

# THE WACL BULLETIN



UKRAINE:  
A Captive But Unconquerable Nation

VOL. 3 NO. 6 JUNE 1, 1969

# Ethnographic Territory of Ukraine



## WACL BULLETIN

Official Organ of the  
World Anti-Communist League  
Published monthly by the Permanent  
Secretariat, WACL, at Freedom Center  
Seoul, Korea

Subscription Rates: All countries  
outside the territorial limits  
of the Republic of Korea  
\$ 10.00 a year (air mail)  
\$ 6.00 a year (ordinary)

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Ivan Mazepa — Hetman of Ukraine (1687-1709); symbolizes the fight for independence against Russia.

### Editorial

#### Ukraine, the Magnificent

This is a special number of the WACL Bulletin.

It is dedicated to the brave and illustrious Ukrainian people. By and large, the material that is found in this number has been prepared or written by Ukrainians in various parts of the world.

Ukraine deserves to be free. Ukraine wants to regain its freedom. Ukraine must be set free.

The conscience of the entire free world longs and prays for Ukraine — emancipated, vindicated, liberated — in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

“The Ukraine National Revolution, in contrast to the Russian Revolution, was very much like the American Revolution of 1776, inasmuch as its overall objective was a free and independent state of the Ukrainian people, just as the American Revolution sought freedom for the 13 colonies which refused to live under colonial subjugation”

WACL salutes Ukraine. Her indomitable will and her immutable yearning for freedom from tyranny merit the emulation of all peoples whose magnificent obsession is just to be left alone to carve their destiny in love and justice.

Hail UKRAINIA!  
God bless Ukraine.

Monthly Magazine Published By  
The World Anti-Communist League  
Freedom Center, Seoul, Korea

June 1, 1969

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# Facts About Ukraine and the Ukrainian People

## Geographic Position—Area and Population

Generally speaking, the Ukrainian ethnic territory extends between 43°20' and 53° north latitude and 20°30' and 45° east longitude. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic lies between 44°20' and 52°20' north latitude and 20°5' and 40°15' east longitude. Ukraine is located in the southeastern corner of Europe. It borders with Romania and Hungary to the southwest, Poland to the west, Byelorussia to the north and Russia to the north and southeast. It is bordered by the Black Sea in the south.

According to Ukrainian ethnographers (cf. *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*), the Ukrainian ethnic territory embraces 289,000 square miles and has a population (1959) of 49 million. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which does not encompass all the Ukrainian ethnic territory, comprises 232,000 square miles and a population of 41,869,000, according to the Soviet population census of 1959. On January 1, 1964, Ukraine had a population of 44,600,000 people, of which number Ukrainians constituted 77 percent, Russians 17 percent, with the remaining 6 percent consisting of various national minorities: Jews (1,025,800), Poles, Germans, Greeks, Bulgarians, Romanians and Tatars.

As mentioned, over 56,600 square miles of Ukrainian ethnic territory are outside the political borders of the Ukrainian SSR, specifically: in Russia (the regions of the Belgorod, Kursk, and the Voronezh *Oblasts*, as well as regions in the Don and Kuban areas), Byelorussia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania. At least 7,500,000 Ukrainians are now living outside the compact Ukrainian ethnic territory.

**Religion:** The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians, that is, 76 percent, are Orthodox, 13.5 are Catholics of the Eastern Rite, 2.3 percent are Jewish, and 8.2 percent are Protestants, Baptists, Mennonites and Moslems.

## History

*Ukraine has had three distinct periods of national statehood and independence:*

a) *the first period of national statehood when Ukraine, known as Kievan Rus, was a powerful state in Eastern Europe, lasting from the IXth to XIVth centuries;*

b) *the Kozak period of Ukrainian independence, from the middle of the XVIIth century to the end of the XVIIIth century;*

c) *the third (modern) period, beginning with the fall of the Russian empire and the establishment of the Ukrainian Central Rada in March, 1917, and ending in 1920.*

## The Ukrainian National Revolution

The fall of Russian Czardom was the signal for bursting enthusiasm throughout the whole of Ukraine; despite the systematic attempts of the Russian government to suppress Ukrainian ideals and aspirations, the dream of freedom and independence had survived. On March 17, 1917 the Ukrainian Central *Rada* was established in Kiev under the presidency of Prof. Michael Hrushevsky, Ukraine's foremost historian.

Within a period of 10 months the *Rada*, through a series of important acts, led Ukraine through the turbulent period, establishing first an autonomous state and then a full-fledged independent and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people.

Between March and October, 1917 the *Rada* had to deal with a weak and ineffective Russian Provisional Government under Alexander F. Kerensky who refused to accept or recognize the independence of Ukraine. The *Rada* issued in that period its two *Universals*, one on June 23, and the second on July 16, 1917, whereby it announced that Ukraine was to become an autonomous state, which was agreed to by the Kerensky government. It swiftly organized the Ukrainian national army, established Ukrainian schools, introduced Ukrainian judicial and administrative systems, prepared a Ukrainian Constituent Assembly, provided vast autonomy for the national minorities of Ukraine and won recognition by a number of foreign states.

On November 20, 1917, after the Bolshevik *coup* in Petrograd, the *Rada* issued the Third *Universal* whereby it proclaimed Ukraine to be the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR). While trying to secure recognition from the new Russian Soviet government, the Ukrainian Central *Rada* maintained its troops on the front against the armies of the Central Powers. Lenin and Trotsky, while paying lip-service to national self-determination, were sending Communist agitators into Ukraine in order to prepare



a Communist takeover of the country. When these efforts did not bring the desired results, the Soviet government officially recognized the Ukrainian government. In a note, dated December 17, 1917, the *Sovnarkom* (Soviet of People's Commissars) stated: "The Soviet of People's Commissars of the Russian Republic recognizes, without any limits or conditions, and in all respects, the national rights and independence of the Ukrainian Republic..." (cf. *Organ of the Provisional Government of Workers and Soldiers*, No. 26, December 20, 1917, Petrograd.)

At the same time the Russian Soviet government sent an ultimatum to the *Rada*, demanding, among other things, that the armed Communist bands be stationed in Ukraine. When the *Rada* rejected the ultimatum, Lenin and Trotsky launched armed aggression against Ukraine. For over 4 months the Ukrainian armies had to wage a defensive struggle against the Soviet Russian invaders who were thrown out of Ukraine in April, 1918.

Meanwhile, the *Rada* issued the *Fourth Universal* on January 22, 1918, by which the full independence and sovereignty of Ukraine were proclaimed. Subsequently, on February 9, 1918 Ukraine concluded a Peace Treaty with the Central Powers in Brest Litovsk, by which act it received full-pledged recognition from Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria, which powers also provided military assistance to Ukraine against the Russian Bolsheviks. France and Great Britain also granted *de facto* recognition of Ukraine.

From April to November, 1918 Ukraine was under the monarchist government of *Hetman* Paul Skoropadsky, and in 1919 under the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic, headed by Simon Petlura.

On November 1, 1918 Western Ukraine, (formerly under Austria-Hungary), proclaimed its independence and was forced to wage a defensive war against the newly-born Poland which coveted this Ukrainian ethnic territory as its "own." On January 22, 1919 the Western Ukrainian National Republic, including the provinces of Carpatho-Ukraine and Bukovina, were united by the Act of Union with the Ukrainian National Republic into one, independent and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people. The united Ukrainian Republic had to wage a gallant war against the Red and White Russians (Denikin) in the East and the Poles in the West, alone and unaided. In 1920 a military alliance between Poland and Ukraine was formed by Pilsudski and Petlura, and the combined Polish-Pilsudski and Petlura, and the combined Polish-Ukrainian forces occupied Kiev for a brief period. Eventually the Soviet forces succeeded in reoccupying Ukraine in the summer of 1920.

In March, 1921 the Treaty of Riga between Communist Russia and Poland put an end to the Ukrainian National Republic.

The greater part of Ukraine, i.e. Eastern Ukraine,

was made a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic under a Ukrainian Communist government; Western Ukraine (Galicia and part of Volhynia) was ceded to Poland, and Bukovina and part of Bessarabia to Romania, and Carpatho-Ukraine to Czechoslovakia, of which they were part until the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

The Ukrainian National Revolution, which brought about the rebirth of the modern Ukrainian state, engendered and developed Ukrainian nationalism and the national consciousness of the Ukrainian people. Although the true Ukrainian state has been destroyed, the Ukrainian National Revolution lives on in the hearts and minds of the Ukrainian people.

### Present Status

Since 1923, Ukraine proper has been a member of the Soviet Union as one of its "equal and sovereign constituent republics." In theory, Ukraine is an independent state. It became a charter member of the United Nations in San Francisco, in April, 1945, and to this day remains a member of the U.N. and maintains its permanent mission to this international body.

Internally, Ukraine is a colony of Communist Russia. The so-called Ukrainian government in Kiev is a *puppet* government imposed upon the Ukrainian people by the ruling Communist Party of the USSR. The Communist Party of Ukraine is also a subservient adjunct to the Russian Communist Party, and takes its orders from the latter without protest or dissension. Although Ukraine is a "sovereign republic" it has no separate army, foreign policy, its own financial nor economic policy. Ukraine is a colonial dependency of Communist Russia.

### Persecution and Oppression

There is no exaggeration in stating that of all the captive nations languishing in Soviet communist slavery, Ukraine has suffered the longest.

The record of Russia's inhuman treatment and persecution in Ukraine is matchless in all the history of mankind. Since 1920 Ukraine has endured persecution, mass murders amounting to full-scale *genocide*, religious and national persecution and economic exploitation.

In the 1930's Moscow liquidated the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church by murdering over 30 archbishops and bishops, headed by Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky, and several thousand priests and monks. Untold numbers of Ukrainian intellectuals were liquidated, while at least 6,000,000 Ukrainian farmers perished in the man-made famine in 1932-33 for their opposition to collectivization. During the German-Soviet war, both Stalin and Khrushchev ordered executions of Ukrainian patriots, political prisoners and other Ukrainians fearing their disloyalty to the Soviet regime. How the Ukrainians regarded their Russian oppressors is demonstrated by the fact

that over 2 million Ukrainian soldiers from the Soviet armies deserted to the German lines in 1941; and several thousands of them joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), a powerful Ukrainian underground resistance movement which fought against both the Nazis and the Bolsheviks in Ukraine, the UPA continued its anti-Soviet resistance well into the early 1950's during which time some 35,000 KGB and other Soviet security troops and agents were killed by the UPA. In 1946 the Kremlin wanted only destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine: of 11 Ukrainian Catholic bishops, only Metropolitan Joseph Slipy survived (released in 1963, upon direct intervention by Pope John XXIII, he was made a car-

dinal and now resides in Rome); hundreds of Ukrainian Catholic priests were killed or exiled while some 6,000,000 Ukrainian Catholics were forcibly subordinated to Russian Orthodoxy.

Khrushchev himself stated at the XXth Congress of the Communist Party in February, 1956, that "Stalin had wanted to deport all Ukrainians, but there were too many of them and there was no place to which they could be deported."

The fate of the Ukrainian people evoked worldwide indignation, and many governments expressed their concern over the inhuman treatment of the Ukrainians by Communist Russia.

### **Important Dates in the History of Ukraine**

- 3500-1500 B.C. — the famous epoch of the Neolithic Trypillian agriculture.
- 1000-800 B.C. — First state, that of the Cimmerians, known to exist on Ukrainian territory.
- 4th cent. B.C. — 2nd cent. A.D. — Bosphorus state, the first Hellenistic state in the world.
- Second half of the first century — St. Andrew the Apostle preached in South-Central Ukraine.
- 4th to 7th cent. — the state of Ukrainians-Antes
- 5th-7th cent. — great migration from Ukraine of so-called Slavic peoples.
- 860 — first Ukrainian prince in Kyiv — Askold
- 880-912 — Grand Prince Oleh proclaimed Ukraine-Rus a sovereign state and made Kyiv its capital.
- 964-972 — Grand Prince Sviatoslav extended the Ukrainian state to the Caspian Sea and Bulgaria
- 988 — Grand Prince Volodymyr the Great (980-1015) made Christianity the official religion of Ukraine.
- 1019-1054 — Grand Prince Karoslav the Wise, collected all Ukrainian laws into the so-called Ruska Pravda. His state was the second largest in Europe after the Byzantine empire.
- 1169 — the Suzdalian-Russian Prince Andrei raided and pillaged Kyiv and Ukraine.
- 1223 — Tartar invasion of Ukraine
- 1238-64 — powerful Grand Prince Danylo was crowned king (1253) by Pope Innocentius IV.
- 1340 — end of the sovereign Ukrainian princely state after 500 years of continuous existence.
- 1540-1563 — first important Ukrainian Cossack leader, Prince Dmytro Vyhnevskyi established a permanent Cossack order at Zaporozhe.
- 1648-57 — Hetman (chief of the armed forces) Bohdan Khmelnytskyi established the independent Ukrainian-Cossack state.
- 1657-59 — Hetman Ivan Vyhoskyi won great victory over the Russian Tsarist Army at Konotop.
- 1775 — Russian Empress Catherine II destroyed the last Ukrainian Cossack stronghold at Zaporozhe.
- 1687-1709 — the last Ukrainian independent ruler, Hetman Ivan Mazepa.
- 1814-61 — Taras Shevchenko, greatest Ukrainian poetic genius.
- 1900 — the first Ukrainian modern nationalist liberation party (RUB) was established.
- March 17, 1917 — Ukrainian national government was established.
- January 22, 1918 — Sovereignty of Ukraine was proclaimed.
- February 9, 1918 — Many nations recognized Ukraine's sovereignty by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.
- November 21, 1920 — The last regular Ukrainian armed forces left Ukraine, the Ukrainian state was destroyed by Russia.
- March 14, 1939 — an independent Ukrainian state was established in Carpatho-Ukraine.
- June 30, 1941 — re-establishment of Ukrainian independent state with Yaroslav Stetsko as Prime Minister.
- 1942-1953 — Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) fought against Nazi-Germany and the Russian imperialists.
- Nov. 21-22, 1943 — The Anti-Bolshevik of Nations (ABN) was founded.



# 50th Anniversary of Brest Litovsk Peace Treaty

On February 9, 1968 fifty years elapsed since the conclusion of the peace treaty between the Ukrainian Central *Rada* and the Central Powers, namely, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria.

The Brest Litovsk Treaty had not been popular with the members of the former *Entente*, as it was denounced as a "betrayal" of the Western coalition against the Central Powers.

If anyone had betrayed the Western democratic camp it was Communist Russia, and not Ukraine. The Ukrainian Central *Rada*, despite of great difficulties with the Russian Provisional Government, maintained the Ukrainian troops on the front against the German and Austro-Hungarian armies — to the very last day.

It was only when the Bolsheviks, after the successful take-over in Petrograd, began preparing for negotiations with the Central Powers that the Central *Rada* had dispatched its own delegation to Brest Litovsk. There, amid long and exhaustive discussions, the Soviet delegation was compelled to recognize the Ukrainian delegation, and by the same token, the independent Ukrainian government. The same recognition was repeated by Moscow in the treaty between Communist Russia and the Central Powers, signed on March 3, 1918.

By signing the peace treaty with the Central Powers on February 9, 1918, Ukraine had gained an enormous advantage. It received full-fledged recognition by the Central Powers; it also received military assistance which enabled the Ukrainian troops to drive the Bolsheviks out of Ukraine.

Although the Germans proved themselves to be unreliable allies, as they began meddling in the internal affairs of the Ukrainian state, the peace treaty of Brest Litovsk put Ukraine on the map of the world as an independent state.

Had both the Allies and the Central Powers understood the significance of Ukraine, and given it the support it needed, the world of today would not be threatened by the Russian communist empire as it is.

"A Ukrainian does not have to be very perceptive to grasp the fact that the vaunted equality of peoples in the Soviet Union is a sham . . . In great Ukrainian cities like Kiev, Kharkov and Odessa, Ukrainian language and culture occupy the role of poor relations to the Russian language and culture. Moscow obviously fears that sensitivity to such affronts may make some Ukrainians reflect that if Ukraine were independent its rich natural resources, highly developed modern industry and educated population would put it on a par with nations like France and West Germany. . ."

Editorial  
(*The New York Times*, Feb. 10, 1968)

"The Chornovil document, which is supported by many witnesses . . . is the boldest, the most scathing, the most able indictment of the abuse of authority that has ever come out of the Soviet Union — and is written by a devoted Leninist, an official of the Young Communist League, who knows more about Marx, Lenin and Soviet law than any of his accusers. . ."

Edward Crankshaw  
(*The Observer*, Feb. 11, 1968, London)

Plenary session of the Peace Conference during the signing of the treaty between Ukraine and the Central Powers in Brest Litovsk on February 9, 1918.



# Shevchenko: A Symbol of Freedom

Address by General Dwight D. Eisenhower,  
34th President of the United States of America,  
At Unveiling of Taras Shevchenko Statue, on  
June 27, 1964 in Washington, D.C.

First, let me thank you for your generous welcome.

On September 13, 1960, when I signed into law a measure to authorize the erection of this statue, it was my expectation that you would arrange a ceremony of dedication commensurate with the greatness of Taras Shevchenko.

That day is here and you have come by the thousands from all over the United States, you have come from Canada, from Latin America and Europe, and from as far away as Australia, to honor the memory of a poet who expressed so eloquently man's undying determination to fight for freedom and his unquenchable faith in ultimate victory.

This outpouring of lovers of freedom to salute a Ukrainian hero far exceeds my expectation.

But its meaning does not exceed my hope.

For my hope is that your magnificent march from the shadow of the Washington Monument to the foot of the statue of Taras Shevchenko will here kindle

a new world movement in the hearts, minds, words and actions of men;

A never-ending movement dedicated to the independence and freedom of peoples of all captive nations of the entire world.

During my boyhood it was confidently predicted that within the lifetime of my generation the principles of our free society would become known to all people everywhere and would be universally accepted around the world.

That dream has faded.

Within the past few decades, the concepts of liberty and human dignity have been scorned and rejected by powerful men who control great areas of our planet.

The revolutionary doctrines of our free society are far from universal application on the earth.

Rather, we have seen the counterattacks of fascism and communism substitute for them the totalitarian state, the suppression of personal freedom,



The late President Dwight D. Eisenhower (third from left) waits to unveil monument of Taras Shevchenko, on June 27, 1964 in Washington, D.C. Over 100,000 persons took part in the unveiling ceremonies. High-ranking hierarchs of Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, as well as representatives of the U.S. Government and Congress took part.



the denial of national independence, and even the destruction of free inquiry and discussion.

Tyranny and oppression today are not different from tyranny and oppression in the days of Taras Shevchenko.

Now, as then, tyranny means the concentration of all power in an elite body, in a government bureau, in a single man.

It means that the ultimate decisions affecting every aspect of life rest not with the people themselves, but with tyrants.

Shevchenko experienced this kind of governmental usurpation of decisions he believed he should make for himself.

And he was a champion of freedom not solely for himself.

When he spoke out for Ukrainian independence from Russian colonial rule, he endangered his own liberty.

When he joined a society whose aim was to establish a republican form of government in countries of Eastern Europe, he was jailed — even denied the right to use pencil and paper to record his thoughts about freedom.

“The charges of bourgeois nationalism against Ukrainian intellectuals, which are repeated every five to ten years, are incomprehensible phenomena . . . Can the desire to see development of national culture, language or even the development of a separate state be termed bourgeois nationalism?” . . .

Svyatoslav Y. Karavansky  
(*New Statesman*, Feb. 23, 1968, London,  
article by Gabriel Lorince)

“Among the materials confiscated from me there are materials of philosophical nature, social, literary and social-economic. Can the investigating organs or even the court, determine the degree of relationship of these materials to Article 62 of the Criminal Code? . . . Ideology is combatted with ideology, not with prison. And when prison is used in the service of the ruling ideology, then, as historical facts testify, such a service turns into the greatest harm . . .”

Mykhailo Masyutko  
(Political Prisoner, Camp 11, Yavas, Mor-  
dovia)

Today the same pattern of life exists in the Soviet Union and in all captive nations.

Wherever communist rules there is forceful control of thought, of expression, and indeed of every phase of human existence that the state may choose to dominate.

The touchstone of any free society is limited government, which does only those things which the people need and which they cannot do for themselves at all or cannot do as well.

Our own nation was created as this kind of society in a devout belief that where men are free, where they have the right to think, to worship, to act as they may choose—subject only to the provision that they transgress not on the equal rights of others—there will be rapid human progress.

We believe also that when this kind of freedom is guaranteed universally, there will be peace among all nations.

Though the world today stands divided between tyranny and freedom we can hope and have faith that it will not always so remain.

Of all who inhabit the globe, only a relatively few in each of the captive nations — only a handful

## Europe's Freedom Fighter

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TARAS SHEVCHENKO  
1814-1861

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A DOCUMENTARY BIOGRAPHY OF UKRAINE'S  
POET LAUREATE AND NATIONAL HERO



UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1960

even in Russia itself — form the evil conspiracies that dominate their fellow men by force or by fraud.

Because man instinctively rebels against regimentation — he hungers for freedom, for well-being and for peace, even though he may not, in some regions, always comprehend the full meaning of these words.

Yet the will of a few men thwarts the will of hundreds of millions and freedom stands aghast that this is so.

But let us not forget the ageless truth, "This, too, shall pass," and until it does, we can be sure that this nation will, with its allies, sustain the strength — spiritual, economic, and military — to foil any ill-advised attempt of dictators to seize any area where the love of freedom lives and blazes.

In the nations of East and Central Europe, in the non-Russian nations of the USSR, and in Russia itself — where the poetry of Shevchenko is well known — there are millions of individual human beings who earnestly want the right of self-determination and self-government.

His statue, standing here in the heart of the nation's capital, near the embassies where representatives of nearly all the countries of the world can see it, is a shining symbol of his love of liberty.

It speaks to these millions of oppressed.

It gives them constant encouragement to struggle forever against communist tyranny, until, one day final victory is achieved, as it most surely will be.

Most of you here today are of Ukrainian descent or origin.

All of us — if we go back one generation, or two, or ten, find family roots in some other nation, some other continent.

But today, we stand together as Americans, bound by our common devotion to a system of self-government — a system that makes it possible for us to be different, and yet united; independent, yet interdependent; diverse, and yet inseparable.

To be successful in bringing peace with freedom and justice to the world, we must increase our joint efforts to make peoples around the world *more aware that only in freedom can be found the right road to human progress, happiness and fulfillment.*

Shevchenko lived and taught this truth.

In unveiling this memorial to the great nineteenth century Ukrainian poet we encourage today's poets in Ukraine, in Eastern Europe, and around the world to embody in their poetry mankind's demands for freedom, for self-expression, for national independence, and for liberty for all mankind.

Where he alive today, he would be in the forefront of the great struggle.

And now I recall the words of one of America's greatest sons, Abraham Lincoln.

Speaking here just 100 years ago he said:

"It is not merely for today, but for all time to come, that we should perpetuate for our children's children that great and free government, which we have enjoyed all our lives."

In the same spirit, it is not merely for today, but for all time to come that we today present to the world this statue of Taras Shevchenko, Bard of Ukraine and Freedom Fighter, to perpetuate man's faith in the ultimate victory of freedom.

With incessant work, and with God's help, there will emerge, one day, a new era, an era of universal peace with freedom, and justice for all mankind.



On Saturday, November 18, 1967 some 2,000 participants at the World Congress of Free Ukrainians marched to the Soviet U.N. Mission in New York City to protest the oppression and persecution of the Ukrainian people by Moscow. Police intervened when demonstrators broke through the barricades. Several people were injured and a few arrests were made.  
(Photo: Slavko Novytsky)



# General Data on Ukraine: Resources and People

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

## National Economy.

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

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

ters — 10.7; television — 14.2; home refrigerators — 16.8; washing machines — 8.6, motorcycles and scooters — 3.7.

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

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

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

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

## The Ukrainian People.

Historically speaking, Ukrainians constitute a compact national, political and cultural entity. Ukrainians are the largest Slavic people, surpassed



General view of Kharkiv, Ukraine's second largest city and a great steel center. Photo was taken prior to World War II.

# Post-World War II Oppression of Ukraine by Communist Russia

## Stalin's Revenge on Ukraine

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

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

### a) Fight against the UPA:

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numerically only by the Russians.

On January 1, 1969, according to Soviet official sources, the population of Ukraine was 46,831,000. By 1970 it should attain 47,518,220. In 1980 the projected Ukrainian population is 52,750,000, or approximately a 25.98 percent increase based on the population census taken in 1959.

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

Russian SFSR: 3,359,000; Byelorussian SSR —

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

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

On May 17, 1947, a tripartite agreement was signed between the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia, whereby all three Communist governments agreed to join forces in putting down the Ukrainian

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

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



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

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

#### b) Destruction of Ukrainian Catholic Church:

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

After the death of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky on November 1, 1944, his successor Metropolitan Joseph Slipy tried to preserve the church and its 5,000,000 Catholic faithful within the existing Soviet laws and constitution. But in 1945 the MVD arrested all the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops: Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, Bishops Gregory Chomyshyn, Ivan Latyshevsky, Gregory Lakota, Mykola Charnetsky, Mykyta Budka, many other high-ranking prelates, and a number of priests, monks and nuns — all on the spurious charges of "collaboration" with the Nazis or of supporting the UPA. In 1946 a Soviet-approved committee of a few apostate priests and laymen, called a "synod" at which they abolished the Union of Brest (1596), by which the Ukrainian Catholic Church had been reunited with the Roman Catholic

Church. They liquidated all church properties and schools, closed monasteries, and imposed the Russian Orthodox Church upon the Catholic population of Western Ukraine. Subsequently, other Ukrainian Catholic bishops were arrested or killed, such as Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovsky, who was arrested by the Polish security police and handed over to the Soviet government, and Bishop Theodore G. Romzha, who was killed in Carpatho-Ukraine.

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

#### c) Cultural Russification:

Once the Soviet government had reorganized after the critical war years, it again commenced a shrewd and systematic policy of Russification in Ukraine. The Ukrainian language, although the official language of the Ukrainian SSR, was discriminated against. The so-called "linguistic theory" of Stalin was introduced to justify the Russian language as an "international language"; above all, it was the "language of Lenin" and the "language of Communism." Russian books, art, plays, films flooded Ukraine in unprecedented fashion. Ukrainian history and literature were ordered to be revised in order to demonstrate their dependence in the past, present and future in the "elder Russian brothers."

#### d) Economic Exploitation:

Although Ukraine had been revaged by World War II, the Soviet government paid scant attention to the economic needs of the Ukrainian people. It did

Ukrainian American youth at First World Congress of Free Ukrainians, held on November 16-19, 1967 in New York City.



restore a certain number of factories, mines and hydro-electric plants which had been destroyed by the war. But enormous quantities of machinery which had been moved to the east from Ukraine were never returned to Ukraine. Under the pretext of bringing in sorely-needed specialized personnel and technicians, Stalin inundated Ukraine with Russians, while Ukrainian technicians, specialists and engineers were dispatched to other parts of the USSR.

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

## 2. Ukraine Under Khrushchev's Rule

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

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

In 1954 Khrushchev, Stalin's "iron man" in Ukraine in 1938 and the holder of direct responsibility for many of the crimes committed against the Ukrainian people, began a new policy toward Ukraine.

He now sought to woo Ukrainians by granting some nominal concessions and by cautiously following and espousing certain pro-Ukrainian policies, all with the obvious intent of appeasing the ever-recalcitrant Ukrainians.

On the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav (1654), the Communist Party came up with new "theses" on the relations between Russia and Ukraine. Advanced was a "theory" to the effect that Kievan Rus had given rise to three Eastern Slavic peoples: the Russians, Ukrainians, and Byelorussians. Hence the Russians could call Kiev "the oldest Russian city," leaving Lviv as the oldest Ukrainian city, since it was founded by the Ukrainians after "the division of languages."

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

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

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



The Rt. Hon. John G. Diefenbaker, former Prime Minister of Canada, receives the "Shevchenko Freedom Award" from Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky at the banquet of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, November 19, 1967. Standing, left to right: John H. Roberts, Esq., Dr. Dobriansky, Dr. Walter Dushnyck, former Prime Minister of Canada Diefenbaker and Mrs. Diefenbaker.



London).

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

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

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

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

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

Khrushchev compromised by devising a series of measures which gave the appearance of "liberalization" but which in reality tended to enchain the Soviet Russian empire more tightly. These measures included decentralization of planning and management of agriculture, spiced with a few concessions to farmers; some decentralization of management of industry and some extension of local authority for the non-Russian republics. Much was made of an amnesty granted political prisoners, especially as it entailed liquidation of a number of the troublesome slave labor camps; "liberalization" of literature, whereby limited criticism was permitted party writers; "liberalization" of travel abroad by a limited number of citizens, and admission of foreign tourists. A number of Ukrainians and other non-Russian Communist leaders were elevated to the highest echelons of the party leadership and the administrative apparatus.

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

#### b) Khrushchev's Crimes against the Ukrainian People:

In 1959 the ebullient Khrushchev traipsed across the ocean to the United Nations in New York, provoking vast resentment and opposition on the part of U.S. ethnic groups and labor and veteran organizations.

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

1) As a Communist official he played a leading role in the Moscow-made famine in Ukraine in the



Ukrainian Girls Bandura Ensemble of Detroit, Mich. performing at the Shevchenko Monument in Washington, D.C. on June 8, 1968.

early 1930's in the course of which over 5 million Ukrainian peasants died from hunger and starvation;

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

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

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

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

6) Khrushchev was responsible for the "voluntary resettlement" of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians

and other non-Russian peoples in the "Virgin lands" in Kazakhstan, thereby contributing again to the genocide of the Ukrainians as a nation.

7) Finally, he was guilty, as a member of the "collective leadership," of the mass murder of Ukrainian political prisoners in 1954-55 in Karaganda, Vorkuta, Norilsk and Tayshet.

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

### 3. Under the Brezhnev-Kosygin Rule

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

The widening rift ideologically and politically

USSR in 1965.

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

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



Angle view of plenary session of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, held on November 16-19, 1967 at the New York Hilton Hotel in New York City.

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

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

#### a) Policy of Wooing Ukrainians Continues:

1. policy of making Ukrainians feel as if they were "junior partners," begun under Khrushchev, has continued under the present regime.

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

#### b) Religious Persecution:

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

Religious persecution is not limited only to the





His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Slipy meets Hierarchs of Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the United States.

Cardinal Slipy (center) is flanked by Metropolitan John Theodorovych (left) and Archbishop Mstyslav Skrypnyk (right), both of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S.A.

Catholic Church in Ukraine. The number of Orthodox Churches has shrunk to a skeleton network. In October, 1966, in the city of Zhytomyr several persons were tried for giving religious instruction to children; all were either of the Orthodox faith or belonged to the Ukrainian Baptists' organization. A vicious attack on the Baptists in Ukraine appeared in the November 1966 issue of *Ludyna i Svit* (man and the World), published in Kiev.

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

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

#### c) Cultural and Linguistic Genocide in Ukraine:

But what is perhaps the most insidious and telling damage the Russian imperialists inflict upon Ukraine is that wreaked by the policy of cultural and linguistic genocide.

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

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

1966). Protests by the Ukrainian Writers' Association in Exile were addressed to the International PEN, the European Community of Writers, and UNESCO. Protests to the State Department in Washington were sent by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

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

#### Conclusion

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

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

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

"The imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Po-

Soviet Russian Prison Camps — Shame and Disgrace of XXth Century!

Barbed wire and watchtowers surround the slave labor camps where Ukrainian intellectuals are kept as punishment for their struggle for freedom.

(Courtesy: Ukrainian Review, No. 4, 1967, London)





Hon. Liu Chieh, Permanent Representative of the Republic of China, speaks at the banquet of the 9th Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent, held on October 7-9, 1966 in New York City.

land, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, north Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others. . . .”

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

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

have had to be channeled into constructive directions.

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

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

### **Public Self-Burning in Kyiv**

It has been rumoured for some time that a Ukrainian patriot has publicly burned himself in Kyiv. This has now been confirmed. On May 11, 1968 Vasyl Makukh burned himself while crowds watched. Setting fire to himself he cried out: "Long live free Ukraine!" Makukh, who spent long years in Russian concentration camps, left two children. There is information that Vasyl Makukh was a veteran of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). He has been convicted for his nationalistic activities in the past.



# Events in Ukraine: Their Meaning

Despite an alleged "pacification" of Eastern Europe as the aftermath of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, information and news continue to filter through the Iron Curtain to the effect that the Kremlin is extremely jittery and apprehensive.

From occasional tourists and correspondents and through other media it is clear that the Russian totalitarians are not faring well in Ukraine, where the situation goes from bad to worse. Evidently the Communist overlords have not only a "generation gap" problem in Ukraine, but a series of their important problems which cannot be solved without a severe internal shake-up.

## Ukraine: A Stubborn and Unconquerable Country

In the past few years the Kremlin has been shocked by what has gone on in Ukraine. The new generation, professing to be unswerving disciples of Marx and Lenin, has posed a powerful challenge to Moscow's unbridled Russification and oppression of Ukraine. Hundreds of writers and the creative intelligentsia had been arrested, tried and given harsh sentences for non-conformity to the Communist dogma and for the propagation of anti-Soviet, "bourgeois nationalist ideology."

During 1968 when the USSR was observing International Human Rights Year, Ukrainian intellectuals were shackled and carted off to labor camps. Yet the U.N. not only saw fit to keep mum about the destruction of human rights in Ukraine, but even proceeded to bestow a "human rights award" on Prof. Peter R. Nedbailo, Soviet Ukraine's representative to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. Thus continued was a pattern that has haunted Ukraine: its oppression and persecution with the tacit collaboration of the West.

## New Attack on Catholicism in Ukraine

In 1945-46 the Soviet government abetted by the Russian Orthodox Church, ruthlessly destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine. Of the thousands of priests, monks and nuns only a handful submitted to Orthodoxy; most went underground. In

1962, at the beginning of the Ecumenical Council, a movement for a *rapprochement* with the Vatican gained momentum in certain Western countries. Many believed that the millenium had arrived.

But the true face of Russia was shown in August, 1968. Moscow invaded Czechoslovakia in pursuit of its "policy of coexistence" and "brotherhood" within its own sphere of "socialist influence." Thus ended the brief period of "liberalization" in Czechoslovakia, which saw the release of Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Vasyl Hopko by the Prague government after 13 years of communist captivity, and Ukrainian-language radio broadcasts and newspapers being allowed the Ukrainian minority in Czechoslovakia. These measures had a powerful impact upon the neighboring 46-million Ukrainian nation. Moscow returned to the persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and hundreds of thousands of Catholic faithful, who, although they had been deprived of their legal church organization, did not cease to be Catholics.

On January 27, 1969, however, the KGB arrested in Lviv the Most Rev. Vasyl Welychkovsky, Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. This development was reported in the American press (*The New York Times*, Feb. 27, 1969, and *America*, Feb. 21, 1969.) Arrests of known Ukrainian Catholic priests took place in other Ukrainian cities.

The Communist press in Ukraine has been printing vitriolic and denunciatory articles against the Ukrainian Catholic Church (cf. *Pravda Ukrainy*, Nov. 28, 1968, *Kultura i Zhyttia*, Jan. 19, 1969), by way of justifying the arrests and trials.

Moreover, reports from Ukraine disclose that mysterious fires have destroyed the priceless Ukrainian archives and library at the Church of St. George in the Vydubensky Monastery in Kiev and a great collection of Jewish documents in the Great Synagogue in the Ukrainian port city of Odessa. In 1964, it is to be recalled, a fire destroyed the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev. Ukrainians strongly suspect that these fires were deliberate sabotage on the part of the KGB to wipe out of existence historical documents that could have been used as rallying points for Ukrainian nationalist sentiments.

A novel of a leading Ukrainian writer, Oles Honchar, was sharply criticized for leaning toward the Ukrainian past and heritage. Several hundred copies of the book, known as *Sobor* (The Cathedral), were burned in April, 1968, in a square in Kharkiv. There

"I turn to you because it may happen that in a few months' time a new crime will be perpetrated against me. . . Or it may happen that a mass crime will be repeated on political prisoners in Mordovia (and everything is ready for it) — that they all will be physically destroyed, and later the executors of this crime will be annihilated. . ."

Yuriy Shukhevych

(Son of Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, Commander of the UPA; "Smolenskyp" Information Service, Baltimore, Feb. 1968)

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MUNICH — According to the Ukrainian weekly *Path to Victory* and the Swiss paper *Der Bund*, political demonstrations is staged by the Ukrainian population of Lviv took place at the grave of General Myron Tarnavsky of the Ukrainian Galician Army.

The KGB, the Soviet secret police has taken a dim view of this resurgence of nationalist feeling. Only recently the KGB arrested a group of intellectuals who met at the home of a school teacher in Lviv to discuss Russian cultural policies in Ukraine.

The *Der Bund* newsman notes that nowhere in Eastern Europe was there such widespread support of the Czechoslovaks as there was among the Ukrainians.

The occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet armies aroused widespread opposition in Ukraine. The Soviet regime moved swiftly to silence the protestors. The rector of Kiev University, one of the signers of an open letter protesting the occupation of Czechoslovakia, was removed from his post. Altogether, some 200 prominent writers and intellectuals have been arrested in Ukraine recently, reports *Der Bund*.

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"A man is not a soulless automaton or robot who can live by a defined program. He considers each program with his brains and heart. The collision of thoughts, the battle of views, the crossing of ideas — this is the lever that has driven and always will drive mankind forward. The greatest saturation with material wealth without the un-fettering of thought and will is not Communism. It is merely a large prison with bigger rations for the prisoners. . ."

Vyacheslav M. Chornovil

(*The Times*, Feb. 7, 1968, London)

is also evidence that a Ukrainian patriot, Vasyl Makukh, burned himself to death on November 5, 1968, in Kiev, as he cried, "Long Live a Free Ukraine."

### Strong Will to Freedom

Writing in *Modern World* (1968), published in West Germany, Prof. Hugh Seton-Watson, a noted British authority on Soviet affairs, emphasized a point which frequently escapes the attention of some American experts on the USSR. He writes:

"National and cultural loyalties (of Ukrainians to the idea of an independent Ukraine, of Central Asian Moslems to a Moslem way of life) continue to have a widespread following. . . In the Soviet Union the Russians dominate an empire inhabited by a great variety of smaller nations. The second most numerous nation, the Ukrainians, occupy a peculiar situation. In language, culture and religious heritage they are very close to the Russians, and the claim of the Ukrainian political and cultural elite, that it forms a distinct nation, is little more than a century old. A large number of Russians have never admitted that the Ukrainians are a nation, and it is arguable that most Russians still do not admit it. On the other hand, it is undeniable that, on the occasions when at least a part of the Ukrainian people has a chance to express its views, it has shown itself bitterly hostile to Russia, and has sought independence. As for the smaller nations of the Soviet Union, all differ very greatly from the Russians, and all have been incorporated by force, at one time or another, into the Russian Empire. . . The evidence shows that the Soviet leaders are afraid of anti-Russian nationalism among their own subjects. Relaxation of the dictatorship might lead to dangerous separatist movements. It would seem that the multi-national nature of the Soviet Union is an important obstacle to the extension of liberties. The Russian citizen is in the predicament from which the citizens of other empires suffered. By depriving Ukrainians, Letts, Tatars or other peoples of their liberty, the Russian substantially reduces his own chances of winning liberty. . ."

(Here the prominent British historian errs in defining the age of the Ukrainian independence movement. The Kievan State and the Galician-Volhynian State were essentially Ukrainian state organisms, and there was the Ukrainian Kozak period of independence. In 1654, Ukraine and Muscovy signed the Treaty of Pereyaslav as two equal states. The XIXth century Ukrainian political movement was a continuation of the state tradition of Ukraine, which lost its independence temporarily to Russia, Poland or Turkey.)

### Sobering British View vs. "Mother Russia" Bias

It is significant that British Soviet specialists and,



for that matter, British statesmen, are far more realistic and objective than are some of our home-grown "Kremlinologists." For instance, a reviewer of *The Chornovil Papers* (cf. *The Times* of London, January 30, 1969), in praising the revelations by this undaunted Ukrainian journalist named Vyacheslav Chornovil, stated:

"The 'Away-from-Moscow' polycentrism, which has been manifesting itself not only in a vast and rich country like Ukraine, with a population of more than forty million, but also in Georgia, Armenia and even 'backward' Muslim countries like Bashkiria . . . is one of the greatest nightmares of the Kremlin today. In a spirit completely contrary to Lenin's nationalities policy, it was Stalin who, at the end of the Second World War, declared the Russians to be the 'best' of the peoples of the Soviet Union, thus giving them a kind of Herrenvolk status in relation to the other nations of the multi-national country. . . ."

Now compare the writings and thinking of some of our experts. For instance, Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts calls Ukraine and Byelorussia "provinces of the Soviet Union." Speaking in favor of an "accommodation" with Communist China, he said:

"Possibly, if a political accommodation is reached between the Communist regime on the mainland and the government of Taiwan, the people of Taiwan might be represented in the United Nation as autonomous unit of China, by analogy to the present status of Byelorussia and the Ukraine in the United Nations as autonomous provinces of the United Nations . . ." (cf. *The New York Times*, March 21, 1969).

#### **Opponent of Freedom: 'The Washington Post'**

The editors of *The Washington Post*, who presumably formulate the official policy of this important newspaper, have shown themselves to be archly anti-Ukrainian. Writing in that newspaper on March 14, 1969, Stephen S. Rosenfeld staff writer, raises a number of questions as to Ukraine's basis for political

independence:

"Ukrainian 'nationalism' has some special aspects. With the size of France and the population of Britain, the Ukraine is the Soviet Union's largest non-Russian republic. Its culture and history offer the stuff of national identity for those seeking it. . . ."

The Ukraine has not enjoyed a very high repute in the United States. For one thing, many Russian, Jewish and Polish immigrants brought to this country a condescending view of Ukrainians, formed on European soil. Moreover, the organized Ukrainian-American community is dominated by men with ties to the western Ukraine. Washington's Lev Dobriansky, author of the 'Captive Nations Resolution,' is prominent among them. They tend to favor Ukrainian statehood, which would mean the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, and in pursuit of this goal they have practiced the harshest tactics of the cold war. Hence they have set themselves apart from the mass of Americans who, unconcerned with Ukrainian affairs per se, desire better relations with the Soviet Union. . . ."

This was actually written after the Soviet Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, after the Kremlin persecution throughout Eastern Europe, and after a mass of evidence became available in the persecution of the Ukrainian people by Communist Russia.

Self-styled American experts on the nationalities of the USSR inevitably will end by being dismissed. But meanwhile they are muddling the views and thought of many people. Unlike Soviet experts elsewhere, some of our specialists are emotionally involved, perhaps because they or their ancestors have had some unsettled scores with the Ukrainians.

Nonetheless, Ukraine is a pivotal nation in the USSR, Moscow knows this only too well, and is doing everything it can to prevent this fact from being appreciated in the world at large. In this respect, it receives invaluable assistance from those molders of public opinion who equate the USSR with Russia" who believe that "Holy Russia" is immune to the winds of freedom blowing throughout the world today.

### **Russia Is Building New Concentration Camps**

The Swiss press reports that the Russians are building new concentration camps. Beginning in 1966 these new camps are being constructed in the Asian parts of the Soviet Union. The Swiss paper *Der Bund* writes: "During the last two years 56 new concentration camps have been constructed in the USSR. Most of them are to be found in the vicinity of Darya, near the Amur, where 15,000 prisoners are being kept at present. They work on the construction of railroads and new roads. A large number of prisoners from the satellite states can also be found there. There are many women." *Der Bund* adds that conditions are particularly severe in the concentration camps of Vorkuta, Vyazma and others.

# Destruction of Human Rights in Ukraine

For the past three years the Soviet government has been conducting an unpublicized but nonetheless ruthless campaign of arrests, trials and convictions of Ukrainian writers, poets, journalists, professors, students and other men and women of intellect.

Unlike the trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel and the recent trial of Ginzburg and Dobrovolsky in Moscow, the arrests and trials in Ukraine have never been publicly acknowledged by the Soviet government. Literally, not a word has appeared in the Soviet press about the arrests, trials and convictions and, in many cases, the relatives of the victims have not been notified officially.

And yet the extent and depth of the repression of Ukrainian intellectuals by Moscow has amounted to a veritable *pogrom*. Beginning in August, 1965, hundreds of Ukrainian intellectuals have been arrested in such Ukrainian cities as Kiev, Lviv, Odessa, Ivano-Frankivsk (Stanyslaviv), Lutsk, Zhytomyr and Ternopil, a series of secret trials have subsequently been held at which Ukrainian intellectuals have received long sentences at hard labor. At these trials, all the basic processes of law have been violated or ignored by the Soviet courts and the KGB (the Soviet secret police), which body frequently has acted as accuser, prosecutor and judge. Most of those arrested are young men and women, almost all of them reared under the Soviet system, and possessing no connections with the Ukrainians outside Ukraine.

All of them have been charged with "anti-Soviet" nationalist writings, "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," and the like. In many cases, too, these Ukrainian intellectuals have been accused of glorifying the Ukrainian past, reading prerevolutionary books by Ukrainian authors banned in Ukraine, and copying and disseminating secretly speeches of Western leaders, as for example, an encyclical of Pope John XXIII and the address of former President Dwight D. Eisenhower which he delivered at the unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko monument on June 27, 1964, in Washington, D.C.

None of these arrested have either been saboteurs or anti-government "wreckers." As Edward Crankshaw, the noted British Sovietologist, puts it, they discussed among themselves and among their friends, ways and means of *legally* resisting the forcible Russification of Ukraine and the continued destruction of its culture. Some of them protested against the

unbridled persecution of the national minorities, notably the Jews; they accused the Soviet government of inhuman deportations of the Baltic people and the "liquidation" of such ethnic groups as the Crimean Tartars, Volga Germans, Chechen-Ingush and Karachais. They assailed the systematic influx of Russians into the Ukrainian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Byelorussian and other non-Russian cities, where they occupy well-paying and preferred positions at the expense of the native non-Russian inhabitants.

The Ukrainian press in the free world has been replete with information regarding the persecution of the Ukrainian intellectuals and in 1966 the international press broke its silence by reporting the arrest and trial of two Ukrainian poets, Ivan Svitlychny and Ivan Dzyuba.

By the beginning of 1968 the international press was providing a vast amount of documentation on the suppression of Ukrainian culture in Ukraine by Moscow.

Now, a *White Book* on the trials and convictions of Ukrainian intellectuals has been smuggled out of Ukraine and published in Ukrainian by the Ukrainian publication *Ukrainske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word) in Paris. The book provides irrefutable proof of the veritable *pogrom* of Ukrainian intellectual life in Ukraine conducted by Moscow. Entitled, *Portraits of 20 'Criminals,'* it was written by 30-year-old Vyacheslav M. Chornovil, a Ukrainian TV journalist and himself a member of the Comsomol organization. In his official capacity he attended the trials of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" in Odessa, Lviv and Kiev and witnessed the flagrant violations of human rights on the part of the Soviet courts and secret police. He gathered material, made transcripts of secret trials, and collected depositions and petitions from prisoners whom he considered innocent. He then wrote official protests, demanding rectification of the injustice in Ukraine. For his pains, he was arrested and tried in Lviv, and condemned to 3 years at hard labor on November 15, 1967.

On the basis of Chornovil's manuscript, a series of articles have appeared in the world press. Several factual and penetrating articles by Peter Worthington have been published by *The Toronto Telegram*. *The New Leader* of New York in its issue of January 15, 1968 published the petition of Svyatoslav Y. Karavansky, which was sent to the Council of Nationalities of



"Reliance is placed on the hope of breaking the will of the arrested person and forcing him to recite a memorized part at his trial. The longer the man sits behind bars, the longer the only individual with whom he can speak is the KGB investigating officer, with his monotonous ditty about the terrible crime and the need to repent; the longer the prison door lock keeps banging closed while the vigilant guard keeps looking into the spy hole, the greater the guarantee that a human being will turn into clay from which it is possible to mould whatever one desires..."

Vyacheslav M. Chornovil  
(*The Times*, Feb. 7, 1968, London)

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Letter from the State Department

"We have read with interest the material you enclosed with your letter and bringing this information to the attention of appropriate agencies of the U.S. Government. We are also forwarding copies of the contents of your letter to our UN Mission and our Embassy in Moscow..."

Malcolm Toon  
Country Director  
Soviet Union Affairs

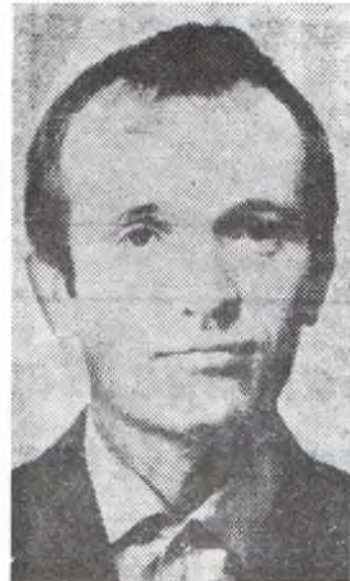
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March 5, 1968

From letter to UCCA  
from U.S. Mission to the U.N.

"...On various occasions U.S. delegates at the U.N. have taken appropriate opportunities to remind the USSR, and the world community, that the peoples of the USSR have the same right to self-determination which the people of so-called "colonial" countries possess, and we have urged the Soviet Union to permit the full exercise of this right... Please be assured that the denial of freedom from the Baltic to the Black Sea remains a matter of great concern. Our Government's policy continues to be one of support for the just aspirations of all peoples to determine freely the political arrangements under which they live..."

John Stuart, Jr.  
Deputy Director



Vyacheslav M. Chornovil  
TV Journalist, Author of *The Chornovil Paper*

the USSR. On February 7, 1968, *The Times* of London carried a long article on Chornovil's revelations. *The New York Times* devoted extensive coverage to the subject on February 8 and 9, 1968, including an editorial on February 10, 1968. On February 11, 1968, *The Observer* of London featured an extensive and penetrating analysis of the Ukrainian cases by Edward Crankshaw. Also in London appeared an article by Gabriel Lorince in the February 23, 1968 issue of *New Statesman*. Penetrating articles and commentaries on the plight of the Ukrainian intellectuals appeared in *Die Welt* of Hamburg, *Die Sued-Deutsche Zeitung* of Munich, *Le Monde* of Paris and *L'Osservatore Romano* of Rome.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, working closely with the Secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, has designated April 28, 1968 as a day of protest against the inhuman and brutal violation of human rights in Ukraine committed by Communist Russia. Mass rallies, manifestation, public meetings and gatherings will be held in all major American cities, as well as in other countries with Ukrainian populations.

Special petitions and memoranda are being prepared for submission to the International Conference on Human Rights, (which will be held from April 22 to May 13, 1968 in Teheran, Iran), to the U.N. Human Rights Commission, as well as to the U.S. Government and other governments of the free world.

U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Arthur J. Goldberg, in a debate in the U.N. Human Rights Commission on March 8, 1968, assailed the Soviet Union for its violations of Art. 19 of the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which says:



Svyatoslav Y. Karavansky  
Poet, Translator and Journalist, sentenced to  
8 years and 7 months of hard labor.

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinion without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

Ironically enough, the Soviet constitution speaks eloquently on the same subject:

"In conformity with the interests of workers and

for the purpose of strengthening the Socialist system of the USSR, the law guarantees: a) Freedom of speech; b) Freedom of the press; c) Freedom of assembly and meetings; d) Freedom of processions and demonstrations on the street."

Yet Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, under which Ukrainian intellectuals are being tried and convicted, inescapably contradicts both the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Soviet constitution: it provides punishment for "agitation or propaganda for the purpose of undermining the Soviet rule. . ."

Communist Russia's violation of human rights in Ukraine constitutes also a crass negation of the sovereignty Ukraine "enjoys" in terms of the Soviet and Ukrainian constitutions. Art. 14 of the Soviet constitution and Art. 17 of the Ukrainian SSR constitution provide the Ukrainian SSR with the right to secede from the USSR and to conduct its own life independently.

This right, like the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is treated by the Russian Communist leaders as a mere scrap of paper.

The overwhelming abundance of evidence demonstrating Communist Russia's violation of human rights in Ukraine and the vehement denial to the Ukrainian people of the right of self-determination prove that Ukraine is still a captive nation, ruled more harshly than ever by colonialist Russia, perpetrator of genocide and violator of human rights on a subhuman scale.

## **WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE UKRAINIANS** **Presidium of the Secretariat:**

The World Congress of Free Ukrainians, held in New York City, November 12-19 established itself into a permanent institution to be convened every six years. The Congress formed a Secretariat, consisting of a Presidium and an Executive Organ, which will change its seat and composition every two years. For the first two-year term, the Secretariat will make its headquarters in Canada, then transfer to the United States before relocating to Europe for the remaining two years of the six-year term.

The first Presidium of the Secretariat consists of the following:

Msgr. Dr. Basil Kushnir (Canada), president; Joseph Lesawyer (USA), Antin Melnyk (Europe), Dr. Wasyl Ivanytzky (Argentina), Stefan Plakhtyn (Brazil), Myroslav Boluch (Australia), vice-presidents; Nicholas Plawiuk (Canada), secretary general; Ignatius M. Billinsky (USA) and Sviatoslav Fostun (Europe), deputy secretaries; Ivan Iwanchuk (Canada), treasurer; Dr. Bohdan Hnatiuk (USA) and Omelian Kowal (Europe), deputy treasurers.

**PRESIDIUM MEMBERS:** Archbishop-Metropolitan Maxime Heraniuk (Ukrainian Catholic Church), Archbishop Mstyslav (Ukrainian Orthodox Church), Pastor Ivan Yacentyi (Ukrainian Protestant Churches), John Synnick (Canada), Dr. Matthew Stachiw (USA), and Rev. Omelian Bachynsky (Europe).

**AUDITING BOARD:** Julian Revay (USA), Dr. Michael Marunchak (Canada), Dr. Nicholas Iwanoych (Europe), Wenedict Wassiuk (Venezuela), Myroslav Shegedyn (Australia)

**EXECUTIVE ORGAN** (for a term of two years with the seat in Canada): Dr. B. Kushnir, president; J. Synnick, vice-president; N. Plawiuk, secretary general; Ivan Iwanchuk, treasurer.



# Ukrainians in the Free World



*The following was published by the Ukrainian National Association on the Occasion of the First World Congress of Free Ukrainians.*

The enslavement of Ukraine by its more powerful neighbors and the intolerable economic and social conditions prevailing in Ukraine forced thousands upon hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians to emigrate to overseas in search of a better life. Once established in the new lands, the Ukrainians began setting up their own national, religious, social and cultural organizations and associations, quickly becoming a powerful factor not only in the development of their new homelands, but mustering as well a powerful voice in defense of their oppressed and exploited home country.

The population of Ukraine, according to official Soviet sources, was 45,900,000 as of January 1, 1967, of which number the Ukrainians constituted 77 percent or 35,343,000. In addition, at least 5,063,000 Ukrainians, as per the same sources, (actually, according to non-Soviet Ukrainian sources, some 8-9 million ) live outside Ukraine in other parts of the USSR.

There are about 450,000 Ukrainians in Poland, 118,000 in Czechoslovakia, 119,000 in Rumania, and 40,000 in Yugoslavia.

Ukrainians living in foreign lands, including their descendants, may be divided into two principal groups:

a) *Non-political Ukrainian Immigrants*, who left Ukraine at the end of the 19th and at the beginning

of the 20th centuries mainly for economic and social reasons—specifically, a better life, in such overseas countries as the United States and Canada and the countries of South America:

b) *Ukrainian Political Emigration*, primarily former members of the Ukrainian armed forces and Ukrainian government, (1917-1920), professional men and women, students, and others, who left Ukraine for political reasons. Not counting the Ukrainian political emigration that left Ukraine after the defeat of allies Hetman Ivan Mazepa and King Charles XII of Sweden at Poltava (1709), the bulk of the Ukrainian political emigration left in two periods: 1) after World War I (1920-1923), and 2) during and after World War II (1941-1946).

At the present time Ukrainians are to be found on every continent.

## Argentina

To this Latin American country belongs the distinction of having the largest number of Ukrainians, some 125,000 to 150,000, which include both Ukrainian immigrants and their Argentine-born children. The beginning of Ukrainian settlement in Argentina dates back to 1900. As is true of other overseas countries, most of the Ukrainians hail from Western Ukraine, only a small percentage coming from Eastern Ukraine. A large influx of several thousands came into the country after World War II (a number of these, however, re-emigrated to the United States and Canada). The largest centers of Ukrainian settlement are in



Presidium of the Seventh Congress of Ukrainians in Argentina and executive members of the Ukrainian Central Representation in November, 1965.

Buenos Aires, Chaco, Misiones and Cordova.

The principal organization uniting all Ukrainians here is the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Community (*Representacion Central de la Colectividad Ucraina*); its present head is Dr. Basilio Ivanytzky. It embraces all social, cultural and political organizations and groups, and is a member of the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference (PAUC), with headquarters in New York.

Appearing are two Ukrainian-language weekly newspapers: *Ukrainske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word), published by the *Prosvita* (Enlightenment) Society, and *Nash Klych* (Our Call), organ of the Ukrainian *Vidrodzennia* organization. A Spanish-language review, *Ucrania Libre* (Free Ukraine), is published by the *Instituto Informativo-Editorial Ucraino* in Buenos Aires. In addition there is a variety of non-periodical bulletins and information circulars, many of these published by the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox churches.

A large number of "old-timers" have succeeded establishing their own businesses and commercial establishments, a smaller number own large farms. Ukrainians also are to be found in all the professions.

The majority of Ukrainians are Catholic of Ukrainian Rite. They are under the jurisdiction of the Most Rev. Andrew Sapelak, Apostolic Visitor for Ukrainians in Argentina. The well-organized Basilian Fathers (Order of St. Basil the Great) conduct far-ranging missionary work and maintain schools, orphanages, and the like.

The Ukrainian Orthodox belong to the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, which was established by new Ukrainian immigrants from Ukraine; it is under the jurisdiction of Metropolitan John Theodorovych of the United States.

Nationalist-minded Ukrainian organizations com-

bat vigorous and unceasing Communist propaganda among Ukrainians in Argentina which seeks to induce them to return to the Soviet "paradise."

### Australia

Before 1948 only a few Ukrainian families were to be found in Australia. A mass, organized immigration of Ukrainians into Australia took place in 1948 on the basis of an agreement between the Australian government and the International Refugee Organization (IRO). Over 20,000 Ukrainian displaced persons came over from Germany and Austria. Although a number of them re-emigrated to the United States and Canada, the number of Ukrainians in Australia increased by virtue of the birthrate. According to statistical data provided by the *Federation of Ukrainian Associations in Australia*, a national body representing all Ukrainians and headed by M. Boliuch, the number of Ukrainians living in that sub-continent was over 37,000 in 1966. Over three-quarters of the Ukrainians live in the cities (Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, Brisbane, etc.).

Of that number, 19,000 are Catholics of Ukrainian-Byzantine Rite, 18,000 are Orthodox, and a small number are Evangelicals, Baptists and others. The Catholics are under the jurisdiction of the Most Rev. Ivan Prashko, Apostolic Exarch. The Orthodox Ukrainians belong to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, headed by the Most Reverend Metropolitan Nikanor in West Germany.

Ukrainian national life is well developed. Abounding are Ukrainian cultural, social, economic and political organizations, including youth, sports, choral and dance ensembles. Many Ukrainian professional men and women occupy prominent positions in the economic, industrial and educational spheres.

There are two newspapers. *Vilna Dumka* (Free





Consecration of Bishop Ivan Prasko as Exarch of Ukrainian Catholics in Australia and New Zealand. Taking part in the ceremonies, held in Melbourne in October, 1958, were Ukrainian Catholic bishops from other countries.

Thought) and *Ukrainets v Australii* (Ukrainian Settler in Australia). The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians in Australia support the Ukrainian liberation movement, whose goal is a free and independent Ukraine.

### Austria

There are over 5,000 Ukrainians in Austria, most of whom live in Vienna, Innsbruck, Salzburg and other large centers. Ukrainians in Austria fall into

two groups: a) the "old-timers," who had lived in Austria before 1914, a time when Galicia, Bukovina and Carpatho-Ukraine were parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire; b) the "new-comers," most of whom are Ukrainian displaced persons who remained in Austria after World War II. The St. Barbara Ukrainian Catholic parish is to be found in Vienna. There are several Ukrainian national, social and cultural organizations. Recently a Coordinating Council of Ukrainian Organizations in Austria has been established, headed by Julian Kostiuk.

Mixed chorus of St. Barbara Ukrainian Catholic Church in Vienna during a concert in honor of Ukraine's poet-laureate Taras Shevchenko in 1961. First from left is Andrew Hnatyshyn, noted Ukrainian composer and conductor of the chorus.



## Belgium

Before World War I there were some 300 Ukrainians in Belgium, mostly seasonal workers and students, and between World Wars I and II this number was doubled by the influx of political emigres and students.

After World War II the number of Ukrainians was sharply increased by the addition of 2,000 women, originally sent to slave labor work in Germany, then moved to Belgium. By 1947 there were 10,000 Ukrainians, most of whom had entered under work contracts from displaced persons camps in Germany. After termination of contracts these either returned to Germany or emigrated to Canada and the United States. At present Belgium has over 3,000 Ukrainians, clustered in the provinces of Hainaut, Limbourg and Liege and in the cities of Brussels and Louvain. The central Ukrainian representative organization is the Ukrainian Relief Committee, headed by Volodymyr Popovych. The Committee has 15 branches in Belgium which carry on social, cultural and other community and national activities.

## Brazil

The history of the Ukrainian immigration in Brazil goes back to the last decade of the 19th century. Many of this first wave became pioneers, cutting down dense jungle growth to build roads and farms. Most hailed from Galicia, then under Austria, and were Catholic. The majority of them settled in the state of Parana, in such settlement-cities as Antonio Olinto, Santa Andrada, Malet, Prudentopolis and Curitiba. Succeeding waves of Ukrainians included about 15,000 in 1907-1914, about 9,000 between World Wars I and II; and after World War II about 7,000 more, coming from DP camps in Germany and Austria.

The present number of Ukrainians in Brazil is

estimated at 120,000, of which number only 10 percent were born in Ukraine; the remaining 90 percent represent two generations born in Brazil. Percentage-wise, 85 live in the State of Parana, 9 in the State of Sao Paulo, 3 in Santa Catarina, 2 in Rio Grande do Sul, and 1 in the other states. An overwhelming majority live on farms, village settlements and in small towns.

Of the 120,000 Ukrainians, 99,000 (82.5%) belong to the Ukrainian Rite Catholic Church. From 1951 until 1958 the Ukrainian Catholic Church was under the jurisdiction of Jaime Cardinal de Barros Camara, Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro. In 1958 the Holy See appointed a first Ukrainian Catholic Bishop, Most Rev. Joseph Martynets; in 1962 he became Apostolic Exarch. The exarchate has 15 parishes and several schools, religious houses and charitable organizations.

The Ukrainian Orthodox in Brazil, who number over 10,000 faithful, belong to the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church and are under the religious authority of Metropolitan John Theodorovych of the United States. A dozen Ukrainian Orthodox parishes are supplemented by a number of schools and other organizations. The Very Rev. Filimon Kulchytsky heads the General Council of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church.

As in all other overseas countries, Ukrainians in Brazil maintain many active social, cultural and political organizations. Prominent since World War II is the Agricultural-Educational Union, which publishes a Ukrainian-language weekly, *Khliborob* (O Lavrador). In existence since 1947 is the Association of Friends of Ukrainian Culture (*Sociadade dos Amigos de la Cultura Ucraina*); its organ is the Ukrainian-language weekly *Pratsia* (Labor). The first group is headed by Stepan Kobylansky, the second by Mykola Hets. Both associations have several branches in the State of Parana, conduct radio programs in the Ukrainian and Portuguese languages, and publish books as well



Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Basilian Order in Prudentopolis, State of Parana, Brazil.



as newspapers.

Many Brazilians of Ukrainian descent serve in the state and federal parliaments, the army and the administration.

### Canada

In number, the Ukrainians in this country make up the fourth nationality, following the Anglo-Saxon, French and German, and form a powerful element in the ethnic mosaic of Canada. According to censuses and other population data, there are approximately 700,000 Ukrainians in Canada. Like their counterparts in the United States, Ukrainians in Canada started arriving in the last two decades of the last century. The waves of immigration corresponded to the worsening of conditions in the countries which occupied Ukrainian lands at the time. Too, the policy of the Canadian government regarding immigration was an important factor. The majority of them came between 1900 and 1914, smaller waves washing over Canadian shores after each world war. The last wave brought over 35,000 Ukrainians from DP camps in Germany and Austria.

Most of the early Ukrainian immigrants settled in the three prairie provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Later immigrants put down roots in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia.

Ukrainians in Canada belong to the finest tradition of the self-reliant and industrious pioneer, settling rich but wholly uncultivated areas and helping erect the present impressive structure of Canadian life in all fields of human endeavors — economic, professional, cultural, political and religious. Ukrainians have brought under fruitful cultivation about 10 million acres of Canadian soil, have won many championships in agriculture, and have gained distinction

as agricultural scientists. They helped to build the continental Canadian railroads, and have contributed substantially to the industrial development of Canada. There are several millionaires among the Ukrainians in Canada.

Ukrainians are heavily represented in the professional and business life, and have played an important role in the fields of education and technological development.

Noteworthy, too, is their contribution to Canadian political life. In the last 75 years there have been 79 parliamentarians of Ukrainian descent, including 63 provincial members, 13 federal members and three senators, and one federal minister. They are also heavily represented in the administration, courts, and armed forces of Canada, as well as in its cultural and educational life.

In the majority they are Catholics of the Ukrainian Rite. About 600 parishes are organized in a Metropolitan See, with the Most Rev. Maxime Hermaniuk as Metropolitan in Winnipeg, and three more dioceses: in Toronto, with Bishop Isidore Borecky, in Edmonton, with Bishop N. Neil Savaryn, and in Saskatoon, with Bishop Andrew Roborecky.

The Ukrainian Orthodox have about 300 parishes and are headed by Metropolitan Ilarion and Bishops Borys and Michael. There also are Ukrainian Protestant and Baptist communities in Canada.

The overall organization is the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC), founded in 1940, which unites 29 Ukrainian Canadian national organizations, with the exception of a small pro-Soviet oriented group. The UCC coordinates all activities of the Ukrainian Canadians and makes them an integral part of Canadian life. It is headed by Very Rev. Msgr. Basil Kushnir.

The Ukrainians in Canada possess powerful economic, cultural and political organizations and a far-

Lester B. Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada, addresses a gathering of 1,500 Ukrainian youth in Parliament Square, Ottawa, in July, 1967.



flung network of schools, choral and dance societies, youth, women's, sports and veterans' associations and other organizations.

There is a well-developed Ukrainian press, including such weeklies, as *Ukrainsky Holos* (The Ukrainian Voice), *Novy Shliakh* (The New Pathway), *Postup* (Progress) and *Kanadiysky Farmer* (The Canadian Farmer) — all in Winnipeg; *Ukrainski Visti* (Ukrainian News) in Edmonton, and *Homin Ukrainy* (Echo of Ukraine), *Nasha Meta* (Our Aim), *Vilne Slovo* (Free Word) and *Batkiyshchyna* (The Fatherland) in Toronto.

### Chile

The first Ukrainian immigrants, a few hundred in all, arrived in Chile after World War II. Most settled around the capital of Santiago. Attending to their spiritual needs was a small Ukrainian Catholic parish headed by Rev. Augustine Porodko, who was also a professor of mathematics at the University of Chile.

But harsh economic conditions and other unfavorable features of life compelled these Ukrainian immigrants to seek a better life elsewhere, so that by 1967 only a handful of Ukrainian families were in Chile.

### France

The Ukrainian emigration in France dates back to the time of Hetman Ivan Mazepa. Among the most outstanding Ukrainian political exiles was Hryhor Orlyk, son of Hetman Philip Orlyk, who as a high-ranking French officer, brought in a number of Ukrainian Kozak officers. Another phase of the Ukrainian emigration to France took place after the revolution of 1905 in Russia, several hundred U-

krainian political emigres, most of them from Ukraine under Russia, forming a *Circle des Ukrainiens a Paris* (1908-1914).

The third marked phase of Ukrainian emigration to France began soon after World War I. It comprises Ukrainians who served in the Russian expeditionary corps assigned to the French front, officials and employees of various diplomatic missions and economic delegations of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Western Ukrainian National Republic, and former members of the Ukrainian armed forces. Among the exiles were outstanding leaders of the Ukrainian revolution: Simon Petlura, Viacheslav Prokopovych, Alexander Shulhyn, and a number of generals (A. Udovychenko) and other high-ranking Ukrainian officers.

But the most numerous group among Ukrainians in France after 1923 were workers from Western Ukraine. In 1930 their number was placed at 35,000.

World War II brought in many Ukrainians, originally slave laborers in Germany and France, and POW's from the Soviet armies, plus remnants of Ukrainian military units formed by the German army. Finally, after World War II, some 5,000 Ukrainian displaced persons and political refugees entered. Many of them re-emigrated to Canada and the United States.

As of 1967 there are about 35,000 Ukrainians in France, including a new generation born in France. They are concentrated in the country's great industrial centers: Paris, Melun, Metz, Thionville, Algrange, Nancy, Strasbourg, Belfort, Lille, Roubaix, Arras, Grenoble, Le Creusot, St. Etienne, Clermont-Ferrand, Toulouse, Orleans, Caen, and others.

Over two-thirds (24,000) of the Ukrainians are Catholics of Ukrainian-Byzantine Rite under the jurisdiction of the Most Rev. Volodymyr Malanchuk, Apostolic Exarch. The Ukrainian Orthodox belong



Personnel of the Ukrainian Scientific Center in Sarcelles, France. Shown in the first row is Dr. Volodymyr Kubyovych, the Center's president.



to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Europe, but they are administered by the General Church Administration, headed by Serhiy Molchanivsky.

Of a number of Ukrainian national organizations, perhaps the most prominent are Ukrainian National Unity, successor to the Ukrainian National Union, organized in 1932, and the Union of Ukrainian Workers in France, a social and trade union type of organization. Both groups have branches throughout France.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society in Sarcelles (since 1951) constitutes the chief Ukrainian scholarly center not only for France, but for the whole of Western Europe. It is here that the *Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, under the editorship of Prof. Volodymyr Kubiyovych, is being prepared for publication.

Among the publications are *Jkrainske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word) in Ukrainian, and *L'Est Europeen*, *Bulletin Franco-Ukrainien* and *Echos d'Ukraine*, in French.

### Germany

The Ukrainian emigration in Germany dates back to the time of World War I, when Germany recognized the Ukrainian National Republic under the terms of the peace treaty of Brest Litovsk, February 9, 1918. The prime source was the thousands of Ukrainian POW's from the Russian armies. (From these prisoners of war two Ukrainian infantry divisions were formed and sent to Ukraine to combat the Bolsheviks). Berlin was then the center of Ukrainian diplomatic activity.

Between World Wars I and II many Ukrainian political leaders found shelter in Germany, among them former Hetman Paul Skoropadsky and Col. Eugene Konovalts, head of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Berlin housed the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, and publishing houses were to be found in Berlin and Leipzig.

But it was during and after World War II that Ukrainians arrived in Germany in great numbers. With the collapse of Nazi Germany there were at least 2,000,000 Ukrainians of all categories. Most of them were overtaken by the Red armies and forcibly repatriated to Ukraine and the USSR. At the end of 1946 there remained no less than 342,800 Ukrainians in various DP camps in West Germany. These included Ukrainians deported by the Nazi regime; Ukrainian political leaders released from Nazi concentration camps; Ukrainians who had fled or had been evacuated from Ukraine; former members of Ukrainian military units serving with the German armies ("Galicia" Division and others), and Ukrainian refugees from other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Most of them eventually emigrated to the United States, Canada, the countries of South America and Australia.

About 25,000 Ukrainians remain today in West Germany, with Munich as the center of all Ukrainian na-



Leaders of the Ukrainian National Republic-in-Exile shown here with Joseph Lesawyer, Executive Vice President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in Munich, Germany, July, 1967. Left to right: Dr. Athanas Figol, head of the Ukrainian National Rada's Executive Organ; Dr. Yakiv Makovetsky, President of the Ukrainian National Rada; J. Lesawyer; Mykola Livytsky, President of the Ukrainian National Republic-in-Exile; Dmytro Andrievsky and Michael Rudko.

tional, political, religious, social and cultural life. Despite their dwindling number, the Ukrainians in Germany are active and resourceful. Still in existence are the headquarters of all the main Ukrainian political groups and parties; at least twenty social, youth, religious, cultural, and scientific organizations, among them the Ukrainian Free University (UFU), recognized by the German Bavarian government.

The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians in Germany are Catholics of the Ukrainian Byzantine Rite, organized in the Apostolic Exarchate headed by the Most Rev. Platon Kornylak. The Ukrainian Orthodox belong to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, headed by the Most Reverend Metropolitan Nikanor. The Ukrainians in West Germany also number Protestant and Baptist communicants.

The principal organization is the Central Representation of Ukrainian Emigration in Germany (CRUEN), headed by Anthony Melnyk.

In Munich functions also the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (UUARC), which helps Ukrainian refugees with problems of emigration resettlement and relief.

A number of Ukrainian publications appear in Munich, among them: *Shliakh Peremohy* (Way to Victory), *Suchast* (Contemporary Times), *Khrystianskyi Holos* (The Christian Voice), *Ukrainskyi Samostiynyk* (Ukrainian Independent) and others.

### Paraguay

The Ukrainian immigrants in Paraguay may be sub-divided into two categories: a) those who settled in the country between World Wars I and II and b) those who arrived after World War II. At present there are 8,000 to 10,000 Ukrainians and their descendants. Over 60 percent of them are Orthodox, 30 percent Catholic, and 10 percent Seventh Day Adven-



Leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in Europe at the grave of Col. Eugene Konovalts in Rotterdam in 1958. First row, left to right: Stepan Lenkavsky, of the Foreign Branch of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN); the late Stepan Bandera, assassinated by a Communist agent in 1959; the late Col. Andrew Melnyk, leader of the OUN and the late Gen. Mykola Kapustiansky.

tists, Baptists, etc.

Typically, most Ukrainians are engaged in farming (*colonias*), cultivating *herba mate* (creole tea) and cotton, and in the production of lumber, meat and leather goods. Their principal organization is the *Centro Ucraino en el Republica del Paraguay*.

The majority of the pre-World War II immigrants came from Volhynia, Polisia and Pidlasia, fleeing Polish persecution. It was among these people that Soviet Russian propaganda, endeavoring to induce them to return to Ukraine, achieved a measure of success in 1952-57.

### United Kingdom

Prior to World War II only a handful of Ukrainians resided in the United Kingdom. Immediately after the war's end in 1945, however, there was an influx of some 55,000 Ukrainians. Most of them came from DP camps in West Germany and Austria. Arriving here, too, were over 8,000 former soldiers of the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army and a good many veterans of the Second Polish Army Corps of General Wladyslaw Anders.

At the present time there are 25,000 to 30,000 Ukrainians in Great Britain, most of them in such urban centers as London, Manchester, Leeds, Nottingham, Bradford, Dundee, Middleton and Edinburgh.

Over 22,000 of the Ukrainian community in Great Britain are Catholics of Ukrainian-Byzantine Rite, the Apostolic Exarchate is headed by the Most Rev. Augustine Eugene Hornyak. The Ukrainian Orthodox belong to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

The largest organization of Ukrainians is the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, headed by Prof. Robert Lisovsky. It encompasses the Ukrainian

Teachers' Association, the Ukrainian Women's Association, the Taras Shevchenko Library Fund, the Ukrainian Pedagogical and Cultural Commission, the Students' Relief Fund and the Invalids Fund.

The Association publishes a Ukrainian-language weekly, *Ukrainska Dumka* (Ukrainian Thought), a review for the youth, *Yuni Druzi* (Young Friends), and an English-language quarterly, *Ukrainian Review*, and *Vyzvolnyi Shliakh* (The Liberation Path). It also maintains a network of branches and centers, schools, social clubs, children's camps and its own national homes.

Other Ukrainian organizations in Great Britain are the "Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain," headed by Viacheslav Kochanivsky, and the "Society of Supporters of the Ukrainian National Council," presided over by Vasyl Babytsky. There also is an Anglo-Ukrainian organization, consisting of prominent English public figures, journalists and parliamentarians who are sympathetic to the Ukrainian cause and who publicize it through lectures, public statements and its own organ, the *Anglo-Ukrainian News*, appearing in London.

### United States

Of all European immigrants, the Ukrainians were comparative later-comers on the American scene. The great majority of them came before World War I. They were followed by two waves, totalling 100,000, after World Wars I and II. These were displaced persons and refugees who qualified under the DP law. According to reliable estimates, today there are about

2,000,000 Ukrainians and their descendants in the United States.

The principal centers of Ukrainian emigration fall in all the great industrial states of the country — New





The Ukrainian colony in Rome, Italy, shown here with Joseph Cardinal Slipy and other Ukrainian Catholic bishops attending the Ecumenical Council (1963).

York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and Indiana; and in the farm belt states of the Dakotas, Nebraska and Minnesota. Many Ukrainians also are to be found in the western and southern states.

Ukrainians in the United States have become well integrated and established. They possess a great number of Ukrainian fraternal benefit associations, churches, social, cultural, economic and financial institutions; many choral, dance and dramatic ensembles and circles and numerous youth and veterans' associations, women's organizations, and, above all, a number of great political organizations which faithfully reflect all the political trends and ideologies existing among the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian fraternal organizations played a vital part in the growth and development of the Ukrainian American community, and still remain the backbone of Ukrainian life in the United States. They are: the Ukrainian National Association (UNA), the oldest, largest and wealthiest of all; the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association (UWA), the "Providence" Association of Ukrainian Catholics, and the Ukrainian National Aid Association (UNAA).

An even more important role in the life of Ukrainians has been played by the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

The Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan See was established in 1958. After the death of Metropolitan

Constantine Bohachevsky in 1961, Bishop Ambrose Senyshyn became Archbishop for the Philadelphia Archdiocese of Ukrainians and Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States. Other Ukrainian Catholic dioceses are those of Stamford, headed by Bishop Joseph M. Schmondiuk, and Chicago, under the jurisdiction of Bishop Jaroslav Gabro.

There also are two Catholic Dioceses for the Ukrainians who came early in this century and who still maintain the archaic name of "Ruthenians" from Carpatho-Ukraine, that of Pittsburgh, headed by Bishop Nicholas Elko, and that of Passaic, headed by Bishop Stephen Kocisko.

The Ukrainian Orthodox have four dioceses in the United States. Largest is the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the United States, headed by Metropolitan John Theodorovych. Another, headed by Archbishop Hryhory of Chicago, is known as the *Sobor* church. The third, the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, belongs to the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church headed by Metropolitan Nikanor in Europe (the head of this church, Bishop Ihor, died recently). Fourth is the Ukrainian Orthodox Church headed by Archbishop Andrew Kushchak; it belongs to the Greek Orthodox Church of Constantinople.

There is also the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance of North America, with Volodymyr Borovsky as secretary general, which unites all Protestant and Evangelical Ukrainian communicants.



Cardinal Slipy meets Leaders of Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

In Monday, July 22, 1968 his Eminence Joseph Cardinal Slipy met with several members of the Executive Board of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Standing, front row, left to right: Ivan Bazarko, the late Prof. Roman Smal-Stocki; Ianatius M. Billinski; Very Rev. Myroslav Charyna, Mrs. Stefania Pushkar, Joseph Lesawyer; Stepan Sprynsky; Dr. Walter Gallan, Prof. Yu. Machuk; Second row, left to right: Paul Dorozynsky; Dr. Walter Dushnyck; Lev Futala; Walter Masur, and in the rear, Mstyslav Dolnycky, and Very Rev. Msgr. Myroslav Marusyn, secretary of Cardinal Slipy.

The overall representative body of Americans of Ukrainian descent is the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), which was founded in 1940. President since 1949 is Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University, a prominent American scholar and educator. The UCCA has 114 branches and unites some 54 Ukrainian national organizations in the United States, representing fraternal organizations, clubs, parishes, youth and women's organizations, veterans and professional groups, and a myriad of Ukrainian political organizations. The UCCA has been instrumental in implementing several outstanding projects, such as the erection in the nation's capitol in 1964 of the statue in honor of Taras Shevchenko, Ukrainian poet-laureate, and the passage of the "Captive Nations Week Resolution."

There are several Ukrainian organizations, academies, professional societies, and the like, among them the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States. A well-developed Ukrainian press includes *Svoboda*, the largest and oldest Ukrainian daily in the world, *Narodna Volya* (The People's Will), *America*, also one of the oldest Ukrainian newspapers, and *Ukrainian National Word*, all published by the Ukrainian fraternal associations; *The Ukrainian Quarterly* and *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, published by the UCCA; other publications are *The Ukrainian Weekly*, *Visnyk ODFFU*, *Nashe Zhyttia* (Our Life), *The Ukrainian Trend*, *Forum*, *Nova Zorya* (The New Star), *The Way*, *Ukrainske Pravoslavne Slovo* (Ukrainian Orthodox Word), *Ranok* (Dawn) and others.

Book publishing is one of the principal features of the activity of the Ukrainian American community. Among the most outstanding publications is the English-language *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, published by the University of Toronto Press for the

Ukrainian National Association in 1963.

Ukrainians in the United States have been and still are very active in trying to prevail upon the U.S. government to support the freedom aspirations of the Ukrainian people and of all other captive nations. For this they have been frequently assailed by the Communist press in Ukraine and in Russia.

### Uruguay

A few Ukrainians entered this country after World War II. The majority of the Ukrainian immigrants came between World Wars I and II, hailing from Volhynia (then under Poland) and Carpatho-Ukraine, then part of Czechoslovakia. Their number was estimated to be 8,000 at that time. This number has decreased considerably with the exodus of hundreds of Ukrainians to Canada and the United States.

Among the best organized groups are the *Prosvita* (Enlightenment) Association in Montevideo and the *Vidrodzennia* (Rebirth) Association, grouping Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox, respectively.

As in Paraguay, the Ukrainian emigration in Uruguay was constantly exposed to Soviet propaganda. Living in abject poverty, with no hope for improvement, many of them in desperation decided to return to Ukraine in the early 1950's.

### Venezuela

No official statistics are available to indicate even the approximate number of Ukrainians in Venezuela. Most of them came after World War II, and were erroneously listed as Polish, Soviet, Czechoslovak or Rumanian nationals, or as stateless. According to Ukrainian sources, they numbered 3,500 to 4,500 in





Opening of the Ninth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent in New York City in October, 1966.

1947-50. They settled mainly in Caracas, Valencia and Maracaibo. Over 60 percent of them are Catholic, the remainder, hailing from Eastern Ukraine, are Orthodox.

The Ukrainians here represent every shade of political thinking, as is true of the ideological differentiation of Ukrainian political groups everywhere.

The overall representative organization is the *Asociacion de Ucrucianos en Venezuela*, the only Ukrainian organization officially recognized by the Venezuelan government.

Many Ukrainians have left Venezuela for other countries, notably the United States and Canada.

#### Other Countries

Ukrainians, often highly-organized, live in a number of other Western European countries. In *Italy*, specifically in Rome, is a sizable Ukrainian Catholic religious community — two seminaries, two re-

ligious houses for nuns, and the recently founded Ukrainian Catholic University. Both the Vatican radio and the radio of the Italian Foreign Ministry broadcast daily in the Ukrainian language to Ukraine behind the Iron Curtain. *Spain* is host to a small colony of Ukrainian students and a few families in Madrid; the official broadcasting system of the Spanish government includes a regular daily Ukrainian-language program. In *Switzerland* Ukrainian families are to be found in Geneva, Zurich and other cities. In the *Netherlands* live several hundred Ukrainians who have their national organization, the Ukrainian Community Committee. Small Ukrainian colonies are established in *Luxembourg*, *Sweden*, and *Finland*.

The number of Ukrainians in *Peru*, *Colombia*, and *Bolivia* is small, not enough in one particular place to form and support a national or cultural organization. There are several hundred Ukrainians in *Mexico*.

There also are Ukrainians, mostly in the professions, in a number of Central American countries.

## The Struggle in Ukraine Is Raging on

### *An Underground Organization "Ukrainian National Front" Exposed*

In spite of terror and persecution, the young people in Ukraine are continuing their struggle against the Russian occupation. This is proven by the fact that as far back as 1967 the KGB organs conducted numerous arrests among students and cultural leaders of Western Ukraine, accusing them of the fact that in 1964 they organized a political group "Ukrainian National Front" which had as its aim to fight for the independence of Ukraine. This underground organization published a magazine entitled *Fatherland and Freedom* of which a score or two appeared.

The "Ukrainian National Front" referred to past stages in the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation, in particular to the recent struggle of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The magazine *Fatherland and Freedom* reprinted articles from *Idea and Action*, the organ of the OUN Command, which was edited by O. Hornovyi with the cooperation of such underground publicists as Poltava, Kuzhil and others and which ap-

peared illegally in Ukraine in the years 1943-1955.

The members of UNF also copied the so-called "underground" literature and circulated it among the people. In addition they sent numerous protest letters to Soviet authorities, including an expose on the conditions in Ukraine which they sent to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In it they demand independence for Ukraine.

The arrested members and sympathizers of the Ukrainian National Front were tried in Ivano-Frankivsk and the following young people were found guilty and sentenced: 1) Dmytro Kvetzko, born in 1937 — 15 years; 2) Vasyl Diak, university graduate — 13 years; 3) Ivan Krasivskiy, born in 1939, university graduate — 12 years; 4) Yaroslav Lesiv, born in 1945, university graduate, arrested in Kirovograd oblast — 6 years; 5) Vasyl Kalvyn, born in 1943, high school graduate — 15 years; 6) Ivan Hubka, university graduate — 6 years. However, this is not a complete list of all those arrested in 1967 and 1968. Copies of the complete list and detailed information about the UNF are circulating among the people of Ukraine.

# Memorandum to the International Conference on Human Rights in Teheran

## I. The Soviet Union and the Concept of Human Rights

The Soviet government is a signatory to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, and it makes much of this fact in its massive propaganda drives outside the Soviet Union.

Recently an article marking "International Human Right Year" appeared in *Izvestia*, official organ of the Soviet government. It stated that the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights had become the generally accepted basis for man's political, social and economic rights. It further stated:

But in the conditions of capitalism the Declaration's basic tenets remain unfulfilled to this day. The bourgeois democracies, which serve the interests of imperialist monopolies, have turned the rights and freedoms assured by their constitutions into a farce. Thanks to the unstinted efforts of the Soviet Union . . . the U.N. has taken a series of measures aimed at restoring the independence of colonial people, the ending of all forms of racial discrimination, and (has) signed conventions condemning racialism and genocide. However, much remains to be done. . .

("The Chornovil Papers," by Gabriel Lorince, *New Statesman*, Feb. 23, 1968, London)

This self-serving boast of the official Soviet organ can in no way be substantiated by evidence. On the contrary, the Soviet Union has been and continues to be a crass violator and destroyer of human rights on a scale unprecedented in mankind's history.

Its Marxism, grafted onto Russian Messianism, has led to this lamentable result: every single article of all 30 articles contained in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* has been transgressed, violated, or deliberately broken by the Soviet government.

## II. Violation of Human Rights in Ukraine

Article 18 of the Declaration reads:

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief and freedom either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest

his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

But how does the Soviet government observe this right in practice? In such fashion:

a) The Soviet government destroyed the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church in the 1930's by murdering over 30 archbishops and bishops, and over 20,000 clergy and monks;

b) In 1945-46 it ruthlessly destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine by arresting 11 bishops and over 2,000 priests, monks and nuns; it forced the Ukrainian Catholics into the fold of the Communist-controlled Russian Orthodox Church, against their will and conviction;

c) The Soviet government persistently harasses and persecutes other Christian adherents in Ukraine—the Baptists, Evangelics, Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and others, by imposing heavy taxation, arresting pastors and preachers for alleged "crimes" against the state, and other repressive means;

d) The Soviet government is relentlessly persecuting over 1,000,000 Ukrainian Jews by closing down synagogues, molesting religious leaders and terrorizing worshippers;

e) The same policy of intolerance and open persecution is being applied by the Soviet government to the Moslems in Ukraine, who are hounded by the secret police and effectively prevented from practicing their traditional religion.

Article 19 of the Declaration reads:

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

This vital aspect of the Human Rights Declaration has been cynically and ruthlessly violated by the Soviet government, especially in Ukraine, up to the present. Beginning in August, 1965, a wave of arrests swept through Ukraine, ensnaring over 200 *Ukrainian intellectuals* in such cities as Kiev, Lviv, Odessa, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lutsk, Zhytomyr and Ternopil. This



Delegation of World Congress of Free Ukrainians at U.N. International Conference on Human Rights, April 21-May 13, 1968 in Teheran, Iran.

Left to right: Dr. Walter Dushnyck (USA); Most Rev. Mstyslav Skrypnyk (USA); Rt. Rev. Msgr. Dr. Basil Kushnir (Canada); Dr. Michael Sosnowsky (Canada) and Dr. J.Y. Musianovych (France).



veritable intellectual *pogrom* in scope and intensity far surpassed the arrest and trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel. Most of these victims were young men reared under the Soviet system in Ukraine. They were charged with "anti-Soviet" nationalist writings, glorification of the Ukrainian past, and disseminating speeches by Western leaders, such as an encyclical of Pope John XXIII and the address by former President Dwight D. Eisenhower which was delivered on June 27, 1964, at the unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko statue in Washington, D.C.

Most of these men were tried *in camera* and sentenced to long terms at hard labor under Article 62 of the Penal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, which is in direct contradiction to Art 19 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Article 62 of the Penal Code of the Ukrainian SSR reads:

Any agitation or propaganda with the intent to undermine or subvert the Soviet regime, the participation in certain specific and particularly dangerous crimes against the state, the dissemination with the same intent of slanderous inventions against the Soviet state and its social system, as well as distribution, preparation or possession to the above end of literature with such content, are punishable by loss of freedom for terms from six months to seven years or banishment for terms from two to five years. The above actions, if committed by persons previously convicted for serious crimes against the state or of crimes committed in time of war, are punishable by imprisonment for terms of three to ten years.

This Soviet criminal code which is overworked as the legal justification for extreme repression, is contradicted by the Soviet constitution itself, which specifies as follows:

In accordance with the worker's interest and with the aim of strengthening the Socialist system, the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed by Law: a) Freedom of speech; b) Freedom of the press; c) Freedom of gatherings and meetings; d) Freedom of processions and demonstrations on the street.

(Soviet Constitution, Chapter X, Article 125)

It was these trials to which U.S. Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg referred in his debate in the U.N. Human Rights Commission on March 6, 1968, when he said:

What has been completely overlooked is the particular concern of this Commission in light of the Declaration of Human Rights with the aspects of the trials to which I referred in the Soviet Union... And the prosecutions which have occurred in the Soviet Union and the convictions are specifically in violation of that provision of the Declaration of Human Rights, and the covenants which have been drafted to implement it...

The breakthrough as to information on the Ukrainian trials and convictions was provided by a Ukrainian journalist, *Vyacheslav M. Chornovil*. As a TV newsman and a member of the Comsomol organization, Mr. Chornovil attended the trials of several Ukrainian intellectuals. He found intolerable the flagrant violation of "Soviet justice" and the coercion and terror of the KGB. His protests to the Soviet authorities and party leaders in Ukraine came to no avail. He was finally arrested, tried and sentenced on November 15, 1967 to 3 years at hard labor. His manuscript, *Portraits of 20 'Criminals,'* was smuggled out of Ukraine in 1967 and published in Ukrainian by *Ukrainske Slovo* in Paris.



This is the Traitsky Sobor (Cathedral) in Ukraine, built in 1773-1778. Recently, Oles Honchar, a prominent Ukrainian communist writer in Ukraine, wrote an historical novel, *Sobor (The Cathedral)*, in which he lauded the Ukrainian past. He was bitterly assailed by Moscow for espousing "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and several hundred copies of his book were burned by Communist officials. This cathedral is said to have inspired the Ukrainian writer.

On the basis of his white book the international press carried a series of articles on the suppression of freedom and human rights in Ukraine: *The Times* of London, February 7, 1968; *The New York Times* on Feb. 8, 9 and 10, 1968; *The Observer* of London, Feb. 11, 1968; *New Statesman*, Feb. 23, 1968, also of London; *The Toronto Telegram*, Jan. 11, 1968, and *The New Leader*, January 15, 1968.

Articles on the persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals also appeared in *Die Welt* of Hamburg, *Die Sued-Deutsche Zeitung* of Munich; *Le Monde* of Paris, and *L'Osservatore Romano* of Rome.

### III. Destruction of the Non-Russian Nations in the USSR

Article 2 of the Declaration reads:

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Article 15 of the Declaration reads:

- (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.
- (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

### 1. GENOCIDE OF ENTIRE ETHNIC ENTITIES

Despite these provisions of the *Declaration*, the Soviet government has been engaged in a systematic destruction of the non-Russian nations and ethnic entities.

After World War II, Stalin ordered the wholesale deportations and destruction of such non-Russian peoples as the *Crimean Tartars*, *Volga Germans*, *Chechen-Ingushes*, *Kalmyks* and *Karachais*. All were uprooted from their ancestral homes and dispersed throughout the Soviet Union on thinly-substantiated charges of having been "pro-German" during World War II. These people were collectively found guilty – many men and women were executed without trial or even a hearing, to which they were entitled under the Soviet constitution. In 1958 the Soviet government restored statehood to some of these peoples, and some survivors were allowed to return, only to find their homes occupied by Russian settlers sent in by Moscow. For instance, when a number of Chechens and Ingushes returned to their city of Grozny in the Caucasus, they were greeted by hostile Russians brandishing posters, which read: "Long Live Stalin's Nationality Policy," and "Chechens and Ingushes, Get Out of the Caucasus!"

The genocidal treatment of the non-Russian ethnic entities by the Soviet government is a crime of the first magnitude under the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

### IV. Russification and Cultural Oppression in Ukraine

The Soviet government's linguistic and cultural policies are in direct violation of two articles of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, namely, Art. 2 (*freedom of language, and so forth*) and Art. 15 (*the right to a nationality*).

In theory the Ukrainian SSR is an independent and sovereign state, and a charter member of the United Nations. In practice, however, it is a puppet creation of Communist Russia.

The Soviet Union, following hard on the footsteps of the Russian Czars, relentlessly pursues a policy of cultural and linguistic *Russification* aimed at the creation of a "Soviet man," who in essence and ideally would be a Russian.

In his petition Svyatoslav Karavansky fixes the crux of the matter:

The *Russification* of Ukrainian institutions of higher learning introduced after 1937 has been condemned and partially corrected in Western Ukraine, but in Eastern Ukraine these institutions remain completely *Russified*. This discriminatory policy is explained by the supposed difference between



the two regions; but if this is the case, why did the Ukrainian nation unite into one Ukrainian Soviet state in the first place?

The ongoing Russification of Ukraine by Moscow was described recently by a Canadian Marxist who had spent two years in Ukraine (1963-65) attending the "Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine" in Kiev. In his book, *Education in Soviet Ukraine* (published by Peter Martin Associates in Toronto), John Kolasky says:

The aim of Russian policy is to maintain a tight control over education in Ukraine and other national republics, to restrict Ukrainians and other nationals from progressing beyond the elementary and general secondary level. . . to denationalize them. . . to increase. . . the continuous influx of Russians to occupy posts in government, education, science and other fields. . .

Everywhere in Kiev there was evidence of pressure to impose the Russian language. . . Many Russians with whom I came in contact displayed open contempt because I spoke Ukrainian. Russians were everywhere with their arrogant, over-bearing attitude; their contempt, sometimes veiled, but often overt, for the Ukrainian language; their open display of a feeling of Russian superiority. . .

Anyone who insists on the right to speak a language other than the Russian "runs a risk of being de-

nounced as a bourgeois nationalist," he contends. There is no instruction in the Ukrainian language at the universities of Odessa, Kharkiv and Dnepropetrovsk, all in Ukraine. Only 20 to 25 percent of the instruction at the University of Kiev is given in Ukrainian.

*In every Union Republic the percentage of students studying in the Russian language is higher than the percentage of Russians living in the Republic.*

In Ukrainian School No. 178 in Kiev, there are 1,400 pupils with a library of 3,323 books — of which a scant 14 are in Ukrainian. There are no non-Russians, schools in the Russian Republic, despite its millions of non-Russians, including some 8 million Ukrainians, who are forced to send their children to Russian schools.

In Ukraine, for instance, about 17 percent of the population is Russian; students studying only in Russian constitute nearly 30 percent.

Among certain ethnic groups Russification has progressed to the point where the national language has all but been throttled. This fate has befallen such languages as the Yiddish, Tartar, Ossetian, Kalmyk, Chenchin, Ingush and Karelian-Finnish. In Armenia, Russian is the language of instruction beginning with the first grade of primary school.

## **General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka**

Roman Shukhevych was born in Krakovez, West Ukraine, in 1907 as the son of a judge. His mother, who came of an old clerical family, was profoundly religious and pious and brought up her son Roman in this same spirit.

After leaving the Ukrainian grammar school in Lviv, he studied at the technical college there, and later completed his studies as civil engineer in Danzig.

Whilst still at school Roman Shukhevych had already belonged to the revolutionary Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and he later became one of its leading members. In 1931 he took over the command of the combatant detachment of the revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and during the years 1938-1939 he played an active part in setting up the military units of the "Ukrainian Carpathian Sich" in Carpatho-Ukraine.

In 1943 the 3rd Congress of the OUN elected him President of the OUN and at the same time he also became Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

(UPA). In November that same year, at his initiative, the basis for the foundation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was established on the occasion of the conference of the revolutionary liberation movements of the subjugated peoples. In July 1944, Shukhevych was appointed President of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) and Secretary-General of the Military Department of this supreme Ukrainian revolutionary institution.

On March 5, 1950, General Roman Shukhevych, holder of the Golden Cross for Distinguished Services of the UPA and Knight of the Golden Cross for Distinguished Services, was killed in action in the village of Bilohorshcha near Lviv whilst fighting against the Soviet Russian occupants.

The intrepid conduct of the UPA and its courageous fight in subjugated Ukraine were for the most part inspired by its heroic Commander-in-Chief, who has become the symbol of the Ukrainian fight for freedom.

# Poet Laureate of Ukraine

By Prof. Clarence Manning

The importance of Shevchenko cannot be over-emphasized. He was the greatest of the Ukrainian poets and he was more than that. He was the first writer who was purely and thoroughly Ukrainian, who dared to dream of a Ukrainian language and literature that would be completely separate from Russian and would have an independent place in the world.

He had started his career with the romantic dream of perpetuating the memory of the conflicts between the Kozaks and the Poles and of reviving the old days when the free Kozaks were able to carve out a precarious liberty for themselves and their people. Experience and observation taught him that that was impossible. He always valued the positive ideals of the old days, he realized the courage and the heroism of the leaders and still more of the ordinary man of the time. But he soon saw that that was not enough and that those days would not return. It was necessary to build for the future, and he considered all that had passed since that fateful treaty of Pereyaslav the unfortunate consequences of a mistake.

That led him to differences of opinion with many of his most intimate friends, for some of them were hoping against hope that there could be some settlement on the lines proposed by the great Bohdan. Shevchenko did not believe it possible and he dared to express his beliefs. To him a free Ukraine meant exactly what it said, a Ukraine that would be completely independent in every sense of the word, that would not be subject to interference by any foreign ruler, especially the Russian tsar.

## Immortal Poet of the Slavonic World

He had an ardent democratic and revolutionary faith in the common people and he recognized that they were the very backbone of the Ukrainian stock. In his lifetime he was friendly with many of the more enlightened members of the Ukrainian nobility and with many of the conservative writers of Russia. Never did he compromise his beliefs that the new order was to be founded upon the rights of the common man who must be educated to enjoy his new privileges. His ideas were often in close agreement with those of the Russian radicals, but he did not have

much personal contact with them for his belief in a liberal and radical solution of the Ukrainian question on its own territory shut him off from their refusal to recognize the Ukrainians as distinct from the Russians.

He was a peasant, but he realized also that all was not well within the peasant communities and in the peasant way of life. They were cruel and merciless to one another, for example, in their dealings with girls who had transgressed the moral code, and it was impossible to blame all this upon the external oppression to which they were subjected. It was perhaps a result of serfdom and of self-protection but it was an attitude that needed to be changed if Ukrainian life was to be enlightened. He felt from his own experience what the people could achieve if they were awakened to a sense of their own responsibilities, and he worked in every way to help them. He understood the need of education and of progress, and he did not try to conceal what he felt with the result that he gave us realistic pictures of peasant life, avoiding both undue idealization and excessive condemnation of the people's weaknesses, for he knew that much of this was due to ignorance.

Born a serf and later soldier in the Russian army, he accomplished with few opportunities for formal education an amazing amount. He took the Ukrainian language as it had been developed by Kotlyarevsky and his followers and by the force of his own genius made it into a language capable of expressing the most refined emotions and fully adequate to all the needs of modern literature. He voiced in that language and in no other the thoughts and aspirations of his people. He had completely separated Ukrainian from Russian and started it along an independent course, and he had made himself its greatest literary master. Taras Shevchenko, the son of a serf with his fanatical faith in the victory of democratic ideals and despite all obstacles, made himself one of the great poets of the Slavonic world, and his fame will live as long as that of any of his contemporaries in the other literatures. No one of them believed more firmly or voiced more clearly an unyielding and uncompromising belief that democracy, truth and freedom would win the day and no one worked harder or suffered more to bring it about.



FOR GOD  
AND  
A FREE HOME!



FOR THE FREEDOM  
OF THE  
SUBJUGATED!

DM  
ZWEI



ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC  
OF NATIONS

## The Light of Freedom from Ukraine

By Yaroslav Stetsko

The guiding idea and principle of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) — the disintegration of the Russians empire, whatever its political colour and form, into national independent states of all the peoples subjugated by Russia, namely by means of national liberation revolutions, is the liberation idea of the Ukrainian nation. Its genesis dates from the days of the Hetmans Mazepa and Orlyk (first quarter of 18th century). Hetman Orlyk formed an anti-Russian coalition, headed by Turkey, and in this way continued the noble work of one of the most famous figures in the history of Ukraine, of Hetman Ivan Mazepa. Hetman Orlyk left us a valuable legacy in the form of an unparalleled example of an untiring and consistent campaign abroad on behalf of the liberation of his people by revolutionary methods.

Both, in his life of suffering and hardships and in his works, in particular in his profoundly stirring poem "The Caucasus", Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), the great Ukrainian poet, laid the further ideological foundations for a common front of all the peoples enslaved by the Russian tyrants. "Fight and you will be victorious, for God will help you"—this is the appeal which Shevchenko addresses to all the peoples who are languishing in the Russian peoples' prison.

The freedom aims of the Ukrainian national hero and head of the Ukrainian state, S. Petlura (1879-1920), who also continued the fight for the liberation of his country abroad, the campaign of the founder and organizer of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Colonel Evhen Konovalets (1891-



freedom, by their moral strength and their belief in eternal ethical values to such an extent that they could have removed mountains. In their manifesto these revolutionary nationalists appealed to the subjugated peoples of East and Central Europe to form a joint front against Russia and Germany and to initiate and conduct a co-ordinated revolutionary liberation war and insurgent movements against these two imperialistic powers. It was stressed that one should beware of "liberating" the countries occupied by Germany by resorting to the help of the new Russian aggressor. The Allied were exhorted to assist the subjugated peoples in their fight against Nazi Germany and not to join forces with the foul fiend Moscow. Former soldiers of the Soviet Army who had deserted and gone over to the side of the insurgents also attended the secret conference in Zhytomyr,—a fact which incidentally clearly showed the vulnerable spot of the Russian empire and also emphasized that the USSR (that is to say the Russian empire) would merely be a colossus with feet of clay if the West adopted a policy of liberation of the subjugated peoples. The conference warned the Western world of the grave danger which would threaten the whole world if Russia were to win the war.

The fact that the German Nazis designated the Ukrainian and other insurgents who opposed the German invasion as "Stalin's lackeys" and that the Red Russians, on the other hand, designated them as "Hitler's lackeys" is clear proof that these insurgents were fighting against both forms of tyranny and that in doing so they were obliged to rely entirely on their own forces. It therefore seems appropriate at this point to mention the fact that the Polish insurgent in Warsaw (1944) were sadly mistaken in believing that the advancing Red Russian armies would help them to repulse the Germans. Ukraine and the peoples allied with her at that time did not count on any help from either Berlin or Moscow. What was more, the splendid fight which was put up by the 200,000 men of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was ignored and passed over in silence by the Western allies out of "loyalty to Moscow". Even their fight against the Germans was passed over in silence by the Western allies so as not to "offend" Stalin, since the UPA together with its allied insurgents of other subjugated peoples was also fighting against Stalin. In this connection we should like to point out that there were also various other national units of the subjugated peoples, under their own commanders, in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The secret conference in Zhytomyr in November 1943, for instance, was guarded by Georgian units under the command of a Georgian major. A large-scale front of the enslaved peoples against the tyrants was being set up. It was the front of the struggle for the national idea, a symbol of our day which promises to be victorious in all continents.

In the forests of Ukraine in November 1963 the

1938), the freedom manifesto of the OUN in 1940, and, lastly, the formation of the *Committee of Subjugated Peoples*, which thanks to the initiative of the OUN and of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and in particular of General Taras Chuprynka, was realized at the conference held in the forest of Zhytomyr, Ukraine, on November 21st to 22nd, 1943,—all these events are stages in the organic and political development of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, which during the past 26 years has become an anti-Russian and anti-Communist force of global dimensions.

In the midst of dreadful chaos and a tyranny during the Second World War, and in their two-front war against the powerful war-machines—the German and the Russian, the revolutionary nationalists of the peoples subjugated by both forms of tyranny, in the forests of Zhytomyr, defined and established the ideological, political and military principles and methods for the liberation of these enslaved peoples from the tyrants. From the technical and material point of view these revolutionary nationalist forces were much weaker than those of the German and Russian tyrants, but they were spurred on and inspired by the idea of



spark of a great fire, the inextinguishable conflagration of co-ordinated national liberation revolutions, which can destroy the Russian empire from within, was kindled. This is the first front of freedom-loving mankind against the world menace of Russian imperialism and of Communism.

The fundamental idea of ABN as a reality of our day may serve as a two-fold pointer for freedom-loving mankind, that is to say as both a political and a military strategical guide.

In political respect: that the national liberation idea and the nationalism which aims to achieve national liberation must be regarded as the driving force in the fight against the Russian empire and prison of peoples. And this implies the acceleration of the disintegration of the Russian empire, its complete annihilation, as well as the support, furtherance and recognition of the national peculiarities of the individual peoples, of their traditions and of their intellectual and spiritual life, whose inherent qualities are religious idealism and faith in God. Hence the watchwords of every nation in its fight against militant Russian atheism and the enslavement of peoples are: God and the fatherland.

In military respect: that the national wars of liberation, that is to say a series of insurrections, can bring about the destruction of the USSR from within, and that

it is imperative that such insurrections be given active and wholehearted support by the free world, since the Russian danger is not confined solely to the peoples who are already subjugated but also threatens the entire free world.

We appeal to the West to give the insurgent peoples its military aid if it wishes to prevent a thermonuclear war.

The West should proclaim the aims of ABN as the aims of an anti-Russian and anti-Communist crusade on the part of all freedom-loving mankind. The destruction of the Russian empire should be inscribed as a watchword on the banners of all free

individuals and peoples.

Russia is at present more or less in a state of war with the West, a tension which is being aggravated by various ways and means. This state of war must be countered by warlike means and methods. The subjugated peoples are also in a state of war, directly or indirectly, with Russia, War in this atomic age can assume various forms, especially as Russia, by means of its extremely powerful Fifth Columns, Communist parties, diversion manoeuvres, subversive campaigns and warlike operations on the peripheries, is constantly extending the boundaries of its empire and is worm-

ing its way further and further into the territories of the free world. The Communist parties and their subsidiary organizations must be proscribed as parties of traitors, as parties of the enemy in the heart of every nation. The policy of coexistence must be ended since it is only of advantage to the tyrants. The Russian prison of peoples must be isolated and blockaded. The morale of the free world must be strengthened by the severance of all relations with Russia, and the subjugated peoples must be encouraged by the support given to them by a world-front of freedom-loving individuals and peoples, for the cause of the subjugated peoples is the cause of all mankind. One should above all

appeal to the subjugated peoples and not to the tyrants. The Russian endless tirades in the Russian language in the broad-despots would certainly be alarmed if, instead of the cast programmes of the world, the free countries were to speak solely in the languages and in the spirit of the subjugated peoples.

The watchword of ABN — "Freedom for nations! Freedom for individuals!" should become the guiding principle of the psychological war of the free world, but in its true interpretation, however, that is to say in the meaning of a state and national independence of the subjugated peoples and not in the sense of a non-predetermination or a plebiscite.



The precondition of the freedom of the individual is the sovereignty of the nation.

Eleven years ago Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), said at the grave of Colonel Konovaletz, who was murdered by a Russian agent in 1938: "Ukraine will have to fulfil an important and very big mission which concerns other peoples too, inasmuch as it will realize and defend the universal watchword: "Freedom for nations! Freedom for individuals!"

In his work "Russia Is Not Invincible" General J.F.C. Fuller, the famous British military theoretician, said:

"Because in the Atlantic Pact — however defective it may be — is to be found the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the ABN — however lacking in organization it still is — is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western Powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim, not the containment of Communism, but the complete elimination of Bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world. From the value of the ABN as a disruptive instrument, I will next turn to its ability economically to strangle the USSR in another way."

It is thus erroneous to assume that ABN is solely an emigrants' organization. The main emphasis of the ideas and the liberation policy of ABN is concentrated behind the Iron Curtain. Without a common front of the subjugated peoples and without co-ordinated revolutionary insurrections which pursue the same aims, the liberation of Ukraine is impossible. For the question of Ukraine is a revolutionary world problem, and the restoration of Ukraine's state independence will fundamentally change the present distribution of power in the world, since in that case what is today the largest empire in the world will cease to exist. The activity of ABN in the free world is solely second sector in the fight. Because of its uncompromising attitude in the fight against all trends and forces which seek to preserve the Russian empire and because of its refusal to reach any compromises with the enemy, ABN in the free world has become the symbol of national, freedom-loving, anti-imperialist and anti-Communist, that is anti-Russian revolutionary forces. Similarly, in national respect, the revolutionary OUN — these three letters — have become the symbol of courage and fearlessness in the fight against the enemy. Individual persons may weaken or fail, but the ideas and the organization of the OUN remain constant and unswerving; hence the three letters OUN have become legendary in Ukrainian so-

ciety. The organization which co-ordinates the national revolutionary forces of the individual subjugated peoples — ABN — and which has mobilized, on a global scale, all those elements and forces that support the same idea and are akin in their revolutionary attitude, is becoming a deadly danger to the Russian tyrants. It is the foremost task of ABN to give an impetus to the co-ordination of the actions of those forces of the various nations which think alike in political and ideological respect, to create a new class of leaders in the free world, who will reject all compromises and agreements with the Russian Antichrist and oppressor of peoples and individuals, and to form a new order of national fighters and crusaders. ABN constantly, systematically and uncompromisingly endeavours to set up such a world-front. Numerous international conferences in Taipei, Saigon, Bangkok, Manila, Tokyo, Mexico, Guatemala, New York, Rome, Malta, Frankfurt on Main, Edinburgh, Escorial, Bolzano, Toronto, and Sydney, and campaigns in various capitals of the world — this is the sphere of activities of ABN. The U.S. Congress Resolution on "Captive Nations Week", which supports the idea of the disintegration of the Russian empire, and the historical speech of the former Canadian Prime Minister F. Diefenbaker before the forum of the United Nations are both of them measures which are in keeping with the fundamental ideas and principles of ABN.

From the Ukrainian point of view ABN is an historical conception of the liberation of the Ukrainian nation, a conception which has developed out of the geopolitical and other demands of the Ukrainian nation.

The greatest revolutionary insurgent strategist of our era, General Taras Chuprynka, who initiated the conference of Zhytomyr, was killed in action in Ukraine in March 1950 whilst fighting against the Russian occupants. In venerating his memory we see in him the symbol of all the heroes and martyrs who have sacrificed their lives for our ideals of the nation and the individual, for God.

And however much the Russian tyrants may endeavour to eradicate the longing for freedom and national independence in the hearts and souls of the subjugated peoples, they will never succeed in doing so. For our truth and our idea will in the end be victorious, thanks to our faith and our indomitable will and as a result of our fight, which will never accept any compromises. The idea of freedom has always been stronger than the power of tyrants. In this fight for Christ and the fatherland, God is on our side and will help us.



FOR THE FREEDOM  
OF NATIONS!



FOR THE FREEDOM  
OF THE  
INDIVIDUALS!



ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC  
OF NATIONS

## New Liberation Strategy

By Slava Stetsko

The fundamental question of the nation enslaved by Russia — the preparation of revolutionary insurrection as a means of liberation — is solved by life itself and by an organised campaign on the part of the organisations of the underground movements.

A revolutionary liberation organisation achieves a revolutionary influence on the soldiers of the Soviet army, who are of non-Russian origin, and the enlightenment of these soldiers as regards their duty to their fatherland and not to the Russian occupant, — these are some of the essential factors which guarantee the success of a national insurrection. These soldiers of the Soviet army must go over to the side of the organiser of the revolution, that is to say to the insurgent troops.

The revolutionary organisation provides for an adequate preparation of the insurrection in ideological, political, psychological and propagandistic respect by initiating mass campaigns. It organises insurgent cadres and draws up the plans for action.

The Berlin blockade in 1948 created the psychological precondition for the first insurrection in the concentration camp of Vorkuta, when 80,000 prisoners escaped and an armed combat gave proof of the of-

fensive spirit of the anti-Russian revolutionary fighters. After their escape from the concentration camps these prisoners, who were joined by soldiers of the Soviet army and by deportees and exiles, planned to carry on a partisan war in the forests of the Urals, for at that time most people were convinced that war would break out between the West and Russia. World War II had brought about a revolutionary change in the mentality and psychological attitude of the peoples. They realized the fickleness of the Soviet Russian regime, and at the same time their self-confidence in their own strength grew considerably. The two-front war waged by the UPA and OUN had clearly shown that an armed people is capable of fighting Russian tyranny. And this led to the founding of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in 1943. ABN symbolized the real strength of the nations subjugated by Russia in the form of a joint front as the only possible way to liberation. Within a short time a huge revolutionary impetus in the mentality of the peoples became a reality: the peoples overcame their fear and their armed masses began to play an active part in the common fighting front. And this process could no longer be held up. It included in



Evhen Konovalts (Born 14.6 1891, died 23.5.1938) Colonel, Commander-in-Chief of the "Sichovi, Striltsi" corps of the Ukrainian Army; founder and head of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN); murdered by an NKVD agent in Rotterdam.

particular the younger generation. There are various reasons why the colonial regime could not and still cannot stop this process, even though it may delay it. The Russian empire has assumed unbelievable proportions: the ratio of the Russians to the non-Russians in the USSR is now at least 1:2. And the Russians will no doubt find it impossible to deal with a three-front conflict: the subjugated peoples, the free world, and in addition the complications with Red China, although the conflict with Red China is on the whole overestimated by the West.

Immediately after Stalin's death there was every danger of national revolutions within the Russian empire which would undoubtedly have led to the collapse of the Red Russian empire if a) the West had pursued a consistent liberation policy and had exerted its pressure, b) the Russian tyrants had not made certain concessions in order to neutralize all offensive action on the part of the peoples at least for the time being, and c) if the Russian leaders and their henchmen had not been called to account to an even greater extent and had not been freed from fear and physical terror of the Stalinist stamp.

The Russian empire with its messianistic idea

-- Communism -- is by no means a phenomenon which can be isolated from the revolutionary historical process on the global scale, i.e. the process which included the de-colonization of the world and the collapse and decay of empires.

A characteristic component of the present stage of the national liberation struggle is mass rioting and armed action—frequently of a spontaneous nature, strikes, demonstrations, and also large-scale and even armed clashes in the concentration camps and in various towns, incidents which all help to further the liberation spirit of the subjugated nations. And whenever the occupation authorities are forced to yield a little, the revolutionary consciousness of the masses and their strength increase. The masses gain more and more experience in their fight against the Russian occupants and finally mount the barricades. Armed action in some concentration camp of other or for instance in Odessa, in the Donets Basin or in Novochoerkask might well lead to an all-national revolt on the part of the people. The rise of individual persons to the rank of heroes who are waging a courageous fight in order to defend the people against the occupant creates the nimbus of a revolutionary romanticism in the eyes of the younger generation and spurs on the masses. In this respect the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stepan Bandera, and the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Cardinal Yosyf Slipyi, have undoubtedly become symbols of the fight for freedom of their people.

An important factor in the present revolutionary struggle both in Ukraine and also in the other subjugated countries of the USSR is open armed action, acts of sabotage as well as passive resistance, and the undermining of the kolkhoz system ("work slowly"), etc.

The importance of the underground Church as an organised body must not be under-estimated, for it is not only a religious and moral force but also a religious and national pillar and support for the people. Thousands of underground priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with their own hierarchy headed by their heroic leader, Metropolitan Slipyi and of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPC), constitute an extremely important driving force in subjugated Ukraine. In spiritual, moral, religious and national respect these two Churches must be regarded as a powerful force. And this also holds true for Siberia, where there are millions of deported Ukrainians, for this force also exists and, in fact, plays an active part there. Indeed, the two Churches of Ukraine are a great dynamic force in the constant struggle of that country against the evil Russian powers.

The religious underground movement is growing. Those persons who firmly believe in God are the most courageous and intrepid in the fight; they neither weaken nor waver. They never regret their actions nor do they renounce their convictions. Since the cham-



pion and representative of atheism is a foreign people, namely the Russian occupant, the religious underground movement assumes significant religious and national characteristics.

The fighting spirit of the subjugated people—and not merely their will to resistance, the ever-growing extend to which their ideas are expressed in arts, in literature, in the entire cultural activity of the young literati continue undiminished. It is an established fact that there exists, particularly in Ukraine, secretly printed or written works, that is to say works which the Russian occupant will not allow to be circulated, even though he is obliged to tolerate the publication of some works, or at least a part of these works, which have been written by Ukrainian authors of the younger generation. But what is published openly is, however, only a tiny fraction of what appears in the underground movement. The Russian authorities only make concessions as regards part of these works in order to neutralize or delay the danger of an open conflict, the outbreak of which will involve the sum total of various factors of everyday life and of the fight of the Ukrainian nation. The essential features of the ideological fight are expressed in the national creative arts in the spontaneous creativeness of the masses, in folksongs, in various forms of expression of national maxims, in sayings, and in folklore. A successful fight against Moscow must inevitably include the ideological, cultural and oral traditions of the masses of the Ukrainian people.

This fight is forced on the subjugated countries by millions of editions of books which are Russian in spirit and contents, and also by films and television. Moscow is doing its utmost to deprive the soul of the nation of its ideals, traditions and national characteristics at all costs by various means and methods of modern propaganda. In the end the fierce struggle between Russia and the Ukrainian people will be decided in Ukraine herself.

The ideological fight is a precondition for the victorious physical fight. In October-November 1959 a joint insurrection on the part of young Ukrainians and Byelorussians took place in Temir-Tau near Karaganda, whither they had been deported in order to work in the "virgin" lands. The organisers of this courageous insurrection were the Ukrainian nationalists of the OUN, whose leader, Stepan Bandera, was murdered in Munich in 1959 at Khrushchev's orders.

After 1959 there followed a series of offensive actions and open mass insurrections in the form of strikes or demonstrations in Ukraine herself. The offensive activity of the OUN there is now carried on in different forms than was hitherto the case. It is obvious from numerous trials in which the accused have been members of the OUN, from attacks in the Soviet press, from the accomplished or planned attacks on the life of the leaders of the OUN and from the murder of Stepan Bandera that the OUN represents a grave danger to Moscow.



S. Hardynsky: Ukrainian types from Polissja



Ukrainian Catholic Church of St. John the Baptist in Hunter, N.Y., built in 1961, in honor of those fallen in the fight with Russia.

From 1960 onwards mass strikes and demonstrations occurred in Ukraine, Turkestan, Lithuania, Byelorussia and the Caucasus.

In 1960 in the Donets Basin, in April 1961 in Odessa, Kirovograd, Kryvyi Rih, in November 1961 in Sevastopol and Tashkent, West Siberia and Kazakhstan; in January 1962 demonstrations occurred in Minsk; in June 1962 in the Donets Basin, in Donetsk, Kramatorsk, Artemovsk as well as Novocherkask; in June 1963 there were armed clashes and demonstration in Kryvyi Rih.

The enemy reacts in various ways. He tries to reason that the direct cause of these actions is the inadequacy of the local administration. He tries to undermine the morals of those who take part in such actions and to bring disrepute upon the organisers. To this end he orders these persons to be brought before a court allegedly on account of crimes committed during Hitler's occupation of the country. He also tries to undermine the morals of his opponents by means of intrigues, by creating quarrels and, of course, by his well-tried terrorist measures, as for instance was the case during the demonstrations and strikes in the Donets Basin, in Novocherkask and Kryvyi Rih (Where thousands of men, women and children were shot on the streets, a fact which clearly proves that one can only overcome the enemy by armed force).

These mass actions of an offensive character systematically harden the subjugated peoples in their fight against Russia, further their psychological revolutionary attitude, keep their revolutionary spirit vigilant, banish all fear of the terrorist regime, and encourage the subjugated peoples to try their own strength.

All this creates the necessary preconditions for a decisive fight and for armed insurrections. And this revolutionary spirit permeates the ranks of the army, mobilizes both in political and moral respect the soldiers who are the sons of the subjugated peoples, and enables insurgent armies to be organised out of the constantly fluctuating combatant groups when the time is ripe.

It is most essential that broadcasting stations should be set up abroad which, carefully and systematically and without resorting to an attitude of despair, should prepare the national revolutions in psychological, moral ideological and political respect by appropriate encouragement of mass action, by mobilizing the soldiers of the subjugated peoples in the Soviet army for the aims of national independence and freedom, by constantly pointing out the weak spots and the contradictions in the Communist system, by the strengthening of faith in the victory of truth and justice, by inspiring the peoples with national and religious faith and by stressing the victorious campaign of the national and anti-imperialistic freedom idea in the world.

The young generation is our hope for the future. In the spirit of patriotic traditions of their nations, the young people, combatting Russification and Communism, are in the vanguard of the struggle for national



Members of First Secretariat of World Congress of Free Ukrainians  
Seated, left to right: Ivan Iwanchuk (Canada); Dr. Matthew Stachiw (USA); Dr. Basilio Ivanytzky (Argentina); the Most Rev. Maxime Hermaniuk (Canada); Rit. Rev. Msgr. Basil Kushnir (Canada); Joseph Le sawyer (USA) Mykola Plawiuk (Canada); Ignatius M. Billinsky (USA); John Syrnick (Canada); standing, left to right: Anthony Melnyk (Germany); Dr. Sviatomyr Fostun (England); Omelian Kowal (Belgium); Dr. Michael Marunchak (Canada); Rev. Presbyter Ivan Bachynsky (Belgium); Prof. Myrdslav Shegedyn (Australia); Pastor Ivan Yacency (Canada); Dr. Bohdan Hnatiuk (USA); Wenedict Wasiuk (Venezuela); standing, third row, left to right: Dr. Mykola Ivanovych (Austria); Myroslav Baliuch (Australia); Julian Revay (USA). Absent members of the Secretariat are: Most Rev. Archbishop Mstyslav (USA) and Stefan Plakhtyn (Brazil).

liberation, for independence of their respective peoples, for human rights and the dignity of man. They have great faith in their nations, which was expressed by the 29-year old poet of Ukraine, Vasyly Symonenko, who was probably murdered by the Russians in 1962:

"My nation exists, my nation will always exist!  
Nobody will scratch out my nation!  
All renegades and strays will disappear,  
And so will the hordes of conquerors-invaders!  
My nation exists! In its hot veins  
The Cossack blood is pulsing and humming."

Recently two books were published in the West, *The Chornovil Papers (Mc Graw Hill)* and *Internationalism or Russification?* by Ivan Dzyuba (*Weidenfeld and Nicolson*) Both of them reveal the courageous and unconquerable spirit of the young Ukrainian generation. Edward Crankshaw said in *The Observer* that Chornovil's book, *The Chornovil Papers* is "... the boldest, the most scathing, the most able indictment of the abuse of authority that has come out of the Soviet Union..."

From the three phases: a) mass guerilla warfare against the aggressors, especially the Russian ones, in 1942-1953; b) the revolts and demonstrations in concentration camps in 1953-1959; c) the all-round reinforced struggle within the subjugated countries in the form of demonstrations, clashes with the Russian occupation forces, the activities of the young generation and the ideological and political struggle which it is waging, we are entering the last phase of the new revolutionary strategy: nation-wide revolts. National revolutions in the subjugated nations are ripening with ever-increasing speed. Will the Free World continue to be silents?!

We are not begging for help; we feel that he who helps us, helps himself.



# Why Had Bandera To Die?

Bandera was the head of the Ukrainian national revolutionary liberation movement which was organised in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) on the political side and in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) on the military side.

The aims of OUN and UPA are:

a) The breaking-up of the Russian empire into independent, national and democratic states – with an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state among them;

b) the destruction of the communist system and the realization of democratic ideals under the slogan: Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

The means for the realization of these aims are:

The national revolutionary liberation struggle in Ukraine in cooperation with the organised freedom movements of other nations enslaved by Russian imperialism which makes use of Communism as a tool.

The national revolutionary movement, embodied in the OUN under Stepan Bandera's leadership and at all times, is both anti-Russian (i.e. anti-imperialist) and anti-communist. It embraces all classes of the Ukrainian population. All this made Stepan Bandera particularly dangerous to Moscow.

At the time of the Second World War the OUN, led by Stepan Bandera, was first of all the political power which made it impossible for Moscow to label the Ukrainian freedom fighters as "fellow-travellers" of the Nazi regime in Germany. It was due to the initiative of Bandera's OUN, and in opposition to Hitler's intentions in respect to Ukraine, that on the 30th of June 1941 the Ukrainian Independent State was proclaimed by the Ukrainian National Assembly and the Ukrainian state government, headed by Yaroslav Stetsko, was set up. Bandera, as well as Stetsko and thousands of other members of the OUN were arrested and held in Nazi concentration camps.

The fight for liberation was carried on under Bandera's name against the two occupants of Ukraine, i.e. Hitler's Germany and Russia. In the course of this struggle the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was organised in 1942, which continued the fight for freedom in guerrilla warfare for years after the Second World War.

On the initiative of the UPA the Committee of the Subjugated Peoples was set up in 1943, which was transformed into the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in 1946. The ABN remains to this day the coordinating centre of the organised liberation movements

of the nations enslaved by Moscow who pursue similar aims as the Ukrainian people.

The OUN under Stepan Bandera's leadership was, and still is, a grave danger to Moscow because of its revolutionary activity in the homeland and its campaigning throughout the free world. This was the real reason for Moscow's repeated attempts on Bandera's life; not, as Stashynskyi said in court, the alleged forcible prevention of the repatriation of Ukrainian refugees by the Ukrainian leaders.

The constant endeavour of Moscow to liquidate the Ukrainian emigrants shows what an important role they play in the fight for independence of Ukraine, and other countries. It is well to remember that President de Gaulle, King Paul of Greece, Queen Juliana of the Netherlands, Masaryk and many others, even Lenin, were also emigrants once.

The Kremlin is well aware that the Ukrainian and other emigrants gained considerable successes in their activity against Russian Bolshevism and colonialism and against the policies of containment and coexistence. How much Moscow was affected by these activities was clearly shown in Khrushchev's reaction to the proclamation by the US Congress of "Captive Nations' Week". At the heart of this proclamation lies the conception of the dissolution of the Russian empire and the restoration of the independent national sovereign states.

The next candidate for assassination was to be Yaroslav Stetsko. His murder was considered necessary because as President of the ABN he has for years been vigorously engaged in mobilising the world front against Russian imperialism and Communism in active cooperation with numerous international anti-Communist organizations in Asia, America and Europe. At the international anti-Communist conferences on various continents Yaroslav Stetsko succeeded in getting the conceptions of the ABN accepted.

In Ukraine, the fight of OUN and UPA, especially during and after the Second World War, developed into an open armed conflict between Ukrainians and the Russian occupants. In 1944 the Ukrainian resistance movement formed a government – the Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) under the commander-in-chief of the UPA, General Taras Chuprynka (Roman Shukhevych).

The response of the Ukrainian fight for freedom in the homeland was such that its impact was felt even in the vast area of Siberia where it caused



Stepan Bandera (Born 1.1.1909, died 15.10.1959. Leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) from 1940-1943 and from 1945-1959; 1941-1944 interned in a Nazi concentration camp; murdered by a KGB agent in Munich.

revolts in numerous concentration camps, e.g. at Vorkuta and Norilsk in 1953, Kingir 1954, Mordovia 1955, Taishet 1956, Temir-Tau 1959.

The fight of Bandera's OUN expressed itself in various other forms, such as organised strikes and sabotage, the struggle in the cultural sphere, resistance in the economic field (for instance, against kolkhozes), opposition to the militia and other police agents. Even the free press of the West reported in the last few years strikes and demonstrations: Odessa 1960, Donbas 1961, Novocherkask 1962.

Stashynskyi described the struggle for liberation and the situation in Ukraine from the point of view of the Russian occupants. In doing so, he unintentionally confirmed that the Ukrainian people constantly offer fierce resistance to the Bolshevik methods of suppression of the nation and the individual, to the total collectivisation of agriculture, and to the complete subjugation of life under the control of Party and State.

The defendant attempted to justify his betrayal of the Ukrainian people by trying to brand some episodes in the fight of the resistance movement as "methodical atrocities". While it is possible that in the war, which Ukraine has for decades waged against Moscow, unauthorised excesses might have occurred in isolated cases, Stashynskyi pretended not to have heard or seen anything of the systematically planned and perpetrated atrocities of Russian Bolshevism, which did not spare his own relatives even (his uncle

Peter). He thus revealed himself as an agent and hireling of Moscow in Ukraine. He defended the interests of Moscow and excused all the crimes they committed in Ukraine, from the planned great famine in 1932/33 which claimed millions of victims, to the deportations, arrests and murders of millions of others in the years 1939-41 and 1944-61.

The defendant gave an exaggerated account of the difficulties between OUN/UPA and the Poles in the forties. In reality, the enmity between Poles and Ukrainians receded into the background at that time, particularly after 1944/45; there were even instances of joint action by the Ukrainian and Polish underground movements against the common enemy, Russia.

In order to link up with the liberation movements in other Russian-dominated countries, the UPA High Command dispatched small units into Rumania, Caucasia, Hungary, Slovakia, Poland and even East Prussia. How seriously Moscow viewed these tactics is shown by the treaty they concluded in 1947 with their satellites Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, which was to establish a common front against the UPA's thrust into foreign territory. The same tactics prompted the commander-in-chief of the UPA, General Taras Chuprynka, to send in the years 1947/48 some armed units (altogether about 500 men) across the borders to the free West, for the purpose of demonstrating to the people there the aspirations of the Ukrainian people and their fight for freedom and independence. This action, which gave proof of the Ukrainian resistance, a fact that had hitherto been carefully concealed, was most embarrassing to Moscow and largely contributed to their decision to liquidate Bandera, the man behind this move.

The assassination of Bandera by Moscow is not an isolated case. On the orders of the Kremlin, the President of Ukraine, Symon Petlura, was murdered in Paris in 1926, and so was Colonel Evhen Konovalts, the leader of the OUN, in Rotterdam in 1938.

The Units Abroad of the OUN, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, did not confine their activity to matters of foreign policy and organisation among emigrants, but have constantly kept in mind the active support of the fight in the homeland. The Units Abroad of the OUN trained the personnel for the revolutionary liberation movement in Ukraine and clandestinely infiltrated them into the homeland. Technical and financial aid, made available through the generosity of Ukrainians in exile, was smuggled across the Iron Curtain and other borders. In these various ways it has been possible to achieve a considerable extension and intensification as well as effective coordination, of the Ukrainian fight for independence and freedom from Russian colonialism.

The decision to assassinate Bandera was taken by Moscow with the intention to deal a blow to the Ukrainian national liberation movement. The latter, however, lives and grows in strength, and no force will be able to prevent its ultimate victory.



## **Appeal to the International Conference On Human Rights**

In view of the flagrant and systematic violations by the Soviet government of Articles 2, 13, 15, 18 and 19, as substantiated by mounting irrefutable evidence;

In view of the open violations of other Articles of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, specifically Arts. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and especially Arts. 9 and 10, which protect all persons from arbitrary arrest and assure all of impartial tribunal; Art. 14, guaranteeing the right of political asylum; Art. 26, assuring that each person is entitled to free education, as well as Arts. 27 and 29, assuring everyone the right of protection of moral and material interests, as well as a social and international order in which all the freedoms set forth in this *Declaration* can be fully realized, **WE ENTREAT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS:**

1) **To establish a Special U.N. Committee to Investigate the Violations of the U.N. 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights' in Ukraine and in other Union Republics of the USSR; especially, to investigate the religious persecution involving Orthodoxy, Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism and Islamism; the unbridled Russification of the non-Russian nations, now ruled by Moscow; the relentless persecution of the intellectual elite in Ukraine and in Russia proper, and the willful destruction of ethnic minorities in the USSR, such as the Jews, the Crimean Tartars, Volga Germans, Chechens, Ingushes, Kalmyks and Karachai peoples.**

2) **To prevail upon the Soviet government to release some 200 Ukrainian intellectuals arrested in 1965-67, and all Ukrainian political prisoners who are languishing for long years in Soviet Russian prison camps without benefit of amnesty and leniency on the part of the Soviet government; to release also those Russian writers who have been convicted for not conforming to the official policy of the regime by advocating more freedom for intellectual life in the USSR.**

3) **To prevail upon the Soviet government to return all deportees to their native countries, such as Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia, and to repatriate Russian nationals brought as settlers to become the dominant element in the non-Russian Republics of the USSR.**

4) **To prevail upon the government of the Soviet Union to adhere to the basic principles espoused in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.**

We recall that the United Nations, in a resolution adopted in 1952 on "The Right of Peoples and Nations to Self-Determination," called for the implementation of this fundamental right of all peoples — freedom and national independence. Although a number of African and Asian nations, once subject to the rule of colonial empires, have been granted the right to rule themselves, no such implementation has occurred in the Soviet Union, a great empire based on conquest and domination of captive nations.

The full and unqualified liberation of these captive nations languishing in the USSR is a prerequisite to the enjoyment of all human rights and to the attainment of a lasting peace in the world.

**Ukrainian Congress Committee of America**



The Soviets' love for their fellow men never recognizes borders. The new Ukrainian Republic was allowed to join the new Russian Soviet Republics . . . "voluntarily."

The independence of the new Georgian Republic was also granted by the Soviets in 1921. To "guarantee" this "independence," the Soviets incorporated Georgia into the Soviet Union eight months later, after Red Army invasion.