

N. PRYCHODKO

UKRAINE
and
RUSSIA

Winnipeg, 1953.

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ОТДѢЛЪ ПЕЧАТН. ДѢЛЪ

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The Author

PREFACE

At our invitation Mr. Nicholas Prychodko addressed the Fourth Ukrainian Canadian Congress in Winnipeg, on the subject **THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST DOMINATION OF UKRAINE**. Mr. Prychodko is highly qualified to deal with this subject, having had personal experience with the Soviet rule as it applies to the enslaved nations of the USSR and particularly to Ukraine. He is the author of a recently published book "One of the Fifteen Million", which has been translated into several major European languages.

In his address at the congress Mr. Prychodko gave a vivid description of the tragic plight of the Ukrainian people under Soviet domination, illustrating various phases of its policy of enslavement and genocide by documentary evidence and his personal experiences, having been a citizen of the USSR for over thirty years.

The subject matter of the address deserves the widest publicity and we are pleased to present it to the Canadian public in print. We are indebted to Mr. Wilson Woodside for his introductory remarks.

Ukrainian Canadian Committee

Introduction

I remember as a boy the arrival of the "Galicians" on the Western prairie. And I also remember the astonished comments in many Canadian papers after the census of 1931, when it was discovered that Canada had a large population of Ukrainians. All of Canada now knows that Canadians of Ukrainian parentage represent the fourth largest group in our population, following only the British, French and German. And every politician knows that they are the largest and best organized of the national minority groups in the country, important enough to be visited in convention by the Prime Minister himself.

I know that many older Canadians deprecate the way in which the Canadian Ukrainians hold together and the great interest which many of them continue to show in their homeland; and even the Prime Minister seemed to play down the hope of liberation for the Ukraine. But if one appreciates that Ukrainian nationalism just happened to arrive last on the European scene, but is on this account no less legitimate or fervid than, say, Polish or Czech nationalism which arose in the last century; and if one learns through such an account as Professor Prychodko's of the martyrdom through which this nationalism has passed in this generation, one can only admire the sentiments and efforts of our Canadian Ukrainian compatriots who will not abandon their motherland.

I am sure that Prychodko's pamphlet will contribute to this understanding. I have known him almost since he arrived in Canada. I was happy to have the opportunity of first publishing his story of "The Worst Years of My Life" in Saturday Night. And I have watched with admiration as he regained his engineering profession, founded a new home and family, and yet never ceased for a day to write and work for the freedom of his homeland. I am sure that a man who appreciates freedom as he does will make a doughty defender of Canada, if the necessity should again arise.

WILLSON WOODSIDE

TORONTO, JULY 15, 1953

(FOREIGN EDITOR, "SATURDAY NIGHT")

THE USSR — PRISON OF NATIONS

Living on this continent for nearly five years now I have realized that a great many people here do not distinguish between Ukraine and Russia. Even today a Ukrainian often has to argue with immigration officials in order to have his nationality properly documented instead of being called a Russian or a Pole simply because his ancestral Ukraine is occupied by these Communist countries.

This state of affairs here, and in the West generally, shows that the nationality problem in the USSR is not understood or taken seriously. Yet this problem is the most important in defeating Moscow's plan to dominate the whole world and in smashing the Russian Empire which sooner or later will, without warning, throw its and the Chinese vast armies against the West.

The USSR is by no means a "friendly family of nations" as is depicted by Soviet propaganda. Rather it is a prison of peoples and nationalities conquered and annexed by Moscow through the centuries.

These subject nationalities, with a population of over 110 millions, wait for their opportunity to break away from Muscovite tyranny.

Evidence of this is the fact that immediately after the Revolution in 1917, when the Russian police and military control was weakened, **nine national republics** were formed by the uprising of their people on the territories of the Russian Empire.

Today, at this Ukrainian Congress, we have commemorated the proclamation in Kiev, capital of Ukraine, on January 22, 1918, after a determined and bloody battle with the Russian occupying power, of the establishment of a Ukrainian Democratic Republic, wholly independent of Moscow.

Unfortunately, the West did not support this gigantic liberation movement of Ukraine and other nations which strove for freedom from Russian domination. On the contrary, it even sent help to fight these national revolutions and preserve an undivided Russian Empire. This help gave the Bolsheviks the opportunity to hold the government and later crush all opposition and build a Communist Empire including in it the subjugated Ukraine.

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UKRAINE AND RUSSIA IN THE PAST

The history of Ukraine's struggle for liberty and independence does not begin and end with the historic date of January 22, 1918. Its beginning lies way back in the country's heroic defence against the Tatar invasions from the East. At that time, the 12th and 13th centuries, Ukraine was an inde-

pendent, flourishing nation with her own highly developed culture.

Evidence of this are the ancient documents which were later looted by Russian museums: the famous chronicle, in verse, "Slovo o Polku Ihorevim", (About Ihor's Regiment), from the ninth century that Russians now falsely claim for their own; architectural monuments of original style of Ukrainian baroque. The most outstanding of these monuments which still stands today is the Saint Sofia Cathedral in Kiev, with its famous mosaics, built at the beginning of the eleventh century.

We have a right to recall that at this time of incessant Tatar invasions Ukraine defended not only herself but the Western-European culture from Asiatic vandalism.

The level of Ukrainian culture at a later period is illustrated by the fact that in the middle of the sixteenth century a complete bible was printed in the Ukrainian town of Ostroh through the efforts of the Duke Konstantyn Ostrozhsy. It is a great pleasure for me to mention here that present among us is the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada who has a rare copy of this famous bible, the evidence of the advanced development of printing in Ukraine in the sixteenth century.

Also in the sixteenth century an Academy was instituted in Kiev by Metropolitan Petro Mohyla which was on an equal level with similar institutions of the Western-European capitals. Fortunately, at this time Ukraine had nothing in common with the neighboring small Muscovite duchy,

then on a far lower level of cultural development.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century Russia attempted to seize the northern territories of Ukraine but was repulsed. In reprisal Hetman Petro Sahaydachny with his troops drove the enemy back to the very gates of Moscow and only the false Russian pleas and peace promises saved the capital from ruin.

But in 1654 a tragic blunder occurred in the Ukrainian history. Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, upon completing a victorious war with Poland to retrieve Ukrainian lands, decided to enter into a friendship pact with Russia. This agreement opened a door for the Muscovites into Ukraine. Instead of friendship and solidarity the Russians launched a widespread action of intrigue against Ukrainian national interests, in modern language the so-called action of penetration and creation of a fifth column.

Following Bohdan Khmelnytsky's death Russia was quick to take advantage of the temporary confusion in the top circles of the Ukrainian government, flooding the country with its military garrisons and gradually tightening its hold. Finally, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the brutal assault of the Muscovites impelled Hetman Iwan Mazepa to seek a secret alliance with King Charles XII of Sweden and enter into a decisive battle with the Russian forces. The defeat of King Charles and his ally Hetman Mazepa at Poltava hastened new Russian conquests in Ukraine.

In 1721, after occupying the Baltic states and Finland, Tsar

Peter I proclaimed the transformation of the Muscovite Tsardom into a Russian Empire. And in 1775 the Russian armies destroyed the last fortress of the Ukrainian military forces, the famous Zaporozhian Sich, and established on the free Cossack land of Ukraine a feudal system and their own rule of bayonet and terror which lasted until the revolution in 1917.

Many times during this period bigger and lesser flames of insurrection flared up but these were always extinguished with the blood of the insurgents. Along main thoroughfares clanked the fetters of the slaves convoyed from Ukraine, and other dominated countries, to the distant, desolate corners of the Muscovite Tsardom for slave labor. Along this thorny road also walked our greatest poet — our national tribune — Taras Shevchenko.

Our nation cannot forget that over 20,000 Cossack prisoners died in the building of Petersburg, at one time capital of the Russian Empire. Nor can we forget that the renowned Ukrainian knight, Commander-in-Chief of the Zaporozhian Sich, Petro Kalnyshesky, spent twenty-five years chained to the wall of a dark, damp underground cell under the cathedral of the Solovetski Monastery. He suffered this extreme torture only because he loved his fatherland and refused to bow to the barbaric Russian regime. But he was not the only one.

Those were only a few highlights of Russia's domination of Ukraine.

* * *

OCCUPATION OF UKRAINE

I personally, lived in my native Ukraine, and in a Siberian concentration camp, under Russian domination of a different sort — the Soviet regime which followed in the steps of its Tsarist predecessors (Ivan the Terrible and Peter I who took great pleasure in attending the interrogation, of their political opponents while they were being tortured by the hangmen).

This red rule came to our land after the defeat of the democratic government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. I could talk at great length about this period of infinite terror and coercion in Ukraine but time and your valued attention will allow me to dwell only on a few characteristic moments.

Having seized power in the Kremlin and secured an armistice at Brest-Litovsk, which halted the fighting on the German front, Lenin turned his attention to the "home front" of Ukraine. His chief reason for this was, first of all, Ukraine's economic importance. The Donets Basin has an estimated 58 billion tons of hard coal and anthracite. Alongside this field, in Kryvy Rih (Krivoi Rog), lie vast deposits of first-class iron ore and further south, in Nikopol, the greatest deposits of manganese in the world. The neighboring Slavyansk and the Donets River basin have been the mainstay of Russian chemical industries during Tsarist and Communist regimes. After the Revolution the Communists built a special

railroad to this region for better exploitation of these minerals.

In addition Lenin also coveted the boundless plains of the wheat-growing black earth belt which stretches from Kiev to the shores of the Black Sea. These plains not only feed most of Russia with bread but supply her with nearly all of her export grain. Before the Second World War Ukraine accounted for 45 per cent of the food and industrial production of the USSR.

Aside from these Lenin also had Ukraine's strategic position in mind with her outlet on the Black Sea, a direct route through to the unsubmitive Caucasus and the Baku oil basin, and the reserve manpower of Ukraine of 40 million people.

Without Ukraine the Russian Communist Empire was on the verge of a deadly famine and economic collapse. For this reason Lenin summoned all possible military forces and dispatched them to Ukraine under the leadership of his trusted commander, Muravyov, with explicit instructions to "promise the Ukrainians literally everything they ask for; once we are established we will do as we wish." At the same time Leon Trotsky wrote in his secret instructions to Russian communists: "In one way or another it is imperative that Ukraine be returned to Russia. Russia cannot exist without Ukrainian coal, iron, iron ore, wheat and the Black Sea."

Lenin's methods in Ukraine soon became apparent when a group of about 300 students from Kiev, who had volunteered to defend their native country, was surrounded by Muravyov's troops, outnumbering them a hundredfold, and savagely massacred with swords and machine-guns.

Accompanying Muravyov's divisions were detachments of Cheka (secret police) who shot down in cold blood "enemies of the Revolution — Ukrainian nationalists" by the thousands. Following in their footsteps came detachments from the Commissariat of Food, to seize grain, livestock and vegetables from the farmers and ship them north.

It is difficult to estimate the vast number of Ukrainians who died in the struggle with the Russian Bolshevik hordes or at the hands of the Cheka (later GPU, then NKVD) from a bullet at the back of the neck or from inhuman torture. In the Russian Empire murdering a political opponent was not, and still is not, considered a crime and no statistics are kept of such events. In any case hundreds of thousands died — the best sons of the Ukrainian nation.

My cousin, Klement, an officer in the Ukrainian National Army, escaped from a Communist prison during a partisan attack, minus all the fingers on his right hand. They had been cut off one at a time during interrogations.

The political police also intensively carried out still another function. With the aid of the newly formed Communist centres in Ukraine it carefully sought out any jealousies or hatreds among the

different social factions of the population and whipped these into open antagonisms so as to weaken a united resistance.

THE FAMINE AND NEP

However, all these measures failed to suppress Ukrainian resistance and the Communists resorted to yet another crime. During the years 1921 and 1922 the first Soviet famine was created bringing death and privation to more than two million Ukrainian farmers. The irrefutable cause of the famine was Russia's appropriation of most of the grain in the country hauling it away to the north in thousands of trainloads. The people in Russia did not die of starvation; only on the fertile lands of Ukraine was there famine and death.

Mykola Kulish, a famous Ukrainian playwright, wrote an immortal play "97" portraying life, the famine and the hopelessness of those years. No one could view that tragedy of suffering humanity without a bitter, burning pain in his heart. After a few showings of the play Kulish was sent without trial to ten years in Siberia and died there. Those who had given permission for the showing of the play vanished without a trace.

Thousands who protested in any way against the requisition of grain were shot or exiled to Siberia.

Finally when this policy began to show disastrous results the Kremlin realized that such drastic measures would eventually lead to economic ruin. To avert this the Bolsheviks decreed in 1924 an era of New Political Economy, known as the NEP period, similar to the present proclamation in Hungary.

The new policy sanctioned the private ownership of land or other enterprise, permitted free trade and on the whole encouraged every individual initiative conducive to national prosperity and promised freedom of religion. Within two years Ukraine was transformed as if by magic. A rich and fertile country, it needed only common sense and free enterprise, instead of servile labor and oppression, to assure normal progress. People almost forgot the treachery of Moscow but very soon they were to be painfully reminded of it again.

In 1928, within a few nights, almost all Ukrainians who owned a private business, shop, store or prosperous farm were arrested and their possessions confiscated by the Soviet government. A proclamation advised all and sundry that the NEP had been a temporary trial measure and that henceforth all rights to any enterprise belonged solely to the government. No one dared so much as think of those beguiling promises of individual ownership of business and land.

The ranks of the secret police were so powerfully strengthened and the possibility of any uprising so thoroughly suppressed that it was now safe for the government to speak openly and wield the whip over any still insistent seekers for justice and the rights of free men.

ABOLITION OF THE CHURCH

During these years the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was desecrated and ruined in a most barbaric manner. Twenty-seven archbishops and bishops, with the 75-year-old Metropolitan Lypkiwsky at their head, were arrested and sentenced

without a public hearing or trial to slave labor in concentration camps of Northern Russia where they later died.

Later, in 1946 and 1947, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was almost totally annihilated in the Western Ukraine. Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, died a mysterious death. Then followed the arrest and deportation of the whole exarchate because it refused to serve the false Moscow patriarch, created to conduct false propaganda and espionage abroad.

After the liquidation of the episcopate thousands of priests were shot, tortured and sent to concentration camps in Siberia. All church properties were confiscated by the state. The country churches were turned into granaries, theatres, clubs or simply destroyed.

Because the Christian doctrine of moral law and love of one's fellow man clashed with Communist immorality and terrorism the Church was uprooted and debased.

THE STORY OF MY FATHER

Here I shall take the liberty of relating to you the story of my father's arrest because it is undeniable evidence that Moscow's propaganda about religious freedom in the USSR is a common lie.

My father was neither a capitalist nor a landlord. Before the Revolution he had owned twenty-five acres of land which he worked himself each day from morning till night except Sunday. This day he gave to the church, which our

whole family loved. By 1938, when he was 73 years of age, he had missed his church so much that he stopped being neutral and with other old people set up a make-shift church in a barn on the outskirts of Cherkassy, where he lived at that time. An old priest was found, working as a night watchman in a market place, and he conducted the service.

For two Sundays my father's eyes shone with happiness as he returned home from these church services. On the third Sunday two trucks with NKVD men drove up to the barn. With drawn bayonets they stopped the service in progress, packed the old priest and the congregation of about sixty old folks into the trucks and drove them off to prison.

I never saw my father again. Some time later I located a man who had been in the same prison cell with him and he told me that my father had been badly beaten twice at interrogations. Then one day when he was unconscious two guards came and dragged him away by the feet. That was the last I ever heard of him.

GENOCIDE IN UKRAINE 1932 - 1933

I wish, today, to emphasize one phase of Communist domination in my native Ukraine. After the death of Stalin — so royally honored by Communists across Canada and the U. S. A. — I read in one of Toronto's non-Communist newspaper that one of Stalin's major accomplishments was that he had ably **guided the people**

through a famine. Looking at this without the rose-colored glasses which some journalists wear, the picture is rather different.

There is a book by the novelist, Siroshesky, "The Depths of Suffering," on the lives of lepers. Reading this soul-stirring story I felt it depicted the ultimate in human suffering and pain. So I thought until 1933 when with my own eyes I **witnessed the indescribable** horrors of the famine throughout Ukraine.

Unfortunately, few writers dared put on paper the story of the suffering and privations of that year. They could not, for even a mention of the famine brought swift retribution by murder from the NKVD or slave labor in Siberia.

For officially there was no famine. Stalin refused all offers of help from foreign countries, assuring them that no famine existed in the Soviet Ukraine and that the whole USSR lived in abundance and contentment. Communist papers abroad, mimicking Moscow, did their utmost to spread this fable throughout the world.

In 1941 when the Germans invaded Ukraine they found in the Academy of Sciences in Kiev the true statistics of the crops harvested in 1932. These figures proved that the yield was sufficient to feed the Ukrainian population for two years and four months and to seed all the fields. There was no natural cause for the famine. It was purposely created to break the resistance of the farmers to collectivization and to Russian colonial domination of Ukraine.

All the grain of 1932 was loaded into special trains as soon as it was thrashed and immediately appropriated by the government. Carloads of it rolled northward to feed the bureaucrats of Moscow or to be exported to finance the plans of Communist revolution in China and other countries. The Ukrainian farmers received only the third screenings from the thrashing machine.

During the latter part of 1932 the farm women added potato peelings, weeds, anything to stretch the loaves of heavy black bread. With the coming of 1933 even these meagre additions were unavailable. People ground the bark of trees, scratched roots from the frozen ground, searched hopelessly for any sustenance which would keep body and soul together.

Helpless, despairing, they died by thousands, by tens of thousands, by millions. The statistical bureaux were ordered to register the deaths as resulting from prevalent "digestive ailments".

Farmers who could still stand on their feet gathered their few belongings and flocked to the cities. Here a person could exchange an artistically embroidered shirt, his most highly-prized possession, for a loaf of bread. Priceless rugs, the heirlooms of generations, bought only a few pounds of flour. The Russian elite covered their walls and floors with these treasures.

Through the streets of Kiev, Kharkiv, Dnepropetrovsk, Odessa and other cities,

the miserable hulks of humanity dragged themselves on swollen feet, begging for crusts of bread or searching for scraps on garbage heaps, frozen and filthy. Each morning wagons rolled through the streets collecting the corpses. Often even the undershirt had been stripped from the body to be exchanged for a piece of bread.

Those who were lucky enough to reach Moscow had a better chance of survival. Here one could find scraps of bread, made of Ukrainian wheat, on the dumps; here one could also buy a little food on the black market.

The difficulty was to get there. On the trains and in the stations the secret police in their blue and red caps halted every traveller and asked for his official passport. Those who could not produce one were arrested.

At this time a friend of mine worked as an assistant in the October Revolution Hospital. Having completed his medical studies in 1931 he now worked in the surgical department. One evening he invited me to visit him in the hospital, promising me an unusual spectacle. When I arrived he gave me a doctor's white smock to put on and took me to a large garage in the yard. A guard unlocked the door and we entered. My friend switched on the light and I beheld an unforgettable picture of horror.

Piled like cordwood against the walls, layer upon layer, were the frozen corpses of the victims picked off the streets that morning. Some of the bodies, I later learned,

were used for vivisection and experiments in the laboratories. The rest were simply buried in pits at midnight in nearby ravines out of the sight of the people.

"This," my friend whispered softly, "is the fate of our villages."

I was too unnerved to utter a word. With unbelieving eyes I could only stare at the hundreds of outstretched frozen hands which still seemed to be begging for bread; begging for life.

My friend turned out the lights and we left without a word. The guard slammed the door and locked it behind us. Slowly we walked home, speechless and shaken, but with a mutual understanding between us.

It seemed ages before I could rid myself of the horror in that garage, sixteen years after that October Revolution for which the hospital was named. Years later I screamed from a nightmare resulting from that ghoulis experience.

There is another unforgettable incident which I witnessed in that year of 1933. It happened in the spring as I was on a train from Kiev to Uman. At the Monastyrshche station twelve villagers came aboard, their faces bloated from starvation, tattered and dirty, all on their way to work on a state farm. With them was a young lad, about 14, his hand tightly pressed against his chest, inside his shirt.

Like a pack of wolves the men gathered around the boy, their eyes glued to the hand at his bosom. The boy tightened his grip upon his possession — a slice of black bread — and stared back with frightened eyes at the fierce, unshaven, swollen caricatures of human faces around him. To a man they were urging and pleading with him to share the bread with them. Tomorrow, they promised, there would be boiled potatoes at the farm, perhaps even bread.

The hungry boy stoutly refused. His mother, he explained, had somehow procured that slice of bread for him and admonished him to save it for tomorrow.

The tragic scene ended when the twelve men, as though electrified by a command, fell upon him and tore away the bread which crumbled and scattered over the floor. The starving, snarling human beasts tore the crumbs out of each others fingers, scratched them out of crevices as though in a paroxysm of insanity. The hungry youngster sobbed bitterly, but for the men he had already ceased to exist.

I recollect one more horrible picture which I witnessed in Kiev at the beginning of 1933. A young mother, her face and feet bloated from starvation, was unable to move. In sheer desperation she sat on a sidewalk facing a display of fresh bread in a shop window across the street and stared with

inflamed eyes. After some time she removed the sack from her back and pulled out a frozen corpse of an infant. She cradled the tiny skeleton in her arms and lamented:

"My son. My darling. Where will I bury you and where will I find my own grave?"

By this means 1933 brought death to the villages of Ukraine. Many places which had formerly boasted of populations from 2,500 to 3,000 now counted but 200 to 300 inhabitants. Later the government brought colonies of Russians to these villages to occupy the vacant homes and to this day they plow and till the rich black soil of Ukraine.

The tougher farmers who had somehow survived the fatal famine and lived to see the following harvest were sentenced to ten years of Siberian slave labor if they so much as picked a pocketful of wheat heads to chew the half ripened kernels for nourishment. This crime was branded, "theft of socialist property."

Over seven million Ukrainians died in that artificially created famine. If the statement seems far-fetched one need only look in the "Small Soviet Encyclopedia," 1940 edition, and under the heading "Ukraine" note this fact: in the 1927 census Eastern (Soviet) Ukraine had a population of 32 million; in 1939 (twelve years later) it had only 28 million. Where did the 4 million disappear and where was the natural increase in population which should have numbered about 6 or 7 million? The answer is: the famine and Siberia.

Unable to tolerate further the tragic plight of their people two of Ukraine's outstanding Com-

munists, Mykola Khwylowy and Mykola Skrypnyk, who had upheld the Revolution with heart and soul, committed suicide. They had realized too late the **falsity**, the **duplicity** of Communist ideals in which they had so earnestly believed and preached.

During this purposely organized famine spontaneous hunger uprisings broke out among the unarmed farmers but the NKVD soon quelled them with mass shootings.

Today, amidst the abundance of Canada, it seems incredible, impossible that my enslaved countrymen actually lived through and suffered the ghastly tragedy of 1933.

Towards the end of 1933 a shot reverberated throughout the length and breadth of Ukraine. On October 28, a young member of the Ukrainian national underground organization, 18-year-old Mykola Lemyk, entered the Soviet consulate in Western Ukraine, which was then under Polish rule, ostensibly to secure a passport to visit the Soviet Ukraine.

When assured that he was actually in the presence of the man he sought, Lemyk pulled a revolver from his pocket and with these words: "For those millions of brother-Ukrainians who died in the famine and were otherwise brutally murdered," he shot the Soviet consul, Mayorov.

In mourning we bow our heads in memory of the millions of our brothers who perished in the famine and commemorate the twentieth anniversary of that

tragedy by mass demonstrations in the towns and cities of Canada, the United States and Europe. We hope in this way to help the free world perceive the true face of the monstrosity of the Kremlin Janus hidden under a peace-loving mask.

As an expression of our heartfelt sympathy for the millions of Ukrainian fathers, mothers and children who died in the Kremlin-organized famine in 1932-33 let us honor their memory by standing in silence.

* * *

KIROV'S ASSASSINATION AND THE EXECUTION OF UKRAINIAN WRITERS

Doubts and discontent began to be voiced against the Kremlin policies, not only among non-party people but even in strong party circles, especially after the suicides of Khwylowy and Skrypnyk. Discontent was growing even in the Leningrad ranks, the very backbone of Communism, which had been in the vanguard of the Revolution.

Perhaps it was not only the death of millions of starved and exiled victims which caused the uneasiness but rather a gnawing conscience which asked, "For what did we make the Revolution?"

Or perhaps the growing apprehension stemmed from a more practical reason: such a wanton disregard for an extermination of

farmers could only result in an alarming decrease of Ukrainian wheat.

The Kremlin felt the growing wave of resentment through its loyal ears and eyes — the secret agents of the GPU. It turned to the tested solution; blood-letting among the "subversive" elements.

In the latter part of 1934 Nikolayev, a former member of the Trotskyite opposition, killed the Communist leader of the Leningrad district, Sergei Kirov. That Nikolayev shot Kirov by the orders of the GPU was claimed at the subsequent trial of the GPU chief, Yagoda.

Recently "Life" magazine ran an article by a former NKVD general, A. Orlov, who disclosed that Yagoda received orders to kill Kirov from Stalin personally.

There were two important reasons which Stalin might have had for getting rid of Kirov. Kirov had usurped power far beyond the limitations of his position as Leningrad District leader, to a point where he might have been a challenge to the Kremlin. And his murder could be used as an excuse for another wave of purges to subdue the rising discontent.

I recall the day following the murder. In every factory and government office in Kiev (and throughout all of Ukraine) special meetings were called at which Communist emissaries cried with crocodile tears lamenting the death of the "beloved co-worker of Stalin — Sergei Myronovich Kirov." Torrents of threats and accusations

were hurled against the "enemies and subverters" who were planning to overthrow the Soviet regime.

We who heard these orations (and all were compelled to listen) knew from experience what would follow. Nor were we mistaken, for shortly afterwards the newspapers in Kiev published the names of 28 Ukrainian writers and cultural leaders who had been shot "in reprisal for Kirov's murder."

In the death sentences, imposed on them without trial, they were branded as traitors who had tried to overthrow the government. It was clearly evident from the beginning that Moscow intended to use this assassination mainly to suppress the discontented opposing factions in Ukraine who understood the reasons behind the suicides of Khwylyowy and Skrypnyk.

Following the execution of the writers and other intellectuals tens of thousands of other Ukrainians were sent to join them in the next world, this time without an announcement in the press.

RUSSIA'S FALSE PASSPORT

To people on this continent it is perhaps difficult to appreciate the tremendous loss of the Ukrainian literature in 1934, not having had the opportunity to read the highly talented works of the executed writers. The Kremlin has never permitted the popularization of Ukrainian literature in the outside world. When Ukrainian books are

translated and published in Russian and from that language into English, French and German, the Ukrainian author is always identified as "Russian." This is also the case with composers, artists and scientists; for example such eminent writers as Gogol and Korolenko; composers Bortnyansky and Glinka; scientists Timoshenko, one of the greatest authorities in the science of the resistance of materials, in U. S. A. and Kapytsa, director of the atomic research in USSR.

The famous writer, Tolstoi, was of German and Tatar descent. Tchaikowski, the highly popularized composer in the West was not of Russian nationality. He was of Ukrainian and French origin and his best work, the Fifth Symphony, is from beginning to end, built on melodies of Ukrainian folk songs.

Many more similar instances could be cited which prove Russia's shameless theft of other people's culture representing it to the rest of the world as her own.

* * *

SECRET GRAVES IN VINNITSA

In 1943, during the German occupation of Ukraine, mass graves were uncovered in two orchards in Vinnitsa, a town with a population of about 40,000. The orchards had been confiscated by the NKVD in 1937 and kept under heavy guard day and night not permitting anyone to set foot on the area. 9,642 bodies of workers, farmers and intellectuals were exhumed, with their hands tied behind their backs and bullet

holes in the napes of their necks. Some bore signs of previous torture.

An international medical commission asserted that the victims had been shot in the period of 1937-1938. Many were recognized by their families from remnants of their clothing.

In one of the orchards, over these secret graves, the Communists made a so-called "Park of Culture and Rest" with facilities for games and dancing. Can a more deplorable mockery of man and God be imagined? At this same time Stalin issued a new slogan which was repeated endlessly: "The most precious capital is the human being."

I was an eye-witness of that unforgettable, gigantic funeral of the Kremlin victims in Vinnitsa. I know for a fact that there are all over Ukraine and in the deep snows of Siberia, not hundreds but thousands of these tragic, secret graves. I also know that there are millions of Ukrainians in Siberian Concentration camps. No wonder that in our churches there is a special prayer, during the Holy Sacrament, "for our ever-suffering mother — Ukraine."

* * *

MARTYRDOM OF UKRAINE-AND HER STRIFE FOR FREEDOM

But Ukraine is not only ever-suffering. She is unyielding and adamant in her quest for freedom and independence. For centuries Ukraine lived and fought and still

lives and fights on for the right to be master of her own land. Under Communist occupation she has suffered and sacrificed more than any other nation behind the Iron Curtain, but neither White nor Red Russian occupants were able to truss up the Ukrainian spirit with barbed wire and shoot it in the nape of the neck.

In the winter of 1920, several thousand soldiers of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, who were interned in Poland, broke away, half-clad and practically without arms, for an expedition against the Russian occupants. In constant battles with Russian troops but with the aid of local partisan groups and the population this handful of heroes of the so-called Winter Expedition broke through to Kiev.

These undaunted heroes were finally defeated in an unequal battle but they did not bow before the enemy. Near the large village of Bazar, 259 captive soldiers of the expedition were ordered by the enemy to dig their graves. At gun point, on the brink of the graves, the Russian Commissar offered the prisoners an alternative of serving in the Red Army. In reply the 259 men broke out in song — the Ukrainian national anthem. It was silenced by machine gun fire.

Until 1925 insurgent groups were active throughout Ukraine, giving no peace to the Russian occupant. Their innumerable acts of heroism

remain unrecorded in the history of Ukraine's liberation struggle. Unable to root out this danger by force the Kremlin proclaimed an amnesty and full pardon to all those who fought against Communism. Tens of thousands of Ukrainian insurgents were taken in by this new lie and soon paid with their lives in GPU dungeons for their blunder.

But the struggle in Ukraine continued. It appeared in different forms: the organization of underground fighting groups; formation of the underground Association for Liberation of Ukraine and the Association of Ukrainian Youth; the armed resistance and sabotage of the compulsory collectivization; the incessant struggle against Russification; in the field of culture and in bringing up a new generation, etc.

MASS DESERTIONS OF THE RED ARMY

And in 1941 when war broke out between the USSR and Germany 3,900,000 Red Army soldiers and officers surrendered to the Germans in the first 7½ months, according to data tabled at the Nuremberg Trial. About ninety per cent of them were non-Russians, the majority Ukrainian; they surrendered not because they were cowards on the battlefield, but because they refused to fight for Russian tyranny.

They had hoped that the Germans would assist them in break-

ing away from the Muscovite bondage; that they would be armed and be able to fight against their enemy. But Hitler's politicians drove them into death camps. When in June, 1941, a group of courageous Ukrainian patriots proclaimed a campaign for an independent Ukraine the Germans answered with mass arrests of the organizers and proclaimed Ukraine for the Germans.

Germany's brutal treatment of the prisoners-of-war and its policy of uncompromising combatting of all national revolutions on USSR territories were the beginning of its end in the East.

UPA'S ARMED CONFLICT WITH TWO OCCUPANTS

In 1942 insurgent detachments began to organize in Ukraine, later multiplying and forming into the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). This army fought on two fronts: against the German occupant and Russian Communist partisan troops on Ukrainian territory.

It is an accepted fact that towards the end of the Second World War the number of insurgents grew to a quarter of a million, armed with Russian and German lighter weapons. They engaged in greater and smaller battles with the enemies, raided armament depots, broke German and Soviet communication lines. At that time a naive confidence prevailed in Ukraine that as soon

as the Allies were successful in smashing Hitler's brown fascists they would turn against the red fascists in the Kremlin. Unfortunately this was not the case and we are now facing the danger of a new global war.

As spoils of the last war, Eastern Europe, Manchuria, half of Korea and China were gained by the Kremlin. And the Soviet prisoners-of-war who were in Europe at the conclusion of the war were turned over to Moscow for execution or death in concentration camps.

Having gained peace on its external fronts the Kremlin, just as in 1918, immediately threw its divisions into combatting the national revolutionary forces, mainly the UPA. During this phase of Ukraine's struggle for freedom tens of thousands of her heroic sons fell but the Ukrainian people did not flinch.

As late as 1947, Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia were compelled to sign an official military act for joint action against UPA.

And so, if today we have no news of any large scale operations in Ukraine it does not mean that the fighting spirit for liberty is exhausted. It only signifies that the fighters have scattered among the mass of the population and retreated underground to await an opportune moment for reviving again the subdued flame of the struggle for freedom.

It is for no small reason that the Soviet press calls for an unbearing struggle with the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists." It was they who, with unseen hands, in many Ukrainian cities and towns, tore off the slogans dedicated to Stalin's death substituting for them the three magic letters "U P A".

The people in Ukraine know, just as we knew while still living behind the Iron Curtain, that there exists abroad an active government-in-exile of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. They strongly believe that the time is coming when this government will return to Ukraine with the banner of the renowned Symon Petlura, who in 1926 was assassinated in Paris by a Russian Communist agent; with the standard of Evhen Konovalets who was killed in 1938 by a Russian time bomb, on a street in Rotterdam; with the revolutionary perseverance of Taras Chuprynka, notable UPA commander, who died on the battlefield in Ukraine, in 1950, from a Russian bullet.

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THE SHADOW OF RUSSIAN SLAVERY OVER THE WHOLE WORLD

Today we are on the eve of great unavoidable events. The ominous shadow of these events hangs over the world from the East. Its source is the testament of the Russian Communist Pharaoh — Lenin: "Russia, plus Germany,

plus China and India would assure the victory of the Communist idea in the whole world," and "The road to Paris is through Peking."

To Russians this testament always was and still remains unchangeable notwithstanding the new leadership in the Kremlin. The changes may be in tactics only, according to Lenin's words: "To reach a goal all means are good... but sometimes it is advisable to take a step backward in order to be able to take two steps forward later."

That is the code by which to decipher the different tactical "peace" maneuvers from the Kremlin but unfortunately the West does not take advantage of it.

IS IT A POLICY OF BOLDNESS?

In the so-called cold war the West does not know how to take advantage of the internal contradictions and weaknesses of the enemy. It ignores, or is downright ignorant of, the fact that it has millions of sincere friends behind the Iron Curtain, among people of non-Russian nationality, notably in Ukraine.

In the event of an armed conflict between the Kremlin and the democratic world, it may be taken for granted that hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Balts, Azerbaijani, Georgians and Red Army soldiers from other subjugated nations will, at the first opportunity, surrender themselves as prisoners-of-war. That is what took place at

the beginning of the Second World War, bringing the Russian Empire, for its claims to invincibility, to the border of complete collapse.

Now, however, after their bitter experience with the Germans the people behind the Iron Curtain must be convinced that the Western world stands unwaveringly for the principles outlined in the Atlantic Charter and uncompromisingly supports national liberation of all the peoples under Russian domination.

A policy that is irresolute and without principle; a policy of continual appeasement of the insatiable Kremlin; a policy of allowing the enemy to buy strategic materials to be used in killing soldiers of the country supplying these materials; finally a paradoxical policy of creating and financing committees who are already waging an intensive struggle for the preservation of an undivided Russian Empire in the event of a clash of the two worlds: this is a policy of ruin for the Western World.

This policy, at present, is the reason that the West, instead of having the initiative in its grasp, is continually yielding its positions in the cold war; tomorrow it may force the millions of potential allies of the democratic world, who are behind the Iron Curtain, to turn away from us.

One of the foremost European journalists, Salvador de Madariaga, writes the following, about today's position of the West, in his recent article in "Neue Züricher Zeitung:"

"In any event, there is a welcome and necessary warning in this new situation showing up in what state of unconsciousness the entire world has been following Moscow's initiative. It is like a string of cars on a highway. Moscow starts up, and they all follow; Moscow stops, and they all put the brakes on. When Vishinsky barks the whole world starts barking too. When he smiles the representatives of the world begin to smile. He has only to cut down his aggressive speeches for half a day and the world begins to see a new dawn rising in the East."

Nearest neighbor of Russia. Chancellor Adenauer said of this:

"That is the best article I have read so far about the whole business."

Today, unfortunately, it seems that the history of Chamberlain and his eager acceptance of Hitler's peace offers is repeating itself with only this variation: instead of Munich it is Moscow now whose specter overshadows the world with Lenin's credo: "Three quarters of mankind may die in order to insure Communism for the remaining one-quarter."

Ukraine, who was the first to make immeasurable sacrifices to the Russian Communist Moloch, knows the meaning of that creed in practice. Therefore we, Ukrainians, who sincerely love Canada pray: God save this free, blessed nation from the catastrophic calamity which has befallen our native Ukraine.

We also pray that Ukraine may soon break away from the Russian prison of nations and become one of a family of free nations.

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