

500  
UKRAINIAN  
MARTYRED  
WOMEN



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# **500 UKRAINIAN MARTYRED WOMEN**

EDITED BY  
STEPHANIA HALYCHYN

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#### DEDICATION

*THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND ESPECIALLY TO THE WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES. IT IS HOPED THAT THE AMERICAN WOMEN WILL TAKE UP THE CAUSE OF THEIR SUFFERING FELLOW-WOMEN AND HELP TO BRING ABOUT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS, SUCH AS ARE KNOWN IN THE UNITED STATES AND THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE WORLD.*

Printed in U. S. A.

TO PAY HOMAGE TO 500 UKRAINIAN HEROINES  
THE UNITED UKRAINIAN WOMEN'S ORGANIZA-  
TIONS OF AMERICA, INC., IN NEW YORK TOOK  
THE INITIATIVE IN HOLDING A PROTEST DE-  
MONSTRATION ON SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1956.  
THE LARGE HALL OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL  
HOME WAS FILLED TO OVERFLOWING BY THE  
AUDIENCE. IT INCLUDED REPRESENTATIVES OF  
THE VARIOUS POLITICAL GROUPS, THE YOUNG  
AND THE OLD, WHO HAD COME TOGETHER TO  
PAY HOMAGE TO THE UKRAINIAN HEROINES AND  
TO PROTEST MOSCOW'S UNPARALLELED CRIME IN  
THE SLAVE LABOR CAMP OF KINGIR.

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## P R E F A C E

This book has grown out of the demand to make known to the world the suffering of humanity "behind the Iron Curtain" and the conditions prevailing in the Soviet concentration camps in which thousands upon thousands of our Ukrainian men and women find themselves today.

It is almost incredible that such conditions and brutality could have happened in this twentieth century, yet such did happen. This report of them is a gruesome, horrid, factual story told by former inmates of the Russian concentration camps in Siberia, and now released.

The Western World has already noted evidences of the great sacrifices and the desperate efforts of the Ukrainian people to throw off the yoke of Communism and Soviet Russian imperialism and to establish a free and independent Ukrainian Republic, a cause for which thousands have suffered and died while others have found themselves in Siberian concentration camps.

The publication of this book was made possible only when the United Ukrainian Women's Organizations of America, Inc., sponsored a Manifestation in New York, in February 1956, to protest publicly the inhuman and intolerable conditions of the notorious Soviet concentration camps.

This book is in two parts and consists of addresses delivered and resolutions adopted at the Manifestation and a study which the editor compiled from various books, magazines and articles by well-known American, English, German, Russian and Ukrainian authors and eyewitnesses,



who repeatedly confirm the existence of the deplorable conditions that exist today in the USSR concentration camps.

It is dedicated to the memory of 500 heroic Ukrainian women, who were crushed under Soviet tanks in an attempt to suppress their resistance. In the wake of these heroines, who so perished, there will always be other women who will step in to carry on the struggle for liberation of Ukraine. And as long as there are such heroic women, who prefer death to Soviet slavery, Ukraine's fight for freedom will ever be a barrier against Soviet Russian aggression and Communism.

In deep homage to them, we pray that the Almighty give the Ukrainian women strength to endure the sufferings, trials and tribulations of Soviet Russian slavery so that the ideal of a free and independent Ukraine in the family of free nations of the world will soon be realized.

J. G. BOLECHIVNA

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## PART I.

### THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR STATE

#### *Introductory Note*

To give the reader a clear and accurate account of the Ukrainian people, their aspirations and the present situation in Ukraine, I consider it important to present a short history of the country from the time when it lost its independence to the present day.

Ukraine declared its independence on Jan. 22, 1918, when the Russian Empire was disintegrating. After the end of World War I, when all the nations resumed a quiet and peaceful life, the 45 million Ukrainian people continued the struggle against their neighbors to maintain their independence. Nevertheless, this fertile country with its large mineral resources fell before the attack of its foes. After long, hard battles, the people succumbed to the attacks of their enemies and lost their newly-won independence. The president of the state went into exile and was assassinated on the streets of Paris by an enemy hand on May 25, 1926.

Ukraine was divided among four powers, the USSR, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia. Under these difficult and oppressive conditions, the Ukrainian people did not lose hope and continued to seek a new way out of their tragic position. Some of the military leaders who were left formed an underground organization, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Its object was to continue the struggle against the occupation forces, in the varying possibilities and also to support the people in their hope for a speedy rebirth of their fatherland. The organiza-

tion was planned to work in the various fields of social, political and national life.

The governments of occupation which divided Ukraine among them, tried to wipe out everything Ukrainian: the language, schools, press, songs and religion. Thanks to the efforts of this underground organization, they were not able to accomplish this goal. There arose an underground secret press, the publications of which were passed secretly from hand to hand. School instruction was supplemented by underground school instruction on Ukrainian literature, traditions, songs, legends and by various sports clubs, etc.

By this continuous work, the people strengthened their souls, became united, and prepared for the great moment when they could renew the struggle for their lost liberty. Their efforts to become free called forth a series of arrests of their leaders by the occupying powers.

Then came World War II and the hope of the Ukrainian people to rebuild their state flared up. On the very day of the outbreak of the war and at the first clash, the Ukrainian leaders lost no time in taking power into their hands. The blue and yellow banner was hung out on the city hall of Lviv.

By radio, on June 30, 1941, they proclaimed their own independent state. Street names were changed to Ukrainian; the Ukrainian language triumphed. The people had their own army and schools. Songs of joy were raised throughout Ukraine. "Freedom, we are free." Life stirred and the people worked like ants. This, however, did not last long, for in a few weeks the heavy boot of the German was felt in Ukraine. Again the Ukrainian government was overthrown, the banner and the language were banned, and the men of the state government were arrested and taken to German prisons.

Still the Ukrainian people did not lose hope and continued the struggle against the German invaders. They formed the new Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the UPA, which operated throughout Ukraine. The Ukrainian people made great sacrifices in World War II. The German Army was unable to combat the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian people and withdrew from Ukrainian territory.

Then the Red, atheist Bolsheviks returned to Ukraine. This time the 45 million Ukrainians were held in one prison. The Ukrainian lands were united into one unit. In the international sphere Ukraine had a separate representation composed of agents handpicked by Moscow. This was not the Ukraine that the freedom-loving, Christian Ukrainian people wanted. They yearned for a free and independent Ukraine subject to no other state. The Ukrainian emigres who were scattered in the different countries of the world tried to help their people in this struggle.

We in America are trying to find understanding, sympathy and help for struggling Ukraine. Many American leaders and prominent men are beginning to understand and show interest in the cause of Ukraine and are trying to do their part to aid it.

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Mrs. Stephania Halychyn, president of the United Ukrainian Women's Organization, opened the Manifestation. On the stage are speakers and representatives of women's organizations.

Preceding the invocation by Rev. M. KULYNYCH the gathering observed a minute of silence in homage to the Ukrainian women martyrs murdered by the orders of the Moscow torturers.

Participants in this Mass Protest Meeting were the following women's organizations: *Headquarters of United Ukrainian Women's Organizations of America, Inc.*, Dr. O. Kalyna; *Ukrainian Women's Alliance*, M. Rudnytska, president; *Ukrainian Girl Scouts*, N. Y., L. Tkaczuk; *Byelorussian Women's Club*, H. Kosovski; *Ukrainian Branch of American Red Cross*, J. Skodzinska; *Independent Gold Cross*, Branch 1, I. Holuka; *Independent Gold Cross*, Branch 15, S. Huryn; *Ukrainian National Association*, L. Ukrainka Br. 455, M. Blyznak; *First Aid Society*, D. Kulchycka. Also participating were representatives with organization banners from local branches of the *Ukrainian National Association* and the *Providence Association*.

*Address delivered by Mrs. STEPHANIA HALYCHYN, at the Women's Meeting in New York, February 26, 1956 over the murder of 500 Ukrainian Women in the Siberian Slave Labor Camps by Bolshevik Moscow.*

Reverend Fathers, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Ukrainian hearts in the emigration have been pierced by the terrible news which seemed impossible in the twentieth century of still another superhuman, extraordinary murder of unarmed Ukrainian women by orders of the Moscow torturers. This crime is so serious and huge that it touches the soul of every Ukrainian without regard to his age, his political convictions or the time when he joined the emigration. This crime is so vital that it has united all of us Ukrainians in a fierce anger against the unbridled, atheistic red hangmen. We have all burned with the thought of issuing a great protest to the civilized world on behalf of these 500 heroic Ukrainian women, who in defence of their neighbors laid down their lives and to assist those other Ukrainians who are now at slave labor in other camps.

We have called this meeting to protest against those crimes which red Moscow is perpetrating against the Ukrainian people. We have come together to demonstrate our unity with the Ukrainian people and to show that, however far we are from our native land, we feel and sorrow with one heart, the common heart of the whole Ukrainian people, and that we are doing everything possible to help them attain their liberty, happiness and freedom.



To-day we have been brought together by a serious and tragic event, another new crime, which Moscow has committed in a Siberian concentration camp in the murder of 500 Ukrainian women. It is a tragic event, for those 500 innocent women fell as victims not on the field of battle, not with arms in their hands but unarmed and crushed by Bolshevik tanks.

It is an important event, for it shows that although red Moscow has been trying during nearly 40 years of enslavement to kill by every possible means in the Ukrainian people their independent spirit, it has not succeeded, for the Ukrainian people are continuing their struggle until they finally become their own masters in their own state.

The report of this crime came to us two years after it took place from an eye-witness, a physician, Dr. F. Varkony, who was in Kingir for 5 years at compulsory labor, and who was the first to report it to the world and the Ukrainians. In his eight page statement, he describes the inhuman treatment of the unfortunate prisoners by the administration of the camp and their hard prison labor. The Ukrainian women organized a protest to improve the fate of the prisoners and their living conditions. They perished in the unequal fight under the treads of Bolshevik tanks. A foreign land swallowed up the blood of 500 Ukrainian women who took each other by the hand and, with their heads raised and dressed in their embroidered blouses, walked to meet the tanks so as to protect with a living wall the men who were their companions in slavery. *"The memory of these 500 Ukrainian women will always remain fresh in the minds of all prisoners in the camp at Kingir and will eternally live and shine in the hearts of the political prisoners of the Soviet prison of nations."* — Thus Dr. Varkony ends his account

which he sent to the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism.

In the history of our people we commemorate various dates: such as Kruty and Bazar, to which we add another date, June 26, 1954, when these 500 Ukrainian women died a martyr's death under the Moscow tanks and with their warm, sacred blood watered the earth of the camp in Kingir. They gathered there and they stood arm in arm like own sisters, women from Kiev and Lviv, from Carpathian Ukraine and Bukovyna. They had created an underground in the camp, they had created new songs of revolt, and they strengthened one another in spirit. So they marched to death together, arm in arm, sealed by a common martyr's death. Their action won the admiration of the prisoners of other nationalities in the camp at Kingir and the news of it stirred to their depths the entire Ukrainian people.

Although in the camp in Kingir there were different national groups, driven here from all parts of the Soviet Union, only the Ukrainian women took part in this defiant act. These women were protecting with their bodies the Ukrainian exiles, the Ukrainian political prisoners, the Ukrainian nationalities and among these were members of the heroic Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the UPA, because no matter how hard the conditions the Ukrainians may be suffering under, they are constantly building an opposition to the Bolshevik executioners. They are organizing revolts, and strikes, and carrying on an unending struggle.

The cruelty of life has taught the Ukrainians to count primarily on their own strength. Red Moscow has been trying during the entire period of its enslavement of Ukrainians to kill the independence of soul of the Ukrainian people but it will not succeed, for the Ukrainian people have resolved to give all their strength, all their knowledge, all

their labor and work and even their lives in the service of and struggle for an independent Ukrainian State.

*"And the tanks passed over the hundreds of women... There was not a cry... There was only heard the crackling of crushed bones... Their blood, poured on the Siberian earth, shone on the earth of this camp of Kingir."*

It was not armed warriors who fell in this battle. It was unarmed women whose only weapon was their great spirits, their consciousness that they were standing in the advance guard of the great Western democracies in the struggle with Moscow's barbarism and bloody despotism.

Tens of years have passed since Ukrainian womanhood became the constant victim of Bolshevik terror. Wherever the foot of the red satrap steps, there hecatombs of suffering women have fallen. But the Ukrainian people cannot be destroyed. Those millions swallowed up in the cold Siberian tayga and in the deep mines of the Urals are examples of titanic struggle and heroic effort. Through the iron curtain there seeps out report after report of the hard fate of the different exiles and their unending struggle.

We have recently received a letter from our homeland. In it a father writes to his son: "Dear Peter. Read carefully and slowly. You will understand. Our village is ruined. Many people whom you knew are no more. One or two have returned from Siberia... Yes, yes, *THE OLD OAKS HAVE GROWN THIN* — but the forest is filled with new growth and is growing thicker every day... and we visit it, support it and look after it! We are very hopeful!" — How truly, accurately and powerfully, in a figurative manner, this old father has told his son about the struggle of our people. And we too undertood his letter very well. In other words:

*"Although the enemy has destroyed the old leaders and their ranks have grown thin, new leaders are even*

*more emerging in great numbers from the ranks of the new generation. They live in the underground, in the forests, and fulfill their assignments in the Insurgent Army of the UPA, and the whole people are supporting them unanimously, furnishing them food or hiding them. In the new generation there is a new hope for further constant struggle with Communism."*

This news has given us great hope, desire and grounds for further faith in and support of our people in their fight for freedom. It must wipe out from our souls lack of faith and indifference and give us a strong confidence in a speedy better future for our people. Only by further work and by constant support can we in the emigration partially fulfill our national obligation.

The United Ukrainian Women's Organization of America, Inc., has decided to hold demonstrations of protest in all its communities, so as to present this historical and sacred event to the civilized world of America. This heroic deed of June 26, 1954 must rank among the most heroic events of world history and it cannot be forgotten any less than the battle of Kruty or Bazar or the sacrifice of Joan of Arc, the Spartans at Thermopylae, or any other classic example of self-sacrifice and devotion against overwhelming odds.

Moscow's crime against the Ukrainian women is on a gigantic scale. It had to be for, as Lesya Ukrainka said, *"everything in the Russian Empire is enormous, grandiose."* Her words even twenty years later can be repeated when we recall the famine which destroyed seven million Ukrainians, and the tyranny which bids Moscow to enslave dozens of freedom-loving peoples, and the hypocrisy, which bids Moscow talk to the world about peace, while it prepares for a new war to satisfy the Moscow spirit of imperialism.

The size and nature of the new crime of Moscow is so flagrant that some Americans cannot even believe in the possibility that it was ever committed. There is no doubt that it was committed. Eye witnesses tell of it and the past crimes of Moscow against the Ukrainian people confirm their stories.

There were many more than 500 Ukrainian women who perished during the strike in Kingir. There were 8,000 participants in all in this strike: 4,500 men and 3,500 women. During the lengthy battle and the various mediations which lasted five weeks from May 16th to June 25-26, the casualties continued to pile up. The culminating battle then began:

*"The tanks advanced on the mass of prisoners at full speed. Then the Ukrainian women, in their embroidered blouses, linked arms and marched toward the tanks with heads held high.*

*"Everyone expected the tanks to halt before reaching the women. But they increased their speed and passed over the hundreds and hundreds of women. There was no outcry — only the sound of bodies being crushed, of breaking bones.*

*"More than 500 men and women fell that night. The stains of the blood they shed could be seen on the ground for several months.*

*"Those women who agree to return to work the next day were taken to the camp. More than 600 Ukrainian women who refused to return were sent to Kolyma, to the 'camp of death.'"*

These are the exact words of Dr. Varkony. This proves to us that many more than 500 Ukrainian women died in various ways because of that strike and uprising in Kingir in 1954. No one will ever know the exact number of innocent women who perished in Kingir at this time, except

God. However, we are using a modest 500 as a symbolic number of the mass of murdered Ukrainian heroines.

Although the present Moscow tyrants are trampling with their heavy boots their old leader, the bloody Stalin, and are ascribing to him the full responsibility for all the past Moscow crimes, yet this bloody massacre of 500 Ukrainian women in Kingir took place after the death of the old tyrant and under the rule of his no less bloody successors, Bulganin, Khrushchev and the rest.

A memorial stands near the United Nations building — a rider on the horse, holding an olive branch: a symbol of peace. There should also be at the UN site one more statue — a symbol of terror: a Ukrainian woman, dying a martyr's death under Soviet caterpillar tanks.

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## THE REVOLT IN KINGIR

May 16, 1954 — June 25, 1954

*(Statement of Dr. VARKONY who was released from Soviet concentration camps after a 5 year imprisonment)*

On May 16, 1953, a year before the great uprising, a column of prisoners returning from work was sprayed by 'submachine gun fire without any reason.

This criminal provocation was inspired by the attempt to discover those persons who belonged to an underground organization in the camp.

The next day, May 17, the prisoners in Kingir refused to leave the camp for work, demanding that the soldiers be punished for this uncalled-for shooting — for the deaths of the four men killed and for the wounding of some dozen others. The strike, however, was insufficiently organized and was violently suppressed on the third day. At the same time, the 300 inmates who had participated were taken to the prison for questioning in an attempt to find out the identity of the strike organizers.

That same year, in July, the soldiers killed a woman working in the women's section, contending that she had entered a forbidden zone. The consequences were the same as in the month of May.

On January 16, 1954, a prisoner working in the men's section (DOK) was shot by soldiers who then dragged his body into the forbidden zone to make it appear he had been killed while attempting to escape. This time the prisoners on all the work sites refused to work and the guards were compelled to bring them all back to the camp.

Once again, however, the camp administration managed to win a victory. The MVD troops forced the prisoners to leave the camp and go out to work. Many hundreds of Ukrainians, Russians and Moslems were arrested.

In April, 1954, many prisoners were removed from the camp and thrown into prison for no apparent reason. This occurred on April 9.

On April 16 a new detachment of 600 men arrived. The fact that all 600 were criminal prisoners was unheard-of in the history of the special camps. These "criminals" came from the Novosibirsk transit camp. At the outset, the political prisoners shunned the "criminals" completely since the latter had abused us (political prisoners) in recent years.

The "criminals" lived in separate barracks and did not go to work at first as they were under a two-week quarantine. One day, some of the camp prison inmates tore down the walls and got into the prison courtyard, then crossed the fence of camp section 3 and returned to their barracks. In the course of several days they beat up their guard and the commander of camp section 3, Captain Stadnikov. The MVD troops and the operations group were both helpless.

Immediately after the May Day celebrations, the "criminals" sent a delegation to us proposing that we wage open opposition to the MVD plan. According to them, the chief of the operation group, First Lieut. Byelaec, had advised them to begin active opposition against the political prisoners because a goodly number belonged to an underground organization. In all probability Belyaev had reasoned, the political prisoners were preparing an assault on the "criminals." Should the latter prove weak, the MVD troops would come to their aid.

For this reason, the political prisoners concluded an agreement with the "criminals".

On May 16, 1954, at 8 p.m., the prisoners of camp section 3 together with the "criminals," some 2,500 men all told, broke through the barricades of the various camp sections and in an hour all the prisoners of Kingir, some 4,500 men and 3,500 women, were united. At the same time they released all 300 persons who were being held in the camp prison for investigation, including the former Colonel Kuznetsov.

At 3 a.m. on May 17, MVD troops entered the camp and killed 76 inmates. Later, drunken soldiers entered the women's barracks with drawn bayonets and at the command "Hurrah" attacked the women. The dead and wounded were thrown into vehicles by the bloodthirsty gang and transported from the camp.

That same night the prisoners chose a camp committee made up of representatives of all nationalities and headed by Colonel Kuznetsov. Aiming to re-establish camp discipline, they submitted a number of demands to the commander of the Kingir camp.

They demanded that:

1. A representative of the Central Committee be sent from Moscow;

2. The chief of the operations group, First Lieut. Belyayev, and all the other officers and soldiers who had participated in the mass murder of May 16-17, 1954, be called to account;

3. The dead be brought back to the camp;

4. A medical commission be appointed for the examination of the wounded, since many had been killed by explosive bullets;

— and they declared that the prisoners of Kingir would refuse to work until these demands were carried out.

The ultimatum was signed by Kuznetsov, chairman of the camp commission.

Two days later, the answer came. From the GULAG in Moscow came General Bychkov, deputy-commander of the GULAG, and General Delgich, deputy-chief of the Prosecutor-General.

The men and women organized a meeting at which they resolved not to speak with representatives of the MVD but to listen to the generals. At the camp meeting, Kuznetsov put the following demands before the generals:

1. that a representative of the Central Committee of the Party be sent from Moscow;

2. that the listed officers and men be punished for the events of May 16-17;

3. that a medical commission be appointed to perform autopsies on the slain;

4. that numbers be removed from prisoners' clothing and bars removed from barracks windows;

5. that the prisoners work an 8-hour day;

6. that prisoners be paid in cash for their labor;

7. that credit of three days be given for each day of imprisonment;

8. that all those who were arrested while they were minors be released before the expiration of their sentences;

9. that the sick and those suffering from incurable diseases be released immediately;

10. that aliens be sent to their homelands;

11. that compulsory settlement after the completion of sentence be abolished;

12. that all cases be re-examined;

13. that prisoners be permitted to correspond with their families once a month;

14. that relatives be allowed to visit prisoners;

15. that no one be removed from the camp before the arrival of a representative of the Central Committee, and

16. that the camp commission not be held liable.

General Bychkov and Delgich accepted the prisoners' demands and agreed with the proposals. They said that since an official order had been issued on April 24, 1954, as of that day (on which they met with us) numbers and bars would be removed, there would be an 8-hour day, and we would be credited with three days for each day of imprisonment. They promised, further, that minors would be freed after a court review, as would also invalids who had served two-thirds of their sentence, and foreigners would be repatriated by October 15, 1954. Monthly correspondence with our families, and meetings twice a year with relatives, would be permitted; no one would be sent from the camp, and the members of the camp commission would not be held responsible.

Simultaneously it was announced that First Lieut. Belyayev, the legal officer Major Timofeyev, and a Lt.-Col. who was the chief of the garrison had been arrested for the events of May 16-17, 1954.

The generals, nevertheless, asked the prisoners to go out to work so as to restore normal life to the camp and thus enable the prosecutors and judges to appraise the situation fully.

The excited prisoners, many of whom now anticipated release before the expiration of their terms, unanimously decided to return to work.

The next day only the service personnel and the "criminals" were led out beyond the walls where a reinforced guard surrounded them. Except for several dozen men, they were all transported to the station where special prison trains were waiting to carry them away.

Thus it was that the generals broke their word.

A few hours later, soldiers and officers arrived in the closed zones and restored the fences which had been broken down between camp sections. They affixed placards to the fences, which read, "Keep off! I will shoot!"

Upon the prisoners' return from work, it was announced outside the walls that the machine guns on the towers would fire without warning on anyone approaching the walls. In this way, the camp administration thought they would prevent a second attack, believing that the political prisoners would be afraid to approach through this line of fire.

To their surprise, suddenly from the women's section came the sound of women singing a Ukrainian battle song: "Rank after rank, the partisans come marching..."

From all sides, people attacked the walls under the fire of the machine guns. In a short time the whole camp was re-united.

It was a terrible sight! Rockets lit up the whole camp and gun fire opened from every tower. Special troops entered the camp and repeated the terrible slaughter of the night of May 16-17.

More than a hundred women and men were killed that night, but the rest would not give in. On the morning of May 20, we again demanded that the MVD troops leave the camp. At 3 p. m. that day, after dinner, the MVD troops withdrew from the camp, this time taking with them the wounded and dead. Negotiations began then, continuing for 40 days until June 26, 1954.

During this time, the prisoners' demands were constantly broadcast over loudspeakers. The Ukrainian women distributed leaflets, made "grenades" out of bottles and explosives, built barricades against further attacks and treated the wounded. The men made sharp-edged weapons from scrap metal and waited for Kuznetsov's orders.



On June 18, a short-wave radio station began to operate. It had been constructed from surgical and electrical equipment. The messages, we learned later, were heard in Alma-Ata and Karaganda.

In the meantime, thousands of troops from various cities were encircling the camp and several times a day airplanes of the MVD flew overhead. Day and night the prisoners maintained a watch, the men and women taking turns at guard duty.

On June 24, General Bychkov demanded that the prisoners surrender and leave the camp. The prisoners answered: "Not a step — until a representative of the Central Committee of the Party arrives."

At 3 a.m. on the night of June 25-26, seven T-37 tanks suddenly broke into the camp. The prisoners, men and women alike, poured into the courtyard. Behind the tanks came soldiers, 1,600 men armed with pistols, rifles and machine guns. At Bychkov's command, they opened fire, and the prisoners answered with rocks and explosives. The tanks advanced on the mass of prisoners at full speed. Then the Ukrainian women, in their embroidered blouses, linked arms and marched toward the tanks with heads held high.

Everyone expected the tanks to halt before reaching the women. But they increased their speed and passed over the hundreds and hundreds of women! There was no outcry — only the sound of bodies being crushed, of breaking bones.

The soldiers, in the meantime, had scattered throughout the barracks and continued the massacre until 8.30 a. m. Those prisoners who were still alive at 9 o'clock were taken from the camp. At once a classification was begun. Sixteen hundred men were immediately taken to the station — destination — Kolyma!..

More than 500 men and women fell that night. The stains of the blood they shed could be seen on the ground for several months.

Those women who agreed to return to work the next day were taken to the camp. More than 600 Ukrainian women who refused to return were sent to Kolyma, to the "camp of death." Kuznetsov and the other members of the camp commission were handed over to face charges.

In spite of this outcome, conditions improved in the camp after all those hundreds of Ukrainians gave their lives. We may conclude that the blood of these victims somewhat lessened the terror of the MVD, for their regime became easier. The memory of the fallen prisoners of the Kingir camp will shine eternally in our hearts!

VARKONY

*Женщина, которая была вынуждена работать  
на измученной рани, барачник в лагере.  
Дома все украинки отходили барачник, —  
или повезли так же Колыму; в лагере смерти.  
Кужнецов и члены комиссии для передачи  
Росийской власти!  
— Это в лагере, после этого лагерь стал  
лучше. —  
Можно сказать, здесь много крови были излиты  
все страдания со стороны МВД, режим стал  
легче, да и на этот лагерь заключенным из  
лагеря Кингир были даны условия в лагере  
заключенных!*

*Варконь*

Photostat of original statement of Dr. Varkony

## REVOLTS AND STRIKES IN THE SOVIET CONCENTRATION CAMPS

*Address delivered by Dr. KATERYNA KOCHNO at the Ukrainian Women's Meeting in New York, February 26, 1956 over the murder of 500 Ukrainian Women in the Siberian Slave Labor Camps by Bolshevik murderers.*

Reverend Fathers and Honored Guests!

We have just received the overwhelming news from an eye-witness, of the terrible crime committed by the "new" Soviet collective government, the killing in peace times by T-37 tanks of 500 unarmed women and prisoners in the Soviet concentration camp of Kingir in Karaganda.

We have gathered at this meeting to honor their glorious memory and to do homage to the 500 heroic Ukrainian women, all prisoners at slave camps who by their sacrifice lighted the bright torch on the whole of Siberia not only for the liberation of all the enslaved nations in the USSR but for the ideals of freedom for all freedom-loving peoples in the world.

Our demonstration assumes a special character and importance because it is taking place at an extraordinarily important moment when the Soviet government has brought into the political arena of the world the XX Congress of the Communist Party there in the East, in Moscow. The Soviet government at this Congress tried to open a new page in the history of the Communist citadel and the leaders of the present Soviet oligarchy in their false speeches and declarations tried to justify themselves in the eyes of their enslaved peoples and the nations of the

entire world for their terroristic regime and their barbaric rule over one third of humanity. The speeches of the Soviet leaders and especially the "confession of Khrushchev" made it clear that the present Soviet administration is throwing all the blame for the terror and despotism on the single personality of Stalin, but events and the bloody retribution on the political prisoners in Kingir, Vorkuta, Karaganda and in the concentration camps on the Yenisey River have taken place during the period of the new, so-called "collective Soviet leadership" and after the death of Stalin and the "removal of Beria." It has taken place by the order of the supreme Soviet administration and it was by their order that the generals and representatives of the MVD were sent from Moscow to crush the strikes and organize these bloody reprisals on the political prisoners. These facts tear off the mask with which they are trying to cover their crimes from the world. Therefore, we, former victims of the Soviet terror, whose fathers and relatives have perished in the Soviet concentration camps, desire to bring to the knowledge of the free world, that in reality, the regime has not changed in the Soviet prison of nations.

The one change is that the Soviet leaders at the XX Congress officially condemned Stalin's methods of terror and proclaimed the rehabilitation merely of Communists and a few officers of the Red Army who had been innocently condemned. But did it rehabilitate the millions of the people who had been innocently condemned, including the proletarians, both workers and peasants? These it did not restore by any astounding amnesty.

There have been some changes in that the portraits and statues of Stalin disappeared in some places. The *History of the Communist Party* (B), the former catechism for Soviet citizens, was condemned and discarded, a few adherents of

Stalin were removed and Beria was destroyed. Although Khrushchev and the Soviet leaders, in whitewashing themselves, declared to the world that they condemned Stalin's methods of terror and the despotism of Beria, yet they have not stopped the mass terror, they have not halted the horrible methods of national genocide by the MVD and the NKGB, they have not broken up the infamous concentration camps, and they have not disbanded their fifth columns and Cominform.

We are well aware that the Soviet government will not abolish all these and will not essentially change their totalitarian political regime until they have achieved their basic goal — a universal Communist revolution. It is most unfortunate that the free democratic world and the Communist woovers have not clearly recognized that the imperialistic aims of Moscow have not changed. All that is changed is the Communist political strategy. There are new tactics of a Machiavellian diplomacy by which the Bolsheviks want to disorganize the world and lull to sleep the fear of a new Communist aggression and a catastrophe to the free world.

The whole world of international diplomacy, most unfortunately, has paid excessive attention to the changes in the Soviet Union, to the decisions and resolutions of the XX Congress of the KPRS and some, especially the Asian and the Arab nations, have believed in the false promises and propaganda speeches of the Soviet leaders to the great misfortune and perhaps the future tragedy of mankind. The eyes and serious attention of the leaders of international diplomacy and of the organization of the UN are not directed to those areas where in the catacombs of the MVD and the NKGB, the Communists are murdering with unheard-of tortures millions of innocent people, where through secret underground drains there is flowing off

the blood of our fathers, brothers and sisters. The serious attention of the organization of the UN which has proclaimed a Universal Declaration of Human Rights is not directed to that area where, in accordance with the plan of Nikita Khrushchev, the Communists by force and terror, "voluntarily and under compulsion" are tearing from the Ukrainian land immature girls and boys and sending them to virgin territory and Kazakhstan, and where they are forced for the benefit of Moscow "to plough up" the Siberian land, the tundra and the tayga. Moscow is doing all this deliberately so as to deprive our fatherland of a future healthy generation.

Ladies and Gentlemen! This new crime which Moscow has recently committed is one to which the American press devoted only a few lines, but it has struck crushingly every Ukrainian heart. It is an unheard-of bloody reprisal by the Bolshevik satraps who in time of peace crushed with armored tanks more than 500 unarmed women and men in the concentration camp of Kingir in Karaganda.

This has been revealed to the world by a Hungarian physician, Dr. Varkony, who was personally for 6 years in that concentration camp and was released, though he was an eye-witness of this terrible tragedy!

I wish to analyze some episodes of this account. Dr. Varkony asserts that during 1953 and 1954 in the concentration camp of Kingir there broke out strikes of the prisoners and in June 1954 an great revolt took place. In the beginning the prisoners struck in protest because the administration of the camp and the army of the MVD kept firing with machine guns at the barracks of the prisoners and often without cause seized them and placed them in a special prison of isolation or sent them by the hundreds to hard work in Kolyma. All these crimes were committed



against these exhausted slaves with the object of learning which one belonged to an underground organization.

A second device of the MVD of that camp was that they sent in 600 criminals and began to train them as their agents against the political prisoners and to incite the latter against "natives". These well known demoralizing tactics of the MVD were adopted so that the prisoners would fight against one another and destroy each other. This did not happen, instead the witness writes: "Prisoners of the 3rd camp, along with the "natives," some 2,500 persons in all, broke into the other camps where there were some 4,500 men and 3,500 women. They joined in a common protest and liberated 300 persons from the isolation prison. Thereafter the special army of the MVD massacred them. The drunken soldiers rushed upon the unarmed women and then killed 76 prisoners. After this reprisal, the prisoners chose from their own ranks a committee which asked for the immediate dispatch of representatives from Moscow to investigate the incident. Two days later two generals arrived from Moscow: Bychkov, a representative of the general prosecutor, and General Delgich. The generals called a meeting, at which the Committee of Prisoners presented their demands."

What were these demands? The peoples of the free world and every civilized man cannot even imagine that the prisoners did not have even these elementary rights of life. The exhausted slaves of the "Communist paradise" demanded from the representatives of the government: an 8 hour working day, instead of 15 hours, they demanded fair pay for their unendurable labor, they demanded that a medical commission be sent, that the bars from the windows be removed, and asked for more bread and appropriate food. Also they demanded the liberation of all minors, the permission of correspondence once a month with

their families, and the liberation of those who had served their term of imprisonment. The generals sent from Moscow, referred to the new laws and promised to satisfy all the demands of the prisoners and urged them to go back to work. The next day, when the prisoners returned from work, instead of the promises of the generals, they were met on all sides by the fire of machine guns and a bloody massacre. But the prisoners did not give in and started hand-to-hand fighting. In this, the Ukrainian women distinguished themselves heroically, for they advanced upon the firing line, singing the partisan song of the UPA. As a result of this fight the troops of the MVD withdrew from the territory of the camp, but they had already killed again more than 100 men and women. Then the political prisoners began to prepare for self-defense, while they carried on negotiations which lasted more than a month. But the Moscow generals even now treacherously used the period of the negotiations to summon from various places special troops and even airplanes.

On the night of June 25-26, more than 1,600 soldiers, armed with automatic weapons and machine guns, surrounded the camp. All the prisoners went out into the courtyard. At 3 A.M. tanks unexpectedly broke into the camp. At the order of General Bychkov, the army attacked the barricades of the prisoners who defended themselves with bottles and stones and then the heroic Ukrainian women took one another by the hand and with heads high, marched to meet the tanks, so as to bar their way. It was supposed that the tanks would halt before the unarmed women but they increased their speed and mercilessly crushed the unarmed women whose bones crackled under the tank treads, and the Siberian earth swallowed the blood of these innocent sacrifices. Dr. Varkony in his account writes that more than 500 women and men fell victims

during this (unprecedented) horrible, bloody reprisal. But the reprisal did not end even then, 1,600 men and 600 Ukrainian women were sent to Kolyma. The witness writes that the blood of these heroic victims could be seen on the ground of the camp for a long time. But after these great sacrifices, the regime in the camp was changed. The memory of the victims will be eternally bright in the hearts of the prisoners, fighting for freedom.

Ladies and Gentlemen! As you know, in 1954 the Committee on Human Rights of the United Nations considered the question of the Soviet concentration camps at a session of the Economic-Social Council. I attended this session and I had the opportunity to hear the extraordinarily serious report of the Head of the Commission, the American delegate Mrs. Oswald Lord. Mrs. Lord in her report presented very important documentary testimony, facts, and a map of the concentration camps in the USSR. The members of the Commission and other delegates of the UN issued an appeal pleading the slave labor camps to be abolished. In answer to this, the delegate of the Soviet Union, Saskin, at these reports, gave a shameful and scurrilous answer. He lashed out in anger, and declared that there were no concentration camps in the Soviet Union, but there were only "corrective camps," where prisoners and workers were kept under good conditions temporarily. More than that, he asserted that a person could be sold into slavery in America for five dollars and that even small children were working in the fields. Thus, at the very time when the Soviet delegate was reassuring the delegates of the UN in his scurrilous propaganda speech, the Soviet Government was carrying out bloody reprisals and murdering without mercy innocent people in its concentration camps. Some months later, in 1954, our eye-witnesses, former prisoners of the Soviet concentration camps, appeared with their testimony

before the Kersten Congressional Committee. They also tried to convince the free world of the horrible terror and merciless genocide in the USSR. But, as we see, nothing was gained by all these actions. Thus, our demonstration of protest must pass appropriate resolutions and demand decisive steps and the punishment of the Soviet criminals at the forum of the international organization of the United Nations.

Not so long ago Khrushchev made an announcement to the world that the concentration camps in the Soviet Union will be abolished. However, we cannot trust the Soviet Government, which wields its power over enslaved nations by means of terror and absolute control. An insidious plan may be hidden in this announcement. Khrushchev's new campaign includes the plan to level to the ground all cemeteries in Siberia of former prisoners tortured to death, and by such means wipe away all traces of Communist crimes. The present concentration camps, which have been uncovered, could be moved to other, more secret places in Siberia, and thus they could build up a new system of concentration camps in the USSR, which will again be unknown to the free world. However, the secret plans of the Soviet Government, and the new methods of the current Soviet internal policy remain, for the most part, unknown to the free world.

The death of Stalin and the transition from an individual absolute dictatorship to a collective dictatorship, and finally the 20th Party Congress, challenged radical changes and a new turn in the Soviet policy, which constitute the new Soviet sphinx.

However, it is very important to know what were the main reasons which forced the Soviet collective dictatorship to effect such radical changes in political strategy and why it took such a great risk by declaring before the

free world and before its own people that Stalinism and its methods, which dominated the Soviet system for 30 years, completely collapsed. The Party chief, Khrushchev, confessed before the world the great despotism and fear which ruled the Soviet system, and mercilessly tore into the cult of the person of Stalin, as an idol of international Communism. He also confessed the great mistakes committed by the Soviet Government, the very citadel of world Communism.

If we shall be able to recognize this key problem of the new Soviet Sphinx, then we can make a correct prognosis about the future development of political events inside the Soviet Union and also their methods on the international political scene.

Indeed, we should admit that something happened, some very dramatic crisis occurred in the internal political affairs of the Soviet Union (that brought about these events). There was no outside reason, because during the last decade the Soviet Union had the capacity to be in an aggressive position, with the rapid expansion of the Soviet economy abroad and indirect sale of weapons to the Arab countries. The Soviets are successfully testing nuclear weapons and have made great strides in developing their airforce. The chiefs of government, Khrushchev and Bulganin, completed a state visit to several Asian countries, and Great Britain and Yugoslavia. Probably, it was a very important and dangerous reason which forced them to make this change. I would like to point out some of the reasons which, in my opinion, played a great role in the change of the political tactics in the Soviet Union.

1) The Soviet Union experienced the collapse of Stalin's methods, and the peoples of the Soviet Union and their leaders realized that Stalinism was ultimately bound to collapse.

2) The great struggle inside the Kremlin. We should know that the beginning of the battle in the Kremlin, the maneuvers for positions, came even before the death of Stalin. While Malenkov and Beria gained the leadership of the Soviet Government in the beginning, at the same time Khrushchev already had gotten the assurance for leadership at a secret meeting of the Central Committee, just nine days after the death of Stalin.

There were significant signs, that both the Party's Central Committee and its ruling Presidium were split down the middle on the Stalin issue. And now great disagreements exist regarding Tito's political affairs.

Khrushchev's friends control the local party machinery in the Russian Republic, in Ukraine and Kazakhstan; however, he has failed to establish himself as the undisputed ruler, as Stalin did, who ruled with an iron hand.

3) But the most important reason for all these events in the Soviet Union, which are the most dangerous for the Communist citadel, is the constant struggle for liberation and mass opposition to the Government and Party by the non-Russian, enslaved peoples.

This is the key to the understanding of the current changes in Soviet tactics.

The national problem and economic colonialism among the national republics in the Soviet Union are most complex and seem to be the greatest weakness and "Achilles' heel" of the Soviet Government. At the 20th Congress this question was considered as one of great importance. Khrushchev, Bulganin, Mikoyan and even Mme. Pankratova declared that Stalin was guilty of: "an incorrect position with respect to the nationality question." They emphasized: — "Stalin undertook a whole series of reprisals against several nationalities and national minorities. . ."



This unsolved problem and pressure from the non-Russian republics finally forced the Soviet Government to make some concessions regarding de-centralization and the establishment of 17 various new ministries in the Soviet National Republics.

4) Ukraine, with its constant struggle for liberation, always remains a very dangerous place for the Soviet Government.

"U. S. News and World Report" stated: — "Opposition to the regime is still reported in the Ukraine, despite the executions and suppressive measures by Khrushchev." It is a very important fact that the Soviet Government was forced to proclaim this officially and appeal to the Ukrainian partisans before the 20th Party Congress, to lay down their weapons.

5) In May 1956, information leaked through about great uprisings in Siberia, in concentration camps in Vorkuta, and in camps near the Pechora and Yenisey Rivers.

6) Our press gave only little information about the riots in Georgia. There are witnesses who escaped from Georgia to Turkey and Iran. The Georgian press in France, published their testimonies in the newspaper "La Nation Georgienne." According to these testimonies, the capital of Georgia was for 24 hours in the hands of rebels. The demonstration began on March 5, 1956, but until the 20th of March, the railroads to Mingrelia, Chebsuretia, Swanetia, in the south of Georgia, were closed and paralyzed. The Soviet Government sent even Marshal Voroshilov to Georgia, who came by plane from Moscow, but he was unable to land on the air field, because it was reported to be in the hands of the rebels. This was not a protest against the de-Stalinization; the Georgians took only advantage of the occasion. The demonstrators carried former national

flags, and an old royal Georgian flag of the Bagration dynasty. They demanded free elections, freedom of religion and press, and the sending of a Georgian mission to the United Nations.

All these facts indicate that behind the Iron Curtain exists a strong pressure, and a constant struggle goes on by the enslaved people against their oppressors.

The free world could meet this great challenge and give moral support and strength to these enslaved people. Their heroic efforts for liberation are stronger and more dangerous to the Soviet leaders than the Atomic bomb. All the spectacular Soviet achievements in nuclear weapons could be brought to naught, if the ground under the feet of the Soviet colossus, undermined by the forces of liberation, would suddenly explode.

I would like to finish my comments with the following: If history does teach mankind anything, it teaches most of all that human freedom is a blessing from Above and is a greater force than tyranny. In my opinion, this greatest force, the striving for freedom, human rights and liberty, which always predominated in the enslaved peoples of the Soviet Union and has been awakened to great force, and which has exerted strong pressure upon the Soviet leaders, was the greatest challenge and the main reason for a change and radical turn in Soviet policy.

*Address delivered by Mrs. MARIA TURKALO at the Women's Meeting in New York, February 26, 1956 over the Murder of 500 Ukrainian Women in the Siberian Slave Labor Camps by Bolshevik Moscow.*

Recently that heavy iron curtain which separates the Soviet Union from the rest of the free world has been lifted a little, and more and more information has seeped through.

At first no one believed the news that we escapees brought back from the Soviet paradise. People who were accustomed to normal life could not comprehend that our stories about the life in our native country were true. Not only the Americans, who in general had grown up under the terms and provisions of the incomparable American Constitution and had never imagined such terrors could exist in the civilized world, disbelieved us. Even our own Ukrainians, those who had left their country years ago and had not known the happy life "under the sun of the Stalin Constitution," listened incredibly to the accounts of our frightful experiences and shook their heads in doubt. How could it be true that honorable and decent people who were faithfully carrying out their obligations and doing their own work in a satisfactory way could be arrested, tortured and even killed? Something was wrong with the story...

But slowly, very slowly the free world became interested. Gradually our voices were joined by the words of war prisoners who had returned to their own countries, fugitives who had by some miracle managed to "chose freedom," by the voices of American and other newspaper cor-

respondents who had succeeded in securing visas and had visited in the country that was formerly Russia, by the voices of officials of foreign embassies who had returned to their home country and by others like them.

The free world began to believe. People finally realized that life in the Soviet Union had actually taken on forms of terror never known anywhere else in the world: the exploitation of slave labor on an unprecedented scale, the autocratic control of unrestrained evil forces and the complete denial of all human rights.

Let us hope that the free world will soon heed the groans and the weeping of millions of unhappy people and will understand that medieval customs cannot exist in the 20th century. We believe that order will be re-established then, and the guilty will be justly punished.

But in the meantime, people have perished and continue to perish. Everyone of us carries in his memory a picture of a long series of innocent victims... How many have there been? No one can remember them all... But certain cases have been implanted in our memories as the most characteristic, typical of thousands upon thousands of similar cases. Time does not allow us to tell everything we remember, so I shall tell you only of two families, different in social status, yet destined for the same tragic fate. I knew both these families personally and you may be sure that my story is absolutely true from beginning to end.

As we know, Ukraine has long been considered the granary of Europe. From time immemorial, the Ukrainian peasants lived prosperously, worked intelligently and knew how to cultivate their ancestral land. They loved it above all else. From time immemorial there have been many rich, industrious landowners in Ukraine, with well-ordered farms, implements and cattle, all earned by hard, unceasing labor. Every normal country in the whole world respects such

solid citizens, for they form the basis of prosperity in the land. Not so in the Soviet hell. Immediately after the revolution, the Bolshevik leaders (the riff-raff of the type of Stalin and others like him) declared these landowners were the enemies of the working people and decided to liquidate them. And they did so mercilessly.

The family about which I want to tell you was, to its misfortune, one of these industrious Ukrainian families of the fertile Poltava region. In the very early days of the revolution, Bolshevik bands attacked the farm, robbed it, killed the father and drowned the mother alive in a water-filled hole in the street. On the farm was left only a married son with his family.

During the period of collectivization, the farm was plundered again. As we all know, the Ukrainian peasants constantly opposed collectivization and they have not ceased their opposition to this day. The nature of the Ukrainian peasant does not permit him to come to terms with this proletarian, communal type of labor. That is why the Bolsheviks began to introduce collectivization into Ukraine with such ferocity. They hoped to terrorize the disobedient peasants into submission. They decided first to liquidate the class of rich farmers, because these people threatened the greatest resistance and because they exerted a decided influence upon the rest of their fellow villagers.

The family which I mention was one of the first victims of this terror. I will not reveal their names here, but I can do so if necessary. The name, however, is of no importance — the fate of this family was shared by hundreds of thousands of families like it, whose experiences differed only in details, while their general lot was the same. Their names are legion... Let us call our farmer Mykhaylo.

First of all, the family was thrown out of its house. No questions were asked as to where they could go with their five children... The authorities simply came and threw them out of their home, allowing them to take some of their poorer clothes. Everything else they seized. The cattle and all implements were turned over to a kolhosp, and some kind of an office was installed in the house.

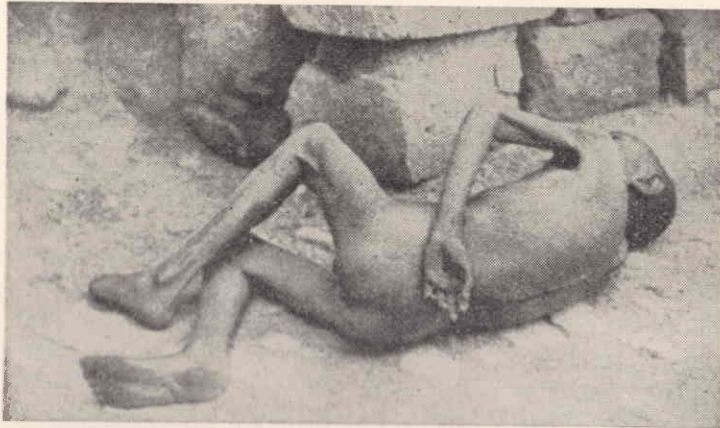
Do not ask how these unfortunate families lived! No one dared to give them shelter because there was a fixed penalty for this — deportation along with the "kurkuls." Only their closest relatives or friends secretly brought them something to eat at night.

Then the order was given that all such evicted families gather at an appointed place. With their children, who numbered several hundred, these families were taken under armed guard to a railroad station and forced into empty freight cars. The doors were sealed and the train started north. The journey lasted several days. Each morning the guards opened the doors, let the unfortunate, half-frozen prisoners out for a few minutes, then drove them back into the cars. The cars were sealed again and the train moved on. During the break, a pail of water and another of thin soup were placed in each car.

Finally the train reached a forest in the far north-lands of Russia and the prisoners were ordered to leave the cars. Snow covered everything in sight. The cold was unendurable. Saws and axes were given to the prisoners and they were told to build themselves a dwelling. What could the hungry and exhausted people do in a short winter day? They could only cut down some pine and fir branches and spread them over their feet. They arranged their belongings around them and lay down, snuggling their children close in an effort to warm the young ones with the heat of their own bodies.



The morning dawned with weeping and wailing. Half of the children had frozen to death during the night. Two little sons of our friend Mykhaylo did not wake up. The infant in his wife's arms, warmed by her body, was still alive. The two older daughters had also survived.

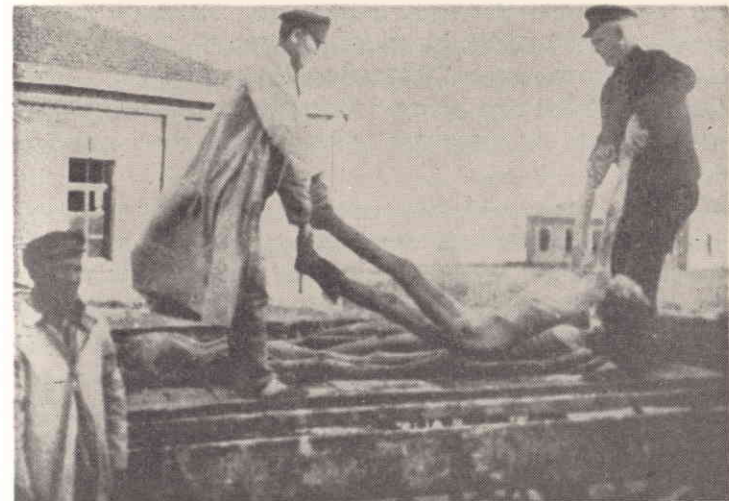


Victims of the Bolshevik-made famine in Ukraine in 1933.

With bitter tears, Mykhaylo began to dig a grave with his axe. It was hard work. When he had finished, he returned for the dead children. He picked up the two small corpses and carried them to the pit. Arriving there, he discovered two small corpses therein. Someone else, someone who apparently had not had the strength to dig a grave himself, had thrown into it his own dead children. Mykhaylo stood by the pit and finally laid in it his two little sons. Perhaps it was better that they should not be left alone in that distant alien forest, he thought.

There was no time to weep over the graves. He had to start building a shelter or by the next morning the rest would be frozen too. Out of fresh-cut lumber the men built a sort of barracks, the beginning of a new concentration camp No. X.

Mykhaylo's hungry wife had no milk in her breasts. The starved baby sucked all day and could only draw from



Bodies of famine victims being dumped off the death carts in the mass burial grounds.

her breasts a few drops of blood. By the end of the third day it stopped suckling. Forever. They buried the child somewhere under a tree. The bodies of those tiny victims still lie there, if some wild animal has not dug up the shallow graves since then.

In the middle of the barracks the hapless prisoners burned their belongings, counting themselves fortunate that the smoke escaped through a hole in the roof even though there was a great deal of wood around. By day the men cut down trees, split fire-wood and piled it up in heaps. For this labor they received a little bread and some soup once a day.

Soon a new sorrow came. The order was given to gather together the children who were still alive and take them to a children's shelter. Mykhaylo's older daughters were taken away. The little camp was filled with weeping and lamentation. Foremost in the parents' minds was the terrible suspicion that the children would be brought up as their jailers' henchmen. Yet what could they do? Armed guards, well-fed and warmly dressed in coats reaching to their feet and in warm felt boots, kept a close watch on the camp.

Two or three months later, a new party of people being "dekurkulized" arrived from Ukraine. In the group were people from Mykhaylo's village, who told him that his daughters, who had escaped from the children's shelter, had somehow reached their own village and were living there, begging alms from door to door.

Then Mykhaylo and his wife determined to escape. Somehow they eluded the vigilant guards and started out blindly through the silent, alien forest. They were caught, mercilessly beaten and dragged off to another large camp. There they spent some time recovering from the beatings and for a while they worked in the forest. They ran away

again. Again they were caught, tortured inhumanly and Mykhaylo was thrown into a prison cell where water lay ankle-high. When the guard was not looking, Mykhaylo's wife attempted to pass crumbs of bread (torn from her own miserable ration) to her husband through a crack in the door.

Soon an order came to move this camp to another locality. The pitiable crowd of tortured, hungry, exhausted people dragged itself along a forest road. Mykhaylo was pulled out of his cell and told to join the others. An armed guard encircled them, shooting anyone who collapsed from exhaustion or even lagged behind. There were many who fell. They were left there on the road, whether dead or only wounded.

Mykhaylo's wife saw that this fate was in store for her husband. In the face of misfortune, women have more endurance. For example, the men died of hunger before the women, and they always sank into deeper despair than the women. Very often the will-power which still flamed in the women helped their husbands survive some terrible moment.

So it was in this case. The hungry, enfeebled woman, sick and tortured, rallied all her strength and resolution. They must not perish! They *must* live, for somewhere in their own village their daughters were being mistreated. Mykhaylo himself told me, with tears in his eyes, how she dragged him along so that he would not lag behind the rest of the party, how she literally took the place of his feet which were swollen like logs. Weighed down to the ground with the burden of his body, she continued to drag him along, whispering to him to summon up his strength and not to fall on the road.

They arrived at last. She had found in herself the strength to drag him to the goal. Not physical strength, for she had very little of that, but strength of spirit, of nerves, the capacity and the resolution to endure and return

to her children. In the new camp they recuperated a little while. Summer came. They looked for berries in the woods with which to sustain themselves. They recovered their strength, waited until the swelling in their feet had subsided, and fled a third time. This time they were fortunate. By some miracle they managed to crawl onto a train bound for the south with a load of boards and logs. Hungry, fearful of revealing their presence, they lay there for a full week.

Somewhere in Ukraine they stealthily crawled out from their hiding-place at night and made their way on foot to the Donbas. There they found a lot of people who had fled from the collectivization raids in all parts of the Soviet Union and had come to this place where (they said) it was easier to find work and it was possible to secure some kind of documents.

Mykhaylo began to work in a mine. He and his wife somehow located their daughters and brought them to their own quarters. Yet the fear of discovery hung constantly over their heads. What they dreaded finally happened: someone recognized them and subsequently reported to the authorities. The NKVD came to the apartment where the family lived and seized Mykhaylo's wife. Fortunately the others were not at home.

Mykhaylo, informed of his wife's arrest, fled with his two daughters. There was nothing he could do to help his wife. Her unhappy life ended in the local prison, where she was shot as an irreconcilable enemy of the people. This happened before World War II. If war had not broken out, it is hardly likely that Mykhaylo would have remained on Ukrainian soil. The war freed him from the terrible anxiety.

The Germans came. Mykhaylo returned to his own village and began to rebuild his completely ruined farm. Then a new misfortune struck. His daughters, who had meanwhile

grown up, were conscripted for work in Germany and Mykhaylo was left alone.

The end of the war found Mykhaylo in Germany, whither he had fled to escape the all-seeing eye of the NKVD and to search for his daughters. I remember helping him write appeals to the Red Cross and to other institutions in an attempt to find some trace of them. Eventually he succeeded. Mykhaylo learned the address of the German farmer to whom his daughters had been sent to work. He hurried to this address in northern Germany, only to find he was too late. During the compulsory repatriation of aliens, both of his daughters had been sent to their homeland.

Thus the whole family was wiped out. Mykhaylo drags on a solitary life in America.

There were hundreds of thousands of such families in Ukraine. Hundreds of thousands of people were sent back to certain death. Their fate was almost the same as that met by Mykhaylo's family. Their only fault was that they had worked hard and by dint of hard labor had secured for themselves farms which riff-raff like Stalin coveted.

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The second family whose story I wish to tell lived in Kiev. Everyone in Ukraine, and particularly in Kiev, knew that Ukrainian public figure and writer, Lyudmyla Starytska Chernyakovska, daughter of the famed Ukrainian poet and dramatist, Mykhaylo Starytsky. There was no social or cultural cause which she did not espouse. She was a member of the Ukrainian Central Rada, the first Ukrainian Parliament, a minister of the first Ukrainian government, a member of the delegation to the International Congress of Women in Stockholm, Sweden. She was the heart and soul of the entire Ukrainian national movement for liberation.



When arrests began in 1928 in connection with the trial of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, Mme. Starytska-Chernyakivska's daughter, Veronika, was among those arrested. I became better acquainted with Mme. Lyudmyla at that time, and despite the difference in our ages, our friendship grew stronger. Each day we met at the walls of the prison with so-called "packages" of food. After four or five months of these daily meetings, I was terribly surprised one day to see Veronika Chernyakivska at the gate of the Kharkiv prison instead of Mme. Lyudmyla. Veronika had brought a package for her mother and father! What had happened?

It turned out that Veronika had been released through the intercession of the ambassador of her husband's country. Veronika was married, although she lived at home most of the time, and her husband was a German or Austrian subject (I do not remember which). Prof. Chernyakivsky and Mme. Lyudmyla had been arrested in their daughter's place. It made no difference to the Communists whom they seized as long as they destroyed those whom they considered undesirable.

At the trial of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, Veronika's parents began to figure in her stead. Mme. Lyudmyla was the central figure during the trial. For one thing, she was the oldest defendant in point of age, for she was then sixty years old. She carried herself with surprising dignity, giving moral support not only to her husband but to all 45 defendants, among whom were two other women. Against the background of general confusion, she stood out like a bright flame; she gave an unforgettable example of model behavior under such conditions, by her conduct and manner, clearly indicating that she believed in her innocence and cherished her ideals dearly.

The two Chernyakivskys were sentenced to five years imprisonment. Though the sentence was later suspended, they were forbidden to live in Kiev. This was revoked a few years later and they were permitted to return to their native city. They lived extraordinarily quietly. Mme. Lyudmyla withdrew completely from public life — something that was absolutely necessary at that time. She wrote nothing. I remember her telling me, "It is better to write nothing than to write against your conscience."

Veronika was their only consolation. She had remarried, and her second husband was a Soviet citizen. During the so-called Ezhovshchyna, Veronika was arrested again. It was a terrible blow to her aged parents! But Mme. Lyudmyla, always energetic and inventive, found in herself the strength to do something: she visited the NKVD offices and the prosecution offices; she made trips to Moscow, knocking at all possible doors in an attempt to get permission to see her daughter, if not to lighten her lot.

It was in vain that she spent her last ounces of strength. An impenetrable wall stood between her and her daughter. Veronika disappeared without a trace. Who can describe the despair of the aged mother? I cannot even try.

After a couple of years, Mme. Lyudmyla received an anonymous letter advising her that Veronika Chernyakivska was in the hospital of a concentration camp in Omsk, Siberia. The aged woman went in search of her daughter, to that Siberia from which there is no escape. She overcame thousands of kilometres of travel, overcame the Siberian snows and cold, but the decrees of the NKVD she could not overcome. Wherever she went, wherever she inquired, wherever she begged for information, she received but one answer: "There is no such person here." She was obliged to return home, broken and unhappy. Her husband, Prof. Chernyakivsky, suffered a stroke and died a few days later. Mme.

Lyudmyla was left to drag on a solitary life with her sister, Mme. Oksana Steshenkova, whose fate was almost the same: she too had lost her entire family at the hands of the NKVD. I could write a separate article on the fate of that family.

A little later it was somehow ascertained that the anonymous letter which Mme. Lyudmyla received had indeed told the truth. Veronika was in the psychiatric hospital of the Omsk concentration camp. Unable to withstand the tortures and abuse in the prison in Kiev, she had become insane and had been removed to Omsk. When Mme. Chernyakovska arrived at the camp, Veronika was in such a terrible condition that even the NKVD men desisted from showing the mother what had once been her beautiful daughter, despite the fact that permission for this interview had been granted by Moscow.

War began in 1941. Countless Ukrainians in Kiev were arrested. Shells thundered all around; the Bolshevik army began to retreat.

One day I met Mme. Lyudmyla and her sister, Mme. Oksana, on a street in Kiev. The two old ladies, who were inseparable, were running somewhere amid the confusion and chaos, looking anxious and lost. They were glad to see me and to learn that we were still alive. We too had taken refuge in the homes of other people, fearing to go to our own for there the NKVD awaited us: they were trying to seize as many of their "enemies" as they could.

This brief meeting was our last. Almost the next day the two sisters were arrested. Their fate is unknown. It was rumored that many of the Ukrainians whom the Bolsheviks had seized were shot at the railway freight station, since the fleeing Bolsheviks could not (or simply did not consider it necessary) to take these people along. Mme. Lyudmyla Chernyakovska and her sister (as the rumor had it) were

among the victims. But it was impossible to confirm this information. We could learn nothing, even though we and Mme. Olha Kryvynyuk, the now-deceased sister of the poetess Lesya Ukrainka, went to those places where the graves of the Bolshevik victims were being opened.

Thus disappeared without a trace one of the most important and respected of Ukrainian families.



Woodcut by Nil Khasevych

In many villages and kolkhozes of Ukraine the people were forced to substitute for non-existent horses and tractors to do the ploughing. The driver in the cut is the Bolshevik Party.

*Address delivered by IRENE POWZANIUK at the Women's Protest Meeting in New York, February 26, 1956, over the murder of 500 Ukrainian Women in the Siberian Labor Camps by Bolshevik Moscow.*

Reverend Fathers and Ukrainian Friends:

We are all gathered here by the conscience of our souls and by our obligations as Ukrainians to protest against the savage murder of 500 Ukrainian women in the Siberian slave labor camps by Bolshevik Moscow. We have to make known to the free world one more horrible and inhuman crime of the Kremlin. We have to refresh in our own minds the nightmare of Communism and the insatiable greed of Moscow imperialism. We have by a spontaneous and emphatic protest to help the rest of the Ukrainians who are being punished at slave labor in the concentration camps and prisons, to free themselves from death and destruction in the prison of nations, the USSR.

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The freedom-loving Ukrainian people who formed their state a thousand years ago, with a deep Christian culture and tradition, fell a victim 37 years ago to the atheistic, Bolshevik devil state. Ukraine suffered in the dawn of its history from the ravaging hordes; the Russian tsars exploited Ukraine and oppressed its people, the occupying forces of Poland and Germany have left their mark upon our people but the present Communist Russia with its dictators, Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchev, has surpassed them all with its present methods, first in the east of Ukraine and then in its west and south.

It is written in black and white in the Soviet *Small Encyclopedia* published in 1940 that Ukraine in the years 1927-39 lost more than 10 million Ukrainian population. What happened in the country of "flowering socialism?"

After mastering Ukraine, Bolshevism set as its task the denationalization of the country, its annihilation spiritually and nationally by trying to make of the many nations in the USSR a single red empire. Because Ukraine was the richest republic in the USSR and the second in size after Russia, Bolshevism strove to keep it at all costs. Because the people did not voluntarily wish this, Moscow Bolshevism entered upon the path of provocation, terror and the physical extermination of whole masses of people. It has done this throughout its entire domination and it is still doing it. This extermination has been carried on a grandiose scale as befits a regime dominated by the thirst for robbery, and so:

The Kremlin first purged the USSR from those "enemies of the people" who had taken part in the national struggle for liberation in 1917-18, and the clergy.

In 1929-32, during the so-called "collectivization," Bolshevism declared war on the rich peasantry with a slogan of destruction: "the destruction of the kurkuls as a class." In practice this meant the destruction of the Ukrainian peasantry, so as to turn them into poor hired laborers. This was equivalent to the destruction of Ukraine as a nation, for it was 70% peasant. Under this slogan Bolshevism destroyed millions of the Ukrainian people, including the poor, intellectuals and workers, women and children. All of these masses destined to be victims were sent to the snows of Siberia, where they perished of hunger, cold and disease. *With the bones of Ukrainian children and mothers, Stalin paved all the roads and leveled the ravines of the "unparalleled fatherland."* In 1933 the Bolsheviks organized artificially a famine in Ukraine. At that time



more than 6 million of the Ukrainian peasantry died of starvation. The Ukrainian people in this terrible tragedy were brought to cannibalism; mothers, driven insane by hunger, devoured their own children. *You mothers of the whole world, can you imagine the situation and a regime, when you could eat your own child?* That happened in Ukraine 1933. *Cannibalism, its production and its existence became the symbol of Bolshevism.*

In 1932-39, Bolshevik Moscow destroyed almost all the Ukrainian intellectuals, scholars, writers, artists, military men and political figures — tens of thousands of people, who constituted the educated upper class of the people, who were striving for freedom and social justice. After first submitting them to a terrible inquisition and such tortures as had not been known since the Middle Ages, the Bolsheviks shot them or sent them to prison in distant Kolyma or Solovki.

National patriotism in the USSR was and is the most severe crime. As we know, the USSR is a federation of so-called “republics with equal rights” according to the Stalin constitution and have national freedom even to the right of separation. That is in theory. In fact, if any republic wished to withdraw from the federation, it would be ravaged with fire and sword by its ally with equal rights, Bolshevik Moscow. Bolshevik imperialism rests upon the creation of a single totalitarian red empire, with a single administration, a single language, culture, ideology and policy. Thus the slightest appearance of its own will, in any of the “nations with equal rights of the USSR,” is stifled by terrible moral and physical terror. *Love for one's own people and country is considered as the gravest crime and is thus heavily punished.* In carrying out this annihilation the party clique does not spurn any means and there are no limits to its baseness, cruelty and cynicism. “The end justifies all

means.” At one time, to uproot religion as “the opium of the people” they shot priests and ruined the churches of God and from the souls of men they knocked out the slightest signs of the Christian religion. — Again to restore the Russian Church, in 1943 Bolshevism turned to religion and began to pretend to be the guardian of the Orthodox Church. The whole world may believe that Bolshevism is turning to God and religion — but we absolutely do not believe it. Before our eyes there are still the shadows of the tortured priests, and their bones have not yet decayed. Stalin made of religion a tool for his political machinations but true religion, the one that was rooted out in the USSR, will still exist.

In destroying people for no reason, the Bolsheviks packed the prisons full with people according to the formula: — “Catch the people in the USSR. It is better to break the ribs of hundreds of the innocent rather than allow a single guilty man to escape.” So it is not surprising that about 11 million people were in the prisons and camps in the years 1936-39.

The Kremlin is working for the basic elimination of our people for good and all, by resettling the young people, especially the girls, so as to populate the wastes of Kazakhstan. From press reports we know that the so-called January levies of the so-called “new soil people” were called hurriedly to remedy a threatening situation on the virgin lands, especially in Kazakhstan, where the wild experiment of Khrushchev was not succeeding. But Khrushchev did not consider himself beaten; he declared that the land in the Far East was much better for settling, so we must expect that Moscow will continue the resettlement of the deported persons, only by other methods — not by force, but by the so-called voluntary resettlement for rewards.

Moscow is destroying the Ukrainian people in masses by hard slave labor in the mines of Donbas, and in the depths of Asia and Siberia. The latter has become the centre for the

gathering of the banished. Under the hardest conditions of work and the worst living conditions, the Ukrainian prisoners and deportees are civilizing the north. We are learning about the conditions there from persons who have been released and the fugitives. We may cite, as an example, John Noble, an American citizen, who spent four years in the concentration camp in Vorkuta. He tells of the organized resistance of the exiles, who on July 22, 1953 started a strike which the MVD suppressed by shooting masses of the strikers. Here a great number of Ukrainians perished, but the editors of the *Reader's Digest* ignore this. Likewise the Belgian-French International Commission which is studying the situation in the concentration camps of the USSR on the basis of the statements of Soviet prisoners, has published in its *Bulletin* that from 1948 to 1955 there were in the Siberian camps 9 strikes which were organized by Ukrainians and especially members of the UPA (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army).

A crime previously unheard of was committed by the Bolsheviks, June 25-6, 1954 in the slave camp of death in Kingir. The people in that camp were dying of exhaustion, hunger, cold, and torture. To save themselves from a slave death, the banished people started a strike. The Bolshevik satraps, to put down the revolt, sent in 7 tanks and 1600 soldiers with automatic weapons. Then some 500 Ukrainian women, to save the men, formed a line, took one another's hands and made a human wall before the Kremlin tanks. The Bolshevik General Bychkov instead of heeding the innocent women, who were dying of hunger and were being punished in their heavy work worse than pagan slaves, ordered the tanks to advance and with their titanic weight they moved upon the Ukrainian women. "There was heard no crying or weeping, there was only the awfull cracking of living bones." So perished 500

heroic Ukrainian women and about 600 more were transported to the camp in Kolyma, none of whom returned alive." This was reported by Dr. Varkony, of Hungarian origin, who was a witness of this horrible murder and is now in Germany. This is an unparalleled example of the highest heroism and sacrifice in defence of their friends and also of Soviet devilish cruelty.

The facts show that the Ukrainian people are still in a state of revolt and are carrying on an organized struggle under the leadership of the UPA. It is logical that so long as great masses of people are in prison, the fighters for freedom and liberation will not stop their struggle. Without denying themselves and becoming soulless and obedient prisoners, they must fight on far from their native land, if not for their national rights, at least for their rights as prisoners, they must fight on, far from their native land, if their leaders are carrying on an all-embracing political action among the enslaved peoples in the camps and prisons. They proclaim the solidarity of all without exception.

Here let us ask ourselves, how do we stand? How do we appear, when men look at our political activity? How do the Ukrainian prisoners in Siberia estimate us?

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In this destructive process of genocide which is practiced by Moscow imperialism against the Ukrainian people, and which has been going on for almost 40 years, the Ukrainian women have suffered the most, for the regime demands of them the same as from the men, gives them the same norms of physical labor and deprives mothers of the right of caring for and rearing their children. The destructive blast is directed against the woman, because she is the one who gives birth to a new being, a new generation.

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The Ukrainian people have not bowed to Bolshevik Moscow. Since 1920 in our land a bloody struggle of Christian Ukraine has been going on behind the iron curtain, and since 1942 the UPA has been in its advance guard in fighting for God and for the national, political and social rights of its people. *An enslaved people is alive just so long as innocent blood waters its efforts for independence.*

It is hard for the free world to believe in the bestial acts which Bolshevik Moscow is perpetrating on peoples and nations while a fifth column of White Russians is working unceasingly to suppress the struggle of the nations enslaved by imperialistic Moscow.

Let us feel this! Let us not allow to be lulled to sleep our feeling for our dear fellow countrymen, who have remained at home behind the iron curtain despite the promises and propaganda of the Kremlin, for nothing there has changed except the tactics of the struggle against us who are abroad, so as to put to sleep our desire for independence and to make us unfeeling.

Let us reveal to the free world the horrors of Communism and the insatiable greed of Moscow imperialism, and let us gain friends for the cause of Ukrainian independence!

Let us protest against the enslavement of the Ukrainian and other peoples by Moscow!

Let us protest against the annihilation of the Ukrainian people by forcibly resettling them in Siberia and by slave labor and prisons there!

Let us protest the exactions from the Ukrainian women and the destruction of Ukrainian children!

Ukrainian women and men in America, Europe, Africa and Australia, let us unite in the struggle of the strikers of the Ukrainian and other enslaved peoples in Siberia!

Ukrainian women! Do not give in! Teach your children the Ukrainian prayers and the Ukrainian language! Nourish in them a boundless love for Ukraine and believe firmly that the Resurrection will follow Golgotha and that we will conquer with Christ!

Let us all unite in the spirit of a great United Ukrainian State, of an Independent United Ukrainian State!

Let us take our stand against the policy of co-existence as an evil policy harmful to the United States of America and remain true to the policy of liberation!

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## THE CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN WOMAN IN HER HOMELAND

*Address delivered by Miss YAROSLAVA TURIANSKA at the Women's Meeting in New York, February 26, 1956, over the murder of 500 Ukrainian Women in the Soviet Slave Camps by Bolshevik murderers.*

Someone has accurately named the borders between the Free World and the Bolshevik sphere of influence — the “iron curtain.” They have become a modern Chinese Wall, behind which, enveloped in secrecy, one-sixth of the earth's surface is hidden with its 200 million population. It being impossible to learn the truth concerning the fate of this populace, its life and its fortune, its cares and dreams, the new blood-thirsty rulers endeavor to falsely extol, by propaganda, the “happy life,” “worker's enthusiasm,” “spontaneous praise” in glorification of the leaders of the Communist revolution. While taking full advantage of the freedom of speech in the free countries, they themselves have succeeded in excluding any influence of the outside world, silencing even the ethereal word in order not to give the fateless creatures the opportunity to receive even this doubtful comfort.

For that reason, the news that comes through people who penetrate the loopholes in this “curtain,” at the peril of their lives, should be the more valuable and worthy of attention of the Free World. Why it has not received this attention, we will not pause to consider here. We desire only to confirm what the author of the words “iron curtain” either did not know or forgot to state that in

the system under bolshevik influences there exists yet another boundary which must be distinguished separately, and in the description of which the words “iron curtain” are less significant. Concretely, these boundaries are the cadres of insurgents in occupied Ukraine. It is not our purpose nor our object to dwell on whether and in what numbers there are spies of the free nations active in Ukraine, but should there be any, then assuredly the world would speak more and more truthfully concerning the fate of Ukraine and the need to give it at least moral support. The world would also learn that Ukraine is not a German Bavaria or an American Pennsylvania. For Ukraine has been struggling for centuries for its self-determination and human rights. It does not surrender its arms and is not capitulating even though the cannons of the last World War have long since ceased to roar, and the wounds in the World have almost healed.

Let us forget for a moment that we find ourselves in the West, forget our demands and complaints, but transfer our thoughts to the East — to our homeland. There we see the uninterrupted struggle of a whole nation and every individual separately, struggling with the infernal system, for self-existence. Because this existence, if it is to evidence independent expression, is imperilled by its own essence. All who refuse to humble themselves before the invader, all who even inactively evidence protest against the enforced will and refuse to be slaves, become the object of horrible violence by the angered, godless invaders from Moscow. A situation has been created in which an individual, whether peasant, laborer or cultural worker, knows neither the day nor the moment when he may be erased from the face of the earth. Traps have been set for them

everywhere, penetration through which requires great aptitude.

In defense of her rights and her liberty, her existence and her independent substances, Ukraine today is a warring country and a battlefield in her struggle with the oppressor. This struggle, regardless of place and conditions, is waged by all her nationalities. It manifests itself in all forms, beginning with passive resistance to armed political conflict. On the battlefield ever fresh victims grow daily, prisons overflow and in the North, and behind barbed wires, are echelons of those doomed to a slow, cold death. There is no measure with which to evaluate human misery. There is no criterion by which all sacrifices which Ukraine bears can be calculated.

In this struggle, the Ukrainian woman occupies a prominent position. In this brutal era she gives of herself one of the greatest contributions to liberation, from seemingly unnoticeable actions to heroic superhuman efforts.

First, we must emphasize here the Ukrainian Mother, who, with all due modesty, has become an example of heroism. Her magnanimous soul with a crystal pure maternal heart has become the oasis of relief and comfort for those who need these. She resolves life's most complicated problems in the spirit of profound Christian morals and human dignity. She alone finds the opportunity to rear her children to be dedicated national patriots, and, at the same time, preserves the high morals of a Ukrainian family. The responsibility of her mission is especially great when we consider the poisonous, insidious influences of the Marx-Lenin-Stalin education, after the dictates of the Kremlin. To be capable to inculcate in children the fundamentals of Christian morals, humanism, national awareness and human dignity within the system of bolshevik-Moscow bondage, is not the same as drawing

it away from the influence of cowboy films or assimilating influences of foreign lands. When, here, we have the opportunity and complete freedom in the rearing of children, educating them to be intelligent patriots, conscious of their origin, in contrast, there, you encounter an entirely different phenomena: the children become the property of the state, and the role of the parents degenerates to feeding them only. Not only that but the influence of parents is under constant control of the state and the party apparatus. Any evidence of the slightest anti-servile education of children is subject to the most brutal punishment. No need to repeat generally known facts. Under such circumstances, under conditions of uni-partisan school children, godless culture and barbarian incitement of children against parents, it is almost impossible to overcome the difficulties in preserving the child's purity of heart from the forced inculcation in them of systematic gangrenous ideas. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian mother overcomes these difficulties and does it successfully. We will not dwell upon her methods of education. Let us only observe the results of her rearing and in amazement bow our heads before this oftentimes illiterate mother. Because, how is it possible to explain the fact of high national consciousness among children who, with the first words spoken, know how to discriminate the enemy from children whom they can trust? What explanation can be found for the alarming communication to the insurgents by a five year old boy: "Uncle, Uncle, escape — kali," which, in our language, means: "Be careful! The muscovites are coming!"? How understand the attitude of a child, who can hardly speak, eager for all sorts of sweets, which its mother or the family can rarely extend, refuses to accept same from the hands of the enemy who by this method desires to learn from the child the secrets which are not to be revealed? How explain the de-

struction by school children of pages from textbooks in which are pictured the communists gods? How explain the self-sacrifice of children in the struggle with the invader, the invaluable services to the insurgents, and their ardent love of their native country?

Innumerable such "how's" can be asked but the foregoing will suffice to comprehend the sublimeness and efforts of the Ukrainian mother who rears such children.

In addition to this, she participates actively in the struggle, if only indirectly. Inquire of any of the insurgents of Ukraine, and they will confirm what every peasant woman means to them, because nowhere in the world will you find such dedication, such heroism, such endurance which the Ukrainian mother has evidenced, risking her own life, the lives of her family, her nearest. This is the Ukrainian mother's attitude: not only assistance with food or shelter for the wounded or healthy insurgents, but also active reconnoitering, liaison, giving profound sincere sympathy, and in moments of moral depression encouragement to continue the struggle. And the great unpleasantness she experiences because of this — agonizing shocks, apprehensions and torment — is difficult to express in words. But notwithstanding this — she irrevocably stands firmly on her feet like a Statue of Liberty. She is observed with astonishment by those who first experience her goodness, in the first place by the members of the underground. The unbreakable union which forged her fate and consciousness of mutual interest are the motivating power which carries them all to the heights of superhuman heroism.

But the role of the woman in the struggle of Ukraine for a better tomorrow does not end with this. There is yet a series of other methods of expression of her chivalry in our era. It would be an injustice if we would not mention those thousands of our girls who, living normal, moral

lives, sacrificed it in the services of the armed underground. In the dark of night, in snowstorms they trod tens of kilometers in order to scout out information about the enemy's plans, or strew the terrain with leaflets, or carried messages or notices from one insurgent group to another in dangerous territory. Exposed frequently to danger, or at best to ridicule and mockery by the enemy, or ravished by them, they do not fall into despair but obstinately continue on their chosen paths. By their scouting, connections or assistance in the garnering of food and clothing, or purchase of medicines, or care of the wounded, they have rendered hundreds of thousands of invaluable services. Innumerable examples of their chivalry can be given, but this is work which requires time and individual adaptation.

Even the enemy has comprehended the power and significance of these nameless girls, and has devised for them the most brutal and most base methods of punishment, too impossible to visualize. Forcing them to obligated cooperation by arrest and terrorism, the enemy simultaneously cast into the territory a mass of diseased Russians for the purpose of infecting the Ukrainian girls and in this manner transmit these diseases into the ranks of the underground. In this, however, the enemy was unsuccessful. Those, who were forced to sign the obligations, when returning from the prisons, declared their conditions to the insurgents. There, where the disease was most prevalent (i. e., Sokalszczyna, Kamianechchyna), the physicians from the underground came to their assistance. The bolsheviks not only failed to attain their goal by ravishing the most tender emotions of the Ukrainian girls, but to the contrary have found in them their most obdurate enemy. And even the exportation of girls to the Donbas, or to concentration camps for hard labor, did not break their



resistance. The Ukrainian girl became a convinced warrior, alongside those who are in the ranks of the insurgents.

When we speak about the women insurgents or underground, we meet here with women who sacrifice everything personal, women who have dedicated themselves entirely to the general cause. No kind of peril, nor fear will deter them. They are in constant readiness. Preparing the handle of the gun or ampule of poison, they are prepared at any moment to give their lives as sacrifice for their country. For long years some of them never saw either village or a warm hut because responsibility kept them in underground hidings. Others again fulfill their difficult responsibilities in the heaviest density of the enemy forces where the slightest suspicious motion results in defeat, and with this — sure death. Among the foregoing women you will find representatives of all territories of Ukraine. All of them are united by one ideal and mutual struggle.

In forest densities under tree roots, or in human abodes, under outbuildings, in dugouts in the ground, small



Member of Women's Sanitary Corps of the UPA  
among a group of Insurgents in the Synevsk forest  
Near Yaroslav.

and cramped, in pools of fresh blood and medicines, you will find an insurgent medical nurse. Composed, serene and gentle, she hurries to every call of the wounded, to give assistance. Frequently weary, without sleep, she finds no time for rest. Many of the insurgents owe their health and lives to her self-sacrificial care. Often, on this post, she becomes the victim of an enemy attack together with her helpless charges.

In other hideouts, typists sit over desks, preparing underground literature or educational material. Composing various leaflets or communication to the people, they know that their comrades will carry this material into the far areas of their native land, or perhaps even beyond its borders.

Concerning underground scouts, the revolutionist Martha Haj, in her collection entitled "People of the Underground," expresses herself as follows:

"I raised my eyes and saw those criminals near me. They sat leisurely and sipped wine. My eyes blazed with hatred. I gazed upon their hands and seemed to see upon them traces of blood" . . . Further: "I saw your new successes, comrades, for which I prepared a path. It seemed as though after each of your success I heard millions of breasts of our wearied people sigh easier. This sighing came to me as a reward. And then I understood that I could never tell my leader about my weariness, about my expectations" . . .

Among the insurgent women you will meet those already documented with successes and their combat competency. There where man can penetrate, a woman comes — to bury the enemy's nest with guns or accomplish an attack upon an enemy's official.

Today, all of Ukraine is speaking about the women insurgents. There is not a vicinity in which they have not



Sister Iryna, district leader of the Women's Net, in a group of the Section Mesnyk. Group on guard. Easter Sunday, 1946.

demonstrated their activity and effectiveness. Many of them have fallen in the path of thorns. Many of them continue to execute their unenviable fate of the insurgent without complaint or lament. The names of these women will go down in history. To mention only a few — in the province of Lviv — Hrizna, Marusia; in Ternopil province — Olenka Murashka; in Zhytomyr province — Lesia; in Wolyn — Walia Halia; in trans-Carpathia — Stepova Tetiana, Bohdanna, and many, many others, known and unknown. And those too will live eternally whom Commander Khrin portrayed so beautifully in his memoirs.

All could repeat after Martha Haj:

"As soon as I pass my youth through wild forest, where rarely a human foot trod, under wild wilderness and the calls of the deer, with a spirit which will never forget free ascent, accessible to others but which also belongs to me."

*Address delivered by Miss L. Brylevska at the Women's Meeting in New York, February 26, 1956, over the murder of 500 Ukrainian Women in the Soviet Slave Labor Camps by Bolshevik murderers.*

Reverend Fathers and my Ukrainian Friends:

I am very sorry that I cannot speak to you in Ukrainian but I trust that you will be able to understand my Byelorussian.

Madame Chairman, Honored Guests, Dear Ukrainian Sisters:

To-day, on the day of your mass demonstration against the savage murder of 500 Ukrainian women prisoners in the concentration camp in Karaganda by the tanks of the Soviet MVD, I, in the name of the Assembly of Byelorussian Women in America, bring you our deepest sympathy, our understanding, our solidarity with you and our confidence in our joint struggle against our common foe — Russian imperialism in whatever form it may assume.

The fate of our two nations has been and still is identical, and the fate of our Byelorussian women is the same as that of the Ukrainian women. In the days when the Ukrainian women were happy, so were we, Byelorussians. In the sad, dark days, when the Ukrainian mother wept as she saw her husband to far-off Siberia or sent her son into the UPA, her tears were shared by her Byelorussian sister for the fate of her loved ones, for they gave their lives that Byelorussia might live.

So to-day, on this sad day dedicated to the memory of the 500 Ukrainian women who perished in the camp in Karaganda, on the day of this mass demonstration, we, Byelorussian women, have come here to add our protest

to your voice and with one thunderous shout tell the free world about the crimes, the tortures and terroristic deeds of the Bolshevik occupant on the lands so dear to us — Ukraine and Byelorussia.

Siberia, Vorkuta, Kolyma, Karaganda and Kazakhstan are some of the huge cemeteries of the MVD. In these horrible cemeteries, Ukraine and also Byelorussia have laid their enormous sacrifices. In them sleep their eternal sleep our best sons, our glory, our honor, our innocent women, mothers and children. There even now, the victims of Bolshevism, the slave laborers, make their homes.

"My God, what horror is taking place!", — exclaimed the Byelorussian poet, Yanka Kupala. He expressed the feelings of his whole people at the time when the GPU was arresting and torturing in cellar prisons or deporting to the distant camps of Kolyma or Vorkuta the entire flower of the Byelorussian people — the statesmen, writers and poets. — "What horror is now taking place!", — we repeat after our prophets.

In the name of the 500 Ukrainian women who died heroically under the treads of Soviet tanks in Karaganda, in the name of all those victims whom Ukraine and Byelorussia have laid upon the altar of the struggle for national independence, in the name of those now in prison — perishing under superhuman work while they await liberation, we women gathered here call upon the free world to hearken to the struggle against the bloody Moscow-Bolshevik paws and to heed the cry of "fortune, truth and bread" for the peoples of Ukraine and Byelorussia.

I firmly believe that the hour will soon come when Almighty God will execute for us His righteous judgement and when (as our Byelorussian poet Yanka Kupala said):

*"There will come for our grandsons renewal there  
Where to-day the grandsire weeps."*

*Address by Miss OLGA TKACHUK at the Women's Meeting in New York, February 26, 1956 over the murder of 500 Ukrainian Women in the Soviet Slave Labor Camps by Bolshevik murderers.*

Reverend Father, Ladies and Gentlemen and Ukrainian Youth!

As a representative of the "Plast", the Ukrainian Youth Association, I wish to add our protest too against the cruel and barbaric deed of Communist Russia, the brutal murder of 500 heroic Ukrainian women in a Soviet Russian slave labor camp, who protested against the intolerable conditions under which they were forced to exist.

You, Ukrainian women, who were so brutally murdered, proved to us that no power in the world can defeat us. We will continue in the support of our kinsmen abroad in their struggle to free Ukraine from the Red regime.

We will do our utmost to help in every way. We do not want to see our brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers separated, dying of hunger and disease, enduring the hardships of the cold winters in the Siberian concentration camps. We do not want to hear the cries of hungry Ukrainian children asking for a piece of stale bread. We do not want to see our mothers go out of their minds wondering where their children are and what they are doing scattered all over the world. And most of all, we want to see Ukraine free. It is Ukrainian land and rightfully ours, for which we have slaved and fought for hundreds and hundreds of years.

You, Ukrainian women, have shown Red Moscow, that there are thousands of Ukrainian women, who will keep



on fighting and striving for the rights given to us by the Almighty. You have shown us the way to righteousness. In some way this cruelty will be avenged.

Our Ukrainian youth too will support every movement to liberate Ukraine, the country of our birth, and you may be assured, you heroic Ukrainian women, that you have not died in vain; that some day atop of your bloody remains there will rise up churches and sanctuaries and then our and your prayers will go to God from a free country, from a happy land, from a happy people.

In our hearts, you, 500 Ukrainian heroic women, will live forever. You will never have died. You will smell the sweet aroma of the Ukrainian steppes, you will see your children happy living and working on their own lands.

We promise this to you. Rest in peace and await the resurrection of your country, your old, worn out Mother which you fought for so bravely.

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*Mass Meeting of Protest held by American Women of Ukrainian Descent on February 26th, 1956 at the Ukrainian National Home in the City of New York, sponsored by United Ukrainian Women's Organizations of America, Inc., unanimously adopted by a standing vote the following resolutions:*

WHEREAS — by the testimony of recently returned former inmates of Soviet slave labor camps as reported by Radio Liberation and impartial international organizations the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics acting through its regular officials, guards, army and security troops has, on certain days of the year 1954 during peace time committed acts of deliberate and wanton murder upon five hundred Ukrainian women prisoners of the Kingir concentration camp in Karaganda by ordering heavy model T-34 tanks to attack these unarmed and defenseless women;

WHEREAS — in the armed action of Soviet tanks against 500 defenseless women the latter were brutally killed by the armor and steel tracks of the heavy tanks and their bodies crushed into the ground under the tanks; and —

WHEREAS — this act of the government and regular organs of the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics committed in time of peace and against unarmed women has all the elements of a deliberate and wanton act of murder committed upon the civilian population of a member of the United Nations; NOW BE IT THEREFORE

RESOLVED — that the President of the United States of America be requested to delegate the appropriate officials of the Executive Department and in particular the

delegates of the United States of America to the United Nations to present to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations and other bodies of the United Nations the facts of the above crime and demand that the United Nations conduct a proper investigation of all aspects of this crime against humanity and civilization.

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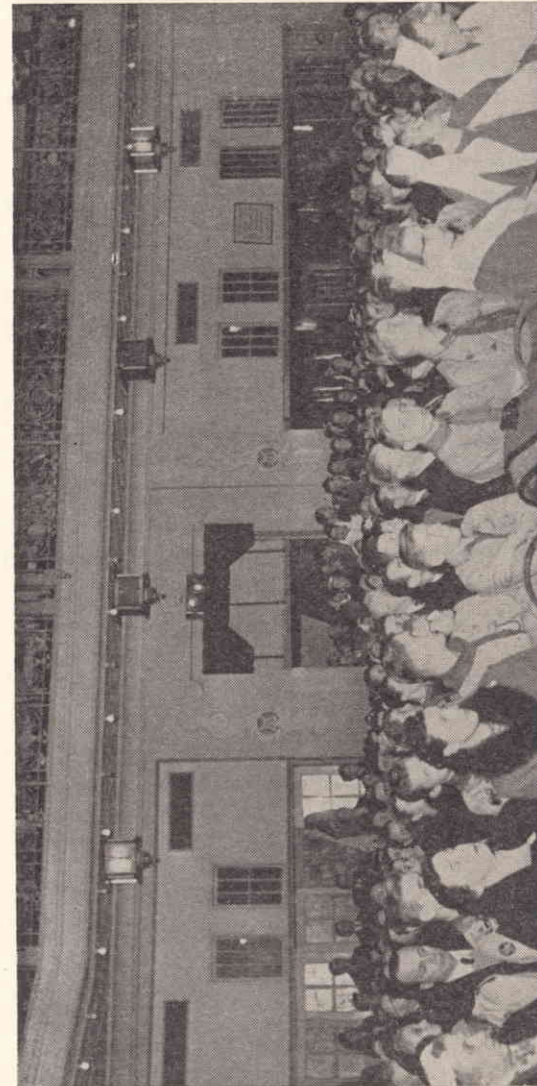
Text of telegram sent to President Eisenhower:

*The Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower  
The White House — Washington, D. C.*

*United Ukrainian Women's Organizations of America, Inc., at mass rally of protest held Sunday, February 26, 1956 in New York, have resolved unanimously to call your attention to an act of deliberate murder committed by Soviet authorities upon five hundred Ukrainian women in concentration camp of Kingir Karaganda by ordering heavy tanks against these defenseless women and crushing them to death. We earnestly request that this matter be brought to the attention of United Nations for proper investigation on motion of the United States delegate to United Nations. Respectfully submitted by United Ukrainian Women's Organizations of America, Inc.*

*of New York  
(Mrs.) Stephania Halychyn,  
President UUWO*

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Participants at Mass Rally sponsored by the United Ukrainian Women's Organization, Inc. on February 26, 1956.

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The first part of this book contains the speeches made at the New York Protest Meeting. These speeches of diverse text, showed how the Ukrainian nation fought against Communist oppression in every phase of their existence. They battled against religious persecution, against famine, imprisonment and torture, against exile to concentration camps, against economic and cultural oppression and against military reprisals. It is because of this all-around lengthy persecution that Ukrainians stand ready today to fight to the death for their freedom.

The second part of this book is based on a careful and complete study of eye-witness accounts and reports of participants in Soviet concentration camps. I have used either direct quotations from these books or have given short synopses of them. All sources of material used in this book are given to facilitate further complete research on this subject.

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## PART II

### CONDITIONS IN THE SOVIET CONCENTRATION CAMPS

*By* STEPHANIA HALYCHYN

It is only since World War II that the free world and the United States have become fully aware of the horrible conditions in the Soviet concentration camps in Siberia and the Far North and the tremendous role that they are playing in the life of the entire Soviet Union. This is in a way surprising, for the refugees long before the War tried to explain the horror to the rest of the world but their tales fell upon deaf ears.

Deportation has always been a favorite weapon of the Russian tsars against those whom they disliked. Centuries ago the desolate islands of Solovki in the White Sea were used to house those who had aroused the displeasure of the tsars. Then in the nineteenth century the whole of Europe was shocked by the revelations of the penal settlements in Siberia made by George Kennan. Yet it did not seem possible that such outrages could be practiced in the twentieth century and it was a hard task to convince the world that the system of concentration camps flourished as never before. Europe and America would not believe such accounts just as they refused to believe the stories of dissatisfaction and revolt told by those detachments of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which had cut their way under



arms to the outside world immediately after the ending of hostilities.

Yet the truth slowly began to penetrate. The era of good feeling when the Allies were trying to win Stalin to a policy of cooperation gradually came to an end after the war. It was succeeded by that period which was called euphemistically the cold war, even though this erupted into actual fighting in Korea, Viet Nam, etc. As this continued, it became clear to all that there was indeed an iron curtain between the free world and the world of the "people's democracy", the world of the Soviet Union and its satellites.

The result was a flood of books on every aspect of Soviet life so as to acquaint the people with actual conditions, in case World War III should be started between the two worlds. Naturally these books dealt with the nationality problems in the USSR, even though these were far too often treated in an unreal manner. Far too often authors treated the Soviet Union as the land of the oppressed Russian people, oppressed by a ruthless group of men who had seized power against the wishes of the Russian people and they made no effort to trace in detail the fortunes of the many other peoples included in the Soviet prison of nations. Even to-day far too many public officials still act as if these problems did not exist. They sought no remedies, even though Secretary of State Acheson declared during his term of office that Moscow had been for centuries an aggressor nation constantly invading and subjugating her neighbors on all sides.

Moscow has continued its efforts to conquer and destroy ruthlessly and relentlessly the nations of Central Europe and of Central Asia but at the same time it has not stopped its attacks upon the non-Russians within the borders of the USSR and it has succeeded in annihilating some

of the smaller nations, as Nikita Khrushchev has publicly stated. In doing this, he laid the entire blame upon the late dictator Joseph Stalin. Yet Khrushchev himself, even while he was saying this, was well aware that he had personally carried on the collectivization of the Ukrainian villages. He was well aware that he himself had destroyed some 7 million Ukrainians by the artificial famine of 1932-3 and that he had sent millions more to die at slave labor in Siberia.

As the West became aware of the real nature of the Soviet Union, it also was forced to give credence to those atrocious crimes which it had formerly refused to believe, the mass murders in Vinnytsya and in Katyn and in many other places. Khrushchev lays the responsibility for all this upon Stalin personally and he adds to it that the Soviet defeats in the beginning of World War II took place because the dictator Stalin had not prepared the Soviet Union to fight the invading Nazis, even though he had been warned they would attack.

This is again untrue. The Soviet Union was prepared for war but in the early days of the Nazi advance the enslaved nationalities forcibly mobilized in the Soviet Army refused to fight and surrendered by companies and by regiments when the Germans approached. These mass surrenders on a scale never before paralleled have been best described by the various German commanders on the Eastern Front.

The representatives of the enslaved nations who by one means or another have reached the free world have protested continuously to the West and especially to the United Nations against the inhuman ill-treatment and exploitation practiced in the Soviet Union. Their tales have been so shocking that they have not been fully believed.

Ukrainian political prisoners in the Soviet concentration camps accused the Russian Bolshevik regime of ter-



84

Moldavia  
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### AN OPEN LETTER

TO THE UNITED NATIONS, DIVISION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND TO THE ENTIRE CIVILIZED WORLD FROM THE PRISONERS IN CAMPS IN THE USSR.

*For the first time in the history of the U.S.S.R. and its concentration camps open letters from Ukrainian political prisoners have reached the free world. The letters written on linen were smuggled out of a Mordovian prison camp in 1955. We are publishing these two letters together with photostatic copies.*

*The Editor.*

We, the prisoners in the Mordovian special camps, wish to bring the following statement to the attention of the entire civilized world:

We Ukrainians are in favor of any movement whose aims are freedom and truth; we advocate cultural progress in all walks of life, and we stand behind self-determination for all nations, including the United Ukrainian State.

We have no desire to exaggerate the facts of the situation that has long existed in Ukraine. We do not ask for mercy or pardon. We demand our right to live under laws that should be recognized by the entire civilized world — the world of twentieth-century civilization. This civilization has been spearheaded by a number of humanitarian elements, from small groups on up through national leaders. They include the great world-wide organization, the United Nations.

Our Ukrainian nation, like a number of other nations, has come under the conquering heel of Red Russia. We have been driven into camps, with severe sentences of from ten to twenty-five years — not for criminal acts, as the Bolsheviks maintain before the rest of the world; not for

arson, treason, or murder; but because we, like every freedom-loving people, demand our lawful rights in our own land.

The question therefore arises: Does the civilized world know about the conditions prevailing not only among us prisoners, but throughout our country? Does the civilized world know that, when we have served our sentences, we are exiled to the so-called virgin lands of Kazakhstan, Krasnoyarsk, and the Far North — while they proclaim that it is volunteers and members of the Komsomol who go out to those areas?

Can the civilized world conceive of Ukrainian sovereignty without a Ukrainian government, without a Ukrainian army, and without the Ukrainian people? If Ukraine is sovereign — and she should be — why is there no army composed exclusively of Ukrainians? Why do Ukrainians serve their terms in the army beyond the borders of their country? Why are military units composed of Russians and other nationalities to whom the interests of the Ukrainian people are alien, if not directly hostile, stationed in our country? If we are traitors and if our punishment is just, why were we tried by “peoples’ ” or “military” courts, whose composition is certainly not Ukrainian? Why do we not serve our terms on Ukrainian territory, which was ravaged by the last war and is in need of reconstruction? Why do we have to work at the cultivation of wild, remote lands and forests, when there is such a need for our forces at home?

Does the civilized world know that, over the mass burial sites of the prison camps, new camps and cities are built, canals are dug, and stadiums are erected, in order to obliterate the traces of these crimes? In Abetz’ (Komi ASSR), Camps 1, 4 and 5 stand on former cemeteries. At Zavod 5 in Leplya (Mordovskaya ASSR) the first



and second polishing shops, the technical laboratory, and the forge were erected on human bones. Does the world know about the mass executions of prisoners who only demanded their rights as political internees? (At Mine 29 in Vorkuta, Attorney-General Rudenko was in charge of the firing squads). Is it known that in Kingir (P.O. Box 392, Colonies 1 and 3, Kazakhstan), men and women demanding their lawful rights were charged by four tanks and crushed by them?

Does the civilized world know that Ukraine has suffered starvation for thirty-eight years, in addition to the artificial famine of 1933; that Western Ukraine has been inundated by floods, and that the people have been condemned to death by starvation, with no hope of aid from "humanitarian, peace-loving" Communist Russia? This at a time when millions of tons of grain are exported abroad for propaganda purposes, when all sorts of foreign delegations visit model collective farms (special display models) and factories in the USSR.

In the postwar period (1945-1955), Russia has raised the level of light and heavy industry beyond the prewar level. This was accomplished by a toll of millions of prisoners. Those prisoners raised the issue of improved living conditions — an improvement essential for any creature that breathes air (after between nine and eleven hours of work in the mines, the prisoners were shut up like cattle in close, stinking barracks furnished with the well-known "slop buckets"). Some of these prisoners were shot, others were crushed by tanks. Many of them received additional sentences of from ten to twenty-five years and were put in jail, where they are to this day.

This is addressed to the civilized world of the twentieth century — a century of education and progress. We feel certain that anyone who reads these lines will experience

revulsion and contempt for the "just and humanitarian" Communist Party of Russia and the crimes committed against the nations it has enslaved.

We are not discouraged because we know that our will for freedom is founded on natural law, and we believe that the entire civilized world will uphold us in our course.

Bearing in mind the foregoing points, we, the prisoners in the Mordovian special camps, have adopted the following resolutions:

## R E S O L U T I O N S

### I.

a. A commission should be appointed for precise verification of the facts as we have stated them: that Attorney-General Rudenko and Deputy Minister of the MVD Maslennikov were distinguished by the cruelty of their conduct in Vorkuta and Norilsk in 1953, and in Karaganda in 1954.

b. The fact that Camps 1, 4 and 5 in Abaz' (Komi ASSR) and Zavod 5 (Mordovskaya ASSR) were built on cemetery grounds should be verified. Similar cases are not hard to find — there are forty-four such camps in this area.

c. We demand that the cemeteries be put in order, that the buildings and plants on them be razed, and that memorials be erected to the dead, as a symbol of perpetual shame to the Red slaveholders. Since members of all nationalities of the world are numbered among the dead, a special international organization should be established for the purpose of erecting these memorials.

d. We demand comprehensive social security for the orphans, widows, and parents (if they are not fit for work) of these victims of cruel injustice; also for those persons

and their families who have suffered complete physical disability in camps and are unable to provide for themselves and their families.

e. Since an entire family is held responsible for an offense committed by one member (they are all subject to exile, deportation, confiscation of property) and a man's grandson as well as his son may suffer because of an act he himself committed, there have appeared castes of "reliables" and "unreliables." The "unreliables" live under constant oppression, persecution and misery. We therefore demand that these people be given back their rights as human beings, that they receive social security, and that they be permitted to return to their countries.

f. We demand that all persons who have served their full sentences be permitted to return to their native lands. We protest the passing of sentences up to twenty-five years on a mass basis, because such a sentence is a sentence for life.

g. All persons who underwent a second trial and were then transferred from camp to jail because of their participation in camp strikes or in any other form of mass or individual protest against the violation of their rights as political prisoners should be released from jail and their sentences annulled.

h. All desert lands, pits, mines, and forests that became part of the USSR after their discovery or cultivation should belong to the nations whose sons and daughters worked on them and strewed them with their bones.

## II.

a. We demand the establishment of an international control commission charged with the fair distribution of aid earmarked for underdeveloped countries and for disaster areas (including the USSR).

b. We are wholeheartedly in favor of extending aid to all those who need it — regardless of their nationality, religion, race, or political convictions. But we cannot agree that bread should be torn from the mouth of the starving and sent abroad as aid, when it is really for purposes of propaganda. This is done in the Soviet Union, at a time when millions of people are starving.

## III.

a. Whereas every criminal act against the enslaved nations is perpetrated with the knowledge of the Politburo and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we demand that the entire ruling class of the Soviet Union be brought before international justice.

b. Yezhov, Beria, Abakumov and others, whose execution was ordered by the security organs in order to deceive people at home and abroad, cannot be held responsible for everything, because crimes against the enslaved nations continue to be perpetrated.

## IV.

We Ukrainians make the following demands on purely nationalist grounds:

a. All Russian nationals shall be required to leave Ukrainian territory. They shall not be permitted to return until such time as Russia abandons her dream of denationalizing, assimilating and eventually devouring Ukraine — until she ceases to regard herself as Big Brother. It is a distortion of reality and of historical fact to speak of "the union of Ukraine with Russia."

b. We concede the right of other nationals — unless they have been sent by the Russian Government for aggressive purposes — to live on Ukrainian territory, enjoying equal rights with the Ukrainian people. Russians may

live there only when they begin to be governed by general standards of morality.

c. As long as there are armed forces in the world, the only units stationed in Ukraine are to be composed exclusively of Ukrainians and under the command of Ukrainians; all soldiers and commanders not of Ukrainian extraction are to be withdrawn beyond the borders of our country. This also applies to the administrative and security organs of the MVD.

d. Anyone who violates the laws of Ukraine is to be tried before a Ukrainian people's or military court; if convicted, his sentence will be served within the national borders.

Note: We request that the citizens of the world be informed of this letter by the United Nations, Division on Human Rights.

We have signed with initials and pseudonyms, so as to forestall any possible consequences.

*(Signed by initials and pseudonyms of five deputies from the women's column and eight deputies from the men's column of prisoners.)*  
30/IX/55.

#### FROM WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS TO UKRAINIANS IN THE FREE WORLD

DEAR FRIENDS:

We want to take advantage of this opportunity to tell you in brief what the Bolsheviks say about you — our political émigrés of the last decade — in their so-called lectures and in recent articles in the press. We would also like to give the Ukrainians abroad who are not indifferent

to our fate some idea of the conditions prevailing among political prisoners in special Soviet camps since the war.

Lectures on Ukrainian affairs are delivered by important officials in the Mordovian Party, and not by members of the administration of local special camps. The main point in what they have been saying about you is roughly as follows: Although the number of Ukrainian political émigrés in the last decade has been small, the group is torn by dissension and split into many parties. They are politically shortsighted, and they no longer enjoy popularity among their people, whose support they have lost. They are not fighting for anything real — just for the capital letter “U”. The Bolsheviks cite the names of our most prominent political leaders abroad, calling them “the most despicable betrayers of the Ukrainian people.”

Lectures on Ukrainian affairs were recently discontinued. The reason may lie in the prisoners' dignified reaction to the Bolsheviks' tendentious distortion of historical fact. These lectures, held at unexpected times, caused us spiritual anguish. But at the same time, they were a welcome event, because they allowed us to think (correctly, we hope) that our position in international politics had improved and that the Bolsheviks were therefore intensifying their propaganda efforts in the pertinent direction. Political prisoners of other nationalities in the Soviet Union envy us without rancor, and they hope that we did not rejoice in vain.

Among recent printed works attacking us, first place is occupied in the libraries of the Mordovian special camps by the brochures of Halan (Selected Works, 1954), of Belyayev, and of M. Rudnitskij (Under Alien Banners). They are permeated with monstrous, unparalleled venom, bigotry, and hatred for everything Ukrainian and non-Communist.



Entire chapters in these libelous sheets are devoted to you, our political émigrés of today. Emphasis is placed on internal disorder, dissensions, the struggle for power, the lust for gain, and political immaturity. Our attitude toward all forms of Bolshevik propaganda is the same. We are convinced that the written and the spoken word in the Soviet "prison of nations" is hopelessly slanted. We firmly believe that, with the benefit of past experience, you will do your duty with honor — a moral duty imposed by the nation upon its political émigrés; that your years in exile will not prove to be time lost; that you are using this time to good advantage; and that you will return to Ukraine with your forces undiminished and with an awareness of all important theories successfully practised in Europe and the rest of the world, so that our nation may benefit from them. We believe that your long sojourn abroad will not diminish your longing for your country and that it will not make you want to live abroad for the rest of your lives.

And now a few words about living conditions among political prisoners in Soviet special camps during the postwar years. The basic features of the Bolshevik prison-camp system have not changed. Almost all of the special camps are located in areas where the climate is severe (Kolyma, Taymyr, Siberia, Komi, Kazakhstan). Sentences for political crimes vary in length from five years (for a single attempt, as they say in jest, at "suspect" thought) to twenty-five years in so-called corrective labor camps, and from fifteen to twenty years of penal servitude. In the immediate postwar period, famine, unendurably hard labor, and appalling sanitary conditions took a toll of thousands of political prisoners.

Again in 1948 a so-called strict regime was introduced in the special camps. The iron-barred barracks were

locked at night. Correspondence was restricted to two letters per year. No one was permitted to keep cash. There were penal barracks. Prisoners were not allowed to wear their own clothes but had to wear prison uniforms with numbers on the back; they were not allowed to take notes from books, to engage in handicraft, to assemble in large groups, and so forth. All this was coupled with twelve-hour work days.

The unbearable living conditions brought about uprisings in certain camp centers—Vorkuta in 1953, Norilsk in the spring and summer of 1953, and Kingir (Kazakhstan) in 1954. Over forty thousand prisoners of different nationalities took part in the uprisings. In suppressing them, the enemy used all kinds of weapons, including tanks. At the cost of several thousand comrades killed or wounded, we brought about the abolition of the stricter regime and the introduction of an eight-hour day.

In the last few years the Bolsheviks have paraded their humanitarianism before the world. They issued decrees that also pertained to political prisoners, but most of them were not put into effect on a comprehensive scale (the decree releasing invalids from special camps, the "probationary" release of political prisoners who had served two-third of their terms)! Following their release from special camps, prisoners can usually expect to be exiled to Siberia for an indefinite period.

In September of this year, an amnesty was declared for political prisoners who had collaborated with the Germans during the war. The official Bolshevik term for our nationalist prisoners is "Banderivtsi" or "Ukraino-German Nationalists", and the amnesty does not apply to us — another proof of the perfidy of the Bolshevik system.

For the sake of the truth, we want to say in conclusion that we hold the name of Ukrainian political prisoners in

deep respect and that we have, generally speaking, gained favor and recognition from political prisoners of the other nationalities.

God bless you, dear friends. Do not forget us, and keep in mind your return to Ukraine.

*Ukrainian Women  
Political Prisoners in the Mordovian  
Special Camps.*

Mordovia, 5 October 1955.

During the past two years, the Soviet Union made a gesture to the West and announced that it was now a believer in co-existence as a means of relieving or even ending the cold war. To prove its change of heart, it has released since the death of Stalin an insignificant number of foreign prisoners, largely former German prisoners of war and some other men and women of European nationality. These included a few citizens of Great Britain and the United States. These men returning from behind the iron curtain have given abundant testimony on Soviet Russia's infamous policy toward its enslaved peoples. They have told us about the concentration camps, the people in them and the long terms of confinement which have been ordered in the vast majority of cases. They have told us of the terrible conditions in the camps and of the frightful climatic conditions in which the prisoners are compelled to work.

Let us quote some of their testimony. W. E. R. Piddington, who returned from the Vorkuta camp and published a volume *Russian Frenzy*, wrote in a letter to the *Weekly Ukrainian Thought*, published in London in 1956, the following:

"My dear Ukrainian Friends:

I do not have the opportunity to write to all of you individually; for that reason I am making use of the Ukrain-

ian press to write you this letter. There is a snowstorm outside and everything is white with snow. This reminds me of Vorkuta, a Russian place of slave labor in the Arctic. Camp No. 15, Mine No. 4, Peresilkaz, Uchta, Inta, Karaganda and Siberia. — All these cities and camps subsist on slave labor. The majority of their residents are from your country — Ukraine. When I arrived in Vorkuta, it was your people who befriended me, helped me and gave me advice. They taught me all the prison tricks and how to conduct myself toward the Russian guards. I learned the trick of waging war the partisan way from former members of UPA... I know very well the object for which they are fighting."

I would like to quote an excerpt from his book *Russian Frenzy* published in London in 1955. In this 262-page book, the author describes his capture by the Russians, their system of trial, the life in concentration camps and his return to freedom. While in the concentration camp, he made close friends with prisoners of other nationalities particularly the Ukrainians. In this close contact, he was able to observe the efforts of the Ukrainians in their struggle for independence. In the book, he quotes the words of one Ukrainian soldier:

"I, a soldier of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, having arms at my disposal, swear upon my honour before the great Ukrainian people, before the Holy Mother of God, before the memory of those sons who died fighting, and before the Supreme Leadership of the Ukrainian people, to fight for the full liberation of all Ukrainian lands and their people from the grip of their enemy, and to achieve an independent Ukrainian State. In this fight I will spare neither blood nor life, but will fight to the last breath for complete victory over all the enemies of the Ukraine. I promise to be brave and intrepid in the fight and will show my enemies no mercy. I will obey all orders of my

superior officers, safeguard all military secrets, and be faithful to all comrades in arms. If I should betray this oath, I am to be punished by the severe laws of the Ukrainian National Revolution and by personal infamy."

A brave oath and a brave people! May they one day attain the liberty by which they set such store, — says Piddington.

At the conclusion of his book he describes the last night of his stay in the Soviet concentration camp.

"On my last night in a slave labour camp I slept extraordinarily well.

"I never before obeyed an order with such alacrity. In less than an hour I was ready and waiting, trembling with anticipation and greeting absently the numerous prisoners who popped into the barrack to congratulate me. An hour later I was told to relax, the train was not leaving until the-morrow. Deflated I sat down on my bed, fighting my disappointment. Then in came a Ukrainian friend, Petro Bolenko, to cheer me up with a song or two before bed-time. In twos and threes other Ukrainians, attracted by Petro's deeply resonant voice, pushed their way in and gathered round my bed. To round off a wonderful evening all the Ukrainians chanted in chorus their nostalgic partisan song, whose melody I shall never forget. The rich bass voices rose and fell in cadences so beautiful that the Russian guard who had come to stop the singing was openly weeping.

UPA IS MARCHING ON  
(The Marching Song of the Insurgents)



UPA is marching on  
The foe is making off  
The army of the heroes  
Will never, never yield.  
The UPA we'll not disgrace  
We will fight as long as we live  
For the freedom of all nations  
And the freedom of all mankind.

"At ten the next morning, accompanied by a Ukrainian prisoner and escorted by two guards, a corporal and a private soldier, I walked with the little kit I still owned along a railway track for about three kilometres to where a crowded civilian train was standing. We all piled into a carriage and eventually the train pulled out. It took us to a village station five kilometres from Vorkuta. There we



detained and marched off across the tundra until we reached a small hut. We entered. The Ukrainian was turned over to a civilian official to become a 'free' exile. He had completed his ten-year sentence, but he was not allowed to go back to his beloved Ukraine."

A German exile who had been released, after taking part in a prison revolt in the Norilsk Concentration Camp, reported the following to a correspondent for a Ukrainian paper (*Shlyakh Peremohy — The Path to Victory*, No. 43 (87), October 23, 1955, Munich, Germany):

"There are millions of Ukrainians in the Siberian concentration camps. In every specialty camp, Ukrainians form not less than 60-70% of the total number of prisoners. Whole families have been exiled by the Moscow occupant into these inclement areas and turned into slaves. The men and women are separate in these special camps and even the children work under armed guards. The Siberian concentration camps are overflowing with Ukrainians, predominantly from the West Ukrainian territories. They are all assigned to slave labor, 'sentenced for 25 years' and many are without 'correspondence privileges.'"

Another exile who also participated in the revolt in the Norilsk Camp, M. T., testified (*Shlyakh Peremohy — The Path to Victory*, No. 38 (134), Sept., 16, 1956):

"There are a great many such camps as that of Norilsk within a radius of 60 km. General Semenov, the master of the lives and deaths of more than 120,000 prisoners, administers all of them, amounting to some 384. These camps, in the majority, are filled with foreigners: Germans, Japanese, Chinese, Hungarians, Romanians, Poles, Czechs, Ukrainians, French, Italians, Jugoslavs, Caucasians and citizens of the Baltic countries. There are almost no Russians."

We could cite many other examples of the testimony of the freed exiles from Soviet concentration camps on the

Soviet policies toward the enslaved nations, and especially the role of the Russian people in this policy. Recent communications regarding an amnesty in the Soviet Union primarily concerns the criminal element, although Soviet Russia, particularly the collective administration, wants to convince the Western world that it is releasing people from the concentration camps, unless they are hardened criminals. In the letter which we have cited, W. E. R. Piddington states: "If all the political prisoners were released from the concentration camps, the Soviet economic system would collapse."

Moscow is aware of this but it also knows what it wants and is proceeding along the path that it has chosen to achieve its goal.

Soviet Russia is accomplishing through its system of slave camps two main objectives: First, it is trying to destroy, if not entirely, then as completely as possible, the best element of the enslaved nations by long terms of exile under inhuman working conditions and inclement climatic conditions. Secondly, it is striving to colonize those remote areas of Siberia, which are unfit for human habitation but are rich in essential raw materials, so as to further the cause of Communism in the world at the cost of several tens of millions of expendable slaves. Yet despite their efforts the prison which the Russian people have created and are maintaining only by means of terror will some day be broken.

We will now quote some extracts from an interview with a freed exile from Siberia printed in the *Shlyakh Peremohy — The Path to Victory*, No. 5 (101), January 29, 1956, entitled "They Conquer Moscow," reported by Lev.

(*Editors Note*: Among the freed German exiles are many who either resided in Ukraine, knew the language and customs and had many Ukrainian friends or who learned the

language in a concentration camp and there became more closely acquainted with the Ukrainian problem. Recently we met one of these exiles and quote here some of the questions which we put to him and his replies.)

Q. What is the percentage of Ukrainians in the concentration camps of Siberia and Central Asia?

A. In all the camps where I was, more than 50% were Ukrainian political prisoners. In one camp there might be more, fewer in others, but nowhere was there less than 50%. The number of Russians is incomparably less. A large percentage of the prisoners are from the Baltic states. The Ukrainians range chiefly from 24 to 70 years of age. It is self-understandable that there is the same predominance of Ukrainians in the women's camps. All the Ukrainian political prisoners have been arrested on charges of "political banditry." In the Ukrainian language this means they have been charged with supporting the Ukrainian national movement and the Ukrainian struggle for liberation either actively or sympathetically. The Ukrainians include people from all parts of ethnographic Ukraine. They vary also in social composition. The Ukrainian political prisoners contain no lack of Soviet army officers, who differ in no way from the other Ukrainian patriots. Many active Ukrainian fighters for liberation come from Kuban and from those Ukrainian families which have lived for dozens of years in Siberia, in the Far East and other territories outside of Ukraine. All Ukrainians, regardless of their origin, to-day form one spiritual community. Naturally the Russians see this and their reaction is an exceptional increase in zoological Russian chauvinism toward everything Ukrainian. This is the same among both the Russian administrators and the Russian prisoners.

Q. What can you tell us about the religious life in Ukraine?

A. First, I can tell you what I saw during my return trip. The villages, except in the western provinces, have no

churches. In the larger cities, God's temples can be seen but they are very neglected. As far as I know, the villages are without churches, also without priests and services. Services are held in the cities. In the West Ukrainian lands, in the numerous villages from which the priests were withdrawn and replaced by new Russian priests, the people frequently boycott them and refuse to attend services. In general, the peasants in the Western provinces of Ukraine consider that they have not changed their religion.

Among the prisoners, religion is very profound. The Ukrainians especially are very devout and so are the various Mohammedan nationalities. The Ukrainians set the tone of the camp life and for that reason religion has spread among the other prisoners. The Ukrainians observe, openly or secretly, all the religious holidays. There are many Ukrainian priests in the camps and most are Catholic. There are several priests in each camp. Most of the priests enjoy great respect among the prisoners. By their courage and piety they have won authority even among former unbelievers. Some of the priests almost never get out of isolation. They are punished for each religious act but they accept this punishment and continue to carry out their pastoral duties.

Q. What are the present political aspirations of the Ukrainians?

A. The Ukrainians of all their ethnographic territories, which, as is known, extend beyond the borders of the USSR, feel a greater national individuality than ever before and are aware of their capacity to form an independent state. The thoughts and aspirations of the Ukrainians have long since passed beyond the frame of nationality and autonomy. National pride and state consciousness is being strengthened and is spreading widely among the masses of the Ukrainian population. To-day the Ukrainians have become a nation in the full sense of the word. Russian chauvinism is only

fostering this profound process. The other nations enslaved by Moscow feel sympathy for the Ukrainians and always try to be the allies of the Ukrainians and Ukraine.

Q. To what extent is the population of the USSR informed on world events?

A. In general the population of the USSR is little informed on any subject, including world events. All their information comes from the Soviet press and radio. Their opportunities to listen to broadcasts from abroad are almost nil. First there are no technical possibilities, because the Soviet radios in use among the masses do not intercept stations from abroad and secondly, the people are deterred from listening by horrifying terror. During the whole period of my imprisonment, I met only two persons who accidentally tuned in during the "Voice of America" broadcast, but they immediately turned the station off.

Q. What do the nations enslaved by Moscow think of the future?

A. Speaking of the prisoners, they live under the impression that after the death of Stalin, the Kremlin superiors lost their authority, and that this can be compared to the actual historical developments in other empires of former times. All relief and amnesties are disregarded by the people — prisoners and civilians alike. They only observe the increasing antagonism which dominates the army and the army of the MVD-MGB. The enslaved people of the USSR have lost confidence in the outside world. This is due to their experiences during the German occupation and the effects of the Bolshevik policy of "co-existence".

The same paper, *Shlyakh Peremohy* — *Path to Victory*, in its edition of February 19, 1956, No. 8 (104) continues:

The terrible conditions for living and work in Kolyma brought the prisoners more than once to extreme actions.

There were three revolts and strikes and also several political actions.

The revolts and strikes in 1951 and 1953 were small and local and did not reach the same proportions. But in 1954 there came a political action on which the prisoners worked for months in preparing letters for the United Nations.

The letter of the prisoners to the United Nations was intended to protest against the Bolshevik prison system, the enslavement of individuals and peoples and to make this known to the entire world.

The prisoners learned about one of the discussions in the UN over conditions in the prisons and camps of various countries but no one mentioned this in the Moscow Bolshevik camps. So a group of prisoners in Kolyma decided to write a letter to the UN and to present and explain the terror practiced by the Bolsheviks in their distant concentration camps and prisons. This letter was signed by some scores of prisoners who were not citizens of the USSR and it was sent in two copies to the UN, one letter by the official channels of the Soviet postal service and the other was sent illegally. Naturally the Soviet post office was very "discreet", and in a few days after the sending of the letter a special commission of the MVD sought out all who had signed the letter to find the author of it. Despite the fact that they all confessed to being co-authors, the MVD placed in an isolation camp and tried only one Ukrainian, an old emigrant (we knew his name "Sh. P." — editor). He had been arrested in 1945 in Germany. At the moment when the Germans left Kolyma, it was not yet known what the Bolshevik court had decided in his case. His sentence could not have been less than 25 years and he may have been shot.



## THE GATES TO THE ENTIRE WORLD

The Magadan isolation prison was the most remote spot in the world, as the prisoners agreed. Any one who came there was there to stay. This has been confirmed by many prisoners from Kolyma.

Yet another gate leading out of the world is Sakhalin to which prisoners were also sent but from this place no prisoner returned to the mainland. A certain number of the prisoners on Kolyma were transferred there to work on the undersea tunnel which was to join Sakhalin with Sovgavanya on the opposite shore of the sea.

Still another "gate" is the island of Popyata on which the prisoners were building fortifications. These were the gates behind which the prisoners were working. How many of such gates are being built on various islands as fortifications no one knows for no one has left these islands alive.

Another of the liberated exiles, Joseph Scholmer, the author of the book *Vorkuta* which appeared in Germany and was translated into English in 1954, gives us a true picture of the Soviet colonial policy toward the enslaved nations. We consider it pertinent to give longer quotations from this book.

*"When the Tsar Nicholas I's advisers suggested to him that he should make the territory around the rivers Petchora and Vorkuta into a colony of exiles, he sent for a report on conditions there and decided that it was too much to demand of any man that he should live there.*

*"In the meantime the Politburo has replaced the Tsar. And Vorkuta now has an additional attraction as a colony for exiles. For this area at the extreme northern tip of the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Komi is capable of producing many million tons of coal a year, and the climate is so inhospitable that there is no other way of extracting*

*this except by forced labour. No one goes to work in the Arctic of his own free will. The mines of Vorkuta today produce about one-twelfth of the entire coal production of the Soviet Union."*

I had come to Vorkuta with some hope of being allowed to work as a doctor, but I was to be disappointed. In the three and a half years I spent in the camp I was never to be allowed an official licence to practice.

However I did in fact have a large and thriving illegal practice, for many prisoners used to come and ask me for help.

The two main illnesses from which the prisoners at Vorkuta suffer are heart-strain and tuberculosis.

There are no eye specialists. And as eye injuries from stone or coal splinters are often unavoidable in the pit, every camp is full of one-eyed men, victims of doctors who know enough to be able to extract an eye but not enough to be able to save it.

The most tragic figures in the camp are the sufferers from heart disease. The majority of the Soviet doctors at Vorkuta are so badly trained that they know almost nothing about heart diseases. In the three and a half years I was in the camp I never once found a doctor who was capable of diagnosing such a thing.

All the national resistance groups other than those of the Russians are characterized by two features: first, their uncompromising opposition to the whole Communist system, and secondly, their dislike of Russians as Russians. Ukrainian hatred of the Russians has its roots in a three-hundred-year-old tradition. In Poland the memories of the uprisings of the nineteenth century are as vivid as if they had taken place yesterday. The tragic collapse of the Warsaw rising in 1944, engineered by the cynical inaction of the Red Army, merely added fuel to the flames. Nor have the

Baltic people forgotten the days when they had to defend their language and their literature against the Tsars. The system that threatens them with annihilation today is also controlled mainly by Russians.

The Russian resistance groups themselves cannot in the nature of things be *anti-Russian* but they are in fact less nationalistic than any of the other national groups. The main plank in their opposition to the present régime lies in their demand for safeguards of the rights of the individual and for personal freedom. What they categorically reject is the system of dictatorship. They are unconditional believers in personal freedom, and are far more uncompromising in their defense of the rights of the individual than most Western liberals.

The Ukrainians were numerically the strongest group in the camp. They represented about 1,800 of the 3,500 prisoners. Seventy to eighty per cent of these came from the West Ukraine which was part of Poland until 1939. Lemberg — Lviv in Ukrainian — was their metropolis.

There are a number of reasons for the preponderance of West Ukrainians over East Ukrainians at Vorkuta, but the chief one is the fact that the Russians have already had a good many years in which to decimate or exterminate the political opposition of the East Ukraine.

It is not possible to make more than a rough estimate of the number of victims whom the Soviets have claimed in the course of their policy of radical social and national subjugation of the Ukraine, but the most conservative estimates of those old Ukrainians who have witnessed the whole process from 1917 onwards is about nine million. This figure is made up largely of the peasants who were arrested or deported at the time of the collectivization. An additional three million fell victim to the appalling famine of 1932.

I have often talked to eye-witnesses of those days or famine.

'There was no harvest because of the drought. The government gave us no corn. We had absolutely nothing to eat. In the end we tried to escape to an area where there might be more to eat than there was at home. But the government cordoned the whole famine area off with troops, and no one could get out. Almost everyone died of starvation.'

A Ukrainian officer said to me:

'Our country was ready to provide five million men to fight the Communists — all trained, first-class soldiers, ready to smash Communism as nothing has ever been smashed before. With these five million there would have been no withdrawal from Moscow or defeat at Stalingrad. Communism would have been a thing of the past long before then. But these five million had to be fighting for the freedom of their country and not just for another form of slavery.'

Today, the Ukrainians naturally feel themselves drawn towards the Americans for two reasons:

'In the first place the Americans are the only people who are in anything like a position to finish the Soviets off. And secondly, they've no interest at all in not giving us autonomy. They've shown plenty of proof that they respect the rights of self-determination for other nations. There's no reason to suppose that they would behave any differently with us.

'We want arms, that's all! Arms!' they repeat over and over again. 'We'll do the rest ourselves.'

Anyone who knows them, realizes that this is no idle boast.

Sometimes on a quiet night the wind blowing from the

gravel pits on the banks of the frozen Vorkuta would carry with it the sound of women's voices singing Ukrainian songs. Our Ukrainian companions were working there only a few hundred yards away.

# *Marziale.*

UPA Victory March

Arr. Ihor Sonewycky

We've had our fill of pri-son hells and tor-tures

trum-pets have sound-ed free-dom's hour has tolled

All our U-kraine now blaz-es with up-ris-ing

The peo-ple has-ten to our re-bel fold

March on March on, the battle is rag-ing March

on March on to our vic-to-ry March on. Make

read-y pre-pare am-mu-ni-tion, Our

na-tion now will be free. March on!

na-tion now will be free

na-tion now will be free



Sovereign Ukraine stands free and independent.  
No more will shackles bear us down, to kneel  
No more will ruins, bare and stark surround us —  
We will decide it, by our blood and steel.

*Refrain:*

March on! — the battle is raging!  
March on! — to our victory.  
Make ready, prepare ammunition —  
Our nation now will be free.

\*

The prisoners are allowed to receive parcels from their families.

This concession is made not on any humanitarian grounds but solely on those of economy. The more a prisoner's family sends him the less it costs the Soviets to keep him in the camp. I have seen a lot of these parcels. They give a good idea of the poverty in which most of the people of the Soviet Union live. For example, a parcel might contain two pounds of millet-seed, a pound of flour, and half a pound of dry unpalatable biscuit. The sender, the wife of a Ukrainian prisoner, writes:

'I wish I could send you more, dearest, but you must understand that I haven't got much myself. I am living on a collective farm near Omsk, and there isn't too much to eat.'

The Russian people, said one such man to me, has still much to endure. But in the end it will lead the world into a great new era. It will be the Russians whom the world will have to thank for the Communist society of the future.

A Russian teacher was sent for by the Commandant one day: 'You are a Russian! Won't you help us put a bit of decent Russian order into this camp and keep the Ukrainians, the Balts and the other nationalities in their

places?' The teacher declined the offer. The Commandant answered: 'I can't understand you. You know how important the Russians are in the Soviet Union. This Communism is our Communism, it is a Russian Communism'...

...Of the other nations of the Soviet Union there are far fewer whose political beliefs qualify them for the role of informers. It is rare to find former members of the Ukrainian or Baltic State Communist Parties in the camp. There was only one informer among the 200 Estonians in Camp 9/10, a fact which the others regarded as a stain on their national honor.

During the first three years of my stay in the Soviet Union I had experienced a number of improbable things. But it had never occurred to me that in the Fatherland of the Workers, the home of the victorious proletariat, I would live to see a regular full-blown strike. A strike of more than 10,000 miners lasting for several weeks with all the usual paraphernalia — strike committees, slogans, pamphlets, and, of course, blacklegs — a strike similar in every respect to that other historic strike in the Lena Goldfields Company's mines in Siberia in 1912, when the Tsarist police fired into the strikers just as the Communists were to do in 1953.

This strike would not of course have been possible if the underground resistance groups had not already been in existence. These groups were not formed specifically for the strike. They were already there.

During the night the underground strike committee, which was dominated by Ukrainians and Lithuanians, gave out the order that the strike was to begin the next morning. The heads of the individual national groups informed their own men. The instructions were not to fall for *rasvod*, i. e., to receive one visit a year from members of their families.

Immediately after the outbreak of the strike in Camp

7, the authorities issued the following notice to all special camps in Vorkuta:

1. The prisoners will no longer be shut in at nights.
2. The bars in front of the windows are to be removed.
3. Numbers worn on the left arm and the right knee are to be removed.
4. Henceforth every prisoner is entitled to write one letter a month to his family instead of two letters a year.
5. With the permission of the officer in charge of all special camps at Vorkuta, General Derevianko, all prisoners whose work and conduct is satisfactory may on application to and with the approval of the Commandant of their camps received one visit a year from members of their families.
6. Every prisoner has the right to address applications for the revision of interrogation and trial proceedings to the chairman of the special commission sent from Moscow, General Maslennikov.

When the strike did not end and the men still remained in the blocks, General Derevianko brought up troops.

The prisoners shouted: 'Go on, shoot! It is better to die than to go on living like this.' The Ukrainians sang their national songs.

The strike was put down in a bloody massacre.

We know many details about the revolt in Norilsk from a German who was liberated from there and was interviewed by a reporter of the *Shlyakh Peremohy — Path to Victory* for November 6, 1955 as reported by V. Lenyk.

At the end of 1953 the newly arrived prisoners brought surprising news — all the prisoners in Vorkuta had won for themselves new rights by a revolt. The same thing had happened in Karaganda.

Discussions began among the prisoners. The Ukrainians took the lead in these as everywhere. There were some pros and cons as to action but taking as an example this

heroic call of friends in other concentration camps, the number of opponents decreased each day. Finally the appointed day came, the first Monday in June (6.6.1953). White flags were raised on Camp No. 5. This was the signal for all the other special camps which were scattered more or less closely around this camp to begin the strike which had been agreed upon.

The NKVD and the administration of the camps still did not know the meaning of the raising of the white flags. They expected that as usual the prisoners would go out of the barracks for breakfast, but this time, when the brigades were to form to go out to work, a delegation appeared before the commander of the camp and in a decisive but quiet manner told him that that day the prisoners would not leave the camp for work and that they would not work until Malenkov himself arrived to listen to their demands, to remedy the inhuman methods of living; the prisoners wished an improvement in living conditions, the removal of the iron bars from the windows, the stopping of the closing of the barracks, and a change in the conduct of the guards so that they would treat the prisoners as people and not as dogs, the razing of the bunkers and individual prisons and in general the restoration to them of human rights, even though they were in a camp.

Some at once set to work to prepare daggers and knives, others fashioned axes, spades and hammers into hand weapons, still others made "grenades" out of empty bottles and filled them with chalk and later before discharge they added a little water and hurled them. These bombs at the first moment greatly aided the defence.

Gen. Tsarev, before approving or rejecting these demands, issued an ultimatum to the prisoners to go to work. The prisoners, however, rejected this. Tsarev ordered the tanks to attack the barracks. An unequal battle followed.

The prisoners with their primitive weapons fought against the attacking NKVD. The women especially displayed great heroism. Without arms in their hands, they threw themselves under the tanks in the hope that they could thus stop them and save their friends. The tanks moved against the helpless women and the prisoners, shattered the barracks and crushed everything under their treads. This massacre continued for several hours. The revolt was thus liquidated. Those who remained alive were gathered up, searched, sorted by lists and taken under guard to other camps.

About 1,500 prisoners were then shot. There were also liquidated several civilians who helped the prisoners during the uprising either by bringing information or furnishing them with arms.

The rest of the prisoners were taken to the concentration camp of Tayshet where new instructions were found from Moscow on the removal of the numbers, the taking of bars from the windows, permission to write to their families, and the payment for their labor or rather a "symbolic payment."

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## CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN THE USSR

### *Information Furnished by Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council in Ukraine (U.H.W.R.)*

The contents of this pamphlet are especially noteworthy and documentary in every respect because it was written by an individual who is thoroughly familiar with the subject of slave labor in the U.S.S.R., as one of the inmates of these camps, and it contains first-hand information from the people who observed these events and recorded them on the spot in the most unusual and realistic manner.

In this pamphlet are given all types of concentration camps, sections, units, localities, division production and all sorts of details. For instance:

#### 1. The Compulsory Camps.

The center of the compulsory concentration camps is in Kolyma. People are sentenced there because they have violated two articles:

a. Article 58. Political leaders are sentenced because of their anti-government activities and such, as traitors to the motherland. They are given sentences from 15 to 20 years. A 25-year sentence constitutes a life sentence in the U.S.S.R.

b. Article 59. Criminals who possessed weapons and committed armed robberies and murders. They are given sentences from 15 to 20 years, and sent to the compulsory concentration camps in Kolyma.

Practically no one comes back alive from these camps and no one except the Ministry of Interior knows their



fate. The compulsory camps are shut off altogether from the rest of the world. This means that the people are completely cut off from any communications with their families and deprived of all freedom. They do not receive any printed literature, newspapers, books, etc. They do not have the right to correspond with the outside world. They are forbidden to receive any kind of aid, such as food packages, money, etc.

## 2. The Regimen Camps.

The second group of concentration camps in the U.S.S.R. are the regimen camps, whose centers are in Siberia and Ural. These camps are densely scattered throughout the U.S.S.R. beginning from Volga in the west, to the Far East. The people here have violated various articles of the Soviet codes.

## 3. Opened Camps.

The third group of camps are scattered throughout the whole U.S.S.R. from the Volga to the West. These camps are in the open. Prisoners are imprisoned here because they violated the "state articles" of the U.S.S.R. code and are given small sentences from 6 months to 5 years. These prisoners are called "labor columns."

## 4. Special Organized Zones.

In addition to the above mentioned concentration camps in U.S.S.R., there are special organized zones where there are several hundred thousand and even millions of people who are deprived, not only of citizen's rights, but they are also deprived of the most basic human rights. They are forbidden to leave their assigned places of living, such as moving from one district or province, to another. They live like working cattle — always hungry, barefooted, and improperly dressed. They are people who perform compulsory work without any remuneration.

They have a love toward their own beloved country

and a hatred toward the Moscow-Bolshevik exploiters. This accounts for their being sent away from their homeland, as displaced and repressed persons, to Siberian and Ural barrenness. Through difficult compulsory work their last strength is drawn out, causing mass deaths. The greatest number of such displaced persons are Ukrainians, White Russians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Slovaks, the non-Caucasian and Caucasian people who refuse to be Moscow-Bolshevik slaves, and who are carrying on a fight for their liberation.

The above-mentioned concentration camps and special zones can be found throughout the entire Soviet Union.

Prison bribing in the camp is absolutely impossible as every prisoner is subject to a very detailed recording and severe control. Control is conducted daily by telephone, by having every separate camp unit in the evening give a detailed report to the central administration camp. The central administration camp reports the same day to Moscow.

Within the Soviet Union there are many heroic nations waging continuous battle for the liberation and independence. The largest among them is Ukraine with a great potential liberation movement under the leadership of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and its armed and well-led Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) and Revolutionary Underground (O.U.N.).

The most common misunderstanding about the Soviet Union is that it is a nation of Russian people. This is, of course, completely untrue. According to the 1939 Soviet census, and reasonable projections on these figures to bring them up to date, we find that, of the total population of approximately 202,000,000 — 91,000,000 are Russian and 110,500,000 are non-Russian. Thus, the majority of the population of the Soviet Union are not Russian. Over

54% are non-Russian. All of them are struggling for just social order and independence.

To carry this point even further, we should mention the fact that the Ukrainian Soviet Republic alone has 45,000,000 population which is approximately 91% non-Russian. Of course we could go further by giving the statistics of the other nations and national minorities, and prove that the Russian Empire, with the exception of two Soviet Republics, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Republic are predominantly Russian, whereas the others are predominantly non-Russian.

The tempo in the post-war years of the genocidal crimes of Red Russia shows that after destroying the small nations of the Soviet Union — the Crimean Tartars, Kalmuks, Volga Germans, and the others, Kremlin has now decided to destroy the great 45 million Ukrainian nation.

We appeal to the government of the United States and the whole civilized world to investigate one of the greatest crimes of Moscow in Ukraine — the mass murder of 12,000 innocent Ukrainian civilians of Vinnytsia — the Ukraine's Lidice, whose 66 mass graves were opened and examined on July 13-14, 1943, by an international medical commission, consisting of 11 European experts of medical world representing Belgium, Finland, France, Italy, etc.

Such is the challenge to America now. May we act in the spirit which this nation at its best has always shown, and may God speed the happy day when all men will be free and all nations, founded on the natural principle of self-determination, are formed into a world community of nations dedicated to permanent peace.

\* \* \*

We are not as well informed about the lives of the Ukrainian women in the concentration camps as we are about the men. There are many reasons for this and perhaps the main one is that among the returning foreigners who have been in the Soviet prison camps, there have been more men than women. This in a sense is natural, because the majority of the foreigners who have been caught in the Soviet dragnet found themselves in the Soviet Union as a result of World War II.

Nevertheless from the few accounts which have come out from eye-witnesses, we can see that the women have been treated with the same senseless cruelty as the men and that in addition they have to put up with the obscene advances of the guards and criminals who alone have won the confidence of the Soviet authorities. They have encountered the same indifference to their needs and feelings, they have similarly been overworked and underfed and like the men they have left their bones in all of the waste parts of the Soviet Empire.

Dr. Antin Knyazhynsky, who recently came to the United States, was a prisoner in the Soviet concentration camps. He went through at least 20 different labor camps during a period of several years. From the detailed lectures he has given in this country about life in Soviet slave labor camps, we quote just a few comments on the fate of women in the camps:

The women had a much harder time than the men: —

1) Though physically weaker, they had the same job to do as the men;

2) They had as great a number of specified duties to carry out as the men, e. g. the women carried on the same kind of work as the men, in the fields, in the factories, in construction work and clearing of forests. In one storehouse, a woman was ordered to carry 120 bags of wheat

(each weighing 100 pounds) from the camp to the train station within a specified time. Female sicknesses made no difference to the officials.

3) In the mixed camps (where there were men and women), the women often fell victim to criminals and sex fiends. The officials punished the victims in such cases, not their depraved attackers.

4) For the smallest crime, the women were punished as severely as the men, either shot or sentenced to more difficult work.

For these reasons, the women helped to organize strikes in an effort to gain justice for themselves.

The former German Communist Elinor Lipper in her description of her life for eleven years in the Soviet camps, *Eleven Years in Soviet Concentration Camps*, Paris 1950, has given us the following details of the miserable existence of these unfortunate women.

In 1944-45 there kept steadily arriving in Kolyma groups of young girls between the ages of 17 and 21, who were condemned for treason under Article 58, Par. 1 to ten years imprisonment. They were residents of Western Ukraine who were accused of belonging to the organization of the Banderivtsi.

They were caught and punished. But why did the Soviet officers break the collar bones of 17-year old girls at the examinations, and break their ribs with clubs so that they were spitting blood in the prison hospitals of Kolyma?

They died with a medal of the Mother of God on their smashed chests and with their eyes full of hate.

Later in 1946 there arrived women and girls whom the Germans had taken from Ukraine to Germany and who were returning by train to the USSR, glad that they were again returning home. (p. 239).

She describes the fate of one of these girls. When she was 17 she was taken by the Germans from Ukraine to the Ruhr. There she contracted a fever and cough and was compelled to go to the hospital. Then she was sent to a factory.

On her way home "she could not sing with the other girls" for she had tuberculosis. The group travelled in a flower-bedecked train but as soon as they crossed the Soviet border, they were put into the regular Russian cars. This train had barred windows and the doors were locked from the outside.

From this moment the girls were treated like prisoners, although they had been accused of no crime and had not seen any judges. Later in Magadan in a camp, they were told that they had been sentenced to ten years in prison for the betrayal of their fatherland.

In Novosibirsk, she met a Ukrainian peasant woman whose fate was like that of millions of her contemporaries. She had in her arms a five-year old child and an eight-year-old was snuggling up to her. Beside her was her sixteen-year-old daughter. This was enough to arouse suspicions, for she might have sold some milk or eggs to the Germans. When the Soviet troops returned, she was ordered to settle in Siberia.

With her three children she packed her miserable belongings and went to Siberia under "voluntary banishment." After some years, she became homesick for the fertile and rich Ukraine and so one day she again packed her things and returned to her native village. She was not allowed to stay there long and she was arrested almost at once on the charge of escaping from exile and sentenced to five years of administrative settlement in Siberia.

This time she was no longer a free citizen. In a prison train she was moved from one prison to another until she



found herself and her family in a still more inhospitable locality than she had been previously.

She had spent months on this journey. She had passed weeks in temporary prisons, waiting for convoys. Her children lived in dark rooms, looking steadily at the patch of sky which was all that was to be seen; they tore out their louse-filled hair and took turns watching through the peephole in the door to see when their soup would be brought.

Once a day they were allowed to go out in the prison courtyard for a quarter of an hour. Blinded by the dazzling sunlight after the darkness of the cells, the children dragged their way after the slave mother around and around, through the snow, hiding their frozen hands in their long torn sleeves. Then at the end of the time, the guards drove them back into their cells and locked the door behind the smallest child, and so they remained until the next day.

To add a note of bitter irony, near the prison was a sign similar to those everywhere in the USSR. It was a picture of Stalin with a group of children and the signatures beneath to the statement, "We thank Stalin for a happy childhood."

This is a true picture of the fate of those unfortunate Ukrainian women who for one reason or another were doomed to disappear from their homes by the savage commands of Stalin, Khrushchev, and the other leaders of the "paradise of the proletariat."

We have a more intimate picture of the lives of the women in the concentration camps given us by Julia Py-sareva in her account of her experience. The *Prison — Katorga*, published in *Ukrainskie Slovo*, Paris, March 25, 1951.

"It is hard for a woman to earn her living by the axe, saw or crowbar in a prison in the tayga, where in addition

to the political prisoners, for the most part Ukrainians, there are also brought together the offscourings of the human race, men who have been degraded to beasts.

Only two questions appear there in all their nakedness, the question of bread and the question of sex. Bread is worth its weight in gold. Every one of us would give half of his life for 400 grams of moldy black bread. For 200 grams of bread, or for a half pound of cakes the wretched women sold their bodies right and left, and it made no difference that she was 40 years old and the boy who bought her was 14. They were reforming the 'minor homeless boys' in masses.

We, the political women exiles, had with our own hands to earn those 400 grams of bread (a day's ration), so as not to be like the immoral and secondly, to earn the right to correspond with our children, who without their mother's words and warmth, beaten by need and despair, might flee from the children's homes and become such immoral and dissipated individuals as those whom we saw here.

On the fourth day after their arrival in this tayga camp, the women as well as the men were roused in the winter dark at 5 o'clock, formed into a column and forced to march 8-10 kilometres to the place of work. The men were set to work cutting down trees and the women were ordered to build a road for the sleighs which hauled the logs to the river for the spring drive.

The gray morning and the first day of prison began. The task of the various women's groups (each consisting of 5 women) was to build under the road a drain 40 centimetres in width and 35 in depth. Each person had to do 30 metres a day. We thought — this is not so terrible.

But with the first blows of the pickaxe we understood that we could hardly do 15 metres a day.

The cleared route was still fresh. Here and there

stumps had been left and the men who preceded us had not succeeded in getting them out. We also could not tear out from the soil the matted roots of the trees which had grown and died there for thousands of years, untouched by the hand of man. In places we filled up with stumps of trees the morass which soaked through everything but this helped little, for the heavy trunks worked their way down and disappeared without a trace in the swamp. We threw in also saplings, bushes, and branches for it was easier and they remained on the surface. Here and there, when it was possible we made primitive wooden bridges.

Not a little human sweat and blood had soaked through the gashed breast of the tayga before we arrived. Now it was our turn to rend the virgin body of the northern primeval forest with iron pickaxes, spades, cut it with axes and saw it with saws. The tayga stubbornly fought back. It retorted to us with clods of swamp, mixed with sharp pieces of ice. It held its ground stubbornly and resisted fantastically with its matted roots and stumps.

We threw down our pickaxes and cut at it with great axes, we dug it out with sharp spades, we tried to saw the unyielding roots. Then we went back to the pickaxes... And again the tayga spit in our faces with chunks of swamp and ice and the sweat flowed from us in streams. If we tried to rest, soaked and weary as we were, it bit our backs and faces with its frost.

The hoarfrost which formed on our eyebrows and hair, plastered our eyes and our noses, stopped our breathing, silvered our hair and eyebrows and we, so as to keep from freezing, began again on the body of the tayga.

Nearby the blows of the axes and the falling of trees could be heard. The tayga gave a dull groan and sighed heavily: "Where are you going, man? Are the sunny regions too small for you? Why are you piercing the body of the

North? Yet like a boring worm you too will perish in our toils?"

Dinner time came. The foreman kindled a fire, so that we could for a few minutes warm our stiffened hands and bodies and rest. Our faces smarted from the fire but our shoulders froze and we were trembling like aspen leaves.

We ate the rest of the 200 grams of bread which they had given us in the morning. We bolted it like hungry dogs and our stomachs kept begging for even one crumb more. But the other 200 grams and the half litre of warm *balanda* would come in the evening, if we completed our norm. But to complete the norm was an impossible thing for most of us. We felt the white death clawing us with its invisible but stout wood claws. Our "*native land*" was spending on our death less than the men of Hitler. They choked us with gases, burned us in furnaces and here nature itself, only not in the eyes of the world, was doing the same thing with us. And our "*native land*" along with the Communist Party was washing its hands and saying: "We are not to blame. We care for people better than any one else in the world. We are only retraining them."

So Julia Pysareva tracks out the course of the day for these wretched women. She pictures the fatigue and weariness with which they dragged themselves back the 819 kilometres to their miserable uninhabitable shacks where they had to live and she describes the poorly heated and dimly lighted quarters in which they threw themselves down to sleep, only to be roused again before dawn to resume the stubborn battle with the northern wilderness.

She goes on to describe the motives and the despair of the women. Some were working in the hope that they might soon meet death; others wanted to live to serve out their time. She herself, well aware that her health would never stand the hard labor, finally insisted upon a lighter

assignment. She was made a servant in the officer's quarters along with most of the immoral women and the weaker political prisoners.

Elsewhere, Julia Pysareva writes:

"Wherever you look — human misfortune. Here in the corner of a cellar, ragged, aged, undernourished, wrinkled like baked apples — are grandmothers. Hair — white as snow. Eyes — tearful, almost sightless. Mouths — toothless, mothers and wives of former kurkuls or of those who did not fulfill the norm or plan of the kolkhoz. Formerly, they lived as independent farmers and refused to join the kolkhoz.

In 1929, the so-called kurkuls, wealthy or insubordinate farming families were exiled to the north en masse. More than half of the members of these families perished from cold and hunger during the first year of their exile, and those who persevered, having served their terms of exile, scattered throughout various factories, paper and lumber mills. Here they all worked diligently. But the unsleeping eye of the NKVD continuously followed them, and like Marko Proklyatyj who carried with him bloody heads in a bag and couldn't get rid of them, in like manner these former exiles carried the brand of their former prosperity, and, due to the NKVD, could not get rid of it.

In 1937 the Secret Three of the NKVD again arrested them because they had been previously sentenced; therefore, "of doubtful loyalty," these unfortunate people, receiving 10 to 15 years at hard labor, found themselves in "Slave Camps without any privileges." The younger element worked, but the older people spent the rest of their lives in empty cellars, in stench, hunger and cold, amid eternal screams and indecent "thieves." Those who labored and those who spent their time in the cellars were very reticent and self-contained. Perhaps they could not

find words of enthusiasm for the new Stalin Constitution which so ingeniously carried out the security plans for the aged. These human, speechless shadows called upon heaven for revenge.

"There were days when there was no bread. But we had to go to work for our slightest protest was treated as a revolt and so as not to receive 5-10 years more, we clenched our teeth, tightened our belts, and went to work. Whether we had bread or not, the norm had to be completed. It was still worse when there was no salt. Then instead of the *balanda* they usually boiled dumplings of black barley meal. Actually it was a great piece of good fortune to find a couple of blue dumplings in this filthy liquid. Disregarding the very pleasant odor of the dumplings, we poured down the liquid, for it was not salted. There were days when there was neither bread nor salt, merely a bluish *balanda*. On the evening of one such day I returned to the zone a little earlier so as not to walk with the scum. They gave some women permits and they could walk to their work without a guard and also sometimes go out of the zone. I had one of these permits.

The evening was coming on and it was growing colder. I walked along in deep thought, passing many tracks of wild animals on the snow and the bloody remains of feathers left from some nocturnal feast. Some large black birds with long necks were sitting immovable on the black branches of a fir tree just like our guards on the towers of the zone. All around it was cold and silent. The ghastly silence was broken only by the sudden creaking of the trees which were crackling in the cold. Before me appeared like a white spectre an icy mound. It was a warm spring here in this land of cold and frosts. Somehow from the depths of the earth the hot water bubbled up and then becoming chilled, it froze at once. But the warm stream



kept on coming and flowing out and freezing, it formed this extraordinary mass of ice which grew in size from day to day.

The place was uninhabited and a wilderness, wild unpleasant, cold and it was still 7-8 kilometres to the zone. From a side path emerged a short conical figure of our new master, a free hired man. I think he was a Karelian, for his speech was very singsong and slow. He walked up to me but on the other side. I already could see clearly his large square face and his little black eyes.

— Where are you going, madame? — he asked.

— To the zone — I answered.

— Have you completed your norm? — he drawled in his singsong tone.

I was furious. He did not ask me: Aren't you frozen, woman, or aren't you black from the cold, like the earth, or — aren't you afraid to walk at night in the inhospitable tayga? No, he simply asked me about the norm. Some devil went into my tongue and I yelled back to him:

— Not only one, but two.

Like a fool he believed me, for he smiled pleasantly and showed his large, yellow teeth as he said: — That is very good. Very good — and he walked over to my side of the path.

— Devil take him, — I thought. — If I could only complete one norm it would be fine, and he would like to have me do two.

He greeted me and as he did so, he asked where I worked and where I was from. I answered:

— I am from Ukraine, where the wheat grows like the woods here.

— How do you like our region? — he asked again.

— Very much — I answered. — So much that I am thinking of hanging myself on some fir or birch.

— Why? Why think of that? Just work on so well. Just work.

May a hundred devils burn your mother in the stove! — The thought flashed up in me. Then he left me. I walked more rapidly, for I could hear the wild cries and the whistles of the depraved men who with horses and sleighs were returning from the woods. On the way they had picked up some women and girls in their sleigh and hugging them, they were driving like mad to the zone. Sometimes they made propositions to me but I did not have the slightest desire to kiss and hug these wretches and the speculating nepmen.

When the truth about the two norms came out, the new master along with Chukhin called me an S-R. Why they identified me with SR's (Socialist Revolutionaries) I do not know."

*Socialistic Herald*, New York, June 1954, No. 6 (671). Article by Brigitta Herland. Describes in detail the trek to Vorkuta in the Soviet Arctic and the difference between Ukrainian women and other nationalities incarcerated there.

"Along the entire road which extends approximately 1000 kilometres, not one village or city is visible, and the further you go the more frequently blink uninterrupted enclosures, watchtowers, tall wooden blocks and small wooden barracks pressed to the ground. These are the camps for prisoners. How many of them — no one knows.

Two months of the year, the tundra becomes verdant and blossoms. There is a particular beauty in this but for the prisoners this means millions of mosquitoes and various other pests, which live in this terrain, which plague the human body and destroy half its life. During the rest of the ten months, the tundra is covered entirely with snow, as though sleeping. In the middle of this endless area

lies the "metropolis" of the Soviet Arctic — the City of Vorkut.

Vorkut welcomed me with icy coldness. A strong wind pushed us over the snow-mounds, in which we floundered up to our waists. On the horizon the guard turrets towered like bird cages in dark silhouettes.

From time to time the icy wind forcibly struck our faces and hampered our respiration. With difficulty we dragged our feet and crawled forward step by step. Suddenly it began to snow heavily. Its density blinded our sight and made walking more difficult. Suddenly, we halted. They counted every one of us and within a short time led us into a new "building," one of those cold, crude, wooden globes.

At the entrance stood a few officers in fur coats, the representative of the camp and a doctor. We entered the designated room, into which we carried a lot of snow which clung tightly to our feet. We were struck by the heat, light and crowd in the room. Some of the women sat at the table and conversed; others knelt and prayed devoutly and still others sang.

I observed beds around the wall and many of them appeared to be clean, some decorated high with feather-beds. I was surprised but in time I found out that these decorative, clean beds belonged to women from Western Ukraine and the bare ones to women from Moscow. I emphasize that this condition depended upon the Ukrainian women, who, after their regular daily work, toiled over their personal belongings. They wanted to appear better than the women of other nationalities, because, for example, the women from Moscow, in their spare moments, ordinarily occupied themselves with idle chatter, etc.

#### SUNDAY IN VORKUTA

Extracts from articles in German-published *Our Life*, in Philadelphia, September, October 1956 by Walli Schluss.

There were not many of them for us. Of course in the calendar they kept occurring but not for us, prisoners "of the base". If a train came in on Sunday, and this often happened, we had to unload the cars on that day. Then Sunday became an ordinary working day, although we marked it with a prayer. It is true, we were free then in the week to take a day off but the brigade had to work and so they gave leaves to only a few persons. This was not the same thing as an ordinary Sunday.

On Sunday all tried to dress up. In the beginning we were allowed to wear only the prison clothes, but each one tried to fix her hair more beautifully and to press her wrinkled clothes. When we were allowed to wear our own clothes, the women put on their finest on Sunday. I liked best the Ukrainian women who always wore something embroidered. You could not even imagine them on Sunday or a holiday without something embroidered or some article of folk costume.

All hurried to be finished by 12 o'clock. Then we went to pray or, as it was put, to "Divine Service." This was not really the Divine Service but a joint prayer service in one of the barracks. Usually it was arranged so that in some barracks the confessional groups met and said their prayers together. Since this was done secretly, every Sunday they changed the barracks and the groups, so as not to call attention of the authorities to our meetings. We prayed silently before a medal or an icon, which some one had been able to preserve.

## PRAYER IN VORKUTA

This varied. Sometimes the regime became stricter and the persecution was sharpened. Then we could not have a joint prayer service. We were punished for it, thrown into the karzer (special cell), and deprived of the right of correspondence. In searches they confiscated rosaries and icons and took away prayer books.

But no one could take away the prayers. Even in the times of the "stiffened regime" we prayed silently in the barracks. Some one covered his cot with a woolen cloth and lighted a candle. Only the silence showed that something was going on. The lips moved inaudibly and the rosaries were fingered in our hands.

A prayerbook was a great rarity. At the same time it was highly treasured, for from it we could read prayers. This was very important for those who were praying together and gave a slight feeling of being in church. Usually one of the intellectual Ukrainian women led the joint prayers. In our barracks the one was a woman about 50 years old. I took no part in these prayers but I often stood on guard for my friends. We always had to be ready!

Besides this the Ukrainian women wore on their necks a little cross made out of pieces of bone. These crosses were made by fellow prisoners and sent to us as gifts before a holy day just like the letters.

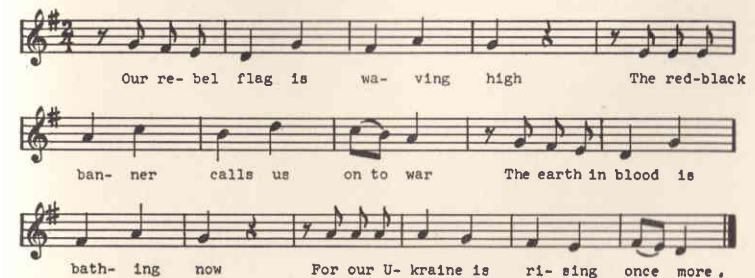
The Ukrainian women loved to embroider. I constantly marvelled at their industry. When they lacked thread, they unravelled some old piece of cloth, wound the threads on a ball and embroidered with them. At once an artistic work appeared out of nothing! Every one of them knew how to do it.

And letters? We wrote them constantly. It is true, the majority of the Ukrainian women did not have the

right of correspondence, and it was usually forbidden to foreigners. But we corresponded with other camps. It was absolutely necessary for us to do it. Someone in our brigade had acquaintances in the mines, where the men were working or in the brickyards where the women were working. We corresponded for years with someone whom we had never seen. How were the letters delivered? — There were many ways, although it was not easy. Often the letters did not get through, at times the communication was interrupted and we had to find a new way. This had its best justification during the strike in Vorkuta. At that time the Ukrainian women had always the best and most detailed information.

When it was fine weather, we went out beyond the barracks on the wall. We sat there in a group and often other groups joined us. We began to sing. They were mostly Ukrainian songs, although the Ukrainian women were glad to learn others from us. But I must admit that I liked the Ukrainian songs. In singing them, you could dream. When they had sung a few songs, singing could be heard in the neighboring camp of the 3rd mine which was about 500 m. from us. Our fellow-prisoners were singing.

### THE REBEL FLAG





### THE REBEL FLAG

(From original *UPA Song Book*.

Copyright: *Prolog Ass'n*. New York)

Our rebel flag is waving high.  
The red-black banner calls us on to war.  
The earth in blood is bathing now  
For our Ukraine is rising once more.

O red-black flag to us so dear,  
Your strike the reds without a wavering  
So as to free our fertile soil  
From tortures by this great uprising.

We could hardly catch the faint melody but the Ukrainian women recognized it in a flash. Then a smile appeared upon their faces and our songs rang out more loudly and with more fire. So we sang in turns. How many of us were dreaming of our families and our return to them!

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"*Women in Kolyma*" by A. Karde. — The Prisoners Trek to the Soviet 'Alcatraz'. — *Socialist Herald*, New York, No. 9-10—656—1952.

Our procession was really odd. Women, women without an end, old, young, pretty, homely, healthy and those who hardly dragged their feet; intellectuals, teachers, actresses, workers, mixed together with prostitutes and criminals. Some wore used persian lamb fur coats. Others had sheepskin overcoats. A third group had coats of foreign make, while a fourth group were wrapped up in old rags; still others wore torn paper dresses. The footwear worn by the exiled women displayed the same variety. Women who walked through the endless snow, wearing shoes with broken French heels, peasant shoes, military boots, galoshes and felt boots, everything was immersed in the deep snow. Some had knapsacks, some even carried valises while others had no baggage at all. But regardless of the varied dress, they still had something in common: the earthlike color of their faces, a hopeless expression in their eyes and an atmosphere of resigned disappointment. Thus arrived the first large group of women prisoners to Kolyma.

I will never forget this scene. I was frozen all the way through in my light clothes, my rubber galoshes became as hard as glass...

The day commenced long before sunrise. In the yet full darkness, suddenly was heard the sound of the iron gong: "Women get up!" Following that, one could hear the rumbling of metal flasks which those on duty were dragging to the kettle. I tried not to listen to these sounds and moved down further into the bag in which I was sleeping. All of my clothes were either under me or served as my covers. At the head of my bed was an empty metal can in which I preserved the tail from yesterday's herring.

When the second gong sounded my neighbor got off from the plank-bed on which we both were sleeping. That first day, I asked whether it would be possible to wash in the washroom which was fenced off, and where the water was slowly dripping from the faucet. My neighbors were angry with me because I used too much water and took up too much time of the others. "What would happen if 120 women from our barracks begin washing themselves every day?" — they yelled. Truthfully, I could not give them an answer. Rapidly I washed the eyes and ears, rinsed my mouth and threw into the boiling water the bread which the guards brought over at that time.

At the third gong the brigaders and foremen entered the barracks and yelled: "Women, to work!" It was still completely dark, when dark groups of women would gather near the gates. The brigaders called their workers and placed them six in a row, holding in their hands wooden tablets on which were listed the names of the workers. Surrounding were lit lamps on the guard huts where nearby stood the directors, foremen and a doctor. The women whose names were called stepped beyond the gates and again got into rows of six. Naturally, this procedure took up a great deal of time. One brigade after the other moved on their way in the following order: "bakery, electric power station, fruit and potato cellar, hospital, school, Barrack No. 1, Barrack No. 2..." My brigade was at the end. We passed the gate. I tried to walk with a quickened step but others were walking ahead of me. The long gray column dragged on in the pre-dawn mist on a lone road before a strong wind. Everyone had their hands dug deep in their cotton clothes and the kerchiefs were drawn tightly close to their eyes. Carefully I took steps on the slippery road in my much too large size felt shoes. But my knees were the coldest of all. The woolen socks which were distributed to us just

about reached up to the knees. The state issued flannel panties were wide but short and they had no drawn elastic, ribbon or even an ordinary string: the cold wind freely blew from the bottom and it seemed that I had nothing on. The blouse was too short and always kept crawling out of the wide skirt which could be kept on nohow, it kept falling down constantly and at the same time it left the middle part of the body open.

At first it was necessary to wash the long and very dirty floor, which was made of rough boards. I wanted to do it quickly, with rapid movement and with the help of rags gather the dirt and water and thus relieve it from filth. But the boards would not be washed. Also it was necessary to fire the stove but as if for spite the wood was completely raw. With bare hands I looked amidst the snow for anything dry, with the knowledge that if I did not do this job, tomorrow I would be sent to do forest work in the severe cold, and I already had a frost-bitten face.

Touching my haggard face I thought of the frightful prospective and could not forget my thoughts of my imprisonment. "Really I am a helpless slave." On the black board cards were hanging, seeking "rab cela." This officially means "working force".

I looked at myself and at the pitiful clothes in which I was clothed, on my torn galoshes, on the foot wrap, socks and felt shoes, on my swollen poor face, on my torn hands. Inhuman unfeminine remains resembling a human being; and yet the men approach me, yet not one of the women not even an unfortunate homely and dirty starved one, is left alone by the Magadan residents.

On we walked in a group of political hostiles. Toward us was riding an auto with a young chauffeur. He saw us from afar and began to wave a bright green knitted sweater and at the same time he began to yell "Hi, women, which

one of you young ones would love me just once, I will give you this knitted sweater?" We were silent, only one, a young Tatar, Fatma, whose husband was a secretary of the city Party Committee, and was executed in 1937, yelled "Too little." The chauffeur did not waste a minute and pulled out a pair of high heeled boots and placed them on the green sweater. "Too little" yelled back Fatma. The young chauffeur with a serious look put out the sweater and shawl but this dangerous play was interrupted by an older woman, "Put it aside chauffeur," she spoke sternly, "she is joking." "We are different women than you thought, go on your way, you will find the kind that you are looking for."

"Not this type?", asked the chauffeur with an open mouth. "Well what kind are you?" Taken by surprise he threw himself at us cursing with bitterness and cruelty.

*Socialistic Herald.* — Article by S. Yurasova.

And now a few concluding remarks concerning women prisoners — "members of traitor families of the homeland".

During the span of two years I encountered women from that circle and will aver that they conducted themselves in the camps most commendably of all the inmates. True, the attitude of the camp authorities was proper and better but under the aspect of morale they conducted themselves heroically. Obviously, there were exceptions among them. Generally, these women merit profound recognition and respect — that they distinguished themselves by their morals among the non-national masses.

I am ignorant as far as the husbands and parents of these women are concerned. As I recall, the women carried their crosses like mothers. I bow my head before them for their sufferings, for their stability."

Semen Pidhaynyj. "*The Unkilled*". P. 108. Published by "Ukraina", 1949.

He describes life in concentration camps. He specifically gives a detailed account of life in the Anzer Camp, describing the inhuman treatment suffered by women internees, who are forced to dig canals, among other hard labors. He describes minutely their persecutions at the hands of their jailers and cites instances of cannibalism and sadism.

*Concentration Camps in the SSSR* — by V. Ekovlev, Munich 1955. *Institute for the study of the USSR*.

In this 256 page book he gives detailed description of localities, sketches, surroundings, population and conditions of camp in the entire Soviet Union. He lists by name 225 concentration camps. A map showing the location of the camps divided into an area of eight zones is also given.

*U. S. News & World Report*, Washington, D. C., June 1, 1956. Excerpts from interview of Dr. Vladimir Poremsky.

Q. — A question was asked how many people are in slave-labor camps in Russia.

A. — He answered that there is a work by Dr. David Dallin (a refugee from Russia and author of books on Soviet affairs) in which he gives an estimate of 12 to 15 million people, based on careful research. The Soviet Government, of course, gives no figures on this subject.

But I want to note a very interesting fact. We have talked about this to people who have come from there — Germans and Russians. They give figures of at least 25 million; 25 to 56 million. I suppose that Dallin is correct, but it is an interesting psychological fact that the people who came from there think there are many more in the concentration camps.



*The Soviet Slave Empire* — by Albert Konrad Herling.

In this 232 page book the author gives facts, statements, photostats and documents of a number of prisoners in many camps as well as documents of M.V.D., N.K.V.D. and G.P.U. He presents photostats of documents from the very files of the Russian Secret Police.

Many books, articles, and testimonials have been written about the "Soviet prison of nations." Many speeches, prayers and appeals have been made about the concentration camps. Their conditions, the people in them, the torture, cold and hunger, the unparalleled in history inhuman treatment of mankind by the Soviet authorities should be, at this late date, common knowledge. Yet, the free world simply cannot comprehend that all this can be and is true and that human endurance can persevere.

To make a summary of all that has been said and written alone would require volumes. However, for the benefit of those who are unaware or indifferent to the suffering of humanity "behind the iron curtain," we review here a few cases relevant to the Ukrainian people. Some of the quotations are merely a line or two — but these two lines express the anguish and death of someone's life. We trust you will find them of interest and that they will evoke your sympathy.

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Wasył Sawchenko. "*Bezimlah*," Augsburg, 1948. — Growth and development of life in the Concentration Camp.

He speaks of a few individuals, their suffering, hunger for bread and in some cases suicide.

"The world is poorly informed of the life in the new world of the prison of nations, namely U.S.S.R. If the suppression of millions of enslaved persons following the Hitler

regime made their appearance in numerous books, memoirs, documents, reports and so forth, then those on Stalin concentration camps (except for individual works, and excerpts) are totally insufficient. We ourselves are guilty of this fact for not informing the world.

"On the morning of January 22nd, 1941 we heard of the surprise attack by Hitler on the Soviet Union. The news about the war gave us a peculiar feeling. The war somehow for us was an unknown force which was to ease our life. The directors of the concentration camps announced that they were seeking volunteers to the army. Hundreds of prisoners threw themselves to the office offering their services. Surely this willingness to serve in the army was not a sign of patriotism. It was the prisoners' great desire to escape the concentration labor, especially for those who had long terms to serve, as well as to escape starvation, and extreme cold."

\*

"So passed the monotonous, grey and weary days. Daily the people become more ill, exhausted and thinner. The people become skeletons.

\*

They outstretch their half dead hands, — the prisoners walk back to their barracks from a long day's work, falling in the snow drifts."

\*

"A young girl is tearing her ragged coat aware of her hopeless condition — she is killing herself..."

\*

"A grey starved old man is dragging himself into a garbage disposal hole trying to pick out a potato peel and there he dies..."

'Prisoners' Riot In Soviet Concentration Camps." *"Homin Ukrainy"*, Toronto, Canada, May 12th, 1956.

Not so long ago a repatriated Austrian, a former war prisoner, who was in the Soviet concentration camp in Siberia, brought news about one of the riots by prisoners in the Soviet concentration camps in Siberia. He relates that the prisoners, learning about the condemnation of Stalin's crimes by the present Kremlin clique, began to demand their release from the camp directors.

The political prisoners began demonstrations which naturally ended in the massacre of prisoners by the MVD armies. The heaviest rioting and casualties among the prisoners took place in the following concentration camps: Vere-stachino, Upper Umbetske and Merne, which are located along the river Yenisei in the Tomsk region.

The above-mentioned Austrian relates about the riot of prisoners in Merne. The riot began on the 3rd of April, in the evening. Before the commandant of the camp, Capt. Horelikov, appeared a group of political prisoners demanding an immediate release of all prisoners. During the argument with the representatives of the prisoners, Horelikov shot one of them. This became the signal for the prisoners' riot.

The prisoners killed the commandant of the camp, disarmed the guards and took hold of the camp. The following day separate divisions of MVD troops arrived in Merne from the Horelsk region. In this fight with them 200 political prisoners were killed. Armed with heavy arms and tanks the MVD's were able to master the situation. However, about 60 prisoners were able to escape. Only several of them fell again into the hands of the MVD while the remainder of them saved themselves from death.

Because of the riots by the prisoners in other camps of the Tomsk region martial law was proclaimed in the entire region.

A special commission of MVD directors arrived from Moscow in Tomsk in order to investigate the matter and find some ways to bring about peace in the camps. A number of prisoners, those of aggressive nature, were transferred from Merne to other camps, mainly to Yst-Port and Dydenku on the border of the Arctic Ocean.

Nicholas Prychodko, author of *"One of the Fifteen Million,"* writes the story of his experiences, observations and conditions of Slave Labor Camps. Here are a few of the more poignant examples of the ordeals these unfortunate victims undergo under the iron heel of the totalitarian state.

As the author states "my purpose has been not merely to tell of my personal ordeal but to tell the democratic people the truth about conditions in the USSR and the system of arrest and procedures."

Example No. 1.: — One of the prisoners, 'H. S.,' a student in the 4th year in the Kiev University's language and literature faculty. . . After his arrest when he timidly tried to ask the guards the reason for all this procedure they merely stared at him in stony silence. . . Fifteen minutes later a uniformed man of the NKVD entered, with paper in hand, from which he read: "By authority of the NKVD resolved, that the student H. S. belonged to a subversive, Ukrainian nationalist, terrorist organization, aiming at the destruction of the existing order and planning terrorist action against leading members of the party and government, therefore by virtue of the Ukrainian Criminal Code, Article 54, the NKVD USSR College sentences him to the highest penalty of the social law: Death. This verdict

is to be executed immediately. . .” Stooping even to murder to get the “evidence” was not unusual. . . Everybody is afraid to exchange confidences even with his best friend. . .

Example No. 2.: — This was Dmytro Borziak, a Ukrainian journalist. He was forced, under torture, to sign false evidence to the effect that he was active in a non-existent nationalist, diversionist organization. But Borziak took all this persecution without signing anything. . .”

Some of the weaker ones, unable to stand these tortures, cried out hysterically. . .

Such cases were usually practiced out in the corridors, by the refined methods of the guards. . . Sometimes one could hear the pitiful voices of these unfortunate people calling out: “Farewell, brothers!” — and then the voices would suddenly die down, as if the prisoner were being beaten into silence. . .

Nicholas Prychodko concludes his book of experiences with the following:

“The rough road to freedom brought me eventually to Canada — the great wide land where a man can live and work and speak freely, without fear and in fellowship with his fellow-men.

“Somewhere, far behind the Iron Curtain, in places unknown, are the graves of my mother, my father and my sister. There, also, are the countless graves of my countrymen who died in the struggle with Muscovite tyranny.

“Their spirit still lives on today. It cannot be shackled and shot in the nape of the neck. One day it will triumph and my enslaved Ukraine will join the family of freedom-loving nations.”

The means by which Mr. Prychodko eventually obtained his release, his journey back to the Ukraine and his escape to freedom make up the exciting climax of this moving story of one man’s deliverance from communist servitude. . .

### Joy of the Condemned

From the cycle of the 4th Corps — by Julia Pysareva

One day, quite unexpectedly, the “thieves” were separated from us. We washed and cleaned the cell. It became roomy and clean, but before evening they brought us guests. These were women from the 4th Corps. About 60 of them. Evidently the 4th Corps was very essential to the men.

These were wives of arrested communists or responsible workers, such as directors of industry, chiefs of MTS (Machine and Tractor Service Stations), Army Commanders and the like. But among them there were also regular women farmers — kholkoz and workers. I have forgotten all the names except: Liashko, Tarasenko, Protzenko, Hryhorchuk, Pylypenko, Martynova. Among them were also young Polish students, proteges of the Kociora Polish Pedagogic Institute in Kiev. After the fall of Kociora they were rounded up from various places in Ukraine and thrown into prison because they were formerly forced to study in a Polish Institute.

All the women of the 4th Corps resembled mossy, diseased lichens of the northern woods, which without sunshine or its kind warmth, in dark taigas, partially decayed and smothered with mildew — had faded. These women carried gray-green bundles and valises. We were surprised at their identical grey-green color: this was mildew. Everything in the bundles was rotten, faded and completely penetrated with decay. What types of cells could these have been to cause the articles in the bundles to rot to this point? Stone walls, cement floors, dampness, semidarkness, no air, and horrible overcrowding of people. The unfortunate women stood in queues for hours, just to give others a chance to lie down. All of them suffered from furunculosis. Boils, pimples, sweats, flies and lice — ate at their flesh. They sighed with relief when they saw the wooden floor in our cell.



\*

We had hardly dispersed them to less crowded cells, which took about two or three days, when the third day our cell was again filled to over-capacity. In the province of Mariupil there were many German colonies of sects of Mennonites. From one such colony all the men were arrested, the children assigned to orphanages, and all the mothers and wives placed in our cell.

The poor German women, the majority with blond braids in back, brought with them all kitchen goods: full bags of iron ware, kettles, jars with lard and meat. It seems that after the khokhoz arrested the men, they killed the chickens, pigs, geese, took what they could from the kitchens, because they thought they would be transported in whole families to the North. But they were deeply disappointed: this was not 1929, 1930 or 1931 — but 1938! The purpose and method of the “leaders” were entirely contrary . . .

For eleven months they deluded us that we were under investigation, that we were not sentenced. But today — October 15, 1938, they ordered several of us to prepare for medical examination, so now we knew that they were preparing us for exile. The summons to the medical commission is only at headquarters.

Despair filled our hearts . . . They will take us somewhere far from our children, who, fatherless, are suffering in children’s shelter-prisons! They will send us no one knows where, who knows for how many years!.. Will we see our children again?

Who sat in judgment of us? For what? What crimes has the “secret three of the NKVD” accused us of? Utter despair overtook us. My mind seemed to concentrate on one thing only: Jump out of the auto and kill myself!

The guard came and summoned Hryhorchak, Zina Py-

lypenko, Martynova, Platnykova, Petrzycka, Ebert and me... Come out without your belongings! We followed the guard as though attending our own funerals.

Evidently the prison was filled to overflowing, because we were summoned during the recreation period of the men. Their appearance was ghastly: Yellow, bearded, filthy, in rags. They were milling single file around the enclosure, with their hands behind their backs. When their guard saw us, he immediately ordered that they all walk toward the wall.

“Turn your faces to the wall.” They did. “Sit” — they sat. “Heads down” — obediently they lowered their heads — meek as the lambs who hide their heads from the sun on a hot day. The thought flashed through my mind, “like sheep, perhaps, they would also meekly go toward the “styenka” (wall) to be executed . . . Violent anger filled my heart.

In another corner of the yard a group of men were being dressed for the etape. Oh, the prison was boiling with activity!

We continued our way — scared, frightened. Hearts thumping. But from the men’s cells hundreds of imprisoned eyes were observing us through the partitions, which we too would have done in a similar case. Suddenly a strong baritone sang:

*Sister mine, little quail,*

*Tell me how many children have you?*

Trembling, we wept... an arrow piercing our hearts.

*Oh, brother mine, falcon dear,*

*Accept the children for the winter . . .*

The song expressed that for which we wept many, many times. And only God knew how many more tears would be shed over the unknown fate of our little, homeless, orphaned children.

\*

In the corridor of the "reception room" we found a few men. They were also being prepared for the etape.

— Women, why do you weep? — a tall, dark, middle-aged teacher from Zavoda (section of the City Mariupol) asked us.

— How can we stop crying? They have sentenced us and are preparing us for exile.

— But why cry?

— What do you mean "why"? And our children? Our tiny children, what will become of them?

— All the same you must not cry. We, too, left our children, only God knows with whom. Our wives are in prison also, but we are lucky that they are taking us to the etape.

— In what way lucky, we don't understand. I am thinking of jumping from the auto and kill myself.

— And you will be doing wrong because then you will have orphaned your children.

— And they are not orphans now?

— Women! Have courage, don't lose your spirit! We want to leave these cells as soon as possible. We have been in a standing position day and night. During the night about 10-15 die in each cell from dysentery and heart attacks. We conspire in groups and confess to crimes which we have never committed... From exile, perhaps, we can write "appeals," demand reinvestigation of our cases. But here — we perish like flies.

Our conversation was brutally interrupted by the guard. The men entered the "reception room." We were left alone... Maybe we shouldn't commit suicide? But continue to suffer because of the children!..

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It has been and still is the Communist regime's system to utilize the hardened criminal element of the Russian population as a weapon to further harass the purely political internees of the slave labor camps. Every writer who described life in slave labor camps has devoted considerable space, or makes special mention of this peculiarly Russian criminal element.

These criminal elements, called "blatnys," are a special class in the Soviet Union. Many of them are products of the homeless waifs of the days after the Revolution. They are now adult and have no respect for law or order. Long accustomed to live by their wits and to steal and murder, they are the ideal tools for making the life of the political prisoners unbearable and will do things which even the Soviet guards might refuse. As is natural, they form the privileged class of prisoners, draw the best assignments, and are allowed more food than the political prisoners whom they persecute mercilessly.

The administration ignores all complaints against the "blatnys" by the criminal prisoners and the frequent beatings and robbery of the political prisoners by "blatnys" permitted by the administration. As a result the Ukrainian political prisoners got into a fight with the criminals. It ended with the breaking of the dictatorial control of the criminals over the other prisoners. But the administration tried to scatter these prisoners throughout the other camps, especially Vorkuta and Norilsk.

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Despite all these mass reprisals, terrorisms and repressions practiced by the Soviet regime, in their slave labor camps, nonetheless the national spirit still burns brightly in the hearts and souls of the internees. Let the following

original poem, sent in a letter by a young girl to her mother (courtesy, UHWR) speak for itself.

### WEEP NOT

Weep not so bitterly, aged mother,  
Let not your cries struggle with light  
Disturb not the grave with your tears,  
Don't permit the enemy to ridicule your plight.  
True, mother, your son fell on the battlefield,  
In this grave he lies deep.  
You must be proud of him —  
He fell for Ukraine,  
Like dew his blood will nourish freedom.  
This blood has not been shed in vain.  
The payment for it will be liberty!  
Liberty cannot be achieved without sacrifice.  
His sacrifice will be acclaimed with glory!  
Rise, dry your tears! Look around, you are not alone.  
Thousands such mothers are around you.  
Go prepare your younger son — to fight for freedom  
like the older one.  
Only then will freedom be blest  
When arms glisten in the hands of all sons.  
Don't cry! This is not the time to bathe the world  
with your tears.  
Only struggle will give us fortune and liberty!

*Nadiya*

The testimony of all these former prisoners is in accord on certain facts. As we know from their written testimony, all were innocent and were sent to Siberia only to do work that would not be undertaken by free labor at any cost. To rebuild and carry out their plans for world conquest, the Russian Communists have degraded government service for all except the elite of the Communist Party to slavery and disgrace. This is entirely the opposite of the situation in the United States where during World War II work in defense plants and other government undertakings was regarded as an honor and a personal obligation and was well-paid.

The prisoners are so ill treated that they have only three desires: a piece of bread to satisfy their starved and exhausted bodies; some article of cloth — it would be improper to call it clothing — to warm their emaciated bodies in the cold of the Arctic winter and to protect them against the gnats during the short summer; and thirdly, the desire and hope to return to their homeland and their families as free men.

The most thrifty and the most capable of the non-Russian peoples are ruthlessly and arbitrarily assigned to this work, their families are broken up and their children driven out helpless into the world to further the power of the Soviet Union and to liquidate as far as possible any groups which might some day threaten the Soviet system of tyranny.

The world only became aware of the immensity of the Soviet concentration camps when a few of the men who had survived and returned to Ukraine and the western portions of the Soviet Union took refuge in Germany during World War II and successfully defied the repatriation efforts of the Soviets. They pictured the period of the Ezhovshchyna, the period when Ezhov was the chief of the NKVD as the worst period. There was some lightening of conditions



when Beria came into power on the very eve of World War II and it was desirable for the Soviet Union to secure, if it could, the loyalty of the nations which it had subjugated.

To some degree Khrushchev admits this but the stories of the foreign prisoners who have been released since the death of Stalin confirm that after the war the brutality increased again and was only mitigated by the large-scale revolts which have been put down as in Kingir with unprecedented cruelty.

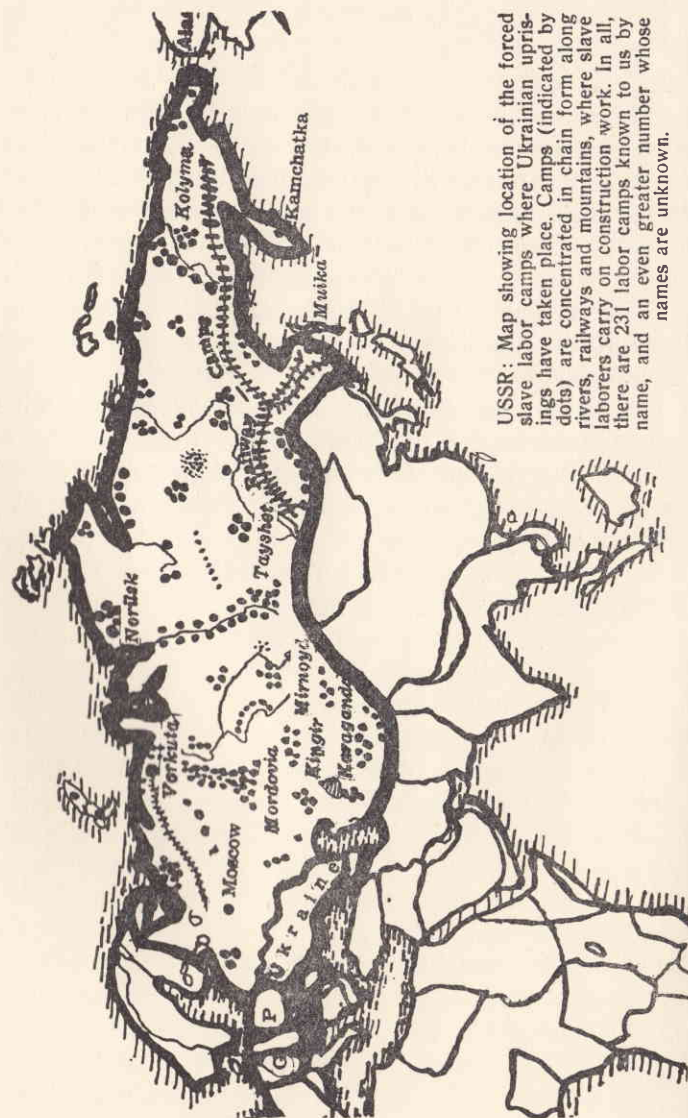
These few pages which seem to repeat themselves show the unanimous opinion of the released foreign prisoners that conditions are incredibly bad. They show that the death of Stalin has fundamentally changed nothing and that the smiles of Khrushchev still cloak a savage ruthlessness. They show that back of all the "voluntary" settling of the new lands in the east, there still lurks the same spirit of genocide that caused the massacre at Vinnytsia, Katyn, Vorkuta, Norilsk and Kingir.

That is why the unrest and ferment is still continuing within the Soviet Union. That is why those persons who have had even slight experience with the Soviet regime in the "paradise of the proletariat" know that there can be no real peaceful co-existence, so long as the Russian Communist leaders maintain their power and are free to continue their criminal and megalomaniacal dreams of building a world on Communist principles in which they can gratify their lust for power.

That is why the Ukrainian people at home and abroad are not giving up their struggle for independence and the right to lead their own lives in their own way, to worship their God in the way that they have learned to do from their parents, to contribute in their own way their part to the newer and better order for which the free world is hoping and praying and working.

They are astonished that the nations of the free world, which long ago abolished slavery, do not call to account the criminal leaders of Russian Communism and that the United Nations does not call them before the bar of international justice. They are confident, however, that the time will come when that will happen; they are confident that some day (and may it be soon) the conscience of the free world will be aroused, will refuse to shake the bloody hands of the murderers who have been preying upon Ukraine and the other non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, and will declare in thundering tones that mankind cannot exist half-slave and half-free. We believe that that day will soon come and that then the millions of Ukrainian martyrs will receive due recognition from the civilized world. The Ukrainian women who died in Kingir under Soviet tanks did not die in vain. Their heroic deaths aided a free Ukraine to live.

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USSR: Map showing location of the forced slave labor camps where Ukrainian uprisings have taken place. Camps (indicated by dots) are concentrated in chain form along rivers, railways and mountains, where slave laborers carry on construction work. In all, there are 231 labor camps known to us by name, and an even greater number whose names are unknown.

## QUOTATIONS OF WELL KNOWN AMERICAN LEADERS AND WRITERS

President Woodrow Wilson:

"We believe these fundamental things: First, that every people have a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live; second, that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon."

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Address at the Ukrainian Rally, October 1951 in New York by Hon. Theodore F. Green, U. S. Senator:

"The American nation was born of struggles which followed the dreams of its pioneers who envisioned a land where rights and dignity of man were preserved. Your Ukrainian present is in harmony with the American past.

"I take this opportunity to express my heartfelt hope that your continued efforts of a free Ukraine may be realized and that those who have given their lives for the cause of Ukrainian freedom have not done so in vain.

"Let us reach out and take the hand of God and pray that he lead us through the darkness that engulfs us to the light of freedom and world peace."

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Hon. Michael A. Feighan, Member of Congress:

"Many Members of Congress who are accustomed to dealing with facts and reality understand with feeling and conviction the historic aspirations of the Ukrainian nation for genuine sovereignty which can come only with national independence and self-government. The number of understanding officials in the government of the United States is growing day by day."

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Harold E. Stassen in "Man Was Meant To Be Free":

"The enduring aim of the Ukrainian underground is the establishment of an independent sovereign Ukrainian republic."

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Clarence A. Manning in "Twentieth Century Ukraine",  
"Where, then, can we find the real Ukraine? First and loudest, it speaks today through the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which is carrying on its operations not only in Ukraine itself but within the borders of Poland and Czechoslovakia and which made itself the mouthpiece of all the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe."

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Address at the Ukrainian Rally in October 1952, New York, Hon. Irving M. Ives, U. S. Senator:

"I have come away with the conviction that, in spite of any temporary victories the Communists may have won, the underground movements in the Ukraine and in other areas of Europe are today vigorous, determined, and unconquerable.

"The people in many Soviet-conquered lands are our kind of people — lovers of human freedom. They are our kin. Their underground efforts are in behalf of those very ideals in which we Americans believe with all our hearts.

"How, then, can we preach freedom and at the same time abandon those who fight for it?

"We cannot. This would be the worst kind of hypocrisy. And we Americans are not hypocrites. We must give wholehearted aid to those in Europe who struggle to reestablish the human values to which we are dedicated.

"The underground armies of the Ukraine — and all similar underground armies — symbolize America's most profound convictions. They are fighting for everything in which we believe. Let us unite our voices and efforts.

"We know those in the underground movements of Europe are our blood-brothers. Let us stand beside them."

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