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Editorial **CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE STRUGGLE OF UKRAINE AGAINST MOSCOW**

Elsewhere in this issue we have reproduced a dispatch sent to *The New York Times* from Moscow which deals with the current large-scale purge of Ukrainian administration and intellectuals. This purge, however, is but the latest one of an interminable series; the purge as such must therefore be considered as an essential characteristic of the alien rule in Ukraine. A purge of "culture," the present one was initiated in July 1951, with *Pravda's* attack upon leading Ukrainian writers and poets. As *The New York Times* dispatch implies, purges against "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism" are particularly violent in Western Ukraine, where armed Ukrainian resistance groups are still very much alive and active.

That this cultural resistance of Ukraine against Moscow has been a perennial source of great trouble for the Kremlin overlords has been attested to by none other than Leonid O. Melnikov, Stalin's *gauleiter* in Ukraine. (cf. "Ideological Work of the Party Organizations in Ukraine," *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, Vol. V., No. 10 (98), May 15, 1952). In his article, "The Ideological Work of the Party Organizations in Ukraine," the Muscovite dictator said more about Ukraine than he apparently wanted to say.

RISE OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE — POWERFUL WEAPON OF OPPOSITION

At the outset of the article Comrade Melnikov appears to be highly satisfied with the cultural achievements of Ukraine under the communist regime. He said that both Lenin and Stalin laid "the foundations of the independent state of Ukraine within the framework of the Soviet Union." But this political record, he implied, was even outdone by the achievements in the field of Ukrainian culture.

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PROF. KUZELA AND GENERAL PAVLENKO, NOTED UKRAINIANS, DIE IN EXILE

Death claimed two prominent Ukrainians recently in Western Europe. Dr. Zenon Kuzela, President of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, professor of the Free Ukrainian University, and outstanding Ukrainian ethnographer, died on May 24, 1952 near Paris after a prolonged illness.

On May 29, 1952 also, in Paris, died Lieutenant-General Mykhailo Omelanych-Pavlenko, at the age of 74. He was once a supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Army, and Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Galician Army, Head of the Supreme Military Council, and recently head of the European Federation of Ukrainian Veterans.

FORMER SOVIET PERSECUTEES APPEAL TO UNITED NATIONS

On Sunday, June 1, 1952 a mass rally sponsored by DOBRUS (Democratic Association of Ukrainians formerly Oppressed in the Soviet Union) was held in New York in protest against the mass murder of 10,000 Ukrainians in the City of Vinnitsia in Ukraine in 1937-1938 by the Soviet secret police. Among those who spoke at the rally were Bishop Hryhory who performed a mass burial service when the mass graves were uncovered in Vinnitsia; P. Pavlovych, an eye-witness of the Soviet Russian crime; Mrs. Robert A. Vogeler, wife of the famous American prisoner of Communist Hungary; H. T. Brundage, radio commentator, and Mr. Wezeter, representing Governor Dewey of New York, as well as several Ukrainian speakers.

A resolution was unanimously adopted urging the United Nations Human Rights Commission to undertake immediate steps to investigate the crime perpetrated by the Soviet police on some 10,000 Ukrainian men, women and children.

Mr. V. Hryshko, president of DOBRUS, presided at the rally.

New Purge of Party Chiefs and Intellectuals in Ukraine

Central Committee Assailed for many Failures. Ukrainian Nationalism Scored as "Enemy" of Soviet Regime.

In a special dispatch by its bureau in Moscow, *The New York Times* of June 3, 1952 reported as follows:

"*Pravda* reported today that the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party had been subjected to very sharp criticism by a number of high party and state officials of the Ukraine and noted that two important regional party officials had been released from their posts.

"The criticism covered many activities, ranging from backwardness in the spring planting of sugar beets to failure of the committee on artistic affairs to carry out measures to eliminate 'bourgeois nationalist' faults that were pointed out to it two months ago.

"The Ukrainian Central Committee revealed the dismissal of the Lvov party secretary, named Kostenko, and of the first secretary of the Zhitomir region, Babychuk.

"Leaders of Rovne, Drohobych and Dniepropetrovsk regions were criticized

for poor work with cadres, and the director of the Ukrainian party work with the party union and Comsomol organizations, was charged with serious shortcomings.

"It was reported that whereas in 1946 35 per cent of the propaganda and agitation workers had higher education, now only 21 per cent had.

"Secretary Nazarenko was criticized for failure to attend properly to the needs of propaganda and agitation.

"The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was criticized on the grounds that 70 per cent of the administrative chiefs of scientific research work did not have sufficiently high qualifications. The director of the section on scientific and higher education of the Ukrainian Party, Cher-

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TESTIMONY REGARDING CELLER BILL

Michael Piznak, noted Ukrainian-American attorney, urges passage.

The following statement was made by Michael Piznak, Legal Counsel of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, on June 2, 1952, before Subcommittee No. 1 of the House Committee on the Judiciary, Re H. R. 7376.

I am deeply appreciative of the opportunity afforded me to appear and express the views of the Ukrainian Congress Committee in support of H. R. 7376, so timely introduced by Congressman Celler, and which is now presently before your Committee, to implement the important and very vital message of President Truman on the urgent problem of surplus population and escapees from Soviet Communist tyranny.

I also earnestly recommend that the provisions and purposes of H. J. Res. 411, introduced by Congressman Walter, be incorporated in said bill in order to further implement President Truman's message.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, which comprises upward of 1,500 Ukrainian-American organizations throughout the United States, representing over one million Americans of Ukrainian descent, is most deeply interested and concerned with the acute status and welfare of the present and future escapees from behind the Iron Curtain because it is firmly convinced that unless immediate measures are taken to aid and assist such refugees and escapees, we Americans will lose an important battle in the present "Cold War" grimly waged by the Kremlin.

Today, our great nation—and indeed the entire free world—is faced with the gravest threat to its survival since the glorious days of its inception. The United States, the citadel of human freedom and unrestricted opportunity, is confronted by the sinister forces of barbaric darkness. Soviet Russia's totalitarian masters have made it known that their ultimate objective is to conquer the world for her type of communism; and that standing in the way toward the achievement of this diabolical dream is the United States, the beacon and last bastion of liberty, a power which the madmen of the Kremlin fear may be sufficiently strong to destroy their cancerous and despotic regime at its very base.

However, in this struggle against the aggressive onslaught of Moscow, we have millions of men and women behind the Iron Curtain who are true and potential allies of ours, but whom, I regret to state, until recently we have failed to appreciate fully. Too many in this country have envisioned the Soviet Union as a monolithic power, strange and unfathomable to the Western mind. We became accustomed to look upon the Soviet Union as a nation of Russian people, tightly welded and organically uniform. This is not the fact. Actually, even according to Soviet statistics of 1939, out of the total population of approximately 202,000,000 only 91,500,000 are Russian, and 110,500,000 are non-Russian, namely 54% of the population is non-Russian.

These victims of Russian imperialism,—Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Turkomen, the Baltic peoples of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and finally, the satellite countries of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania—these people who suffered and still suffer under

Moscow, passionately hate and are determined to rid themselves of the servile yoke imposed on them by their "master-race minded" Soviet Russian Imperialists.

The Ukrainians are an outstanding example of a people in whose hearts and souls there continues to burn their Christian faith and their desire for liberation and national independence despite all efforts by Stalin to completely subjugate and destroy them. In 1920 the Ukrainian National Republic was militarily destroyed; in 1926 great purges of Ukrainian nationalism took place; in 1930 thousands of Ukrainian intellectuals were exiled, jailed, or executed; upwards of 5 million Ukrainian peasants died in the criminal man-made famine of 1932-1933. In 1937-1938 over 10,000 Ukrainian men, women, and children were massacred in the city of Vynnytsia. Numerous other heinous acts of genocide were committed in a ruthless attempt to physically destroy the Ukrainian nation.

During World War II, the Ukrainian resistance and underground forces gallantly and effectively fought both Hitler and Stalin, and even today continue to cause unrest and turmoil behind the Iron Curtain. Ukraine, with its 45,000,000, is rightly called the "Achilles Heel" of the Soviet Power. At the present time Stalin has embarked on a program of enforced Russification, liquidation of Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches, destruction of Ukrainian culture, mass deportation of Ukrainians into the Asiatic mainland, and the settlement of their lands by ethnic Russians.

The same pattern of Soviet Russian domination applies to every non-Russian captive people of the USSR, and is now being initiated in the satellite countries as well.

Stalin's current program of Russification not only in the non-Russian captive nations, but also in the satellite countries has as its final goal the annihilation of the spirit of national resistance and opposition of the non-Russian peoples to the Kremlin.

These Ukrainians, as well as the other non-Russian peoples, are our true allies and friends in the common struggle against a common enemy and actually constitute one of our greatest weapons against the Soviet plan for world conquest.

Despite the practically impenetrable and inescapable barriers set up by the Soviet jailers, many thousands have managed to escape after superhuman efforts, and many have had the extreme good fortune to reach our shores while others have found haven in other lands. Thousands of others are still coming from behind the Iron Curtain, many of whom are faced with no other alternative but to escape because of their anti-communist activities.

I submit to you, gentlemen, that we cannot wait in moral apathy but must extend them our helping hand of Freedom. We must keep open these channels of Freedom. If we hesitate, fumble or falter, these channels of freedom will dry up and ultimately die.

Our loss in psychological warfare strategy and moral prestige would be tremendous.

In this colossal struggle for the minds of men, it is incumbent that we formulate a new affirmative and dynamic policy which will hit the enemy where it will be most effective.

We must rally the non-Russian peoples of the USSR, as well as its satellites, with the battle cry of our great Republic, namely the irrepressible ideal of liberation.

I believe, gentlemen, that you will agree with me that Stalin and his comrades would certainly breathe a great sigh of relief, should we miss this golden opportunity to cause a manifestation of the very spirit of our Declaration of Independence in the very frontyard of the Kremlin.

This may appear to be an exaggeration of the opportunity which presents itself through H. R. 7376, but I want to assure you that it is nothing more than a cold statement of fact. The people who are making the good fight behind the Iron Curtain will know the action taken by Congress without any extensive propaganda on our part, and this will serve as a tonic for them to continue their resistance to the predatory encroachment of Moscow.

This bill is of such importance to the national security and to the cause of freedom and peace of the entire world, that it warrants full endorsement and bipartisan support.

I respectfully urge the favorable consideration of this bill by your Committee, and trust that action will be taken on it during this session of the Congress.

Dr. WALTER GALLAN, UARC DIRECTOR, ENDORSES BILL

Dr. Walter Gallan, Executive Director of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, testified May 23 before the Congressional House Judiciary Committee in the matter of the Celler Bill.

Speaking from the experience of one who in the past years has had occasion as UARC director to visit Europe, he declared, "that many of the Ukrainians who escaped were allowed to stagnate, despite the fact that this particular group to which I have reference were composed of what Stalin calls 'seeds of Soviet disaffection.' They were underground fighters, fighting to achieve what the Ukraine has fought for for centuries—their human freedom and their complete independence from the tyrants of Moscow.

"Many of these refugees were forced to flee because their identity in the resistance movement became known to the MVD. In the best interests of the United States, we must welcome such men in a manner that our compassion, and our insight and our approval of their individual fight for freedom is reflected," he said.

SEN. SMITH'S ADDRESS READ INTO THE RECORD

On May 28, 1952, Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey read into the *Record* the text of his speech delivered at the Ukrainian anti-Soviet rally in Newark held on March 30, 1952.

A RECENT UKRAINIAN ESCAPEE TELLS OF LIFE UNDER SOVIETS IN UKRAINE

The May 22, 1952 issue of the *People's Will*, organ of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association appearing in Scranton, Pa., contains a letter by Petro Cymbalo who recently escaped from Chernihiv oblast of Ukraine and is now in Western Germany. Excerpts from his letter follow:

"After viewing a certain film I expressed myself to a group of people that now only Russian films are being shown in Ukrainian towns and cities, and no Ukrainian ones. There was someone there who informed on me to the MVD and they began searching for me. I found out about that in time and I fled. After a tedious and difficult journey I succeeded in escaping into the free world..."

"Russian imperialism and the nationalism of the Bolsheviks have beaten all records, and Moscow takes no pains to conceal this development. Among the conquered peoples — Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Georgians and others — the resistance against Russian imperialism grows steadily. Moscow replies with an increased terror and Russification of the enslaved countries in order to destroy them. Thousands of Ukrainians are perishing in prisons and concentration camps, while other thousands are hiding in forests from the police dogs of the MVD, who are hunting for them. You certainly heard of the Ukrainian partisan groups who fight the enemy. This underground resistance continues, despite the fact that the entire Soviet colossus is set to destroy that resistance. During the last 25 years of the Soviet Russian domination of Ukraine there was never a stronger resistance than there is now. The same underground resistance exists in other territories of the enslaved nations of the USSR (italics added—Ed.).

"The conditions of the peasantry have deteriorated greatly since the Bolsheviks began 'merging' collective farms. The peasants have neither love nor enthusiasm for work for which they receive almost nothing. They know that they are being robbed in the worst possible manner and that the fruit of their work goes for the expansion of Russian militarism and Stalinist bureaucracy. Therefore, the productivity of human effort is extremely low. In one thing the Bolsheviks are extremely generous, namely, in propaganda. Instead of shoes, clothing and other articles of necessity they are sending pictures of Stalin in great quantities. Not so long ago an order came from Moscow that a picture of Stalin should be not only in offices of collective farms, but in stables and barns as well!...

"In case of war provoked by the Bolsheviks, the Ukrainian people would not support the tyranny of Stalin and the prison of nations, but would welcome the enemies of Moscow. The same will happen with other peoples, but under the condition that the freedom and independence of all the peoples of the USSR be guaranteed. The Russian people themselves have no reason to defend Stalinist tyranny. They, too, have yearned for a better life. The Russian people should have their democratic Russia, and the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian and other enslaved peoples should enjoy living in their own democratic independent republics. Then there will be no hostility among them.

PAMPHLET CONTAINING O'CONNOR SPEECH PRINTED

The text of the speech which Edward M. Connor, Commissioner of the U. S. Displaced Persons Commission, delivered at a unity rally of anti-communist forces in Philadelphia, has been incorporated into a pamphlet which Congressman James J. Murphy of Staten Island has had printed.

In an introduction to Mr. O'Connor's text, Congressman Murphy states that the Commissioner analyzed "the great weakness of the Soviet Union and pointed up the methods the Kremlin is likely to use in preventing the American public from becoming thoroughly acquainted with these weaknesses.

"The information contained in this address," his introduction goes on, "is such as to require the careful and thoughtful consideration of everyone who is concerned with the defeat of the communist plan for world conquest. His theme was unity for survival, and he clearly points out that this unity must be based on time-proven principles which find their origin in our own glorious struggles for independence."

Copies of the pamphlet may be obtained by writing to Congressman Murphy, New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

PROF. MANNING'S SPEECH AT UKRAINIAN RALLY READ INTO CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

On May 8, 1952 the text of the speech delivered by Prof. Clarence A. Manning of Columbia University at the Ukrainian anti-Soviet rally in Newark, N. J. on March 30, 1952, was read into the Congressional Record by Congressman Lawrence H. Smith of Wisconsin. Congressman Smith stated:

"Professor Manning in his frank discussion of Russian imperialism has been the target of attacks by communist newspapers in the Ukraine. Notwithstanding, he has been courageous enough to point out that Russian imperialism is destroying the very livelihood of Ukrainian civilization. The Soviet is uttering the big lie when it states that there is no real controversy between the Ukrainian and Russian people. The world today knows that such is not the fact, and that the Ukrainians are demanding their freedom from the Soviet terror."

DEDICATION OF ST. JOSAPHAT'S UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC SEMINARY IN WASHINGTON

On Saturday, May 31, 1952 the newly constructed Major Seminary of St. Josaphat was solemnly blessed in Washington, D. C. Present at the dedication ceremonies and the Pontifical Divine Liturgy were Most Rev. Amleto G. Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the U. S. A., bishops of both the Byzantine and Latin Rites, over a hundred priests, and over 5,000 faithful from various parts of the country. The bishops were:

"Dissatisfaction in the USSR and hostility against Bolshevism is general: in the village and town, among the peasantry, workers, intelligentsia, and even in the army..."

Most Rev. Constantine Bohachevsky, Exarch for the Ukrainian Catholics in the U. S. A.; Bishop Ambrose Senyshyn, Auxiliary of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese in the United States; Most Rev. Neil Savaryn and Most Rev. Andrew Roborecki, both Ukrainian Catholic bishops from Canada; Most Rev. Daniel Ivancho, Bishop of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Pittsburgh Diocese; Most Rev. Edward Fitzmaurice of Wilmington, Del.; Most Rev. Patrick J. McCormick, Rector of the Catholic University; Most Rev. John McNamara of Washington, D. C.; Most Rev. Henry Klonowski of Scranton, Pa.; and Most Rev. Alexander Zaleski of Detroit, Mich.

Telegrams and congratulatory messages from Pope Pius XII, Cardinal Tisserant, Cardinals Spellman, Stritch and Mooney, Archbishop O'Neil, President Truman, and over 21 Latin Rite Bishops were read at a banquet, held after the Pontifical Divine Liturgy, which was presided over by the Apostolic Delegate.

NEW PURGE OF PARTY CHIEFS IN UKRAINE

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vonenko, was criticized for allowing this situation to continue.

"The director of the party section on artistic affairs, Belogurov, and the chairman of the arts committee of the Council of Ministers, Kopitza, were criticized for not taking measures to end 'bourgeois nationalist' mistakes.

A Lvov Purge of Two Months Ago

"United States Government officials pointed out yesterday that two other important Ukrainian officials had recently been purged, presumably for 'bourgeois nationalism' or similar ideological deviation. The sense in which 'bourgeois nationalism' is commonly used is any nationalism counter to the policies of the Soviet Union. The more important of the two is V. V. Matskevich, removed without explanation as first Deputy Premier of the Ukraine two months ago.

"The other was the head of the Lvov city communist party. The latest news from the Ukraine indicates therefore that the two top officials in the Lvov area, the provincial city party chiefs, have been ousted.

"Observers here say the Lvov apparently is the most troublesome center of Ukrainian separatist sentiment. In the last two or three years there have been repeated purges in the University of Lvov and in other intellectual institutions.

"There are some indications that Soviet officials are worried about sporadic resurgence of partisan activity in the eastern Ukraine. Armed resistance in this area was considerable immediately following World War II, but was believed to have been put down.

"The present intensified drive against Ukrainian nationalism began in the middle of 1951 with the denunciation of an opera, *Bohdan Khmelnytsky*. The drive has since been extended to virtually every other major minority in the Soviet Union, but the Ukraine is apparently still a center of separatist sentiment."

CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE STRUGGLE OF UKRAINE AGAINST MOSCOW

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Under the personal leadership of Stalin and the party, Melnikov went on, communist education in Ukraine has been expanded immeasurably. At present, it seems, Ukraine has about 30,000 elementary schools and supplementary schools, attended by some 6,500,000 pupils. There are 153 universities, academies and institutes, where more than 160,000 students devote themselves to higher learning. In addition, there are in Ukraine today 75 theatres, 26 philharmonic societies, 28,000 "cultural clubs," and 21 book publishing companies, with a list of 10,000 titles in Ukrainian and Russian and a record of having published 300 million copies in the last six years. There are 1,200 papers with a total circulation of 5 million and 64 reviews with a total circulation of 869,000 copies. There also is a Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, an Academy of Architecture, an Academy of Fine Arts and a large network of institutes for scientific research where thousands of scientists and technicians pursue scientific research.

DISLOYALTY AND UNRELIABILITY

Despite this sonorous record of cultural achievements, Comrade Melnikov abruptly sounds an alarm that not all was well in Ukraine:

"The attention, supervision and help of the party in the training of intellectual Ukrainians has been lax. Party organizations in the Republic have hesitated to criticize sharply the distortions and deviations that have appeared in works of literature... The fact that many Communists failed to notice ideological distortions in Ukrainian art and literature was the result of their inadequate standards of theory."

So Comrade Melnikov goes on to call for "the strengthening of Bolshevik principles and uncompromising condemnation of all expressions of bourgeois ideology and in particular of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." But yet additional measures are required to remedy the dangerous situation of cultural affairs in Ukraine, Melnikov adds. The main task of the party organizations in Ukraine is "to enlighten the Ukrainian people concerning the beneficial influence of the leading ideas of Russian social and political theory on the growth of Ukrainian culture, and

to convince them of the eternal friendship between the two peoples."

Now Comrade Melnikov proposes his "remedies" which would avert these dangerous "ideological hostile inroads" in the cultural life of Ukraine. All curricula of the Ukrainian and Russian languages in Ukraine must be checked and thoroughly reformed; all plays, operas and other theatrical productions in Ukraine must be revised and purged. A supplementary censorship of literature, stage and science must be introduced on an unparalleled scale. Furthermore mass meetings throughout the country must be organized at which "faulty ideological works" in Ukrainian are criticized and purged. There must be created 29 evening institutes for the study of Marxism and Leninism, while all organizations of writers, artists, musicians, journalists and others will be strictly supervised by the party.

Comrade Melnikov's sensational revelations about the cultural conditions in Ukraine then continue. He intimates that in the last six years some 29,000 higher party functionaries, propagandists and editors have received higher training in order to keep the cultural life of Ukraine in line with that of Moscow. And yet even this had no apparent effect, for Melnikov reveals that 710,000 members of the Communist Party of Ukraine (a number which would embrace almost every card-carrying communist!) and 640,000 members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia are to receive compulsory political training and education!

This all with one purpose in view: to promote the knowledge of Marxism and Leninism; to solidify the Stalinist version of "friendship of peoples," that is, the "inseparable brotherhood between Russia and Ukraine"; to cultivate and strengthen "Soviet patriotism"; to combat and eradicate "bourgeois ideology" in general and "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" in particular.

In plain language, this means that the Communist Party of Ukraine and Ukraine as a whole are not sufficiently communist-indoctrinated, are ideologically hostile to Marxist thinking and, as such, are highly unreliable in the Soviet Russian political system!

For almost 35 years Moscow has been enforcing its way of life upon the Ukrainian people, yet the Ukrainian people continue to vigorously oppose whatever comes from Moscow. Melnikov's article in *Pravda* indicates

that Moscow's concern over the loyalty of Ukraine is by no means small. An entire new generation has been reared under the Soviet system in Ukraine, and yet Melnikov has been forced to admit that even that generation is unreliable and cannot be kept in obedience and loyalty to Moscow.

Again, in plain language Melnikov's revelation eloquently attests to the fact that despite Moscow's physical grip upon the Ukrainian people, their souls and minds cannot be fettered. Moscow knows all too well that in the event of war, when its military power is threatened, no power on earth can keep the Ukrainians from erupting and discharging their pent-up energies against the enemy who enslaved them.

A SIGNPOST FOR THE WEST

Melnikov's disclosure of Russia's weakness in Ukraine, his great concern about the "hostile bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism," and the measures he proposes to take,—all this once and for all clearly establishes what is happening in Ukraine.

These developments must not be misunderstood by the Western powers, especially the United States of America. What is going on in Ukraine, has its inevitable replicas in all other non-Russian republics of the USSR. As in Ukraine, in these other republics the rise of patriotic nationalism against the alien Russian communism comprises a serious threat to the power of the Kremlin.

Hereby is provided a golden opportunity for the United States psychological warfare planners. It is what Mr. John Foster Dulles had in mind when he wrote in *Life Magazine* of a new "policy of liberation," as contrasted to that stale, self-defeating "containment" policy, which has been so costly in prestige, expenditures and American lives.

Dynamic material is free for the taking by our "Voice of America," material which would blast apart the communist "monolith" from one end of its land-mass to the other.

The Germans, in invading the Soviet Union, failed to crush Bolshevism, because they spurned the great idea of national liberation and turned against the enslaved peoples who welcomed them as their liberators. In their shortsightedness, they sealed, rather than widened, the dangerous crack in the "monolith."

We simply cannot afford such shortsightedness in our time.