

# **BASTION OF RESISTANCE**

Winnipeg, 1954.

# BASTION OF RESISTANCE

COMMENTS ON THE TREATY OF PEREYASLAV  
BETWEEN UKRAINE AND RUSSIA

*Peremoheni Ukrainy  
M. Mykhailenko*

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## *Preface*

*On December 9, 1953, the Soviet Government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party, issued a special decree ordering the celebration of the 300th Anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, which was concluded in 1654 between Alexis, the Czar of Russia and Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Hetman of Ukraine.*

*That Moscow decree is now being executed not only in Ukraine but also in all the satellite countries, including the Mongolian and North Korean republics. The celebrations in all the countries are being carried on in various ways, but the principal theme, as directed by the Russians, remains the same — to stress the superiority of the Russian race and consequently that all progress stems from the unity with the Russians, or more plainly from enslavement by the Russians.*

*The order to celebrate this occasion was also received by the fifth columnists in the free world. Communist publications have devoted plenty of space to propagate this decree from the Kremlin and, as a result such public meetings were held in several Canadian cities, including Winnipeg.*

*As to Canada, however, the English language newspapers have not devoted as much attention to this subject as it deserves — at least not as much as did the press in the United States and Great Britain. We cannot surmise the reason for it, as in our opinion, such Kremlin sponsored celebrations of the Pereyaslav Treaty is of great political significance in the U.S.S.R. and elsewhere. It may be likened to a beacon focusing the attention of the world on this the most important problem of internal insecurity in the U.S.S.R.*

*Celebrations are presently taking place in the U.S.S.R. and in the satellite countries under the slogan: ETERNAL UNITY BETWEEN UKRAINE AND RUSSIA. Ukrainians in Canada have arranged public celebrations during the months of May and June with a slogan of greater significance to the democratic world: INDEPENDENCE FOR UKRAINE.*

*In order to at least partly clarify the aims and objects of the 300th Anniversary celebrations of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, and to at least partly express the sentiments of the Ukrainians behind the iron curtain about that treaty and celebrations, we are publishing some material on the subject matter in this booklet.*

**UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE.**

# *Realism and Knowledge Needed*

Godless and material Communism is now on the march, overshadowing the world by the blight of its vicious hypocrisy and false doctrine, causing unrest throughout the universe and deep concern to our various leaders.

And as one satellite after another falls in its wake by infiltration and otherwise, entailing the degradation of the individual through conformity to mass mediocrity and barbarity, and the forced glorification of a cruel, heartless and monstrous state, our Western leaders must be pondering in wonder and openmouthed amazement the incongruous sight of their former Moscovite Ally riding rough-shod over so many helpless countries.

## **THAT IS USSR**

And what are we doing to offset this Moscovite offensive, this evident attempt at world domination? We use the word "Moscovite" advisedly because Bolshevism is inherently a Russian or Moscovite emanation. The term "Soviet Russia" is a misnomer if it is understood to mean that all the people in the U. S. S. R. are adherents of the Soviets or of Russia. The majority of people in the U. S. S. R. are neither communists nor Russians. The truth is not sufficiently known but the Russians as a race are a definite minority in the Soviet Union. No one real-

izes this fact more than the Russians themselves and that is why they have gone to such great pains to hide it from the Western Nations. It is also the motivating reason behind the numerous mass murders, government - inspired famines, deportations and genocidal policies of Soviet Russia. Russia has deliberately growing Ukrainian nationalism with its concomitant forces of religion, free labor and private enterprise.

## **UKRAINE**

Holding second place in the Soviet system of Republics is the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic by virtue of its great natural resources, expansive territory and large population — 50 millions approximately.

(a) Ukraine is of a great strategic value. It is through Ukraine Russia must seek access to the Black Sea and thence to Europe. Ukraine also serves as an initial base for the political forces of Moscow to expand to the West. Furthermore the great depth of territory of Ukraine provides a safeguard to ethnographical Russia from the aggression of her enemies. It was on the steppes of Ukraine that the armies of Charles XII, the legions of Napoleon and the German hordes of Kaiser Wilhelm and the Fuehrer Hitler met ultimate defeat. When an American asked a

certain German general whether it was at Stalingrad they lost the last Great World War, the unhesitating answer was: "No, we lost it long before that — in Kiev, when we hoisted the swastika instead of the Ukrainian flag!"

(b) Economic position. Ukraine undoubtedly is the richest of all the 16 Republics of the Soviet Union. As regards mining, metallurgical, machine and chemical industries Ukraine occupies one of the foremost places in the U. S. S. R. According to Beria's last speech, delivered before his arrest, in the field of steel and electro - energy, Ukraine surpasses the combined efforts of France and Italy.

As regards the farm industry, in which currently 182,000 tractors and 51,000 combines are being used, not to mention many thousands of smaller machines, Ukraine produces great quantities of grain products, thus justifying her reputation as the greatest granary of Europe.

### **THE STRUGGLE IS GOING ON**

It thus becomes apparent that **Ukraine can do without Russia but Russia cannot do without Ukraine.** But Russia does not intend to do without Ukraine. The full rigor of her forcible unification policy is disclosed by the various waves of terrorism that have swept over Ukraine aiming at the complete destruction of all active and inimical opposition to Moscow. One of the greatest and most tragical phases of this terrorism

was manifested in the government-inspired famine of 1932-33 which cost the lives of millions of Ukrainians opposed to Communism.

But in spite of genocide, massacre, torture and deportation the flame of Ukrainian opposition burns more fiercely than ever, and nothing will quench it. Once again Ukraine has become a bastion of Christianity and Democracy against the savage hordes from the East.

### **Ukraine thus has become Soviet Russia's chief trouble spot.**

Alarmed at the situation therein Moscow virtually has started to lean backwards in its attempt to appease Ukraine. And so she has been made a member of the United Nations. Crimea accordingly has been united to Ukraine; and the 300th anniversary of Ukraine's "reunion" with Russia is now being celebrated throughout the Soviet Union with all the fanfare incidental to a very great and important event.

### **Theoretical Right of Secession**

The Constitution of the Soviet Union recognizes Ukraine as a separate Republic within the U. S. S. R. It also proclaims the theoretical right of secession from the federation. Stalin as Russia's self-imposed expert and creator of nationality policy interpreted this right of secession as pertaining only to those countries bordering the Soviet Union and other foreign countries. If such a Republic were completely surrounded by the

Soviet Union secession thus would become a practical impossibility. But since many satellite nations have been added on the outskirts of the U. S. S. R. the problem of

Ukrainian secession has become more difficult. This clause in the constitution, however, has not been repealed, and so in theory at least it is still applicable.

## REMARKABLE DECREE

One of the latest moves to strengthen the relations between these two nationalities has been the tricentennial of the annexation of Ukraine to Russia, now extensively celebrated throughout the Soviet Union and declared by Party Decree to be a great event "marking the culmination of long centuries of struggle by the Ukrainian people against foreign oppressors and for union with the Russian people under a single Russian State".

The Decree went on to assert that Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the 17th Century Ukrainian Cossack Hetman, fought to "free Ukraine from Polish oppression and to join up with Russia"; and how finally he decided to sign the Pereyaslav Treaty on Jan. 8, 1654, which 300 years later was hailed as a "mighty expression of the will of the freedom-loving Ukrainian people, an expression of its age-long aspirations and hopes, and a turning point in its life. The Ukrainian people forever linked their destiny to their Russian blood brothers, whom they always regarded as their steadfast protector and ally, and thereby they saved and preserved themselves as a nation."

The Decree wound up by obliging all local party and government organizations to prepare lectures, issue pamphlets and in every other possible way to widely celebrate this "outstanding historical event", the tricentennial anniversary, and to extend the celebration even beyond the Soviet Union's boundaries.

## REACTION

But the reaction in the Western World to this celebration has been exceedingly unfavorable to Soviet Russia. The mask of hypocrisy has been torn off the Russian effort to hoodwink the Free Countries and a very concentrated research in now being made the world over into the truth of Ukrainian history and inter-Soviet relations. As the Christian Science Monitor put it: "The fact that the Soviet Government has decided to dig up this anniversary and make a considerable fuss over it would indicate that the question of Ukrainian nationalism and separatism is perhaps less academic than the Kremlin would like it to be." And on Jan. 27, 1954, Congressman Feighan had this to say: **"The tyrants of Moscow know that once the forces of enlightened**

**nationalism, religion, free labor and free enterprise are unleashed against them the results will be more devastating than the dreaded atom or hydrogen bombs".** It is in the light of this fear of the non - Russians that the Western World is now beginning to explain Moscow's hysterical pepping-up of the Pereyaslav Treaty celebration.

### **TRUE FACTS ABOUT THE TREATY**

And the truth of the Ukrainian position is now coming to light with every new issue of our daily newspapers and monthly magazines. Herewith follow some of the facts:

(a) It is an undoubted fact that Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky signed a treaty with the then reigning Russian Czar, but not for the reasons so loudly proclaimed by Moscow. The Union with Moscow occurred 300 years ago because the Cossack rebellion against the Poles, led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky, could not finally succeed without outside help. They decided to apply to Moscow for that help. Edward Crankshaw writing in the **London Observer** commented on this as follows: "The Moscovite government very cleverly took advantage of this: it extended its protection to Khmelnytsky and in this way Ukraine became virtually a vassal of Moscow. **Ukraine maintained the outward appearance of a sovereign state such as its own foreign policy, army, treasury, and head of gov-**

**ernment; but all that was gradually whittled down until Ukraine became a mere possession of Moscow.**

(b) The Pereyaslav Treaty was regarded with much **disfavor by a** strong oppositional section of Cossack officers under the leadership of Marshal Ivan Bohun. It was also opposed by the Ukrainian Clergy under the leadership of Silvester Kossiv, Metropolitan of Kiev.

(c) At first the Moscovite Czar broke his word by signing a separate Peace Treaty with Poland at the City of Vilna, 1656.

(d) Bohdan Khmelnytsky thus did not feel obligated to honor the treaty any longer, a position which he held until he died.

(e) Moscow again broke the Pereyaslav Treaty when it concluded another Treaty at Andrusiv, 1667, by which the Western section of Ukraine **was ceded** to Poland.

(e) The final death-blow to the Pereyaslav Treaty was delivered by Catherine the Great when she dissolved the last vestiges of the Cossack State and incorporated the Ukraine into the Russian Empire.

To the Russians the Pereyaslav Treaty was never meant to be anything more than a mere scrap of paper to be honored more by its non-observance than by its observance. But it has provided the Kremlin leaders with an excellent pretext for falsifying history to the advantage of Soviet Russia

and setting up the baseless legend of Ukrainian-Russian Brotherhood and close community of interest.

### **THIS WAS THE BEGINNING . .**

1654 indeed was not the beginning of closer cooperation between Ukrainians and Russians but the commencement of a long struggle of liberation from Moscovite tyranny. At first it met with varied success, but under Hetman Khmelnytsky's successor, Ivan Vyhovsky, the Czarist Russian army was completely defeated at Konotop in 1659. The last great stand before the turn of the 20th Century was made by Hetman Ivan Mazeppa, whose Cossack forces united with the army of Charles XII in the ill-fated Battle of Poltava. The struggle, however, still continued; but from then on all efforts at liberation were of a more or less futile and of sporadic nature. But the Ukrainian spirit lived on although at times it seemed to be completely submerged in a Russian Sea.

### **REVOLUTION AND INDEPENDENCE**

**But all the dormant Ukrainian spirit needed to waken it to full consciousness again was some great event of cataclysmic proportions. Such an event was supplied by the 1917 revolution which brought about the fall of the Romanoff dynasty and the destruction of the Russian "prison of nations".** Once again Ukraine attained her independence. On January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian Central Rada issued a Fourth

Universal in which it declared Ukraine a completely independent state, — as Ukrainian National Republic severing all ties with Russia and getting recognition from the Central Powers and the Allies as well.

Thenceforth, wherever Ukrainians were in a majority they proclaimed their sovereign right to self-determination. Thus on the 18th day of October, 1918, a Ukrainian National Council, meeting at Lviv proclaimed the formation of a separate Ukrainian State out of the provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and on January 22, 1919 it was united with the Ukrainian National Republic in Kiev.

### **NOT WORDS ALONE**

Those were not mere political declarations — they were supported by a military strength, namely by a Ukrainian regular army, navy and airforce who in one form or another participated in the defence of their homeland. And although Ukraine fell the first victim to Russian Bolshevism, she did not surrender, but kept up a running battle until her forces were well beyond her boundaries to carry on the struggle outside the iron curtain. The underground struggle within and outside the iron curtain still goes on unabated by methods best known to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). That this army has been and still is a thorn in the side of Soviet Russia is shown by the military pact which the USSR concluded with Poland and Cze-



choslovakia in 1947 — to liquidate the UPA.

## MORE INFORMATION

The fight against Moscovite occupation will continue without a let-up, notwithstanding all the complexities and difficulties of such a struggle. And the battle will not cease by reason of any such false pageantry and fanfare as the Tricentennial Celebration of the Pereyaslav Treaty, staged to dupe not only the Ukrainian masses but the Western Countries as well. As regards the Ukrainians they no longer can or will be duped; but so far as the free nations are concerned the exact nature of this treaty slowly but surely is becoming only too plain to the inhabitants thereof. Such couriers of information as Mr. John Fisher executive member of UNRRA, and the American Ambassadors, Mrs. Pearl Mesta, have thrown much light on the subject. And our world free press has inquired into the matter with such meticulous care and unparalleled zeal, that no stone has been left unturned to get at the exact facts, which, having been sifted from the Communistic chaff, are very disquieting to the Moscovites but very illuminating to all freedom-loving Westerners.

## WHAT WE ARE DOING?

And herein lies an object lesson that the Free Western Nations would do well to take to heart and to profit by it. Instead of allowing

our fears of Russia to obsess our souls and to hamper our opposition to her **it is high time to recognize that Russia's strength or evil derives from the control of the natural resources of such non-Russian nations as Ukraine.**

Eugene Lyons, wrote not long ago and his views are being shared by many prominent people, that our secret Allies are the non-Russian peoples. This is the weakest link in the whole chain of Soviet power. If we concentrate our policies on this link, there need be no Third World War. **An alliance with the non-Russians over the heads of their masters, represents mankind's best hope of defeating Bolshevism.**

The whole world is clamoring for peace but there can be no peace without freedom and the extension of the elementary rights of justice and independence to the enslaved nations.

## CONCLUSION

Ukrainians are Ukrainians and the Moscovites are Moscovites; former are democratic while the latter are autocratic. Even the Ukrainian rivers as they flow into Western waters are symbolic of the Ukrainian tradition of freedom; while the Moscovite streams as they empty into the Asiatic Seas can only signify the cruel oriental ideology.

What Russia has done to Ukraine could also be our own lot once we relax our vigilance. We cannot stand alone against Com-

munism nor can we afford to be intransigent towards the Soviets. For the Russians already have one third of the world today, and if

they get much more they will have the balance of power.

In the interest of Canada it is to aid Ukraine, to resuscitate and resurrect her as a free nation.

## FEW COMMENTS

The following editorial appeared in the **New York Times** December 20, 1953:

"For the next month or so, the Soviet press has indicated, the people of the Soviet Union are to be deluged with great quantities of propaganda as part of the celebration early next year of the 300th anniversary of the union of the Ukraine with Russia. It is ironic to read in the history books that it took the hetman of the Zaporozian Cossacks, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, three years, from 1651 to 1654, to persuade the Russian Czar to take the Ukraine under his protection.

What the Soviet people are not likely to be told in this "celebration" is that the Ukraine retained much autonomy after the agreement of three hundred years ago, being permitted, for example, to maintain diplomatic relations with all countries save Poland and Turkey, while the Cossacks' right to self-government was confirmed. This is a far cry from the present situation, in which Ukraine is governed as tightly from Moscow as is Moscow province itself, and when "Ukrainian" representatives abroad, as in the United Nations, are mere puppets of the Moscow Kremlin.

Much has happened in the past three hundred years of association between these two great branches of the Slavs. Russians and Ukrainians have fought together at times in common struggle against foes; at other times Ukrainians have fought Russians for Ukrainian independence and freedom. Whether the Ukrainians would wish to coexist with Russians in a future federated state, we do not know, despite the claims of partisans on both sides of this issue. But certainly the Ukrainian people today, like other Soviet peoples, can have no reason to celebrate their present state of oppression and exploitation, a condition far different from that which Bohdan Khmelnytsky envisaged when he negotiated with Czar Alexis three hundred years ago."

## HISTORY OF BLOOD AND TEARS

By Edward Crankshaw.

With a degree of cynicism worthy of Stalin himself, the Soviet Government is celebrating the tercentenary of the Muscovite acquisition of Ukraine as an anniversary of liberation. This fact alone makes it clear, that no mat-

ter how powerful the changes at work in the structure of Soviet society, the Stalinist drive towards the Russification of the minority races of the U. S. S. R. is to continue unabated.

### **UKRAINE'S IMPORTANCE**

The history of Ukraine for the last three hundred years has been a history of blood and tears. After the Russian Federal Republic it is the largest and by far the most important of the sixteen republics which make up the U. S. S. R. It has its own language and its own proud cultural traditions. Indeed, its tragedy lies precisely in its richness and importance, as well as in its geographical situation on the western marches of Russia proper. It contains so great a proportion of Soviet industrial and agricultural wealth that even today, when Moscow is so rapidly developing its Asiatic resources, the Soviet Union without it would be only a ghost of itself.

Moscow simply cannot afford to give way to Ukraine; and it is notable that the exiled Russian opposition groups are all agreed with the Communists on this one thing: Ukraine must belong to Russia.

### **STATISTICS**

The extent of the Moscow terror over the republic is demonstrated most vividly in the population figures. In 1917 there were thirty million inhabitants living within the pre-1939 frontiers of Ukraine: according to the normal rate of increase there should have been

forty million in 1939. In fact there were only thirty-one million. In these bare figures we see the story of the appalling purges, above all the liquidation and deportation of millions of Ukrainian peasants for their resistance to collectivisation.

### **THE FAMINE**

This resistance culminated in the great famine which was deliberately aggravated by Stalin, who insisted on requisitioning food from starving countryside in order to teach the Ukrainians a lesson once and for all. This famine was at first sedulously concealed from the outer world, and when concealment could no longer succeed, indignantly denied. The Soviet Government refused all offers of relief from abroad — partly because it did not want to admit the existence of a famine, but partly because it was its considered policy to let the Ukrainians die.

It was at this time that Kaganovitch made his celebrated remark: when it was reported in Moscow that the Ukrainians in their hunger were reverting to cannibalism, he said: "It is better that they should eat themselves than us." Kaganovitch is now one of the party elders, and a deputy Prime Minister of the Soviet Union.

### **UNBROKEN SPIRIT**

But even this treatment could not break the spirit of Ukrainian independence. Purge had to succeed purge. And when the war

came, the Ukrainians went over in vast numbers to the side of the Germans, whom they innocently welcomed as liberators. (With careful and imaginative handling the Germans could have turned the whole of the Ukraine into an armed ally against Moscow.)

### **NEW SUBJECTS**

The Ukrainians lost their "liberation"; and to the pre-war Soviet Ukraine were added the lands of West Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine — which called for more violent repression to bring the new subjects into the Soviet fold and force them into the pattern of collectivisation. It took place behind the facade of Ukrainian political and cultural autonomy. Ukraine today has the separate representation in the United Nations.

### **POSSESSION VITAL**

These are the people who are being told to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of their submission to Moscow as a day of rejoicing. From the point of view of Moscow there is everything to be said for keeping a tight grip on Ukraine, the possession of which is vital to the prosperity and strength of Russia under any form of rule. From the point of view of Ukraine there is a great deal to be said for close union with Russia — or there would be a great deal to be said for this if the Russians were capable of conceiving and sustaining a close union other than a union of oppressor and oppressed.

— Montreal Star

### **OTHER COMMENTS**

Speaking on this subject over radio network from New York, January 19, **Harry Schwartz**, international commentator said, in part:

"This week might be called **Ukrainian Week in the Soviet Union**. By government order, the entire country is celebrating the 300th Anniversary of the unification of the Ukraine and Russia. As might be expected the main theme of this celebration is the notion that the Ukrainians were very fortunate to have joined Russia and that the "brotherly friendship" of Ukrainians and Russians is now stronger than ever. By implication, of course, this propaganda barrage also affirms that all the other non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union were similarly fortunate, though in many cases their present inclusion in the Soviet Union is the result of past conquests by the Russian Czars.

The so-called unification now being celebrated was initially merely an agreement under which the Russian Czar undertook to provide military aid for the Ukrainians against the Polish armies threatening them from the West. Little more than a century after the agreement virtually all provisions of the treaty had been wiped out by the Russian Czar and the Ukrainians have been reduced to merely another subject people. Sporadic Ukrainian revolts against this subjection were put down by

**military force time and again; one of the most famous being the revolt lead by the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa, in 1709.**

**When the Russian Czar was overthrown during World War I, efforts were made to create an independent Ukrainian State, but these efforts were crushed by the Red Army.**

(As a matter of fact the independent Ukrainian State known as the Ukrainian National Republic existed from 1917 to 1920. Ed.)

During the 1920's and 1930's numerous Ukrainian Communist leaders were purged on suspicion that they put Ukrainian interests ahead of orders from Moscow. Nikita Khrushchev, the Russian who is now second only to Malenkov in the post Stalin government, made his reputation in the 1930's as the purger of Ukrainian nationalists. The resentment these purges aroused may be judged from the eager and friendly reception the invading German troops first received in the Ukraine in late 1941.

Only last June, while the late Lavrenti Beria was still riding high in his grab for supreme Kremlin power, the Kremlin's Russian gaulleier in the Ukraine, L. G. Melnikov was ousted for having tried to russify the Western Ukraine by substituting Russian for Ukrainian in colleges and other educational institutions. Later, after Beria had been purged, Mr. Melnikov was restored to favour and made Soviet Ambassador to Rumania.

Against this troubled historic background, the present Soviet hosannahs to Russian-Ukrainian friendship have a hollow ring..

Of course, the position of the Ukrainians is not unique. In the Soviet Republic of Georgia, for example — the birthplace of both Stalin and Beria — the top leadership has been purged ruthlessly three times within the past two years. Each time the group installed in power has accused its predecessor regime of "bourgeois nationalism", that is the desire for independence. And regularly the accusers themselves have been purged and charged with the same crime. The desire for independence is widespread among the non - Russian minorities. That is worth remembering".

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## **SOVIET IMPERIALISM**

**A member of the Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror** recently published a booklet which asks the question "**What is Soviet Russian Imperialism?**"

Soviet Russian imperialism is the highest stage of development in aggressive militarism. It is based on a despotic dictatorship of totalitarian absolutism, which is struggling to establish a world empire under the domination of the Kremlin. This purpose is clearly stated **by Stalin (Problems of Leninism p. 51):** "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a prototype of the future union of all peoples in one world economy".

## THREE YEARS LATER...

### OPPOSITION TO THE TREATY

As noted elsewhere the Pereyaslav Treaty with Russia in 1654 was concluded over strong opposition of a number of Ukrainian military and church leaders, who doubted the sincerity of the Moscow Czar to respect its terms. Their suspicion and fears were soon realized as the Russians began to break the terms of the Treaty as soon as it was signed. Consequently Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky concluded separate treaties with Sweden and Transylvania three years later, in 1657.

Commenting on this phase **K. J. Hildebrandt**, a member of the Swedish delegation to Hetman Khmelnytsky, describes this conference as follows:

"After an exchange of greetings and the termination of the conference which was conducted in the Latin language, a special reception followed..."

"Behind the table there sat the Hetman, flanked by the Minister and a Scottish merchant who had arrived at the same time with a letter from the Swedish King. Furthermore, there was the Chancellor Vyhowsky with a few senators. The wife of the Hetman sat

a few minutes near him... The next day a special reception was given the Minister by Chancellor Vyhowsky."

The Swedish minister Gothard Welling himself, in his **Relation**, gives detailed information on his talks with the General Secretary, Vyhowsky, which attest to the independent policy of Hetman Khmelnytsky with respect to Moscow. Minister Welling, told Vyhowsky, among other things:

"That His Royal Highness (the Swedish King) has been without cause insulted by the Moscovites and had suffered tremendous damages, and what would they (the Cossacks) gain by sitting still and letting such go by. Chancellor Vyhowsky picked up the statement, expressed great regret that the King had been unjustly treated, swore good faith and wanted to show him letters which he had done his utmost to dissuade the Moscovite Czar from his designs. But the Czar not only did not want to listen, but was displeased with the Cossacks because they would not help him in the war against Sweden. And now, having seen that the war was not going so well as he had imagined, and having become fearful that the Cossacks also may stand against him, the Czar not long before my arrival sent a letter to the Hetman,



**BOHDAN KHMELNYTSKY**  
**Hetman of Ukraine, 1648 — 1657.**

making excuses for his truce with Poland. He wants to break it, as it does not please the Hetman, and generally, he is ready to do everything that the Hetman wants. In reply to this the Hetman said that the Czar had not listened to him and had begun an unjust war against the Swedish King. He admonished the Prince of Moscow to see to it that the war with the Swedish King be terminated as soon as possible, and warned that he (Hetman) was a friend of the Swedish King, and as long as he lived he would undertake nothing against him."

In the concluding talks the "Ukrainian Government assured the Swedish Minister that it would call upon the Moscovite prince to abstain from any steps whatsoever against the Swedish King, and for the damages done to provide redress and restitution, for otherwise the Hetman would find other means. He had already ordered his Colonel Antony Zdanovych, that in case some Moscovites were found in Poland, they be treated as enemies".

## TREATY WITH TRANSYLVANIA

The extent that the Ukrainian Government regarded itself independent of Moscow is shown by the negotiations between it and Frank Sebesi, minister of George Rakoczi of Transylvania. Under date of June 26, 1656, Sebesi, recorded the talk of Vyhowsky with a Moscovite legate:

"The Moscovite minister demanded to know how it came about that without the knowledge of the Czar a treaty was signed with the Swedes and the Transylvanian Prince, and why it was that the Hetman never gets in touch personally with the Czar, but sends common Cossacks to Moscow. Vyhowsky replied that as the Czar in his own land, so the Hetman in his own country is the prince or a king, having acquired control of his country with his sword and liberated it from the yoke. If you wish, preserve our friendship and live with us on good terms; if not — we shall fight and bring against you the Tartars, Swedes and Hungarians."

On September 1, the Cossack legates went to Rakoczi, and held official talks with him. The Cossacks promised that they would provide him as many troops as he desired, but in exchange they demanded the whole of Ukraine 'Up to the Vistula River', and were ready to break with Moscow because they had enough legitimate reasons for so doing."<sup>1)</sup>

UKRAINE, in Foreign Comments and Descriptions, by V. Sichynsky.

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<sup>1)</sup> Hetman Khmelnytsky died in 1657. whereupon Chancellor Vyhowsky succeeded him. Two years later war broke out and the Russians invaded the Ukraine in force. Hetman Vyhowsky met the Russian army 100,000 strong and annihilated it at Konotop in 1659.



# THE LANGUAGE OF TREACHERY

## 263 Years After Pereyaslav

### DE JURE RECOGNITION OF UKRAINE BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

1917 — 18

Note addressed to the Central  
Ukrainian Rada

"Having regard to the fraternal kinship and community of interests of the working classes in their **struggle** to realize Socialism, and also to the principles constantly proclaimed by the resolutions of the democratic revolutionary organizations — the Soviets — and by the Second General Congress of the Russian Soviets, the Russian Socialist Government — the Council of People's Commissaries again recognizes the right of all nations formerly oppressed by the Czarist regime and by the Russian bourgeoisies, to complete self-determination, even if this involves their separation from Russia.

We, therefore, the Council of Commissaries of the Russian people, recognize the Democratic Republic of Ukraine, and acknowledge its right to separate from Russia or to enter into negotiations with the Russian Republic with a view to establishing federal or other relations with it.

The Council of Commissaries of the Russian People further recognizes, without any limits or

conditions, and in all respects, the national rights and independence of the Ukrainian Republic.

### COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIES

December 4, 1917"

(Published in the official organ of the Provisional Government of Workmen and Soldiers, No. 26, December 6th, 1917).

### COPY OF THE CREDENTIALS OF D. MANUILSKY

Russian Federal Soviet Republic Council of the People's Commissaries. Moscow, Kremlin, May 2nd, 1918, No. 3020 A. M.

"The Russian Federal Socialist Republic of the Soviets, by a decision of April 17 of this year has appointed Comrade Dmitri Manuilsky as representative of the Republic, and has invested him with powers to carry on the negotiations, which will commence at Kiev on May 22nd, with the representatives of the Ukrainian Government, to conclude peace between the Russian Federal Socialist Republic of the Soviets and the Ukrainian Government, and to sign the minutes of the discussions and the Treaty of Peace.

(Signed) SVIERDLOW,  
President of the Central Executive Committee of the Peasants,

Workmen, Soldiers and Cos-  
sacks.

ULIANOFF (LENIN)

President of the Council of the  
People's Commissaries.

KARAHAN,

On behalf of the Minister for  
Foreign Affairs.

BONTCH BROUIEVITCH

Charge d'Affairs of the Council

of the People's Commissaries.

(Seal)

Although Russia recognized the  
independence of Ukraine, it soon  
after invaded and annexed its ter-  
ritories. This has been the Russian  
policy during the past 300 years.  
Wherever she sees possibility of  
annexation she pays no attention  
to treaties or agreements.

## UKRAINE AND WESTERN ALLIES

Below are the letters by  
which France and England ac-  
credited their representatives to  
the Ukrainian National Republic  
in 1917. These letters were publish-  
ed in the Journal of the League of  
Nations (Document No. 88, pages  
19, 20), dated November 20, 1920,  
as follows:

### FRENCH LEGATION IN RUMANIA

#### **Republique Francaise**

Jass, December 29th, 1917.

From the French Minister in  
Rumania, to General Tabouis,  
French Commissioner in Ukraine.  
Sir:

I have the honor to inform you  
that the French Government has  
appointed you as French Com-  
missioner in Ukraine.

You will be good enough to in-  
form the Secretary General of the  
Department of Foreign Affairs of  
the Ukrainian Government of your  
appointment as Commissioner,  
and to hand him this letter, which  
accredits you in that capacity. —  
(Signed) ST. AULAIRE.

### OFFICE OF THE FRENCH COMMISSIONER

#### **Republique Francaise**

December 21st, 1917.

Kiev, January 3rd, 1918.

Commissioner accredited to the  
Ukrainian Government. To the  
Secretary General, Department of  
Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian  
Republic.

Sir:

I have the honor to request that  
you will inform the Ukrainian Gov-  
ernment that the French Govern-  
ment has appointed me as Com-  
missioner of the French Republic  
to the Government of the Ukrain-  
ian Republic.

I, therefore, request that you will  
be good enough to inform me on  
what day and what hour I may  
have the honor of being officially  
received by the Head of the Gov-  
ernment.

I remain, Sir, Your obedient  
servant,

(Signed. TABOUIS.

## FRENCH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE

### Republique Francaise

Kiev, 11/29 January, 1918.

From General Tabouis, French Commissioner to the Government of the Ukrainian Republic. To the Secretary-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Republic.

Sir:

On December 5/19, at an interview which was attended by M. Vinnichenko, President of the Council, and by the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, Finance, Food, Transport and Justice, I had the honor to present the following request:

(Here follows the text of General Tabouis' **note verbale** of December 5th, that is, of a date anterior to his appointment as French Minister to the Ukrainian Government).

Since that date France has entered into official relations with Ukraine.

"In view of the rapid **march** of events and to avoid any loss of time, I have the honor to request that you will communicate this reply to me as soon as possible."

(Signed) TABOUIIS.

## HISTORICAL RETROSPECT

### France and Ukraine

At the end of 1808, in the Governorship of Chernyhiw, a certain Ukrainian trader named Shishkin, spat on the portrait of the Czar. The official report said that

## OFFICE OF THE BRITISH REPRESENTATIVE

January,

To His Excellency, the President of the Council of Ministers of the National Ukrainian Republic.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to inform you that His Britannic Majesty's Government has appointed me by cable as the sole representative at present of Great Britain in Ukraine.

I am directed by my Government to assure you of its good will. It will support the Ukrainian Government to the utmost of its ability, in the task which it has undertaken of establishing good government, maintaining order, and resisting the Central Powers, who are enemies of Democracy and Humanity.

As far as I, personally, am concerned, I have the honor to assure Your Excellency of my whole-hearted support in the realization of our common ideal.

British Representative in Ukraine.  
(Signed) PICTON BAGGE

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the accused had committed his crime "under the influence of French ideas". The Governor General of Ukraine, Prince Kurakin informed the government at St. Petersburg that an old soldier of the Imperial Guard, a certain Gusan, a Ukrainian recalled to active service, had refused to depart for Moscow, saying: "If you send us to the front against the French, we will go

against the Russians and destroy them all".

A nobleman in Poltava, Lukasevich, banqueting at his estate, offered a toast "to the health of Napoleon the Liberator". The affair created a sensation and the government ordered an inquiry, but the Governor of Poltava, a friend of Lukasevich replied: "The statement had been made in temporary folly".

The same year the governor general of Kharkiv sent a long report to St. Petersburg, filled with dates and facts, that revealed the vast activity of French agents in the Ukraine. This and other incidents so disturbed the Russian government that the Czar ordered the formation of a "Committee for General Security", for the purpose of combatting spies and the dissatisfied, but above all, the French agents. The Committee was ordered to limit its activities to the Ukraine, Lithuania and the Baltic provinces.

## **A FRENCH INVASION**

A period of intense interest in Ukraine began with the preparation for the invasion of Russia. On November 16, 1811 the Duke of Cadore, Minister of Eastern Affairs, wrote to Baron Brignon, French resident in Warsaw: "His Majesty desires to have the statistical data on Volynia, Poland and Ukraine, with a description of the roads and the nature of the points of view of the travellers and the inhabitants, and above all, a description of the

Lviv-Kiev, and Dubno-Kiev routes and also the course of the Dniپر river".

Baron Brignon, profiting by the activities of the numerous agents sent previously into Ukraine, drew up a detailed answer in which he said: "The population (of Ukraine) is greatly discontented and will not make war against the French voluntarily".

An outstanding French war correspondent and author of that period, Lesur, describing the French campaign in Russia, wrote: "The Ukrainians are more magnanimous, more frank, more courteous, more hospitable and more industrious than the Russians".

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## **Remarkable Teaching**

The next important feature of Soviet Russian imperialism is the teaching that "Leninism is necessary for all countries without exception". (Stalin, Problems of Leninism p. 91), or that "The theory of dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary for all countries" (page 10), or "Bolshevism is an example of tactics for all" (Lenin v. 23, page 386).

This teaching is also emphasized by the propaganda of the so called Russian superiority, which proclaims that Russians are the only bearers of absolute truth and progress, that they are the foremost inventors of the most important discoveries in human life and in the sciences.

## THE FIRST VICTIM

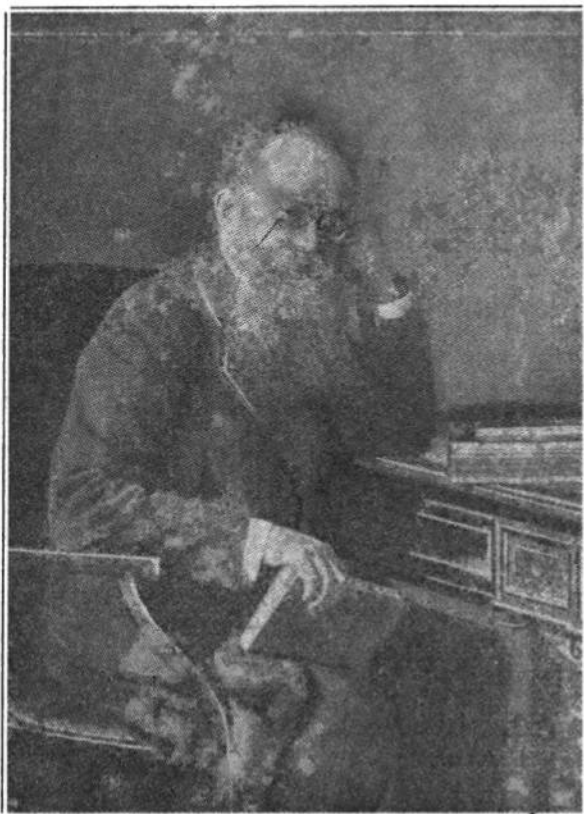
Soviet Ukraine was the first country to become a Russian satellite state, just as Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria did in 1945. The first Ukrainian satellite state was formed by "Ukrainian" Communists on 17th of December 1917, acting on orders from Lenin. Under the pretext of hastening to help this puppet government, the **Russian Soviet Socialist Republic declared war on the Ukrainian National Republic, which war was ended by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.**

From the point of view of international law, it is significant to note that Soviet Russia recognised **the Ukrainian national government in Kiev when it signed the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918 on behalf of the Federal Soviet Republic WITHOUT UKRAINE. The Treaty had already been signed in February 1918 on behalf of Ukraine by delegates from the anti-Communist government in Kiev under the leadership of M. Lubynsky. In article 6 of this Treaty, Trotzky, representing his government, undertook to end the war with the Ukrainian National Republic, to withdraw Communist troops from Ukrainian territory, and to respect the sovereignty of the Ukrainian State.**

### AGREEMENT SIGNED

At first it seemed as if Lenin would observe the conditions of the Brest Treaty. He dissolved the

"Ukrainian" satellite government in Kharkov on 18th of May 1918, and sent a peace delegation to Kiev. This delegation, significantly enough under the leadership of Mr. Dmytro Manuilsky, arrived in Kiev on 10th of May. Prof. S. Shelukhin was at the head of the Ukrainian delegation. Negotiations started on 23rd of May 1918, and on 12th of June an agreement was signed to put an end to hostilities, re-establish railway traffic and set up consulates. The negotiations were conducted by the bolshevist delegation in such a way as to avoid signing a regular peace treaty. This delegation returned to Moscow to get fresh instructions and never came back to Kiev. For Lenin considered that the international situation was favourable for re-newing war with the National Republic of Ukraine. He again made use of the "Ukrainian" satellite government which was set up once more in Kharkov on 18th of September 1918. War against the National Ukrainian Republic was continued therefore on the pretext of helping the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. The forces of the National Republic were defeated, as the enemies of Ukraine got support from Western Powers. Thus the way was free for harmonious "co-operation" between the Federal



**MICHAEL HRUSHEVSKY, 1867 — 1934**

**Foremost historian, Premier of the Ukrainian Central Rada  
and first President of the Ukrainian National Republic,  
(1917 — 20)**

Socialist Republic of Russia and the Soviet Republic of Ukraine. On 28th of December 1920, these two states signed the Treaty, of which we reproduce the following extract: "The government of the Russian Federal Socialist Republic on the one hand, and the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic on the other, have signed a Workmen's and Peasant's Treaty of co-operation, on the basis of the self-determination of peoples and of the solemn recognition of the sovereignty and independence of both partners. Both partners to the treaty resolve to unite their powers for defence and economic reconstruction".

### **SATELLITE STATUS LOST**

**This treaty gave Ukraine the international status that was accorded in 1944 to Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria.** This treaty remained in force only until 1923 or 1924. On the 22nd of December 1922, a declaration was signed by the Russian Federalist Socialist Republic and the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic for the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This declaration was ratified in 1923 and came into force in 1924.

As a result of this declaration, the Ukraine lost its satellite status and **was forced** to be represented abroad by the U. S. S. R. It was only in 1944 that the latter consented to the establishment of a separate Foreign Office in Ukraine, delegates from which were

also entitled to a seat in the United Nations.

Though it is a generally known fact, we consider it expedient to emphasize here that the Ukrainian Soviet Republic's rights are merely formal in nature. Although it has a President of its own and a separate Government and Parliament, it must do what Moscow orders.

We are of opinion that these formal rights of the Soviet Socialist Republic of the Ukraine indicate for the West a promising method of attacking the Soviet Union. This method of attack would help the Ukrainian people in its fight for independence, and in its efforts to re-establish the complete sovereignty it had between 1918 and 1920.

— By **John F. Stewart**, president of the Scottish League for European Freedom.

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### **National Liberation**

A peculiar feature of Soviet Russian imperialism is the assertion that separate parts can exist only within the whole. This explains the Russians' militant opposition to all national liberal movements within the communist empire.

The experiences of Turkestan, Caucasus, Ukraine, Baltic and other countries show that even the words "national liberation" resulted in very bitter reactions on the part of the leading Soviet Russian oligarchy.

## Human Rights

Under capitalist rule a labourer may be discharged or fined but he cannot be shot, for according to the law he is a free person. Soviet imperialism claims the right to arrest, send to slave camps, or shoot, any number of labourers, peasants or intelligentsia, because in Russia they are not free and independent persons. Also, any capitalistic exploitation meets with opposition from labour organizations and state legislation. In Soviet Russia these very labour

organizations are turned into a means of exploiting labour. This exploitation is an organic part of Soviet Russian imperialism.

## Ownership

The question of ownership is solved in capitalistic countries in such a way that the production belongs to the owner. In Soviet Russia all production belongs to the state oligarchy. Neither individual workers, nor collective organizations have the right or power to control them.

## UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Every year during the month of January Ukrainians this side of the Iron Curtain, mark the proclamation of independence of Ukraine, announced in the Fourth Manifesto of the Ukrainian Central Council, January 22, 1918, declaring:

**"As of today, the Ukrainian National Republic becomes the independent, free and sovereign State of the Ukrainian people".**

The month of January, 1954, is also the 35th anniversary of the proclamation of the Act of Union of Ukrainian lands (January 22, 1919), by which all Ukrainian territories were united in the Ukrainian National Republic. Unfortunately the Ukrainians in their own country celebrate this anniversary only in their hearts, as all

public manifestations are forbidden by orders of the Kremlin.

The Ukrainian National Republic ceased to exist November 20, 1920, when its army and government were forced by the Red Army to abandon their country and go into exile. Presently there is the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic but all its powers, orders, decrees and administration emanate from Moscow. It is true that the constitution of the USSR permits the constituent republics, including Ukraine, to secede, but at the same time the Russian MVD is hunting out the Ukrainians who would even dream of taking advantage of this constitutional right and punishing them for "bourgeois nationalism", which in the eyes of the Russians is criminal offence.



## DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

### UKRAINE PAYS THE BILL

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** This was published in the **SATURDAY EVENING POST**, January 27, 1945, and we consider it of sufficient interest to reprint it, at least in part, for the record. It was written by Edgar Snow after his exhaustive survey through Ukraine.

### STAGGERING PRICE

Yet it was not till I came here on this sobering journey into the twilight of war that I quite realized the price which 40,000,000 Ukrainians have paid for Soviet victory. This whole titanic struggle, which some are so apt to dismiss as "the Russian glory," has, in all truth and in many costly ways, been first of all a Ukrainian war. And greatest of this republic's sacrifices, one which can be assessed in no ordinary ledger, is the toll taken of human life. No fewer than 10,000,000 people, I was told by a high Ukrainian official here, have been 'lost' to the Ukraine since the beginning of the war. That figure excludes men and women mobilized for the armed forces.

### Russia proper hardly invaded

A relatively small part of the Russian Soviet Republic itself was actually invaded, but the whole Ukraine, whose people were economically the most advanced and numerically the second largest in the Soviet Union, was devastated from the Carpathian

frontier to the Donets and Don rivers, where Russia proper begins. No single European country has suffered deeper wounds to its cities, its industry, its farmlands and its humanity.

We may have forgotten how large a role American engineers and machinery played in the industrialization of this republic, but the Ukrainians have not. Today, they hope for equally important American industrial help in recovering from the catastrophe. The postwar Soviet market for American goods is to a major extent a Ukrainian market. In the same degree, the heaviest Soviet war claims against Germany are Ukrainian claims. And in the mind of every Soviet diplomat, when he talks about postwar Europe, is the thought that this union's Ukrainian frontier must be flanked by such dependable structures of security that the cataclysm cannot be repeated.

Because of that, if for no other reason, we should become more familiar with the Ukrainian people, which has its own language and culture and history, older than and quite distinct from that of Great Russia. And possibly partly because of that also, I have found, during my visit here, an extraordinary spirit of cordiality and frankness, and an almost unique readiness to supply facts and figures where they seem available.

## BOOKS FOR YOUR LIBRARY

THE UKRAINIANS IN MANITOBA, A Social History, by Paul Yuzyk .....	\$5.00
UKRAINIAN-ENGLISH GRAMMAR by J. W. Stechishin .....	4.00
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