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The International Socialist Movement and Soviet Russia

by Panas Fedenko

The present world is living in a critical, nay catastrophic time. Never before in its history mankind has faced so much the danger to become the victim of a despotic World Empire. The threat of this disaster for the free world is increasing because of the recent technical developments (atomic bomb). These terrible means for destruction of the life and the cultural achievements of humanity are also in the possession of the Russian Communist Government.

There was a time, when the statesmen of various countries did not take the Russian Communist danger seriously. At the beginning of the Bolshevik rule in Russia some leaders in Poland and in other countries hoped that the Communist regime would weaken Russia and drew optimistic conclusions from this for themselves: for Great Britain the Russian menace for the British possessions in Asia would cease, Poland and Rumania would 'digest' quietly the annexed Ukrainian territories, while Russia would even annihilate "separatism" in Eastern Soviet Ukraine. In order to appease Moscow, the world accepted the "legal" extension of Russian Communist rule over the nations of former Czarist Russia, Ukraine, Turkestan, Caucasus; Mr. Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, having declared the "désintéressement" of his Government in regard to independent Georgia, made it possible for Bolshevik Russia to put an end to the democratic Republic of Georgia which had a Social Democratic Government, in 1921.

What was the Socialist reaction against the rebirth of Russian imperialism in Communist shape in the various countries? We know facts that the International Socialist Conference of 1919 in Lucerne expressed its sympathy with the struggle of the Ukrainian people for liberation, under the leadership of Socialist parties. The International Socialist Conferences of Hamburg (1923) and of Marseilles (1926) put forward the demand for the restoration of independence to the democratic Republics of Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia in their resolutions. Simultaneously, propaganda was spread in the world

and backed mostly by some groups of Russian Socialists, asserting that the Soviet Union was threatened by "capitalist intervention," and that it was the principal task of international socialism "to defend the Russian revolution," i. e. the Bolshevik regime. This went so far that the representative of the Russian Social Democrats, Theodore Dan, demanded of the Ukrainian, Georgian, and Armenian Socialists at the Committee meeting of the Labour and Socialist International in Berlin 1930 that they should oppose the revolutionary movement of their peoples against the Communist rule in their countries. It was the time of the beginning of the "General Line," of industrialisation and collectivisation, which exterminated the population of the Soviet Union in masses, but especially the peoples oppressed by Moscow. The discontent of the people and the army with Stalin's policy manifested itself in mass uprisings; even in the Communist Party strong opposition trends ("deviations") appeared. The Communist regime was shaken in its foundations.

Nevertheless, in many countries, there were Socialists who expected good results from Stalin's experiment and believed that Poland was preparing to destroy Communist dictatorship in Russia. In view of this, the Polish **Socialist**, the late Mieczyslaw Niedzialkowski, had to prove that no Polish party, including that of Pilsudski, had the least interest in attacking the Soviet Union, which was true. However, the propaganda for the defence of the Soviet Union, an "innocent victim of capitalist aggression," continued. There was no understanding that Stalin's "General Line" had as principal aim the increase of the war potential of the Soviet State in order to realise the Russian policy of conquests in Europe and Asia at the first favourable opportunity. In the world press, we could find at that time articles describing the "disaster" which would come if the Bolshevik dictatorship in the Soviet Union should break down! The Great Socialist Master, the late Karl Kautsky, gave a good reply to this propaganda. Having enumerated the actions of the Stalinist regime against democracy,

the workers, and farmers, he asked: **What should Stalin do more to deserve the name of a reactionary?**

Before World War II, the Socialists of some countries of Western Europe created the "People's Front" with the Communists. In view of the German Nazi menace, they were ready to close their eyes on the crimes of the Communist regime in USSR. The late Otto Bauer's hypothesis of the "two roads to socialism" justified Stalin's policy. Bauer and his followers had the tempting vision that the nationalised economy in the Soviet Union would later receive another, democratic "super-structure," i.e. socialism would be completed...

The policy of the Soviet Government in 1939 was a cold shower to the adherents of these and similar theories of a "democratic rebirth" of the Communist regime in Moscow. Stalin sat at one table with Hitler's Minister von Ribbentrop, in order to divide with his new ally Europe, Asia, and the remaining world. Stalin remained faithful to the Treaty of August 23rd, 1939, and was very disappointed when Hitler launched his attack against the Communist State. In the thunder of bombs and shells, the democratic world forgot the crimes of Stalin's clique: these grave-diggers of democracy and socialism were at once rehabilitated as "democrats," "pacifists," and "humanists". Democracy opened its heart to Stalin, forgetting that the alliance with the Bolshevik totalitarianism could be for the democracies only a temporary one, because the Russian Communist imperialists regarded, from the very beginning, the democrats and particularly the Socialists as their **principal enemies**.

The events of World War II and the post-war years witnessed the culmination of pro-Soviet illusions among democrats and Socialists of various countries of Europe and America. Moscow's policy put an end to these illusions. Now the world is facing hard facts: Russian imperialists have dominated through military force and through Fifth Columns and insurrections considerable parts of Europe and Asia. Militant Communism is advancing towards its aim stubbornly, without regard to sacrifices. Moscow has created in the whole world groups of her followers, she infiltrates the smallest gaps of the state apparatus in all countries, she wins, through skillful propaganda scientists and inventors for her purposes, to be short, the "eyes and ears" of the new Muscovite Czar — Stalin — are present everywhere.

Under these circumstances, a great historic responsibility for the fate of humanity, rests here on the Socialist Parties of the whole world. All previous methods of combating Russian Communist imperialism did not pass the test. The treatment of Bolshevism as a Socialist system suitable for backward peoples is completely unrealistic: wherever the Soviet soldier and the Muscovite Fifth Columns get foothold, regardless whether in backward Korea or in highly developed Czechoslovakia, Communist dictatorship will rule.

Communist Moscow does not look for agreements with other nations based on compromises and fair observation of treaties: she can only be appeased by unconditional surrender. It is of no importance whether a country is accepting or rejecting the Communist ideology: Communist Yugoslavia has drawn Moscow's deepest hate on herself, only because the Communist Tito wants to follow his own policy independent from Stalin's orders. The example of Yugoslavia proves that **Russian imperialism is the moving spirit** in the policy of the dictator in Moscow. Communism is the new ideological disguise for Russian imperialism. In the past, under the rule of the Czars, Universal Orthodoxy and Panslavism made in Moscow rendered the same service to Russian imperialism.

As a historic parallel, one could present examples from the history of the Ukrainian struggle against Moscow for independence: the Czarist Governments declared all Ukrainians who fought against Moscow's rule over the Ukrainian people as "traitors of orthodoxy." The Ukrainian Hetman Mazepa who went to war against Moscow in alliance with the Swedish King Charles XII. in 1708, was by order of Czar Peter I. excommunicated from the Orthodox Church and anathema was put on

him! Presently Moscow curses at its "Councils" the Yugoslav Communist Tito as a "Fascist."

Now that Communist Moscow has started her action for world conquest through her Fifth Columns and with the aid of her armed forces of her satellites, the time has come to make a thorough revision of the previous tactics of Socialists in regard to Soviet Russia. The International Socialist movement **should reject the tactics of passive defence** against Communism; it should, on the contrary, launch an **active attack** against it. How is this to be understood? First of all, we must get rid of all illusions about the "pacifism" of imperialist Russia, whose Government regards war as a "continuation of politics by other means." In order to avoid to become a victim of these "other means," the democratic world must accelerate the strengthening of its armed forces. We must remember that force is the only "diplomatic" language Stalin understands.

The Communists, through their propaganda, decompose the people in the democratic countries, and by spreading phantastic information on the "achievements" of the Communist regime in the realms of economy, culture, art, social progress etc., they succeed to gain for their cause even people of high moral and intellectual level.

Socialist propaganda has done a great deal for unmasking Communist fairy-tales on "Soviet Paradise." The Socialists of the various countries should, however, increase their information and back it with facts of the successes of the Socialist movement in their respective countries.

Ethical principles should at last not only in words, but in reality be victorious in the Socialist movement. We cannot expect anything good from a system which rules from Moscow over millions of slaves. This regime tramples down at every step the most precious achievements of the free peoples which they have won in centennial efforts, for Moscow has always bowed before the whip of her despotic rulers. Europe, free, proud, inflexible, which according to Jean Pierre Proudhon has given the foundations for democracy as a system leaning upon "personal dignity," this Europe to which Ukraine always has belonged as "gens libera, nulli subjecta," must put the Muscovite tyrants with their forged quotations from Marx to the place they deserve! As long as this bloody clique of conspirators against the freedom and progress of mankind can forge unchecked their plans for the creation of a world concentration camp, no peace nor tranquillity can be enjoyed by the people of this planet.

We do not call for war against the Soviet Empire: war and intervention against the democratic countries Stalin has wages already for decenniads in all countries in the world. In their times Marx and Engels greeted with much delight every failure of Czarist despotism in external wars and condemned the "idiotic indifference" of the British and French statesmen of their time who enabled Russia to extinguish the freedom of the peoples of the Caucasus and to suppress revolution in Poland and Hungary without opposition on their part.

Unfortunately, the democratic world is unable to appreciate accordingly even now the political mistakes of its leaders in regard to the peoples oppressed by Russia, particularly Ukraine, at the beginnings of Communist rule.

Now we have the paradox that the democratic Great Powers support the Yugoslav Communist Government against Russian Communist imperialism. From the fight of the Ukrainians for their independence against Soviet Russia in 1919 we can see that the statesmen of the Entente did not take notice of the 200,000 men army of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic which without arms, without medicaments and supplies, stubbornly fought for national independence against Soviet Russia under the colours of democracy, headed by a Socialist Government. Instead of assisting the democratic Ukrainian movement, the British and French Governments of that time supported the Russian Monarchist Army of General Denikin and Polish imperialist campaigns against Ukraine. **The Polish Government used the army**

of General Haller which had come from France in order to fight Russian Bolsheviks for the conquest of Western Ukrainian territories (Galicia, Wolhynia)!

When the Polish diplomats signed the Treaty of Riga with Soviet Russia on March 18th, 1921, after having divided the Ukrainian territories among Russia and Poland, this was the seed for the future disaster for Poland and other European countries: the natural resources of Ukraine, iron, coal, and her industry enabled Communist Moscow to build a mighty war industry, to consolidate her dictatorial regime, and to start realising her imperialist plans, first in alliance with Hitler, and later on alone.

When now the sons of various peoples must spill their blood in remote Korea, then it is also one of the consequences of the mistakes of the Governments of the European countries which did not support democratic Ukraine as a force that could have become an unsurmountable obstacle to Russian imperialism. It was not by chance that a Communist pamphlet on Ukraine was published in Moscow in 1919, entitled: "Where the Fate of World Revolution is Being Decided."

The tradition to regard Ukraine as a "quantité négligeable" has survived, unfortunately, up to our days: many political brains in the world would like not to disturb Stalin in Moscow with the Ukrainian question and oppose even Ukrainian broadcasts for the Ukrainians under Soviet dictatorship! They forget that Moscow is speaking to the Ukrainians in Ukrainian for decenniads and is addressing by special broadcasts the Ukrainians abroad. One must conclude there from that **Stalin is appreciating the value of propaganda in Ukrainian language better than his democratic adversaries.**

Now the peoples oppressed by Moscow are waiting for a decisive word of liberation from the free world, from their more fortunate brethren who still (but how long?) enjoy freedom and progress. And this word should be said and backed by deeds.

What is to be done? We must take an example from our enemy: he creates everywhere in the world groups of his followers who serve him for the expansion of Russian imperialism. Why can workers and farmers, misled by Communist propaganda, spill their blood in Korea, the Malayan Peninsula, in Indo-China, for Russian world domination and consequently, for their own destruction under Communist dictatorship? Why do we not set up a realistic aim for liberation? Let the Russian dominated peoples organise their "Democratic Fifth Columns" for the destruction of the boa which is preparing to crush in its mortal embrace the freedom of the entire world! Let us seek a way to help democratic forces in the countries under Russian Communist rule.

Let us not hope for an overthrow of the Communist regime by separate uprisings, which appear in the countries under Communist domination, because this would be wasting the forces and the blood of the peoples which will be needed in appropriate time.

A democratic order is impossible without free political organisations. Therefore, we must care, in the first line, for the creation of cadres who will be able either to restore or create democratic mass organisations, and to lead the peoples under the colours of democracy and socialism towards progress. When after the down-fall of the Communist rule in the Countries now under Soviet domination a nucleus of Socialist organisations and Trade Unions will have been created in every district, when the Socialist press will begin to appear, then we can hope for a real progress among these peoples. Without realising these ends, various dangers will threaten the democratic development of the peoples, as the Communist regime has not educated the people in a democratic spirit, it has only destroyed all democratic organisations in their germs.

Special attention must be paid to a just solution of the **national problems** in the territories now under Russian rule. For the Russian anti-Communists, the struggle against the Bolshevik regime means only the removal of the dictatorship of the Communist Party. For the peoples oppressed by Soviet Russia, it also means the

removal of the so-called "fraternal care of the great Russian people" — a demagogic slogan of the Soviets. The different political and economic arguments of the supporters of a great "indivisible" Russia should not be taken seriously, as **Russian imperialism will not end with the break-down of the Communist rule**, as it did not at the down-fall of the Czarist regime.

The propaganda of the Russian emigrés for preserving Russia as a Great Power within the frontiers of the present Soviet Union uses against the "separatism" of the Russian dominated peoples the argument that through a separation of these peoples from Russia the "economic unity" would be destroyed. This argument is completely false. The Russians have within **their own territory vast natural resources sufficient for a flourishing economic development**. Besides, the national independence would not hinder economic ties with the former ruling nation. However, for reasons of ethics and justice, and expediency it is necessary that these economic ties develop on the principle of free will and be not enforced by the stronger partner. Internationalism and friendship among the peoples develop only in mutual confidence, in freedom, equality, and independence of nations. Therefore, not the conservation of the Russian State — Leviathan with its ancient habits of genocide, is in the interest of normal development and progress of the peoples now oppressed or endangered by Russian imperialism, but the sponsoring of independence for every people, big or small.

The Socialist British Government has given a splendid example by its far-sighted politics in resolving the problem of independence in the former British Colonies of Asia on the principle of equality and free will. How can the peoples of Ukraine and the Caucasus, although mature for national independence but subjugated by the force of the Russian armies, renounce their independence in favour of a new imperialist Russia, if it has been granted to the peoples of Asia?

Let us sum up the conclusions:

1. The Communist Russian imperialism is a threat against which the democratic and Socialist world should unite all their forces and help the oppressed peoples to destroy this regime completely.

2. The Democrats and Socialists in the whole world must not have illusions regarding the prospects of democracy of the Russian people. The latter have been educated in the course of their unfortunate history in a spirit of obedience to their despotic rulers and in a spirit of Messianistic imperialism. ("Though you are a slave, you are a slave of the Czar of the Universe," a Russian poet wrote enthusiastically in the 19th century.)

3. Imperialism is a serious political disease of the people and cannot disappear suddenly. The extermination of Russian imperialism, be it Czarist, Communist, or of another kind, is in the interest of the Russian people themselves, because only then, they can use all their forces and gifts for the settling of their own affairs in conformity with democratic principles and not for wasting them in wars and by oppressing other nations.

4. For all democratic nations in all countries a special plan should be set up, in order to prepare in advance the cadres able to restore the democratic order destroyed by Russian Communist imperialism.

5. It is necessary to prevent the restoration of "second rate imperialism," Polish etc., which through their tendencies could "Balkanise" the relations among the peoples liberated from Russian oppression.

6. The forces of world democracy in their fight against the danger of world Communism, should be strengthened in the fields of politics, economy, science, Trade Unions, military affairs, and a new, unextinguishable flame of enthusiasm for the high ideals of freedom and social progress should be lit in the hearts of the working people to fight effectively the totalitarian forces of Communism and Fascism.

7. The Socialists of the European countries should aim at the creation of a free union of independent nations, on the principle of respect for the rights of all peoples, big and small.

Die ukrainische sozialistische Bewegung im Exil

Von Iwan Luczyn

Die Ukrainische Sozialistische Partei (USP) wurde im März 1950 durch den Zusammenschluß aller ukrainischen historischen sozialistischen Parteien gebildet.

Dieses Ereignis hat bei der ukrainischen Arbeiterschaft in aller Welt einen sehr günstigen Widerhall gefunden. In vielen Ländern, vor allem in Großbritannien, Belgien, Deutschland, Kanada, den USA usw. entstanden Organisationen der Ukrainischen Sozialistischen Partei oder Gruppen zu ihrer Unterstützung.

Die publizistische Tätigkeit der USP wird in erster Linie von den ukrainischen Arbeiterorganisationen in den Vereinigten Staaten und Kanada unterstützt, von der **Ukrainischen Freien Gemeinde (Ukrainska Wilna Hromada)**, mit dem Sitz in Detroit, und von der **Ukrainischen Arbeiterorganisation (Ukrainska Robitnytscha Organisatsia)** in Winnipeg.

Die **Ukrainische Arbeiterunion (The Ukrainian Workingmen's Association)** mit dem Sitz in Scranton, Pa., die bereits seit 1910 besteht, hat sich ein historisches Verdienst durch ihre Unterstützung der ukrainischen sozialistischen Bewegung in ihrem Kampf gegen den faschistischen und kommunistischen Totalitarismus in der Zeit zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen erworben. Auch jetzt gewähren Mitglieder der Ukrainischen Arbeiterunion, die mehr als 20 000 Mitglieder zählt, ihre Hilfe der Presse der Ukrainischen Sozialistischen Partei.

Die Ukrainische Sozialistische Partei ist sich der Schwierigkeiten bewußt, die sie zu meistern haben wird. Die bolschewistische Reaktion, die unter der Maske des

„Sozialismus“ auftritt, hat erreicht, daß unter der Bevölkerung der unter kommunistischer Herrschaft stehenden Länder das Wort „Sozialismus“ oft mit dem Terrorregime, mit Hungersnot, Zwangsarbeit und Konzentrationslagern identifiziert wird. Allein die Folgen dieser schändlichen bolschewistischen Provokation zu beseitigen, wird keine leichte Aufgabe sein, denn bei den Massen der Bevölkerung haben sich „bedingte Reflexe“ gebildet, die Gefühle der Angst vor den von den Kommunisten öfters verwendeten Wörtern, wie Sozialismus, Genossenschaft, Gewerkschaft und auch Demokratie, hervorrufen.

Auch im Exil versuchen reaktionäre Gruppen, diese Tatsache bei ihrer Propaganda unter den neuen Emigranten aus der Sowjetunion gegen die Ukrainische Sozialistische Partei auszunützen. Daher müssen die ukrainischen Sozialisten in ihrer Presse eine große Aufklärungsaktion durchführen, um die Schäden der bolschewistischen Herrschaft bereits im Exil zu beseitigen.

Die Ukrainische Sozialistische Partei glaubt an den Erfolg ihres Kampfes gegen den Bolschewismus und an das Gelingen der Mission des ukrainischen demokratischen Sozialismus in einer freien Ukraine.

Eine besondere Stütze im Kampf der Ukrainischen Sozialistischen Partei mit ihren Gegnern ist der Fortschritt der sozialistischen Bewegung in den Ländern der freien Welt und die feste Haltung der sozialistischen Parteien im Kampf gegen den Ansturm des Kommunismus.

La „Famine Politique“ en Ukraine

par Emile Wolynec

Le gouvernement communiste russe tâche de persuader par sa propagande le monde civilisé de la „vie heureuse et joyeuse“ du peuple ukrainien sous la domination de Moscou. Il nous semble inutile de nous disputer avec la propagande communiste. Il suffit d'indiquer des faits. Dans cet article, nous donnons aux lecteurs les faits qui accusent les maîtres absolus de Moscou d'extirpation de millions du peuple ukrainien, parce que ce peuple lutte pour sa liberté nationale et pour la démocratie en son

pays. Un mouvement soi-disant „Titoïste“ existait aussi parmi les communistes ukrainiens, mais l'Ukraine n'avait pas d'armée indépendante, et Staline pouvait anéantir „la déviation bourgeoise nationaliste“ des communistes d'Ukraine. Toutefois, l'opposition du peuple ukrainien entier contre l'impérialisme russe ne cesse pas, et cette opposition pourra se développer sous des circonstances favorables.

Note de la Rédaction

Après la chute du régime tsariste en 1917 le Peuple Ukrainien proclama immédiatement ses droits de disposer de soi-même. Le premier parlement révolutionnaire de l'Ukraine, le Conseil Central Ukrainien proclama à Kiev le 22 janvier 1918 l'indépendance de la République Démocratique Ukrainienne. Le gouvernement communiste dictatorial russe proclama la guerre à l'Ukraine démocratique.

Après la chute de la monarchie d'Autriche-Hongrie les Ukrainiens de Galicie et de Boukovine proclamèrent le 1er novembre 1918 à Lviv (Léopol) l'indépendance de la République Ukrainienne Occidentale. L'Acte de l'union de cette République avec la République Démocratique de l'Ukraine Orientale eut lieu à Kiev le 22 Janvier 1919.

Cet acte fut proclamé pendant le combat de la Nation Ukrainienne sur tous les fronts: au Nord contre l'armée communiste russe, au Sud-Est contre les généraux tsaristes (Denikine etc.); à l'Ouest l'armée ukrainienne devait défendre son territoire contre les forces armées de la Pologne restaurée. L'armée de la République Démocratique Ukrainienne se battit pour l'indépendance de la Nation Ukrainienne jusqu'à la fin de 1920. En 1921 la Russie Soviétique et la Pologne partagèrent selon le Traité de Riga les territoires ukrainiens. Le gouvernement de la République Démocratique Ukrainienne en exil ne cessa pas de protester devant le monde civilisé contre l'asservissement de l'Ukraine par des pays étrangers.

Depuis l'occupation de l'Ukraine par la Russie Soviétique le gouvernement communiste russe a exterminé des millions d'Ukrainiens par des arrestations arbitraires, par des déportations aux camps de concentration, par des exécutions et par la famine. A la fin de 1920 il n'y avait pas moins de 40 000 insurgés ukrainiens en Ukraine qui se battaient en force organisée contre les communistes russes.

Le gouvernement soviétique russe profita de l'effroyable famine de 1921 à 1922 en Ukraine pour renforcer dans la suite sa puissance. La sécheresse de 1920-21 provoqua une mauvaise récolte. Il y eut un grand manque d'approvisionnements. Ce fut la famine. Quoiqu'en 1920 des millions d'Ukrainiens n'avaient rien à manger, le gouvernement russe réquisitionna dans les régions affamées le reste des stocks de céréales et les exporta en Russie. Cette politique cruelle des communistes russes attira l'attention des étrangers qui étaient alors en Ukraine. L'historien américain H. H. Fisher révéla dans son livre consacré à la famine de 1921 à 22 que les représentants du gouvernement soviétique russe exigèrent même obstinément qu'"il fallait prier l'Administration Américaine d'Aide (American Relief Administration — ARA) de ne pas diviser ses efforts, mais les concentrer complètement sur les régions de la Volga".

Le professeur Fisher souligne dans son livre:

"La politique du parti communiste en ce qui concerne la famine en Ukraine montre beaucoup de choses intéressantes. Non seulement le gouvernement de Mos-

cou n'a pas donné des informations sur la situation en Ukraine à l'ARA, comme il l'avait fait pour des régions plus lointaines, mais il empêchait de toutes les manières aux Américains de se mettre en relations avec l'Ukraine. Avant le début de l'activité de l'ARA (janvier 1922) le gouvernement de Moscou et le soi-disant gouvernement de Kharkov n'ont rien fait de sérieux pour aider la population affamée de l'Ukraine" (H.H. Fisher, *The Famine in Soviet Russia*, New York, 1927).

Citons un rapport du représentant du Comité d'Aide de Fridtjof Nansen qui était en Ukraine au début de 1922, et qui présente les faits suivants sur la famine en ces mots: „8 millions d'âmes souffrent de faim au Sud de l'Ukraine. 2 millions et demi n'ont rien à manger. D'autres 2 millions et demi se nourrissent de surrogats, de foin, de plantes sèches etc., mais ils n'ont pas de nourriture normale. 3 millions et demi ont certaines réserves, mais tellement insuffisantes qu'il faudra les compter sous peu dans les première et seconde catégories. On peut dire qu'avant la fin d'avril 7 millions d'âmes appartiendront aux deux premières catégories. A peu près 700 000 petits enfants qui furent transférés aux asiles urbains ne reçoivent pas plus d'un cinquième de leur portion normale. La mortalité des enfants est immense, elle va jusqu'à 50%. Au Zaporojé meurent littéralement de faim un million d'âmes, dont 60% d'enfants. Le cannibalisme se propage. Au Zaporojé meurent de faim quotidiennement 10 000 personnes. Tout le bétail et tous les chevaux sont mangés“ (*La famine en Ukraine*, Genève 1922).

L'horrible famine en Ukraine renforcée par la politique spéciale de famine de la Russie Soviétique contribua aux efforts des communistes russes à anéantir le mouvement de résistance armé en Ukraine, ainsi qu'à renforcer leur régime.

La politique communiste de collectivisation et d'industrialisation fut commencée en 1929 en exigeant des sacrifices de l'économie nationale ukrainienne. Moscou utilisait l'économie nationale ukrainienne principalement pour l'industrialisation de la Russie. La production de l'industrie lourde en Ukraine en 1931 donnait 63% de toute la production de charbon de l'Union Soviétique, 83% de la production de coke et 77% de celle du minerai de fer. („*Izvestia*“, Moscou, 1. 3. 1932.)

„La production des entreprises ukrainiennes décide sur le problème des métaux dans toute l'Union Soviétique“ — écrivait le „*Communiste*“ de Kharkov le 13 octobre 1931.

La collectivisation forcée de l'agriculture ukrainienne commencée en 1929—30 provoqua la ruine complète de la population rurale ukrainienne. Pas moins de 200 000 ménages furent anéantis, leurs biens furent transférés aux exploitations collectivisées. („*Communiste*“, Kharkov, 21. 12. 1934). Les propriétaires de ces ménages, nommés „Koulaks“, furent déportés avec leurs familles au Nord de la Russie, la plupart où mouraient de faim et de maladies dans des travaux forcés. Si l'on considère qu'une famille de paysans ukrainiens a normalement 6 personnes, la quantité d'exterminés par la collectivisation sera à peu près 1.200.000 personnes. Réellement le nombre des victimes de la „ligne générale“ stalinienne fut bien supérieur. Cette „liquidation des Koulaks comme classe“ enleva non seulement la vie à des millions de paysans ukrainiens: elle a anéanti les meilleurs éléments productifs des paysans. Ces paysans n'étaient pas des „exploiteurs“: c'étaient de solides laboureurs qui travaillaient leurs terres assidûment et produisaient des céréales et élevaient du bétail pour leurs familles et pour le marché. Le résultat de cette terrible „liquidation des Koulaks“ fut l'augmentation énorme du manque de produits agricoles.

Cet asservissement économique et national de l'Ukraine fut aussi subi par les communistes ukrainiens. Ils virent les conséquences funestes de la collectivisation forcée en Ukraine. Les paysans ukrainiens, quoique terrorisés par des exécutions et des déportations ne voulaient pas travailler pour le gouvernement soviétique russe. En 1931—32 le plan de fourniture de céréales à l'Etat soviétique ne fut pas réalisé en Ukraine: la superficie des terres cultivées diminua d'une façon catastro-

phique. Mais les exigences de Moscou grandirent toujours. En été 1932 Molotov et Kaganovitch arrivèrent de Moscou en Ukraine pour exiger de l'organisation communiste en Ukraine une augmentation des fournitures de blés. Le Comité Central du parti communiste de l'Union Soviétique approuva une résolution de méfiance aux chefs du parti communiste d'Ukraine le 24 janvier 1933 et „renforça“ la direction du parti communiste d'Ukraine par des agents staliniens avec Postychev en tête.

Postychev commença par des répressions spécialement contre les communistes de nationalité ukrainienne. Avec des arrestations et des exécutions de communistes ukrainiens, Postychev voulait terroriser toute la population ukrainienne qui prêtait l'oreille aux agissements de l'opposition dans les rangs des communistes ukrainiens contre la politique de Moscou. La peur de Moscou devant l'opposition communiste en Ukraine fut démontrée par les dimensions de l'„épuration“ faite parmi les communistes en Ukraine en 1933. Pendant 1933 furent expulsés du parti communiste d'Ukraine 35,5% de ses membres („*Communiste*“, 1. 2. 1934). Dans certaines régions, par exemple celle de Kiev, l'expulsion embrassa la moitié des membres du parti communiste. Beaucoup d'organisations communistes villageoises cessèrent d'exister et furent remplacées par des „sections politiques“ envoyées de Russie. Durant 10 mois de 1933 furent révoqués en Ukraine: 237 secrétaires de comités du parti communiste, 279 présidents de comités exécutifs cantonaux et 158 présidents de commissions de contrôle cantonales („*Izvestia*“, Moscou 28. 11. 1933).

L'„épuration“ en Ukraine était dirigée principalement contre les Ukrainiens. Le communiste Mykolenko, ancien directeur de la Bibliothèque Nationale Ukrainienne à Kiev déclara devant la commission d'„épuration“ en 1933: „On me persécute, car mon nom finit en „ko“, car je suis Ukrainien“. („Les premiers résultats de l'épuration“ Moscou, 1934).

L'„épuration“ en Ukraine eut lieu dans des conditions de famine pire qu'en 1921—22. Si la famine de 1921—22 fut provoquée par une sécheresse extraordinaire et une mauvaise récolte et augmentée par la politique de pillage du gouvernement soviétique russe, la famine de 1932—33 en Ukraine et au Caucase du Nord fut organisée par Moscou selon un plan préconçu. Le gouvernement soviétique russe voulait effectuer la collectivisation forcée sur les cadavres de millions d'Ukrainiens, qui formaient la majorité, aussi dans la population du Caucase du Nord.

La réaction des paysans à la collectivisation forcée n'était pas la même en Russie qu'en Ukraine. Le paysan ukrainien est attaché à sa propre terre d'une autre façon que le paysan russe. En Russie existaient encore des restes de communauté primitive („obchtchina“) système où toute la terre appartenait à cette communauté dont chaque membre recevait dans des répartitions périodiques des lots de terre selon le nombre d'„âmes“ ou de „mangeants“. C'est pourquoi le paysan russe n'était pas lié à son lot, car il ne savait pas combien de temps il pourrait cultiver ce lot. Outre cela, les paysans russes habitués durant un demi-millier d'années à l'obéissance sous le régime tyrannique des tsars, se sont soumis au décret du gouvernement soviétique en majorité sans résistance et sont entrés dans les entreprises collectivisées. Le paysan ukrainien, au contraire, aimant la liberté et ayant une bonne conception de dignité personnelle, a refusé les fermes collectives, car il considérait avec raison que le système d'économie collective communiste était pire que le servage.

Moscou connaissait ce caractère libre et tenace des Ukrainiens. Voilà pourquoi le gouvernement russe avait organisé la famine en Ukraine: il voulait ainsi briser la résistance des Ukrainiens. Toutes les réserves de céréales qu'avait la population ukrainienne furent confisquées par les autorités communistes en 1932—33. Toutes ces réserves furent exportées en Russie ou à l'étranger. Ce fut la cause d'une famine inouïe en Ukraine. Le journaliste américain M. W. H. Chamberlin appelle cela „une famine politique“.

Quoique les rumeurs concernant la famine en Ukraine allassent jusqu' à l'étranger, Moscou nia obstinément le fait qu'en Ukraine sévissait une famine. Pour ne pas donner au monde l'occasion d'apprendre la vérité sur les conditions en Ukraine, le gouvernement de Moscou interdit en 1933 l'entrée en Ukraine aux journalistes étrangers.

La famine de 1932—33 était telle que la population d'Ukraine mourut en masses, que le cannibalisme se propagea dans toute la population. Les paysans d'Ukraine, affaiblis et décimés par la famine furent forcés d'entrer „volontairement“ dans les fermes soviétiques collectivisées. Quoique la récolte de 1933 fût bonne, des millions d'Ukrainiens ne purent survivre pour la voir.

Les dimensions de la dépopulation due à la famine organisée par le gouvernement russe furent soigneusement passées sous silence par Moscou et sont gardées en secret encore aujourd'hui. Rien que par hasard plusieurs correspondants étrangers purent savoir les conséquences de la famine en Ukraine. M. W. H. Chamberlin écrit ce qui suit sur la famine en Ukraine en 1933 dans son livre „The Confessions of an Individualist“ (New York, 1941):

„Il y avait beaucoup de rumeurs à propos de la famine massive, particulièrement dans les régions agricoles ordinairement riches de l'Ukraine et du Caucase du Nord. L'impression que quelque chose d'anormal se passait dans les campagnes fut renforcée par le fait que le Commissariat des Affaires Etrangères défendit aux journalistes de voyager en Russie sans autorisation spéciale qui ne fut jamais donnée quand on indiquait l'Ukraine ou le Caucase du Nord comme but de voyage. Le prix de mensonge international pourrait être décerné à l'explication officielle de cet ordre: La présence de correspondants étrangers pourrait nuire à la récolte! La défense de circuler pour les correspondants fut annulée après la fin de la nouvelle moisson et quand on avait enterré les cadavres et liquidé les traces extérieures de la famine.“

Le journaliste américain M. Walter Duranty évalua

d'une manière optimiste le nombre des victimes de la famine dans l'Union Soviétique en 1933 à 5 millions de personnes. Il va de soi que la principale partie des victimes appartenait à l'Ukraine, contre laquelle le gouvernement communiste russe mène une campagne spéciale d'extermination. Ce gouvernement commença alors à envoyer dans les régions d'Ukraine dépeuplées par la famine des colonistes de Russie qui n'étaient pas „infectés par le séparatisme ukrainien“ ...

Le gouvernement communiste russe camoufle sa politique d'oppression nationale et d'exploitation économique de l'Ukraine par le mot d'ordre de la „République Socialiste Soviétique Ukrainienne“ fédérée avec l'Union Soviétique. Les territoires occidentaux de l'Ukraine — la Galicie, la Volhytie, la Boukovine et la Bessarabie — furent annexés par la Pologne et la Roumanie et souffraient de la politique de dénationalisation et d'exploitation économique.

Durant la seconde guerre mondiale l'Ukraine fut le but de l'impérialisme de Hitler. Le peuple Ukrainien s'est battu durant la dernière guerre, particulièrement dans l'Armée des Partisans Ukrainien, organisée par l'Otaman Taras Borovets-Boulba contre l'occupation allemande ainsi que contre le gouvernement communiste russe.

Durant la seconde guerre mondiale tous les territoires ukrainiens furent accaparés par la Russie Soviétique. La terreur communiste sévit en Ukraine. Des centaines de milliers d'Ukrainiens ont été déportés en Sibérie. Des centaines de milliers d'Ukrainiens durent quitter leur pays pour sauver leur vie de la terreur communiste. Le Peuple Ukrainien sous le régime communiste ne peut pas librement manifester sa volonté. Dans de telles conditions les exilés ukrainiens organisés ont le droit et le devoir moral de défendre les intérêts de leur Nation devant le monde. C'est pourquoi le 16 juillet 1948 les représentants des partis politiques de tous les territoires ukrainiens se sont unis et ont formé un Conseil National Ukrainien: une Représentation du Peuple Ukrainien et de son combat pour l'indépendance.

The Ukrainian Socialist Movement

by Bohdan Fedenko

The Beginning of Socialism in Ukraine

Since the second half of the 17th century Ukraine came gradually under Moscow's influence. After the defeat of King Charles XII. of Sweden and Hetman Mazepa of Ukraine in the battle of Poltava in 1709, the Muscovite rule was definitely established. In the course of the 18th century all autonomous rights of Ukraine were abolished and the Ukrainian upper classes absorbed by the Russians. Thus when the Ukrainian rebirth began in the 19th century, the Ukrainian people consisted mostly of peasants and thin strata of intelligentsia of mostly aristocratic descent. An important fact for the understanding of the Ukrainian development is that at the end of the 18th century, when Poland was dismembered, the Western part of Ukraine, Galicia, was taken by Austria. Thus the development of the Ukrainian people was influenced by two states.

Due to the peculiar conditions of the Czarist Empire, political organisations in the modern sense began to emerge in Ukraine very late. The first in the 19th century was the "Brotherhood of St. Cyril and Methodius" planning an independent Ukraine at the head of a Slav Federation (1846). This organisation had a Socialist trend with Mykola Hulak, an adherent of Charles Fourier.

In the second half of the 19th century there was already a number of Ukrainians who are studying socialism and writing about Socialist ideas, exercising much influence on their contemporaries. Among them let us mention Mykhaylo Dragomanow living in exile in Geneva, a follower of Proudhon; the "narodnik" (populist) Serhy Podolynsky, who entertained a cor-

respondence with Karl Marx; Professor Mykola Sieber of Kiev University, who made a translation of Marx's "Das Kapital". Socialist ideas quickly spread among the youth, especially the students of the Universities, but only at the end of the century, Socialist organisations came into existence.

The Ukrainian Socialist Parties.

Only in the Austrian Ukrainian territories legal political organisations could exist. In Czarist Russia they were all condemned to underground activities. Therefore the first Ukrainian Socialist party was founded in Galicia. This was the **Ukrainian Radical Party** founded in 1890 under the direct influence of M. Dragomanow. The party leaned particularly upon the poor country population as there was almost no Ukrainian urban proletariat. The Marxist wing of the Ukrainian Radical Party split in 1899 and created the **Ukrainian Social democratic Party**. Both parties grew steadily and had an increasing number of deputies in the Galician Diet and the Vienna Parliament.

In the Russian Ukraine, the first political party was the **"Revolutionary Ukrainian Party"** (RUP). It was founded in 1900 and in spite of its illegality gained soon a comparatively broad following. Its press was published mostly in Austrian Ukraine and smuggled to Eastern Ukraine. But there were underground printing shops in Ukraine too. The peasant revolts of 1902 against the Czarist rule were to a great extent organised by the RUP. The RUP accepted a Socialist programme and aimed for the creation of an independent Ukraine. In 1905 it changed its name into Ukrainian Social-Democratic Labour Party (USDRP). After the revolution of

1905 in Russia, the party had its deputies in the "Duma", the Russian Diet, but this institution had practically no power. Soon the reaction regained its strength and the USDRP was forced into illegality again.

At the outbreak of the revolution in Russia, in 1917, the Ukrainian Party of Socialists Revolutionaries (UPSR) was created. This party organised mainly the peasantry, and had a broad following in Ukraine.

The Revolution.

The revolution of 1917 was received in Ukraine with much sympathy. The Ukrainians believed that it would bring them national and social liberation. The Ukrainian Socialist parties, USDRP and UPSR, dominated the revolutionary Parliament of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Central Council. These two parties played the leading part in the Ukrainian struggle for liberation from 1917—1920.

After the October revolt of 1917, the totalitarian Bolshevik party seized power in Russia. In December 1917, Russian Bolshevik troops invaded Ukraine. Ukraine was the first country to defend the principles of democratic socialism against totalitarian Bolshevik aggression. On January 22nd, 1918, the independence of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic was proclaimed, on January 22nd, 1919, the western part of Ukraine which had belonged to Austria was united with the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. Until 1920, the Ukrainians had to fight against the Russian Bolshevik Red Army, the Russian Monarchist White Army, and the Polish Army who all wished to bring Ukraine under their rule. The unequal struggle ended with a repartition of Ukraine among her neighbours, Soviet Russia taking the major part.

What is important in this struggle, is that Ukraine was conquered by the totalitarian Russian Bolsheviks from outside. In all the free elections held in Ukraine 1917—1919, the Ukrainian parties which stood for democracy and socialism, had an overwhelming majority. The Bolshevik vote was insignificant, the voters being to a great extent non-Ukrainians. Democratic and Socialist Ukraine became a victim of foreign Russian Bolshevik totalitarian conquest.

Ukrainian Socialists between the two World Wars.

The western Ukrainian territories were taken by Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia, the largest part coming under Polish rule. In spite of the oppressive measures of the governments of these countries, a legal political life was possible in Poland and Czechoslovakia. In Poland, the Ukrainian Socialist Radical Party and the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party polled a considerable number of the Ukrainian votes, had their deputies in the Polish Diet and maintained a press.

In the territories occupied by Soviet Russia, Ukrainian Socialists maintained their underground organisations for a long time, in spite of cruel persecution.

Many Ukrainian Socialists left their home country before the Bolshevik terrorism and went to exile. Here they maintained their organisations and published their press. In particular, the USDRP and the UPSR had their centres in Prague in Czechoslovakia. The Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party (USDRP) was represented at the founding of the Labour and Socialist International in Hamburg in 1923 and was member of this organisation. The second Ukrainian Socialist party which belonged to it was the Ukrainian Socialist Radical Party of Western Ukraine. It was admitted to the Socialist International in 1929.

The Ukrainian Socialists had to fight a heavy struggle against the Communists who tried to influence the Ukrainians in Western Ukraine and in exile. With enormous financial resources, they undermined democratic socialism. Later on Fascist ideologies tried to get control of the Ukrainians. Pressed between these two totalitarian forces the Ukrainian Socialists fought with their own small resources an unequal fight.

On the international scene, Ukrainian Socialists tirelessly explained to their western comrades the true nature of Russian Bolshevism. This action, unfortunately, met with little response. Many Western Socialists

believed that there were "two roads to socialism"; and that the Communist way was quite right for "backward" peoples. Furthermore, the Ukrainian Socialists through their unceasing criticism of Soviet Russia gave the impression of "malcontents" disturbing only the good relations of the West with the Soviet Union. Our warnings remained the "voice of Cassandra". The parties of our Western comrades had failed in recognising the fact that freedom, democracy and socialism are indivisible and that denying a danger does not diminish nor abolish it.

World War II and Its Consequences.

The Nazi aggression brought almost all of the Ukrainian lands under German domination. But before the two totalitarian countries had divided Poland. The Western Ukrainian territories were joined with the Soviet Union. Many Ukrainian leading Socialists and rank and file members in Western Ukraine were executed or sent to Siberian concentration camps. After the German occupation of Ukraine, Socialist legal activities were no longer possible. Cruel Nazi persecutions inflicted heavy losses on the whole Ukrainian population. Many Ukrainian Socialists became victims of these atrocities.

At the end of World War II, the new Russian occupation of Ukraine forced many Ukrainian Socialists to leave their country and to seek asylum in the West. Part of them came from German concentration camps and could not return to their mother country. Another part had lived already abroad. Thus Ukrainian Socialists who had belonged to historic Ukrainian Socialist parties found themselves under the same conditions in exile. The time was ripe for uniting all Ukrainian Socialists in one organisation. The Union of Ukrainian Socialists was created in 1946. This organisation was transformed into the Ukrainian Socialist Party (USP) in March, 1950.

Through the Socialist Union of Central Eastern Europe, the USP belongs to COMISCO.

The USP has made a considerable contribution to the organisation of Ukrainian democratic forces for the fight against Russian Communist rule. It played a leading part in the creation of the Ukrainian National Council in exile. The Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council is Mr. Isaac Mazepa, a leading Ukrainian Socialist, who was Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic in 1919—1920.

The Ukrainian Socialist Party is gaining influence among the Ukrainians in exile, especially the numerous Ukrainian workers in the various countries of the world. The party publishes "Vilne Slove" (The Free Word) as its official paper.

The Aims of the Ukrainian Socialist Party.

The Russian Communists have exterminated all forces of democratic socialism. Heavy damage was done to the Ukrainian Socialists through the Nazi rule, and in Poland, through Fascist ideologies. Thus, the USP regards it as their first aim to re-educate the Ukrainians in exile to democratic socialism. For this reason, party organisations are set up in the countries where Ukrainian emigrés live. The party press has a great task to do in this respect.

This education has as its purpose the creation of new Ukrainian Socialists cadres who will be badly needed in a liberated Ukraine. There is not question that after the downfall of the Russian Communist rule in Ukraine the setting up of democratic organisations will meet with difficulties. The totalitarian regime has left its traces. The first prerequisite for the resurrection of democratic socialism in Ukraine will be the formation of these cadres. This applies not only to Ukraine. All Soviet occupied nations are facing the same problem, no matter how long they have been under Communist rule. Therefore, this question is not a Ukrainian one nor a matter of the other Soviet dominated peoples, but it is one of the most important problems of international socialism.

If the Socialists of the happy free nations wish to
(continued on page 8)

Für eine freie ukrainische Gewerkschaftsbewegung

Von Antin Czerneckyj

Neben politischen Zielen stellt sich die ukrainische sozialistische Bewegung die Aufgabe, freie Gewerkschaftsorganisationen in einer von der kommunistischen Tyrannie befreiten Ukraine wiederherzustellen. Die Gewerkschaften haben nicht nur ihre soziale Bedeutung, sie sind auch eine Schule der Demokratie.

In der „russischen“ Ukraine schritten die ukrainischen Sozialisten noch vor dem ersten Weltkrieg zur Gründung von Gewerkschaften auf der Grundlage der Berufszugehörigkeit. Unter zaristischer Herrschaft waren gewerkschaftliche Organisationen verboten. Es blieb den ukrainischen Sozialisten nichts anderes übrig, als illegale Gewerkschaften zu gründen. In Kiew, Charkow, Katerynoslaw, Odessa und anderen Industriezentren der Ukraine wurden durch die Initiative der Ukrainischen Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei (USDRP) illegale Gewerkschaften der Metallarbeiter, Drucker, Zuckerfabrikarbeiter, Bäcker und Ikonenmaler (in Kiew) aufgebaut. U. a. stand an der Spitze der Ikonenmalergewerkschaft Oxen Lola, aktives Mitglied der USDRP. Lola war gezwungen, vor den Verfolgungen durch die zaristische Regierung nach Paris zu emigrieren. Später beteiligte er sich aktiv an der spanischen Arbeiterbewegung in Madrid bis 1917. Bei Ausbruch der Revolution kehrte er in die Ukraine zurück und fiel in den Reihen der ukrainischen Armee im Kampfe gegen die „weiße“ russische Armee General Denikins bei Winnitsa im Jahre 1919. Lola war auch ein bedeutender Organisator der ukrainischen Gewerkschaftsbewegung nach dem Zusammenbruch des zaristischen Regimes.

In der Ukrainischen Demokratischen Republik umfaßte die Gewerkschaftsbewegung die Massen der aus vielen Nationalitäten bestehenden Arbeiterschaft der Ukraine und führte ihre Arbeit unter den verschiedenen Nationalitäten in Eintracht durch.

Die von der Roten Armee in die Ukraine gebrachte russische kommunistische Diktatur bereitete der ukrainischen freien Gewerkschaftsbewegung ein Ende und ordnete sie von oben eingesetzten kommunistischen Bürokraten unter.

In den westukrainischen Gebieten, die vor dem ersten Weltkrieg zu Österreich-Ungarn gehörten (Galizien, die Bukowina und die Karpatho-Ukraine) konnte sich die Gewerkschaftsbewegung freier entwickeln. Doch hier bildete der nationale Kampf ein Hindernis für die Entwicklung der ukrainischen Gewerkschaftsorganisationen. Die polnischen Gewerkschaftsführer bereiteten verschiedene Schwierigkeiten für die ukrainische Gewerkschaftspresse. Das führte zu häufigen Konflikten zwischen der ukrainischen Arbeiterschaft und den polnischen Gewerkschaftsführern, die die Meinung vertreten, daß die Ukrainer die polnische Sprache verstehen müßten. Mit der Zeit verringerten sich diese Gegensätze, die ukrainischen Arbeiter erkämpften sich immer größere Rechte in der Gewerkschaftsbewegung. Als Vermittler bei der Behebung von nationalen Gegensätzen in der Gewerkschaftsbewegung hat der Leiter der Zentralgewerkschaftskommission in Wien, Anton Huber, eine positive Rolle gespielt.

In der ukrainischen Gewerkschaftsbewegung in Österreich, die unter der Leitung der Ukrainischen Sozialdemokratischen Partei stand, wuchsen bedeutende ukrainische Gewerkschaftler heran: Osyp Danyliuk, Iwan Wozniak, Wolodymyr Hubickyj, Iwan

Socialist Movement...

assist their unfortunate brethren of the East, they should help, in the first line, in preparing their forces for the future. Only this will procure possibilities of development to democratic socialism in these countries after liberation. Socialism is not only an idea worth to be defended. Democratic socialism must be spread in the interest of human progress and peaceful development in the world. The Socialists of the free countries should take their great opportunity and act accordingly.

Skulskyj, Pawlo Lawriw, Andrij Kuzyk, Iwan Kuchar, Porfir Buniak u. a. In der Bukowina entwickelte sich die ukrainische Gewerkschaftsbewegung zufriedenstellend. Die ukrainischen, rumänischen, deutschen und jüdischen Arbeiter arbeiteten solidarisch in den Gewerkschaften zusammen.

In der Karpatho-Ukraine stand die Gewerkschaftsbewegung vor dem ersten Weltkrieg nur in ihren Anfängen infolge der dort herrschenden halbfeudalen Zustände. Die ukrainische Bevölkerung war von den ungarischen Herren schwer unterdrückt, eine Industriearbeiterschaft gab es kaum in dem rückständigen Land, die Saisonarbeiter in den Wäldern und auf dem Lande ließen sich nur schwer gewerkschaftlich organisieren.

Nach dem ersten Weltkrieg eroberte Polen Galizien und andere ukrainische Gebiete, Rumänien besetzte die Bukowina und die Karpatho-Ukraine wurde an die Tschechoslowakei angegliedert. In Galizien bestand die Ukrainische Gewerkschaftskommission, die mit den polnischen Gewerkschaften zusammenarbeitete. Die Führer der ukrainischen Gewerkschaften waren Porfir Buniak, Iwan Kwasnycia, Iwan Kusznir u. a. Die Ukrainische Sozialdemokratische Partei und die Ukrainische Sozialistische Radikale Partei schufen in Galizien und Wolhynien den „Landbund“, eine Organisation der Landarbeiter.

Die Besetzung der bis 1939 zu Polen gehörenden ukrainischen Gebiete durch die Sowjetarmee zerstörte die ukrainische Gewerkschaftsbewegung. Die Gewerkschaftsführer Iwan Kusznir, Iwan Kwasnycia, Porfir Buniak und viele andere Gewerkschaftler wurden sofort verhaftet und nach Sibirien verschleppt, wo sie auch den Tod fanden.

In der Bukowina war die ukrainische Gewerkschaftsbewegung einem starken Druck seitens der rumänischen Behörden ausgesetzt; die ukrainische Presse wurde unerhört schikaniert.

In der Karpatho-Ukraine, die unter tschechischer Herrschaft stand, machten die Gewerkschaften bemerkenswerte Fortschritte, aber auch hier verhinderte der Prager Zentralismus größere Erfolge für die ukrainische Arbeiterschaft. Die Entwicklung der Industrie wurde durch die tschechische Konkurrenz gehemmt, und so konnte sich keine starke Gewerkschaftsbewegung bei der pauperisierten Bevölkerung entwickeln.

Nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg wurden alle diese Gebiete an die Sowjetukraine angegliedert, d. h. unter russische Herrschaft gestellt. Eine sowjetische totalitäre Gewerkschaft „vertritt die Interessen der Arbeiterschaft“ durch ihre Parteibürokraten und hat als Aufgabe, die größtmöglichen Arbeitsleistungen aus den Arbeitern herauszuholen. Gegen diese Sklaventreiber der kommunistischen Staatswirtschaft herrscht eine unversöhnliche Feindschaft bei den Völkern der Sowjetunion.

Die Ukrainische Sozialistische Partei wendet sich in ihrer Propaganda an die ukrainische Arbeiterschaft in der Ukraine und im Ausland mit dem Aufruf, Kräfte und Wissen für die Schaffung einer freien ukrainischen Gewerkschaftsbewegung nach dem Zusammenbruch der kommunistischen Tyrannie zu sammeln.

Mitglieder der Ukrainischen Sozialistischen Partei gehören dem Internationalen Zentrum der Freien Gewerkschaften im Exil mit dem Sitz in Paris an, in der Überzeugung, daß die Arbeiter aller Nationen ihre Kräfte vereinigen und nach dem Sturz der kommunistischen Tyrannie die Beziehungen zwischen Völkern auf der Grundlage der Selbständigkeit und Gleichberechtigung im Interesse der Freiheit und des Fortschritts regeln sollen. Wir glauben, daß die blutige Erfahrung, die die Menschheit durch die faschistische und kommunistische Reaktion erworben hat, nicht spurlos an uns vorübergehen wird und daß die Ideen der Demokratie, der Selbstbestimmung und Gleichberechtigung der Völker, der Freiheit und des Fortschritts, schließlich auf der ganzen Erde den Sieg erringen werden.

Book Review

A Guardian of Russian Imperialism.

David J. Dallin: *The New Soviet Empire*, 216 pp. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1951.

The well known author on Soviet affairs presents a new book. It is easily readable and will find a broad mass of interested readers.

Mr. Dallin is of the opinion that up to the late 1930's the Soviet State could hardly be termed an empire. Only since 1939, and especially since 1944, the Soviet Union entered the imperialist road. A special system was invented for the economic imperialist exploitation of the dependent "satellite" nations.

Power and the belief in the invincibility of the Soviet dictatorship are the main pillars Communist rule is leaning upon.

This conviction has been inoculated in the people by all means of propaganda. No Soviet citizen has the desire to take the risk of opposing this invincible power. The Communist rulers attach more importance to matters of prestige than any other government in the world.

The purpose is to produce the impression in Soviet Russia that all the world trembles before the great invincible Soviet Union and her leaders. Mr. Dallin says that, if there is today a remote chance of recovering security for the world and liberating the enslaved peoples without war, that chance lies precisely in the vulnerability of the armour of prestige.

The author thinks that the national problems of the Soviet Union belong to the most important. The numerous peoples of the Russian Empire had until the Bolshevik coup d'état no desire for independence. Only when Lenin seized power, the non-Russian peoples separated. Mr. Dallin says that "of the states that emerged in 1917—20, only a few maintained their independence. . . The rest — the Ukraine, the Caucasus, central Asia — were retaken by Soviet forces and reincorporated into Russia. Since this process was directed by the Moscow government and carried out by its army, it had the appearance of a Russian nationalist drive against independent smaller nations. This interpretation, however, was a superficial one. Lenin's bolshevism was not yet imperialism, nor was it a specifically Russian ("Great Russian") product."

The Bolshevik conquest is explained through the help rendered to the advancing Red Army by non-Russian Bolsheviks and sympathizers. The peoples fought for political rights, not against national oppression or "Russian occupation", the author says. Thus, the aspirations of the Russian dominated peoples for independence have not much importance in Mr. Dallin's description. Nevertheless, the national problem of the Russian Empire has played an important part in the considerations of various powers. Germany tried in two major wars to dismember Russia. Britain was favourably inclined to projects for a dissolution of Russia. Only when Germany sponsored such a drive, Britain became averse to it. Mr. Dallin thinks this attitude significant and indicative for the future.

And now he starts to talk about the future. The foreign policy of the United States suffered greatly from its lack of long-range views and perspective. Mr. Dallin knows exactly the "prescriptions" for to-morrow. In to-morrow's Europe, Germany with her 70,000,000 will play an outstanding role. As soon as the Soviet problem will be resolved, the economic and political potential of Germany will re-emerge as the paramount problem for Europe and the world.

"At such a moment a dismemberment of Russia would be a great mistake." The Soviet population would decrease from about 200,000,000 to between 100,000,000 and 110,000,000. "... Russia would lose, besides manpower, the economic prerequisites of influence — the coal mines and iron resources of the Don Basin, the oil of Baku, the wheat of the Ukraine, the manganese of the Caucasus, and half her industry in general."

As a political vacuum cannot exist, the new nations would soon become victims of a new German expan-

sion. Germany will re-emerge as Europe's only great power. And Mr. Dallin concludes: "This is why the Western world cannot disregard Russia as a force of the future. It needs Russia, within her prewar boundaries, as a potential ally, a deterrent, a balance in the great power scale." Mr. Dallin admits that these thoughts of his are contradictory. But, in his opinion, they are "no madder than our whole international setup". Only the Baltic nations should restore their independence.

But the major problem is that of Ukraine. According to Mr. Dallin, the relations between Ukrainians and Russians have always, apart from some exceptions, been remarkably amicable. Besides, inside the Soviet Union, great changes have occurred during the two decades before 1941. The mixing of nationalities was furthered by the government's policy. "As for the Ukrainians, millions of them were dispersed to the east and north in the 'liquidation of kulaks' and during the war". Mr. Dallin confirms this Russian Bolshevik "solution" of the Ukrainian problem by quoting a joke: "What's the biggest country in the world?" "The Ukraine." "How come?" "Her borders are on the Black Sea, her bosses live in Moscow, and the population is in Siberia."

But though the Ukrainian problem has been resolved in such an easy way, "absence of information from and about the national areas of the Soviet Union has tended to obscure and complicate the issue. In his otherwise excellent book, *The Coming Defeat of Communism*, James Burnham considers, for instance, 'liberation' of the Ukraine from Russia as a great goal, equal in importance with liberation of millions of slaves from 'labour camps'; if war comes, both will be included, he (Burnham) is sure, among the war aims of the United States, 'from expediency as well as from moral-ideological motives'." Ukraine cannot be compared with other countries which had been or still are under foreign domination, like Poland, Indo-China, Algeria, and India. India "ardently" strove for independence. In this respect only the Baltic countries deserve restoration of sovereignty.

Compared with the Ukrainian problem the problems of the other peoples of the Soviet Union are not important. To the Asiatic peoples Russia is the "West", civilised and civilising, rich and efficient. Czarist Russia and the Soviet Union have done much for these peoples. They will certainly be satisfied with national autonomy, Mr. Dallin thinks.

The new Soviet Russian nationalism, the persecution of Jews as "cosmopolites", the extremely luxurious life of the Communist leaders, the racket and corruption, and the Communist apparatus are dealt with in further chapters of the book.

Closing, Mr. Dallin finds that the Soviet government has maneuvered itself into a position of artificial and inflated prestige from which there is no backing down without great losses and without a crisis in the home front. History teaches that tensions of such magnitude are seldom resolved by peaceful means. At the end we find the warning: "Russia, it should be never forgotten, unlike the former Axis nations, cannot be conquered or even occupied by an enemy. Western aviation, although able to inflict heavy losses, cannot defeat Russia. And after Napoleon's and Hitler's experiments a foreign military leader will hardly attempt, with any rational hope for success, to push deep into Russia again." Mr. Dallin as Mr. Stalin both believe in invincibility of the New Soviet Empire . . .

Mr. Dallin's book gives us the best explanation, why the peoples dominated by Soviet Russia so vehemently oppose any kind of political union with any Russian government. They fear Russian imperialism and nationalism which, unfortunately, are not confined to Soviet Russia, but are shared by Russian anti-Communist emigrés of various political convictions. It is this imperialist tendency that deprives Mr. Dallin's book of its objectivity. The book serves the purpose of **saving the Russian Empire at all costs**. For this aim the strangest arguments are being provided.

At the beginning, the author finds with satisfaction that the Western Powers have lost, after World War II,

11.5 million square miles of possessions and 561 millions of population. Why then he opposes those who wish to liberate the enslaved peoples from Russian domination?

Mr. Dallin devotes much space to the growing anti-Russian feelings in which racial theories are used against the Russians. He sees here a danger and points at the fate of Hitler as a warning. The really dangerous Russian nationalism and the communist education of the Russian people in a spirit of superiority which constitutes a **real danger to the world** do not appear so important to Mr. Dallin; their fatal consequences for the future are not mentioned.

Moral considerations have no room in Mr. Dallin's book. He himself, like the Bolsheviks, believes only in power. For reasons of power politics, it is unwise to dismember Russia. 70,000,000 Germans would be more dangerous than a Russia of 200,000,000! That even a dismembered Russia with "only" 110,000,000 could be a menace to the neighbouring peoples is not understood by the author. Unfortunately, Russian imperialism is not a Bolshevik invention and could appear even in a Russia of 110,000,000.

It is very interesting to learn that the Russian Bolshevik conquests had nothing to do with a "Russian nationalist drive against independent smaller nations". This tendency did not exist in Lenin's times. Is it not a contradiction that he writes later that Lenin lashed out more than once against those among his immediate entourage whom he termed "Great Russian chauvinists." "Scratch a Communist," he (Lenin) wrote in December, 1922, "and you will find a Great Russian chauvinist." Dallin writes that Lenin attacked Stalin, Dzerzhinsky, and Ordzonikidze because of their behaviour towards Caucasian Communists. Lenin said that these three Communist leaders are non-Russians themselves, but a "Russified non-Russian always shoots beyond the mark in his true-Russian moods." Unvoluntarily, Mr. Dallin brings here a proof for national oppression of the non-Russian peoples.

Only in 1924, the non-Russians received cultural rights. After the consolidation of Stalin's power, they were more and more restricted and to-day we have a **severe national oppression in the Soviet Union combined with Russification**. Is it not remarkable that in the purges **only non-Russian Communists** were liquidated for "bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism," while Russian Communists never were accused of this crime? Of course, they were tried too, but only for other deviations. Many leading Communists of the non-Russian peoples opposed national oppression by their Russian comrades. Strong "Titoist" groups as we should say today appeared. They all were ruthlessly exterminated by Moscow. A good example for the Russian Communist nationalism is a toast of Stalin's of 1945, quoted by Mr. Dallin. Stalin said: "I drink first of all to the health of the Russian people because they are the most important nation of the nations forming the Soviet Union. I raise my toast to the health of the Russian people because... they are the leading force in the Soviet Union among all the peoples of our country... They possess clear minds, stanch character, and patience."

This spirit is not a war or postwar creation. The Russians suffer only from political oppression. The non-Russian peoples from political and **national** oppression.

The Ukrainian problem is handled by Mr. Dallin with acrobatic skill. Unfortunately, he is inaccurate even with facts. He says: "The Rada (Ukrainian Central Council) did not declare definite separation of the Ukraine from Russia, until after the treaty of Brest-Litovsk had been signed, in March, 1918."

The independence of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic was proclaimed on January 22nd, 1918. Ukraine signed the Treaty on February 9, 1918. It is hard to believe that such an expert like Mr. Dallin could make mistakes. But this "mistake" gives the impression to the reader that Ukrainian independence was a "German intrigue" and remains a menace "for the future."

But to err is human. We regret that erring seems to be a habit of Mr. Dallin. In looking for arguments for

keeping Ukraine under Russian domination, he mentions "the mixing of nationalities". He mentions genocide committed on small peoples. He quotes Professor Frank Lorimer that the Ukrainian population decreased from 1926 to 1939 10 per cent, while the general population of the Soviet Union increased 16 per cent. He quotes from Mr. Lorimer that the decrease was due "to increasing identification with the Russians."

It is impossible to believe that such a renowned authority did not know the facts about the artificial famine in Ukraine of 1932—33 which starved to death millions of Ukrainians. **This famine was the reason for the fatal decrease of the Ukrainian population.** The Soviet government did not publicise the famine for obvious reasons. But **why does Mr. Dallin hide facts from his readers?** Instead, Mr. Dallin tells us the above mentioned joke about the Ukrainians. To consider that a rehabilitation will be necessary for the victims of the Russian Communist persecutions, and that those deported should return and settled on their former places of residence, even if Russians should be on their places now, this does not fit into Mr. Dallin's conception. The Russian Communist crimes have created a situation which serves for him as basis for the future solution of the national problem in the Soviet Union.

Recently, there have been voices among Russian emigrés that the national problem of the Soviet Union should be solved through a plebiscite. It should be stated that the Baltic peoples, the Ukrainians, and the peoples of the Caucasus (Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians) have proclaimed their independence through freely elected Parliaments in 1918. These nations became victims of Russian conquest. A plebiscite would mean that the illegality of this conquest is being questioned. Why there was no plebiscite in India or Burma? In addition, until the consequences of Russian genocidal policy are removed, and the people who were deported return to their previous places of residence, a plebiscite would only sanction Bolshevik crimes. For instance, Eastern Prussia would clearly vote for Russia and, if the deportations from the Baltic states will continue to the same extent, these countries will make the same decision.

Now Russia is driving towards a war. She cannot be occupied, according to Mr. Dallin like the former Axis Powers because of Napoleon's and Hitler's experiences. It is impossible to understand how a change of regime could be made in Russia. We have seen that without help from outside the same rulers could have remained on their posts in Germany after World War II. Now German democratic forces are strong enough to defend democracy themselves.

The situation in Russia would be much worse. Without effective aid the same rulers would remain. But even some changes would only bring another dictatorship. General Vlasov gives us a good example. If he had succeeded, he would have brought a new dictatorship. Nevertheless, Mr. Dallin quotes Dr. Taubert of the Goebbels Ministry who describes General Vlasov as "Anglophile". It would be more useful to bring some quotations from the Vlasov press about the Jewish question. Here we could find some striking similarity with Julius Streicher's ill-famed "Der Stürmer."

It is very sad that Mr. Dallin, a renowned author will mislead public opinion through his new book. He does this for the purpose of saving the Russian Empire. It is imperialism that makes him distort or hide facts. For the same reason Mr. Dallin wrote in the New York Russian Monthly "The Socialist Courier," No. 1, from 1948, that Russia will need a **"strong central government to combat centrifugal forces."** But it is still more sad that this imperialism at all costs, is propagated by a Russian Socialist.

The conclusion from Mr. Dallin's book is that as long as the Russians do not abandon imperialism there cannot be a sincere co-operation with the non-Russian peoples now under Russian rule. It is not the fault of these peoples that they do not join Russian anti-Communist actions as they do not wish to change one yoke for another.

B. F.