

*Supply—External Affairs*

authority, either of Polish king or of Russian tsar or of the big landed Polish aristocrats. They were quick to rebel against their own elected "atamans", or military chiefs, if they found the latter guilty of oppression or of treason.

That goes back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I do not know how far we have to go back to establish tradition, but certainly that is not the tradition of a people that can be referred to as having the tradition of autocratic rule. That does not refer only to Ukrainians but refers equally to other so-called Slavic people. Every opportunity people in that area of Europe have had to establish or discover democracy and freedom as we understand it in our nation, they have used; and they have made a heroic effort to win that freedom.

It is true, of course, that they have experienced autocratic rule and they are still experiencing it, and in that respect I agree with the minister when he states that once the spirit of freedom begins to gain momentum in the nations under the domination of the Soviet union, no one knows where it may lead.

In this respect I am perhaps more optimistic and hopeful than some members of the house, when I state that in my opinion the time is not very far off when we will be seeing some great developments in that respect. While in some quarters the industrial and economic progress now being made in the Soviet union is looked upon with a certain amount of fear and apprehension by western nations, to me it represents a great challenge and a great opportunity because, as I think the minister will agree, economic freedom and political freedom thrive equally as well in the same climate, and if the people of that huge part of Europe get a taste of economic progress, their natural desire will be to free themselves politically and to live under a democratic system as do most of the other nations of the world. I believe it will not be long before big developments will be taking place both within the Soviet union itself and among the satellite nations.

The reason we sometimes get the impression that it is almost a hopeless cause for these people to rise up politically and cast off the yokes of dictatorship which hold them is, of course, that we receive a filtered version of what is actually going on in that nation. But we do know on the basis of history, on the basis of experience, on the basis of information which is not generally found in the newspapers, that there is a great deal more thinking, planning and discussing going on, particularly among the younger people in the Soviet union, than we give them credit for. I firmly believe that there is a strong, militant spirit for democracy and freedom within the

borders of that empire which is going to burst forth into big developments before we are many years older. What form it will take it is not for us, of course, to know at the present time.

I have already quoted the opinion expressed by Mr. Chamberlain, which sets out something of the tradition of those people referred to as the Slavic race. I also want to place on the record now certain views expressed by Mr. John A. Armstrong in a book published in 1945 by the Columbia University Press of New York entitled "Ukrainian Nationalism 1939-1945" in which, after having made a study of the history of the nationalism of the Ukraine, he sets out something of the more recent efforts of the people of that nation. I think it would be useful to have it on the record because unfortunately there are some people in Canada and elsewhere who have the impression at times that this spirit of nationalism, this effort to win independence for subjugated nations, is largely led by a group of reactionaries who are out to regain sovereignty for their own personal prestige. There is an impression abroad that the nationalist movements are led by reactionaries.

Potentially or possibly that is sometimes the case, but it is certainly not the case so far as the Ukraine is concerned. I should like to refer hon. members to Mr. Armstrong's book in which he sets out a number of statements made as recently as 1944 by a conference of various groups and organizations in the Ukraine whose common object that this does not represent the views of a particular political party but represents the collective views of people who were hoping that under some circumstances they could set up their old republic based on certain principles. Here, as found in Mr. Armstrong's book, are some of the principles set before that conference and adopted by it:

(a) Assurance of popular democratic procedures in the accomplishment of the political development of the Ukrainian state by the general assembly of the people.

(b) Assurance of freedom of thought . . . and of belief.

(c) Assurance of the development of the Ukrainian national culture.

(d) Assurance of a just social order in the Ukrainian state, free of exploitation of classes and suppression.

(e) Assurance of the rule of law in practice, and of the equality of all citizens before the law in the Ukrainian state.

(f) Assurance of civil rights for all national minorities in the Ukraine.

(g) Assurance of the right of equal educational opportunities for all citizens.

(h) Assurance of free initiative in creative economic activity, regulated by the requirements and needs of the entire nation.

Then there are further principles along the same line. I place this on record to point