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# THREE CENTURIES OF STRUGGLE

Addresses on the occasion of the 300th  
Anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav  
between Ukraine and Russia, 1654 — 1954.

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Winnipeg 1954

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## INTRODUCTION

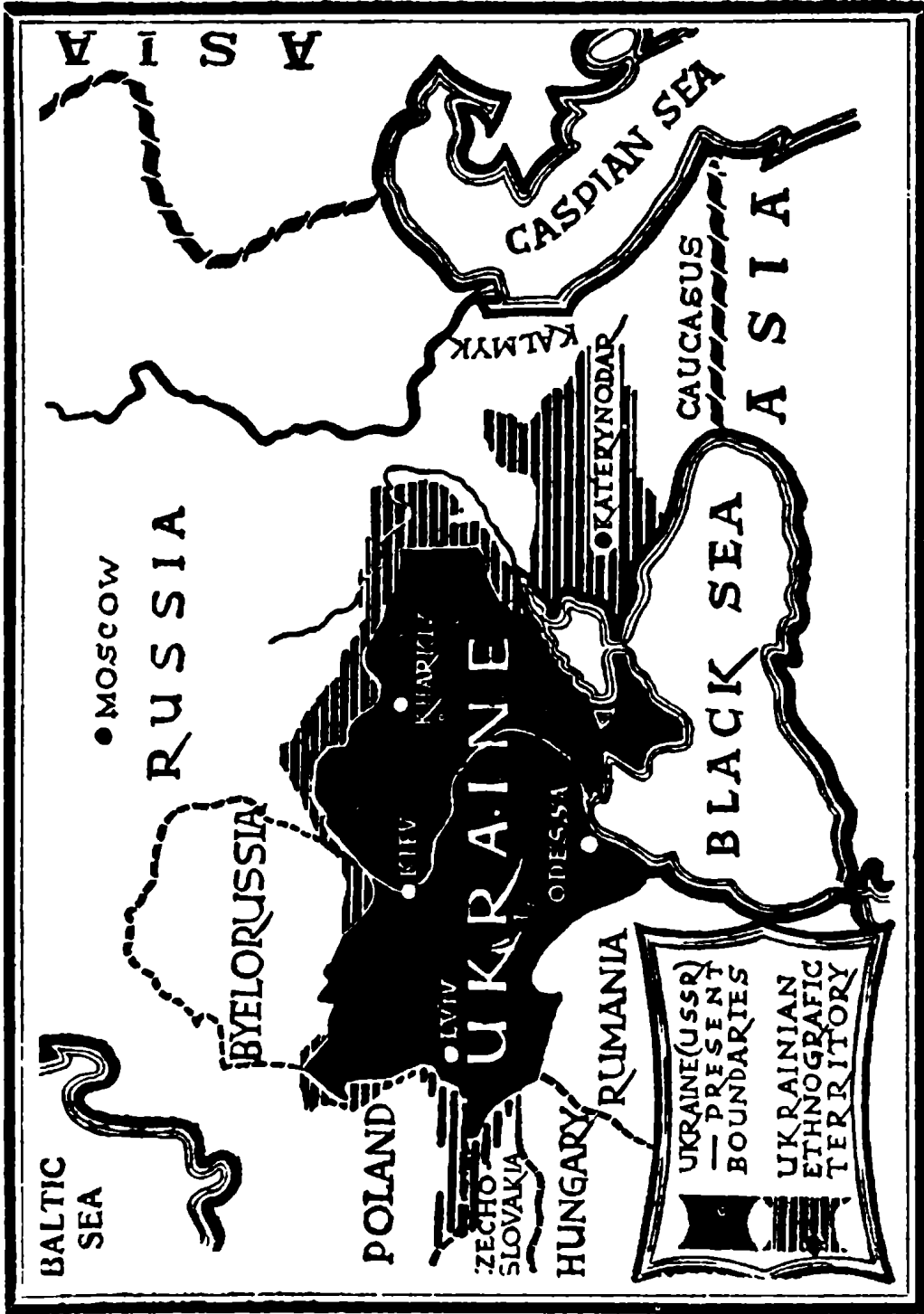
*On December 9, 1953, the Soviet Government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a special decree ordering the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, which was concluded in 1654 between Alexis, the Tsar of Russia and Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Hetman of Ukraine.*

*During 1954 the Moscow decree was carried out and celebrations took place in Ukraine, in all the Republics of the Soviet Union, in the satellite countries of Europe and Asia and some of it spilled over through the Communist fifth column to other countries, including Canada. The faithful followers of the Communist line celebrated this event in Canada in their own way, while the Ukrainians, headed by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee counteracted with public meetings to express their opposition to the Moscow-sponsored celebrations and to show their fellow Canadians that they have no reason to celebrate. The Treaty of Pereyaslav was broken by the Russians as soon as it was signed and the year 1654 is known as the beginning of subjugation of Ukraine.*

*In spite of the fact that the Pereyaslav Treaty was signed as a defensive measure against Poland, the Russian Tsar, two years later, in 1656, signed a separate secret treaty with Poland, and five years later, in 1659, Khmelnytsky's successor Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky annihilated a Russian army at Konotop, which, contrary to the provision of the treaty, had invaded Ukraine. Russia broke that treaty for the second time in 1667, when she signed another treaty with Poland, known as the Treaty of Andrusiv, whereby Ukraine was partitioned between Russia and Poland. In 1709 Hetman Ivan Mazepa joined Sweden in a war against Russia. After the revolution in 1917, the Ukrainians again established their own state, independent of Russia. These facts speak louder than the present Russian version of "eternal friendship" and "common history".*

*We express our appreciation to the guest speakers — The Hon. Walter Harris, Dr. Watson Kirkconnell, Prof. G. W. Simpson and Dr. Clarence A. Manning, who by their participation contributed to the success of our efforts.*

**Ukrainian Canadian Committee.**



Map of Ukraine

## ADDRESS BY THE HON. WALTER HARRIS,

Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, delivered in Toronto,  
June 27, 1954.

### BASIS FOR FREEDOM

The law is the very basis of our freedom. The respect for law was stressed in the articles of Magna Carta, confirmed in the Bill of Rights and incorporated into the constitutions of all members of our Commonwealth of Nations, including Canada. Thus the roots of our law and our rights are firmly planted in the traditions of our people and we have repeatedly gone to the defence of nations whose essential rights we considered had been violated.

Therefore, we disapprove of those who twist the law to make it serve their selfish purposes. We stand for the rights of the individual as well as for the rights of nations. We base the conception of our freedom on the supremacy of law and in this we differ from the totalitarian way of interpreting the law. When in 1616

King James I tried to order Sir Edward Coke, the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, not to question



**Hon. Walter Harris**

the King's prerogative, Sir Edward replied that the law is set above the King as well as above his subjects, and a judge

is bound to apply it impartially.

We have grown in the firm conviction, to paraphrase the expression, that a Canadian's homestead is his castle, and that the law exists to protect him from any violation of his rights and any arbitrary action on the part of those in power. No official of the Crown, whether a Minister of State or a police constable, can enter our home without the authority of the law. There are no mysterious knocks at our door in the dead of night, heralding the arrival of a Gestapo or MVD agent to search our house and to take us or any member of our family away without redress. We also regard as sacred the home of a nation and we condemn the violation of human rights.

Because we regard the law the guardian of our personal freedom, we are prepared to defend it against any unjustifiable infringement from any quarter. That is where we differ from countries where the law is subordinated to the State, as it was in Nazi Germany and is to-day in countries behind the iron curtain. The first President of the Soviet Supreme Court, actually wrote

as late as 1927, that the law would be gradually abolished; that it would become unnecessary with the elimination of classes. As we understand it, however, the law in reality was abolished in the early stages of the development of the Soviet Union. The revolution tribunals acted not according to accepted legal principles but were guided by "the circumstance of the case and the revolutionary consciousness". Everything became subordinated to the will of the State. In the Soviet Union even criminal law concerns itself primarily with the suppression of elements who are considered dangerous to the existing regime, who were thought to be against the state property, and only secondarily against common crime. The death penalty which was formally abolished in 1947, but was restored in 1950 for so-called traitors, spies and those who try to undermine the state, in other words, the will of its leaders or leader. If in the early stages of the Soviet State attempts were made to abolish the law altogether, in its later development life in the Soviet Union became strict-

ly regimented by a multitude of enactments which made an individual completely subservient to the State.

It is significant that this complete control reaches well beyond the Iron Curtain. It has penetrated to our shores, where groups of people acting on the orders of the men in the Kremlin, try to undermine our institutions. The celebrations staged in commemoration of the Treaty of Pereyaslav may be taken as one good example of an attempt by their people to muddle world opinion. In truth, the Treaty of Pereyaslav marked the beginning of three hundred years of suffering and oppression for one of the contracting parties.

*In 1654, a great Ukrainian leader and patriot signed in good faith, a treaty with his northern neighbour. He believed that the treaty, according to accepted international laws, would be faithfully observed. As history has shown, trust was abused and faith was broken before the ink of the signatures was dry. The people protested with arms and a three hundred years long struggle ensued to try*

*to rectify the mistake. That resistance still continues in spite of suppression and is very much alive abroad, where it is not repressed by terror. The men who led the struggle against the violators of the treaty were called traitors, and it is scarcely known to the Western World that Hetman Ivan Mazeppa, who, in 1709, joined the Swedish King Charles XII in the hope of gaining independence for Ukraine, was ordered to be perpetually cursed in all the churches of Ukraine, including the ones he himself built. This was done continuously until the Revolution. Even now, because he made an attempt to free his people from the incorrect interpretation of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, Mazeppa is referred to by the Soviet as an arch-traitor.*

**It would be inconceivable even to imagine that the Churches of Great Britain and of Canada would be obliged to obey an order of the State to curse George Washington, for instance, because he led a revolution against the British. We think and act differently. In one of the main squares of London there stands a statue of George**

Washington, the very man who fought against Britain and detached from her the territory which was to become one of the most powerful countries of the world. We respect men who stand for principles for which we ourselves would fight, under similar circumstances. In the city of Quebec, you will see a monument dedicated to the French General Montcalm and the English General Wolfe. We differ and enjoy the right to differ; we respect the rights of the weaker, we stand for the observance of laws, personal and international. These convictions we have held in the past and shall continue to hold in the future.

When in 1591 Dr. Giles Fletcher, for some time Queen Elizabeth I Ambassador to Moscow, published his book on Muscovy describing the conditions there as he had seen them, the enraged Russian government demanded the prohibition of its sale in the London market and the burning of the whole edition. Ambassador Fletcher, Doctor of Jurisprudence at Cambridge University, dedicated his book to Queen Elizabeth I; "My meaning was to note things

for mine own experience, of more importance than delight, or rather true than strange. In their manner of government, your Highness may see both a true and strange fact of a tyrannical state, (most unlike to your own) without true knowledge of God, without written law, without common justice..." The book was not banned, but its first edition was bought up and practically disappeared. It was re-printed in 1643 and again in 1656. When in 1848 the Russian Imperial Society of History and Russian Antiquities made an attempt to publish a Russian translation of the book, for historical records, its sale and circulation was prohibited by state authorities two hours after its publication.

### Fundamental Difference

There is a fundamental difference between our world and the world described by Dr. Fletcher. We respect the views and opinions of our citizens, of our people. Our respect goes so far that if one of the members of our own Commonwealth of nations desires to go her own way, she is free to follow the path she chooses. We also

observe and honour obligations contracted. Because we regard ourselves as part of the world family of nations, we take an interest in the activities of other nations, other peoples, and we sympathize with those who lack, or have been deprived of the freedom we enjoy. We did not prohibit the celebrations of the Pereyaslav Treaty by those who followed the lead from abroad, but we also respect the opinion of others who happen to differ and who regard the violation of human rights, as a crime.

*May I quote a passage from the NEW YORK TIMES of January 17, 1954, which so pertinently states the reasons for the staged celebrations: "Tomorrow the entire Soviet Union will celebrate the 300th anniversary of the union of the Ukraine with Russia. The barrage of domestic propaganda dealing with this event indicates the celebration is regarded as a major move in the regime's nationalities policy.*

*"The very fact that such emphasis is now being put upon the "brotherly friendship" of Russians and non-Russians suggests that the regime is uneasy about the loyalty of the*

*non-Russian half of the population . . ."*

The echo of these celebrations also reached Canada. A certain group of people who even here follow the distant directives, initiated in May the Pereyaslav Treaty celebrations, following similar official commemorations which took place in the Soviet Ukraine during the month of May. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sent a message on May 22nd to the Soviet Ukraine, announcing that the Russian people have always supported the cause of the Ukraine's liberation, and that unification with Russia freed the Ukraine and the Ukrainians must develop its industry, ensure a sharp rise in agricultural and consumer goods production and struggle for the triumph of communism.

The next day, May 23, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party echoes the message from Moscow.

He announced that Ukraine cannot be free unless she is united with Russia. What freedom! He strongly con-

demned all those Ukrainians who think differently, labeling them traitors and bourgeois nationalists who try to separate the Ukrainian and Russian peoples. The message again ends with an appeal to strengthen forces on the economic front, as Ukraine supplies 40 per cent of Soviet coal, 46 per cent of its iron smelting and 36 per cent of its steel.

We live in a free world and do not approve of dictatorship. In protesting against the celebration of a treaty which brought humiliation, you are exercising one of the prerogatives of democracy, freedom of speech and freedom to openly express an opinion which is contrary to that of the messages sent over from the Soviet Union.

Economic difficulties political and religious persecutions, were the conditions which induced hundreds of thousands of persons to abandon their ancestral homes in Europe and to seek better living conditions in the new countries across the seas. Thus Canada grew, and among the many thousands of those who sought happiness and freedom, a sizeable proportion are of your own blood.

## CANADIAN NATION

Although the Anglo-Saxons and the French, because of their larger numbers and earlier settlement, have perhaps been most prominent in the development of our country, valuable contributions have been made by all ethnic groups which now form the Canadian nation. In fact, the very men who discovered Canada were of neither French nor British origin. It was the Norseman Leif Ericson and his followers who, around the year 1000, reached the shores of our country and called it Vineland. It was the Italian sea captain Giacomo Caboto who, in the British service as John Cabot, re-discovered the forgotten land in 1497. Even Prince Rupert, whose name is closely linked with the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company in the seventeenth century and the opening of our North-West, was born in Prague as the son of King Charles of Bohemia and an English princess. Our great educators, like Ryerson, our scientists and inventors, were of very mixed origins but all worked with devotion for their new homeland and for humanity in general.



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

*When an immigrant arrives in this country he goes through a process of adaptation which may be painful and lengthy. If he left unsettled conditions in his homeland, he will try to assist his European country to regain better conditions. Canada does not urge the immigrants to forget the lands from which they came, but it*

*does urge them not to narrow their efforts of help to one single group, because that would be contrary to our Canadian spirit. If we speak of freedom, we mean freedom for all who are in need of it. If we speak of assistance and help, we mean all who are in need of such help. Immigrants, old and new, must bear in mind,*

*that their children born in Canada will always regard Canada as their home and, as we have seen during the last war, they will not hesitate to pay the highest sacrifice to defend the principles for which*

*we stand. And as we stand for freedom of men, for law and order, we stand for the same rights you would like to see governing also your ancestral lands.*

**ADDRESS BY PROF. CLARENCE A. MANNING,  
(Columbia University),**

at Plateau Hall, Montreal, May 23, 1954.

**SOMETHING HAPPENED**

All historians will agree that the Treaty of Pereyaslav of January 18, 1654, was the most important document in the relations between Ukraine and Moscow. None, except the convinced Russophiles, who deny the very existence of the Ukrainian people, as an entity distinct from the Russians, will deny that it was a tragic blunder, even though it was made by one of the greatest of Ukrainian leaders, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. With these two statements, agreement ends and there are hardly two Russian or Ukrainian scholars who will interpret what happened at Pereyaslav in the same way.

To some it was a formal incorporation of Ukraine in the Muscovite state; to others it was a personal union under Tsar Alexis. To still others, it

was the acceptance by Ukraine of a Muscovite protectorate, and to others it was merely a



**Prof. Clarence A. Manning**

military alliance for the purpose of carrying on a war against Poland. There are

possible variations of interpretation within these limits.

*There is no more agreement as to when the Treaty was made. Something happened in Pereyaslav. Yet outside of a list of officials, who signed some sort of an oath, there does not exist any document embodying the terms of the agreement or an undisputed picture of the events of that fateful day. The Russian accounts are indisputably false. The Ukrainian accounts have perished.*

### **Was a treaty made?**

In March of the same year, a Kozak delegation went to Moscow with an apparent text of a proposed treaty. The 23 articles included in this were accepted a few days later with certain changes by the tsar and boyars and certain other clauses were added. There is no record that the Hetman ever expressed an opinion on these, and in fact, his later actions, which were not questioned by Moscow until he was on his deathbed, indicate that he did not accept them and perhaps never even considered them. A cynic might almost be pardoned for asking if there

ever was a treaty made at Pereyaslav.

In view of all these uncertainties as to the movements and the speeches on the fateful day and the disagreements of the authorities in their efforts to explain the treaty in the juridical terms of the period before 1914, it may be of more interest to see why the agreement was made and what it meant to the Ukrainian people. In the United States, and I suppose in Canada, the history of the Eastern Roman Empire and its off-shoots has been tragically neglected. How many know that the daughter of Harold the Saxon, who fell at Hastings ended her life as the wife of Volodymyr Monomakh of Kiev? How many realize the threads that bound together Kiev and the West during the great days of the Kievan State or the events that brought the Ukrainian people into the complex of the Polish-Lithuanian state.

### **Change of History**

The Fifteenth Century was the crucial period, for then three great events within a half century determined the future of the world. In 1453,

Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks and it severed Kiev from its great source of contact with the centres of civilization. In 1480, Ivan III, of Moscow, who had married into the royal family of Constantinople, and assumed the double headed eagle of Byzantium, broke the Tatar yoke. In 1492, Columbus discovered the new world. All of those events changed history not only in the West, but in the East.

The Sixteenth Century saw the results of these events, the drying up of the cultural streams that had come to Ukraine from the South, the introduction of the new culture into Poland from the West, and the Polonization of the Ukrainian aristocracy, the beginning of the religious wars in Western Europe. It saw too, the exploits of the English sea-dogs, like Hawkins and Drake, who were out to singe the beard of the King of Spain and the Spanish conquistadores, like Cortes and Pizarro, who dared superhuman feats to subject the New World to be sovereigns of Madrid. It witnessed too, the rise of the Zaporozhian Kozaks, who on land and on the Black Sea, set themselves to rescue Christian

prisoners and to exploit to the full their determination to take vengeance on the Moslem conquerors.

### Strange Allies

The Kozaks made their headquarters at the Zaporozhian Sich, below the Dnieper Rapids and they founded a brotherhood of arms. They chose their own leaders and fought as they would. They respected the sovereignty of Poland and fought against her. They fought the Turks and Tatars and with strange regard for bravery, even in an enemy, they made treaties with them and joined in common expeditions. Yet, they did not form a government or aspire to control territory. No woman went voluntarily to the Sich, but the Kozaks, if they were married, left their wives and children in their Polish-dominated homes, while they continued their heroic way.

They were loyal, but strange allies of the Polish king and they offered the Republic a difficult problem, either to fit them into the Polish state or to suppress them. The Kings preferred the first, for they knew the Kozak valor in the many wars against Turkey, when

they added to the determined and professional Kozaks, if we may so speak, the masses of the Ukrainian peasantry. Yet during peace, the nobles who thought only of their golden liberty and their financial profits, would try to force these Kozaks for a season back into a form of serfdom, but those same nobles would not undertake the solemn and difficult task for forcing the Kozaks into obedience to the state. This went on for more than half century while Poland began to stagger toward its doom.

### Religious moment

Two more events intervened. The attempted dynastic union of Poland and Sweden to stop the advance of Moscow failed for religious reasons and culminated in furious civil war between two branches of the Vasa family. The religious fighting between Catholic and Protestant appeared in the East as a war between Catholic and Orthodox, and both sides turned against the Union as a futile effort to solve the dilemma. Finally the Thirty Years War, from 1618 to 1648, especially after Gustavus Adolphus turned his attention

to the German scene, gave Poland more than a generation of non-interference to solve the Kozak question. The time was wasted fruitlessly and the storm broke when the War ended and Europe was once more free and German mercenary veterans were on the market for hire.

In 1648, Tsar Alexis, in an endeavour to pose as the centre of an enlightened Orthodoxy, invited Kievan monks to Moscow. In the same year, Polish haughtiness and injustice forced Bohdan Khmelnytsky to flee to the Sich. There he became Hetman and with the aid of the Tatars of the Crimea, commenced a revolt that was to shake Poland to its foundations. At first, Khmelnytsky put his confidence in the new King Jan Kazimierz, but he soon saw that he had to create a Ukrainian State. But how? He had to inspire in this military brotherhood of the Zaporozhian Sich, the desire for a civil government and he had to do it amid the clash of arms. His models were the government of Poland and the freedom of the Sich. Neither was the answer, and out of this confusion came the Hetman State divided on regimental lines

with the military and the civilian functions inextricably mixed and with the problem of the agricultural population, which fought only a crisis completely unsolved.

### Turks and the Tatars

There was a bewildering series of hurried negotiations of dealings with the fickle Crimean Tatars, treaties with the Poles, which were at once repudiated by the nobles, and delegations to the Sultan. Khmelnytsky dreamed finally of a union with Moldavia to include in the orbit of Ukraine the Christian principalities to the south. *He forced the marriage of his son Tymosh to Rozanda, the daughter of Vasyl Lupul of Moldavia, but Lupul's enemies deposed him and in the confusion, Tymosh was killed. It threw Bohdan into despair. He was well aware that the reign of the eccentric daughter of Gustavus Adolphus was nearing its end, but he felt that he could not wait. Moscow realized this and the negotiations that led to Pereyaslav began.*

Never were negotiations more weird and indefinite. Khmelnytsky and the Kozaks

knew the Turks and the Tatars. They had fought against them and at their side. They knew, that despite the oaths by the beard of the Prophet, the Moslems did not interfere in the lives of their Christian subjects, except to collect tribute and plunder and to steal girls for their harems and boys for the Janissaries. They knew the Poles. They had made solemn treaty after solemn treaty, and had seen them broken in a few months by the self-will of the magnates and the szlachta. They did not understand, despite his Orthodox words, the Tsar of Moscow.

### Khmelnytsky disappointed

To Tsar Alexis, the whole of Moscow was his personal property, the family estate of man who occupied the throne. His great nobles were his serfs and the peasants on their estates were their serfs, but the nature of the relationship did not differ. His tsarist word was but that of the man who declines to sell a piece of property, but may do it next week or next year, if he secures a better price. It was only a few months later, in the first stages of the war against

Poland, that Khmelnytsky realized this, but the bulk of the Kozaks saw only the Orthodox faith and did not rise to the occasion.

*Khmelnytsky resumed his efforts when Charles X, Gustaf of Sweden, took the field and he re-opened negotiations to find support for Ukraine. But Bohdan was failing fast and when he died, in 1657, he had not solved the problem. He had created an independent state and he had brought it about that Moscow conducted its relation with him, not through the governmental offices dealing with Muscovite territory, but with that which dealt with foreign states. That fact is worth more than hundreds of volumes trying to define the relationship that existed after Pereyaslav.*

Then by the familiar methods of awaking religious bigotry, which was all too near the surface in the seventeenth century everywhere, by inflaming the rank and file against their leaders, and by a clever use of international negotiations, the Russian tsars steadily increased their influence in Ukraine and broke the power of the Hetmans, un-

til they had them more or less subservient. From then on, the task was easy, and by the end of the eighteenth century, the Hetman State was slowly obliterated and Moscow decreed the end of everything Ukrainian.

## NEW ERA

*Yet the consciousness of that state had left to the Ukrainians something that survived a century of Russian denial of their existence and sparked the flame that culminated in the establishment in 1917 of the Ukrainian National Republic that survived the Soviet conquest, that led to the Ukrainian resistance to both Nazis and Communists, and is the inspirer of the Ukrainian movement today within and without their country.*

But the Treaty of Pereyaslav and its problematical meaning is not without a real significance for the world and the free nations today. When in 1917, the Dynasty of Romanovs fell, Kerensky, like Boris Godunov attempted to combine the old and the slogans of the West. He was soon removed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks and

they had their own theories as alien to the West as were those of Tsar Alexis to Khmelnytsky. They postulated a world state, based on the universality of a class throughout the world, on the idea that the Bolsheviks and the Communists represented the labouring class everywhere and that they alone were its spokesman. That theory surprised everyone. The German General Staff could not understand Trotsky at Brest Litovsk. The Western and democratic powers could not find a common meeting ground with the Communists in their turn. But no one could foresee the stubborn patience with which the Russian Communists supported their ideas. They issued just enough notes to persuade the European world that there was hope of peace and co-operation. They talked glibly of co-existence, but always without denying their own principles. They used World War II, in the same way, and at Teheran, and especially at Yalta, they deceived the best that the West had to offer, because those men refused to believe the underlying facts of Communist philosophy, just as the Ukrainians at Pereyaslav, could

not see the real meaning of the position of Tsar Alexis. They could not realize the significance that the boyar was but the slave of the tsar so, in the twentieth century, the West could not realize that only a Communist government could be a democratic government by hypothesis, that all truth was Communist truth interpreted in the Communist way. Only read the Theses of the Communist Party on the Treaty of Pereyaslav, in 1954, and compare them with the Communist views of 1934, and that is enough.

### Testing ground

Basically, the world crisis of 1954 is no different from that of the Hetman State in 1654. It is not a question of the breaking of agreements, of duplicity or of chicanery. It is a frank acceptance of the statement that no agreements have been made, which can have value when the Kremlin changes its mind, for it does not change its basic ideas and what the world calls diplomacy and progress, the Kremlin calls momentary tactics.

Hetman Khmelnytsky and

the Kozaks and the Ukrainian people felt it in 1654, and the ensuing years. The Ukrainian people felt it after 1919. They are still feeling it. A malign fate has made them at all periods the testing ground for the correct Muscovite theory, but they have stood the test and it is for the free world to see that their statesmen profit by the lesson and take the proper action. When that

is done, we shall have abundant hope that there will really be a free Ukraine and that it can do its part with the free nations in building that world, which has been dreamed by the prophets and the poets, when war shall be no more and when men everywhere will co-operate for the service of God and the assistance and well-being of their fellow-men.



**TRIUMPHANT ENTRY OF HETMAN BOHDAN KHMELNYTSKY  
into Kiev, 1649, after the liberation of Ukraine from Poland.**

## ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT WATSON KIRKCONNELL,

Acadia University,

Saskatoon, Sask., June 6, 1954.

### THE FATHER OF LIES

*I think it was Saint Paul who said that the devil was "The Father of Lies". That may have been the case in his day, but Saint Paul never encountered Russia's foreign policy. For centuries now the Prince of Hell has lost first place to the Kremlin as Past Pluperfect Prestissimo Master of Mendacity.*

In this year 1954 the world has witnessed a major case of the poisoning of truth by Moscow. So far as the people of Western Canada are concerned, we have met here today to supply the antidote.

The occasion for the last Big Lie was on the 18th of January last, the 300th anniversary of negotiating of the Treaty of Pereyaslav by the Ukrainian leader, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, and representatives of the Tsar Aleksey Mykhaylovich of

Moscow. Every agency and instrument of Soviet propagan-  
da has hailed this tercentenary as commemorating the begin-



**Prof. Watson Kirconnell**

ning of a beautiful and wonderful friendship between "the older brother" of Moscow and his greatly beloved "younger

brother" of Ukraine. Every paper in the Soviet Union called on all the agencies of government "to mark on a wide scale this outstanding historical event, the 300th anniversary of the union of Ukraine and Russia, as a great national festival, to organize lectures, reports, discussions devoted to this important event in the history of our country and the further strengthening of peoples in the Soviet Union." Miners and state-farm serfs alike were called on to increase their output in honour of the great event. Poets, musicians and artists were to produce commemorative masterpieces. Schools were to study the epoch of the treaty in the official Russian version that "the Ukrainian people had heroically struggled against Poland with only the single thought that it could unite with the Russian people in a single state."

How shall we explain the facts to the non-Ukrainian Canadian, who lacks even elementary knowledge of the problem?

Let me suggest a few fundamental questions: (a) What is Ukraine? (b) What is meant by

Russian friendship? (c) What was the Ukrainian experience of that friendship in 1654 and subsequent years? (d) What are the lessons of that Russian friendship today?

### WHAT IS UKRAINE?

Ukraine is an East European country with an area and a population equal to those of France. In terms of grainfields and of iron and coal resources, it is the richest country in Europe. As a civilized state, it is three centuries older than Russia, its tyrant and enslaver. The forty million Ukrainians have a Slavic language of their own, which differs from Russian as much as Dutch differs from German or Slovak from Czech. Nine centuries ago, the Kievan dynasty of the Ukraine was intermarrying on equal terms with the royalty of England and other West European countries. Three centuries ago there began, however, a slow but ruthless process by which the younger, more primitive but stronger state of Moscow sought to engulf and digest the Ukrainian nation and blot out every hint of its ancient traditions and independent identity. This

murder of the nation began with the alleged "friendship" of 1654.

### **The Meaning of Russian Friendship**

*But what is the true meaning of this friendship of the Russian "elder brother" that the Ukraine is alleged to have sought in 1654? We shall see this strange thing in truer perspective if we examine a few historical examples.*

(a) On March 18, 1921, Russia signed a Treaty of Peace with Poland. On August 27, 1928, Russia signed the so-called Kellog-Briand Pact, renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. On July 25, 1932, Russia signed a Pact of Non-Aggression with Poland, and in 1934 extended the duration of this friendly agreement until 1945. On November 23, 1932, they signed a mutual Convention for the Conciliation of all disputes. On September 18, Russia signed the Covenant of the League of Nations, promising to respect and protect all fellow-members, of whom Poland was one. Yet in the late summer of 1939 the Kremlin signed a secret treaty with Adolf Hitler by which

they mutually agreed to destroy Poland and divide her territories and population between them. In breach of all her solemn obligations of honour and friendship, Russia sent her armed forces into Poland on September 17, 1939, and conquered the eastern half of the country by force. During the next twenty-one months, one million seven hundred thousand Polish citizens were deported to the slave camps of Siberia and more than a million of them perished there. Russian friendship means enslavement, torture and murder. It is the friendship of a snake for its prey, the friendship of a shark for an unsuspecting swimmer. After that savage and merciless act of treachery, Stalin telegraphed to Ribbentrop: "The friendship of the peoples of Germany and the Soviet Union, cemented by blood, has every reason to be lasting and firm." Hitler understood what this meant, and beat Stalin to the punch in June 1941.

### **FINLAND**

(b) Finland was another fellow-member of the League of Nations — a harmless and highly civilized little state with

a population of only six million people. Finland was not only protected by the Covenant of the League, a 1920 Treaty of Peace, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Russia had sought out and signed with Finland a Treaty of Non-Aggression and Amicable Settlement, valid until 1945. In spite of all this, in secret bargain between Hitler and Stalin in August 1939, little Finland was fed to the Russian wolf by Stalin's Nazi friend. On November 30, 1939, Russia attacked Finland by land and sea. The bargain with Hitler was not known until 1945, but the crime in attacking Finland was so flagrant that Russia was drummed out of the League of Nations as a criminal, by a unanimous resolution of the Assembly and the Council of that body on December 14, 1939.

### BALTIC STATES

(c) The free Republic of Lithuania was guarded by similar pledges of Russian honour and Russian friendship. The climax of Moscow's duplicity came in October 1939, two months after the secret Hitler-Stalin agreement to destroy Lithuania. Diplomats from the little

country were invited to Moscow to sign a Pact of Mutual Assistance on October 10, 1939. *Pravda* the next day had an editorial in praise of this friendly agreement between two free peoples and carried a photograph of the signing of the treaty. In the sequel, in 1940, Russian troops occupied Lithuania and a large percentage of its population was shot or sent to die in Siberia. Years later the Lithuanian Embassy in Washington supplied me with photostats of Russian field maps used by these Soviet troops, dated 1939 and showing Lithuania (then still free) as a Soviet republic in the U. S. S. R. Still another photostat, running to several pages, gives instructions to Communist police for liquidating whole categories of Lithuanian citizens. The date for the initial order for this slaughter was October 10, 1939, the very day when the unsuspecting envoys of Lithuania were being wine and dined in Moscow after the signing of the treaty of friendship. It is clear that Moscow's troops and police were making ready for the kill even while the government made a public parade of good will and affection.

(d) Identical Soviet obligations of friendship protected Estonia and Latvia and an identical technique of destruction was used by Moscow in enslaving these little Baltic countries and murdering their citizens. Even a snake will hiss before it strikes, but the Russian government breathes friendship even while it cuts your throat.

### BYELORUSSIA

A country whose experience is directly analogous to that of the Ukrainians is Byelorussia, a state of 18,000,000 population lying directly north of Ukraine. The formation of the Byelorussian nation dates back to the 8th century, but today I want only to speak of its treatment by the Bolsheviks. After crushing national independence in 1920, the Communists set up a stooge government in a Byelorussian Soviet Republic. It opened universities but liquidated all five hundred professors who reported for duty. It destroyed virtually all the Byelorussian clergy, and murdered seventy poets and writers, six hundred journalists, and twenty thousand intellectuals and profes-

sional men. Then followed the martyrdom of three million peasants and workers. No country has been more thoroughly robbed of all its educated leaders, yet the hypocritical Russians have secured for Byelorussia, as for Ukraine, a place in the councils of the United Nations.

(e) Another example is Russia's friendship for the independent republic of Tannu-Tuva, a state with about twice the area of Ireland situated between the U.S.S.R and Outer Mongolia. On July 25, 1925, Russia signed a treaty of friendship with Tannu-Tuva. Twenty years later, on October 16, 1945, an edict of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R listed the electoral districts of the Soviet Union for an impending general election and Tannu-Tuva appeared as a riding (No. 299) in the Russian Soviet Republic. The little state had been annihilated by an Order-in-Council (and Soviet bayonets) as casually as a toad gulps a fly.

(f) Moscow never tires of harping on the affectionate good will that binds together all the peoples of the Soviet Union. No superlative is too strong for the friendship that links them all together. By

Article 17 of the Soviet Constitution, Soviet republics are given the right to secede; and by Article 18 their territories may not be altered without their consent. Yet Moscow wiped five autonomous Soviet republics out of existence ten years ago. The first official intimation of this act came in the lists of electoral districts already referred to. Cross-checking these lists with Articles 22-29 of the Soviet Constitution revealed the following amazing facts: The Kalmyk, Crimean, Volga German and Checheno-Ingush Autonomous Republics and the Karachai Autonomous Area had been wiped out. The Crimean Autonomous Republic appeared simply as three "ridings" (Nos. 185-187) in the Russian Soviet Republic; Engels the chief city of the Volga Germans, was now a humble riding (No. 266) in the Saratovsk District of the R.S.F.S.R.; and the Karachai Autonomous Region was now a riding (No. 101) in the Bryansk District of the R.S.F.S.R. The Kalmyk and Checheno-Ingush Autonomous Republics had been destroyed so completely that even the names of their towns had dis-

appeared. The situation behind this change was that these five autonomous areas mutinied in wartime against the Moscow regime, and in punishment their populations were either shot or sent to Siberian slave camps, while new settlers were brought in to take over their lands.

These examples represent a pattern that is as old as the Russian state. During the past four centuries Moscow has conquered 168 peoples and tribes. Murder, torture and lying have been the familiar instruments of its policy. It is no novelty to find Maxim Litvinov, a favorite with gullible Western journalists, describe a treaty of friendship as a means of softening up a victim so that you may destroy him more easily. That has been common Russian practice for four hundred years.

### THE EVENTS OF 1654

We are now in a better situation to understand what actually happened in 1654.

In seeking to strengthen Ukraine against Poland, Bohdan Khmelnytsky entered into an alliance with Moscow. It is clear that the Treaty of Pere-

yaslav was envisaged as a military pact between two sovereign states since Ukraine was to be free to handle its own foreign policy (except with respect to Poland and Turkey), there were to be customs duties at the frontier between Muscovy and Ukraine, and each state was to refuse to accept fugitives from the other. This is a long way from the "union" envisaged in 1954 Soviet propaganda.

By 1656 Moscow had double-crossed its Ukrainian partner and made its peace with the common Polish enemy. In 1667 Moscow and Poland, by a deal not unlike the Hitler-Stalin division of Poland in 1939, divided Ukrainian territory between them with the River Dnieper as the dividing line between their ill-gotten domains.

The new propaganda version of all this, as trumpeted from Moscow in January 1954 is a tissue of falsehood and misrepresentation:

i) For example, the Bolsheviks present the Treaty of Pereyaslav as a model of fundamental friendship between brotherly peoples leading to integral union. Twenty years ago the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*,

the Soviet Union's own standard reference work, told a very different story. The orthodox version at that time was "*the alliance of the Ukrainian and Russian feudal lords . . . laid the legal foundations for colonial Russian domination of Ukraine*". The Hetman was a villain conspiring to destroy a "dynastic peasant revolution" among the Ukrainian people. The Tsar Aleksey was another villain in collusion with him to impose feudal autocracy on the common people. Since 1934, however, the Party line has changed. The younger state, the raw tyranny of Moscow, is to be represented as the beneficent *older brother* of all Slavs, leading them into blessed union in one state, with the blessing of a police-controlled Russian Orthodox Church. In keeping with this revised messianic doctrine, Hetman and Tsar in 1654 are represented as aiding the spontaneous desire of the two fraternal peoples to join in a common state. As with almost all Bolshevik historiography, both versions are false. The Hetman did not desire union at all. By 1657, after the Tsar had betrayed him in 1656, Bohdan Khmelnytsky was already ne-

gotiating a treaty with the non-Slavic Kingdom of Sweden; and in 1658 his successor, Hetman Wyhovsky, preferred a treaty with Poland to one with faithless Moscow.

(j) Another falsification of history in the new *Theses* of the Kremlin represents the Treaty as an act of incorporation not as a pact between sovereign states: "Fulfilling the several times repeated pleas of the Ukrainian representatives, the Zemsky Sobor in Moscow on October 1—11, 1653, agreed to incorporate Ukraine with Russia." As a matter of plain fact the original Pereyaslav Treaty said nothing whatever about the incorporation of Ukraine with Moscow.

### SHEVCHENKO AGAINST PEREYASLAV

(k) According to the same mendacious Soviet version, Shevchenko, the chief Ukrainian poet, "was an implacable fighter against Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and liberalism." This is Communist gobbledygook for saying that he was "a fighter against the independence of non-Russian peoples, such as the Ukrain-

ians". As a matter of fact, Shevchenko denounces Khmelnytsky, in at least three of his great poems, for having, by the Treaty of Pereyaslav, started the process that ended with the enslavement of Ukraine by Russia. It was because of his championship of Ukrainian independence that Shevchenko was sent by the Tsar into long years of Siberian exile.

In 1654, Muscovy was a land of serfdom, tyranny and barbarism; Ukraine was a free state with a record of culture and Christianity stretching back for centuries beyond the very existence of Moscow. By guile and violence, however, the Russian or Muscovite state has achieved the enslavement and martyrdom of the Ukrainian state. In 1686 the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was brought under the Patriarch of Moscow and all of its culture and education was systematically destroyed. Within a century not a trace remained of the venerable old Ukrainian Metropolitanate of Kiev. Two hundred years more and our own day has seen the hand of Soviet Moscow destroy the second Western Ukrainian Catholic Church with fire and sword.

Secular culture was similarly attacked. In the 18th century the Ukrainian school system was liquidated; Moscow forbade the printing of anything, even including the Bible, in the Ukrainian language, and Ukrainian monuments and memorials going back for nearly a thousand years were systematically destroyed lest they appeal to a national memory. The 19th century continued the attempt to turn Ukrainians into Russians. A Moscow ukase of 1863 declared that "there was not, is not, and cannot be any Ukrainian language". A law of 1876, signed by Tsar Alexander II, forbade the use of this same non-existent Ukrainian language for all public speaking and even in substitutes for music notes.

A free Ukrainian republic came into existence in 1917 but the last embers of its freedom were trampled out by Bolshevik boots in 1920, and hundreds of thousands of patriots were tortured and murdered. In 1921-22, more than two million Ukrainian farmers died of famine when Russia carried off the harvest in thousands of trainloads and left the Ukrainian population to starve.

This Moscow-made famine was repeated on an even vaster scale in 1932-33, and another five million Ukrainians died of starvation. Other millions have been transported to the Arctic North and the Siberian East. For nearly forty years Soviet Moscow, like Tsarist Moscow, has sought to obliterate the Ukrainians as a nation with an identity of their own. The Bolsheviks may have murdered their millions where the Tsars murdered only their tens of thousands, but the two imperialisms the Black and the Red, are the same in essence. Both are bred in ruthlessness and fed on messianic hopes. Each has had insatiate dreams of a world order in which Russia is everything and all "lesser breeds" are suppressed as the Ukrainians and Baltic peoples have been suppressed.

### PEREYASLAV'S LESSON FOR TODAY

*And what is the lesson of all this for that fraction of the world which still remains free today? Our generation is plagued with politicians, editors, columnists and commentators who bleat about "East-West tension" and*

*urge that friendly concessions on our part should be made for the sake of a lasting peace. And over against these ignorant fools stands the colossal Leviathan of Russian imperialism that has swallowed one hundred and sixty-eight peoples in four centuries, that has always tricked and tortured its victims, and has lied, and lied, and lied. Already it controls one-third of the human race, and is full of the insolence of triumphant power. Devoted agents of its world ambition play the traitor in every free country, including our own. Effective Red bases in the*

*Western Hemisphere are already being mobilized and the defence of our Canadian soil has become a major concern. As Mr. L. B. Pearson has only recently emphasized, Russian ambitions today remain unchanged. There is not the slightest evidence that the Supreme Liar and Enslaver has become an honest man.*

**Today I summon three centuries of Ukrainian martyrdom as a witness against policies of ignorance and folly. The latest lie from Moscow shows that the monster of an ancient imperialism is still awake and as hungry as ever.**

**ADDRESS BY PROF. G. W. SIMPSON,**

**Dean of the Department of History, University of Saskatchewan,  
delivered in Winnipeg, June 20, 1954.**

I regard it as a great honor to participate in this meeting, and as a special pleasure to speak under the auspices of the Winnipeg Branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee was established in Winnipeg and this city has been the heart and the centre of its work ever since. But while this city has been the heart, its vitality has depended on the vigor of its branches and organizations extended from coast to coast. In the short period of its existence KUK has found itself engaged in affairs of the highest importance to Canada. Established during the War it devoted itself to the supreme task of the War effort. Immediately after the War it did magnificent work in helping our government, and others, to cope with the situation of thousands upon thousands of brave people who preferred the uncertain life of freedom to

the certain slavery of communism. I do not, here, speak of other functions which KUK has performed. Now it is em-



**Prof. G. W. Simpson**

barked on another project of great significance and importance. It seeks to inform fellow Canadians of the grave seri-

ousness and subtle dangers which lie in the spread of the poisonous, cancerous growth of communism, promoted by Moscow imperialism, which at the present time threatens the whole free world, Canada included.

There are some Canadians who deplore this activity on the part of the Canadian Ukrainian Committee. I do not speak now of that desperate collection of conspirators, dupes, fellow travellers and professional organizer who operate as mechanical cogs, spark plugs, transmitters and chromium decoration in the latest Moscow model of communism. I speak now of honest, but ill-informed Canadians, anxious for world peace, security and brotherhood, who have never lived under cruel, despotic, capricious governments. Such people, anxious themselves for world peace, are ready to believe in the peaceful intentions even of states with the worst record for aggression. These honest, well-intentioned folk, with perhaps not too much knowledge of history, are ready to escape into some grandiose scheme for the future which ignores the unpleasant realities of the pres-

ent. Moreover the existence of atomic power is frightening to all of us without exception and in the mushrooming shadow of its almost incalculable force we are compelled to assess even more carefully the conditions of international life under which we find ourselves.

It is for these reasons that I welcome the present activity of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. We meet here today, first of all, as Canadians, speaking to other Canadians, about a matter of great importance on which we believe we have special information and experience.

### IMPORTANT OCCASION

The occasion for this meeting is a Treaty signed three hundred years ago in 1654. It is known as the Pereyaslav Treaty, named after the town, Pereyaslav, in the Eastern Ukraine, where it was signed. The Treaty was concluded between Russia and the Hetmanate State of Ukraine. It represents the first stage in a long series of developments which finally brought about the incorporation of Ukraine into modern Russian Empire. (On this point I shall say more later.)

Last year the Soviet Union decided to make the anniversary of this treaty the occasion for one of the most elaborate demonstrations in the history of the Union. The whole machinery of Soviet propaganda was set in motion, from the Academy of Sciences and Union of Writers down through the Communist Party, the Komsomols, the Trade Unions, the Kolkhozes and the schools. *Pravda* and *Izvestia* the highest official newspapers published an appeal to all the peoples of the Soviet Union from the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, the Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet "to mark on a wide scale this outstanding historical event, the 300th anniversary of the union of Ukraine and Russia, as a great national festival, to organize lectures, reports, discussions..."

In case of the April issues of *Pravda*, that paper printed among its scanty allowances of photographs a picture of a Ukrainian choir. Both Malenkov and Krushchev attended the official celebration.

In connection with this celebration no detail was left unnoticed. Visitors from a-

broad were invited and even a little boy from Winnipeg was welcomed if he whistled the right tune.

In the Soviet Union things don't just happen to happen. There where everything that is not forbidden, is demanded a wide scale demonstration such as this represents deliberate and significant policy. What is its significance?

The rulers of the Soviet Union know that if they are to succeed in establishing their new materialistic society they must cut the spiritual roots which have nourished previous communities. Hence their persistent and diabolical efforts to poison, kill, and tear out all religious organizations. Any deviation from this determination is a matter of tactics and not of final intention. A second spiritual root is a people's tradition and history. If a people can be separated from their true past, or if their past can be so distorted, twisted and adulterated that what was white is now declared black and what was blue and yellow is now pronounced red, then a rootless, confused generation can be whipped, driven and herded in a new direction.

It is this protest against the

cutting and poisoning of historical roots which is the chief reason for this Rally today. It is perfectly obvious to any student of Soviet politics that the Kremlin is making this vast fuss over the Pereyaslaw Treaty and Ukraine because Ukraine, as well as the other subjugated nationalities are among the weakest links in their enchained society.

We protest as Canadians. It is fitting that Ukrainian Canadians protest because they have the closest ties and memories with Ukraine. Along with other groups in Canada who came from Central Europe, the Baltic Area and other regions behind the "Iron Curtain" they know, as other Canadians do not know, the terrible impact of Soviet Communist imperialism. They have experienced, some at first hand, some through relatives and close friends, the sheer ruthlessness, brutality and murder of Soviet rule. They are thus performing a courageous service to Canada when they report truly of the facts which they know and have experienced. They are making a wholesome contribution to Canada when they denounce the clever and subtle propaganda

coming from Moscow, which is directed toward unsophisticated but well-meaning Canadian citizens. Thus they are asking us to consider this afternoon the claims of the Soviet propagandists that the Pereyaslaw Treaty is worthy of widespread rejoicing because it marks the beginning of "Eternal Unity between Ukraine and Russia".

### WHAT WAS THIS PEREYASLAV TREATY?

In the beginning of the sixteenth century there was emerging a very vigorous Ukrainian Community whose backbone was the lower Dnieper valley. The head of the community was the Zaporogian Sich, the heart of the community was the old city of Kiev now re flourishing after centuries of neglect. The strong arms of the state were the hard-fighting, free-living Cossack hosts. This area recovered from the Tatars had long formed part of the Lithuanian state, the major part of which was made up of older White Russian and Ukrainian principalities. That state had been united with Poland. This new emerging Ukrainian commu-

nity under the Cossack Hetman, Bohdan Khmelnitsky, drawing its historical inspiration from the old Kiev Principality, and its immediate impulse from the desire to free itself from the spreading Polish system of serfdom, rose en masse in revolt against Polish domination. In a huge warlike sweep they managed to overwhelm the Polish armies and exact concessions from the Polish King which gave them the rights of self-government over a large area of the Ukraine. Khmelnitsky's position was extremely precarious. The Poles were not likely to accept the curtailment of political power, or tolerate a separate, free community emerging beyond their control. To the south of Ukraine was the Tatar state of Crimea whose inhabitants poured forth from time to time like wasps from a hive, swarming over the steppes. This state itself was subject to the Ottoman Turkish Empire, now at the height of its power, whose might was incomparably greater than any single neighboring state. To the north of the Ukraine, with centre at Moscow, was a comparatively new state, Russia. The previous century it

had extended its control along the Volga river, begun the conquest of Siberia, and initiated a policy of serfdom which eventually was to tie its peasantry to the soil. Its interior position was far from favorable with reference to other states, but it had already built up a tradition as a hard, political bargainer.

In order to strengthen his position against the Poles Khmelnitsky sought diplomatic and military support now from one side, now from another. In 1654 he turned to the Russian Tsar. A hard bargain was struck. The Tsar was to give him support against the Poles, and to recognize the free government of the Cossacks. The Cossacks were to pay a tribute and acknowledge the Tsar. Books have been written about this Treaty of 1654. Many of its clauses were vague. All of the clauses have to be read in close conjunction with the historical circumstances and the prevailing political ideas of the time. I have no intention this afternoon of trying to lead you through the mazes of this Treaty of 1654, even assuming that we possess its original form.

The main significance of the

Treaty stands out clearly. The envoys of the Tsar on the one side, and Khmelnitsky and his associates on the other, were highly sophisticated negotiators trying to make the best bargain possible. The Tsar wished to utilize the necessities of Khmelnytsky's position to get a foothold in the rich Ukraine area. Khmelnitsky wished to utilize the support of a neighboring state to defend himself against the Poles and consolidate the independence of Ukraine. There was no question of love and friendship. He would just as readily turn to Crimea, Turkey, Moldavia, Sweden or any other state which could ensure his success.

Instead of Pereyaslav being the beginning of eternal friendship it was the beginning of a long series of betrayals. Within two years Khmelnitsky realized that from his standpoint the alliance was a failure. He died in 1657. His successors were caught in the interminable web of international intrigue, where it was inherently difficult to know how to defend a comparatively weak frontier state against the pressure of powerful neighbors.

In 1667 Russia made a truce with Poland agreeing to divide Ukraine thus employing the old tactic of first dividing the states which you intend to destroy. Few factors have been more disastrous to Ukrainian unity than the division of opinion as to which state was the more deadly enemy of Ukraine, Poland or Russia, and as to how one state of the two might be used to offset the other. In the eighteenth century gradually all self-government in Ukraine, so explicitly guaranteed in the Pereyaslav Treaty was completely suppressed. In the nineteenth century serfdom was introduced to various areas. Even the name Ukraine was suppressed and the Ukrainian language declared non-existent. The process of russification did not proceed smoothly. It was long, tough struggle maintained by the humble people for whom Shevchenko spoke.

Then came the Revolution of 1917 when the people for the first time in centuries had a chance of declaring themselves. Ukraine, long submerged, suddenly appeared before the astonished world. The Bolsheviks, successors to

the Tsars, could not ignore the fact, so they resorted to a new form of Pereyaslav Treaty. That however is another story. From the stand point of the development of the Russian Empire the subjection of Ukraine was of major importance. It was Ukraine that furnished in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the chief economic resources which made possible the steady expansion of the Russian Empire.

Soon after the Bolsheviks seized power, Ukraine through its Rada or Parliament declared its independence. In the Brest Litovsk Treaty of 1918 the Bolsheviks had to recognize that independence. They had no intention however of allowing Ukraine to remain permanently outside their control. During the wars in that region from 1918 to 1920 Ukraine was made the special prize of contending leaders and armies. Trotsky, who was mainly responsible for directing the military operations of the Bolsheviks, insisted that the conquest of Ukraine should have priority over all regions outside the old area of Moscow and St. Petersburg. However the spirit of Ukrainian nationalism was

too strong to permit the use of the old Imperialist tactics which denied the existence of a separate Ukrainian people and language. A new form of Pereyaslav relationships must be employed. They, the Communists, accepted the idea of a separate Ukrainian Republic. They promoted the idea of the widest use of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine. They favored the cultivation of certain aspects of Ukrainian culture. They thus infiltrated and penetrated the nationalist movement. At that time they proclaimed social reform. While they were thus confusing, dividing, and deceiving the Ukrainian people they were expanding and perfecting the instruments of power and coercion which would give them the ultimate control over the country. There were four such instruments, the army, the communist party, the secret police, and economic control.

*With regard to the army, it is a simple fact that no state has succumbed to communism without the help and intervention of the Red Army. None of the communist leaders have been under any illusion as to the necessity of military pow-*

*er to make good their footing in any state which they wish to subjugate.*

The communist party which undertook the popular side of political organization in Ukraine did have Ukrainians in its membership, but at no time was the supreme direction in Ukrainian hands, nor was there even a majority of Ukrainians in the Ukrainian section of the party when the crucial decisions were made. This was the Muscovite tactics up to date. In earlier times the Russian rulers had also their pro-Moscovite and Russianized followers in Ukraine.

The history of the secret police is too well known to require elaboration here. The continuation, refinements and elaboration of the techniques of the old Tsarist Third Section constitute one of the most striking examples of the barbarities of our present age. Most of human flesh is too soft to be heroic, but the tortures of the Ukrainian heroes of previous ages have been increased many fold in the solitary cells and labor camps of the present Communist regime.

Economic control is a subtle form of subordination. Eco-

conomic monopolies occur in every part of the world. The communist form of government is however, a monopoly of all economic monopolies. It is the most complete monopoly in the history of the world. That it is capable of tremendous production is, of course, true. That it may be used to serve purposes of power and expansion is no less true. As applied to Ukraine, the history of economic control is short and tragic. Moscow could not carry out its program of industrial expansion and power without using to the full the rich resources of Ukraine. Like the Tsarist Russia previously the possibility of becoming and remaining a Great Power depended to a considerable extent on the utilization of Ukraine. I need not recall here the terrific demands on the Ukrainian people, the hundreds of thousands of people liquidated during the collectivization of farms, or the millions who perished during the awful famine years when Ukrainian food was diverted elsewhere.

Thus the new Pereyaslav technique was a sort of jiu-jitsu method of fighting. It accepted the full on-rush of na-

tionalist demands, and then stood nationalism on its head, powerless to achieve any effective form of free action. The new technique is just as successful as the old.

What is the lesson to be learned from Pereyaslav, and the Pereyaslav techniques? Surely no Ukrainian can read the record without realizing the hollowness of Muscovite pretension to friendship or the tragic consequences which have resulted from three hundred years of association with the Kremlin. A fertile land peopled with naturally gay and joyous folk have been, and are, chained to a system of power of which they themselves are the first victims.

What should be done about it? As I mentioned before, we are meeting here, not as Ukrainians, but as a body of Canadian citizens, deeply concerned not only with the fate of Ukraine, but with the dire peril in which all of us, as free people, stand. How terrifying that peril is, you, more than most Canadians fully realize. Let me review briefly the events of the last few years so we may see the situation in perspective.

When the War ended in 1945

Canadians as a whole breathed a great sigh of relief. We had come close to defeat. We are grateful to all our allies, and hopeful that a new era of world cooperation had begun as envisaged in the U.N. organization. Not all Canadians were optimistic. I recall talking to Rev. Dr. B. Kushnir, who was on his way to San Francisco on behalf of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. He doubted whether the Soviet Union was really sincere in support of an international system of harmony and good will, or whether it really intended to give Ukraine an international status which membership in the United Nations Organization would seem to imply. However this pessimism was not shared by Western governments, who proceeded to demobilize as rapidly as possible.

At the end of the war the United States had 12 million men in the armed services. Two years later this so-called "war mongering" nation had 1½ million. In 1945 it had 2½ million men in the air force — the largest in the world — by June 1947 this "aggressive" power was less than 207,000. Canada also a "war-monger-

ing" nation had 490,000 men in its army on V-E Day. By October 1946, Canada had an army of 9,800.

By 1947 the United States had granted the independence to the Phillipines; and Great Britain had granted independence to Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan whose combined population was twice as great as the whole population of the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union did not demobilize but used its army to push its dominance as far as possible into Central Europe, bringing approximately 100 million people under its sway. This is, of course, an example of "peoples' peaceful democracies" in action!

The fact of the matter was that the disarming of the West created a terrifying inequality of power as between Soviet Union and the free peoples. This gap was so fantastic, that even with the rearmament which has taken place, the West has not yet regained a balance. In those terrible perilous years our fate as free people depended on superiority in one single weapon — atomic power. Even in the case of this new force the United States in the generous mood of 1945 offered

to share this power on an international basis, qualified only by a system of international inspection. I know of no parallel in history of such a generous offer on the part of a Great State. Even in 1947 the United States included the Soviet Union and its European satellites in its invitation to share in the benefits of its Marshall Aid.

The Soviet Union not only turned down the offer but proceeded to reestablish its international propaganda and conspiratorial organization, the Cominform, completed its subjugation of Czechoslovakia, and clapped a blockade on Berlin.

The West had either to abandon its position in Europe, one by one, or take up the challenge, in spite of vast inferiority of armed strength. The West took up the existent challenge. The air-lift saved Berlin. The Nato alliance laid down the military framework which might ultimately protect West Europe. This was in 1949.

Checked in the West the Communists struck in the Far East and in 1950 struck at what seemed to them the easy conquest of South Korea. Once again under the vigorous leadership of the United States

this aggressive move was checked, though at great cost and sacrifice. When the Communists were stopped they resorted to prolonged talk and abuse. While they talked, however, they continued to organize for attacks elsewhere. At no time since 1947 have they yielded a single advanced position, which has been held by the Russian red army. Every conference so far has been used for propaganda purposes directed toward ill-informed and confused people throughout the world — however well-intentioned or hard-pressed. They might well talk about the virtues of maintaining a type of peace which enables them to swallow sections of the globe, one after the other, and refuse to give an accounting because they possess in the last analysis superior military force at, or near, the spot.

With this brief perspective, I return to my question, "What is to be done?" In such a vast, complicated and dangerous world situation I cannot pretend that I know the answer! I can only make suggestions concerning the situation as I see it. We are faced with a gathering momentum of power hostile to the free world.

Our danger is increasing rather than diminishing. We possess the potential strength to protect ourselves. If this potential strength is made existent then we will be in a position to stop the further armed spread of Communism and place it in the position where it will gradually collapse from within by reason of its inherent strains and false assumptions. This means a short-term and long-term policy. The short-term policy involves three propositions.

1. We must cease to be complacent. The situation is one of great seriousness. The Government must assist us to understand this seriousness. It is not good enough to say that we have the option of making a five or ten-cent effort when our freedom is really endangered. It is not good enough to say that we can disassociate ourselves, in advance, from one area of danger, when all areas are interlinked in the problem of security.

2. We must realize that in the first stages of securing international stability military and police strength, not potential but actual, not distant but on the spot, is the first requisite in calling a halt to

aggression and lawlessness. If we want to build up a momentum of power we have got to dig in definitely, as the U.N. forces dug in in Korea. In Canada I feel we have not faced the issue squarely.

We are the largest state directly concerned that has refused to face the issue of compulsory military service. I think I am aware of all the domestic problems involved, but if the deadly international peril is to remain for a long time with us, as I believe it will, then all Canadians have a supreme and over-riding interest in providing the only system of permanent service which is fair to all sections of the country, and to all classes of its people.

3. We must see the American policy in its proper perspective and cease to undermine confidence in the essential soundness of American intention and the good sense of its people. It was the United States which stepped in to save Greece when that country was on the verge of collapse and Great Britain could no longer sustain the burden of defending the Mediterranean. It was the United States which shored up the economy of Western Europe.

It was chiefly American initiative and magnificent organizing genius which broke the Berlin blockade. The United States stood firmly with Canada in promoting Nato. The record in Korea speaks for itself. In the matter of a few years the United States spent 157 billion dollars for the defence of the Free World. We do not pretend that there are no boils or pimples on the face of American effort, but let us keep the record straight. No great nation with the possible exception of Great Britain during the Napoleonic Wars, has ever expended its strength so generously to save a free world from destruction. Without the United States the cause of freedom cannot be saved against the present accumulated force of Communist power. That is why the communists everywhere, with the help of thoughtless, shortsighted people, are exaggerating the faults and shortcomings of our neighbors. If they can undermine the main bulwark of our defence, the outer forts will fall automatically. Hence the poison of their propaganda throughout the world is directed day and night, unceasingly to this end. It is our

first duty and interest to counteract this vicious propaganda.

Our long-term policy also involves three propositions which are, of course, dependent on the success of our short-term policy. The short-term policy cannot be by-passed.

1. If through our short-term policy we can achieve balance in world power we will finally be in a position where we can negotiate from strength and take the initiative toward the creation of a better organized human society. We should then look more and more to the United Nations Organization to supply the framework through which a tolerable international system can be achieved.

2. We should continue to support on an even wider scale a system of technical assistance to under-developed nations. This should be done carefully and systematically based on genuine sympathy and not on any sentimental, romantic spirit on the assumption that you can stop communism with bushels of wheat, antibiotics, and power dams, provided you are sufficiently lavish.

3. We should support the liberation of suppressed nations.

It should be fully realized that this is no easy task to be accomplished. It cannot be accomplished by words or wishes. It is more in the nature of a major operation to be undertaken by highly skilled surgeons under the most favorable conditions, if the patients' life is not to be sacrificed prematurely. The time is always ripe to show our sympathy for oppressed people. We owe them that measure of understanding. The least we can do is to pay tribute to their hardihood and bravery. Their resistance is part of our defence. The practical measures for achieving liberation, however, must in the nature of things be left to the most competent advisers at the centre of affairs who can see the complete picture in all its relationships. Ultimately the dynamic power of freedom is the most explosive force in human society, but explosives have to be handled with the utmost care.

Looking back now over the three hundred years of history since Pereyaslav we may well be saddened at the long struggle endured by the Ukrainians to achieve a free dignified place among the nations worthy of their hopes and genius. But we

are at the same time astonished and inspired. In spite of successive disappointments, disillusionment and betrayal the spirit of freedom is not dead. Stalin

Malenkov and Krushchev will not be able to dull this spirit any more than could their predecessors, Alexis, Catharine and Nicholas.



**MICHAEL HRUSHEVSKY, 1867 — 1934 Foremost Historian, Premier of the Ukrainian Central Rada and first President of the Ukrainian National Republic, 1917 — 1920.**

# THE REDS' FIRM GRIP ON UKRAINE

by EDWARD CRANKSHAW

With a degree of cynicism worthy of Stalin himself, the Soviet Government is celebrating the tercentenary of the Muscovite acquisition of Ukraine as an anniversary of liberation. This fact alone makes it clear that no matter how powerful the changes at work in the structure of Soviet society, the Stalinist drive towards the Russification of the minority races of the U.S.S.R., is to continue unabated.

The history of Ukraine for the last three hundred years has been a history of blood and tears. After the Russian Federal Republic it is the largest and by far the most important of the sixteen republics which make up the U.S.S.R. It has its own language and its own proud cultural traditions. Indeed, its tragedy lies precisely in its richness and importance, as well as in its geographical situation on the western marches of Russia proper. It contains so great a proportion of Soviet industrial and agricultural

wealth that even today, when Moscow is so rapidly developing its Asiatic resources, the Soviet Union without it would be only a ghost of itself.

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

The extent of the Moscow terror over the republic is demonstrated most vividly in the population figures. In 1917 there were thirty million inhabitants living within the pre-1939 frontiers of Ukraine; according to the normal rate of increase there should have been forty million in 1939. In fact, there were only thirty-one million. In these bare figures we see the story of the appalling purges, above all the liquidation and deportation of millions of Ukrainian peasants for their resistance to collectivization.

This resistance culminated in the great famine which was

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

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

But even this treatment could not break the spirit of Ukrainian independence. Purge had to succeed purge. And when the war came, the Ukrainians went over in vast numbers to the side of the Germans, whom they innocently welcomed as liberators. (With careful and

imaginative handling the Germans could have turned the whole of Ukraine into an armed ally against Moscow).

The Ukrainians lost their "liberation"; and to the pre-war Soviet Ukraine were added the lands of Polish and Trans-Carpathian Ukraine — which called for more violent repression to bring the new subjects into the Soviet fold and force them into the pattern of collectivization. This was done against a background of armed revolt and banditry, which sometimes took on the scale of regular military operations by the relics of the Ukrainian independence armies. It took place behind a facade of Ukrainian political and cultural autonomy which went so far as to secure for Ukraine separate representation in the United Nations.

It was not until 1951, after a new wave of purges at the hands of Khrushchev and Kaganovitch that Ukraine was effectively tamed — and then only by deporting hundreds of thousands to other parts of Russia, especially Asiatic Russia, and resettling Great Russians in their places.

## POSSESSION VITAL

These are the people who are being told to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of their submission to Moscow as a day of rejoicing. From the point of view of Moscow, there is everything to be said for keeping a tight grip on Ukraine, the possession of which is vital to the prosperity and strength of Russia under any

form of rule. From the point of Ukraine there is a great deal to be said for close union with Russia — or there would be a great deal to be said for this if the Russians were capable of conceiving and sustaining a close union other than a union of oppressor and oppressed.

*Montreal Star,  
Jan. 29, 1954.*

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## Ukraine and Russia

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

*What the Soviet people are not likely to be told in this "celebration" is that Ukraine retained much autonomy*

*after the agreement of three hundred years ago, being permitted, for example, to maintain diplomatic relations with all countries save Poland and Turkey, while the Cossacks' right to self-government was confirmed. This is a far cry from the present situation, in which Ukraine is governed as tightly from Moscow as is Moscow Province itself, and when "Ukrainian" representatives abroad, as in United Nations, are mere puppets of the Moscow Kremlin.*

*Much has happened in the past three hundred years of association between these two great branches of the Slavs,*

*Russians and Ukrainians have fought together at times in common struggle against foes; at other times Ukrainians have fought Russians for Ukrainian independence and freedom. Whether the Ukrainians would wish to co-exist with Russians in a future free federated state, we do not know, despite the claims of partisans on both sides of this issue. But certain-*

*ly the Ukrainian People today, like other Soviet peoples, can have no reason to celebrate their present state of the oppression and exploitation, a condition far different from that which Bogdan Khmelnytsky envisaged when he negotiated with Czar Alexis three hundred years ago.*

*The New York Times,  
December 20, 1953.*

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## BOOKS FOR YOUR LIBRARY

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