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INFORMATION LEAFLETS

No. 3

~~Українська Делегація~~
В Ц К А Б Н



UKRAINE

By John F. Stewart

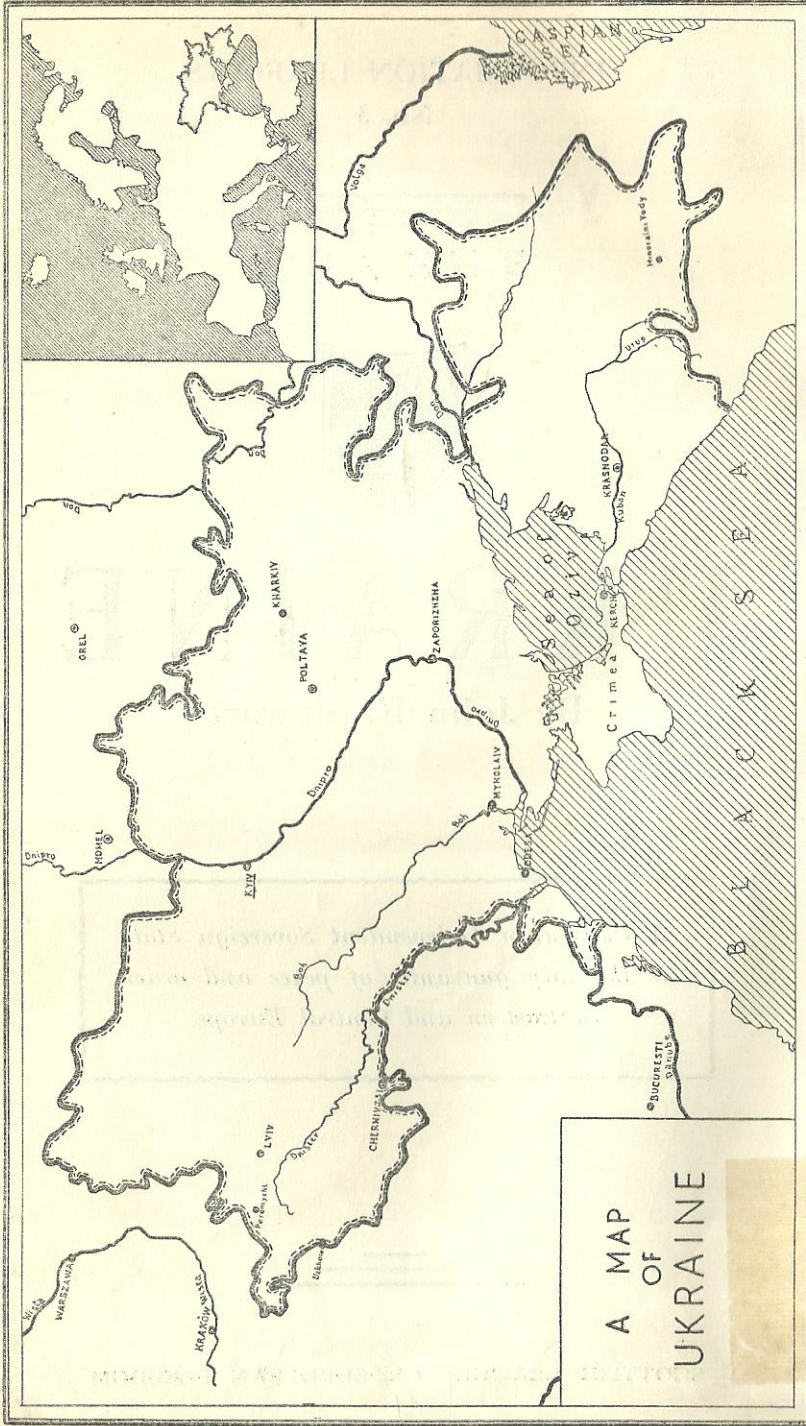
*A Ukrainian Independent Sovereign State
is the only guarantee of peace and order
in Eastern and Central Europe.*

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SCOTTISH LEAGUE FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM

UKRAINE

By JOHN F. STEWART



UNTIL June 1950, the Western world heard very little about the struggle of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R. against Moscow. Indeed, it was a revelation, almost universal, not only that there was any struggle or resistance to Moscow, but that there was anyone inside the U.S.S.R. who was not "Russian." Then, however, a Congress of genuine Delegates of those actually fighting was held in Edinburgh, when these Delegates were able, for the first time, to put their case and speak freely to a British audience. It cannot be said that, at the time, these views were enthusiastically or unanimously adopted either by the audiences or by the English-speaking world in general. But, since that time, the initiative taken in Edinburgh has been abundantly justified. The understanding of and encouragement given to the Resistance Movements, particularly in Canada, U.S.A., and South America, has become more than substantial, and is increasing rapidly. In Canada and U.S.A., prominent political leaders are now publicly advocating in the strongest terms complete co-operation with the Underground Independence Movements in the non-Russian countries of the U.S.S.R., not as a matter of justice to them, but as the best, indeed, the only means for avoiding another World War, while, if any war with Russia should come, co-operation with these peoples would shorten and localise it. The myth that this would bring on war with Russia has long been exploded, cold war with Russia has been going on for years, a shooting war with Russia has been going on since June 1950, with steady and very great losses for the West in Korea, and with steady and very great gains for Stalin, with no risk and not the loss of a single Russian soldier.

To proclaim, as press and politicians in Britain and America are now doing, that we have shown Russia that "aggression does not pay," is really the most amazing fiction, and how it is swallowed by any human being is beyond my comprehension. In Canada and U.S.A. it is not now going down well, even among the working masses, who do sometimes appear to do a little private thinking, for which our pre-occupation with building the "Welfare" State leaves us little time or opportunity.

"Aggression does not pay!" It has paid Russia anyway. Even in the last two centuries, Russia has devoted 128 years to 101 wars of aggression, conquered those nations she attacked, and added enormous natural resources and millions of square miles to her Empire. And what about the gains her aggression has brought her since 1939? Finland, the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Austria, Germany, the Mouths of the Danube—the number takes one's breath away!

With this preamble, who are these non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R.? Well, there are many, but it will be convenient for the present purpose to confine ourselves to the score or so who, so far, have co-ordinated their Underground Movements; there are some 160 to 180 millions of them as against 70 million Russians.

The largest of these non-Russian countries is *Ukraine*, with a

population of 43 to 45 millions, the largest population in Europe after Germany. For its size, it is probably the richest country in the world. It has enormous mineral and forest resources, and the famous wheat-growing "black soil" is Ukraine's possession; its strategical position is of enormous importance. Where is it?

Ukraine lies between the Black Sea and the Caucasus Mountains on the south to the Pripet Marshes on the north; from the Carpathian Mountains on the west to the Caspian Sea on the east; its area is approximately 200,000 square miles.

The story of Ukraine goes back to the very beginning of history; the story of Russia, when the Muscovites began to emerge from the savagery of their dark forests, dates from very recent times. The Ukrainian is, to begin with, European and Western; the Russian is not either Western or European—I don't know what he is, he is neither good European nor good Asian. The Ukrainian has, from the earliest times, a tradition of freedom, independence, and the equality of all men—he breathes it and it is in his blood; the Muscovite has never at any time in history known what freedom and independence meant, he has always had the slave or serf mentality—it is in his blood. If a Ukrainian ruler displeased them, the Ukrainians could peaceably remove him and appoint someone more to their liking; if the Tsar of Russia displeased the Russians he could only be removed by assassination by an infinitesimally tiny gang of Anarchists, but another Tsar immediately took his place without "by your leave." It is this servile mentality which makes the Russian such an easy prey to the Stalin myth and to the Kremlin propaganda—he never had any mind of his own and has not now. The Ukrainian has.

For centuries, Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, was the eastern bastion of Christian civilisation and the barrier to the overrunning of Europe by savage hordes from the East, the centre of Christianity, civilisation, culture, light and learning in Eastern Europe; Moscow never approached being anything of the kind. Ukraine has always contributed much to European culture, Russia has not even to this day done so. In the day of its independence and power, Ukraine was never imperialistic or aggressive, and never coveted other people's possessions or tried to grab them; Russia has always lived by aggression, exploitation and oppression of other peoples.

One could go on endlessly with these instances, but actually there is no more comparison between Ukrainian and Russian than between white and black.

How, then, did Ukraine come under Russian domination? In the same way that the Baltic States came under it in 1939-1940, by Russian-imposed Treaties of Non-Aggression and Non-Interference in internal affairs, fraud, violence and then annexation.

The reason I have dealt with Ukraine first in this series of Explanatory Leaflets is that it is the largest country, and, although it claims no priority over its associated nations, it cannot help being the mainstay of the whole edifice. Another reason is that, even if the impossible could be imagined, and Moscow agreed to restore independence to all the other non-Russian States, it would never free Ukraine. For generations Moscow has sedulously propagated the idea throughout the world that the Ukrainians are not a

people, but merely "Little Russians," and Ukraine is "Little Russia."

If Moscow were bereft of all else and could hold Ukraine, Russian Imperialism would again raise its ugly head and terrorise the world. Bereft of Ukraine, Russia would have to turn to and try to earn an honest living somehow, and, in such case, I am not sure that Ukraine would not help her!

There is in America, unfortunately, a well-supported party which works for the destruction of Stalinism, but only with the intention of putting Kerensky or some Tsarist in his place, a consummation which would leave Russian Imperialism exactly where it was, is now, and always will be, a world conqueror if it can. Particularly, the members of this party support the retention by Moscow of Ukraine, and pathetically insist that Russia could not flourish without it. Why should she, on property belonging to other people? This is surely a strange doctrine! There are other societies, some for promoting friendship with the Russian people as distinct from the ruling class. From my own experience in Russia I would say definitely that the Russian people have not the slightest desire for our friendship.

Ukraine is a great, wealthy, important country, which, if again independent, would be the powerful nucleus of a group of genuinely peaceful (I had nearly used the detestable word "peace-loving") nations in Eastern Europe. That the Ukrainians are a great people, their patriotism and tenacity in fighting their oppressors to-day and for centuries, in spite of misunderstanding by and no help from outside, surely prove. To me, to whom so many are intimately known, the Ukrainians *are* a great people, religious, clever, persevering, hard-working, frugal, envying none and oppressing none. I have known most of the civilised and uncivilised world for the past 65 years, and I know no more admirable people.

I happen to have seen a very considerable piece of Soviet Russia, its peasantry and its working people. I have lived in countless peasant homes as one of them. The old Russian peasants (they have all died out now) were lovable, kind, thoughtful, and the very essence of hospitality, but they never rose above the depressed serf. As for the younger generation, that of to-day, I was present at meetings of local Parliaments and of Youth Discussion Organisations. The young Nazi, of whom I also saw much, was a long way behind the young Russian in ignorance, conceit, and inculcated brutality and hate. The young Ukrainian differs from both, and *is the hope of Europe, the world, and peace.*

And now, having said all this, let me recommend you to read carefully the very forthright article by Mr Pelensky. And then, that on the War Potential of Ukraine, from which you will see that this country I have been telling you about is far from negligible in any future war for what it considers the right side. I hope we shall be that side, but I am amazed at our refusal to look facts in the face, and, instead of spending thousands of millions on material defensive measures against Russia, which will be obsolete by the time they are finished, bring in on our side the enormous moral and material resources of Ukraine and its associates, along with the knowledge of the Russian which no Western politician possesses or can possess.



UKRAINE

Her Role and Contribution in the Common Struggle for World Peace and Freedom

By ZENON PELENSKY

REGARDING Ukraine, there are some basic truths which should be stressed shortly here, to enable us to come to the vital points of this report later.

Ukraine and Russia are two separate nations. Ukrainians and Russians are two profoundly heterogeneous peoples, with widely differing languages, culture, religion, philosophy of life, economic concepts and moral standards; the Ukrainians, though repeatedly conquered and subjugated, though hammered forcibly into the artificially unified pattern of the Russian Empire, nevertheless never surrendered morally, never discarded the consciousness of their innate human rights; on the contrary, for centuries they fought persistently, though with different means and methods, for their liberty and freedom. The Ukrainian never has endangered and never will endanger, conquer or subjugate other nations, especially their neighbours; the Ukrainian people always was, is now, and always will be anxious to live with other nations in peace and friendship.

Being by custom and instinct a traditionally democratic nation, they regard the people as the source of all political and economic power; they insist that the principal aim of all government should be the pursuit of happiness, freedom, peace and welfare for all the people. The Ukrainians always hated and disdained all forms and sorts of physical, mental or moral constraint and tyranny and this is one of the principal reasons why Ukrainians always have opposed, and always will oppose, innately and traditionally, the tyrannical forms of all Russian governments. The Ukrainians know by bitter experience, accumulated during long centuries, that in Muscovy, Russia proper, there never was and never can be established a true democracy. The Muscovite master nation, invariably out for conquest and exploitation, is always ready rather to discard its personal rights and liberties, than to renounce imperialism. The repudiation of democracy is the price Moscow always gladly pays for external growth and domination.

Українознавство - Додаток

The Ukrainians always saw, and continue to see, the fulfilment of their basic human rights only in and by the creation of their own fully independent national state, established throughout their ethnic territories, where historically they live in a clear majority.

They never will unite with other nations and build up forms and patterns of international collectivism, except with the consent and by the means of their own sovereign national state.

Now let us come to the actualities of to-day. I claim for the Ukrainians a special position within the broader pattern of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.). This special position does not mean, of course, that the Ukrainians regard themselves as something "better," somebody more "elevated," than the others; they certainly claim no "priority," or "leadership," and possess not a vestige of the typically Russian arrogance to pose as the so-called "elderly brother," or the "most progressive community," or the "leading nation" within their Commonwealth of jailkeepers and slaves.

This is a rather sad and dangerous excellence that I am talking about. We Ukrainians have the dubious privilege of being the most enviously and suspiciously guarded piece of fabric within the whole structure of the Russian Empire. By reason of our geographical position, the abundance of our natural resources, the size of our population, the Ukrainian approaches to the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, the Danube Valley, and the South-East of Europe, Ukraine constitutes the main architectural binding, a sort of architrave, which ties up and keeps together the whole building. Of the seven pillars of Russian imperial power, this is the most important; break this one out, and the whole structure must inevitably collapse.

Because—what is Russia without Ukraine? Speaking in imperial terms—nothing more than a sham, a void shell, a giant with a broken backbone. And as this giant is no more than the horrid and malicious genie of Arab mythology, bound to enslave and to torment the whole world, nothing bad would happen to humanity by his relentless destruction. On the contrary, this would be a deed of sense and justice.

Moscow would rather release the Baltic nations from her domination, or Poles, or Czechs, or Slovaks, or the nations of the Danube Valley, or even the peoples of the Caucasus. But Moscow would never consent to give up Ukraine unless she were forced to. Of course, the liberty and security of all nations "released" and "freed" in such a manner would be more than problematical. Once in possession of Ukraine, the bridge between Baltic Sea and the Caucasus, Russia automatically becomes an Empire again, and with that, all other adjacent nations are *ipso facto* inexorably doomed. And this is the moral: none of our nations can expect for itself any extra favours, some sort of individual escape, a better treatment by Russia. All of us stand or fall together.



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There is no possibility of escaping the conclusions: as long as a Russian Empire exists, there never will be, and there never can be, peace and freedom in the world. The road to the peace and freedom of the world leads not through chimerical expectations with regard to the so-called "democratization of Russia." This road goes outright and solely through the rubble and ruin of the Russian Empire. The Ukrainians plead unflinchingly for the dismemberment of the Russian Empire. For the peace of the world it is incontestably better to have the Russian Empire dismembered and divided into twenty nations, even if they should keep warring locally, which is quite improbable, than to have one Russian colossus warring and endangering the whole world, which is not only probable, but as experience shows, with growing states and modern empires, the technical Leviathans of to-day, there grows potentially the danger of war; and on the other hand, the smaller and more numerous the states, the less frequent, the less bloody, the more local and humane are wars.

There is no possibility of destroying the Russian Empire without severing Ukraine and Russia. With Ukraine free—all will be free. With Ukraine enslaved, all will be, all must be, enslaved. Apart from mutual sympathy and friendship, born among the nations of A.B.N. under the duress of Russian persecution experienced in common, there inevitably develops and grows also the sense of common interest: the guarantee of the liberty of one of our nations is the guarantee of the liberty of all other nations. This principle applies first to the situation of Ukraine.

Thus, to help Ukraine in her Liberation Movement is to help all other nations of A.B.N. in their Liberation Movements; simultaneously, it is to help the whole peace-loving world in its struggle for peace. To support the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), fighting with arms to this very day against Russian domination in Eastern Europe, is to support the fighters for freedom throughout the whole world. To recognise and to appreciate the aims and ideas of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.), the leading political power in Ukraine, is to appreciate and to recognise the principles of *peace, freedom, liberty and democracy*. Peace is indivisible, and so the fight of nations for peace and liberty must become and remain indivisible.

To destroy the seventh pillar of the Russian power in Ukraine is the principal aim of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. This, we believe, would be the best possible Ukrainian contribution, not only to the common cause of A.B.N., but also to the struggle for peace and freedom to the rest of civilised mankind.

Once defeated in a decisive manner in Ukraine, Russian Imperialism would be inwardly broken. Thus, the liberation of Ukraine, her entire separation from Russia, and the establishment of an absolutely sovereign Ukrainian National State, must become the moral concern and the main political aim of all the progressive and peace-loving world.

THE WAR POTENTIAL OF UKRAINE

1. Human Resources.

The total number of the population of the present Ukraine within the borders of the Ukrainian S.S.R. is 42 millions; in the Ukrainian territories neighbouring the Ukrainian S.S.R., namely, Districts of Voronizh, Crimea and Bessarabia (present Moldavian S.S.R.), there are at least 5 millions of Ukrainians—in the territorial Ukraine there are 47 millions of Ukrainians.

In the plan of revolutionary strategy and its active forces there should be included also the population of the Cossack territories, i.e., Kuban, Don and Terek, with a total population of 8 millions, of whom 4 millions are Ukrainians.

Of the 47 million Ukrainian population there are 22 millions of men, 6 to 7 millions of them are between 16 and 45 years of age, of whom approximately 5 millions are militarily fit, about 1 million of them are, in peace time, in military and similar formations, mostly outside Ukraine.

In the case of war 4½ to 5 millions of men aged between 18 and 45 will be called up, of which number about 3½ to 4 millions will be mobilised for the army, and the rest for auxiliary duties. (In this number there are also included those who at the time of war are already in military service.)

Apart from that, about six to seven hundred thousand young men aged between 16-17 years will be called up and included in para-military formations (Military schools, factories, etc.).

Altogether at the beginning of a possible war there will be mobilised from Ukraine an army over 5½ millions strong, of which 1½ to 2 millions will be *outside* Ukraine, and in *Ukraine and her neighbouring territories in the European zone approximately 3½ to 4 millions*. Ukrainians residing outside the Ukrainian S.S.R. represent first line cadres which will be found at the time of the outbreak of war in the Caucasus, in Central Asia, near the White Sea or in the Far East; if Ukrainians outside Ukraine who were uprooted from their Homeland, deported, evacuated, repressed, etc., are included, approximately 2 million of whom will be called up, then the total number of Ukrainians outside Ukraine mobilised at the beginning of war will be 3½ to 4 million men.

Geographical location of militarily fit population of Ukraine, which at the beginning of war will be in the army or early mobi-

lised, together with the Ukrainians residing permanently outside Ukraine will be as follows:

(estimates in millions).

Categories of militarily fit

1. Ukraine and her zone, i.e., territory west of the line Archangelsk-Samara-Baku	0.5	3.0	0.7	0.2	4.4
2. The Far East	0.3	0.5	—	1.0	1.8
3. Transcaucasus	0.1	0.2	—	—	0.3
4. Central Asia	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.9
5. Siberia	0.1	0.5	0.2	2.0	2.8
TOTAL	1.2	4.5	1.0	3.5	10.2

With the same geographical location there ought to be also joined about 2 millions of militarily fit population of Belorussian and about 1½ million men of Cossack territories.

In the case of war, over 10 million militarily fit Ukrainians from Ukraine and outside territories—in the sphere of direct influence of the Home country will be approximately 4½ millions of men, i.e., almost half of the whole military potential of Ukraine.

Moving the war front from the west to the east, in the direction of Ukraine, without the destruction of the Russian Empire, i.e., without a victorious uprising in Ukraine and Belorussia, will lead to the devastation of Ukraine of militarily fit population, retreat of the army and evacuation of the population. Then will arise the danger that in Ukraine at that time may be left only 1½ to 2 millions of men, and of them only about 1 million, more or less militarily fit.

In the case of mass surrender to the enemies of Russia, about three quarters of the prisoners will be *morally* unfit for further military services, particularly in revolutionary warfare.

2. *Material resources.*

(a) The value of yearly crops of Ukraine.

The total crop of every kind of corn in Ukraine amounted to 250 millions of cwts. in 1939, and 300 millions of cwts. in 1945, of which there were 125 millions of cwts. of wheat. There were also on the average 150 millions of cwts. of beetroot (yearly production of sugar was 18-19 millions of cwts.) as well as many other industrial plants, for instance, 7 million cwts. of sunflower which gives over 1 million cwts. of vegetable fat.

Of the total average yearly crop there should be deducted about 50 million cwts. of corn for sowing, 20 million cwts. for feeding horses and cattle, and about 50 million cwts. for human consumption on a ration of 400 grammes of corn per day per person. *There will be left about 80 million cwts. of corn in reserve.* The corn reserves in Ukraine at present are about 100 million cwts. *Yearly reserve of sugar after deducting home consumption will be about 13-14 million cwts.*

There is rather a small output of horticultural products and cattle breeding, and so there will be a general shortage of meat and animal fats, which will have to be compensated by corn consumption. Quite satisfactory foodstuffs for the army will have to remain mainly bread, sugar, vegetable fats; but meat, butter and animal fats will be scarce.

In order to obtain food a contingent will be allotted which should result in obtaining about 50 million cwts. of grain. About 10 million cwts. will be needed to feed the 3 million strong army, and about the same amount to feed town populations, industrial workers, etc. The remaining resources could be used for export or exchange for other foodstuffs and materials needed. Analogical is the sugar position. In the matter of the exchange of grain and sugar should be especially taken into consideration such countries as Belorussia, Baltic States, Finland and Scandinavian countries. From there Ukraine could obtain meats, fats, building materials, and, in case of Norway and Sweden, metallurgical products, machinery and armament.

Strategy of the management of the resources demands possession of the coast of the Black Sea and Crimea as well as concentration of the resources in the regions of Polisia, Volynia and Galicia.

(b) The clothing of the Army and population.

Ukraine is not able to clothe fully her army from her own resources, neither is she able to supply her population with the minimum of clothing. The clothing for the army must be obtained from reserves captured from the enemy, which should last for at least two years. The population could not be supplied with textile products at all. But the footwear (boots) for the soldiers and the saddles and harness for the horses must be obtained from her own resources.

(c) Armament and military equipment.

The system and the method of arming our forces we accept as they are now in the Soviet Army. The armament to be used will have to be to a great extent captured from the enemy. Only in the later stages of the war there could be organised *our own* production of armament as well as its import from abroad. But even then we shall be compelled to make or order the type of armament used by Russians, as it could be always replenished by the armament captured. Various kinds of weapons weaken the strength of the army and the change from one type to another in war conditions is impossible.

(d) Industrial productivity.

At the time of national liberating revolution and the war against Russia we shall not have even one working armament factory and war materials factory in Ukraine. It would be possible during the war to organise some small factories, workshops and maintenance units, to make smaller grades of ammunition and repairs to transport, etc., but it would be hardly possible to make any larger kinds of armament or to undertake larger repairs, for instance of aircraft and such like. We shall not be able to manu-

facture instruments of precision and other kinds of modern armaments, these will have to be captured from the enemy or imported. There is possibility to organise rail and water transport.

If even 50 per cent. of the existing mining industry in Ukraine were mobilised, after satisfying own needs, it is possible to export at least half a million tons of manganese, about 50 to 60 million tons of coal, and 2 to 3 million tons of crude iron yearly. The output of oil in Drohobych at its present stage could not satisfy our needs, and we would require at least about 2 million tons of oil and its product yearly.

There are nearly 1800 maintenance units and small factories for the repair and maintenance of agricultural machinery in Ukraine, which, apart from the completion of their original tasks, could be used for military purposes. Of greater importance there is also the shipbuilding industry in Mykolayiv, as well as metallurgical factories in the main towns of Ukraine. Many factories now existing in Ukraine could be re-built and re-arranged to suit the purposes of increasing the war potential of Ukraine. A problem of great importance will also be the supply of medicaments and surgical instruments, the production of which in Ukraine at present is negligible.

In the process of war there will have to be instituted special arrangements for the organisation and reconstruction of industry in Ukraine which will have to plan and rearrange Ukrainian industry, not only for the war purposes but also for the future industrial development of the independent Ukrainian State.

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