the peaceable communities of the world are amply conveyed above.

INADVERTENT APOLOGISTS OF SOVIET GENOCIDE

"When one scans over these frightful events of genocidal reality, one can only view with puzzled wonderment the wholly misapplied arguments

advanced by a meager few. Against the background of this mass Ukrainian experience with calculated Soviet genocide, their chief arguments opposing the ratification of the Genocide Convention appear, by sheer contrast, outstanding for their utter confusion, their total inapplicability, their flagrant naivete, and, I regret to say, for their inadvertent apology of nefarious Soviet genocidal practice. Let us briefly review some of them:

"That the convention does not apply to the peoples behind the 'iron curtain.' If this is so, then it absurdly reduces itself to applying to no people anywhere, at any time. The whole intent, the wording, and the objective of the convention are unmistakably aimed at the prevention of the very genocidal acts recited here, by outlawing such mass murders and biological destruction. Indeed, the living monuments of Soviet genocide and tyranny are the millions of displaced persons scattered about the free world today.

"That the convention does not apply to genocide committed for political, economic, or other reasons. This is patently untrue. Reasons for criminal acts or motivation in genocide are not limited by the convention. Aside from situations of reasonable self-preservation and the like, in the manner that criminal homicide is established when one kills a human being qua human being, whether for money, love, grudge and so forth, criminal genocide is established when one nation or state destroys another as a nation, whether for economic, strategic, religious, or political reasons.

"That the Convention is of no value. It is a logical truth that where objects are not properly understood, no value can be assigned to them. This applies poignantly to the baseless stand taken by the ABA representatives. We are not obtuse to think that the Genocide Convention will, under current conditions, effectually resolve this vicious issue of genocide, but we possess at least requisite vision and perspective to appreciate its significance as a vital step in the right and necessary direction. Its specific values are as follows: (a) it will impart immense and genuine hope and strength to the suffering hearts and minds of the enslaved Ukrainians and others who are persistently haunted by the deathly ax of Soviet national genocide; (b) it will focus the normal condemnation of the world on the businesslike Soviet genocidists and indirectly reinforce judicious popular obstruction and opposition to their subversive agencies abroad; (c) because of this, it may serve to moderate the rate of Soviet genocidal advances which may be caused to become more secretive and hence more difficult to execute; (d) placed on the books of international law, it will stand as a formidable promise of human liberation and concrete redress; and, finally, (e) our true and candid adherence to its provisions will serve to enunciate the civilized principles for which we stand to fight and to which we aim to attract loyal minds in Ukraine and elsewhere in the Soviet prison and cemetery of nations.

IX. THE UKRAINIAN DISPLACED PERSONS AND THE UNITED UKRAINIAN AMERICAN RELIEF COMMITTEE

One of the important problems being coped with by the UCCA through the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee is that of the Ukrainian displaced persons.

The story of the dispersion of the Ukrainian people who have come to be known as "displaced persons" is now becoming known to everyone who possesses but an inkling of the methods and nature of the totalitarian regimes.

Many of their case histories begin with the year 1939, in which Hitler and Stalin attacked Poland, and Western Ukraine was invaded by the Soviet forces. Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian patriots were compelled to flee westward in order to escape slave labor and banishment to Siberia.

Then the Germans came to Ukraine in 1941, and instituted their brutal policies of deportation of Ukrainians to slave labor in German agriculture and industry. By the hundreds and the thousands Ukrainians were arrested and executed as members of the Ukrainian anti-Nazi underground movement, and of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in particular. Many of the Ukrainian youth were forcibly drafted into the German Armies; some volunteered in order to escape being arrested and deported to work in Germany. Finally, when the Germans were retreating from Ukraine in the fall of 1943, Hitler himself issued a drastic order to his generals to deport every man, woman and child to Germany.

One version of the order, issued by Himmler in September, 1943 to General Pruetzmann, read:

"Dear Pruetzmann!

"Infantry General Stapf has special orders relative to the territory of Donets. Communicate with him immediately. I order you to cooperate with all your means. When evacuating this part of the territory in the Ukraine, the following must be done: no human being, no head of cattle, not a centner of grain, not a single railway track is to remain; there shall not be a building nor a mine which for years will not remain destroyed, nor shall there remain a well that has not been contaminated. The enemy must find a totally burned and destroyed country. Discuss these matters immediately with Stapf and do all that is humanly possible. Heil Hitler!"

As a result of these inhuman policies of the Nazis, some 5,000,000 Ukrainians found themselves in Germany at the time of its collapse. Most of them, that is over 4,000,000 were overtaken by the advancing Soviet troops in Germany and sent back to Ukraine, while the remainder succeeded in staying in those parts of Germany and Austria occupied by the Western Allies, and in Italy.

Since early 1946 these Ukrainian displaced persons, together with hopeless refugees of other nationalities, have been granted a haven in the United States. They were admitted at first under a

special directive of President Truman; since June 30, 1948 they have come under the provisions of the Congressional legislation known as the Displaced Persons Act of 1948.

The United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (UUARC), according to its official statements, has brought over 20,185 Ukrainian DPs as of January 1, 1951. War Relief Services—National Catholic Welfare Conference, an American Catholic welfare agency, sponsored another 17,500 Ukrainian DPs; some 6,000 other Ukrainian DPs have been brought here under the auspices of Church World Services, International Relief Committee, and others. All in all, about 43,000 Ukrainian DPs have been allowed to begin life anew in the land of freedom.

None of the early American immigrants underwent a suffering more intense than these Ukrainian displaced persons. Discriminated against and persecuted all their lives, what little they had was smashed between the onslaughts of the totalitarian regimes. Many saw their loved ones die before their eyes; many watched their fellow inmates in the DP camps of Western Germany commit suicide rather than be forcibly repatriated to the Soviet Union.

Small wonder, then, that re-adjustment and rehabilitation in the United States has been a difficult affair. In addition to such ordinary handicaps as American customs, they have had in greater degree than most to fight down recurring nightmares, loneliness and nostalgia.

Yet the indestructibility and self-rejuvenating powers of the Ukrainian people have already become manifest in them. Many have mastered the tongue and by dint of their hard work and God-fearing qualities have been wholly accepted by the American community.

Their sponsors have discovered that the Ukrainian DPs have not come here empty-handed. They have brought with them a wealth of experience in many branches of industry, agriculture, science, and the arts. To the Ukrainian-American community they have brought fresh information on Ukraine and its deadly aggressor, Russia. In all respects they constitute a rich contribution to American life, these hundreds of scientists, doctors, veterinarians, engineers, sculptors, painters, professors, historians and other specialists. Many work for our government; hundreds of younger DPs are studying in American colleges and universities, and hundreds of young men from among the Ukrainian DPs are in the U. S. Armed Services, of whom not a few have made the ultimate sacrifice in Korea.

The strivings of the UCCA-created United Ukrainian Relief Committee in obtaining sponsorship for the remaining eligible DPs in Europe belongs with the finest work possible to man.

X. THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL FUND

Although the qualities of zeal and selflessness have been chiefly instrumental in the successes achieved by the UCCA, they have not always been able to take the place of money. The severe shortage of funds under which the Committee has been constantly forced to operate has only served to emphasize the fact that without a certain minimum all efforts tend to be fruitless.

Fully aware of the high cost of living, the Fourth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent fixed this irreducible amount after much study. Since the results of the uncoordinated fund-raising campaigns of the various Ukrainian organizations have invariably been disappointing, it was proposed that one and only one well-planned and well-executed campaign be held to raise the annual sum required by all the organizations. This sum is known as the Ukrainian National Fund.

The Fund was put under the control of a Board of Trustees, elected from among the members of the Executive Committee of the UCCA and of the central organizations working with the UCCA. The Board was delegated the power of allocating sums of money from the Fund to such activities as relief work, the liberation movement, cultural advancement and the publication of the Ukrainian English-language periodicals. For all these activities in the year 1950 the relatively small amount of \$250,000 was set as the minimal figure.

To realize this goal, the Congress proposed three levels of donations for every American man and woman of Ukrainian descent who has an independent income:

1. The sum of ten dollars yearly from the moderate-income Ukrainian-American with family;
2. The sum of twenty-five dollars yearly from single persons without dependents, and
3. The sum of fifty dollars yearly from high-earning businessmen, professionals, and the like.

All things considered, these are small amounts indeed. Against the multi-million dollar drives of the national charities or even against the sums raised by the other nationality groups, the Fund goal is an exceedingly modest one. As an investment in world justice, peace and

security, it is a paltry one. Yet as this goes into print, rather than having been oversubscribed several times, the 1950 budget of \$250,000 is still to be realized.

One important point is to be borne in mind: the low figure of \$250,000 does not admit of allotting sizeable amounts for the purpose of helping to raise the Fund. Hence it devolves upon the Ukrainian-American to supplement the appeals in the Ukrainian press with person-to-person contacts. It is his duty to convince his kinsmen that while the sum of ten dollars may not seem important, it is vital to the Ukrainian cause. Ukrainian lives depend directly upon it; the ultimate fate of Ukraine and America will be affected by it.

This is but one important duty of the Ukrainian Americans. There are others which do not involve money, but are far more costly.

XI. TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UCCA

The most impressive manifestation of the UCCA as a highly developing force was the tenth anniversary meeting of the body on October 1, 1950 at Carnegie Hall, New York City. Over 3,000 people heard addresses delivered by such outstanding figures as Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Senator Irving M. Ives and Professor James Burnham, author of *The Coming Defeat of Communism*.

The following resolutions were adopted by the gathering:

1. The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, representing over one million Americans of Ukrainian descent, fully and unqualifiedly supports the United States policy of resisting the totalitarian aggression of Soviet Russia and her satellites.

2. The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America pays the highest tribute to the gallant armies of the United States and of the United Nations who are fighting and dying in Korea for freedom and human decency everywhere and pays tribute at the same time to countless victims of the Ukrainian and other Soviet-enslaved peoples, who died in the unequal struggle for the same ideals, against the same enemies, in their homeland behind the Iron Curtain.

3. The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America calls the attention of the U. S. Government to the fact that behind the iron curtain lives the 40-million Ukrainian nation, fighting a gigantic struggle against Communist Russia for its freedom and independence. Five years have passed since the end of the war, but the Ukrainians, spearheaded by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, still fight the enslaving forces of Soviet Russia, alone and unaided.

4. The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America declares that the voice of the representatives of the so-called Ukrainian Socialist

Soviet Republic in the United Nations, formerly Dimitri Z. Manuilsky and now A. M. Baranovsky, who, in his statement last Thursday before the General Assembly opposed Secretary of State Acheson's Peace Program, is not the voice of the Ukrainian people, but of their Soviet Russian oppressor. The Ukrainian people, with their blood and sacrifice, testify to their devotion to their ideals of the Western democracies.

5. The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America calls the attention of the U. S. Government to the strong possibility that the "Campaign of Truth" and "Crusade for Freedom," recently initiated by the United States Government and American private organizations, will fall short of their objective unless they are directed to all the peoples enslaved by the totalitarian government of Soviet Russia, including the Ukrainians, the first and the most fiercely oppressed victims of that despotic power.

6. The United States, as the leader of the forces of freedom and peace, cannot and must not neglect or abandon these worthy peoples, such as the Ukrainian, who have long been our front-line allies against the greatest enemy America ever had, Soviet Russia. They must be encouraged and abetted, and further, they must be given the definite assurance that once the Soviet tyranny is abolished, they will enjoy the full right of self-determination and national statehood in their own homeland.

A d r e s s e s

The position of the Ukrainian people was clearly defined by Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, President of the UCCA. Pointing out that their position is based not on spurious propaganda, but on "stubborn, indisputable, *experienced facts*," Prof. Dobriansky identified the Ukrainian crusade as one of truth for freedom.

The guiding principles and objectives of this crusade are:

1. The undying defense of American democracy and of the Hebraic-Christian bases of Western Civilization against the force of moral and intellectual degradation embodied in world communism.

2. The materialization of effective psychological resistance by the satellite Eastern European peoples against their unwelcome Russian communist masters.

3. The thorough application of the basic American principles of self-determination to all peoples cherishing this right.

4. The unqualified dismemberment of the Soviet Empire and the permanent extirpation of the Russian imperialist mania which for centuries has been a menace to world peace. (Here Prof. Dobriansky

made it clear that the Committee absolutely repudiates the concept of collective guilt and distinguishes between the Russian masses and undemocratic Russian leadership).

5. The advocacy of the positive political and economic integration of all Eastern European peoples into a federated Europe and in the unity of European Society. "We crusade for freedom not only on the basis of the actual truth of Soviet despotism, but also on the basis of the real possible truth of a democratically unified Europe.

In a penetrating address, Prof. James Burnham deplored the inability of the Western liberal to learn, once and for all, that Stalin's world is not to be trusted. To the Kremlin's goal of conquest of the world, there can be but one counter-strategy: the disintegration of Moscow's apparatus. Towards this disintegration Americans must announce "not in diplomatic whispers but so that the entire world will hear, that we stand *with* the peoples longing for freedom, and against the tyrants who enslave them. We must declare that these peoples—the Ukrainians prominent and proud among them—are our friends and our allies, whom we are ready to aid and join in common strength."

In his address, Senator Lehman declared:

"Your activity against communism merits the highest respect, admiration and support of all freedom-loving peoples. I remember that in 1933 the Ukrainians were violently opposed to the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States. Because the Ukrainians know the Soviets best and know what can be expected from them. Therefore, you Ukrainians can be of great help to our government. The Ukrainians should take the principal part in the crusade for freedom... Our government advocates and strongly supports that policy, the policy of freedom of the government of the people, by the people and for the people. It advocates a free world—which in essence denotes not only a free Poland, not only a free France, not only a free Korea, but also a free Ukraine."

Senator Irving M. Ives of New York stated that the efforts of the UCCA serve the peace of the entire world. John Decore, Canadian M. P., declared that the communist menace would not have been so dangerous today had Ukraine been a free and independent nation; however, the Ukrainians, who almost alone fought Russian communist imperialism, have now the entire world with them against Soviet Russia. Dmytro Halychyn, Vice-President of the UCCA and President of the Ukrainian National Association, pointed out that over

800 million people are under the direct or indirect control of Soviet Russia, and that among them are the Ukrainians, who shall never cease fighting until their freedom is attained.

THE DEATHLESS UKRAINIAN STRUGGLE

Less than one month later, while Americans still fought in Korea and Soviet-inspired Chinese divisions were massing in Manchuria, came the report of the death of General Taras Chuprynka, Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Here—if such was still needed—was further confirmation of the deathless Ukrainian struggle for freedom.

It is one of the vital tasks of Ukrainian-Americans through the UCCA to demonstrate the truth that the death of this legendary hero constitutes not only a grave loss to the Ukrainian crusade for freedom, but to the whole civilized world as well.

XII. A CHAT WITH THE UKRAINIAN-AMERICAN

There are duties far more costly than donations for you as a Ukrainian-American. These duties, for one thing, entail a great deal of your time and energy. But this energy and time is not that kind which is measured by forty hours to a week, nor by the office clock, nor by that pay envelope which seems to make amends for tedium and routine.

As a Ukrainian-American, you are called upon to work at a job which knows neither fatigue nor clocks nor paydays. It is not just the Ukrainian cause; it is not just the cause of America. The way of life of our civilization and all it stands for is the job.

Just what does this mean to you yourself?

If you are a parent, you know the importance of the job far beyond words. There is many a parent who has given his vote to a man running for office without having the faintest idea of his qualifications. But there is no parent who has not turned cold and sick at the thought of his youngster in the front lines. Only then do parents know the tragedy of utter helplessness, and too late they up-braid themselves for having failed as citizens.

If you are the fellow at the next work-bench or office desk who has just quit for a better job; if you are the fellow in the next classroom chair at night school; if you have hung up your shingle or thrown open your doors for business; if you are best man at the wedding of a friend of a different religion or you are putting in your time on the picket-line—if you are any of these, then you are taking

full advantage of the democratic way of life. But your responsibilities as an American citizen do not stop with your immediate interests. Whether it's a matter of landing that important client or planning your thesis or merely getting out to the ball game, your job as an American has but begun. *You've always got to make sure that these rights and privileges will belong to you and to the next man.* This is your up-
permost responsibility.

Now if you already did not know this, there would be little sense in using up what precious funds there are in order to put out this pamphlet and get it into your hands. The case for good citizenship has been exhaustively covered elsewhere. To be frank, the trouble lies in the fact that you *do* know it. Down deep in your heart, you know that both as an American and a Ukrainian you have not done enough.

Perhaps your reaction to this is that you've done all you could. You may already belong to a Ukrainian organization; you may have contributed generously to the National Fund, despite those doctor's bills and the rising cost of milk; you may say that you've given more time and energy to Ukrainian-American activities than others you know.

If this is your reaction, then a little soul-searching will disclose that it is a negative, rather than a positive one. These cannot be more than excuses. For the literal truth remains that so long as Ukraine remains under the heel of the Soviet Union, and America and the rest of western civilization is menaced with Ukraine's fate, so long can no man do enough.

It is precisely because of your dual nature as an American and a Ukrainian that this pamphlet was deemed worthwhile. On page after page this brief account of the UCCA of itself drives home the bed-rock fact that you are most the American when you are a true Ukrainian. The identity of the ideals of America and of Ukraine, the similarity of their respective struggles for liberty and their common cradle in western civilization are historical truths. And it is the current turn of history which has shouldered you as a first-generation American of Ukrainian descent with the duty of assuming your role as an invaluable American citizen. In view of her threat to the western way of life, your duty to spread the truth about Soviet Russia and Ukraine has become more than a job. It is now nothing less than a mission. You must be something more than the average civic-minded American citizen. You must become the American counterpart of those Ukrainians fighting desperately behind the Iron Curtain, sooner or later to be joined by all the liberty-loving peoples of the world.

This is the knowledge locked deep in your heart. To acknowledge it to yourself, and to act upon it, are the costly things. For too long have most of us shirked our unique responsibilities as Ukrainian-Americans. We have learned the story of Ukraine from the lips of our parents; we have seen their tears at the concerts; we have grieved with them at the tidings of the disappearances and the deaths of their close ones in Ukraine. Yet most of us remained mute while the propaganda of the Soviet Paradise swept over our country like the plague, and many of us cringed when this blight of lies and deceit enveloped us with charges of Fascism. We cringed and felt like outsiders, and became conscious of a strong sense of guilt, especially under the gaze of those American purists who had forgotten that their own ancestors had come here with nothing in their pockets but with a great dream in their hearts.

Yes, it is costly to acknowledge all this, but it is costlier yet to suppress it. The fate of the enslaved countries we cannot and shall never be able to afford. You cannot, nor can America. Until that time when whatever Russia does will be of small moment to both America and Ukraine, you must do everything in your power to combat her.

But this is not as grim and unrewarding as it may sound. It is true that you will be fighting against dictatorship, slave labor, organized terror and imperialism, both Soviet and Czarist. But you will be fighting shoulder to shoulder with all Ukrainian-Americans with the weapon of truth, and more and more in the company of aroused Americans. And more and more will the term "Ukrainian" become a distinction, rather than a vague identification.

Therefore relearn the story of Ukraine from your parents, subscribe to the excellent English-language publications, open your heart at the concerts and the rallies, become active in the Ukrainian organizations, and above all, write.

Write the truth about Russia constantly to Congressmen, responsible Americans, the newspapers. The power of letters is sometimes astonishing; a stream of truth cannot but be overwhelming.

And for those who would devote themselves entirely, the UCCA is theirs. The fate of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, and perhaps of the Ukrainian nation, is now in the hands of the younger generation, possessing the vitality now denied the older by the passage of years.

May their sorrowful eyes yet witness the rebirth of Ukraine!

SUGGESTED READING ON UKRAINE

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