

**One Letter from Ukraine
and our Answer**

(5 Feb 59)

From the Editorial Office:

Several weeks ago we received a letter, or rather an article under the title "To the Gentlemen of the UHVR." The letter was sent and signed by Pavlo M. ~~Yatskiv~~ of the Stamilav Medical Institute (vul. 1 Maya, No.7). This letter is in answer to our Information Bulletin No.4, dated May 1957. The communist newspaper published in Ukrainian in Winnipeg, Canada "Ukrainske Slovo" printed the letter in its issue of July 29, 1959 under the heading "In Reply to the nationalist 'Liberators'" and noted that this was a reply to the "UHVR and all other Ukrainian nationalist Liberators, including those of the UCC in Canada." the letter was also reprinted by the communist newspaper "Ukrainske Zhyttya" published in Toronto. The content and form of the letter are much like the writing of Yu. ~~Smolych~~ of the MVD "Committee for the Return to the Homeland," or Yu. ~~Melnychuk~~, the journalistic mouthpiece of the Soviet security organs.

Since we are in favor of free speech and the right of all to speak their mind, we are reprinting this letter, only omitting (for lack of space) the vulgar Soviet expressions in which the letter abounds. Also for lack of space, our answer is very brief. Our answer applies not only to the letter's author, but also to all those who stand behind him, i.e., those who are in favor of the system of Russian communism, and who oppress the Ukrainian people. If the author of the letter "To the Gentlemen of the UHVR" deems it advisable to let all Ukrainians know about it, he should publish it in the Soviet Ukrainian press. We are not asking that

the Soviet press publish our answer because we know that this is not permissible.

TO THE GENTLEMEN OF THE UHVR

Having received your letter, I wanted to throw it into the wastebasket, but then I thought that this was not my personal affair, that regardless of its second rate importance, it applies in some degree to all who "wish the Ukrainian people well, and who favor their material and spiritual development" (I am quoting your Bulletin)...

Listen, then, Gentlemen of the UHVR, to my "remakks."

The first thing which caught my attention on reading your ravings, was the note about Ostap Vyshnya...If you, scribes of the UHVR were so sorely tempted to spit in my soul, then you have succeeded, when you profaned the name of Ostap Vyshnya, so dear to me and to all Soviet people... Don't touch the late Pavlo Mykhailovych, don't insult his memory by mentioning him in your libels, falsehoods and innuendos, don't sling mud at him, don't grab his clothes with your hands on which the blood of the sons and daughters of Ukraine has not dried yet, because we shall chop off those hands, being a nation of hot-tempered Cossacks...

The "document" received from you causes immediate wonder. You have lived in Germany for a long time, now you are in the United States for as long, and we don't see that you are as punctual as the Germans or as businesslike as the Americans. You send me the Bulletin for May 1957 in 1959. Aren't you ashamed to eat someone else's bread and to show such negligence?

I never even suspected that you lacked modesty, but you are exceeding all my expectations. You have titled your editorial: "Final Victory will be Ours." And who are you? Are you representing anyone? Do you yourselves believe that a handful of homeless adventurers, who lost all principles long ago (if it ever had any), could impose its will on a nation of 40 million?

You mention that mighty avalanche of the national struggle and the all-national revolution in Ukraine. I have known for a long time that you are enemies, and despicable enemies at that, without any chivalry or honor, but now I can see that your hatred for the Ukrainian Soviet State and to that form of government and social order which was won and defended by the Ukrainian people first blinded you, and finally brought you to insanity...

You, gentlemen, do not always finish your sentences. You are probably associating your victory with World War III. In that case, don't even come near with such ideas. The losses and wounds of World War II are still very fresh here. Anyone of us, to whom you would dare make such a proposition, would tell you to go and swallow your dirty tongue. You can't imagine how sincerely we are against war, and that we are doing everything to avert it. But if someone gets crazy and seeking his own grave, attacks us, then we will fight **fiercely** and we shall win...

We wonder in spite of ourselves, or rather we feel insulted that to us, citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, you are trying to speak in the time of the Ukrainian people with an impudence of monsters. Who gave you that right, **who** authorized you? Forty years ago the Ukrainian people spoke, not with words, but with deeds, of their attitude to that autocephalic paradise in which the presidents and

commanders would be Hrushevsky, Petlura and Co. You know very well what was the cause of your downfall, and it is not an accident that today, by your hindsight you count on the people's short memory, and try to whitewash the social measures which you promoted during the civil war years.

The people spat then at your "independent" maces, jewels and other regalia, the people leaned toward social revolution and having won it, they "put the landlords in rags." While you were loitering about alien backyards and quarreling for leadership among emigres like spiders in a net, and while you were discussing ad nauseam what you would "grant" to the Ukrainian people, a republic or a hetmanate, and on whom to count: on Berlin or on Warsaw; the Ukrainian people was multiplying its material and spiritual treasury. In that time Ukraine has emerged by its industrial potential as one of the leading countries of Europe...

So, gentlemen of the UHVR, in those 40 years the Ukrainian people have gone a long way, while you are still in the same mud. Forty years ago you were not the spokesmen of the wishes of the Ukrainian people, and the people shut you up when you tried to speak for them, and this is even more so now. In this movement of progress of all mankind, the Ukrainian people, along with the other peoples of the USSR have taken a difficult, but honorable task upon themselves: to be pioneers in the building of a new society. And they are proud of it. And you are still in the mud... True, if you would wash and dry yourselves clean and would air yourselves from the muddy mold, we would let you inside our homes to live out your old age; but some of you have been encrusted in that mud so deep that they must die where they are. Who knows if their lungs are capable to breathe our fresh air? Amen to them...

At the peak of your muddy Olympus is the prophet Mykhailo Hrushevsky, just as if he were a direct descendant of Zeus, or a Jupiter from Kobylaky. The posture, the beard and the conceit, are just as in a real prophet. Since this Pantheon was being set up in the 20th century, a very modern designation was added to the sanctity of this prophet: "the well-known socialist-revolutionary." You see, without the word "socialism" even a prophet is not a prophet any more... Leaning on Hrushevsky, stands Simon Petlura. The fraternity figured that in the Pantheon Petlura would take the place of George (or Yuriy) the dragon-slayer, but things came to a flop, and Simon became simply a martyr. The Ukrainian land will never forgive him the suffering which he inflicted on it. We were not hunting him on the Paris Boulevards, but when he was riddled with bullets on May 25, 1926, the Ukrainian people said: "a dog deserves a dog's death."...

Then come the plain martyrs, with Mykola Khvylovyi among them. The muddy inquisition forgave him his errors of his youth and received him as the profligate son, and the conclave in the mud shouted his slogan "away from Moscow" and led him into the Pantheon of the nationalist saints...

On May 23rd they observe the memory of a very odious figure, another saint -- Yevhen Konovalets. Konovalets is a "truly modern Ukrainian man." You see, all the others are saints, but Konovalets is a modern man who achieved sainthood. His modernity obviously consists in the fact that he was one of the first in the mud who understood the meaning of fascism and found a way to team up the nationalist nag with the fascist colt and to go forth to conquer Ukraine. He prayed for Hitler, crawled before the Gestapo officials, and was lacking in something: someone from the mud grew jealous of him and stuck a bomb into a bunch of flowers. Konovalets was killed and

became a saint. If there were no Bolsheviks, the mud would have invented them, so as to conceal their own fights they could accuse the Bolshevik agents of killings. Dig in your files, gentlemen, and although you know it well, you will find that "they killed their own."

But excuse us, what happened to the saint Volodymyr Vynnychenko? If he is not a prophet or a great martyr, then he is at least a "chrysostom." You write about Petlura: "A member of the Ukrainian National Directorate fell, and many portfolios. Wasn't Vynnychenko a member of the Directorate? He was. And no rank member, but the most idealistic and most "socialistic" of the whole Directorate. Did you forget this famous figure. No. I can guess: in his last will Vynnychenko tried to crawl out of the mud and spoke of it in a very uncomplimentary way, he tried to rid the house of dirt...

You mention an art exhibit in Argentina, a meeting of the Ukrainian Technical Society in Toronto, of physicians in New York. You know that I am not interested whether ~~Olesnytsky~~ Olesnytsky was elected president of the Physicians Society or someone else. I am more interested in the life of the Ukrainian farmer across the sea, whether ~~xx~~ he is able of making ends meet, and whether Ukrainian workers have jobs, and what you are doing to make a piece of daily bread available to them. You feel insulted already? Of course, you are making high policy, and the "men" (this is the official name of the rank soldiers of the UHA) interest you only to the extent of being a force in your game of politics. I would be really happy to hear that a congress of Ukrainian physicians passed a resolution to improve medical services to the people, and to organize a general struggle for free treatment of people.

I don't have to explain to you what threatens a rank American when he gets sick...

For a page and half you list the works of Ukrainian writers published abroad. You underline with real pleasure that this or that writer left Soviet Ukraine. For your information, I am drawing a clear line between so-called political and economic emigres...

We shall not debate this, I am already quite sick of continuing this discussion with you, but let me tell you that even the most talented writer, when he is cut off from his own people, from the roots that nourish his heart, condemns him to creative impoverishment, to a loss of that something independent of which you speak, and finally to infertility. This fate was the lot not only of Ukrainian emigres, but also of the Russian, Byelorussian, etc. Remember Oles, Bunin, Vynnychenko, Kuprin, and it will become clear that your allegations that there is a Ukrainian literary process abroad, is simple raving caused by stupid hatred of a person whose nerves were shattered by emigre quarrels and gossip. A man who lost all ability of real appraisal of facts.

It behooves to say a few words about Khvylovyi. What kind of rehabilitation of Khvylovyi are you talking about? The Brockhaus and Yefron dictionary say that rehabilitation means: 1. restoring to a good name, 2. restoring to former rights. Don't forget that rehabilitation is a juridical term, and all juridical terms and norms are the will of a certain class elevated to law...

Yes, his system of opinions was bourgeois-nationalist. Rehabilitation of bourgeois nationalism is not contemplated by us even under conditions of peaceful coexistence. If anyone of you, gentlemen, is sick of fooling himself and others with lies of a "national

revolution" and sincerely desires to crawl out of the mud, we will forgive him. We are generous, like victors are likely to be, but you are not children and you should understand that we will forgive a former bourgeois nationalist, but we will not rehabilitate the system of bourgeois-nationalist opinion...

Reading your international information, we see right away whose goods you are peddling. The most happy news transmitted by you is that there was a conference of the Anti-Communist League in Saigon... Then you talk about Europe. You would like very much to have the reader share your views about the events in Hungary in 1956, but fearing that you would not be believed, you call a witness. It took you a long time to find the witness, and you found the Belgrade "Borba." I will answer you in the words of the classicists of Yugoslav literature, Nusic: "Can't you produce a better witness than God? Then your case is poor."

Your news reports about life in Soviet Ukraine reach the limit. You are sending your information to a person who has worked in public education for over 20 years, who always suffered and took to heart our schools, and you whisper to him in a mysterious and devilish way that in Ukraine teachers in Ukrainian schools are not masters of the Ukrainian language and teach in Russian, that there is a great lack of Ukrainian textbooks, and that those available do not suffice for one pupil in a hundred. Enough of that super-false lying, which is insulting to every teacher and to every parent...

Economic and political matters have not escaped your attention, either. You say that the Stanislav radio has been agitating for the recruitment of labor for lumber work in Arkhangelsk, Sverdlovsk and the Kazakh SSR. If there is any sense left in you, gentlemen,

then why are you hollering, why is this news affecting you like a red rag a bull?

When, following the year 1929, due to the depression, emigration was stopped and there were 388,000 unemployed in Poland (the government of the "colonels" had a tendency to paint the situation in bright colors), this never bothered you, and you negotiated with the Belvedere with olympic calm. A Ukrainian mountaineer in Volyn or in the Donbas, in Stalino or in Zaporozhe - that is no longer news; but it is possible that some want to work where they can smell the pine, and moreover, wages in Archangelsk are much higher than in Perehinsko, Bolekhiw, or the Caucasus. So why are you dealing from the bottom of the deck? Why do you quote the word voluntary, and qualify this migration as deportation of young people from Ukraine. Save us from evil...

The most demagogic and most deceitful is your article in the Bulletin "Forty Years Ago." A person unacquainted with history of the revolution in Ukraine might think that the chief of the Central Rada, M. Hrushevsky and chief of the government V. Vynnychenko headed the masses and realized revolutionary changes in Ukraine... This was not the case, and the masses drifted away. Obviously, the only thing left of the Central Rada was a lot of noise. "Only a madman" (and not every one at that) would believe your program statement that it is your wish to institute a "just social order, free of any kind of exploitation." People of the older generation remember your justice during the civil war, people of the middle generation did not yet forget your "justice" in 1941... And in general, gentlemen, don't mince words, speaking of a "just order." Enough of this deceit and falsehood...

You did learn something in 40 years and now you are trying to act in accord with the taste of the Soviet people. Thus, you conclude your Bulletin with Engels' words: "An enslaved nation cannot fight to build socialism until it liberates itself from national enslavement." This is just what the Ukrainian people have done: they have freed themselves of the national enslavement of tsarism, and then of the Germans and white Poles whom you had brought to Ukraine, they drove the Allies into the Black Sea, and having thus become free, stretched their mighty shoulders and built socialism with their sinewy hands...

You remind me of Kipling's cobra who lost her teeth from old age, but she continued hissing and would possibly frighten a rabbit.

These are my remarks, gentlemen of the UHVR. My wishes are very brief, particularly since the wishes come from a living person, and you are corpses...If you don't find work abroad, come home and we will try to find some work for you, and we will never reproach you for having done you a favor.

I did not insist on being your correspondent, but you asked for it, so now you should listen.

May, 1959. City of Stanislav.

PAVLO YATSKIV

OUR ANSWER

The surprise of Pavlo Yatskiv on getting our "Information Bulletin" No.4, May 1957, only in 1959, is quite superfluous. Since that time we have published 20 issues of our Bulletin and we are mailing it regularly. It is possible that the MVD delayed the issue in question, or else the author had been mulling his answer for two years. It is also not impossible that he had

never even seen a complete issue of the Bulletin, but just received clippings from his superiors for the purpose of writing an answer. But in order to assuage his complaints and to give him a chance to "criticize" some more, we have sent him all the other issues of the Bulletin to the address which he gave. We do not propose to compete with him in his abusive Soviet "vocabulary." This is probably caused by hooliganism which is widespread in the whole USSR. We are confining our answer to a few basic explanations and statements.

We are surprised that Mr. Yatskiv is sore for our quotation of the prominent Ukrainian Ostap Vyshnya: "I consider a good Ukrainian not the man who can well sing "Reve ta stohne" and dance the Hopak, and not the man whose name ends with "enko," but the man who wishes the Ukrainian people well, and who works for their material and spiritual growth." We respect Ostap Vyshnya for these words which he wrote in slavery. For his manly courage Ostap Vyshnya became a victim of the brutal Stalinist-Bolshevik purges. Crocodile tears alleging "you have spit in my soul" are quite beside the point. Ostap Vyshnya's words are a slap in the face to those Ukrainians who only know the Hopak, those that say "vsyo ravno" and those that are spineless and "spit in their own souls."

In answer to the question, who are we and whom we represent, we say:

We are members of the UHVR or workers in the press and information division of the Secretariat-General for Foreign Affairs of the UHVR, which we note in every issue of the Bulletin. Most of us fought actively against the occupants of Ukraine: Russia, Poland and Germany, and as such we were sent abroad to inform the nations of the world about the national enslavement and social exploitation of our people.

Living abroad, we are still part of the Ukrainian nation, being political emigres. We speak and write the truth about the situation in Ukraine. We are doing this not our own name alone, but also in the name of millions of Ukrainians whose lips are sealed at home.

The Soviet government has never given the Ukrainian people a chance to express their will without fear or compulsion. For no one in the USSR, including party members believes that the farcical elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR or Ukrainian SSR are any expression of the will of the people. Beria and Kaganovich had also been "elected" at one time, although everyone knew that they were bandits. These are not true elections because the electorate has no choice. They can (and must) vote exclusively for candidates proposed by the only party. The communist party is continually sounding warnings against manifestations of so-called bourgeois nationalism in Soviet Ukraine. Why don't they get a chance to express themselves lawfully during elections? This would be democracy. And then it would be easy to check whether the people are in favor of the independent Ukrainian liberation movement, or the Soviet regime.

The letter makes stubborn and unfounded allegations that the Ukrainian people are in favor of the Soviet government. This is just like another unfounded statement to the effect that the Ukrainian people did not support the Central Rada and the Directorate of the UNR. The course of the Ukrainian revolution of 1917 to 1920 was very complicated because the people had just been awakened from long tsarist enslavement, they were exhausted by the war, and had to fight on several fronts against the ^{red} Russian ~~murder~~ onslaught and against the White Guards. Nevertheless, in the November

1917 elections to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, the Ukrainian national parties received 75% of the votes, and the Bolsheviki barely 10%. Congresses of workers, peasants and soldiers supported the Central Rada. Even those Ukrainian political groups which subsequently subscribed to the Soviet platform were in favor of the independence and sovereignty of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

No power will delete from the pages of history the document by which Soviet Russia declared war on Ukraine (the ultimatum of the Council of People's Commissars to the Central Rada of December 17, 1917). No one will deny the fact the Soviet rule was imposed on Ukraine from without, on the bayonets of the Red Army which consisted almost exclusively of non-Ukrainians. This is amply attested to by the Bolshevik bosses themselves who were at that time active in Ukraine. N. I. Podvoiskiy, one of the commanders of the Bolshevik armed forces in Ukraine, wrote: "There not the slightest doubt that Ukraine, if left to exercise its own will, would constitute a very hostile soil for the development and establishment of Soviet power" ("Na Ukraine," Kiev, Politvydav, 1919).

The only real power of the Bolsheviki in Ukraine were the Russian detachments which were garrisoned there. "The soldiers were for the most part not members of the Ukrainian nation... This was the only power on which the Soviet of Workers Deputies could rely" was the admission of another Bolshevik leader (M. Mayoriv, "Iz istorii revoliutsionnoy bor'by na Ukraine," Kiev, Derzhvydav 1922). Eugenia Bosch, one of the most prominent figures of the communist leadership in Ukraine, stated that the

Ukrainian communists did not believe that they could seize power in Ukraine. She wrote: "A majority of the Committee members, regarded the Central Rada as an organization created by a nation which sought liberation from national oppression, and hence they came to the conclusion: if we, Bolsheviks, are supporting the desire of the nation for liberation, then we should support the Central Rada which is the only national organization" (God bor'by, Moscow, Istpart, 1925). The above mentioned Mayorev stated that prior to the Second Congress of the Soviets of Ukraine a group of people from Katerynoslav headed E. by Quiring resigned from the government, being of the opinion that "the Ukrainian Soviet Government must dissolve because Soviet rule cannot be maintained in Ukraine and it is necessary to make peace with Petlura on condition of an assurance of guarantees by the Central Rada that the communist party will be able to operate in Ukraine."

These statement of communist leader eloquently prove that communist influence on the Ukrainian population was very weak, and ideas of Ukrainian national liberation were widespread and popular. The Central Rada was their true spokesman. The Ukrainian people did not institute Soviet rule voluntarily: they Soviets won as a result of outside intervention by the overwhelming power of Russian troops.

The discussion whether the Ukrainian people are for the rule of Soviet oppressors or for a free and independent Ukrainian state, for the reestablishment of which the Ukrainian independent "nationalists" are struggling -- we propose to analyze from the following indirect plebiscite:

It is a known fact that there was a horrible famine in Soviet Ukraine in 1932 and 1933. Nearly seven million Ukrainian peasants perished "on their own land, of which they were not masters," a land known for its wealth throughout the world. This famine was deliberately engineered by the Soviet government in order to break the resistance of the Ukrainian peasants against collectivization. The Kremlin is proud of this crime, defining it with the shameful formula "liquidation of the kurkuls as a class." Is it possible that these people, dying under unendurable suffering, could have blessed the Soviet government? Only the Ukrainian independents can speak in their name. Speaking for them, the Ukrainian independents wish that things like that should never happen again on Ukrainian soil. The seven million victims of the famine were not isolated individuals. They had parents, children, relatives. Would they vote for the Soviet government knowing that it was responsible for the deaths of their kin? They would vote for the Ukrainian independents. Let us then add several million of their votes to our list.

The Bolsheviks used also other means of terror against the Ukrainian people. These were forced deportations and resettlement. In the 1930s nearly three million people were shipped from Ukraine to dig canals and to erect various pharaonic structures in Siberia, the Far North and Central Asia. Only the Ukrainian independents are entitled to speak for them and for their children whose lives were ~~xxxxxx~~ brutally wrecked and whose youth was taken away by force.

In his secret address to the 20th Congress of CPSU, Khrushchev said that Stalin wanted to deport all Ukrainians from Ukraine, but he could not do it, because there were too many of them, and there

was no place so send them to. Can you expect the Ukrainian people to bless and support the Soviet government for this kind of "care," and that the descendants of the hardy and tenacious Cossacks, to whom Soviet scribes so often defer, would go to their deaths singing hymns in praise of their hangmen?

Ukraine suffered tremendous losses during the Yezhov years. In 1943, in the city of Vinnytsya several common graves were discovered which contained over ten thousands corpses of Ukrainians executed in 1937 and 1938. There are uncounted number of such mounds in Ukraine. One can say without contradiction that they exist in all localities with any major post of the GPU, later the NKVD.

According to very conservative estimates, the Soviet government liquidated over 250 Ukrainian writers in the 1930s, accusing most of them of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." What nation can suffer such a blood-bath without damage to its cultural development? The 250 talents destroyed is a huge loss to Ukraine which cannot be repaired in 50 or even 100 years. And how many thousands of teachers, scholars, artists and youths were liquidated in those years of terror. Who will speak for them, but we, Ukrainian independents? Before their withdrawal from West Ukraine, the NKVD murdered thousands of Ukrainian peasants and educated people. Who will speak for them? Certainly not the Soviet government.

The Ukrainian people supported the struggle of the Ukrainian liberation movement against the German fascist and Russian communist aggressors. It is impossible to imagine the fight of the OUN and UPA against two enemies without the support of the Ukrainian masses.

The communist press is attacking all manifestations of Ukrainian nationalism indiscriminately.

Heeding the call of the Ukrainian liberation movement and of the UHVR, and in spite of brutal terror of the occupying forces, the people staged a mass boycott of the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and to local Soviets of the Ukrainian SSR in 1946 and 1947. This was a true manifestation of the will of the people. A whole series of show trials of members of the OUN in 1958 and 1959 indicate that 14 years after the end of the war, there is still resistance against Soviet rule.

Such a plebiscite eloquently speaks in our favor. The Ukrainian popular masses wanted, and still want to see Ukraine free and independent. For this reason the Ukrainian independents continue the struggle against Russian occupation of Ukraine and against their own red quislings. The author of the letter belongs in the last-named category.

It is interesting to find out, on what grounds those lackeys and quislings regard themselves as representatives of the Ukrainian people? Probably only because they live on the land of the Ukrainian people and enjoy the fruits of their labor. But living alongside a people does not necessarily mean to be "of the people." The former alien landlords and capitalists have been replaced in Ukraine with the red nobility, this Moscow-appointed mob of noisy ruling bureaucrats. Their cynicism has no limit because they not only rob, oppress and exploits the workers and peasants beyond endurance, but also demands that they should be praised and thanked for doing it, alleging that they are "defending" the people. The wantonness of this high-living and insatiable new

cannot be fought by legal means. In capitalist countries the workers have a right to strike, but not in the Soviet Union. The Soviet government, like the tsarist, uses tried methods against the demonstrations of the workers: clandestine murder and deportation. One has to be a lackey, hireling and yes-man to be a candidate for membership in the new class. The present political "elite" of the Ukrainian SSR is composed of such egoists, grafters, opportunists and bootlickers. The author of the letter is doing his best to join the candidates.

He disputes our allegations about Russification of schools, claiming 20 years experience "in the field of public education." His venality and servility becomes immediately apparent from his allegation that there was never any Russification of schools in Ukraine. Not only we, but even the Bolsheviks speak of Russification. The Soviet press published a report of the Party Central Committee of June 14, 1953 that L. G. Melnikov was removed from the position of First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine for his "anti-popular policy in West Ukraine" because he "appointed non-local officials to executive positions" (i.e. Russians), and "Russified institutions of higher education in Ukraine." Even Moscow admits its policy of Russification, but this self-asserting "Littlerussian", himself a victim of Russification, does not see it.

Let us take another example: a report on the 12th Congress of the CP(b) of Ukraine of January 20, 1934 stated that the number of pupils taking instruction in the schools of the Ukrainian SSR in the Ukrainian language constituted 90% of the total. The percentage of pupils studying in the Russian language in Ukraine was 9.3%. But "Pravda Ukrainy" No.300, 1956 states that the per-

centage of pupils in schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction was only 63%, and pupils in Russian schools numbered 24.8%. In 22 years the number of pupils in Ukrainian schools fell from 90% to 63%, and those in Russian schools increased from 9.3% to 24.8%. What is the name of this process. Would you call it Ukrainization?

The Kiev journal "Ukrainska mova v shkoli" No.6, 1958, published an article on entrance examinations in the Ukrainian language and literature in the Kiev T. Shevchenko State University. The author found a deplorable lack of knowledge of the Ukrainian language in secondary schools, and cited undisputable facts. The following was written on this occasion: "the preponderance of schools with Russian as the language of instruction in the cities has a detrimental effect on proficiency in the Ukrainian language." This was published in an organ of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, and not in an emigre publication. Our statement that even teachers are not proficient in the Ukrainian language caused "indignation." But the June 1959 issue of "Radyanska Shkola" contains the following: "One of the most serious shortcomings in the language of the teachers in Ukraine, is the so-called "surzhik" (jargon), i.e., a totally unwarranted mixture of Ukrainian and Russian words and forms." We wish to note that "Radyanska Shkola" is also an organ of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR.

Why then, rave about "an insult to every teacher and parent?" Don't play dumb, Pavlo.

Out of 79 schools in Odessa, only 18 are Ukrainian, and out of 57 ten-year schools included in the above, only 9 are Ukrainian.

Even in Lviv, which had no Russians before the war at all, there were more Russian schools than Ukrainian in 1956. It is therefore not surprising that large cities in Ukraine impress foreign tourists as Russian cities. In the Ukrainian SSR with its millions of people, Ukrainian books with a non-communist content do not exceed the number of books published abroad by emigres for merely several hundred thousand Ukrainians.

The author need not worry whether the Ukrainian farmer across the sea is able to "make ends meet" and whether Ukrainian workers are able to find jobs. The Ukrainian farmer and worker across the sea has a larger slice of bread than his brother in Ukraine, and the former send a great deal of things to the latter, in spite of exorbitant Soviet duties.

It is not our business to defend or attack the American system of health service. This is for Americans to worry about, and they are solving the problem. The Ukrainian liberation movement is in favor of full social security and free medical care. But coming back to the standard of living of Ukrainian immigrants across the sea, we might ask: why aren't they going back to the USSR, in spite of the passionate propaganda of Soviet agents for return to the homeland?

We can fully understand why the Soviet government does not want to admit the murder of Petlura and Konovalets. It does not admit Katyn, either. The Government of the USSR and the CPSU want to be regarded as civilized, and terroristic murder from ambush are likely to mar their reputation. It is common knowledge that the Chief Commander S. Petlura was killed by an agent of the GPU -- Schwartzbart, and Col. Ye. Konovalets -- by Valukh, an agent of the NKVD. The files of the MVD-KGB surely contain

detailed reports on this.

Why call the system of Mykola Khvylovy's opinions "bourgeois nationalist?" Khvylovy was a dedicated Ukrainian communist who committed suicide in protest against the oppression of Ukrainian by Russian imperialism. Don't drag in Vynnychenko, and don't quote him out of context. Volodymyr Vynnychenko might have differed with other Ukrainians in his appraisal of the course of the Ukrainian revolution, but he stood for an independent, socialist sovereign Ukrainian nation, and not for a Red Littlerussia.

What connection is there here with data on unemployment and the suffering of Ukrainian peasants in Poland, and stupid ravings about "negotiations with the Belvedere?" Ukrainian nationalist independents, i.e., the OUN were in the vanguard of the fight against Polish oppression. This fight was supported by the people, making contributions for their defense and supplying them with food in prisons in Poland. It might of interest to add that many leaders of the Communist Party of West Ukraine (KPZU) who opposed the Polish regime, were liquidated by Soviet security organs under the pretext of "fighting Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism."

What does it mean that Ukraine has come to occupy "one of the first places in Europe" in industrial potential, when the Ukrainian people do not profit by it. One-half of the Ukrainian income goes to the building of the empire, and not to the needs of the Ukrainian people. The colonial position of the Ukrainian economy is no longer any secret.

The allegation that we "associate our victory with World War III" is simply deceitful communist propaganda. We are

not advocating another world war, but it is the government and communist party of the USSR that are spending uncounted amounts for armaments. They are against disarmament and against international inspection of atomic tests. Who the, but the USSR, is getting ready for war?

It is ridiculous to suggest that we, Ukrainian independents, want to make our personal fortunes and get rewards in Ukraine, as the Soviet propagandists suggest. If this were true, wouldn't it be more convenient to support the Soviet system and to try and join the new ruling class? Isn't it precisely the Soviet system that guarantees gain and comfort to all those who serve it with body and soul? Isn't it relying on officialdom, bootlickers and secret informers? Are those, by any chance, under the control of the people?

In a democratic order, men in power are servants of the people. Moreover, in democratic countries ministers, officials and officers are under constant control of parliaments and can be criticized by the press. Their salaries are known to all. They do not have special stores available to themselves, as in the USSR. And who knows the salaries of the Moscow and Kiev ministers. Who has the right to criticize the expensive and leisurely living of the party bureaucrats and censure the behavior of the bandits from the MVD-KGB crowd?

We are aware that Pavlo Yatskiv is itching to join the class of Bolshevik bigwigs, although he, being a Littlerussian, will not be permitted to sit behind the imperial table, but will merely get scraps from their table. But this has always been the lot of renegades. But then, on the other hand, perhaps he is only a