

October 4, 1960

MEMORANDUM

The XV Session of the United Nations General Assembly currently held in New York is being subjected to a wide propaganda campaign on the part of the delegation of the USSR and its satellites, with the purpose, among others, of convincing the world, and especially the Asian and African nations that only the USSR and its bloc are the true defenders of peace and of the ideals of national and social freedom, while the Western powers, and particularly the United States, are labelled as enemies of peace and defenders of colonialism.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is one of the active spokesmen of the propaganda campaign of the Soviet bloc. Its attacks are primarily directed against the United States for its alleged hostility against the Ukrainian people and other peoples of the USSR. The delegates of the Ukrainian SSR present themselves as delegates of an allegedly sovereign Ukrainian nation, and make attempts to prove that the national question has been justly and successfully solved in the USSR.

Thus far, these attacks launched by the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR against the United States and the West have not been answered on the forum of the United Nations. As a result, there is an impression among some nations of the Afro-Asian bloc that these allegations are based on the truth. Moreover, if it is taken into consideration that the addresses delivered by the delegates of the Ukrainian SSR in the UN are given wide publicity in the Ukrainian Soviet press, the Ukrainian people might also get the impression that the United States either does not wish to answer these accusations, or else does not possess the required arguments for an answer.

Under these circumstances, the silence on the part of the United States and other Western delegates in the UN on the Ukrainian problem facilitates the propaganda campaign of the delegates of the Soviet bloc.

In this connection there arises an immediate need of counteraction on the forum of the United Nations on the part of the delegations of the United States and of the other free nations along the following lines:

1. The so-called sovereign Ukrainian SSR lacks the fundamental attributes of a sovereign state, to wit: a/ the supreme power in the Ukrainian SSR is exercised by the Communist Party of Ukraine which is a branch of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; b/ With the exception of a permanent delegation to the United Nations, established as late as June 1958, the Ukrainian SSR does not maintain diplomatic relations with any nation; c/ Contrary to Constitutional provisions, the Ukrainian SSR has no armed forces; d/ The Ukrainian SSR has no trade relations with other nations, all its commerce being centralized through the government of the USSR; e/ The Ukrainian SSR has no national budget, its budget being an integral part of the budget of the entire USSR.

2. Ukraine became part of the USSR as a result of armed aggression, being the first victim of Soviet imperialism.

3. The forty-three years of Soviet rule in Ukraine are marked with mass terror directed against all manifestations of independence on the part of the Ukrainian people, as, for example: the organization of a mass artificially induced famine in the early 1930s, persecution of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, colonial settlement of Ukraine by Russians, and forced Russification.

4. The Ukrainian people are engaged in an incessant armed and political struggle for their national independence.

5. Considered against the background of the above facts of Soviet enslavement and colonial treatment of Ukraine, the Soviet attempts to appear in the United Nations in the role of a defender of freedom of nations are an obvious act of hypocrisy and a desire to conceal their own brutal colonialism.

An exposure of the colonial enslavement of Ukraine by the Soviet regime, if conducted on the forum of the United Nations, will undermine in the public opinion of the world, the present Soviet "anticolonial" action in the United Nations, and, on the other hand, will morally strengthen and affirm the resistance forces of the Ukrainian people and will have repercussions among the other nations of the USSR.

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EARMARKS OF THE COLONIAL ENSLAVEMENT OF UKRAINE

I.

Ukraine was the first country to fall victim to the unprovoked aggression on the part of communist Russia in December 1917. The Russian communists embarked upon armed aggression after they had received only 10% of the total vote in Ukraine in the election to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly. The war of the Russian communists against the Ukrainian National Republic went on for three years.

II.

Following the defeat of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1920, the resistance of the Ukrainian people continued for several more years, first in the form of armed uprisings, and later in a legal struggle, particularly in the field of culture, literature and economics. During World War II and following the war until the middle 1950s, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was active in Ukraine, fighting for the independence of the Ukrainian nation at first against the Nazis, and later against the communists.

In order to break the resistance of the Ukrainian people, communist Moscow employed a rule of unceasing and ruthless terror, manifested in particular in the following forms:

(1) In the early 1930s Moscow organized an artificial famine in Ukraine which claimed at least five million Ukrainian peasants as its victims;

(2) The Ukrainian Orthodox Church was simultaneously destroyed by force and subjected to the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. Thousands of Ukrainian clergymen, from Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivskiy down, were liquidated;

(3) This was also the time of the liquidation, arrest or deportation of thousands of Ukrainian intellectuals in the field of culture, such as writers, poets, and artists. In the city of Vinnytsia alone, during the years 1937 and 1938 the NKVD executed and buried in common graves ten thousand Ukrainians. The bodies were discovered during the German occupation of Ukraine;

(4) The elite personnel among the Ukrainian communists also fell victim to these mass purges in Ukraine, Moscow accusing them of "national communism";

(5) In 1946 the Russian communists liquidated and decreed illegal the Ukrainian Catholic Church which was headed by a Metropolitan and 8 bishops, with over 3,000 clergy and 4 million faithful. All bishops and a majority of the lower clergy were arrested and deported. Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi is the only one alive from among the higher Catholic hierarchy.

III.

The colonial position of the Ukrainian people is evident from the following particulars:

(1) Although the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is formally a sovereign state, it lacks some of the fundamental attributes of sovereignty, and in particular:

(a) All power in the USSR is actually in the hands of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which is a centralized and totalitarian party, acting through its branches in the non-Russian republics of the USSR. Thus, the so-called organs of supreme power in Ukraine, as the Supreme Soviet or the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, are only organs carrying out the orders and instruction received from Moscow.

(b) The Ukrainian SSR has no diplomatic missions abroad with the sole exception of a permanent delegation to the United Nations. Feelers put out by the United Kingdom in 1947, and attempts of Sudan in 1956, to establish diplomatic relations with the Ukrainian SSR, were rejected by Moscow.

(c) The Ukrainian SSR has no armed or defensive forces.

(d) The budget of the Ukrainian SSR constitutes an integral part of the budget of the USSR, and the government of the Ukrainian SSR has at its disposal only the appropriations reserved to it by the government of the USSR. Ukraine has no state bank, currency, or even postage stamps. Ukraine cannot directly engage in foreign trade, and the Ukrainian economy is subject to continuous exploitation on the part of the center in Moscow.

(2) The Russian communists are adhering to a steadfast policy of deportation of Ukrainians from their native land, and settlement of Russian colonists in Ukraine. This colonial policy is clearly reflected in the figures of official Soviet statistics. Whereas between 1926 and 1959 the number of Ukrainians in Ukraine increased from 28.9 million to 32.1 million, the number of Russians in Ukraine increased from 2.6 million to 7.9 million. At the present time the Russians constitute 16.9% of the population of Ukraine, as against only 9.2% in 1926. Especially large numbers of Ukrainians are currently being forcefully shipped to the virgin lands of Kazakhstan.

(3) The Russian communists are engaged in an increasing Russification of all sectors of life in Ukraine. In most of the trade schools in Ukraine, especially in the field of natural sciences, instruction is in Russian, from Russian textbooks. All the leading newspapers and magazines in Ukraine are simultaneously published in Ukrainian and Russian. Newspapers, magazines and books in Ukrainian are deliberately printed in limited editions, unlike their Russian counterparts.

(4) In Ukraine, as in the whole Soviet Union, there is a continuous propaganda of the superiority of the Russians as a race, and glorification of everything Russian. At the same time, even the slightest attempts of the Ukrainian writers, scholars, historians and artists to preserve the national roots of Ukrainian spiritual life and to develop Ukrainian culture and literature, are subjected to relentless attacks by Moscow and labelled as manifestations of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." The methods of ruthless terror used by the Russian communists against any signs of the Ukrainian liberation movement were explained, among others, in the letter written by Ukrainian political prisoners from the Soviet concentration camps in the Mordovian ASSR. This letter was successfully smuggled out of the Soviet Union in 1955, and it was submitted to the Committee on Human Rights in the United Nations.

(5) The Ukrainian, and other peoples of the USSR are deprived of all basic civil liberties, particularly of the freedom of speech, of the press, religion, assembly and association.
