

UNCLASSIFIED

INTERNAL ONLY

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

Contact with AECASSOWARY-2 on 9 and 10 September in Washington

FROM:

NO

DATE

29 September 1959

SR/3-PP

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE

OFFICER'S INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

NO	TO	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS
		RECEIVED	FORWARDED	
1.				
2.	CSR/3-PP			<i>[Signature]</i>
3.				
4.	CSR/3			<i>[Signature]</i>
5.				
6.	SR/3-PP/ANN			
7.				
8.	PI/AN			
9.				
10.	SR/3-PP/ANN			
11.				
12.				
13.				
14.				
15.				

Correct spelling is OLIVIA

Card as marked for 74-124-29/5

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 2020
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

FORM 7 DEC 58

610

USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

INTERNAL USE ONLY

UNCLASSIFIED

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1958 O - 481731

SECRET

28 September 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Contact with AECASSOWARY-2 on 9 and 10 September in Washington

During the undersigned's contact with Subject in his room at the Hamilton Hotel in Washington, the following was reported by Subject:

1. A letter from the Ukraine was received by Subject's wife in which the writer drew specific attention to the contents of a parcel received by one of Subject's contacts in Edmonton, Canada. There were several statements in the letter to the effect that "I hope you received and were able to take advantage of everything designated for you in the parcel containing the mushrooms." The parcel was sent from the Ukraine by Mykhailo OLYNYK, the husband of one of Subject's maternal aunts in Stanislav. Subject instructed his contact in Canada to carefully check the "mushrooms" because there must be something in with them. After a great deal of concern expressed by Subject and five months later, the contact finally discovered an 8½" x 11" sheet of white onion skin paper hidden inside the frame of a wall picture of the Blessed Virgin which was included in the parcel on which in the most minute handwriting there was a letter written by OLYNYK. OLYNYK visits Subject's father about three or four times each year. His letter gives details on how to get Subject's father from the Ukraine to Poland. Along with the letter was a short note in Subject's father's handwriting. The note states that if he knew Subject would be back there some day soon he would remain in place, but if not, then he would like to come to live with Subject if this could be arranged.

*has already
celebrated
in Poland*

OLYNYK writes that Subject's father has a deep desire to spend the rest of his old age with his children (i.e., Subject and his family). He fears that the political situation in the USSR will soon change and that he will not be left to die in peace and therefore he desperately wants to get out. OLYNYK states that he has a good friend who could make (writer uses the word "zrobyty") all documents necessary for Subject's father to get to Poland for a three-month visit. He needs a statement from Subject's sister's mother-in-law in Poland to the effect that she would like him to visit her. OLYNYK states the document ostensibly coming from her in Poland could be produced by them in the Ukraine for a price but that Subject should write to her asking her to prepare for his father's visit and offer her some financial assistance. OLYNYK wants Subject to let him know whether or not he can get his father out from Poland within the three months' time. He said he would see that Subject's father is delivered safely in Poland but that it would be up to Subject to supply the financial aid to get him out from Poland.

SECRET

SECRET

-2-

OLYNYK stated that if Subject was not able to get his father to the United States, he (OLYNYK) can produce regular immigration papers for the father to immigrate to Poland but that this would take a lot more money and someone in Poland would have to be willing to take the responsibility to care for him. OLYNYK asks Subject to finance this venture by mailing him woolen material for five or six complete suits of men's clothing which he could sell for a good profit.

2. Valentin TSERKAN, about 35 or 40 years of age, member of United Nations delegation, spends much time circulating among Ukrainian emigres and often in the company of Iru MALAKHOVSKY (see contact report dated 29 July 1959), employee at Surin Book and Manuscript Company.

When TSERKAN first appeared at Surin he told Mr. Myron SURMACH that his name was Ivan LITVYNENKO. When Mr. SURMACH sent a letter to Mr. LITVYNENKO at the address he supplied, the letter was returned. SURMACH told him this on his second visit and he supplied the name TSERKAN and the United Nations address. He asked SURMACH to save for him copies of all emigre publications, which he calls for in person each week.

3. Subject relayed verbally information which is all included in the reports of AECASSOWARY-27 and V. STAKHIV regarding the AECASSOWARY contacts at the Vienna Youth Festival and information regarding Evhen STAKHIV's travel to Poland which is included in a separate report.

4. Subject was asked to comment on the Soviets' overt contact with KOSHELIVETS during the Vienna Youth Festival, whether or not he felt there was a likelihood that the RIS was using this seemingly naive overt approach to try to recruit KOSHELIVETS and whether or not in his opinion KOSHELIVETS might be a vulnerable target. Subject commented as follows: KOSHELIVETS is one of the most intelligent younger generation Ukrainians in the emigration. Although he is knowledgeable of the political situation, his main interests definitely lie in the field of culture. He is extremely critical of the Soviet regime because of their suppression of Ukrainian culture. When SHEVCHENKO confronted him in Vienna with the fact that the Soviets had a lot of information on him, KOSHELIVETS interrupted SHEVCHENKO to declare his position; to wit, that in case he expected to talk him into returning to the Ukraine, he felt it necessary to make a full declaration in order to let him know "who I am and where I stand." He stated, "I don't intend to return and will never return, not because I am afraid of punishment, but because I could not live for one day in that world of lies and totalitarian political pressure and national discrimination. I am used to living in a free world, open about my feelings. I am sincere, not hypocritical, which it is necessary to be in your regime. So long as the USSR exists there is no force in the world which could bring me back." SHEVCHENKO laughed at this declaration and asked KOSHELIVETS whether he thought he was so naive as to think he could talk KOSHELIVETS into returning, that after a careful study of KOSHELIVETS' newspaper he came to the conclusion that it would be easier to convince a Banderivitch to return home rather than

SECRET

SECRET

-3-

KOSHELIVETS. They both laughed heartily after this and changed their topic of discussion to that of living conditions in the West. It was KOSHELIVETS' impression that the Soviets are making a broad and careful study of the Ukrainian emigration in order to determine a new course of action against them.

Subject stated that his only fear at present about KOSHELIVETS is that if he made any false statements in his application for immigration to the United States (for instance, that he was an officer in the Red Army), that this fact might be known to the Soviets and they could make use of it against him.

5. Subject brought up the name of AETRUANT, implying that he felt we (the Agency) had lost a good potential contact. He stated, for instance, that when Stephen OLIYNYK was at the Opera in Kiev recently, he could have been able to establish contact with AETRUANT. He reminded the undersigned that AETRUANT had asked when in Brussels to have emigre literature mailed to him by having it addressed directly to the Opera House, but that they (the AECASSOWARIES) were asked to turn the entire matter over to us and to cut off all efforts to recontact AETRUANT. Subject said he wondered whether or not anyone will ask Khrushchev during his visit in the United States why AETRUANT didn't accompany his wife on the visit. The undersigned made no effort to defend the position taken by the Agency in this case, and merely stated that perhaps President Eisenhower will be curious enough to inquire about why AETRUANT was left behind.

[]
SR/3-PP

SECRET

SOVIET UKRAINE'S PAVILION AT INTERNATIONAL FAIR IN MARSEILLE

FREE UKRAINIANS EXHIBIT BOOKS ON UKRAINE PUBLISHED IN FREE WORLD

For the first time in history Moscow allowed the Ukrainian SSR to be represented alone at the 35th International Fair, which was held this fall in Marseille, France. It is a significant development; heretofore only the USSR as a whole was exhibited at all international fairs. From the viewpoint of Soviet Ukraine the Marseille Fair was given a great deal of attention and consideration. Not only was the industrial preparation of the fair elaborate, but the Ukrainian Pavilion received a great amount of publicity. The pro-Soviet *Etudes Sovietiques* (September, 1959) devoted to it 40 pages out of its 96. At the fair other literature on Ukraine was distributed in great quantity; two voluminous brochures on Ukraine and other catalogues dealing with general information on Ukraine, its industries, including pictures illustrating the various phases of life in Ukraine. *Etudes Sovietiques* contained articles by Premier N. Kalchenko, and such Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR as A. Baranovsky, A. Hryza and A. Shcherban. Premier Kalchenko dutifully wrote in his article that Soviet Ukraine is a "free and sovereign state... It has its own constitution, a coat of arms, its flag, its anthem and its government..." (All except freedom—ED.)

The Ukrainian Pavilion contained some of the most modern machinery made in Ukraine; electrical appliances, farm machinery, mining machinery, and the like. Present were many Ukrainian officials from various parts of Ukraine, who on occasion talked freely to those Ukrainian visitors who had come from Paris or Munich to view the Fair.

NEW YORK UKRAINIAN GROUP SHOWS UKRAINIAN ATTAINMENTS IN FREE WORLD

Taking advantage of the fact that many visitors would visit the Ukrainian Pavilion the "Prolog Research and Publishing Association" of New York staged an impressive exhibit of books on Ukraine published in foreign languages. It rented a suitable space at the "Librarie L. Lafitte" at 156 La Canebiere in Marseille and exhibited several hundred books published, besides in the Ukrain-

ian, in the English, German, French, Spanish, Italian, and Polish languages. The window display featured a large sign in Ukrainian: "Ukraine at the 35th International Fair in Marseille" (see cut elsewhere in this issue of *The Ukrainian Bulletin*). A similar book exhibition was staged by Prolog during the "7th International Youth Festival" in Vienna in the summer of 1959.

Another such exhibit was presented by "The Ukrainian National Union of France." In addition, the Ukrainian organizations in Paris organized a coordinating committee which prepared a special document on the significance of the Ukrainian SSR at the Marseille Fair, as well as on the role Ukraine has played in the international arena. The

document, signed by A. Kulchytsky, Professor of the Free Ukrainian University, and K. Mytrovych, was sent to French parliamentarians and to the French press. It stated that although the Ukrainian SSR government claims that it is a "free and sovereign republic," the fact remains that Ukraine is subjected to the political domination of Moscow, to economic exploitation and Russification, and is, in short, enslaved by Communist Russia.

Under the heading, "An Interesting Soviet Exposition at the 35th International Fair in Marseille," *Le Figaro* of Paris reported on September 30, 1959:

"The problem lies in the fact that the USSR wants to prove that, contrary to the claims of the Ukrainians in the free world, Ukraine is not enslaved, but in point of fact produces magnificent agricultural machinery, textiles and objects of folklore art.

"Another question is: where does the Ukrainian production go if not to the Soviet Union, and what does Ukraine receive in exchange, inasmuch as the standard of living is inferior to that of the countries of the West?"

"The answer is that according to the (Continued on Page 8)

FROM THE UKRAINIAN POINT OF VIEW:

"LIFE" REPORTER AND ALLEGED "UKRAINIAN ANTI-SEMITISM"

Anti-Ukrainian sentiment and propaganda have recently been intensified in some American newspapers in the form of ascribing to the Ukrainians under the Soviet communist rule anti-Semitic excesses and even persecution of the Jews. A case in point is a reportage by Patricia Blake, which, under the title of "New Agony For Russian Jews," appeared in the December 7, 1959 issue of *Life* Magazine. Here are some excerpts:

"It is in this historical context that 180,000 Jews now live in Kiev. Recently the Ukraine has again been the scene of pogroms. Synagogues have been broken into and worshippers beaten up. 'The government isn't exactly responsible for the pogroms,' said a young Kiev Jew. 'The police puts a stop to the violence before it goes too far. Maybe the local authorities don't even know about the pogroms before they start. But, on the other hand, very little is accidental in a police state. After all,' he added bitter-

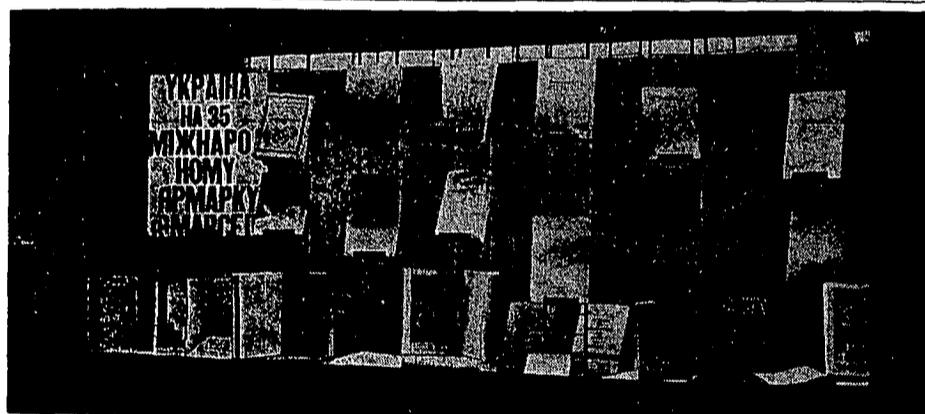
ly, 'Ukrainians have always hated the Jews. The Russians are smart enough to turn local anti-Semitism to their advantage. Pogroms give the Ukrainians a chance to let off some of the hatred they might otherwise turn against Moscow...'

Furthermore, the author describes her visit to Babyn Yar, a ravine outside Kiev, where "the Garmans and the Ukrainian collaborators" allegedly killed 96,000 Jews during the war. This information was given her by a man "who was dumping refuse from a truck." She also says that "a mob of Ukrainians had desecrated" a Jewish cemetery last year. In other parts of her article she says that "in the 17th and 18th centuries the Cossacks slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Jews."

The way her report is written one would almost think that the Ukrainians are masters in their own country. She didn't bother to report about the destruction of Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic churches, of the wholesale deportations and executions of Ukrainians, the man-made famine, Russification, pillaging of Ukrainian cemeteries, historical monuments and the like.

If these anti-Semitic excesses really took place, then it was with the knowledge of the Soviet government, which is not the government of the Ukrainian people, and the guilty culprits should be looked for where they can be found: in Moscow. Millions of rotting Ukrainian corpses, victims of Soviet Russian terror, are also to be found by the enterprising reporter.

Marseille Trade Fair Sept 57



Exhibition of Ukrainian books printed in the free world, arranged by the "Prolog" Research and Publishing Association of New York, during the 35th International Fair in Marseille, France, this fall, at which the Ukrainian SSR was represented by its individual pavilion.

STATEMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

TO THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE MATTER OF INTENSIFIED ATTACKS OF MOSCOW ON UKRAINIAN LIFE

The free world can permit itself to conduct a hot or a cold war with Moscow, or live with it in peaceful "coexistence," inasmuch as it has freedom and can avail itself of it accordingly. Its sole solicitude is the safeguard of its freedom against Russian aggression. But the enslaved Ukrainian people are compelled to live in a state of permanent struggle with Moscow, a life or death struggle. This protracted struggle can end either in full victory over the aggressor, which victory would restore freedom and independence to Ukraine, or in capitulation, which would mean the inevitable destruction of the Ukrainian people. If the Ukrainian people want to avoid destruction, they must continue their struggle for the national liberation until full victory is attained.

There can be no compromise in this struggle, inasmuch as the slightest retreat or the slightest manifestation of submission or agreement to "coexistence" in slavery will only strengthen the Russian enslaver and further the encouragement to aggression.

This maxim is well known to Moscow and it never can forget it. By its policies of ruses and deceit it tries to lull the vigilance of the Ukrainian people and to weaken their moral strength, and at the same time to strengthen its positions by mendacious promises of easing the regime and by suggesting the hope of a better life to be attained by peaceful development. On the other hand, Moscow at the same time systematically prepares and effectuates heavy blows against those Ukrainian forces which strive for independence.

Moscow conducts its planned and cruel attacks, directed at destroying the leading elite of the Ukrainian people, not only on the land occupied by it, but also on the territory of the free world, where Ukrainian political exiles live. Moscow is destroying the Ukrainian people on the occupied territory of Ukraine by mass famines, in concentration camps, in prisons and by deportations to Siberia and to "virgin lands," and outside its own borders by man-hunts and assassinations. In the XVIIIth century Russian Czarist agents kidnapped from Hamburg, Germany, Andrew Voynarovsky, great adherent of Mazepa and one of the first Ukrainian political exiles. From the bullets of a Russian agent Simon Petlura, Supreme Commander and head of the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic, perished on a street of Paris; and on a street in Rotterdam Col. Eugene Konovalts, leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and commander of the Ukrainian Military Organization, was killed by a bomb planted on his person by a Soviet agent. Just recently, while the Russian enslavers were propagating their peaceful intentions to the world, Moscow committed a heinous crime: it assassinated Stepan Bandera, head of the Supreme Council of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

By its terroristic acts against Ukrainian patriots both in Ukraine and in the free world Moscow proves to us that it knows no respite in its march toward the destruction of the Ukrainian nation. Therefore, there should be no respite in the struggle of the Ukrainian people for liberation from the Russian yoke.

Against strengthening attacks by the enemy on every sector of life, we must respond by strengthening and solidifying our reaction, by strengthening and solidifying our work for the liberation of Ukraine.

Let us intensify the liberation struggle

of the Ukrainian people by our moral and material support of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in all its activities, as well as by our own initiative.

The heroic struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, sanctified by the death of its first commander, General Taras Chuprynka, and thousands of officers and men who fell in the struggle, the revolutionary struggle of the Ukrainian underground and the indestructible resistance of the Ukrainian people under various forms against the Russian invader, attest to the dignified stand of the Ukrainian people in the native land.

Let all Ukrainian emigration, as a unit and as individual members, prove that we stand honorably in a united front of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people.

Our firmness, unity, activity and durability—constitute our best reply to the enemy for his stealthy and sneaking murderous attacks.

Nationalities Division of Democratic National Committee Urges Support of Captive Nations

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—A "Conference on Recommendations for the 1960 Democratic Platform" was held on Sunday, November 29, 1959, under the auspices of the Nationalities Division of the Democratic National Committee at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia, in which several hundred Democratic leaders from all parts of the country, including a strong Ukrainian delegation, took part. The program of the conference included the placement of a wreath at the Liberty Bell, a plenary session, round table discussions on citizenship, United States foreign policy and United States domestic issues, and a banquet. The open session was addressed by Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan, Chairman of the Nationalities Division; Hon. Drexel Sprecher, Deputy Chairman, Democratic National Committee; Dr. Alfred J. Marrow, chairman of the conference. Michel Cieplinski, Maj. Mario Remo and Dr. James Sheldon served as coordinators.

UKRAINIAN DELEGATION

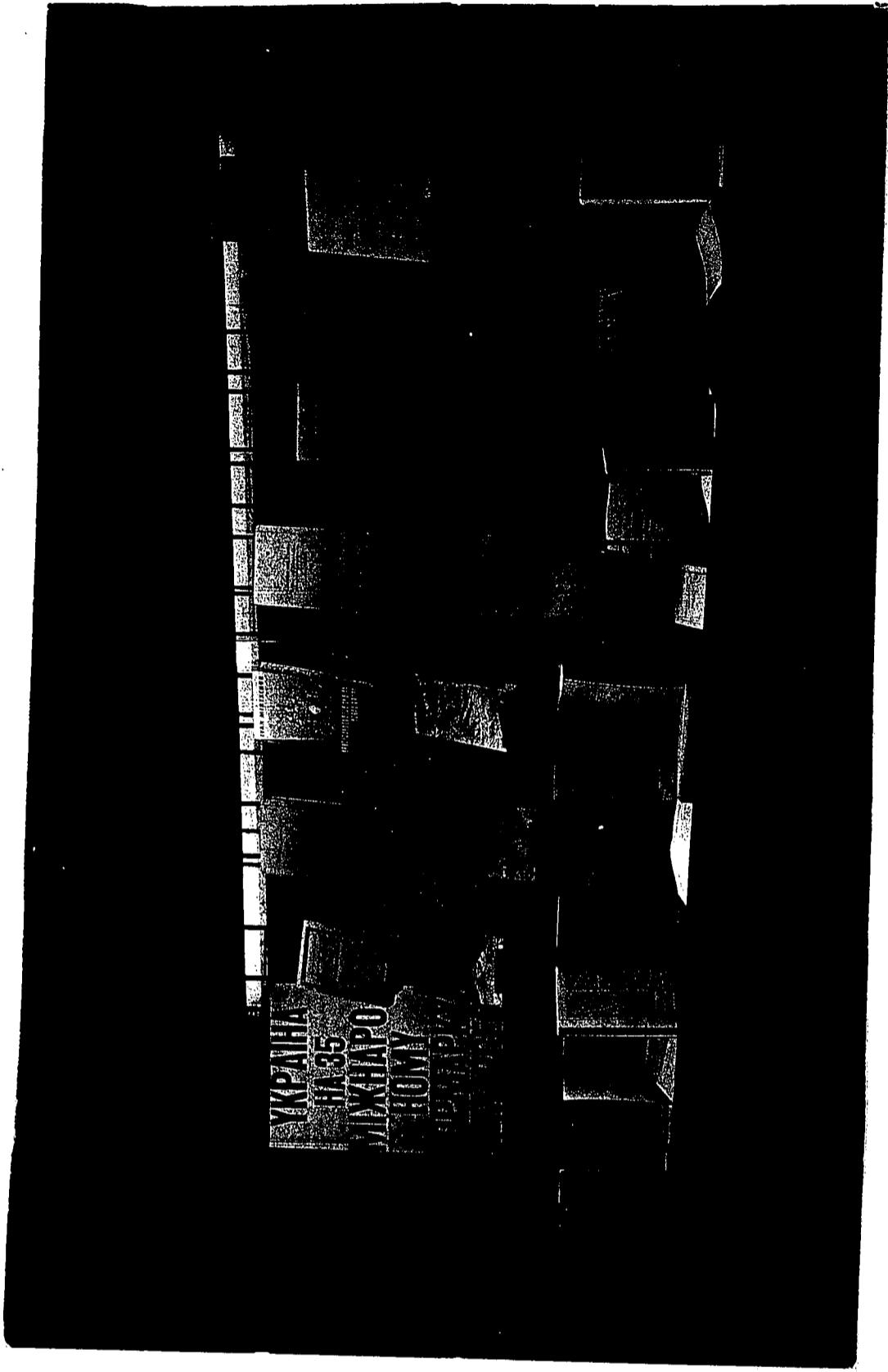
The Ukrainian delegation was very active in all panels of the conference and was one of the most numerous of the nationality groups. It consisted of the following leaders:

Stephen J. Jarema, National Chairman of the Ukrainian Democratic Organization; Joseph Andrews, Assistant Treasurer, State of Pennsylvania; Edward Popil, Comptroller-Elect, City of Scranton, Pa.; Walter Steck, Leader, New York City Democratic Club; Anthony Batiuk, Leader, Ukrainian Democratic Clubs of Scranton, Pa.; George Wolynetz, Jr., President, Ukrainian Democratic Club of New York City; Walter Bacad, Temporary Chairman, Ukrainian Democratic Organization, State of New York; J. Lesawyer, Vice President of the Ukrainian National Association; Walter Dushnyck, Editor of UCCA publications; Myron Lepkalluk, Ukrainian engineer of New York, and Michael Elko, Ukrainian businessman of Philadelphia.

UKRAINE AND CAPTIVE NATIONS ISSUE

Immediately after the opening of the conference, Mr. Cieplinski called the attention of the delegates to the fact that in the 1956 Democratic Platform only nine Eastern and Central European countries are listed as "captive nations," which should be corrected by the addition of Ukraine, which belongs in that category. The same statement was repeated by Mr. Irving Engel, consultant to the Foreign Policy Panel, when he was called upon to summarize the suggestions of the panel at the conclusion of the conference.

One of the most important recommendations was to incorporate into the Democratic Party Platform in 1960 the Joint Congressional "Captive Nations Week" Resolution, (now Public Law 86-90) as a powerful weapon in U.S. psychological warfare. Other suggestions called for a "tougher foreign policy" with respect to the USSR and taking the initiative rather than the defensive in foreign affairs; to strengthen the USIA and its broadcasting services by expanding propaganda facilities and improving their contents. In this respect it was recommended that special consultants from nationality groups be enlisted who could contribute their expert knowledge and experience in the matter of the captive nations behind the Iron Curtain. As far as the "summit" meeting is concerned, the consensus of opinion was that if there should be such a conference with Soviet leaders the matter of the captive nations should be placed on the agenda.



*Necessary Book Display
at Maxwell's Trade Fair*

soviétique, bien que membre de l'O.N.U. et formellement "république souveraine" au sein de l'U.R.S.S., se trouve dans la situation de la pire des formes du colonialisme. Des nos jours, alors que les Etats traditionnellement coloniaux comme la France et la Grande-Bretagne vont à la rencontre des peuples africains et asiatiques en leur accordant l'indépendance ou l'autonomie, un seul Empire colonial survit: c'est l'Union soviétique, héritière de l'Empire russe des Romanoff. Celle-ci, comme la Russie des Tsars, opprime les peuples non-russes, exploite leur richesses nationales et la production de leur masses laborieuses, devenues les esclaves d'un système totalitaire. Le capitalisme d'Etat, introduit par la force en Ukraine et dans d'autres pays opprimés par Moscou, exploite les paysans et les ouvriers mieux que n'importe quelle forme de capitalisme bourgeois. C'est la "nouvelle classe" des usurpateurs, la bureaucratie soviétique qui profite de ce système antihumain, antidémocratique et antisocialiste.

*

Sachez bien, cher Visiteur du pavillon ukrainien à la Foire de Marseille, que le peuple ukrainien n'a pas le droit de disposer de ses richesses et de sa production; que le peuple ukrainien (comme d'ailleurs tous les peuples assujettis par la Russie à partir du golfe de Finlande jusqu'à la Mer Noire et le Caucase, depuis l'Elbe jusqu'en Himalaya) aspire à liberté et à l'indépendance nationale; que le peuple ukrainien est pour la paix et pour la coopération internationale dans la justice et dans la liberté et que ce sont ses maîtres de Moscou qui ne le veulent pas. Leur but final est "d'enterrer" le monde libre comme ils l'ont fait avec une série de peuples qu'ils ont asservis.

N'oubliez pas leur sort en visitant ce pavillon de l'Ukraine opprimée, pays européen et chrétien, pays d'un peuple travaillant, espérant et luttant pour un meilleur avenir, pays d'Ukraine — le "grenier de l'Europe", et de qui le grand Voltaire disait qu'elle "a toujours aspiré à la liberté".

Publié par PROLOG, Association des Recherches et d'Edition, 875, West End Ave, New York 25, USA



CE QU'IL FAUT SAVOIR SUR L'UKRAINE SOVIETIQUE

Pour la première fois depuis 1937 la République Socialiste Soviétique d'Ukraine est représentée dans une Foire internationale. En effet, la dernière fois, c'était en 1937, à l'Exposition Internationale de Paris, qu'il y avait une section ukrainienne dans le pavillon de l'U.R.S.S., car ni à l'Exposition mondiale de 1958 à Bruxelles, ni à l'Exposition soviétique à New York en juillet 1959 l'Ukraine, en tant qu'entité distincte, n'a été représentée. Mais le gouvernement soviétique central a permis, cette fois-ci, à la République ukrainienne d'exposer à l'étranger ses produits industriels et agricoles.

Les Ukrainiens libres habitant les pays du monde occidental, en tant qu'émigrés politiques, considèrent qu'un exposé critique et objectif du rôle de l'Ukraine au sein de l'Union soviétique faciliterait aux visiteurs du pavillon ukrainien à mieux comprendre la vraie situation du peuple ukrainien et de son économie nationale qui est assujettie aux intérêts de l'Empire soviétique. Les informations que nous vous donnons ci-dessous ne vous seront pas fournies par les fonctionnaires soviétiques du pavillon.

*

Le régime soviétique fut implanté en Ukraine à la suite de l'invasion par les Russes de la République Démocratique Ukrainienne qui avait été formée après la Révolution de 1917. Elle avait été reconnue entre autres par la France et la Grande-Bretagne. L'Ukraine indépendante ne put résister longtemps aux forces bolchéviques russes venant du Nord, et elle succomba dans le climat d'indifférence pour la cause ukrainienne en Occident. Mais les dirigeants bolchéviks, Lénine, Trotsky et Staline n'osèrent pas liquider complètement l'Etat ukrainien; ils lui imposèrent donc le contrôle russe, et l'Ukraine continuait d'exister sous l'étiquette de la république soviétique. Au début elle jouissait d'une autonomie interne et extérieure quoique limitée,

mais progressivement, celle-ci fut supprimée par Moscou. En 1923 elle fut contrainte, comme d'autres républiques soviétiques (Biélorussie, Arménie, Azerbaïdjan, Georgie) d'entrer dans l'Union des républiques socialistes soviétiques (U.R.S.S.). C'est à cette époque que furent abolis le commissariat des affaires étrangères et les représentations diplomatiques et commerciales de l'Ukraine à l'étranger.

En dépit du régime soviétique et de sa dépendance politique et économique de Moscou, l'Ukraine a connu un fort développement dans sa culture nationale pendant les années 1920. Les efforts d'émancipation deviennent de plus en plus pressants et nombreux, même parmi les communistes ukrainiens. L'économiste, M. Volobuïev, démontre le caractère colonial de l'économie ukrainienne; l'écrivain, M. Khvylovyï, lance le slogan "Rompre avec Moscou", et le commissaire de la culture, M. Skrypnyk, s'efforce "d'ukrainiser" toute la vie publique de la république. Moscou voyait le grand danger pour l'unité de l'Empire dans ce courant d'émancipation.

Dans les années 1930 plusieurs coups furent portés à l'Ukraine: les derniers vestiges d'autonomie furent remplacés par des mesures de centralisation; des milliers d'écrivains, d'intellectuels, d'économistes, etc. furent liquidés ou déportés. La collectivisation forcée de l'agriculture, accompagnée d'une famine artificiellement créée (confiscation de toutes les récoltes) coûta à l'Ukraine près de 6 millions vies humaines. La plus sombre période dans l'histoire du peuple ukrainien commençait. Staline avait l'intention d'exterminer le peuple ukrainien de son pays natal en le déportant en Sibérie (révélation de N. Khrouchtchev dans son discours secret au XX^e congrès du PC soviétique).

Parallèlement, les émigrés politiques, combattants de la guerre d'indépendance de 1917-1921, continuaient la lutte pour la libération de l'Ukraine. Leur chef, président du Directoire ukrainien, Simon Petlura, qui s'était installé dans le pays hospitalier de France, fut tué en 1926 par un agent soviétique à Paris. Un autre chef du mouvement nationaliste ukrainien, Eugène Konovalets, rencontrait le même sort à Rotterdam en 1938.

Dans la deuxième guerre mondiale, les Ukrainiens aspiraient à la restauration de leur indépendance na-

tionale. Contre la politique nazie d'extermination ils avaient organisé une résistance puissante qui était le flanc oriental dans le mouvement de libération en Europe de 1941-1944. La lutte des maquisards ukrainiens sous la bannière de l'Armée Ukrainienne Insurrectionnelle (UPA) se poursuivait contre les Soviétiques durant plusieurs années après la capitulation de 1945. Même de nos jours il existe en Ukraine un mouvement de libération clandestin, dont témoignent les récents procès soviétiques contre les nationalistes "bourgeois".

Bien que les dirigeants nouveaux de Moscou aient abandonné la politique d'oppression totale, la liquidation physique de tous groupes ethniques et les déportations en masse de l'époque stalinienne, leur politique néanmoins reste toujours celle de l'exploitation et de la domination des républiques non-russes.

La situation actuelle de la République ukrainienne est caractérisée par le contrôle à outrance des activités du gouvernement ukrainien, par la prédominance des éléments russes sur les éléments autochtones dans la vie nationale de l'Ukraine. L'économie ukrainienne est assujettie au plan unique qui ne tient pas aux intérêts particuliers de la république, mais à ceux de toute l'Union. La production ukrainienne sert à l'industrialisation de la Sibérie et le budget républicain ne comprend qu'une partie du revenu national de l'Ukraine, 50% de ce revenu étant approprié par l'Union soviétique. D'ailleurs, l'autonomie budgétaire de l'Ukraine est minime. Le commerce extérieur de la République ukrainienne est entièrement contrôlé par Moscou. Les firmes ukrainiennes et les coopératives n'ont pas le droit d'entrer en contacts commerciaux directs avec des partenaires étrangers.

Le journal de Kiev "Pravda Ukrainy" écrivait dans son article du 1er mai 1959 sur la Foire de Marseille:

"Rencontrant à la Foire des représentants des maisons de commerce étrangères, les fonctionnaires du commerce extérieur vont conclure avec eux des contrats de vente des matières premières et de différents produits manufacturés et d'équipement fabriqués dans les usines ukrainiennes".

Or, la vente des produits industriels et d'agriculture ukrainiens ne s'effectue pas par les fonctionnaires du gouvernement ukrainien, mais par les agents du ministère du commerce extérieur de Moscou. L'Ukraine