

CAPTIVE UKRAINE

CHALLENGE TO THE WORLD'S CONSCIENCE



**WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE
UKRAINIANS**

November 16-19, 1967

New York, N. Y.

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“... *Conscious* of the need for the creation of conditions of stability and well-being and peaceful and friendly relations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, and of fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

“... *Recognizing* the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples and the decisive role of such peoples in the attainment of their independence. . .”

(From DECLARATION on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted unanimously on December 14, 1960 by the U.N. General Assembly.)

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CAPTIVE UKRAINE

Challenge to the World's Conscience

Introduction

The year 1967 marks an important date in the modern history of the Ukrainian people; the 50th anniversary of the Ukrainian National Revolution. It was in 1917, half a century ago, that the Ukrainian nation, after 250 years of ruthless Russian domination and oppression, rose to freedom and proclaimed its full and unqualified independence. For almost four years, beginning in March 1917 and ending in the fall of 1920, the Ukrainians waged a gallant struggle in defense of their state, at times struggling against three aggressive neighbors simultaneously.

Today, 50 years since the inception of the Soviet regime, not only the Kremlin but its puppets in Ukraine collectively called the "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic," also are observing the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, which they claim brought "freedom and independence" to Ukraine.

History, of course, does not agree. It has fallen upon Ukrainians in the free world to speak up for their enslaved and oppressed brothers and sisters in captive Ukraine, to tell the world the true story of Ukraine—the martyrdom and persecution of the Ukrainian people and their undying desire and determination to regain their national statehood, established fifty years ago.

It is with this in mind that national organizations of free Ukrainians in the diaspora, especially those countries of the free world in which there are substantial numbers of Ukrainians and their descendants, have been planning for some time to call the first **World Congress of Free Ukrainians**. To be convened in New York City, the seat of the United Nations, the Congress will manifest the free will of the Ukrainian people, now in the political bondage of Communist Russia, as manifest in their incessant struggle for freedom and national independence.

In the past few years extensive preparations and discussions have been conducted by the Preparatory Committee for the first World Congress of Free Ukrainians, which was established by the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference (PAUC), a coordinating body of Ukrainian national and central organizations in the Western Hemisphere. Founded in 1948, the PAUC has been instrumental in bringing together the various Ukrainian organizations not only in the Western Hemisphere (those in

the United States, Canada and the countries of Latin America), but embracing those in Western Europe and Australia as well.

In its **Manifesto**, issued on January 22, 1967, anniversary date of Ukraine's independence, the PAUC outlined the overall objectives of the First World Congress of Free Ukrainians

1. To demonstrate before the world the unbending will of the Ukrainian community in the free world with the struggle of the Ukrainian people and proclaim its readiness to help them by all means at their disposal.

3. To knit all forces of Ukrainians who are citizens or residents of the countries of the free world into a closely collaborating body.

4. To establish goals and means towards a strengthening and all-embracing expansion of all sectors of life of the Ukrainian community in the free world.

The **Manifesto** states:

... We are aware of the fact that our lot is inseparably tied to the fate of the Ukrainian people; spiritual unity with the homeland is an indispensable source of our spiritual strength. To maintain it is our moral duty.

We are therefore gravely perturbed by all which takes place in the homeland: Ukraine remains cruelly enslaved by the shackles of Russian Communist imperialism. For almost half a century we have witnessed the relentless political enslavement and economic exploitation of our people by the Red Russian occupier. Now, in addition, the very souls of the Ukrainian people are being subjected to genocide in the form of a consolidated Russification and destruction of the cultural treasures of the Ukrainian nation...

In its conclusion the **Manifesto** warned the free world "that Russia incessantly and systematically is preparing an aggression against the free world and is shaking the foundations of a lasting peace in the world."

Thus, the first World Congress of Free Ukrainians has a lofty, important and definite purpose. It will seek to mobilize the liberation forces of the Ukrainian people scattered throughout the free world and to channel them into highly organized and effective directions. It also will manifest the will and determination of the Ukrainian people in captive Ukraine towards self-determination and national statehood, national goals of the Ukrainian nation for the realization of which hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian patriots have paid with their lives or with long years of suffering, persecution and torture in Russian Communist jails and concentration camps during the past fifty years.

This brief account of Ukraine's unequal struggle for freedom and national independence is written on the occasion of the first World Congress of Free Ukrainians, which will be held November 16-19, 1967, in the City of New York.

P A R T O N E

Twentieth Century: Era of Self-Determination and Disappearance of Colonial Empires

1. World War I and Wilson's 14 Points for "Peace and Democracy"

The twentieth century has initiated a massive process of disintegration of the great colonial empires and brought about a new era of self-determination for and emancipation of formerly subjugated peoples the world over.

The First World War, breaking out in 1914, wrecked the two great empires that had dominated Ukraine: the Czarist Russian and the Austro-Hungarian.

The American principles of freedom and independence, embodied in the Declaration of American Independence, were loftily expounded in President Wilson's 14 Points for "Peace and Democracy." His message advocating national self-determination for all peoples resounded throughout Ukraine, eliciting a fervent response from the people, then engaged in building their own free independent state. But all appeals of the Ukrainians to the Western powers for help against the invading Bolshevik troops remained unanswered. Attempts at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 to secure consideration of the claims of Ukrainian independence met with no success. Ukrainians were denied the right of self-determination, although at the very same time the victorious allies were busy creating multinational states in Eastern Europe. Ukraine, of distinct origin and with one language, culture and people, was ignored.

France, at the time obsessed by the possible resurgence of German militarism, committed itself to the concept of a "strong Poland." In fact, it went so far as to support the Poles against the Ukrainians and the White Russian generals against the Ukrainian national government in Kiev. Great Britain wavered between the aggressive anti-Bolshevik policies of Winston Churchill, then Secretary of War, who aided White Russian Generals Denikin, Wrangel and Kolchak with arms and ammunition, and the more moderate policies of Lloyd George. But neither of these policies favored the Ukrainian claims and aspirations to independence.

The United States, although not directly involved in European power politics, showed little interest in Eastern Europe. Its official attitude was one of waiting and of doing nothing which would prejudice the eventual rebirth of anti-Communist Russia, or even the emergence of a moderate Soviet regime.

Thus, in varying degrees all three allied powers supported the White

Russian reactionary elements and reborn nationalist Poland. For their part, Ukrainians found a century and a half of inimical anti-Ukrainian propaganda, denying the very existence of Ukraine, too great an obstacle to overcome. The restored independent Ukrainian state encountered abroad naught but a biased hearing and a hostile attitude. Ukraine had no influential friends, there was no one to supply it with desperately-needed arms, ammunition and medical supplies and there were few who would extend meaningful diplomatic support. Ukraine found itself unable to survive.

Ironically, the principles of national self-determination and the slogans of peace and democracy under which World War I was ostensibly waged were denied one of the most deserving of peoples.

The League of Nations proved to be too weak: it would not safeguard the rights of those nations which, like Ukraine, had had to endure foreign domination and oppression. Its overall purpose was to maintain the new *status quo* which emerged in Europe after World War I.

2. World War II: Freedom versus Totalitarianism

World War II has often been characterized as the war of “freedom against totalitarianism,” calling forth the great coalition of the Western democratic states against Nazi Germany. But this characterization is far from accurate, inasmuch as one important member of the Western alliance against Nazi Germany was the Soviet Union, one of the worst totalitarian and dictatorial regimes in mankind’s history.

During the German-Soviet war in 1941-1945 Ukraine became a bloody battleground across which the German and Soviet armies swept back and forth. Both regimes, Hitler’s and Stalin’s, strove to eliminate the Ukrainian people if possible, and at the least to stifle all Ukrainian national life and thought. Despite the inhuman persecution, the Ukrainians succeeded in mustering a powerful and effective underground resistance movement. This popular force resisted both invaders of Ukraine, the Nazis and the Russian Communists, during World War II, and after the war’s end, it continued to wage underground warfare against Soviet army and security troops as well as against those of Communist Poland.

In 1945, with the collapse of Hitler’s Germany, the United Nations was born in San Francisco. Among the charter members of this world organization was the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. It was admitted, along with the USSR and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, upon the insistence of Stalin. It is one of modern history’s ironies that the existence of a Ukrainian state, even if under Communist tutelage, should have been accepted by the Western world upon the recommendation of the Russian Communist dictator rather than on the demand of the Ukrainian people.

With the emergence in 1945 of the United Nations, which has represented a marked improvement over its predecessor, a new political de-

velopment engulfed the entire world: the process of a slow but steady de-colonization of the peoples of Asia and Africa and the appearance of a series of new and independent nations.

It is a historical fact that the Western colonial empires have gradually given way to the new nations and states. Sometimes the process occurred peacefully, sometimes it was accompanied by war and violence. In any event, the Western world relinquished its long-held colonial possessions in Asia and Africa.

Canada's Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker, addressing the U.N. General Assembly on September 26, 1960, rebutted Nikita S. Khrushchev's attacks on "Western colonialism":

Mr. Khrushchev in his speech advocated a declaration at this session for the "complete and final elimination of colonial regimes."

He has spoken of colonial bondage, exploitation and foreign yokes. These views, uttered by the master of the major colonial power in the world today, followed the admission of fourteen new member nations to the United Nations. . .

Since the last war seventeen colonial areas and territories, comprising more than 40,000,000 people, have been brought to complete freedom by France. In the same period some fourteen colonies and territories, comprising 500,000,000 people, have achieved complete freedom within the Commonwealth. Taken together, some 600,000,000 people in more than thirty countries, most of them now represented in this Assembly, have attained their freedom with the approval, encouragement and guidance of the United Kingdom and France alone, and I could go on to name others.

These facts of history invite comparison with the period of Soviet domination over peoples and territories, sometimes gained in the name of liberation, but always accompanied by the loss of personal and political freedom.

The General Assembly is still concerned with the aftermath of the Hungarian uprising of 1956. How are we to reconcile that tragedy with Mr. Khrushchev's confident assertion of a few days ago in this Assembly:

"It will always be the Soviet stand * * * that countries should establish systems * * * of their own free will and choosing."

What of Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia? What of the freedom-loving Ukrainians and other Eastern European peoples?

Mr. Khrushchev said at the same time:

"The very course of historic development at present poses the question of complete and final elimination of the colonial regime * * * immediately and unconditionally."

There must be no double standards in international affairs. . .

What Mr. Diefenbaker obviously had in mind is Russian Communist colonialism, which has kept under its brutal rule such ancient countries as Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and White Ruthenia (Byelorussia), and the Moslem peoples of Turkestan.

The territorial aggrandizement and colonial expansion of Communist Russia was concisely summed up by Secretary of State Dean Acheson, when he testified on June 21, 1951, before the House Foreign Relations Committee in Washington:

Historically, the Russian state has three great drives—to the west in Eu-

rope, to the south into the Middle East, and to the east in Asia. . . The Politburo has acted in the same way. It carried on and built on the imperialist tradition. What it has added consists mainly of new weapons and new tactics. . . . The ruling power in Moscow has long been the imperial power and it now rules over a greatly extended empire. . . . It is clear that this process of encroachment and consolidation by which Russia has grown in the last 500 years from the Duchy of Muscovy to a vast empire has got to be stopped. . . .

Another great American statesman, the late U.N. Ambassador, Adlai E. Stevenson, in his Memorandum on Soviet Colonialism sent to U.N. members on November 25, 1961, took to task the "Self-Determination in the Soviet Empire":

We are told that the peoples of the Soviet Union enjoy the right of self-determination. Indeed, the Soviet regime at its inception issued a 'Declaration of Rights' which proclaimed 'the right of the nations of Russia to free self-determination, including the right to secede and form independent states.'

How did this 'right' work in practice? An independent Ukrainian Republic was recognized by the Bolsheviks in 1917, but in 1917 they established a rival Republic in Kharkov. In July, 1923, with the help of the Red Army, a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was established and incorporated into the USSR. In 1920, the independent Republic of Azerbaijan was invaded by the Red Army and a Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed. In the same year, the Khanate of Khiva was invaded by the Red Army and a puppet Soviet People's Republic of Khorezm was established. . . . In 1918 Armenia declared its independence from Russia and a mandate offered to the United States Government was refused by President Wilson. In 1920, the Soviet Army invaded, and Armenian independence, so long awaited, was snuffed out. In 1921, the Red Army came to the aid of Communists rebelling against the independent State of Georgia and installed a Soviet regime. . . .

In 1940 the Soviet Union, in defiance of solemn treaties, seized the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and installed therein Communist puppet regimes against the will of the peoples.

After World War II the Soviet Union, in violation of treaties and promises, installed Communist regimes in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, and East Germany. It also extended its colonial power to North Korea and North Vietnam. Recently, it throttled Tibet and helped to establish a puppet Communist regime in Cuba.

Yet the Soviet Union was one of the most vocal advocates in the U.N. General Assembly for the establishment of a Committee to be charged with the supervising and promoting of the de-colonization of the colonial countries of Asia and Africa.

It is clear that the Soviet government is now subverting the process of de-colonization into a formula for establishing pro-Communist regimes, subservient to Moscow. In the same vein it promotes "wars of national liberation," such as that in Vietnam, and subverts the independent nations through military assistance, as evident in its attempt to penetrate into the Middle East and North Africa.

PART TWO

Fifty Years of the Ukrainian National Revolution

1. General Data on Ukraine: Land, Resources and People

For a proper understanding and evaluation of the significance of the Ukrainian problem and Ukraine's geopolitical and economic position in the Soviet Union, a brief account of Ukraine and its people follows.

Geographic Location. Ukraine is situated in the southeastern corner of Europe. It possesses common borders with Rumania, Hungary and Slovakia in the southwest, Poland in the west, Byelorussia in the north, and Russia in the north and east. Ukraine also is bounded by Moldavia and the Black Sea in the south.

Ukraine's territory exceeds that of England, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Portugal and Switzerland put together.

According to Ukrainian ethnographers (cf. **Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia**), the Ukrainian ethnic territory embraces a total of 289,000 square miles. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukrainian SSR)—which does not encompass all the Ukrainian ethnic territory—comprises a total of 232,000 square miles.

Thus, over 57,600 square miles of Ukrainian ethnic territory are outside the political borders of the Ukrainian SSR, specifically: in Russia (the regions and areas of the Belgorod, Kursk, and the Voronezh oblasts), Byelorussia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania.

National Economy. Ukraine belongs not only to the richest countries of Europe but to those of the world as well. A recent account of Ukraine's industrial capacity was given by Soviet official sources (**Narodnoye Khozyaistvo SSSR v 1965 godu**, Moscow, 1966), which expressed the industrial and agricultural output of Ukraine as percentages of the aggregate output of the USSR:

Electrical power production—18.7; oil production—3.1; gas production—30.4; coal—33.6; pig iron production—49.2; steel production—40.6; finished rolled products—42.2; iron ore production—54.7; mineral fertilizer—23.4; sulphuric acid—22.2; chemical fibres—10.8; automobile tires—9.0; metal cutting lathes—13.4; metallurgical equipment—48.0; oil-production machinery—11.6; chemical equipment—31.9; diesel locomotives—96.8; electrical locomotives—28.7 (in 1964); automobiles—9.5; tractors—33.4; tractor-drawn plows—43.4; excavators—28.9; wood export business—3.5; paper—5.1; cement—17.0; building bricks—21.9; cotton fabric—2.6; woolen cloth—6.5; silk cloth—5.2; hosiery—20.0; leather footwear—19.5; radio receivers and radio transmitters—10.7; television—14.2; home refrigerators—16.8; washing machines—8.6; motorcycles and scooters—3.7.

In the food industry: granulated sugar—60.6; meat (including by-products)—21.1; fishing industry—10.2; butter—26.2; vegetable oil—31.5; canned goods—23.5; grape wine—27.4; grain cultures—26.1.

In **per capita** production of pig iron Ukraine surpasses England, France, Italy and West Germany; in steel production it leads France, England and Italy. In mining of iron ore Ukraine is ahead of all major countries, including the United States.

The primary industrial area of Ukraine is the Donets Basin. Ukraine also possesses a large shipbuilding center in Mykolaiv.

The actual industrial potential of Ukraine is much greater than the official Soviet figures indicate, since under the present imperialistic and colonial policy of Moscow the development of Asiatic areas is favored for political and strategic reasons over the industrial development of Ukraine. Ukraine also serves as the "bread-basket" and "sugar-bowl" for the far-flung Russian communist empire.

The Ukrainian People. Historically speaking, Ukrainians constitute a compact national, political and cultural entity. Ukrainians are the largest Slavic people, surpassed numerically only by the Russians.

According to the latest Soviet population census (1959) the population of Ukraine was 41,869,000, of which number Ukrainians constituted 77 percent and Russians 17 percent, with the remaining 6 percent distributed among various national minorities: Jews (1,025,800), Poles, Germans, Greeks, Byelorussians, Rumanians and Tartars.

On January 1, 1967, according to Soviet official sources, the population of Ukraine was 45,900,000 and on July 1, 1967, 46,200,000. By 1970 it should attain 47,518,220. In 1980 the projected Ukrainian population is 52,750,000, or approximately a 25.98 percent increase based on the population census taken in 1959.

Not all Ukrainians live in Ukraine. A substantial number are scattered throughout the Soviet Russian empire. According to official U.S. sources (**The Soviet Empire: A Study in Discrimination and Abuse of Power**, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C., 1965) Ukrainians in the various Soviet Republics numbered as follows:

Russian SFSR: 3,359,000; Byelorussian SSR—133,000; Uzbek SSR—88,000; Kazakh SSR—762,000; Georgian SSR—52,000; Lithuanian SSR—18,000; Moldavian SSR—421,000; Latvian SSR—29,000; Kirghiz SSR—137,000; Tadzhik SSR—27,000; Turkmen SSR—21,000; and Estonian SSR—16,000. Over 5,063,000 Ukrainians live outside of what is known as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. This is the official Soviet estimate. The number of Ukrainians outside Ukraine actually is much higher; it is conservatively put at 10 million by Ukrainian population specialists.

Satellite Countries: There are about 450,000 Ukrainians in Poland, 118,000 in Czechoslovakia and 119,000 in Rumania. There are over 40,000 Ukrainians in Yugoslavia, especially in the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

2. Ukraine Before World War I

On the eve of World War I the Ukrainian people lived in two powerful empires: the Russian and the Austro-Hungarian.

In Russia all the Ukrainian political institutions had been wiped

out, the Czarist government long having determined to obliterate Ukraine as a distinct ethnic entity. The Ukrainian language was proscribed, and surviving Ukrainian national customs and folklore were derided as backward, while at the same time the official Russian policy propagated the notion that there was no recognizable difference between Ukrainians and Russians. At its worst, the Russian government resorted to such crass propaganda as that the Ukrainian national movement stemmed from "Austrian-German" intrigues, a fiction that was propagated by the Russian intelligentsia, including some of liberal hue. Scorn was heaped upon Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's national hero and poet laureate, as well as upon many Ukrainian writers and poets who followed the great bard. It was only in 1905 that the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg admitted officially that Russian and Ukrainian were two disparate and independent Slavic languages: Ukrainian was not a mere "dialect" of the Russian.

The plight of the Ukrainians was improved somewhat after the first Russian revolution in 1905. The first Russian **Duma** (Parliament) included a number of Ukrainian deputies as well as some hailing from the other non-Russian nationalities, who sympathized with the Ukrainian cause. Permission was granted to publish newspapers and books in Ukrainian.

There was a total of 22,300,000 Ukrainians in the nine administrative provinces of Ukraine, according to the 1910 population estimate. Some 7,426,982 Ukrainians lived in the neighboring provinces, central Asia and the Far East. Thus the Ukrainians in Russia totaled 29,726,982 on the eve of World War I.

In the Austro-Hungarian empire the Ukrainians lived in a compact mass in Eastern Galicia, numbering about 3,580,000, numbered 300,000 in Northern Bukovina, and mustered 470,000 in Carpatho-Ukraine, for a grand total of 4,150,000 Ukrainians.

The situation of Ukrainians under Austria-Hungary was a much better one than that of the Ukrainians under Russia. From 1860 on, when Eastern Galicia had been granted autonomy, the Ukrainian national rebirth had continued to flower. The Ukrainian language was officially recognized as one of the languages of the empire. Ukrainians could form political parties, cultural, social and economic organizations; they had representatives in the Galician Diet and in the Central Austrian Parliament in Vienna. Playing an important part in this general Ukrainian national rebirth in Eastern Galicia, Northern Bukovina and Carpatho-Ukraine was the Ukrainian Catholic Church, especially under the able leadership of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, who headed the church from 1900 until his death in 1944.

So, while the Ukrainians in Russia were suppressed and deprived of their national and political rights, their brothers in Western Ukraine under Austria-Hungary enjoyed considerable freedom in their national and political development.

The outbreak of World War I aroused the hopes of all submerged peoples of Europe, and not least of all the Ukrainians.

The Western powers had no objection to a division of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and readily granted that the Czechs and the peoples of the Balkans had their right to independence. The case of the Poles and Ukrainians was more complex, however, as there were millions of Poles and Ukrainians on both sides of the front lines. Russia was willing to "liberate" the Poles in Western Galicia under Austria-Hungary, especially if it could annex the Ukrainian ethnic territory of Eastern Galicia. The Central Powers, on the other hand, regarded the independence movement among the Czechs as a Russian intrigue, but were willing to "liberate" the Russian part of Poland. This policy divided the Poles sharply into two camps: one pro-Central Powers and the other pro-Entente.

The Ukrainians immediately found themselves burdened by special political handicaps, compounded by the fact that their cause was little known in the world. The Russians did everything they could to convince the world that the Ukrainian nation was a "fiction" and that the entire Ukrainian movement was an "invention" of the German and Austrian governments. At the same time, the Poles in the German-Austrian camp demanded that a great part of Ukraine be included in a revived "historical" Poland. Moreover, the Central Powers would not commit themselves in any way regarding the future status of the Ukrainians. True, the Austrian government allowed the Ukrainians to organize Ukrainian military formations, on a voluntary basis, which were sent to the Russian front. (Although under overall Austrian command, these Ukrainian military units, known as the *Ukrainski Sichovi Striltsi*—Ukrainian Sich Riflemen—regarded their struggle against the Russians as one for a free and independent Ukraine. They also furnished the nucleus of the Ukrainian armed forces which subsequently sprang up when Ukraine became free and independent.)

Also, in Vienna and Geneva, Ukrainian political exiles from Ukraine under Russia established a political organization, the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine," which propagated the cause of Ukrainian liberation not only in the countries of the Central Powers, but among the neutral states as well.

Anti-Russian feelings and attitudes among Ukrainians grew considerably in the first months of World War I, in the course of which the Russian Czarist government embarked upon a policy of total suppression of all Ukrainian institutions and the Ukrainian press, and as a consequence of its ruthless persecution of Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, when this land was occupied by Russian troops in 1914-1915.

3. Rebirth of the Modern Independent State of Ukraine

The fall of Russian Czarism in March, 1917, evoked great enthusiasm not only among Ukrainians but among all the other non-Russian nations as well.

Ukrainians were nothing if not quick to seize the great opportunity to restore their independent state.

a) **Period of the Ukrainian Central Rada:** On March 17, 1917, the Ukrainian Central **Rada** (Council) was established in Kiev under the presidency of Prof. Michael Hrushevsky, Ukraine's foremost historian. Between March and October of 1917 the **Rada** dealt with the Russian Provisional Government under Alexander F. Kerensky, who refused to recognize the independence of Ukraine. The **Rada** issued four **Universals** (proclamations) which served to mark the stages of the rebirth of Ukrainian statehood:

1) The First **Universal**, June 23, 1917, announced the autonomy of Ukraine; 2) the Second **Universal**, July 16, 1917, proclaimed agreement between the **Rada** and the Russian Provisional Government; 3) the Third **Universal**, November 20, 1917, established the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR), and 4) the Fourth **Universal**, issued on January 22, 1918, proclaimed Ukraine to be an independent and sovereign state. Within a fruitful period of ten months a Ukrainian national army was organized; the **Rada** opened Ukrainian schools, established Ukrainian administrative and judicial systems, introduced a land reform, prepared for a Ukrainian Constituent Assembly, provided autonomy for the national minorities of Ukraine and gained the recognition of a number of foreign states, including Communist Russia.

On December 17, 1917, the Soviet government (**Sovnarkom**) sent a note to the Ukrainian Central **Rada**, which stated:

The Soviet of People's Commissars of the Russian Republic recognizes, without any limitations or conditions, and in all respects, the national rights and independence of the Ukrainian Republic. . . . (Cf. *Organ of the Provisional Government of Workers and Soldiers*, No. 26, December 20, 1917, Petrograd).

Although recognizing the independence of Ukraine the Soviet Russian government sent an ultimatum to the **Rada** demanding that the **Rada** grant armed Communist bands permission to cross Ukraine to the Don. When their ultimatum was rejected, Lenin and Trotsky launched an armed aggression against Ukraine. It took the Ukrainian and the allied German and Austrian troops, after the Brest Litovsk Treaty, four months to expel the Russian troops from Ukraine—a military success Ukraine was not to duplicate again.

We may note here that France and England recognized Ukraine as an independent state before the Central Powers did. The French government sent General Tabouis and the British government, Picton Bagge, as special envoys to Kiev to extend *de facto* recognition to the **Rada** in January, 1918. On February 9, 1918, Ukraine concluded a separate peace treaty with the Central Powers in Brest Litovsk, winning thereby a full *de jure* recognition from Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria.

Through the provisions of the Brest Litovsk Treaty Ukraine received diplomatic recognition and military help against the Bolsheviks from Germany and Austria-Hungary in exchange for food supplies. It was these

troops of the Central Powers that enabled the Ukrainian army to drive the Soviet troops out of Ukraine by the spring of 1918.

b) **Period of the Hetmanite Government:** The military aid of Germany and Austria-Hungary also improved the political situation in Ukraine in that the Russian Communists were expelled. But the Ukrainian national cause suffered when the German and Austrian allies abused their privileges, quickly earning the hatred of the Ukrainian population. In addition, the social and economic policies of the **Rada**, which were largely socialist, won no support from the wealthier and conservative classes in Ukraine, which were largely Russian and Polish. Also, many of the Russian aristocracy had fled from Russia to Ukraine. The German army and its command, too, was conservative. Lastly, a small group of Ukrainian landowners, proud of their Ukrainian Kozak traditions, organized a conservative Ukrainian party which pressured the **Rada** with a series of demands, especially one calling for restitution of private property. This party held a congress in April, 1918, at which it elected General Paul Skoropadsky as the new **hetman** of Ukraine. The German army, displeased with the socialist and radical policies of the **Rada**, committed an unpardonable act: it forcibly dispersed the Ukrainian Central **Rada**, despite the protest of Prof. M. Hrushevsky, the **Rada's** President, and gave its full support to **Hetman Skoropadsky**.

Paul Skoropadsky was a descendant of the old Ukrainian family of **Hetman** Ivan Skoropadsky and had been educated in St. Petersburg. He was first to Ukrainize his Russian army corps immediately after the establishment of the **Rada**.

In contrast to the **Rada**, the rule of **Hetman** Skoropadsky admittedly was conservative. For a short time order was established in Ukraine. The new government repealed, however, most of the land reforms of the **Rada**, re-establishing landowners in their former estates. Strikes were forbidden, and the German troops began wholesale requisitions of foodstuffs throughout Ukraine.

Popular discontent and Bolshevik agitation grew rampant in Ukraine. The defeat of Germany in the west in the fall of 1918 foreshadowed the end of the rule of Skoropadsky.

c) **The Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic:** During the rule of Skoropadsky, the Ukrainian socialist and liberal democratic parties were not idle, marshalling their forces and drawing up their programs. In the fall of 1918 they established a Directorate of five men, headed first by Volodymyr Vynnychenko and then by Simon Petlura. Relying on the Ukrainian corps of the **Sichovi Striltsi** under the command of Col. Eugene Konovalets the Directorate proceeded to overthrow the government of **Hetman** Skoropadsky. The now weak German authority in Ukraine quickly collapsed, the German troops retreating hastily from Ukraine.

Nonetheless, the Directorate took over in Ukraine under extremely difficult circumstances. The Bolsheviks had reorganized their forces and had begun a new aggression against Ukraine. At the same time the White

Russian forces under the command of General Anton Denikin were fighting not only against the Bolsheviks but against the Ukrainian national armies as well. In addition, with the establishment of the Western Ukrainian National Republic, the government of reborn Poland attacked Ukraine from the west, thus opening a new war front for the hard-pressed Ukrainian people.

d) **Establishment of the Western Ukrainian National Republic:** The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire spurred the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia, Northern Bukovina and Carpatho-Ukraine into greater efforts for freedom and self-determination. A Ukrainian National **Rada** was established in Lviv, capital of Western Ukraine. On November 1, 1918, Ukrainian military units of the Austrian armies took over all government buildings in the city, and the National **Rada** proclaimed the Western Ukrainian National Republic. But the Poles challenged the Ukrainians, opening up a Polish-Ukrainian war, first for the city of Lviv, then for all Eastern Galicia. In Bukovina the Ukrainians established their own National Committee and asked to be integrated into the Ukrainian Republic; the Ukrainians of Carpatho-Ukraine followed suit on January 22, 1919.

In the meantime the Ukrainian government—the Directorate in Kiev — and the government of the Western Ukrainian National Republic headed by Dr. Eugene Petrushevych decided to merge and form one united Ukrainian Republic and government.

All these trends of nationalism culminated with the Act of Union of January 22, 1919, in Kiev, whereby all Ukrainian ethnic lands became part of a united Ukrainian independent state. The Act of Union, among other things, stated:

. . . From today on there shall be united in one Great Ukraine the centuries-separated parts of Ukraine—Galicia, Bukovina, Hungarian and Dnieper Ukraine. The eternal dreams, for which the finest sons of Ukraine lived and died, have been fulfilled. From today on there shall be only one independent Ukrainian National Republic. . . .

Although the two Ukrainian republics had united and although the army of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Ukrainian Galician Army were placed under one unified Ukrainian command, the rush of events proved to be overwhelming. In May, 1919, for example, the Polish troops fighting against the Ukrainian Galician Army were reinforced with six fresh Polish divisions under the command of General Joseph Haller, organized, trained and equipped by the Allies in France. Ostensibly sent to prevent the advance of the Bolsheviks, in reality they were intended to push the Ukrainian troops from Eastern Galicia into Ukraine proper.

At the Paris Peace Conference two Ukrainian delegations (one from the Directorate of Kiev and the other from the Western Ukrainian National Republic) vainly endeavored to secure support and recognition from the victorious Allies. The “Big Four”—Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George

and Orlando tried to mediate the Polish-Ukrainian war, but failed. With the collapse of Turkey the Dardanelles were opened, and the Western Allies sent supplies to the White Russian Generals Denikin, Wrangel and Kolchak, but none to the hard-pressed Ukrainians, who, astonishingly, were holding two fronts against the Bolsheviks and the White Russians in the east and south, and yet another against the Poles in the west.

Midsummer in 1919 the united Ukrainian armies mounted a last-gasp, all-out offensive against the Bolsheviks, and expelled them from Kiev in a heroic effort. Had the Western Allies given them material support the Ukrainian Republic might well have survived. But the Ukrainian army found itself hemmed in a "rectangle of death," decimated by typhus and other diseases, without adequate medical supplies, without food, without arms. That it had survived so long had been made possible only by the support of the Ukrainians in city and countryside.

In the spring of 1920 the Ukrainian government of Petlura in desperation concluded a military alliance with Pilsudski of Poland, thereby tacitly recognizing the conquest of Western Ukraine by Poland. A joint Polish-Ukrainian offensive in the summer of 1920 managed to push the Red armies beyond Kiev, but a counter-offensive of the Soviet armies threw back the combined Polish-Ukrainian forces. By the summer of 1920 the whole of Ukraine was in the hands of Soviet troops.

On March 21, 1921, a peace treaty was signed between Poland and Communist Russia and the "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic," in Riga-Latvia.

In this treaty no mention was made of the Ukrainian National Republic, nor of the Directorate nor the Ukrainian army. Nor was there any mention of the Soviet Russian recognition of the Ukrainian National Republic, which the Soviet government had granted Ukraine in the note of December 17, 1917, and had confirmed in the peace treaty signed with the Central Powers on March 3, 1918.

For all intents and purposes Ukraine was now again divided between Soviet Russia and Poland. A new factor, however, had been introduced, namely, the "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic," which now allegedly represented the Ukrainian people.

Thus for almost four years, from March 1917 until the fall of 1920, the Ukrainian people fought valiantly to preserve their freedom and national independence under the most adverse and trying conditions. They achieved their freedom and independence after centuries of oppression only to have them wrenched away by more powerful neighbors in a few short years.

We may well wonder what might have happened had Ukraine survived as an independent state, thereby depriving the Soviet regime of its great natural resources, and, too, eliminating that alleged vacuum which Hitler believed Ukraine and other non-Russian countries to be, enticing him into making his fateful drive for "easy" conquest in the east.

The Ukrainians fought ardently for their self-determination while

the world looked on with indifference, even hostility. Poland, and to some extent Czechoslovakia and Rumania, cynically saw themselves profiting by Ukraine's demise as an independent state. The same methods used for the subjugation of Ukraine, however, eventually were to be successfully used against them by mankind's enemy—Communist Russia.

I. Ukraine Between Two World Wars and During World War II

1) Ukraine Under the Rule of Communist Russia (1920-1939)

The Soviet Russian rule over Ukraine was and continues to be a totalitarian and dictatorial rule, although Moscow exploits every imaginative resource it possesses to show that the new Soviet system is a popular government primarily concerned with the economic, social and cultural welfare of its citizens and, above all, that it is a government of “workers and peasants.”

Ukraine was crushed and conquered by the superior strength of Soviet Russian arms, but to give the world the illusion that the Ukrainian people craved a Soviet regime, Moscow established the “Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic,” which it claims is the happy creation of the Ukrainian people. In 1923 the Ukrainian SSR formally became a member of the Soviet Union as a “free and independent member-Republic.”

Moscow governed some 30,000,000 Ukrainians with unrelenting severity and harshness. Its rule between World Wars I and II is characterized by these distinguishable stages:

a) **NEP Period:** During this period (1921-1924) the Soviet government introduced some alleviations in the economic and cultural spheres in an attempt to win the Ukrainian people over to its side. It allowed a degree of private initiative in the economic field and some latitude in the cultural areas.

b) **Ukrainization:** In the middle 1920's the Kremlin was forced to grant some concessions to the Ukrainians and introduced a policy of “Ukrainization,” officially favoring the use of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine as the official language of the republic in schools, administration, courts, and government offices. Ukrainian literature so speedily flowered that the Russian Communist leaders became alarmed, suppressing a number of Ukrainian writers and intellectuals under the pretext that they were propagating “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism.”

c) **Collectivization:** In 1930-32 Stalin introduced enforced collectivization of agriculture in the USSR, a process during the course of which some 5 million Ukrainians died from mass starvation and man-made famine, the price paid in rejecting the collective farms when the Soviet government coercively withheld grain supplies.

d) **Purges, Arrests:** The Soviet rule in Ukraine was characterized by frequent arrests, purges and deportations of Ukrainian intellectuals, writers, poets, and professionals, including Communist writers, male and female; in the 1930's thousands of patriotic Ukrainians were executed

by the NKVD and MVD for participating in secret, real, sometimes imaginary, anti-Communist organizations. Actual bodies were the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine," "Union of Ukrainian Youth," "Ukrainian Military Organization," the "Ukrainian National Center," and the like.

e) **Anti-Religious Policy:** From the very inception of its power, the official Communist policy toward religion was directed towards its total negation. Tolerated for some time in Ukraine was the Ukrainian Autocephalic Ukrainian Orthodox Church, but soon Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky and some 32 Ukrainian Orthodox archbishops and bishops were pulled down from their pulpits and incarcerated.

f) **Large-scale Deportations:** Deportation of recalcitrant Ukrainians to Siberia, Central Asia and the Far East became a matter of Soviet policy. These deportations entailed large numbers, such as farmers opposing collectivization, former soldiers of the Ukrainian national armies (in the 1920's), cultural leaders who were pursuing "Ukrainization" too zealously and too well, and even members of the Communist Party of Ukraine. In 1937, Nikita S. Khrushchev, as Stalin's emissary in Ukraine, liquidated the entire organization of the Communist Party of Ukraine and 17 members of the so-called Ukrainian Soviet government as "bourgeois nationalists" and "enemies of the people."

In the economic field, Communist Russia systematically exploited the natural riches and industrial capabilities of Ukraine for the benefit of imperialistic and aggressive designs elsewhere.

2) Ukrainians Under Poland

After the collapse of both the Western Ukrainian National Republic and the Ukrainian National Republic in Kiev, the formal division of Ukraine took place according to the Treaty of Riga between Poland and Communist Russia. Some 7,500,000 Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia and of a part of Volhynia and Polisia, found themselves under the rule of extreme, nationalist Polish governments. Originally, the Allied Supreme Council allowed Poland to occupy Eastern Galicia with the proviso that political and religious freedom be guaranteed to the Ukrainians. On March 14, 1923, the Council of Ambassadors assigned this Ukrainian land permanently to Poland, again with the provision that local autonomy be given the Ukrainians.

But the Polish government embarked on a policy of overt persecution of the Ukrainians and the other minorities: Byelorussians, Jews, Germans and Lithuanians. The Ukrainian schools, which flourished during Austrian rule, were suppressed and the Ukrainian language relegated to a secondary place in a country overwhelmingly inhabited by Ukrainians. Although Catholic themselves, the Poles ruthlessly persecuted the Ukrainian Catholic Church as a natural protector of Ukrainian national and cultural life. The Warsaw government set up the infamous concentration camp at Bereza Kartuska, where it incarcerated rebellious Ukrainians, casting in its own Polish opponents as well.

The Ukrainian reaction to this harsh treatment took two forms: overt, legal political parties and economic organizations, especially the well-developed Ukrainian cooperative movement and the credit unions, and covert, illegal and revolutionary Ukrainian organizations, such as the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Where, the first group, especially the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO) party, tried to wrest some degree of recognition and tolerance from the Polish government, the second group adopted an intransigent and uncompromising position, advocating a united and independent state of Ukraine. The latter group, bitterly anti-Polish, soon organized a network of clandestine groups which began attacking Polish officials deemed responsible for the oppressive acts of the government. The Warsaw government retaliated harshly, as witness the "pacification" of Ukrainian villages and towns in 1930, which eventually was documented in the League of Nations and other international organizations which sought to protect the rights of national minorities. These oppressive measures cost the Poles abroad much of that wholehearted support accorded them during World War I, when they themselves were striving to achieve their independence.

3) Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia

Initially the government of reborn Czechoslovakia was favorably disposed toward the Ukrainians, whose leaders, subjected to harsh treatment by Poland and the USSR, sought refuge and support in Czechoslovakia. A number of Ukrainian institutions, including a Ukrainian Free University, were established in Czechoslovakia, with the acquiescence and, at times, the material support of the Prague government. But the Prague regime became quite antagonistic to the national aspirations of the 550,000 Ukrainians in Carpatho-Ukraine who had tried to be reunited with Ukraine in 1919 but, who, by virtue of the Treaty of St. Germain, had been given to Czechoslovakia, again under the condition that national autonomy be introduced in the region. (It never was.) At best, the Czechoslovak government pursued a policy of playing off Russian against Ukrainian influence among the several hundred thousand Ukrainian mountaineers who preserved patterns of Ukrainian culture and folklore despite domination by the Hungarians for several centuries.

In 1938, with the Nazi government throwing Europe into turmoil, Carpatho-Ukraine acquired sudden political prominence. Subsequent to the Munich pact it received national autonomy within a diminished Czechoslovakia. On November 2, 1938, a substantial part of Carpatho-Ukraine along with the cities of Mukachiv, Berehovo and Uzhorod was handed over to Hungary by Hitler and Mussolini. Finally, when on March 14, 1939, the Hungarian troops were given the "green light" by Hitler to attack Carpatho-Ukraine, its Parliament in Hust proclaimed independence and elected Msgr. Augustine Voloshyn, a Ukrainian Catholic

priest, its first President, with Julian Revay as Prime Minister. The Sich sharpshooters, untrained and ill-armed, put up a gallant resistance, but were decimated by the regular Hungarian army, and the country was incorporated into Hungary.

4) Ukrainians under Rumania

There were about 1,000,000 Ukrainians in Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia, provinces which had been acquired by Rumania from Austria and Russia. The Rumanians, a Latin race, tended to be suspicious of the Eastern Slavs, despite the fact that their predecessors in Moldavia and Wallachia had enjoyed friendly relations with the Zaporozhian Kozaks, ancestors of the Ukrainians. The Rumanian government passed a number of laws prohibiting non-Rumanian organizations and curbing the Ukrainian language, schools and press. But in 1927 the Ukrainians succeeded in electing a few deputies and a senator to the Bucharest Parliament, voices to defend the rights of the Ukrainian people. But in general the Rumanian government saw any and all Ukrainian activity as a possible link with Soviet Ukraine. For their part, Ukrainians, who knew intimately of the plight of their brethren in the USSR, could not possibly muster for Rumania the hostility engendered by the USSR. And, in point of fact, the treatment of Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia and in Rumania was not to be compared with the harsh treatment of Ukrainians meted out by the Polish and Soviet governments.

II. Ukraine During World War II: Struggle Against Two Totalitarianisms

With the signing of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact on August 23, 1939, the Nazis were ready to launch a lightning aggression against Poland and thus implement their program for a "new order" in Europe.

The Nazi-Soviet pact shocked Ukrainians wherever they lived; they, in common with everyone else in the world, could not see Hitler and Stalin as allies.

With the defeat of Poland, the Soviet Union on September 17, 1939, moved to annex Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia. Stalin dispatched Soviet troops "to take under their protection the blood-brothers, Ukrainians and Byelorussians." Soon an additional agreement was signed between Moscow and Berlin delineating the new borders: the USSR (which had already begun its expansion in the Baltic States) took possession of all the Ukrainian ethnic territory which was under Poland with the exception of four small districts which remained in German hands: the San and Lemko districts in the Carpathians, and two small areas in the Kholm and Pidlasya regions.

1) Under Nazi Rule

Although there was speculation in the West and undoubtedly some hope among the Ukrainians that Hitler would be moving into Eastern Europe to help the subjugated peoples in their struggle for national

independence, such conjectures and sentiments were dashed by the very first action of Hitler.

The Ukrainians were not merely disappointed. They were outraged that Western Ukraine, which had never been part of any Russian state (except during the months of Russian occupation in World War I) should have been handed over to the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, although anti-Hitler feeling rose high, hundreds upon thousands of Ukrainians succeeded in escaping from Soviet-held areas of Western Ukraine to the German side—the ancient enmity for the Russians predominating.

The overall German policy as regards the Ukrainians was apparently intent upon fomenting and increasing hostility between the Ukrainians and the Poles. (Incidentally, despite persecution of Ukrainians by the Polish regime, there were no mass desertions or anti-Polish acts, sabotage, guerrilla warfare or the like on the part of the Ukrainians when the Nazis attacked Poland on September 1, 1939.) The Nazis did allow Ukrainian schools and the publication of Ukrainian books. They also tolerated the restoration of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Kholm and Pidlasia, and permitted the establishment of a Ukrainian Central Committee in Cracow to act as a general contact organ, similar to those allowed the Poles and Jews. In some districts and areas, in fact, Ukrainians were placed in administrative posts, relief organizations and other economic sectors—all of which generated a popular assumption that the Ukrainians were receiving “preferential treatment.” But above all, no political activities were permitted, although the Nazis did not fail to play on the anti-Communist and anti-Russian sentiments of the Ukrainians.

2) Under Soviet Rule

When the Soviet troops took over Western Ukraine (Eastern Galicia and Volhynia), the Soviet government lost no time in introducing its own oppressive rule. Mass arrests immediately followed for Ukrainian intellectuals, the wealthier elements of the population, Ukrainian Catholic priests, student leaders and the leaders of various economic and financial institutions—all of whom were deemed dangerous to the Soviet regime. Finally, in October 1939, Soviet-type “elections” were held in Western Ukraine. Unsurprisingly, among the one-slate candidates a number of prominent Ukrainian Communists from Soviet Ukraine were to be found. Soon Western Ukraine was integrated with the Ukrainian SSR through a “unanimous” petition of a phony “People’s Assembly” sent not to Kiev, but to Moscow, another example, if needed, to show that the Ukrainian SSR has the reality of a department store window display.

The Communists also installed the Soviet economic system, including the nationalization of private property, factories, plants and banks and other privately owned enterprises. Ukrainian cooperatives, an institution which had managed to thrive under Polish rule, were dissolved

or merged into the Soviet-type cooperative, run by the omnipotent state.

The Soviet regime followed its now-established tactic of fabricating an outward Ukrainian appearance. Lviv was declared a Ukrainian city, and the University of Lviv was named after Ivan Franko, the greatest poet of Ukraine after Shevchenko.

With all Ukrainian political parties dissolved, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the largest underground Ukrainian nationalist organization, despite sporadic acts of sabotage, tried to marshall its forces and rebuild the underground network, hoping for a rupture in the Nazi-Soviet alliance.

In 1940, the Kremlin, with the support of Hitler, turned toward Rumania, demanding the provinces of Bukovina and Bessarabia. Those parts of the two provinces with predominantly Ukrainian populations were integrated into the Ukrainian SSR, while the remaining areas were grouped together into a Moldavian Autonomous Republic, which subsequently became the Moldavian SSR. The same process of Sovietization and Communization was inflicted upon the newly-acquired Ukrainian provinces.

3) The German-Soviet War

The German attack on the Soviet Union on June 21, 1941, unleashed the great totalitarian forces of Nazism and Communism. It also served to clarify Nazi policy with respect to Ukraine.

The rapid retreat of the Soviet troops precipitated the wholesale massacre of Ukrainian political prisoners by the NKVD in many Western Ukrainian cities—Lviv, Stryi, Drohobych, Ternopil, Dubno and Lutsk. Hundreds of Ukrainian corpses were also found in the prisons of Kiev, Kharkiv, Poltava, Zhytomyr, Odessa and Dniepropetrovsk.

The attitude of the Nazi government toward Ukraine remained basically the same. True, the *Wehrmacht* staff organized two Ukrainian Legions (the “Nightingale” and the “Rolland”), which many Ukrainians and others mistook for a change in the German policy toward Ukraine. But the crucial test came on June 30, 1941, when the Ukrainian National Assembly gathered in Lviv, proclaimed the restoration of the Ukrainian state, and appointed Yaroslav Stetzko, a leading member of the OUN, prime minister of the Provisional Government. The government was broadened to include representatives of other political groups. A Ukrainian National **Rada** was formed with Dr. Kost Levytsky, outstanding Ukrainian parliamentarian and statesman, as its head. The German army command initially was neutral, even participating in the ceremonies attendant upon the proclamation of the restoration of Ukraine’s independence. But as the German armies moved east the Gestapo took over. It ordered the leaders of the Ukrainian Provisional Government to revoke their act or face arrest and concentration camps. The Ukrainian leaders chose the latter alternative; both Stepan Bandera and Yaroslav Stetzko, as well as many others, were arrested and

sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in Germany.

The hopes of the Ukrainians were finally shattered when in August, 1941, the German government included Western Ukraine in the **Gouvernement General** of Poland, while the rest of Ukraine was organized under the **Reichskommissariat Ukraine** and placed under the administration of **Gauleiter** Erich Koch, notorious for his sadism even in Nazi Germany and a former Communist. It was not long before the Nazis commenced large-scale deportations of able-bodied Ukrainian men and women for slave work in Germany. The overall pattern of Nazi policies was to depopulate Ukraine, in effect destroying the Ukrainian people, thereby paving the way for the German colonization schemes as dictated by the **Lebensraum** concept.

It became obvious to the Ukrainians that resistance to the new enslaver of Ukraine would have to develop rapidly. In the spring of 1942 large segments of the northeastern Ukrainian territories were seething with discontent and unrest. By the fall of 1942 the **Ukrainian Insurgent Army** (UPA) was established, including a general staff, training schools and other military sub-divisions.

For over two years and a half the UPA under the command of General Taras Chuprynka (Roman Shukhevych) conducted an unrelenting underground guerrilla struggle against the Nazi apparatus of oppression. The UPA gained control over a considerable area of Ukraine, supported solely by the Ukrainian population.

By the middle of 1944 the UPA had become a powerful striking force and numbered well over 100,000 guerrilla fighters. In the fall of that year all the Ukrainian nationalist underground organizations called an assembly and established the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVSR), which, by coordinating policies and administration of Ukrainian areas under the control of the UPA, in a real sense became the actual if clandestine government of the Ukrainian people.

Inasmuch as the UPA fighters concentrated their attacks against the Nazi police, Gestapo and **Einsatz** troops and security units (in 1943 the UPA assassinated SS Nazi General Victor Lutze in an ambush on the Kovel-Brest railroad line) rather than against **Wehrmacht** troops, the Soviet propaganda trumpeted that the UPA fighters were German "hirelings and collaborators." The **Wehrmacht** was not a prime target simply because it was not engaged in any punitive actions against the Ukrainian population; the Gestapo and other security troops, on the other hand, systematically were hunting down Ukrainians for deportation to slave labor in Germany.

The anti-Nazi policies of the UPA stood unwavering and unchanged to the last days of the Nazi occupation of Ukraine. It was only a few months before the collapse of Germany that the Nazi government began flirting with the Ukrainians and other non-Russian nationalities in a hopeless attempt to win them over to the German side. The two Ukrainian divisions which the **Wehrmacht** had organized in 1943

to fight against Soviet troops exclusively were now made a part of a Ukrainian National Army that a newly-organized Ukrainian National Committee tried to establish. But to the overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian people the Germans were beyond the pale. The Ukrainian division suffered heavy casualties in a major engagement against the Soviet troops near the city of Brody in 1944; many of its survivors went over to swell the ranks of the UPA.

Before the general retreat of the German troops from Ukraine the Soviet government undertook a tremendous propaganda campaign to soften the hostility of the Ukrainian people. Simultaneously, thousands of Red partisans were sent behind the German lines, ostensibly to fight against the Germans but in reality to combat the UPA. Led by General Sydir Kovpak, a descendant of the Zaporoshian Kozaks, the Red partisans glibly spoke of a "free and independent Ukraine" and of "friendship with the great Russian people." Also, the Kremlin relaxed repressive measures somewhat; Ukrainian writers and poets were allowed to sing of the glory of Ukraine. Vague promises about forthcoming "national concessions" floated in the air. Stalin ordered the restoration of the Russian Orthodox Church, and in Kiev a new Ukrainian Communist government was organized with Dmytro Z. Manuilsky, a veteran Comintern leader, becoming Foreign Minister of Ukraine! Vast Soviet armies, some of them being renamed as "Ukrainian Armies," were staffed and commanded by such marshals and generals of Ukrainian descent as Malinovsky, Moskalenko, Grechko, Dibrova, Rybalka, Derevyanko, Timoshenko, and others—in a transparent effort to impress the Western world that Ukrainians were on the side of the Soviet Union, that Ukraine was one of the major republics of the USSR, and that it was worthy of membership in the organization of the United Nations, soon to be established.

But the UPA, while still fighting against the Nazi security and police forces in extensive areas of Western Ukraine, the Carpathian Mountains and the Ukrainian territory in Poland, now had to commence operations against the Soviet troops, especially the Red partisans. Among the victims who fell in battle with the UPA was Soviet General Nikolai F. Vatutin, member of the Soviet War Council, who was mortally wounded by a UPA unit, dying subsequently in a Kiev hospital (cf. **The Penkovskiy Papers**; also, **The Fatherland's War**, Vol. IV, p. 78, Moscow).

At the conference at Yalta in February 1945 both Roosevelt and Churchill accepted the proposal of Stalin that Ukraine and Byelorussia be charter members of the United Nations.

By the end of World War II, peace had seemingly come to the world, but certainly not to Ukraine. The UPA, still a strong and powerful fighting force, backed by the people, was now preparing to engage the old enemy of the Ukrainian people, Communist Russia.

PART THREE

Post-World War II Oppression of Ukraine By Communist Russia

1. Stalin's Revenge on Ukraine

As the Soviet Union emerged one of the great victors over Nazi Germany, Stalin took pains to make it clear that the Soviet victory had been achieved by the Great Russians almost exclusively. Consequently, he initiated bloody purges and persecution in the non-Russian republics. The autonomous republics of the Crimean Tartars and the Volga Germans were liquidated as their punishment for collaboration with the Germans, a fate which likewise befell the autonomous **oblasts** of the Chechens and Ingushes in the Caucasus. (cf. **Communist Take-over and Occupation of Ukraine**, Special Report No. 4, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1955).

But Stalin's vengeance was wholly psychopathic in Ukraine. His promises of "national concessions" to Ukraine were soon forgotten. The MVD (the new name for the NKVD) hounded all those Ukrainians who were supporting the UPA—a herculean task, indeed. Moscow ordered wholesale requisitions of all foodstuffs in Ukraine and called up a general mobilization of all men from 16 to 60—this was before the final collapse of Germany. Thousands, untrained and ill-armed, were slaughtered under the fire of German tanks and guns.

a) **Fight against the UPA:** One of the primary tasks of the Soviet troops was to liquidate the Ukrainian underground resistance. Special detachments, known as **istrebitels** ("exterminators"), hunted members of the OUN (whom the Reds called "Banderites," after Stepan Bandera, OUN leader) and the UPA.

The underground warfare of the UPA embraced the Western regions of Galicia, the frontier zones of both sides of the Curzon Line and the Carpathian Mountains, including some areas of Carpatho-Ukraine and Slovakia. The fighting raged for several months, despite constant appeals on the part of Khrushchev and Manuilsky to Ukrainian insurgents to lay down their arms, automatic pardon being their reward. Since there were no surrenders, the Soviet command mounted large-scale offensives with as many as 30,000 special troops. Through the spring and summer of 1945 entire Soviet divisions were engaged in combatting the UPA. In 1946 General Vasyl Ryasny, the Minister of Interior of the Ukrainian SSR, threw large contingents of MVD troops into the fray. In 1947 the seemingly unconquerable UPA units ambushed and killed General Karol Swierczewski, Polish Defense Minister ("General Walter" of the Spanish Civil War).

On May 17, 1947, a tripartite agreement was signed between the

USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia, whereby all three Communist governments agreed to join forces in putting down the Ukrainian guerrilla forces. This blow proved too much even for the Ukrainian spirit to sustain. Hundreds of the underground fighters were killed, several hundred others escaped through Czechoslovakia to West Germany or simply faded away throughout the USSR. On March 5, 1950, Soviet security troops ambushed and killed the UPA Supreme Commander, General Taras Chuprynka, in Western Ukraine.

It is estimated by Ukrainian guerrilla warfare specialists that by 1950 some 36,000 Soviet officers and enlisted men of the security forces had fallen at the hands of UPA freedom fighters. Although large-scale operations and raids by the UPA subsided after 1950, underground resistance, under different forms and techniques, exists to this very day.

b) **Destruction of Ukrainian Catholic Church:** Another form of Stalin's revenge over the Ukrainian population was his savage destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine.

After the death of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky on November 1, 1944, his successor Metropolitan Joseph Slipy tried to preserve the church and its 5,000,000 Catholic faithful within the existing Soviet laws and constitution. But in 1945 the MVD arrested all the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops: Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, Bishops Gregory Chomysyn, Ivan Latyshevsky, Gregory Lakota, Mykola Charnetsky, Mykyta Budka, many other high-ranking prelates, and a number of priests, monks and nuns—all on the spurious charges of "collaboration" with the Nazis or of supporting the UPA. In 1946 a Soviet-approved committee of a few apostate priests and laymen, called a "synod" at which they abolished the Union of Brest (1596), by which the Ukrainian Catholic Church had been reunited with the Roman Catholic Church. They liquidated all church properties and schools, closed monasteries, and imposed the Russian Orthodox Church upon the Catholic population of Western Ukraine. Subsequently, other Ukrainian Catholic bishops were arrested or killed, such as Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovsky, who was arrested by the Polish security police and handed over to the Soviet government, and Bishop Theodore G. Romzha, who was killed in Carpatho-Ukraine.

Of 11 Ukrainian Catholic bishops only Metropolitan Joseph Slipy survived. Released in 1963 upon the direct intervention of Pope John XXIII, he was first made Archbishop Major, then Cardinal; he now resides in Rome.

c) **Cultural Russification:** Once the Soviet government had reorganized after the critical war years, it again commenced a shrewd and systematic policy of Russification in Ukraine. The Ukrainian language, although the official language of the Ukrainian SSR, was discriminated against. The so-called "linguistic theory" of Stalin was introduced to justify the Russian language as an "international language"; above all, it was the "language of Lenin" and the "language of Communism."

Russian books, art, plays, films flooded Ukraine in unprecedented fashion. Ukrainian history and literature were ordered to be revised in order to demonstrate their dependence in the past, present and future on the "elder Russian brothers."

d) **Economic Exploitation:** Although Ukraine had been ravaged by World War II, the Soviet government paid scant attention to the economic needs of the Ukrainian people. It did restore a certain number of factories, mines and hydro-electric plants which had been destroyed by the war. But enormous quantities of machinery which had been moved to the east from Ukraine were never returned to Ukraine. Under the pretext of bringing in sorely-needed specialized personnel and technicians, Stalin inundated Ukraine with Russians, while Ukrainian technicians, specialists and engineers were dispatched to other parts of the USSR.

In its agricultural policy the Kremlin revived and tightened the collective farm regime, making life on them even more unbearable. Western Ukraine and parts of Volhynia and Carpatho-Ukraine were collectivized, and all those Ukrainian farmers who showed the slightest opposition were sent to slave labor camps in Siberia and Kazakhstan.

2. Ukraine Under Khrushchev's Rule

a) "De-Stalinization," "Thaw" and Ukraine

The death of Joseph Stalin on March 5, 1953, ushered in a new and uneasy period in the history of the USSR and of Ukraine. "Collective leadership" in the Kremlin masked a bitter struggle for supremacy. An early casualty of the intra-party struggle was Leonid Melnikov, abruptly dismissed as secretary general of the Communist Party of Ukraine. He was publicly charged with forcing the Russification of Western Ukraine, a charge brought to the fore for the first time anywhere. He was replaced by Alexander Kirichenko, the first native Ukrainian ever to hold this post. With the execution of Lavrenti Beria and the dumping of Georgi Malenkov, the surviving contestants, Khrushchev and Bulganin, embarked upon a policy of "peaceful coexistence" abroad and "peace" with their own hapless citizenry at home.

In 1954 Khrushchev, Stalin's "iron man" in Ukraine in 1938 and the holder of direct responsibility for many of the crimes committed against the Ukrainian people, began a new policy toward Ukraine. He now sought to woo Ukrainians by granting some nominal concessions and by cautiously following and espousing certain pro-Ukrainian policies, all with the obvious intent of appeasing the ever-recalcitrant Ukrainians.

On the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav (1654), the Communist Party came up with new "theses" on the relations between Russia and Ukraine. Advanced was a "theory" to the effect that Kievan **Rus** had given rise to three Eastern Slavic peoples:

the Russians, Ukrainians, and Byelorussians. Hence the Russians could call Kiev "the oldest Russian city," leaving Lviv as the oldest Ukrainian city, since it was founded by the Ukrainians after "the division of languages."

Furthermore, in the same year of 1954 the Council of Ministers of the USSR made the Crimea a part of Ukraine to demonstrate the affability of Russian "brotherhood." (It is to be recalled that it was from the Crimea that Stalin had ruthlessly deported all Tartars for disloyalty to the Soviet regime and collaboration with the Germans.)

These and other gestures were intended to make the Ukrainians amenable to a new "economic scheme" Khrushchev had concocted: cultivation of the "virgin lands" of Kazakhstan. Some 800,000 young Ukrainian men and women were half-persuaded, half-coerced into leaving Ukraine as "volunteers" for the task.

Moreover, during the Khrushchev rule, large-scale strikes and rebellions erupted in the Soviet slave labor camps, most of them organized by Ukrainian political prisoners, notably by former members of the OUN and UPA. The first such insurrection flared up in Karaganda, the movement quickly spreading to slave camps in Vorkuta, Kingir, Tayshet, and elsewhere. Moscow reacted with its customary measures: mass executions and indiscriminate killing, as for instance the brutal slaying of 500 Ukrainian women prisoners in Kingir under the treads of Russian tanks. However, the revolts brought some relaxation of terror in Soviet prison camps (cf. **Encounter**, April 1956, London).

It was at the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February, 1956, that a now righteous Khrushchev assailed Stalin's crimes against the people and his unbridled terror, especially in Ukraine. Khrushchev stated:

"Stalin had wanted to deport all Ukrainians, but there were too many of them and there was no place to which they could be deported."

In fact, it was impossible to effect these deportations because of the activities of the UPA.

This "de-Stalinization" policy of Khrushchev blew up in his face. It resulted in anti-communist and anti-Russian upheavals throughout the Soviet Russian empire, the rebellion in Poland and the world-rousing insurrection in Hungary in 1956.

By 1957 the Kremlin was confronted with a dilemma: whether to revert to the old Stalinist policy, thereby risking even further insurrections, or to initiate a truly liberal policy, which would favorably impress the emerging Afro-Asian nations which the Kremlin had begun to woo, posing as their great "protector and emancipator."

Khrushchev compromised by devising a series of measures which gave the appearance of "liberalization" but which in reality tended to enchain the Soviet Russian empire more tightly. These measures included decentralization of planning and management of agriculture, spiced with a few concessions to farmers; some decentralization of man-

agement of industry and some extension of local authority for the non-Russian republics. Much was made of an amnesty granted political prisoners, especially as it entailed liquidation of a number of the troublesome slave labor camps; "liberalization" of literature, whereby limited criticism was permitted party writers; "liberalization" of travel abroad by a limited number of citizens, and admission of foreign tourists. A number of Ukrainians and other non-Russian Communist leaders were elevated to the highest echelons of the party leadership and the administrative apparatus.

But parallel with this relaxation of terror, Moscow rigorously pursued a systematic Russification course in Ukraine.

b) **Khrushchev's Crimes against the Ukrainian People:** In 1959 the ebullient Khrushchev traipsed across the ocean to the United Nations in New York, provoking vast resentment and opposition on the part of U.S. ethnic groups and labor and veteran organizations.

Extensive hearings on the rule and policies of Khrushchev were held by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in the House of Representatives in Washington. In its final report, **The Crimes of Khrushchev**, Part II, his brutal treatment of the Ukrainian people were summarized as follows:

1) As a Communist official he played a leading role in the Moscow-made famine in Ukraine in the early 1930's in the course of which over 5 million Ukrainian peasants died from hunger and starvation;

2) As Stalin's emissary in Ukraine in 1937-38, Khrushchev liquidated the entire organization of the Communist Party and the puppet Ukrainian Communist government; his hand was clearly visible in the genocidal murder of 10,000 Ukrainian men and women in the city of Vynnytsia in 1937-38;

3) He played a vital part in the destruction of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church and the liquidation of the Ukrainian intellectual elite (for instance, he ordered the arrest of Metropolitan V. Lypkivsky in January, 1938);

4) During World War II, as a General in the NKVD forces Khrushchev was responsible for the wholesale liquidation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), including eradication of its members' families;

5) In 1945-46, teaming with Molotov, Khrushchev ordered the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine. Before it had run its course, over 2,000 Ukrainian Catholic priests were deported, executed or forced to accept Russian Orthodoxy, dominated by the Kremlin;

6) Khrushchev was responsible for the "voluntary resettlement" of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples in the "Virgin lands" in Kazakhstan, thereby contributing again to the genocide of the Ukrainians as a nation.

7) Finally, he was guilty, as a member of the "collective leader-

ship," of the mass murder of Ukrainian political prisoners in 1954-55 in Karaganda, Vorkuta, Norilsk and Tayshet.

Irresponsible and amoral, Khrushchev brought the world to the brink of atomic war when he placed Soviet missiles in Cuba in 1962. Alarmed by excesses unusual even in Communist Russia, his cohorts banded together and deposed him.

3. Under the Brezhnev-Kosygin Rule

No improvement or change in the position of the Ukrainian people has been noticeable since the removal of Khrushchev in the fall of 1964 and the assumption of power by a new "collective leadership," composed of Leonid Brezhnev, secretary general of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Alexei Kosygin, Premier of the Soviet Union.

The widening rift ideologically and politically between the Soviet Union and Red China began to preoccupy the Kremlin leaders. In addition, the constant unrest and opposition in the satellite countries, notably in Rumania, the perennial crises in agriculture, the rebellious Soviet intellectuals—all added to the trials of the new Kremlin chieftains.

Against this backdrop, the following developments are easily distinguishable during these past few years of the Brezhnev-Kosygin "collective leadership":

a) **Policy of Wooing Ukrainians Continues:** The policy of making Ukrainians feel as if they were "junior partners," begun under Khrushchev, has continued under the present regime.

Of the 12 members of the new Politbureau of the Communist Party's Central Committee, three are Ukrainians: **Nikolai V. Podgorny** (Pidhorny in Ukrainian), **Alexander P. Kirichenko** and **Peter Y. Shelest**, the latter succeeding Podgorny as secretary general of the Communist Party of Ukraine when the former was elected Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in 1965.

Podgorny, accompanying Nikita S. Khrushchev to the United Nations General Assembly meeting in 1960, delivered a scathing address in Ukrainian assailing the United States, Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker of Canada and those Ukrainian American leaders and organizations who sponsored "Captive Nations Week" and Ukrainian Independence observances in the United States Congress. (In January, 1967, Podgorny also visited Pope Paul VI in Rome, apparently to discuss the "religious situation" in the Soviet Union. There was no public announcement to indicate whether the religious plight of the Ukrainian people had been discussed at all.)

Another prominent Ukrainian in the top echelon of the Soviet political hierarchy is **Marshal Andrei A. Grechko**, who succeeded Marshal Rodion Malinovsky, also a Ukrainian, as Soviet Defense Minister. Ukrainian generals and admirals are to be found in the Soviet army, air force, navy and other branches of the armed forces, and a number of Ukrainians serve in the diplomatic service, including the ambassadorial level.

b) **Religious Persecution:** The Soviet press in Ukraine periodically reports arrests, trials and deportations of “religious fanatics” and “superstitious people.” Such trials were held in 1965 in Lviv, Western Ukraine, at which some 20 persons were charged with practicing “underground Catholic religion.” Among those arrested were Ukrainian Catholic priests, nuns and several lay persons. In March 1966 the Soviet government sponsored widespread celebrations commemorating the 20th anniversary of the “liquidation” of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine. These jubilees evoked a strong protest on the part of the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy in the free world. A special Pastoral Letter denouncing the destruction of Catholicism was signed by 18 Ukrainian Catholic bishops, headed by His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Slipy. The Soviet presses continue to spew forth books and pamphlets denouncing the Ukrainian Catholic Church as “always in the service of the counterrevolutionary imperialists, including the American imperialists.”

Religious persecution is not limited only to the Catholic Church in Ukraine. The number of Orthodox Churches has shrunk to a skeleton network. In October, 1966, in the city of Zhytomyr several persons were tried for giving religious instruction to children; all were either of the Orthodox faith or belonged to the Ukrainian Baptists' organization. A vicious attack on the Baptists in Ukraine appeared in the November 1966 issue of *Ludyna i Svit* (Man and the World), published in Kiev.

Anti-religious tactics of the Communists include propagandistic undermining of the people's faith in baptism and matrimony and the discrediting of Christian burial by priests or ministers.

The present Kremlin leadership is thus not unique in betraying its fear of religion as a powerful force against the Communist ideology.

c) **Cultural and Linguistic Genocide in Ukraine:** But what is perhaps the most insidious and telling damage the Russian imperialists inflict upon Ukraine is that wreaked by the policy of cultural and linguistic genocide.

In 1966 the world was outraged by the trial and condemnation of two Russian writers, Daniel and Sinyavsky, for their non-conformist literary activities. Regrettably, little attention has been paid to what takes place in the cultural and literary sphere in Ukraine.

In 1965 and 1966 a number of Ukrainian writers, poets, researchers, journalists, literary critics and professors were arrested, tried and sentenced in Ukraine. At least 30 of these Ukrainian intellectuals were meted out this treatment in such Ukrainian cities as Kiev, Lviv, Odessa, Lutsk, Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk. Most prominent among them are **Ivan Dzyuba** and **Ivan Svitlychny**, who were accused of writing anti-Soviet works and of smuggling to the West anti-Soviet works of another Ukrainian poet, **Vasyl Symonenko**, who died in 1963 at the age of 29. Detailed reports on the arrests of the Ukrainian intellectuals appeared in the *Neue Züricher Zeitung* (April 1, 1966) and *The New York Times* (April 7, 1966). Protests by the Ukrainian Writers' Association in Exile were

addressed to the International PEN, the European Community of Writers, and UNESCO. Protests to the State Department in Washington were sent by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

The anti-Soviet and anti-Russian opposition in Ukraine was officially if unwittingly acknowledged recently (1966) by Peter Shelest, secretary general of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and Alexander Korneichuk, top-ranking Communist playwright and ideologist. Among other things, they felt impelled to warn Ukrainian youth against listening to Western radio broadcasts, ending by assailing the United States for alleged support of Ukrainian "subversive nationalist elements" which, they claimed, were systematically **infiltrating** into Ukraine.

4. Moscow-Directed Assassination of Ukrainian Political Leaders Abroad

Moscow's dread of the Ukrainian liberation movement is best exemplified by the methods it chooses in disposing of Ukrainian political leaders deemed dangerous to the Russian Communist domination in Ukraine. Over the decades the NKVD, MVD, and KGB has picked off, among others, these victims:

a) **Simon Petlura**, head of the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1919 and subsequently leader of the Ukrainian government in exile, assassinated on May 25, 1926, on a Paris street by Solomon Schwartzbart, a Soviet agent (cf. Allen Dulles, **Craft of Intelligence**);

b) **Col. Eugene Konovalts**, former commander of the Ukrainian Army Corps of **Sichovi Striltsi** and head of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), killed on May 23, 1938 in Rotterdam, Holland, by a time bomb slipped in his trench coat by a Soviet agent, Valukh (later identified as a top-ranking officer in the Soviet security police);

c) **Dr. Lev R. Rebet**, a Ukrainian nationalist writer and theoretician, killed on October 12, 1957 in Munich, Germany (his death was initially attributed to heart failure);

d) **Stepan Bandera**, outstanding Ukrainian revolutionary leader and head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), killed on October 15, 1959 in Munich, Germany (his death, too, was at first described as caused by a heart attack). Bandera was incarcerated by the Nazis in the concentration camp of Sachsenhausen from 1941-1944.

The Rebet and Bandera murders were committed by **Bogdan N. Stashynsky**, a trained agent of the KGB who subsequently was awarded the "Order of the Red Banner" by the Soviet government (the certificate was signed by **Marshal Klimenty Voroshilov**) and was personally praised by **Alexander Shelepin**, then head of the KGB (Soviet State Security).

In August, 1961, a remorseful Stashynsky defected with his German-born wife to West Berlin and confessed to the slayings of Bandera and Rebet. Tried dispassionately by the German Supreme Court in Karlsruhe, he was condemned to 8 years at hard labor. The leniency of the court was

attributed to Stashynsky's recanting of his crimes, his rejection of Communism and, not least, his revelation of a vast Soviet espionage network operating in Western Europe.

Conclusion

The history of the Ukrainian people for the past 50 years has demonstrated the undying desire of Ukraine to attain its national freedom and independence. Untold sacrifices in human and economic resources have been paid by the Ukrainian nation in quest of that objective. The severe and harsh persecution of the Ukrainian nation by Communist Russia, Nazi Germany and other oppressors and aggressors, past and present, have not been able to deflect the will of the Ukrainian people or to kill what might well be man's deepest instinct—that of being free.

In its search for freedom and national independence Ukraine is by no means alone.

Recognition of its plight, and that of other hapless nations, was formally extended by the United States in its famous "Captive Nations Week Resolution" of July 17, 1959:

The imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkistan, North Vietnam, and others. . . .

In giving a haven to Ukrainians fleeing from oppression and outright genocide in their native land, the United States and other hospitable countries of the free world have, in the last analysis, acted in their own best interest.

Where conditions have at all permitted, the Ukrainian infusion has invariably enriched both soul and body of the host country. Law-abiding, industrious, naturally independent of spirit and deeply aware of God and His grace, Ukrainians have often proved to be an invaluable catalyst on every continent they have reached, anywhere where man seeks to build a viable society, everywhere where Nature's forces have had to be channeled into constructive directions.

But it is in coping with destructive forces within man himself that Ukrainians in the Diaspora have contributed most. Everywhere they have gone they have inevitably awakened man's conscience. They have served—and continue to serve—as the Free World's surrogates in an experience whose very existence too many men refuse to acknowledge: the extinction of freedom for individual and for nation.

It is in this wise that Ukrainians abroad have repaid many times over the many helping hands. The fate of Ukraine, they have demonstrated, is the fate of man and nation everywhere unless man continues to prize and to fight for freedom, not only in his own country, but over a globe that modern technology has miniaturized.

