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Freedom to Nations and to Individuals!

For the Independent United Ukrainian State!

AN APPEAL OF THE EMBATTLED UKRAINE

TO

THE ENTIRE UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION

We speak to our brothers scattered in many remote foreign countries. Four years have passed since the end of the World War II. The war, however, has not ended in the Ukraine. You Ukrainians abroad have had the opportunity to witness the reconstruction of national lives by the nations of Western Europe and America during the four years of peace. In the Ukraine, however, peace does not exist. In the Ukraine the cruel war continues, the shootings have not ceased, and the fires are not extinguished. In plants and factories, in kolkhoz farms and in privately owned farms, in schools and institutions, in the forests and mountains, in the Ukraine itself, and in remote Siberia and in Kazakhstan, the Ukrainian people today stand at the liberation barricades. They stand bleeding but inflexible, unwanquished and unsubdued.

With a detestation of enslavement, serfdom, violence, and lawlessness, the Ukrainian people have declared a relentless war against Russian-Bolshevik imperialism. With a knowledge of the justice of their cause the Ukrainian people have risen to the acme of sacrifice and heroism. Having taken their fate into their own hands they have determined to achieve their liberation, and they move restlessly, relentlessly, and fearlessly toward that end. Standing in the vanguard of the sacred struggle for the destruction of

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totalitarianism, despotism, and terror, symbolized by the Stalinist USSR, the Ukrainian people performs its great and significant role with courage and honesty. Today the Ukrainian people raise their flag with words beloved by all nations: Freedom for nations. Freedom for individuals.

In this cruel struggle, unequalled in history, no Ukrainian man or woman should stand apart. All Ukrainians, regardless of where they live, must take part in this struggle. You, our brothers scattered throughout the world, are considered by the embattled Ukraine as a segment of the united front of our great liberation struggle, a struggle which exceeds the frontiers of our national struggle and which is of universal significance to the free world. The embattled Ukraine regards all of you as members of the great liberation cause whether you serve in Western Europe, in the Americas, in Australia, or anywhere where even one Ukrainian resides. To your posts of service the embattled Ukraine sends brotherly greetings and our encouragement. The homeland listens intently to every report of what is happening in both the old and the new Ukrainian emigration. The Ukrainian people in the homeland are vitally interested in whether the emigration keeps pace ideologically with the homeland, whether or not it lags behind the homeland, or whether it breaks down entirely. The Ukrainian people have the right to require that its emigration does not abandon the struggle in the homeland, and that it performs the mission given it by history.

The embattled Ukraine requires first that the Ukrainian emigration honestly represent its nation and its liberation struggle to the non-Ukrainian world. The Ukraine is now entering the international arena. The world knows little as yet of our nation, and what knowledge the world has is still obscure and distorted. To correct this condition and to bring the truth about Ukraine and her struggle to all nations and peoples beyond the borders of the USSR, is the primary task of the Ukrainian emigration. The homeland has helped and will continue to help to make this possible. Through its heroic struggle the homeland has created a great asset and you, the Ukrainian emigration, must utilize that asset effectively on behalf of the liberation cause in international relations.

Fate has scattered and is scattering you into all the countries of the world, to the most distant corners of the earth. This is not the time to marmor against your cruel fate. You must turn that fate to the service of the entire Ukrainian people. You must utilize the fact that you have been scattered among all the peoples of the world to inform the world about the Ukraine, the Ukrainian people, their achievements in the past, and their heroic struggle in the present.

Remember that today every Ukrainian abroad is a representative of the embattled Ukrainians.

Remember that foreigners, in looking at each of you, are looking at the entire Ukrainian people and, in evaluating you, are evaluating all our people. Let each one conduct himself so as not to stain his people and always act so as to increase their glory. Ask yourself each day: what have I done for the benefit and profit of the Ukraine?

You must be bound in spirit as closely as possible to the Ukraine; you must never forget that you are bound to the Ukrainian struggle. You must not dare to entertain any doubts concerning the success of our great cause, or the justice of our struggle in the homeland, for with such doubts you will never inspire your neighbors with faith in the justice of our endeavors, you will not inspire in them confidence in the success of our struggle, and you will not gain their support for your people. The embattled Ukraine expects that the Ukrainians abroad will be the ardent exponents of those ideas for which the Ukrainian people are fighting.

You must enlighten foreigners as to the necessity for the division of the USSR into free national states for all captive peoples. Show the world that the oppressed nations of the USSR are thirsting for their own

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independent governments and have struggled and are struggling resolutely and courageously to secure that independence. Explain to them that by the dismemberment of the USSR the interests of all the nations of the world will be served; for dismemberment is the only means of destroying once and for all the danger of the resurrection of Russian imperialism, which today in the form of Bolshevism is menacing the entire world. Spread everywhere the concept of building an international order founded on a system of free and independent states for all peoples. Only such a system will create favorable conditions for successful political, ethnic, and cultural cooperation, and unity among nations, and offers the opportunity of building on the foundation of true equality of rights, good will, mutual respect, and confidence. Only such a system will offer an end to bloody wars and can safeguard a lasting peace for the world.

Explain to your neighbors that the Ukrainian people are struggling for the realization of the progressive ideas of humanity, for freedom of all nations and all individuals, for true democracy, and for a just social order in which there will be neither exploiters nor exploited.

The embattled Ukraine expects the Ukrainians abroad to spread tirelessly the truth about Stalin's USSR to all the peoples of the world and to mobilize them actively for the struggle against Russian-Bolshevik imperialism, humanity's greatest foe.

The world is still woefully ignorant of the truth about the USSR. It still does not fully comprehend the fact that it is itself threatened by Russian-Bolshevik imperialism. It is your great obligation, Ukrainians in foreign countries, to reveal the true face of Bolshevism to all peoples, to tear away the mask of democracy and of Socialism, and to show Bolshevism to the world in its hideous reality! Strive to enlighten the millions of foreigners who sincerely believe in the Socialism of the USSR. Show them the horrible oppression of the peoples in the USSR, the robbery of the wealth of colonial slave states, the unprecedented exploitation and the slave position of the worker, the new serfdom on the collective farm, and the stifling of the intelligentsia.

Reveal to the world the true nature of this "most democratic" country, whose people are driven in terror to the polls, where people are compelled to vote for their executioners and oppressors, where the courts are organs of violence and denial of rights, where not only the words but the thoughts of citizens are fettered, where a man is changed into a slave without rights, and where millions are deported to prisons and concentration camps.

Reveal to all peoples the nature of this land, in which religion is stifled, the church is dishonored, freedom of thought is stifled, where not only Christian but general human morality is trampled under foot, and where to the mockery and shame of all humanity there loudly are proclaimed the freedoms of paradise and a church which is in reality only an appendage of the MVD. Explain to the world the history of the annihilation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous and Greek Catholic churches, about the murdered and deported Ukrainian bishops, priests, and faithful laity. Explain to foreigners that the present Russian Orthodox Church has nothing in common with a free church and is in fact the agent of the MVD. Call all believing Christians and men of other religions to the decisive struggle for the annihilation of the mortal enemy of humanity - Bolshevism.

The embattled Ukraine expects Ukrainians abroad to be active collaborators in the formation of one front of all nations enslaved and threatened by Russian-Bolshevik imperialism.

The Russian-Bolshevik imperialists have today enslaved many peoples and tomorrow they are preparing to throw their yoke over all other peoples. All Bolshevik declarations about the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of the two systems are only misleading propaganda. In fact all the efforts of the Kremlin leaders are directed toward the preparation of a new war for the acquisition of the entire world. The entire life of the USSR is regimented and directed toward this one goal. The hopes of the western world that it will be possible to avoid war are in vain; they are hopes built on sand. The world cannot escape war by any device.

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Ukrainians abroad, you must emphasize this truth persistently among the nations of the west. It must be the starting point for you in your practical work among these peoples. Tell them clearly that today before the entire world there stands one question, not how to avoid a new war-- it is unavoidable-- but how to save liberty, independence, and culture, and how to avoid the enslavement and ruin of humanity. You must show them clearly that the one means of saving the world is the full and speedy destruction of Russian-Bolshevik imperialism on its present springboard of conquest. This can only be achieved by the organized efforts of a single front of all nations enslaved and threatened by Russian-Bolshevik imperialism. You, Ukrainians abroad, must not only preach the need of such a front and convince the world of its necessity but you must do everything possible to ensure that the anti-Bolshevik front will assume concrete forms. Therefore, you must arm yourselves not only with faith in the justice of this cause but you must manifest the greatest organizing capacities, toleration, and endurance, for you must unite those peoples who are thirsting for freedom regardless of differences in race, nationality, religion, and political history.

You must henceforth expend all your efforts to unite in one anti-Bolshevik front the emigration of all nations of Europe and Asia now under Bolshevist rule and of the recently enslaved new nations of Central and Southern Europe. Your country welcomes with sincere gratitude your previous successes in this field. Build and deepen these successes, Ukrainians abroad! Tirelessly and stubbornly overcome all difficulties and differences which obstruct the full unification of the emigrations of the peoples of the USSR. Strengthen this unification among the peoples of the emigrations and before the outside world.

At the same time with this work of unifying the emigration of the enslaved peoples of the USSR, the Ukrainians abroad must carry on the most intensive work among the nations of the west to form an anti-Bolshevik front of all the freedom-loving peoples of the world. Enter into associations and join these national and international organizations which fight for the rights and freedom of mankind. Work for the formation of an international organization which will have as its purpose the struggle against imperialism and totalitarianism in the interest of the rights of nations and of individuals.

Remember, brothers in the emigration, that the problem of organizing one anti-Bolshevik front of all nations is not alone the task of the leaders of political parties, it is the responsibility of every Ukrainian abroad. Remember that the problem of the creation of an anti-Bolshevik front, just as the task of representing the Ukrainian people, must be carried on not only on the political and governmental levels and on diplomatic paths. This problem must be attempted by the broadest masses of all the nations of the west; in the factories, mines, farms, schools, and institutions. Only when the broad national masses are included in the anti-Bolshevik front and this movement acquires such a broad base will it be able to annihilate its opponent.

Remember that the revelation of the truth about the USSR, the mobilizing and organizing of nations for the struggle against Bolshevism, is a mission of universal significance. Be worthy of this great mission which history has given you. Fulfill it with apostolic devotion and zeal, and with the same courage and consecration with which the revolutionists are today fighting in the Ukraine. The coming generations of all nations will remember with gratitude such a contribution to history.

To undertake all these responsible tasks, brothers abroad, you must be united. You must act in concert and not apart. The embattled Ukrainians expect from the Ukrainians abroad full unity, unity in action and not merely on paper, unity on the basis of the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of the people in the Ukrainian homeland.

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The present situation shall not continue. The division between Catholics and Orthodox, between Autocephalists and Unionists, and particularly between "westerners" and "easterners" should be abolished. Such divisions cannot be tolerated with indifference. The emigration must use all possible means to destroy the obnoxious relics of long slavery and artificial frontiers by which the occupants divided and are still dividing the living body of the Ukrainian people. In the unity of work and struggle all differences among the Ukrainians should disappear. The nationally conscious part of the emigration should do everything possible to raise the level of national consciousness and political awareness of the less nationally minded part of the emigration. This is a very important and a central task of the internal life of the Ukrainian emigration. The solution of this problem is completely within the hands of the nationally conscious part of the Ukrainian emigration.

At today's significant moment in history for the Ukrainian people, the Ukrainian emigration cannot allow itself the luxury of divisions and party feuds. Today all partisan disputes must be subordinated to one greater need, the task of liberating the Ukrainian people. Division today must not be between one or another party but rather between patriots and traitors to the Ukrainian people.

The homeland sees no evil in the existence of various parties in the emigration but rather in the failure of these parties to coexist and cooperate with each other in their internal affairs. The homeland is indignant at the decay of political and public morals among the Ukrainian emigration. Such moral decay retards the liberation cause and dishonors the whole nation in the eyes of foreigners and creates a false picture of the struggle in the homeland. The embattled Ukraine is indignant at party struggle in the emigration where the national values and sanctities are being bargained. The embattled Ukraine emphatically condemns all those who, failing to rise above their narrow party interests, speculate on the liberation idea.

The homeland regrets to state that in the emigration there are those who for a long time doubted the existence of the UPA, the UHVR, and the underground OUN in the Ukraine. Raids by the UPA were necessary, the testimony of living witnesses was required, and the insurgents had to march over 1000 kilometers fighting all the way in order to definitely convince those unbelieving Thomases that the UHVR, the UPA, and the OUN do exist and are active within the Ukraine. But even after this achievement some people in the emigration have attempted to lessen the significance of the struggle in the homeland, to narrow its extension and underestimate its political value. The homeland appeals to all such people to suspend any underestimation or depreciation of the liberation movement in the homeland and to give all their strength to the struggle of the embattled Ukraine. To those so blinded by selfishness that they lack the courage and willingness to abandon their attacks against the liberation movement in the homeland, the homeland declares that their action will be regarded as a crime against the Ukrainian people and its liberation struggle in the Ukraine.

Brothers in foreign countries! The country today has sworn full unity; the emigration must do as much. All who grieve at the sorrow of their nation, who truly thirst for its liberation, who treasure the idea of a Ukrainian nation will unite in the joint effort for the achievement of our great goal. We must create a powerful single front and act before the foreign world resolutely and in union. Let the political division of the Ukrainians abroad be founded on the formation and growth of political thought and not on party feuding. Show that you understand the historical value of the present moment and meet the challenge of your problem. Stand as an example of unity and of organization for other peoples, for unity and organizing ability are needed by all peoples, to end victoriously the struggle with Bolshevism.

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Exiled brothers who are doing manual labor, unable to return to your native land, you have found yourselves in the factories and mines and on the farms of almost all the countries beyond the borders of the USSR. You are working today side-by-side with workmen of all nationalities. You are working today in the same environment as most of those people who have fallen victims to the Bolshevik deceitful propaganda. Help the millions of your fellow workmen to avoid the Bolshevik traps. Prove to these workers on the basis of your long knowledge that in the USSR there is no Socialism, that the USSR is the land of the most reactionary totalitarianism and tyranny. Kindle within them the flame of your hate for the Russian-Bolshevik imperialism, for in their souls they hate all slavery, violence, and deprivation of rights as you do. Become friends with them in your places of work and create the basis for close friendship between their nations and the Ukrainian nation.

Take part in the activities of the labor organizations of the western nations and be an example of friendliness and solidarity. Build Ukrainian labor organizations of your own and stand up for your rights. Broaden your cultural and intellectual life.

Take part in the work of the international anti-Bolshevik professional associations and there represent the millions of Ukrainian workmen who have no opportunity to speak freely in their own name. Struggle together with all workers against imperialism and totalitarianism and for true democracy and social justice.

Ukrainian poets, writers, artists, scholars, and journalists in foreign countries: In the Ukrainian lands free science and culture have been completely stifled. The free word has been driven into the deepest underground. Because of these conditions you abroad inherit the great task of building Ukrainian culture and science and enriching its treasury with new values and achievements. The country watches with joy the present creative achievements of the Ukrainian emigration in the field of science and culture and calls upon you for still greater efforts in this direction.

Build and strengthen the new centers of Ukrainian culture and science; concentrate in them all the creative forces that are in the emigration. Aid all efforts for the development of a knowledge of the Ukraine, for at home such knowledge is subjected to corruption and falsifications on the part of Russian-Bolshevik occupants. Develop a young scientific reserve.

Take advantage of every opportunity to represent worthily Ukrainian science and culture before the foreign world, and work tirelessly to popularize its achievements. Carry everywhere Ukrainian music, your singing, and your theater. Establish and strengthen your connections with cultural and scientific organizations and be individual representatives of the science of other nations. Do not lose a single opportunity to make your contribution to the work of international, scientific, and cultural organizations. Let the world see in all its fullness our Ukrainian culture and the creative capacities of the Ukrainian people. Ukrainian women abroad! - The country greets with joy your activity and organizing ability and the successes that you have won by it. Increase the strength of your organizations, develop your activity on a still broader scale, within the emigration and outside, and carefully guard in your group and in your private and family life the bright traditions of Ukrainian womanhood. Take advantage of every opportunity to work among the women of the west. Enlighten them about the terrible danger of Bolshevism. Arouse the conscience of all the women and mothers of the world by showing the slavish conditions of the women of the USSR, the destruction of the family, the fate of millions of children, dead of hunger, incarcerated in prisons and in exile, violently torn away from their mothers. Let the women of all nations take their place in the universal human struggle against Bolshevism.

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Ukrainian youth! You in the emigration must enter the advance guard of the struggle for liberation, as the youth in the homeland is doing. You must devote yourselves entirely to the interests of the embattled Ukraine and be ready for every call to stand beside your friends, who are struggling with arms for the liberation of their nation. You must be highly organized and active; you must constantly harden your idealism and unceasingly raise your level of general and practical knowledge and political skill. Profit by your residence among other peoples to learn everything that is good and useful among them, to acquire for yourselves their knowledge of work in all fields of life and of political activity, but zealously guard against disruptive influences, which would sap your idealism and destroy your moral stability.

Before you, the Ukrainian youth, as before our entire Ukrainian emigration, stands the task of acquainting foreigners with the struggle of the Ukrainian people for liberation. Work at it every moment and in every way. For this purpose, take advantage of your individual acquaintance and your connections with the youth organizations of other peoples and international organizations of youth. Arouse the youth of all nations for the struggle against Bolshevism. They will soon understand you, for all young people are very quickly aroused against injustice and violence and are always eager to fight against them.

Fighters and commanders of the raiding units of the UPA! You have manfully fulfilled the task imposed upon you by the Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation (UHVR). The country with bated breath followed your raid, and its successful termination was the occasion for great joy in the country. The whole nation rejoices that you have broken through the second wall of the Bolshevik prison of nations and that there before the entire world you have protested against the oppression of the Ukrainian people by the Russian-Bolshevik robbers and have told the truth about our struggle for liberation.

Your arrival in Western Europe as participants and living witnesses of the struggle for liberation in the homeland has definitely influenced a change in the views of foreigners toward our struggle for liberation and has put an end to the falsities circulated about the liberation movement. History will correctly value your contribution.

Although you have traveled far from your country, the struggle for you is not ended. The enemy who oppressed your fatherland is active in your new lands, and you must struggle against him there as you have so recently struggled in Ukraine with arms in your hands. Abroad you must continue to guard and care for the heroic traditions of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and raise high the banner of its glory. Brothers abroad! Soon you will be scattered even more widely; you will be even farther from your fatherland. Know well that this is a temporary exile and that an end will inevitably come to your residence abroad and an answer to your longing for your country. When the bells of resurrection ring out and the Ukraine arises and the mighty peal of their glory, you will once and for all return to your country. Then, "in a new, free family", all those children of the Ukraine now scattered around the world will gather again to build together in happiness and joy their own glorious free life and will make reality of the words of our great prophet:

The Ukraine will arise,
Break the darkness of slavery,
The light of truth will shine
and the enslaved children will pray in freedom!

Believe this and struggle heroically, so that this great day may be achieved as soon as possible.

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Regardless of all the incredible difficulties, the embattled Ukraine will struggle as resolutely as it has struggled in the past, without sparing sweat and blood. The embattled Ukraine will do all that is within its power to insure that the Ukrainian people may as quickly as possible and permanently build their great temple of freedom, so that you can return to Ukraine not as hirelings but as free men.

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