

**WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE UKRAINIANS**

# MEMORANDUM

**Submitted to  
THE SECRETARY GENERAL  
OF THE UNITED NATIONS**



**NOVEMBER 16-19, 1967**

**New York, N. Y.**

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The Honorable  
U Thant  
Secretary General  
United Nations  
United Nations, N. Y.

Your Excellency:

It is our distinct honor to present to you this Appeal on behalf of the first World Congress of Free Ukrainians which is meeting in New York City, the seat of the United Nations, to plead the cause of freedom for the Ukrainian people who are now in the political bondage of Communist Russia.

The first World Congress of Free Ukrainians represents over three million Ukrainians and their descendants in the free world who have their own social, political, cultural, economic and religious organizations as well as their national representations in a number of countries outside Ukraine, namely: the United States, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Venezuela, France, Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Austria, Italy, Spain, Australia, New Zealand, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Sweden. However, their native country, Ukraine, is a Union Republic of the USSR and a charter member of the United Nations since 1945.

The great majority of Ukrainian immigrants left their home country after World War I and World War II because they could not live under the regimes which were imposed by force upon the Ukrainian people by the occupiers of the Ukrainian lands. Some Ukrainians left their homeland under the stress of economic conditions, some were deported as slave-laborers during the second World War and did not wish to return thereafter to Ukraine, occupied by Soviet Russia. Therefore, the Ukrainian emigration in the free world is predominantly a political emigration; it is vitally interested in the political and social life of Ukrainians in their home country and is endeavoring to help them by all means at its disposal in achieving these ideals of freedom and independence for which they have been fighting with great sacrifices during the past fifty years.

In the overwhelming majority, the free Ukrainians in the diaspora subscribe to the political ideal of a **free, sovereign and independent Ukrainian state**, which was proclaimed by a series of historical acts at the time of the revolution fifty years ago and later — between the two World Wars and during the second World War, — and which fell a victim of aggression on the part of Soviet Russia. These acts were:

a) On November 20, 1917 the Ukrainian Central **Rada** (Council), by its Third **Universal**, established the Ukrainian National Republic which was recognized officially by Soviet Russia in a special note of December 17, 1917. Despite the recognition of Ukraine as an independent republic, Soviet Russia launched a military aggression against Ukraine and endeavored to convince the world that it was a “civil war” between the “bourgeois factions” and the partisans of the Soviet system in Ukraine;

b) On January 22, 1918 the Ukrainian Central **Rada** by its Fourth **Universal** proclaimed the full and unqualified independence of the Ukrainian National Republic. It maintained diplomatic relations with many countries, and was recognized **de facto** by France and Great Britain.

In the election to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly which took place in 1917, the political parties which supported the Ukrainian Central **Rada**, received 72 per cent of all votes in Ukraine, while the Bolsheviks gained a bare 10 percent. Thus, almost three-fourths of the total population of Ukraine supported the policies of the Ukrainian Central **Rada**, which was the revolutionary parliament of Ukraine.

On November 1, 1918 Western Ukraine, which was a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, was proclaimed as the Western Ukrainian National Republic, with its own National **Rada**, whose members were elected by secret ballot in general, direct and democratic elections. This Parliament of Western Ukraine, by its unanimous decision of January 4, 1919 voted to unite with the Ukrainian National Republic. The Western Ukrainian National Republic was forced to wage a defensive war against the newly-born Poland which coveted this Ukrainian ethnic territory as its “own.” By the Act of Union on January 22, 1919 both republics of the Ukrainian people were united into one, sovereign and independent state of the Ukrainian people. The united Ukrainian National Republic encompassed all the Ukrainian ethnic lands which were part of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires prior to 1914.

The traditions of Ukrainian statehood have their roots in Kievan Rus-Ukraine, the Kingdom of Halych and Volhynia and the Hetman State. Ukrainian statehood in 1918-1920 had three distinct forms of government; the Ukrainian National Republic with the Ukrainian Central **Rada** as its parliamentary government; the Ukrainian State under the Hetman, and the Ukrainian National Republic under a Directorate.

To defend Ukraine against foreign aggressions, the Ukrainians organized in 1917 a regular Ukrainian army, which by 1919 numbered over 150,000 men.

In a long and drawn-out war against the foreign aggressors, the Ukrainian Army had some brilliant military successes, but despite the heroic efforts and self-sacrifices of its fighting men, unaided and unsupported by any foreign state, it could not overcome the numerically superior forces of Soviet Russia, the White Russian Armies of Gen. A. Denikin, as well as those of Poland. Suffering from lack of medical supplies and equipment, this army was also exposed to a series of epidemics which heavily undermined its effectiveness and power.

In launching an unprovoked military aggression against the Ukrainian National Republic, the Russian Communists created a political fiction in the form of the "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic," which they used as a counter-government against the legitimate Ukrainian government. In 1923 this Moscow-created Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, along with other non-Russian republics, entered into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Although many of the prerogatives of the Union Republics were taken over by the Soviet Union, nevertheless, the fiction that these republics are sovereign states is steadily maintained and supported by Moscow. In 1945, when Moscow believed it useful to expand these prerogatives so as to make it appear that the Union Republics were truly independent, Ukraine and Byelorussia were introduced into the United Nations as charter members. Moreover, each of the Union Republics was accorded also a number of outward attributes of a sovereign state: a national coat-of-arms, flag and national anthem.

Yet, behind this facade, the reality is quite different. From the very beginning of its enslavement by Soviet Russia, Ukraine was not and is not an independent republic in the USSR, but a colony of Soviet Russia. In the present Soviet Russian colonial empire the Ukrainian people are suffering from an unrelenting social and national oppression.

The Soviet Russian colonial empire, known as the USSR, is a totalitarian state-empire in which unlimited power rests in the hands of the centralist Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This totalitarian monopoly, which directs all the Union Republics from one center in Moscow, is in essence a ruling class of the empire, exercising unlimited power which is shared with no other social class or political group. It is a totalitarian and anti-democratic system of government.

In the Ukrainian SSR, which claims to be a sovereign state, out of the 30 ministries 26 are subordinated to and directed by Moscow. Even the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev, formerly independent, became merely a branch of the "All-Union" Academy of Sciences.

In the economic field Ukraine is rigidly subordinated to the central planning in Moscow. All taxation taken from the Ukrainian people is directed toward imperialistic expansion of Soviet Russian foreign policy and territorial aggrandizement. All industrial and agricultural products of Ukraine are destined either for other parts of the USSR or for foreign imports, primarily for competition with the United States, while Ukraine receives little in return. Special economic policies of the Kremlin compel the Ukrainian population to seek employment outside its homeland; hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian specialists and technicians are taken away from Ukraine, while their place is taken by the alien Russian manpower. By special discriminatory measures the Soviet government is trying to keep the Ukrainian rural population from settling in urban areas, thus providing for the alarming growth of the Russian element in Ukrainian cities.

The enslavement of the Ukrainian people in the Russian colonial empire has assumed some of the most terrible and intolerable forms. The Soviet regime is engaged systematically in the destruction of the Ukrainian national substance through perennial genocide, deportations and man-made famines, thus trying to reduce the Ukrainian people, once a powerful dynamic people, to a static ethnographic entity.

Thus, in 1914 the population of Ukraine amounted to 38.1 million people. The last Soviet population census of 1959 revealed that Ukraine had only 41.9 million people. Ukrainian demographers estimate that in the normal process of development the population of Ukraine should have increased by 1 million people a year. Consequently, the population of Ukraine should have increased by 45 million in the last 45 years, and in 1959 it should have been at least 83.1 million. Inasmuch as the population census of 1959 had shown only 41.9 million people, it means that Ukraine had lost almost the same amount of people which it had at the time of the census-taking. Of course, the decrease of the population of Ukraine was due also to two World Wars; but this decrease was a result mainly of special Russian genocidal policies in Ukraine, policies which are outlawed by the U.N. Charter and the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. The most outstanding phases of Russian genocide against the Ukrainian people are a matter of historical record:

1. Moscow has completely eradicated the two Churches in Ukraine: the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In the 1930's the Kremlin liquidated the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church by imprisoning its metropolitan and 36 archbishops and bishops, and hundreds of thousands of the faithful. This church was revived somewhat during World War II, but was again destroyed completely after 1945. There is only the Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine today. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church exists only among Ukrainians in the free world, but not in Ukraine.

In 1946 Moscow destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine by arresting and exiling its metropolitan, bishops and over 2,500 Catholic priests, monks, nuns and thousands of Catholic laymen (of 12 Ukrainian Catholic bishops only one returned alive from the Soviet concentration camps: Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, who was released in 1963, after 18 years of imprisonment, upon intervention of the late Pope, John XXIII; he was made a cardinal in 1965 and now resides in Rome). The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine exists in underground catacombs just as in the early era of Christianity. The Ukrainian Catholic Church has developed in the free world and at present there are 14 Ukrainian Catholic Sees in the diaspora.

The same fate befell the Ukrainian Evangelical-Reformed and Lutheran Church, while the still existing Baptist and Seventh-Day Adventists Churches are rigidly controlled by the Soviet government.

2. In 1932-33 the Kremlin willfully starved to death about 5 million Ukrainian peasants who resisted the forced collectivization introduced by Stalin against the will and welfare of the Ukrainian people. This man-made famine ensued when the Soviet authorities withdrew all supplies of foodstocks in order to force the farmers to become collective slaves. Prior to the famine all wealthy Ukrainian farmers were also liquidated as "enemies of the state," their property confiscated and they themselves sent to slave labor camps.

3. One of the most concentrated drives by Moscow in Ukraine was and is against independent Ukrainian culture; thousands of Ukrainian scientists, writers, poets, literary critics, academicians and professors had perished during the many "purges" conducted by the Kremlin in Ukraine. After the death of Stalin a number of the so-called "rehabilitation trials" were held in Ukraine revealing how many hundreds of Ukrainian men of science and literature had perished without trials or any judicial proceedings. These "purges" encompassed not only the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists," but Ukrainian Communists as well. Among the intelligentsia were some of the greatest intellects of Ukraine.

4. Moscow has been relentless in persecuting all those Ukrainian patriots who are striving for Ukrainian independence, in particular members of the OUN and UPA, although the Soviet constitution itself guarantees the "full sovereignty and equality" of Ukraine. In fact, that constitution assures the right of Ukraine and other Union Republics "to freely secede" from the USSR and remain outside the Soviet Union. But in reality any manifestations toward true independence, even the application of the Soviet constitution, are considered high treason and are punishable severely. Ukrainian patriots and true lovers of their lands Moscow labels scornfully "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" and "enemies of the Soviet state."

Significantly, the Kremlin does not persecute “Russian bourgeois nationalists”; on the contrary, Russian chauvinism is regarded as Soviet patriotism.

5. The Soviet government is systematically pressing Russification policies whereby it endeavors to Russify the Ukrainian people and thus weaken their national resistance. This Russification is pressed relentlessly in Ukrainian schools, especially Ukrainian universities, in administration and the armed forces. Moreover, the Soviet government is conducting population policies detrimental to the Ukrainians, who are either deported or sent to various administrative posts outside Ukraine, while ethnic Russians are being brought to Ukraine. For this Russian minority in Ukraine Moscow maintains Russian schools and a press, while millions of Ukrainians outside Ukraine — in the Russian SFSR above all — are deprived of Ukrainian schools, the Ukrainian press and books, and in general, of Ukrainian culture. By so doing, Moscow is implementing deliberate Russification policies for the purpose of increasing the Russian ethnic element in Ukraine and weakening at the same time the Ukrainian national entity.

6. During the whole period of occupation of Ukraine the Ukrainian people waged and are waging now an incessant struggle for their liberation, as demonstrated by the proclamation of independence of Carpatho-Ukraine in 1939; the proclamation of Ukrainian Independence on June 30, 1941 in Lviv; and the activities of a series of Ukrainian underground organizations: the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU), the Association of Ukrainian Youth (SUM), the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The latter, under the command of General Roman Shukhevych (Taras Chuprynka) and the political leadership of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), waged a full-scale war against both the Nazis and Russian Communists in Ukraine during and after World War II.

The Kremlin’s fear of the Ukrainian liberation movement is demonstrated by the wanton murders of Ukrainian leaders by the Soviet secret police operating in the free countries:

a) Simon Petlura, head of the Ukrainian government-in-exile, killed in Paris on May 25, 1926;

b) Col. Eugene Konovalts, head of the OUN, assassinated on May 23, 1938 in Rotterdam, Holland;

c) Dr. Lev R. Rebet, a Ukrainian nationalist writer, assassinated on October 12, 1957 in Munich, Germany;

d) Stepan Bandera, head of the OUN, assassinated on October 15, 1959 in Munich, Germany.



In 1965 and 1966 a number of Ukrainian writers, poets, literary critics and journalists were jailed and tried by Communist courts in Ukraine in the relentless drive of Moscow to suppress Ukrainian culture and make it an adjunct of the "superior" Soviet Russian culture.

Taking all this into consideration, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians states that the USSR, being a Russian colonial empire, practices genocide on a grandiose scale and destroys churches and the national cultures of the captive non-Russian nations. It constantly violates the Charter of the United Nations and fails to live up to the overall objectives of the United Nations.

The representation of the Ukrainian SSR in the United Nations is not a representation of the Ukrainian people but a representation of the alien occupying administration which enslaves the Ukrainian people. Its voice in the United Nations is but a servile replica of the Kremlin in the international forum of the United Nations.

The World Congress of Free Ukrainians, which fully supports the aspirations of the Ukrainian peoples as well as those of other captive peoples to freedom and national independence, is of the belief that the enslavement by Soviet Russian imperialism of a number of nations in Eastern Europe and in Asia is a warning for the whole world as to the true political nature of the USSR, a member of the United Nations. The democratic nations of the world should unite and prevent the Soviet Union from continuing its political practices with respect to the captive nations, practices which are inconsistent with and contrary to the U.N. Charter.

Taking into consideration the present plight of the Ukrainian people under the domination of Soviet Russia, and desiring to bring effective moral and political assistance to the Ukrainian people in their aspirations to freedom and national statehood, the elected representatives of all Ukrainian national organizations in the free world, namely those in North America, South America, Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand, assembled on November 16-19, 1967 in the City of New York, the seat of the United Nations, for the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, have accepted a series of resolutions on ways and means to assist Ukraine, and have also decided to submit this Appeal to the United Nations.

Therefore, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians appeals to you, Your Excellency, for three considerations:

1. To establish a special Committee under the auspices of the United Nations which would investigate the situation of the captive nations in the USSR, and in the first place the colonial enslavement of Ukraine, with all its features of national and cultural genocide, destruction of human rights and religion, and violation of all basic human liberties.

2. To appeal to U.N. members to support the aspirations to freedom of all peoples, not only the colonial peoples of Africa and Asia. The captive non-Russian peoples in the USSR are entitled to freedom and national independence in the same degree and measure as are the peoples of Africa and Asia.

3. To allow the representatives of the Free Ukrainians in the world to participate in the various U.N. Committees on the basis of non-governmental organizations, where they could represent the interests of the captive Ukrainian people.

We take the liberty of enclosing with this Memorandum a documentary brief on the present situation of the Ukrainian people in Ukraine and the USSR.

